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Lords, Land and Livelihood. A study into the estate management of the lesser lay tenants-in-chief in Kent before the Black Death, c.1246-1348.

by V.Everett

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) at the University of Kent at Canterbury.

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of the estate economy of the lesser lay gentry in Kent c.1246-1348, based on an analysis of data from 280 surveys relating to more than 160 estates augmented by detailed case studies. Over this period the demesne management on many great estates became increasingly market-oriented and it has also been argued that peasant involvement in buying and selling of produce grew, it being crucial to their survival. In this work it is argued that, in Kent, the lesser gentry were not so concerned with a market economy. The typical estate was contained within a radius of about five miles, with management policies which emphasised supplying the needs of the household.

Where the gentry did use the market was in the purchase of land. Many lords were also able to increase their demesnes in this way. Case-studies are made of two successful families.

The demesne was important on estates of all sizes, typically accounting for 40%-60% of the total value of a manor. On many estates, most of the demesne produce appears to have been sent to the household. Also important for the supply of provisions was the manorial garden and a survey is made of this resource. Analysis is made of the opportunities for income from woodland. It is found this was managed as a long term asset and rarely 'wasted'.

A survey is made of the rent and court income to be made from tenants. This was restricted by the customary rights of the Kentish peasant. Labour services, for example, were light, particularly on manors of 'recent' origin. The costs of labour are analysed for demesnes of different sizes.

Investment in the local community, in the form of mills and markets, is analysed. Many lords engaged successfully in the former but only the higher aristocracy could guarantee a return from the latter.

Finally, a model of the smaller lay estate is proposed, with the conclusion that, in a majority of cases, the estate was managed primarily to feed the household. If the capacity for demesne production grew, so did household size, to reflect the enhanced status of the lord in the locality.

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Abbreviations

1334/5 Lay Subsidy

'The Kent Lay Subsidy of 1334/5', edited by H.A.Hanley and C.W.Chalklin and printed in *Documents Illustrative of Medieval Kentish Society*, Kent Records, no.18 (Ashford, 1964).

a.	acres
Add.Ch.	Additional Charter
<i>Ag.Hist.Rev.</i>	<i>Agricultural History Review</i>
<i>Arch.Cant.</i>	<i>Archæologia Cantiana</i>
b.	bushels
BL	The British Library
Book of Fees	<i>The Book of Fees commonly called the Testa de Nevill</i> , 3 vols. (London: HMSO, 1920-31).
CCAL	The Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Library
CCR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
CChR	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls</i>
CIPM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</i>
CIMC	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery)</i>
CKS	The Centre for Kentish Studies
CPR	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls</i>
d.	pence or dayworks (1/40 acre) or daughter of
DB	Domesday Book
<i>Econ.Hist.Rev.</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
<i>Eng.Hist.Rev.</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>Feudal Aids</i>	<i>Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids</i> , vol.3 Kent-Norfolk (London: HMSO, 1904).
Harl.Ch.	Harley Charter
Harl.Soc.	Harleian Society
Hasted	E.Hasted, <i>The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent</i> , 2nd. edn., 12 vols. (Canterbury, 1797-1801).
IPM	Inquisition post mortem
Kent Feet of Fines	I.J.Churchill, et al., eds., <i>Calendar of Kent Feet of Fines to the end of Henry III's reign</i> , Kent Records, no.15 (Ashford, 1956).

m.	membrane
MS	Manuscript
O.S.	The Ordnance Survey
PRO	The Public Record Office
q.	quarters (8 bushels)
r.	roods ($\frac{1}{4}$ acres)
RH	<i>Rotuli Hundredorum</i> , 2 vols. (Record Commission, 1812-18).
s.	shillings or son of
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
U.K.C.	University of Kent at Canterbury
VCH	<i>The Victoria County History of Kent</i> , 3 vols. (London, 1908-32).
Wallenberg, <i>Kentish Place-Names</i>	J.K.Wallenberg, <i>Kentish Place-names</i> (Uppsala, 1931).
Wallenberg, <i>Place-Names of Kent</i>	J.K.Wallenberg, <i>The Place-Names of Kent</i> (Uppsala, 1934).

Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis is a study of the estate economy of the lesser lay landlords of the county of Kent during the century prior to the Black Death. This stratum of society has in recent years been the subject of a substantial volume of research,¹ but many problems have remained matters of debate. The military, political and administrative aspects of the careers of individuals have often been the focus. It is important to realise that these careers, though entailing some degree of education and training, were either dependent upon or led to landlordship. This present study seeks to address this land-holding aspect of lordship, by looking in detail at how the lords perceived and managed their estates. It is well known, for example, that on the estates of successful lords, that is those whose fortunes and dynasties prospered, the personal exploitation of their demesnes became increasingly significant from the early thirteenth century, as manors were recovered from farmers to whom they had been leased.² However, the precise

1. See, for example, P.Coss, *Lordship, Knighthood and Locality. A study in English society c.1180-c.1280* (Cambridge, 1991); P.W.Fleming *The character and concerns of the gentry of Kent in the 15th. century* (University of Wales at Swansea Ph.D. thesis, 1985); G.R.Griffiths *A comparison of lay and monastic estates in Norfolk: an economic and topographical study* (University of Nottingham Ph.D. thesis, 1985); A.J.Gross, *Adam Pershale: a study in the gentry society of 14th century Staffordshire* (University of London Ph.D. thesis, 1988); B.R.Harvey, *The Berkeleys of Berkeley, 1281-1417: a study in the lesser peerage of late medieval England* (University of St Andrews Ph.D. thesis, 1988); S.Harvey, 'The Knight and the Knight's Fee in England', *Past and Present* 49 (Nov.1970), reprinted in R.H.Hilton, ed., *Peasants, Knights and Heretics* (Cambridge, 1976); M.Jones, ed., *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe* (Gloucester, 1986); S.Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1988); T.E.Maciver, *Aspects of the gentry of 13th century Hampshire* (University of Oxford M.Litt. thesis, 1987); H.P.Maskew, *Fifteenth-century Worcestershire gentry* (University of Birmingham M.Phil. thesis, 1990); J.A.Quick, *Government and Society in Kent, 1232-c.1280* (University of Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 1986); J.A.Quick, 'The number and distribution of knights in thirteenth-century England' in P.R.Coss and S.D.Lloyd, eds., *Thirteenth-Century England I* (1986), pp.114-127; N.Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981); N.Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex 1280-1400* (Oxford, 1986).

2. M.M.Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society* (London, 1972), p.100; E.Miller and J.Hatcher, *Medieval England - Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348*

nature of that exploitation remains in many ways obscure.

In later centuries these local landlords and their families became known collectively as the gentry with a loose sub-division into 'parish' and 'county' gentry.³ The distinction depends upon whether the sphere of their social, administrative and political influence was confined to a small area around a home manor, or if it extended to a larger region perhaps including appointment to the office of sheriff or election to parliament as a knight of the shire. In either case, however, most or all of a lord's demesne manors lay in the county.⁴ In the thirteenth century it was still expected that non-ecclesiastical lords of manors would be knights, barons or earls, although by no means all men who were qualified in terms of their property chose to be dubbed as knights. Before the middle of the early fourteenth century the rank of esquire had become established and by the fifteenth century the term 'gentlemen' was recognised as signifying a person of quality.⁵ In between, the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were the period of development and transition. Thus to find a precise definition of the class of lords whose estates will be our main concern is difficult but not impossible. In essence, they are the men and women whose lands were wholly or mainly in Kent and who, by virtue of their position as leaders of local society, were employed by the crown to be its agents. It is not a part of the definition, but it will become clear that the majority of these lords held at most four or five manors. Thus they are the equivalent of the fifteenth century knights, esquires and gentlemen and it is convenient to apply the term 'gentry' to them. The barons, earls and later dukes

(London, 1978), pp.211-2.

3. As, for example, in P.W.Fleming, 'Charity, Faith and the Gentry of Kent 1422-1529' in T.Pollard, ed., *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval History* (Gloucester, 1984), p.36.

4. B.Webster, 'The Community of Kent in the Reign of Richard II', *Arch. Cant.* 100 (1984), p.219.

5. C.Dyer, *Standards of Living in the later Middle Ages: Social change in England c.1200-1520* (Cambridge, 1989), pp.12-15, hereinafter referred to as Dyer, *Standards of Living*. See also P.R.Coss, 'Literature and social terminology: the vavasour in England' in T.H.Aston *et al.*, eds., *Social Relations and Ideas* (1983), pp.109-150.

came from a different, more elevated, plane of society.

The opening date of the period of study has been dictated by the available sources. A major data source on which the work is based is the series of Chancery *Inquisitiones Post Mortem*, the first of which dates from 1236.⁶ Manorial rentals, surveys, accounts and court rolls also become relatively common from around the same time. The terminal date of the work is of course related to the onset of the Black Death. The precise extent of the dislocation which this event caused in society and in the economy of the country and its regions may be a matter of debate, but it is not in dispute that a major change did occur at this time. Thus, the actions of, and influences upon, the lay gentry of Kent have been concentrated upon without the issue being clouded by any attempt to assess relative conditions before and after 1348.

One debate to which this work seeks to make a contribution concerns the influence of the market in the management of the estate. Between 1227 and 1350 the crown granted well over one thousand places in England and Wales the right to hold regular, weekly, markets. To some historians, these are seen as an integral part of a developing, market-oriented, economy.⁷ The policies on large and widespread estates, including those of the important ecclesiastical houses of Kent were determined in part by the demands of the market, at all levels from local to international. Thus, the Canterbury cathedral priory of Christchurch grew crops on its manors which were suited to local soils, but which also commanded the highest prices in local markets. The priory also invested heavily in the production of wool, much of which was exported.⁸

Studies of the land-holdings of peasants and the location of village markets have

6. This is the inquisition of Richard Noel, himself a Kentish man. *CIPM*, i, No.1; PRO C132 File 1(1).

7. E.Miller and J.Hatcher, *Medieval England - Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348* (London, 1978), p.77.

8. R.A.L.Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory* (Cambridge, 1943), p.150.

suggested that at this level of society also the market had a significance for the family economy. The ability to grow high price grains for sale and to buy cheaper corn for consumption was possibly the salvation of many families whose tenements would otherwise have been too small for viable self-sufficiency. There is, nevertheless, a considerable middle ground between these two economic extremes. Some writers have argued that the influence of the market was important in the management of the small compact gentry estates of one, two or three manors. The motivation for improvement and investment over the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries is sometimes seen as one of generating increasing yields in order to supply an inexhaustible demand for foodstuffs.⁹ It has been shown, for example, that the Sussex manor of Beddingham, held by the family of Etchingham, was seen primarily as a cash-yielding manor, with wheat as the main crop. In most years almost all of the crop was sent to the market and almost none to the household. Beddingham lay some 25 miles away from the main home manor of Etchingham, near to Lewes. Even so, in one or two years the wheat crop was sent to the household, presumably to supplement a poor local harvest. On another Sussex manor from a different estate, Glynde, which was a home farm, the lord's household absorbed a far larger proportion of the harvest.¹⁰ It is more likely that the perceived main purpose of the demesnes close to the lord's residence was not to generate a cash income, but to supply food to the household. If then the land could be made to yield more this might have meant, not more to sell, but more to consume. The lord who could feed a larger household could have a bigger family, helping to ensure succession by a son. He could also support a larger body of servants and

9. Mavis Mate, for example, puts it thus: 'many lay lords used advanced agricultural techniques to increase the productivity of their land. The more they produced the more they had to sell.' M. Mate, 'The agrarian economy of south-east England before the Black Death', in B.M.S. Campbell, ed., *Before the Black Death: Studies in the 'crisis' of the early fourteenth century* (Manchester, 1991), p.88.

10. N. Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life: knightly families in Sussex, 1280-1400* (Oxford, 1986), pp.110-1.

retainers, thereby increasing his status in the eyes of his neighbours and peers.

Through the provision of food to local paupers he could even afford to be more generous in his alms-giving, thereby increasing his chances of securing perpetual salvation. The monetary nature of the manorial accounts, with their often fictitious credits and debits,¹¹ sometimes lead us to imagine that everything was always minutely costed. It may be that these other, non-financial, influences weighed more heavily upon the mind of the lord and his demesne managers.

The work focuses upon the lesser gentry of Kent in particular. Conditions in this part of England may have served to make the market more significant than elsewhere. To the northwest lay London, a voracious market for food and other primary goods such as wood for fuel, animal hides for leather and parchment and timber and stone for building.¹² To the east and south, across the channel, lay rich continental markets. Ships loading and unloading at Sandwich carried goods and merchants to and from Flanders as well as Italy, Bayonne, Spain and Portugal.¹³ Wool and cloth formed the bulk of the exports, although grain was also sometimes sent overseas, as in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, when harvests in parts of Spain were poor.¹⁴ Towards the end of our period there were also opportunities for profit from the supply of food to Calais after its capture by the English. Clearly, the temptation is to assume that Kentish producers were best placed to gain benefit from these markets, but to what extent were the lesser lords able to do so and indeed, how far did they choose to do so?

11. Such as the 'sales at audit' which were included to allow for discrepancies between the bailiff's tallies and the actual quantities of produce in the barns.

12. D.Keene, 'Medieval London and Its Region', *The London Journal* 14 (1989), pp.103-5; J.A.Galloway and M.Murphy, 'Feeding the City: Medieval London and its Agrarian Hinterland', *The London Journal* 16 (1991), p.3.

13. T.H.Lloyd, *Alien Merchants in England in the High Middle Ages* (Brighton, 1982), pp.15-16.

14. W.R.Childs, *Anglo-Castilian trade in the later Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1978), p.99. In 1325 a quarter of the ships arriving in Sandwich were Spanish, accounting for over a quarter of the long-distance freight carried. *Ibid.*, p.21.

Conditions in medieval Kent have received attention from historians with both local and national interests. However, previous studies have tended to concentrate upon the ecclesiastical estates of the county, upon individual manors within those estates, or upon localities with such a manor at their heart.¹⁵ This is understandable, given the nature of much of the extant source material. Some writers have been more careful than others to acknowledge the limitations of over-emphasis upon these ecclesiastical estates, but the fact remains that there is a need to try to observe the lay estate at work. Is it true to say, as one respected historian of Kent has suggested, that the monks of Christchurch Priory were among the best and most progressive farmers of their time, with the clear implication that the lords of smaller estates, among them the lay gentry, were put at a disadvantage by their conservatism and more traditional practices?¹⁶ "No doubt", it is asserted, "the monks were generally more businesslike and efficient than other [lay] owners. They preserved their records and there was a continuity of policy from one generation to the next [upon the Christchurch estates] which was often lacking on other manors."¹⁷ Alternatively, if this view of the efficiency and innovation of the large ecclesiastical houses is accepted, were then the lay men who sat upon juries and minor commissions which brought them into contact with their neighbours' estates, both large and small, able and willing to adopt the ideas

15. F.R.H. DuBoulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury* (London, 1966), hereinafter referred to as DuBoulay, *Lordship of Canterbury*; R.A.L. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory* (Cambridge, 1949); M. Mate, 'The estates of Canterbury Cathedral Priory before the Black Death 1315-1348', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, n.s.8 (1986), pp.3-31; N. Goose, 'Wage labour on a Kentish manor: Meopham 1307-75', *Arch. Cant.* 92 (1976), pp.203-223; A. Smith, 'Regional differences in crop production in Medieval Kent', *Arch. Cant.* 78 (1963), pp.147-160; S. Campbell, 'Some Aspects of the Social and Economic History of the Manor of Adisham from c.1200 to the Dissolution' (U.K.C. MPhil. thesis, 1981); A. Langridge, 'The Tenantry of Chartham from c.1200-c.1550' (U.K.C. MA thesis, 1982); E.J. Andrewes, 'Land Family and Community in Wingham and its Environs. An Economic and Social History of Rural Society in East Kent from c.1450-1640' (U.K.C. PhD thesis, 1991); V. Everett, 'The Tenantry of a Downland Manor: Meopham c.1200-c.1350' (U.K.C. Dip.Loc.Hist. dissertation, 1988).

16. F.W. Jessup, *A History of Kent* (1974), p.65.

17. *Ibid.*, p.60.

which they undoubtedly saw in operation?

The fact that the history of lay manors in England had been overshadowed by studies of ecclesiastical estates was recognised more than fifty years ago by Kosminsky who made significant efforts to redress the balance in favour of the small landowner.¹⁸ He noted that the lay estates, most particularly in the midland area covered by the 1279 Hundred Rolls but also elsewhere, tended to be more compact than those of ecclesiastical lords, with smaller manors and with a ratio of demesne income to tenant rents which was more heavily weighted towards the demesne. Kosminsky's judgements as to the business acumen of these small landowners and their level of investment in the demesnes have been justifiably criticised as being more in the nature of guesses than proven fact.¹⁹ He believed that it was possible to see the peasantry of this epoch as a single class which occupied 'a definite place in the feudal mode of production, and [which was] characterized by the anti-feudal direction of its interests and its class struggle'.²⁰ Whether or not we accept such conclusions, it remains the case that Kosminsky's statistics concerning the size of the manorial demesne and the level of importance of rent in the estate economy have never been seriously questioned.

Since this pioneering study, there has been an increasing volume of work on the economic and social history of the lay gentry estate. Recent interest in the knights and the financial problems experienced by those who aspired to the status of knighthood has also led to efforts to assess the landed wealth of the gentry. The period from the mid-twelfth century to the mid-fourteenth century are the years to which many historians ascribe the origins of the class of county gentry.²¹ Partly this class formed

18. E.A.Kosminsky, *Studies in the Agrarian History of England*, ed. R.H.Hilton (Oxford, 1956), but first published in Russia in 1947, hereinafter referred to as Kosminsky.

19. R.H.Britnell, 'Minor landlords in England and Medieval Agrarian Capitalism', *Past and Present*, no.89 (November, 1980), pp.20-21.

20. Kosminsky, p.198.

21. C.Richmond, 'The Rise of the English Gentry 1150-1350', *The Historian*, no.26 (Spring, 1990), pp.14-18.

as a result of the benefits to be gained from personal and political allegiances in times of war, both civil and international, in part it was legal and administrative reforms which gave them a political role and identity, but much of the reason was economic. Recently it has been argued that the gentry, as a class, was only in embryonic form in the thirteenth century and that it was during the course of the fourteenth century that a combination of characteristics defining the gentry crystallized to produce the mature organism.²² These characteristics include the judicial authority which was devolved upon the class and upon individuals within it by central government through the commissions of the peace and local office-holding under the Crown and also a system of parliamentary representation. However, first in order in a list of attributes which are taken as necessary for a full definition of the gentry, and surely first in importance as well as being the defining feature with the earliest origins, comes that of 'a territorial elite, based essentially on ancient land-ownership, but reinforced by a steady influx of upwardly mobile professionals'.²³

Such a description would fit perfectly the Kentish gentry. Two lists of payers of Feudal Aids, assessed on holdings of Knight's Fee, dating from 1253/4 and 1346 show that somewhere between three hundred and three hundred and fifty individuals contributed on each occasion.²⁴ In these lists can be seen the continuity over the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of many of the gentry land-owning families, often despite forfeiture and confiscation of estates following acts of rebellion against the crown. The estates of Thomas and Walter Colepeper for example, were taken into the king's hands in 1322 after these two brothers were executed for their parts in the Lancastrian uprising against Edward II. Yet by 1346 they had been returned to the respective widows and their sons. Thomas's son Walter duly paid Aid for the fraction

22. P.Coss, *Lordship, Knighthood and Locality* (Cambridge, 1991), pp.309-310.

23. *Ibid.*, p.309.

24. See below, pp.41-43 for more detail.

of a fee which his father had held of the earl of Gloucester in the vicinity of Tonbridge. At the same time, Walter's son Thomas was in possession of the half fee which his father had built up in Eyhorne hundred, to the west of Maidstone.²⁵ The manner in which the Colepeper estate had been built up and the pivotal role played by the widow of Thomas in the years after 1322 are matters which are discussed in more detail later.²⁶

The attraction of a country estate brought to the ranks of the Kentish gentry rich London merchants such as Sir John de Pulteney who purchased the manor of Penshurst in about 1338. This man set about improving and enlarging his new home, constructing a range of buildings which form the core of the present house.²⁷ He continued to receive commissions from the crown, the execution of which depended upon his personal authority in and around London. In 1335 for example, he was called upon to follow, arrest and imprison in Newgate Gaol a number of suspected persons.²⁸ However, no such commissions were issued to him in respect of his position as lord of a Kentish manor. In east Sussex it has been shown that professional pleaders acquired estates and some came to be closely enough identified with the county to be appointed to its commission of the peace.²⁹ Names appearing in the Calendars of Letters Patent relating to local Kentish commissions suggest that they went primarily to those with the personal authority that stemmed from residence and

25. *Feudal Aids*, p.40.

26. See below, pp.80-91.

27. John Guy, *Kent Castles* (Rainham, 1980), p.165. There is some confusion over the date of Sir John's acquisition of Penshurst, partly as a result of Hasted being unclear as to whether he refers to the reign of Edward II or Edward III in his history. Hasted, iii, p.231. However, the latter, leading to the date 1338 seems the more likely, since in 1341 the king granted a licence to crenellate the manor house. This licence applied to the dwelling houses of the manors of Chevle in Cambridgeshire and Penshurst in Kent as well as, significantly, Pulteney's dwelling place in London. *CPR 130-43*, p.331.

28. *CPR 1334-1338*, pp.375-6.

29. N.Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life: knightly families in Sussex, 1280-1400* (Oxford, 1986), pp.184-5.

lordship in the locality.

Gentry society in Kent then was based firmly upon the long-standing ownership of land. The men who were appointed to be the sheriffs, keepers of the peace and knights of the shire came almost invariably from the well-established and prosperous families. Newcomers like Pulteney seem to have taken several generations to become fully accepted. The manors and estates of gentry families who had dealings with the crown in one way or another are those that are most easily accessible to us in the surviving records. The ways in which they were built up, by the agency of marriage or by the use of the market in small pieces of land as well as the acquisition of larger properties; the structure that was imposed upon the property once it was acquired; the methods that were used to ensure that the proceeds of the manor provided a reasonable living for its lord; these are the themes which the following chapters seek to address.

The sources

For the county of Kent there is no single all-encompassing source to stand alongside the Hundred Rolls of 1279 by which Kosminsky was able to investigate, vill by vill, the holdings of each land-owner over a large part of the east midlands. For this county the most wide-ranging source available for the study of the lay estate is the collection of central government inspired *Inquisitiones post mortem*. These surveys provide extents of individual manors and sub-manors which formed parts of estates of all sizes and from most areas of the county. Information about property in the Wealden area of the south west of the county is sparse, but for other regions it is comparatively plentiful. Altogether some 280 inquisition returns from between 1236 and 1348 provide details of the estates of over 160 families who held land in Kent.

The basic account of the the IPMs which was provided by Kosminsky cannot be

bettered and need not be repeated here.³⁰ Suffice it to say that the Kentish inquisitions are perfectly well covered by his description and that they do not change markedly in content or style over the years from the mid-thirteenth century to the mid-fourteenth. Some of the returns include lists of names of tenants and the rents they owed for their holdings. Indeed, for a few years around the year 1300 these become more numerous but without ever becoming the norm.³¹ Otherwise the only deviation from Kosminsky's description lies in the peculiarities of Kentish land tenure and the fact that some elements, principally those relating to villeins, which are present in the midland counties do not figure in Kent.³² Since the IPMs play such a major part in the thesis, a more detailed critique of them as a source of economic data for the study of the manor and estate is given below.

A number of other surveys have been used to supplement the data of the IPMs. These surveys differ little in format and were made for essentially the same underlying reasons. For example, in 1292 an extent was made of the manor of Westerham, in the extreme west of the county, before the Kentish justice John de Cobham, by a jury of twelve local men. This was done to ascertain the relative values of the portions of the manor which were then held by the king and by the dowager lady Joan de Kaunville following the death of her husband Robert.³³

30. Kosminsky, pp.46-63. For a more recent description of extents in general, including those of the IPMs, see P.D.A.Harvey, *Manorial Records* (British Records Association, 1984), pp.20-22.

31. These are the IPMs of Hugh de Gerunde, *CIPM*, iii, No.481; PRO C133 File 86(5); William de Codsted, *CIPM*, iii, No.528; PRO C133 File 88(10); John de Godeyeneton, *CIPM*, iii, No.585; PRO C133 File 93(16); John de Cobham, *CIPM*, iii, No.602; PRO C133 File 94(8); Hamo de Gatton, *CIPM*, iii, No.636 and 637; PRO C133 File 98(31) and E149 File 6(3); Robert de Hougham, *CIPM*, iv, No.36; PRO C133 File 101(1); Guncelimus de Badlesmere, *CIPM*, iv, No.38; PRO C133 File 101(3); Nicholas Criel, *CIPM*, iv, No.162; PRO C133 File 108(7).

32. For example, although Kosminsky notes the fact that in the 1263 extent of Eltham villeins are found in Kent, the word does not recur in later extents of the manor nor elsewhere. Kosminsky, p.190 citing PRO C132 File 38(17). A transcript of this IPM is given in *Arch.Cant.*, 4 (1861), pp.311-312.

33. PRO SC12 File 9(65).

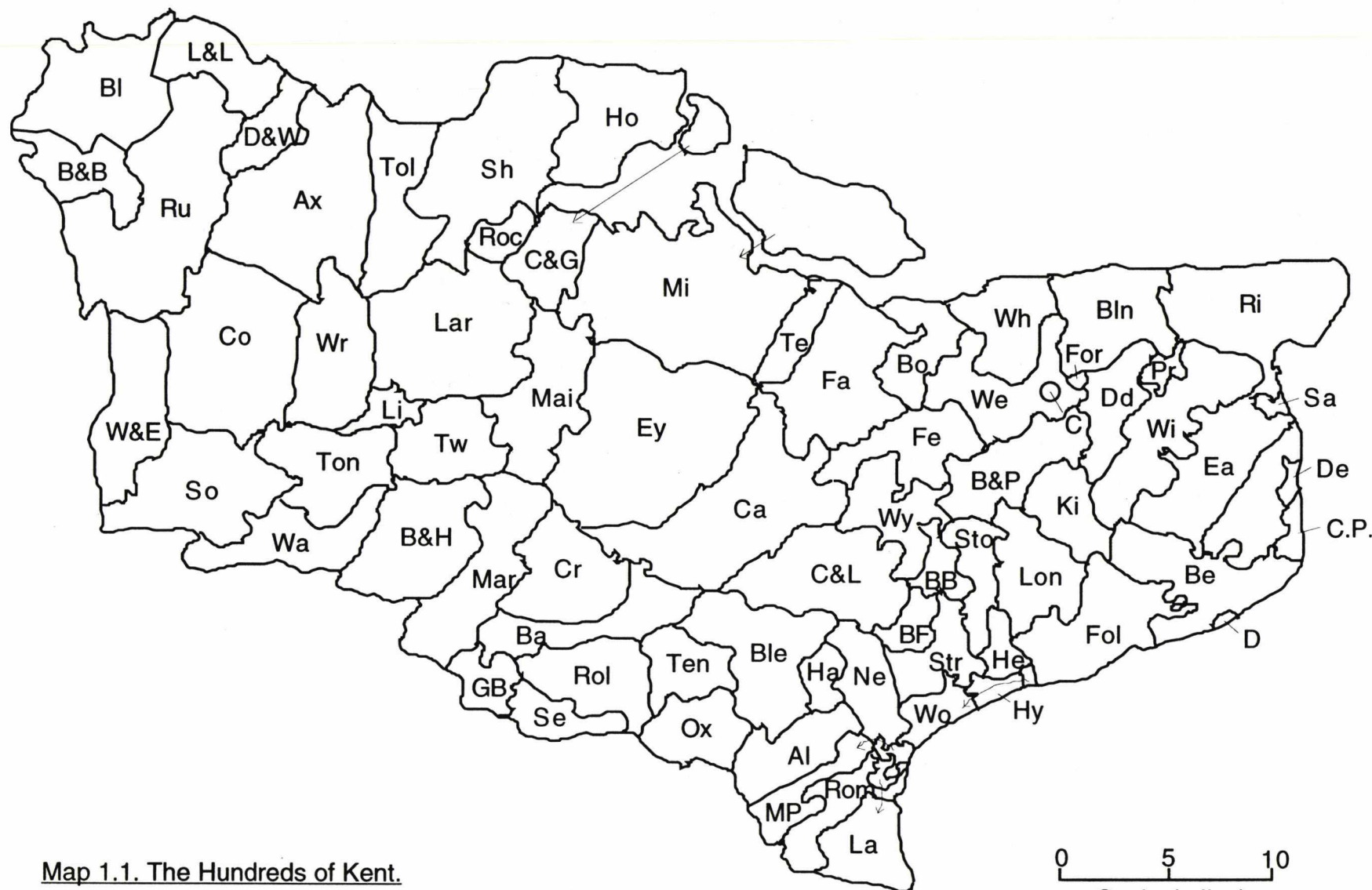
Various published records have been used to supplement the framework given by the IPMs and these other surveys. The enrolled reports of the commissioners sent in 1274 to each hundred of the county give the names of the lords of those hundreds and often of the more significant manors.³⁴ In response to the specific question put before them the local jurors gave the names of those lords who claimed title to such franchises as markets and chase and warren. These rolls are by no means so informative as those that Kosminsky used. They do not go through vill by vill detailing the ownership of the arable land. Rather the purpose of these enquiries was to uncover the illicit claims to franchises and to document the excessive demands made upon the local populace by the officials of the late king Henry III. Nevertheless, in passing the jurors provided much useful incidental information, such as the value of timber from the trees of Blean forest and Lyminge manor.³⁵ Since the hundred within which a manor lay is often given in the records and so can aid in its location, the approximate boundaries of the Kentish hundreds are shown on Map 1.1.

The calendars of Letters Close and Patent have been used for the information that they provide of the activities of the gentry and of the relationships of individuals to others and to the crown. The calendars of Charter Rolls provide evidence for grants of franchises as well as for the patronage of local seignorial markets.

The names of the resident knight's fee holding gentry in Kent are most clearly revealed by two lists of those paying Aid. The first dates from 1253/4 and the second from 1346. Both are arranged by Hundred and each is extant for all but one or two Hundreds. These two lists are supplemented by others of intermediate date which cover a smaller number of Hundreds, but which serve to illustrate the continuity or

34. *RH*, *passim*. For a table showing the named lords of the Kentish hundreds, see H.M.Cam, *The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls* (1930), pp.270-272.

35. See below, pp.173-174.



Map 1.1. The Hundreds of Kent.

Based upon the map of Kent in C.R.Humphrey-Smith, ed., *The Phillimore Atlas and Index of Parish Registers* (Phillimore, 1984), p.18 and the parishes listed under the headings of the various hundreds in Wallenberg, *Place-Names of Kent*, *passim*.

Key:

A	Axton	Al	Aloesbridge
BB	Bircholt Barony	BF	Bircholt Franchise
B&B	Bromley & Beckenham	B&H	Brenchley & Horsmonden
B&P	Bridge & Petham	Ba	Barclay
Be	Bewsborough	Bl	Blackheath
Ble	Blackbourne	Bln	Blengate
Bo	Boughton	C	Canterbury City and Liberty
C.P.	Liberty of the Cinque Ports		
C&G	Chatham & Gillingham	C&L	Chart & Longbridge
Ca	Calehill	Co	Codsheath
Cr	Cranbrook	D	Dover
D&W	Dartford & Wilmington	Dd	Downhamford
De	Deal	E	Eyhorne
Ea	Eastry	Fa	Faversham
Fe	Felborough	Fol	Folkestone
For	Fordwich	GB	Great Barnfield
H	Hoo	Ha	Ham
He	Heane	Hy	Hythe
K	Kinghamford	L&L	Little & Lesnes
La	Langport	Lar	Larkfield
Li	Littlefield	Lon	Loningborough
MP	St. Martin's Poultney	Mai	Maidstone
Mar	Marden	Mi	Milton
Ne	Newchurch	Ox	Oxney
Pr	Preston	Ri	Ringslow
Rol	Rolvenden	Roc	Rochester City and Liberty
Rom	Romney	Ru	Ruxley
Sa	Sandwich	Se	Selbrittenenden
Sh	Shamwell	So	Somerden
Sto	Stowting	Str	Street
Te	Teynham	Ten	Tenterden
Tol	Toltingtrough	Ton	Tonbridge Lowy
Tw	Twyford	Wy	Wye
W&E	Westerham & Edenbridge	Wa	Washington
We	Westgate	Wh	Whitstable
Wi	Wingham	Wo	Worth
Wr	Wrotham		

otherwise of the lords across the county.³⁶

The sources which provide most information on the process of accumulation of land are the feet of fines and the private charters and deeds that survive in large numbers from this period.³⁷ These have been used in an attempt to assess the levels of investment that such a policy of manor and estate building demanded and the timescale that was involved. It has not been possible to look in more detail at the land-market within any one locality, still less over the county as a whole. Nevertheless, in looking at the accumulations of three or four individual men, and supplemented by the hints of similar activity by other members of the gentry, it is believed that valid conclusions can be drawn. These records of private transactions, with their accompanying lists of the more important witnesses, also provide evidence for the social interplay between the gentry families and their relationships with the local population.

Taxation lists of those paying the periodic Lay Subsidies are also of use in assessing the relative wealth of individuals and in charting them, both geographically and temporally. These lists are mostly unpublished and it has not been possible to make extensive use of them. However, where appropriate, lists relating to particular hundreds at various dates have been consulted. In particular, it has been possible to draw some conclusions as to the economic position of the persons who sold land to the accumulators such as Martin de Peckham of Wrotham or Thomas Colepeper of

36. The list of 1253/4 does not include entries for the hundreds of Barnfield, Cranbook, Marden or St Martin. That of 1346 fails to include Langport, Marden and Teynham. The 1253/4 list is printed as J.Greenstreet, ed., 'Holders of Knight's Fees in Kent at the Knighting of the king's son, anno 38 Henry III. (A.D. 1253-4)', *Arch. Cant.*, 12 (1878), pp.197ff. The 1346 list is printed in *Feudal Aids* and in *Arch. Cant.*, 10 (1876), pp.99ff. The other lists used are printed in *Book of Fees*.

37. Feet of fines relating to properties in Kent dating from the reigns of Henry III and Edward II and part of the reign of Edward III have been translated and published. I.J.Churchill, ed., *Calendar of Kent Feet of Fines to the end of Henry III's Reign*, Kent Records vol.15 (Ashford, 1956); J.Greenstreet, ed., 'Abstract of Kent Fines, 1 Edward II to 7 Edward III', *Arch. Cant.* 11-15, 18 and 20 (1877-1893). The original charters and deeds survive in collections in the Public Record Office, the British Library, the Centre for Kentish Studies and in smaller numbers in Record Offices elsewhere. References are given in notes in the relevant places in this work.

Tonbridge, two men whose acquisitional activities will later be described in detail.³⁸

Finally, from individual manors and estates come accounts and court rolls that provide evidence for day to day administration. For the most part these documents survive in ones or twos, from isolated dates. However, in one significant case, we have the record of some twenty sessions of the manorial court between the end of the thirteenth century and the middle of the fourteenth century. The manor was Fromond's Court, a small estate in the parish of Hadlow, near Tonbridge, held as a fraction of a knight's fee of the earl of Gloucester. This series of court records provides a valuable insight into the relationship of the lord of a small estate to his tenants, as well as giving an opportunity to estimate the level of real income generated by the manorial court on such a lowly estate.³⁹ These sources and the families who owned the estates are each discussed in more detail later, as they arise.

Critique of the Inquisitions Post Mortem as a source of data

Because the IPMs form the core of the work, the quality of the evidence they provide needs to be assessed. The extents can only be used with the understanding that the information that is given cannot necessarily be taken at face value. Kosminsky used them as a large sample in which he assumed that under and over reporting might be expected to cancel out and that the picture that resulted from his statistical analysis, while not being accurate in every detail, would be valid as an approximation to the truth.⁴⁰ It is easy to mistrust the IPMs as a source of data for individual manors and estates because the figures they give can be difficult to interpret and indeed sometimes appear inaccurate. For one thing, extents of a single manor at different dates sometimes display unaccountable discrepancies. Such variation is seen in the demesne

38. See below, pp.80ff.

39. See below, pp.225-231.

40. Kosminsky, p.67.

acreages ascribed to the manor of Stowting which was assessed three times in quick succession in the early fourteenth century.⁴¹ The acreages given for the various demesne components are shown in Table 1.1. On the first occasion, in 1302, the lord of the manor was William de Kirkeby who held the manor jointly with Christiana his wife as one knight's fee of the archbishop of Canterbury.⁴²

Table 1.1. Details of the demesne of Stowting manor, as given in early fourteenth century IPM extents.⁴³

Date:	Arable	Pasture	Meadow	Park	Woodland	Land held in gavelkind
1302	300a.	40a.	12a.	yes		
1306	140a.	65a.			60a.	
1310	200a.	71a.	4a.	yes		106¼a.

By 1306 the manor of Stowting was in the hands of the Burghersh family. It should not be immediately assumed that this is the same manor, since manors which had been created by division were not always given different names in the records. The Cobham and the Septvans families held separate manors in Thurnham parish, each of which was called Aldington, for example. There were also several manors in Eastling, near to Faversham, all of which appear to have been called by that name. However, both the IPMs of Robert de Burghersh in 1306 and of his son Stephen in 1310 show

41. The inquisitions took place in 1302 (*CIPM*, iv, No.91; PRO C133 File 105(1)), 1306 (*CIPM*, iv, No.376; PRO C133 File 122(9)) and 1310 (*CIPM*, v, No.207; PRO C134 File 16(2)).

42. Christiana was the heiress of the Heringod family who had been lords of Stowting for at least a century. Hasted, viii, pp.47-8; Feudal Aids, p.28; DuBoulay, *Lordship of Canterbury*, p.374. The descent of the properties which she brought to the marriage with William Kirkeby was fixed by means of a fictitious grant by Robert de Langeton, chaplain, to husband and wife jointly and to her heirs and assigns. *CIPM*, iv, No.91; PRO C133 File 105(1).

43. For references see note 41 above.

Stowting manor to have been held by the service of one knight's fee and the tenant rents in each of the surveys were assessed almost equally. In all three it was stated that a number of the tenants owed a service of reaping eight acres of wheat for example.

The survey of 1306 appears also to be in error in not recording Robert de Burghersh's lordship of the hundred of Stowting. This was held of the king in fee-farm, by a rent of 20s. yearly and was held by Christiana Heringod and later by Stephen de Burghersh. The fact that instead of referring to profits from a park the jurors chose to enumerate sixty acres of woodland suggests that some attempt was being made to play down the importance of this manor. Thus we may accept that the arable acreage given in 1306 was an understatement, though for what reason we do not know. One possibility may be that Christiana retained some acres for her own use after she made over the bulk of the manor to Robert de Burghersh. Alternatively, it may be that Robert de Burghersh had leased out a significant proportion of the demesne, perhaps including the lordship of the hundred, with the result that it was not technically in his estate on the day he died. Certainly we may discount ignorance on the part of the jury, since four men served on each of the three occasions.⁴⁴

Stowting is an extreme example, but it provides a warning that the evidence of isolated demesne extents ought not to be accepted uncritically. On the other hand, if the 43¼ acres of arable and 63 acres of pasture that Stephen de Burghersh was said to hold in gavelkind within the manor are added to the demesne acres, the sum is 381¼ acres. This equates reasonably well with the 352 acres of 1302. Given the nature of the 'grant' by which William de Kirkeby and his wife held Stowting, it is perhaps understandable that no distinction was made between the land held by military service and that held by the customary tenure of gavelkind. In that case, the demesne descriptions in two of the three cases are similar and only one understates the true

44. John de Rytherwode, John Wygge, John de Ingepette and Robert de Rytherwode.

situation. Accordingly, we need not be too sceptical of the figures given and we can be confident that in the early years of the fourteenth century the lord of Stowting had in his own hands well over 300 acres of arable and pasture together with a small area of meadow, perhaps amounting to ten or a dozen acres. There was a certain amount of emparked woodland, perhaps sixty acres but quite possibly much more.

Another aspect of the IPMs is that they deal with their subject matter at a particularly significant point in the cycle of lordship, that is more or less shortly after the death of one lord and before the inheritor has taken control. It is quite possible for an estate to have been larger than that which is revealed by a lord's IPM, since pre-mortem sales or leases of land or rents or other transfers such as marriage settlements could all serve to diminish the family estate either temporarily or permanently. Again, there is a contrary view, in that in this sample of 280 inquisitions the distribution of ages of death of the tenants-in-chief has a wide range, so that estates are seen at all stages of the life-cycle of the lord. There are examples of men who died leaving heirs who themselves died only a few years later and the estate seems to have changed little in the meantime. For example, the IPM of Robert de Septvans was held in 1248/9, when it was recorded that the heir was Robert's son of the same name, aged 40.⁴⁵ Four years later this Robert had died, leaving his four year old son Robert as heir.⁴⁶ There was a difference in the description of the estate in that a third of it was then held by Maud, widow of the first Robert, but in other respects it seems to have changed little in character over the four years.

It follows that the IPMs must be used with care, but taking into account all the warnings that Kosminsky gives, they are in many respects accurate records. They appear to consistently undervalue elements of the demesne, perhaps as a result of a deliberate attempt on the part of the escheator to gain the maximum personal

45. *CIPM*, i, No.158; PRO C132 File 8(15).

46. *CIPM*, i, No.265; PRO C132 File 13(20).

advantage from his administration of the estate during any period that it was 'in the king's hands', but as records of what elements are actually present there was less scope for deliberate misrepresentation. The jurors who provided the information were mainly locals who could be expected to know what was required. Furthermore, the IPMs have the very great advantage of being susceptible to comparative statistical analysis. If we accept that everyone involved had an interest in under-assessment, we are still left with data which allows us to set one estate alongside another and to ask questions concerning the similarities and differences that we find. These are the crucial questions in determining the factors necessary for economic success.

It is interesting to look briefly at the men who served on the IPM juries. These Kentish jurors could have been those same men whom Kosminsky describes as those who gave evidence to the Hundred Roll commissioners of 1279.⁴⁷ He shows how they included the knight who was lord of a small manor, but that the majority were tenants of small areas, sometimes below five acres. The same can be said of these Kentish men. The writ addressed to Henry de Wengham and his co-escheator in Kent in 1249/50 commanded him to 'diligently inquire':

By the oath of good and lawfull men, by whom the truth of the thing may be better known, how much land William le Taylur held of us *in capite*, in the foresaid county and elsewhere, and how much of others, and by what service, and how much that land is worth per annum, and who is the next heir, and of what age. And that the Inquisition thereof made, under your seals and the seals of those by whom it is made, you send to us without delay, together with this Writ.⁴⁸

Generally the actual duty of calling together these local men 'by whom the truth may be known' was delegated to the sheriff and his officials and there are hints that sometimes the Hundred provided the basis upon which the jury was founded. The importance of the hundred court was in decline since the mid-thirteenth century largely

47. Kosminsky, pp.258-262.

48. PRO C132 File 9(19), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.* 2 (1859), p.298.

as a result of the increasing prominence of the county, but hundred juries still formed the basis of the evidence gathering mechanism of the periodic enquiries by the Eyre justices.⁴⁹ Clearly the meetings of the hundred continued to have local significance, even if it were not a true court of legal record, and the jury of the hundred was seen as a competent body to provide the answers to the questions posed in the king's writ. This was the case when the lands of Sir John de Northwood came under the scrutiny of the royal escheator in 1319. This knight's estate included manors in the hundreds of Eyhorne, Milton, Felborough and Faversham. Each of these hundreds was represented by a separate body of jurors when the extents were drawn up at Sittingbourne on the Friday before mid-summer. Eyhorne sent the standard sized jury of twelve, Milton had fifteen men in its jury, Faversham had eight and Felborough just four.⁵⁰

Often, though, we can see that the jurors were themselves tenants of the manor under scrutiny and then the homage of the manor court was apparently the body that provided the men. The evidence for this comes mainly from those IPM returns which include detailed rentals, but there are also one or two IPMs where manorial rentals of approximately the same date have survived. In seventeen cases it has proved possible to compare jury lists directly with tenant lists compiled at or almost at the same time. In every case except one members of the jury appear explicitly among the tenantry. The exception is the manor of Throwley, part of the estate of Hamo de Gatton, but the extent here is so faded as to make it illegible in parts and it is possible that manorial tenants did indeed serve on the IPM jury.⁵¹ Elsewhere, on the manors of John de Cobham three of the four juries include high proportions of tenants (West Chalk - ten out of thirteen, Cobham - eight out of twelve, Cooling - eleven out of twelve). The figures may be increased still further if surnames alone are considered. For instance,

49. H.M.Jewell, *English Local Administration in the Middle Ages* (Newton Abott, 1972), pp.50-1.

50. *CIPM*, v, No.181; PRO C134 File 62(12).

51. *CIPM*, iii, No.636; PRO C133 File 98(31).

at West Chalk manor Robert Chaumbleyn is named as a juryman, while Henry Chaumbleyn is credited with the tenancy of ten acres of land. Given the possibility of scribal error, these may be the same man and if not, they may well be members of the same kin group, although name linkage is of course not proof of kin linkage.⁵² The manors of another knight, Nicholas Criel which lay mainly in the west of the county give similar results (Ightham - 9 out of 12, Westenhanger - 10 out of 12, Eynsford - 4 out of 12, Walmer - 6 out of 12 and Stockbury - 5 out of 12). Many of the tenements at Eynsford and Stockbury were said to be held by a named individual and his co-parceners, which is a term which unfortunately tells us nothing about who these partners were and how the rights and obligations were shared out. The juries for these two manors may well include many more tenants than are actually named.⁵³

Overall, in this sample of seventeen manors, some 58% of IPM jurors are explicitly named as tenants and, in view of the number of references to co-parceners in the tenant lists, this may be taken as a minimum figure for the involvement of the manorial tenantry. There is little to contradict the conclusion that the juries were often wholly or mainly composed of manorial tenants and estate officials, and that in all likelihood the manor court jury and the inquisition jury were often one and the same. It has been argued that the manor court jury originated in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, taking over functions that had before belonged to the whole body of homagers.⁵⁴ Post medieval manorial surveys were often compiled in the court, with outsiders only occasionally being brought in to make detailed measurements.⁵⁵ It seems reasonable to suppose that a similar situation pertained at this earlier period. Certainly the inquisition surveys contain little that would be outside the knowledge of local men, perhaps assisted by whatever surveys, rentals and custumals were to hand

52. *CIPM*, iii, No.602; PRO C133 File 94(8).

53. *CIPM*, iv, No.162; PRO C133 File 108(7).

54. P.D.A.Harvey, *Manorial Records* (British Records Association, 1984), p.49.

55. *Ibid.*, p.15.

for the manor in question. Demesne areas and tenant rent totals would have been reasonably easy to assess if they were not in fact common knowledge. It may be that in the matter of the values of demesne acres the detail rests on the more widespread and experienced knowledge of the escheator and his staff, although the variation in quoted land values, both geographically and temporally, does suggest local awareness.

In any case, the bulk of the jurors were local men and tenants of the manor under scrutiny. Others were evidently men who were active in local administration, perhaps in a semi-professional capacity, and with a role in the manorial management. A few recur frequently in the record. Walter Wyse for example, who gave evidence to five IPMs between 1318 and 1331 was a coroner in the hundred of Milton during the period.⁵⁶ By 1332 he was judged to be insufficiently qualified to be a coroner, although he appears to have retained the post, since in 1344 it was said that he was too infirm to do the job.⁵⁷

Another active IPM juror was a man named William de Dungeselle. Like Walter Wyse he was on occasion employed by the government in a local capacity. In 1326 he was one of a large number of men to receive a commission to search shipping around the coast of Kent for letters prejudicial to the king either entering or leaving the kingdom.⁵⁸ William's section of the coast ran from Faversham to Milton. He also served on eight inquisition post mortem juries between 1306 and 1340 in the Milton

56. He served on juries at Milton in 1318, (PRO C134 File 62(12)); Milton 1327, (PRO C135 File 9(10)); Sittingbourne 1328, (PRO C135 File 5(4)); Maidstone 1331, (PRO C135 File 28(12)) and Ospringe 1331, (PRO C135 File 30(9)). He was coroner for Milton Hundred probably from 1317. B.H.Putnam, ed., *Kent Keepers of the Peace, 1316-1317*, Kent Records, 13 (1933), p.108, hereinafter referred to as Putnam, *Kent Keepers of the Peace*.

57. *CCR 1330-1333*, p.474; *CCR 1343-1346*, p.320. In 1350, a man of the same name was appointed to be one of the collectors in Kent of a tax of a tenth and fifteenth, but it seems unlikely that this was the same person. *CCR 1349-1354*, p.123.

58. *CPR 1324-1327*, pp.208-212.

and Faversham areas and appears to have had property in Sittingbourne.⁵⁹

Henry de Durem was another in the same mould. This man served on six IPM juries in the north west Kent area around Greenwich and Beckenham between 1294 and 1324, as well as serving on juries representing the hundred of Blackheath in the Eyres of 1314 and 1316/17.⁶⁰ He may well be the same man as the Henry de Duresme who was appointed collector of wool, hides and wool-fells in the port of London during the second decade of the fourteenth century.⁶¹

Clerks could also be employed by the crown in this way. Although identification of individual clerks is generally problematic, one name appears to stand out. John the clerk of Dartford was responsible for the maintenance of the lamp in the chancel of the church of Dartford in the early 1320s, when he was charged with neglecting the task.⁶² A man with the same name and designation was another of those entrusted with the task of searching shipping in 1326, being allocated the stretch of coastline from Dartford to Erith. John the clerk of Dartford also served on at least five IPM juries in the north west Kent area between 1323 and 1350 as well as witnessing

59. The inquisitions took place at Tonge in 1306, (PRO C133 File 123(8)); Tunstall 1309, (PRO C134 File 10(3)); Milton hundred 1318, (PRO C134 File 62(12)); Tonge 1323, (PRO C134 File 79(6)); Milton 1327, (PRO C135 File 9(10)); Milton 1328, (PRO C135 File 11(1)); Ospringe 1331, (PRO C135 File 30(9)); Ospringe 1340, (PRO C135 File 60(2)). In 1315 he received a royal pardon for acquiring 20 acres of land in Sittingbourne for life from John le Sauvage, a tenant in chief and in 1319 John obtained licence to grant him the reversion of a further seven acres there. *CPR 1313-1317*, p.339. *CPR 1317-1321*, p.375. Purchases are recorded in J.Greenstreet, ed., 'Abstract of Kent Fines', *Arch. Cant.* 15 (1883), pp.285, 288 and *Arch. Cant.* 20 (1893), p.170-1. He appears as a tenant of Milton hundred in a rental of c.1320. CKS U55 M266.

60. The inquisitions were at Deptford, 1294, (PRO C133 File 68(10)); Deptford 1295, (PRO C133 File 71(19)); Bromley 1313 (PRO C134 File 28(13)); Plumstead 1318 (PRO C134 File 61(21)); West Greenwich 1322, (PRO C134 File 70(4)); Beckenham 1325 (PRO C134 File 89(14)). The eyre juries are given in *Eyre of Kent 6&7 Edward II 1313-4*, i, (Selden Society, 1910), pp.191-210 and in Putnam, *Kent Keepers of the Peace*, p.94.

61. *CCR 1313-1318*, p.224.

62. C.Johnson, ed., *Registrum Hamonis Hethe Diocesis Roffensis A.D. 1319-1352*, Kent Records, 4 (Oxford, 1948), pp.208-210. John was acquitted of the charge after pleading that he had spent the sum assigned, 14d., and more each year.

charters and being otherwise active in local affairs.⁶³

These four examples show that some of the men who sat upon IPM juries were reasonably educated and able to assist the royal officials in their task of sorting out the legal niceties of a deceased tenant-in-chief's estate. Nevertheless, they are in a small minority among the IPM jurors. For the most part the men who provided the information to the escheator had more limited horizons and although we must suppose that they had some reason for having been called to give evidence, there is no reason to claim for them any wider knowledge. Of the 5000 or so men who are known to have served on these Kentish juries between 1250 and 1350, the names of 4350 (87%) appear once only. A further 380 men served twice and only 130 (2½ %) appear three times or more. A mere ten men have been found to have sat on five or more IPM juries.⁶⁴ In part though this reflects the fact that many estates were assessed just once in the period 1236-1348. Conversely, some estates were assessed twice or three times in quick succession, as in the case of the Burghersh manor of Stowting, with almost completely new juries on each occasion. This need not be taken as a criticism of the IPMs as a data source though, since it puts the onus of information gathering and analysis upon the escheator and his staff. These men were professionals who, to judge by the number of inquisitions of all sorts which were held throughout this period, were

63. His activity may well have continued beyond 1350. He was usually styled as 'of Dartford', although when he was actually in the town the distinction was dropped. The five IPMs took place at Dartford in 1323, (PRO C134 File 79(6)), Maidstone 1330, (PRO C135 File 21(23)), Dartford, 1330, (PRO C135 File 23)), Erde (Crayford) 1337, (PRO C135 File 49(25)) and Dartford 1350, (PRO C135 File 95(13)). For the identification of Erde, see Wallenberg, *Place-Names of Kent*, p.29. In 1339 John the clerk of Dartford witnessed a deed in Ridley, so the John Clerk who was on the inquisition jury in 1335 in nearby West Kingsdown may be the same man (*CCR 1339-1341*, p.255; PRO C135 File 38(17) & C135 File 39(12)). He was also witness to a charter given at Dartford in 1336/7 (CKS U897 T1.).

64. The names were collected and indexed. However, as Z.Razi warns, it is possible without a lot of careful study to mistake one man for two or more, so the figures of the text are approximate only. Z.Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish: Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen 1270-1400* (Cambridge, 1980), pp.3-4.

well versed in the task of enumeration and evaluation.

Although the IPM returns invariably begin with a list of the jurors and the statement that that which follows had been said by them upon their oaths, their role probably lay more in checking the details that were written down. The very fact that the escheator Henry de Wengham was instructed to make a return which was sealed by all those who made the inquisition suggests that they were capable of checking such details.⁶⁵ Certainly that they were all expected to have seals is of no surprise, as it has been shown that by 1300 seals were probably possessed by a majority of landholders and that the statute of Exeter of 1285 even expected bondsmen to have seals in order to authenticate written evidence when they served on inquests for which there were insufficient freemen.⁶⁶ As Clanchy stresses, this does not necessarily mean that they could read the Latin of the inquisition return,⁶⁷ but nevertheless it implies that, while we may not always fully understand the information that they gave, any deliberate understatement of the facts on the part of those giving evidence to the escheator would have had to be collusive. The fact that they were acting under oath seems to me to make such collusion unlikely.

In conclusion then, when we are told that the demesne contained so many acres of arable, it may not be clear whether this refers to the area actually ploughed or sown at the time or to the total area which could be, but in any case as a guide to the overall size of the ploughable demesne land the figure remains valid. So too, when an IPM mentions the existence of a market or a manorial mill, we are often given valuable information as to the way in which that element of the manor is managed, and even whether it is in fact in use at the time. Finally, it is often the case that one inquisition extent can be checked and details verified against another relating to the same manor,

65. E.g. PRO C132 File 9(19).

66. M.T.Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record - England 1066-1307* (1979), p.36.

67. *Ibid.*, p.184.

but compiled by a different jury at some other date.

The schema of the thesis

The paucity of complete sets of records, in particular those that include household accounts or series of manorial accounts, from the estates of this level of society means that very few Kentish estates can be seen in their entirety. The present study seeks to proceed by way of reconstruction based upon surveys and piecemeal investigation of elements of many different estates to produce a framework within which individual estates may be fitted. In performing this task of reconstruction, it is hoped to be able to discern something of the rationale behind the management of the manors. For there was a purpose to this management, in both the short and the longer term. Even though we cannot be sure of the exact decision-making process, it is certain that the lords, their stewards, bailiffs and reeves acted consciously and rationally in response to prevailing economic, technological and social conditions. They did not merely respond blindly to exogenous forces which they could not predict and over which they had no control.

The chapters that follow then, aim first to consider how the estate was composed and then to take each element in turn and look at how it might have been used to the best advantage subject to the prevailing economic conditions, and also within the confines set by tradition and the customary rights of tenants and neighbours. The extents which form a part of many of the *Inquisitiones post mortem* follow a fairly uniform pattern, dealing in turn with demesne lands and mills, tenant rents and services, profits of courts, both manorial and franchisal where these were held and, on occasion, other quasi-manorial assets such as markets. Later chapters of the thesis broadly follow the same arrangement, taking in turn each element of the manor and investigating its management, within the context of the whole estate.

Chapter 2 begins with a look at the families whose estates provide the supporting material and which therefore receive the most attention in the following pages. The rise of a family through the agencies of marriage and personal service is considered. The place of these families within the wider society and the ways in which the lords came into contact with other lords is then developed in some detail. In the next chapter an analysis is made of the way in which manors were enlarged or even created by recourse to the market in small pieces of peasant land. It is shown that the emphasis was upon the acquisition of land rather than buying up rents. Although it is not an immediate logical consequence of this that the newly acquired land was cultivated rather than leased, the impression is that many lords were seeking to increase the area of their own demesnes. Chapter 4 is concerned with the management of these demesnes, including their labour and productivity. The important issue of manorial woodland and the various opportunities which this provided are also considered here, including the sale of underwood and large timber, the receipt of payments for pasturage and opportunities for sport and the taking of game. In chapter 5 the seignorial income to be gained from the tenants of a manor and the relative importance of the tenantry on estates of different sizes is assessed.

Whether or not the market was of prime significance in the management of these small gentry estates, it cannot be denied that the ability to dispose easily of demesne surplus and to purchase items both necessary and luxury which the manors could not provide may have allowed for greater flexibility. From the early 1200s onwards markets were legitimised by charters granted to lords of large estates, often ecclesiastical. Increasingly from the mid-thirteenth century such grants were made to the gentry lords, so that they themselves provided the opportunity to secure a rent income from stallage. Chapter 6 looks in some detail at this aspect of a lord's activity in the local economy. One further element of the estate is then left to be considered.

As with the markets, manorial mills may be seen as having wider importance than the manor upon which they stood, because of the freedom of Kentish men to mill where they pleased.⁶⁸ For this reason this form of industrial investment is considered alongside the investment in markets. Finally, an attempt is made at synthesis in chapter 7, where an overall theoretical framework is given to the previously isolated components of the estate. The aim of this final chapter, as of the entire thesis, is to understand as fully as possible how the lord sought to manage his individual manors, fields, tenancies, courts, markets and other properties and franchises and how much flexibility there was to enable short term crises to be overcome.

68. See below, pp. 257-8.

Chapter 2

The lords - their families and their neighbours

In this chapter the aim is to set the resident Kentish gentry lord into a framework of county society and also to locate his estate within the geography of the Kentish countryside. In doing so, a context will be provided for the studies that follow. The individual lord is seen as a member of a family unit and the relationships both within the family and between families are considered. The majority of the estates surveyed were held of superior lords at least in part by the feudal tenure of knight's fee, although as will be demonstrated, lords of all conditions held land by both this free tenure and also by other, supposedly inferior tenures, notably the Kentish customary tenure of gavelkind.

It has been shown that the land-holding pattern of the fifteenth century Kentish gentry bore a striking resemblance to that of the sixteenth century. That is, Kent was a county of lesser lords, mostly independent of the control of the greater English aristocracy. Yet, comparison of taxation lists from 1346 and 1412 has led to the conclusion that the late fourteenth century was a time of considerable social mobility.¹ So, we should be wary of supposing the same pattern to have held in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Medieval society was not a rigid entity, composed of a body of individuals from a fixed number of elite families. Fortunes waxed and waned, with the decline of a dynasty occurring as a result of simple failure to produce male offspring, or through a lord's personal mismanagement of his business affairs. In this state of perpetual flux, it was certainly possible for merchants who had made their fortunes in commerce to purchase landed estates and so to enter the ranks of the gentry.² Nevertheless, for the majority in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it was

1. B. Webster, 'The Community of Kent in the Reign of Richard II', *Arch. Cant.* 100 (1984), pp.219-20.

2. Above, p.9.

the accident of birth which was the most influential factor in determining an individual's wealth and position.³ The eldest son of a gentry land-holder in Kent would, in the majority of cases, inherit the patrimonial estate, through the prevailing inheritance custom of primogeniture. Nevertheless, all the legitimate offspring could expect to be reasonably well provided for, as befitted their status, and it was not unknown for this type of provision to extend to the illegitimate sons of mistresses as well.⁴ Marriages were carefully arranged between the sons and daughters of gentlemen with due regard to comparability of rank. By this mechanism estates were united and the fortunes of the families secured into the next generation. Furthermore, much of the cement that bound county society together was based upon family and marriage. This is not to deny the importance of the magnates' knightly retinues as a cohesive force in local society, but even among such a body of knights contacts might be made and later reinforced by the act of marriage between a son and a daughter.

In the first part of this chapter an analysis will be made of the families who appear in various lists of holders of knights' fees in the county made during this period. As well as showing the enduring importance of many of these individual families in terms of their position as lords of manors and estates on various scales, the lists also provide evidence for the geography of the lay estates.

After this analysis of the overall body of holders of knights' fees, the focus will turn to a more detailed study of four families, for whom the evidence is more than usually plentiful. The continuity of the families themselves will be elucidated through their pedigrees. It will also be shown how, largely through purchase and marriage, estates were augmented by the acquisition of new properties both large and small.

3. S.L. Waugh, *England in the Reign of Edward III* (Cambridge, 1991), p.117.

4. N.Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex 1280-1400* (Oxford, 1986), p.13.

To be able to identify every member of the medieval gentry at any date is of course an impossible task. Nevertheless, we can go some way towards an analysis of this level of society by looking at those men and women who contributed periodically towards the collections of Feudal Aid. These taxes were levied on military tenures held of the crown and were passed on by the tenants in chief to their own sub-tenants. Thus they provide a reasonably reliable record of all the knights' fees held within the county, although they cannot be taken as absolutely foolproof in terms of the actual occupation of the fees. For example, the IPM of John de Cobham in 1300 records the presence of two tenants of the manor of Cooling who held by knight's fee.⁵ One of these was Nicholas de Ore who was said to hold a twentieth of a fee, for which he was bound to perform scutage in the same proportion. In the list of contributors towards the Aid of 1253/4, Nicholas de Ores is named as tenant of a half fee in Cooling, held of the heirs of William Butler, from whom John de Cobham later acquired the manor.⁶ By 1346 the heirs of Nicholas de Ore were paying Aid on the same half fee.⁷ Apart from the under-recording of the size of the fee in the IPM, we can be certain that all three are recording the same tenancy. However, the second of Cooling's knightly tenants was one Ralph Parleben who held a mere 7 acres of land as a one hundredth fraction of a fee for which, together with some rent, he owed scutage in the relevant proportion. Given the tiny size of this holding, even allowing for under-reporting, it is perhaps no surprise that the Parleben fee does not figure in the lists of Aid payers.

Nevertheless, although such tenancies may have been more numerous than the surviving evidence suggests, they were individually tiny and were generally held by men who could hardly claim to be counted among the gentry. By far the majority of

5. *CIPM*, iii, No.602; PRO C133 File 94(8).

6. *Arch. Cant.* 12 (1878), p.225.

7. *Feudal Aids*, p.41; *Arch. Cant.* 10 (1876), p.415.

the knight's fee tenements held by the tenants-in-chief whose estates were surveyed in the IPMs and other sources can be traced in the listed manors of these tax-payers. Thus, the information that they contain has value in illustrating the geography of gentry land-holding. The point has already been made that the first and most important defining characteristic of the emergent county gentry in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was territorial lordship. It is not the purpose of this thesis to look in detail at the technical differences between the various tenures by which land was held in the Middle Ages.⁸ However, it is necessary to draw one or two distinctions before the evidence is presented, since knight's fee was by no means the only tenure by which lands were held. It is the case that the bulk of manors were held by feudal military tenure and owed either the equivalent of a knight's service or some other service according to the tenure of serjeanty. However, the gentry and even the lay magnates were not averse to holding often quite small portions of land by the customary Kentish tenure of gavelkind. Since we have no comprehensive listing of lands held by this 'peasant' tenure, it is necessary to try to gain some idea of precisely how much this factor distorts the view presented by the Feudal Aid evidence.

We look first at the tenure of serjeanty. The service due for lands held in this manner generally took the form of some specific duty of a personal nature falling far short of the requirement to provide or pay for even a fraction of the services of a mounted warrior. One of the most prominent examples of properties so held was the castle and borough of Tonbridge, with its member manors of Dachurst in Hildenborough, Brasted and Hadlow. Ever since the settlement in the mid-thirteenth century of a dispute over lordship between the earl of Gloucester and the archbishop of Canterbury, this estate had been held by the earl of the archbishop. The service that was owed in return was the performance of the duties of chief butler on the day of a

8. For such details see C.I.Elton, *Tenures of Kent* (London, 1867) pp.60ff. and A.W.B.Simpson, *A History of the Land Law*, 2nd. edn. (Oxford, 1986), *passim*.

new archbishop's enthronement.⁹

This example arose from a compromise arrangement after the archbishop had tried unsuccessfully to claim from a powerful tenant the full feudal service which he felt to be properly owed. Other serjeanties arose directly from perhaps more appropriate grants. The manor of Hurst, in the parish of Aldington, on the northern edge of Romney Marsh, was granted to the king's falconer to hold in serjeanty by the service of keeping birds at the king's cost. The name Hurst refers to a wooded hill and the countryside around, and particularly to the south, is very flat, so that this would have been an ideal training ground for young birds.¹⁰ Similarly, a tenement at Coperlond and Atherton, in the parish of River, near to the port of Dover, was held by the service of holding the king's head whenever he went to sea from there.¹¹

In comparison to manors held in knight's fee, the records show serjeanty to have been a relatively rare tenure. What is not so clear is the extent of lands which the lay gentry lords held in gavelkind. Certainly it was possible for whole manors to be held by this supposedly inferior tenure. Even the barons and earls were apparently quite content to hold by gavelkind. For example, the manor of Newington by Sittingbourne was one such manor, being a sub-manor of the large royal manor and hundred of Milton Regis. Newington was held in gavelkind by the magnate Geoffrey de Lucy, as part of an estate which had components in at least seven counties, although on his death in 1284 it was not actually in his possession, having been granted to his brother

9. DuBoulay, *Lordship of Canterbury*, p.334. This service was regularly reported in the returns to IPMs relating to the Tonbridge estate of the Clares. *CIPM*, iii, No.371; PRO C133 File 77(3), mm.B1,B3,B4,B6; *CIPM*, iv, No.435; PRO C133 File 128, mm.19,20; *CIPM*, v, No.538; PRO C134 File 43, mm.28,29,30; *CIPM*, ix, No.57; PRO E149 File 10(1).

10. Falconhurst is marked on modern O.S. maps at grid reference TR076345. In the thirteenth century its lords were said to owe the service of keeping three falcons at the king's costs for land here and in Sussex, and although by 1302 the number of birds quoted by the inquisition jury had fallen to just one, the nature of the service remained the same. *CIPM*, i, No.835; PRO C132 File 43(8); *CIPM*, iv, No.75; PRO C133 File 104(7).

11. Hasted, ix, p.440; *CIPM*, iv, No.159; PRO C133 File 108(4).

Aymer.¹² By 1325, Newington had been granted to John de Hastings and his wife and the heirs of their bodies when services for the manor were said to be owed to the king, the abbot of St. Augustine's Abbey and a number of other unnamed lords.¹³ John was the earl of Pembroke in succession to Aymer de Valence and so was heir to one of the most extensive and valuable estates in the country. His wife was Juliana, grand-daughter of the Kentish magnate William de Leybourne and herself heiress to one of the most valuable of all Kentish estates.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the tenure by which Newington was held remained for the time being gavelkind. It is clear from the number of superior lords that the manor had been amassed piecemeal, most probably over a period of several years and maybe two or three generations.¹⁵ At some time during the next twenty two years the manor was divided in two and the tenure changed to serjeanty, so that by 1346, when an IPM was taken following the death of Geoffrey de Lucy, son of the previous Geoffrey, his half of Newington was said to be held by this more military tenure. The service which was owed amounted to the provision of one man with his horse and equipment for carrying the royal scullery when the king's army was in Wales, for a period of forty days, the man's wages being paid by the king.¹⁶ The royal justice William Inge was another noble lord who held manors in nine different counties with a total value of nearly one hundred pounds. In Kent he held, among others, the manor of Stanstead which was subordinate to the archbishop of Canterbury's manor of Wrotham and held of him in gavelkind.¹⁷

Clearly, if such men as these were prepared to be numbered among the gavelkinders,

12. Geoffrey's IPM details property in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire, Northumberland and Surrey as well as Newington in Kent. *CIPM*, ii, No.524; PRO C133 File 38(8).

13. *CIPM*, vi, No.612; PRO C134 File 91.

14. The Leybourne estate was said to be worth a total of £483 6s.6d. on William's death in 1310. *CIPM*, v, No.220; PRO C134 File 17(7).

15. The process of formation and enlargement of a manor can be seen in the example of Yaldham, which is described in some detail below, in chapter 3.

16. *CIPM*, viii, No.649; PRO C135 File 81(10).

17. *CIPM*, vi, No.328; PRO C134 File 70(5).

there can have been no social stigma attached to the 'peasant' tenure. For William Lambarde, writing at the end of the sixteenth century, the distinction between knight's fee and gavelkind was plain enough. In 'earlier times' he said, the possessions of the gentry were properly known by the name of knight's fee, while those of the yeoman were gavelkind.¹⁸ Notwithstanding the possibility of an element of truth at the heart of this gross generalisation, if ever there had been such a clear-cut distinction, it was gone by the thirteenth century.

One reason for the lords' acceptance of tenure in gavelkind was that the rents were reasonably light and, more importantly, they were certain and not subject to feudal incidents such as the exaction of Aid or wardship of heirs in their minority being claimed by the overlord. The rent owed for the manor of Newington when it was held in gavelkind was a matter of only a few shillings each year. Geoffrey de Lucy's IPM recorded an annual due of 4s.1d.,¹⁹ whereas the sum reportedly owed to the king by John de Hastings before his death was 3s.²⁰ It is difficult to put a valuation on the service owed when the manor was made into a serjeanty, but it cannot have been so little as to make this the reason for the conversion. Exactly the same service of providing a man and a horse for forty days during Welsh campaigns was owed by the Hougham family for their lands at Weavering, in the parish of Boxley, to the west of Maidstone. The price of the horse was stipulated to be 5s.²¹

Another manor which was held of the king as a sub-tenancy of the manor of Milton was Northwood, held by a prominent Kentish family of the same name. This manor had quite explicitly been built up by the acquisition of smaller pieces of land and other

18. W.Lambarde, *A Perambulation of Kent*, 3rd ed., reprinted with an introduction by R.Church (Bath, 1970), p.6.

19. *CIPM*, ii, No.524; PRO C133 File 38(8).

20. *CIPM*, vi, No.612; PRO C134 File 91.

21. *CIPM*, iv, No.36; PRO C133 File 101(1); *CIPM*, iv, No.144; PRO C133 File 107(16); *CIPM*, vi, No.20; PRO C134 File 53(20). In 1330 the price of the horse, with its equipment was put at 5s.4d. *CIPM*, vii, No.292; PRO C134 File 22(6).

rights. In 1257 Roger de Northwood received a charter from the king granting that some one thousand acres of land and marsh in Milton Hundred which had hitherto been held in gavelkind should henceforth be held by the service of one twentieth of a knight's fee. Most of this land had been inherited from Roger's father and the rest was in the form of grants from nine individuals. The charter makes it plain that, notwithstanding the alteration of tenure, there should be no loss of regular income for the superior lord. After carefully listing all the lands and the rents that had been due for them it was specified that as well as the feudal service, Roger and his heirs were to pay to the bailiff of Milton manor the annual sum of £4 7s.5 ¼d. towards the farm of the manor, that being the total amount at which all the existing payments and services were valued.²² Apart from cash, the only other rents which had been owed for the lands were a total of 41 ¼ pounds of cheese, which had evidently been valued at about 2d. per pound, and carriage service valued at 3s. There was thus little or no financial advantage to be gained from the change of tenure.

Indeed there was potential disadvantage, since now Robert and his heirs would be liable to the occasional feudal incidents on top of the annual rent. Furthermore, knight's service had other unwelcome corollaries so far as the tenant was concerned, not least the superior lord's ability to make profit from the heir's succession. The lightness of such legitimate rights was one of the aspects of gavelkind tenure which made it attractive to the tenant. According to custom, under gavelkind the wardship of heirs who were minors belonged not to the lord, but to the young person's *proceyn ami*, that is the nearest non-inheriting relative. For this reason it has been observed that there was often a tendency for the small knightly tenant to try to play down the feudal service attached to his holding and to become merged in with his gavelkind

22. *CChR*, i, pp.458-9.

neighbours.²³

It seems most likely therefore that the initiative for alterations of tenure from gavelkind to knight's fee, such as that recorded in the Northwood charter, came not from the tenant but from the superior lord. Admittedly at a somewhat earlier date, in 1201, Archbishop Hubert Walter secured from King John the right to convert land held of his archbishopric in gavelkind into knight's fee. Thereafter the archbishop and his successors seem to have used the privilege only rarely, perhaps because of the strength of opposition from the tenants. In any case, it has been suggested that the archbishop's motive was an attempt to gain control over valuable wardships and custodies which would keep pace with inflation, a desirable feature not shared by simple rents.²⁴ The tenants seem to have been less than willing that this should be allowed to happen, although we have only scant evidence of active opposition.

It is possible that in the later thirteenth century Roger de Northwood had actually petitioned the king and sought the change in his tenure because he wanted to avoid the partitioning of his lands between male co-heirs such as might have been the outcome under the rules of gavelkind. Yet there were other ways of achieving this objective, although it might perhaps have been more difficult to persuade the king to make the necessary grant. In 1235 such a grant had been made, at the petition of another tenant of the manor of Milton, Robert de Godineton, that all the lands and tenements that he held in gavelkind of the king should in the future be held in free socage. It was written into the charter that the tenements would not be subject to division, but would descend 'from heir to heir'. Nevertheless, this tenure was not knight's fee, for it was further stipulated that notwithstanding the change of tenure, the king was not entitled

23. S. Harvey, 'The Knight and the Knight's Fee in England', *Past and Present*, 49 (Nov. 1970), reprinted in R.H. Hilton, ed., *Peasants, Knights and Heretics* (Cambridge, 1976), p.163; F.R.H. DuBoulay, 'Gavelkind and Knight's Fee in Medieval Kent', *Eng.Hist.Rev.*, 77 (1962), pp.504-511. See also *VCH*, iii, pp.325-6.

24. F.R.H. DuBoulay, 'Gavelkind and Knight's Fee in Medieval Kent', *Eng.Hist.Rev.*, 77 (1962), pp.510-11 and note 3.

to have wardship or marriage or any service that he had not had before. As with the Northwood grant, it was further specified that the services due to the king should remain as they were previously.²⁵

On the other hand, by the middle of the thirteenth century, knighthood had come to carry connotations of chivalry and gentility at the same time as it had lost much of its militaristic nature.²⁶ The rank of knight had become something for men to aspire to, even if some individuals did try to avoid the supposed honour because of the associated expense. Indeed, it was partly the public declaration of wealth and social status in making manifest that such expense could be borne that led to the change in the public attitude towards knighthood.²⁷ What qualified a man for knighthood was not the quality of his tenure, but the value of the land which he held. Nevertheless, this gentrification of personal knighthood led to a change in the status of the tenure by which lands were held, and the desire to have one's social position made manifest was perhaps one motive behind the pro-knightly alterations to tenure that were occasionally made.

Many manors were held, in whole or in part, by knight's service and they were too large and valuable for the superior lord to allow them to become gavelkind by default.

25. CChR, i, p.193.

26. S.Harvey, 'The Knight and the Knight's Fee in England' in R.H.Hilton, ed., *Peasants, Knights and Heretics* (Cambridge, 1976), p.172.

27. Simple economics were only a part of the reason for the change in status of the knights. Other factors were related to the virtues of honour and chivalry extolled by contemporary literature and to the promotion of crusading ideals by the church. See S.Harvey, 'The Knight and the Knight's Fee', *Past and Present*, 49 (Nov. 1970), reprinted in R.H.Hilton, ed., *Peasants, Knights and Heretics* (Cambridge, 1976), pp.133-73; M.Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance under Edward I* (London, 1972), pp.80-81, 89; S.Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216-1307*, (Oxford, 1988), pp.81-2; P.Coss, *Lordship, Knighthood and Locality*, (Cambridge, 1991), pp.210-257. See also, D.A.Carpenter, 'Was there a crisis of the knightly class in the thirteenth century?', *Eng.Hist.Rev.*, 95 (1980), pp.721-752; P.R.Coss, 'Sir Geoffrey de Langley and the crisis of the knightly class in thirteenth-century England', *Past and Present*, 125 (1989), pp.3-37, reprinted in T.H.Aston ed., *Landlords, Peasants and Politics in Medieval England* (1987), pp.166-197; J.A.Quick, 'The number and distribution of knights in thirteenth-century England' in P.R.Coss and S.D.Lloyd, eds., *Thirteenth-Century England I* (1986), pp.114-127.

Accordingly, whether they wished to or not, the lords of these manors were forced to acknowledge the military character of their tenure, but were able to employ other legal devices to avoid the unwanted factors. For example, when the lord John de Cobham was granted the small manor of Beckley in Higham by John de Woleton in 1241, the feudal ladder in theory gained one more rung, and Cobham technically became Woleton's tenant. Accordingly the king's court fine by which the arrangement was formalised stated that Cobham held of Woleton by the service of half a knight's fee, but it goes on to say that Woleton would have no rights to custody of the land nor of the heirs of Cobham, nor any relief in excess of 12d.²⁸

Tenure by knight's fee may then have been a symbol of status, but there was certainly no social stigma attached to either gavelkind or to tenure by serjeanty. Those of social rank above the peasantry felt no shame at holding manors by such non-knightly tenures, and alterations to tenures of a higher status were comparatively few. Some men on the rise, such as Roger de Northwood may have actively sought to convert any lands held in gavelkind into knight's fee, partly in order to preserve the integrity of the holding, but also for the status involved. However, at the lower end of the scale of military tenants, tenements held as small fractions of fees often lost the distinction and became gavelkind by default. We have already seen that the minute fraction of a knight's fee by which Ralph Parleben held his few acres in Cooling manor was apparently not noticed or bothered about by the collectors of official taxes. For all these reasons, when we look at the holders in knight's fee in Kent, we are not able to see the totality of an individual's land in the county but, at least at levels of society above the peasantry, we are certainly seeing the more important elements of it.

We can now turn to consider the evidence afforded by thirteenth and early fourteenth century lists of holders of land in knight's fee. In particular the names of tenants given

28. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.171.

in two lists, one from around 1253/54 and the other from 1346 have been analysed. An attempt has been made to total the tenancies held in knight's fee upon which an individual was assessed for the payment of Aid. However, at each date the problem of joint tenancies has to be confronted and for this reason the results, which are tabulated in Table 2.1, can only be regarded as estimates. Where a joint tenancy arose from a holding being partitioned between female co-heirs it may be valid to assume an equality of division. This may also be true in some cases where male heirs are involved since, as has been noted, the confusion over tenures, particularly where smaller tenements were concerned, seems to have sometimes resulted in inheritance of knight's fee holdings being treated as though it were partible among male heirs, as was the custom for holdings in gavelkind.²⁹

For example, in 1253/4 John and William de Gestling were named as joint tenants of a half fee in Wooton and in nearby Worth hundred Laurence and William de Tonge held between them a thirtieth part of a fee.³⁰ However, even if an equal partition were made, it might not be long before a further inheritance, grant or a sale would destroy the symmetry. For example, in 1253/4 John son of Joce, Luke 'of the church' (*de ecclesia*) and the heirs of William Josce held between them a quarter of a fee in the now lost *Ponyndenne*, in the east Kent hundred of Blackbourne. If the deceased William had had more than one heir with a claim to inheritance, whether technically justifiable or not, it is quite easy to see that the shares involved in this particular joint tenancy would no longer be equal, even if we were to suppose that John, Luke and William, as heirs to a man named Joce, had previously been entitled to equal third shares in their inheritance.³¹

29. F.R.H. DuBoulay, 'Gavelkind and Knight's Fee in Medieval Kent', *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 77 (1962), pp. 509-10.

30. *Arch. Cant.* 12 (1878), pp. 203, 212.

31. *Arch. Cant.* 12 (1878), p. 223.

Table 2.1. The total of assessments of holdings in knight's fee of individuals or groups of individuals in Kent in the mid-thirteenth and mid-fourteenth centuries³².

Total assessment (in units of 1 knight's fee):	Number of named individuals or groups of joint tenants in:	
	1253/4	1346
below $\frac{1}{4}$	35 (10%)	33 (12%)
$\frac{1}{4}$ to under 1	210 (58%)	130 (48%)
1 to under 2	85 (23%)	82 (30%)
2 to under 3	26 (7%)	15 (6%)
3 or more	8 (2%)	11 (4%)
Total	364 (100%)	271 (100%)

Sometimes the way that a holding is divided is made explicit. In 1346 for example, Roger Bavent and John de Melford paid Aid on three quarters of a knight's fee in Halling, on the west bank of the river Medway, which they held of the bishop of Rochester. An inquisition taken previously had shown that John de Melford held one quarter and a thirteenth part of the other two quarters. This inquisition had apparently been concerned with all John's knightly holdings, for elsewhere in the list of Aid payers we are told that of the half fee that Richard de Povenasshe, John de Melford, John Lad and Richard le Veel held in nearby Snodland, also of the bishop of Rochester, Melford had an eighth part.³³ For the most part however, we do not have such indications and the problem is exacerbated by instances of unnamed and unenumerated co-parceners and heirs.

The figures of Table 2.1 suggest stability in the overall structure of knightly society. However, the number of joint tenancies in 1346 was approximately 94 whereas in 1253/4 it had been only 37. Many of these joint tenancies were of small fractions of a

32. For details of the calculation involved in the compilation of this table, see the text. The figures in parentheses are percentages of the total number of named tenants of knight's fee in the list of each date.

33. *Feudal Aids*, p.42,43; *Arch. Cant.* 10 (1876), pp.146,147.

fee, so that the extent of the increase in the numbers of those holdings less than a quarter of a knight's fee is under-represented. Nevertheless, the figures of the table show that the total number of named tenants of knights' fees appears to have been significantly lower in the middle of the fourteenth century than it had been a hundred years before. This reduction came about through a fall in the number of tenants who owed the service of below one knight's fee and this is probably a result of the tenure becoming gavelkind.

Above the level of the holder of a whole knight's fee there appears to have been more stability, with the numbers of tenancies and of tenants being much the same in the mid thirteenth century as in the mid fourteenth. This stability came in no small part from the dynastic success of the families who belonged to the emergent county gentry. There were some magnates such as the earl of Huntingdon who held fees in Kent, but most of the entire single or double fees were in the hands of members of prominent local families, such as Sandwich, Northwood, Cobham, Crioll, Malemayns, Hougham and Abelyn who appear at both dates. Notwithstanding possible variation during the period from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the fourteenth centuries, the conclusion is that there were in Kent roughly a hundred men and women who held estates which included property or properties held by a combined service of at least a single knight's fee.

The lists are arranged by hundred, giving the impression of a geographical compactness to these estates. The tenants owing the smallest fractions of a knight's fee generally held lands in just one hundred. Those with larger total holdings, amounting to a half knight's fee or above, were more likely to have multiple holdings. These were not uncommonly in two or more hundreds and thus the impression is of more geographical dispersion. Nevertheless, these hundreds often share a common boundary.

There are a number of families for whom the evidence exists to allow a closer look at the overall composition of their estates over this period. We now turn to some of these to provide further illustrations of the nature of Kentish gentry land-holding. First to be presented is the family of Cobham who, at the start of the thirteenth century were apparently no more than small landholders in the parish from which they took their name.³⁴ By the fourteenth century the family had risen above the level of the typical resident county knight. In 1346 the knight's fee-holding members of the family between them paid Aid on the equivalent of over eight fees, in various parts of the county from Westerham in the west to Bridge in the east.³⁵ However, if we concentrate upon individuals rather than the family as a whole then they were far more local. A grant of free warren for his demesne lands given to John de Cobham in 1248 mentions only the manors of Cobham, Shorne, Chalk and Beckley³⁶ and it was not until 1343 that the great grandson of this grantee sought to extend the grant by including other lands held further afield in Cooling, Pole, Stone, Dartford, Bekesbourne, Dane and Hardres.³⁷ In common with other lords, the Cobhams held land by various different tenures, including knight's fee and gavelkind, but the knight's fee is that which is most easily uncovered by us and the holdings at various dates are shown in Appendix 2.1. The locations of the places mentioned are shown below in Map 2.1.

The family first enters the record early in the thirteenth century, when Henry de

34. The Cobham family tree has been pieced together and the administrative careers of the individual men appearing on it have each been well documented by T. May in her article, 'The Cobham Family in the Administration of England, 1200-1400', *Arch. Cant.* 82 (1967), pp.1-31. See also J.W. Flower, 'Notices of the Family of Cobham of Sterborough Castle, Lingfield, Surrey', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 2 (1864), pp.115-194 and J.G. Waller, 'Lords of Cobham, their monuments, and the church', *Arch. Cant.* 11 (1877), pp.49-112.

35. *Feudal Aids*, pp.22,36,40,41,42,48,49,51; *Arch. Cant.* 10 (1876), pp.118,138,143,145,147,155,156,158,159.

36. Hatfield MS306, ff.2 and 22v.

37. *CChR*, v, p.24.



Map 2.1. Places mentioned in the text in connection with the estates of members of the Cobham family.

Cobham had purchased the north Kent manor of Cobham from William de Quatremere.³⁸ Henry's father Serlo had apparently held land in Cobham in the twelfth century. The administrative and professional careers of several members of the family were founded upon a training in the law, with individuals being employed as justices in the royal courts of Common Pleas and King's Bench, as well as Justices Itinerant. They also served their kings as constables of Rochester and Dover castles and in person in the various Scottish campaigns. Indeed, their influence grew under successive monarchs. When John de Cobham died in 1299, a solemn mass was said before the prince Edward in his chapel at Westminster. His son Henry was made Constable of Rochester for life and appointed Constable of Dover and Warden of the Cinque Ports. He was also given custody of the Surrey and Sussex lands of the Templar Knights. In 1323/4 he was made governor of Tonbridge and guardian of the forfeited lands of the Lancastrian rebels in Kent, Surrey and Sussex. Henry's eldest son John was created admiral of the fleet from the Thames westward in 1335/6 and in the last year of his life he was with his cousin Sir Reginald de Cobham of Sterborough on the council which met to debate the wisdom of submitting England's dispute with France to the arbitration of the Pope. The same year John was made a banneret and an annuity of 100 marks out of the issues of Norfolk was bestowed upon him. He died in February 1355.³⁹

A number of younger sons went into the church and one almost became archbishop of Canterbury. The 'learned and virtuous' Thomas Cobham was elected by the monks of Christchurch to succeed archbishop Winchelsea in 1313, but the election was overruled by the Pope in favour of the king's nominee Walter Reynolds, the bishop of

38. Hatfield MS306, ff.30v. and 42.

39. J.G.Waller, *op. cit.*, pp.53-64.

Worcester.⁴⁰ Thomas went on to become bishop of Worcester instead.

Yet despite their connections, their wealth and their opportunity for travel outside the county, the family continued to be remarkably local. Most land purchases were of property in the immediate area, while such outlying property as wives brought to their husbands in marriage was commonly used for marriage settlements for daughters, for providing an inheritance for younger sons or for granting out for a cash rent.

To begin the story at the beginning, Henry de Cobham had three sons who partitioned their father's lands on their inheritance in 1228/9. The eldest, John, took the capital messuage at Cobham and all the land there that had been Serlo's, together with the lands and marshes called Randall in Shorne and other lands and rents in Boardfield in the parish of Otterden.⁴¹ John's brothers William and Reginald had other lands in Hoo, Grain, Cliffe, Shorne, Strood and Rochester, all places in the immediate neighbourhood of Cobham.

Within a very short time John set about enlarging his patrimony and in 1236 two fines were levied in the King's court by which grants of land in Cobham and the neighbouring parish of Shorne were made and confirmed.⁴² Five years later, in the year in which he served as sheriff of Kent,⁴³ two more fines were enrolled. For the small manor of Beckley in Higham,⁴⁴ with its sixty acres of demesne, John paid 50 marks to John de Woleton, from whom it was subsequently held by knight's

40. M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century 1307-1399* (Oxford, 1959), p.275; W.E.L.Smith, *Episcopal Appointments and Patronage in the Reign of Edward II* (1938), pp.17-18.

41. In the 1253 list of holders in knight's fee John de Cobham held half a fee in Boardfield in the hundred of Faversham of Robert de Champagne.

42. *Kent Feet of Fines*, pp.127-128. Hatfield MS306, f.17v.

43. T. May, 'The Cobham Family in the Administration of England, 1200-1400', *Arch.Cant.* 82 (1967), p.17.

44. The name appears on modern Ordnance Survey maps in the form Beckley Hill, located 1½ miles to the north of the village of Higham, on the edge of Higham Marshes (O.S. grid reference TQ709742).

service.⁴⁵ At some time between 1237 and 1241 the manor of West Chalk had also passed into the Cobham estate. In answer to an inquisition *ad quod damnum* of ninety years later, the jury said that Hugh de Nevill had sold the manor to John de Cobham. Whether this was so or not is not clear. It may instead have come to John with his second wife who, it has been suggested, was the daughter of Hugh de Nevill. Certainly in 1237 West Chalk was in the hands of John, the son of Hugh de Nevill, for in that year an agreement was reached between him and the Master of the Templar Knights who were the lords of the hundred of Shamwell, to whose court the men of the manor owed suit. By this agreement, John de Nevill was to pay 5s. yearly at his house of West Chalk, in commutation of this service of suit.⁴⁶

By four years later John de Cobham held the manor and he was able to make an even better bargain with the Templars. Under the pretext of a complaint regarding John's setting up of a gallows on which to punish a thief caught within the manor, which was said to be contrary to the liberties of the Templars, a fine was entered into whereby the Master of the order granted the hundred to John de Cobham. It was to be held of the Knights by the service of 15s. yearly plus the 5s. that John now owed for suit as lord of West Chalk manor.⁴⁷ Writing of the importance of hundredal jurisdiction, Cam expresses no doubt that it should be regarded as a source of revenue rather than a source of political prestige. Furthermore, she feels that it was so regarded in the thirteenth century.⁴⁸ Nonetheless, by his acquisition John de Cobham was asserting his independence of a major rival to personal lordship in the area as well as leaving the local tenant population in no doubt about who was in charge. This was

45. It was held as half a knight's fee according to the fine of 25 June 1241. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.171; Hatfield MS306, f.18. In 1253/4 it was given as a quarter fee and in 1346 aid was paid as on a half fee. Jurors giving evidence to the IPM of John de Cobham in 1300 said that it was held by only one twelfth of a fee. *CIPM*, iii, No.602; PRO C133 File 94(8).

46. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.148; Hatfield MS306, f.16.

47. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.164; Hatfield MS306, ff.2, 26 and 33.

48. H.M.Cam, *The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls* (1930), p.141.

further emphasised when, at around the same time, John paid to Simon de Delham the very large sum of 400 marks for the nearby manor of Cooling.⁴⁹ A further 100 marks was paid by John's son John to secure grants of land in Cooling.⁵⁰

Our next record of John the elder's land purchasing activity comes from two fines enrolled in 1245. For fifteen and a half acres of land in Cobham he gave 15 marks⁵¹ and for marshland and rents in Hoo St Werburgh 100 shillings was the price paid.⁵² Finally, from 1250 comes a fine recording a grant of 4s.8d. annual rent in Hoo St Mary, for which he gave 2½ marks.⁵³

The dating of such fines does not accurately reflect the true chronology of acquisition, since the enrolment of fines in the records of the King's Court was not uniform. In general there was an average during the first half of the reign of Henry III of only some half a dozen per year. When the itinerant justices visited Kent on their circuit however, this figure leapt, reaching over 80 in 1236. The next occasion of their visit was 1241, and the fines concerning grants to John de Cobham probably represent the recording of agreements reached in the preceding years.⁵⁴ The supposition is that Cobham was not making irregular purchases, but was engaged in a sustained effort to reinforce his position in this corner of the county, taking opportunities as they presented themselves and laying out a considerable amount of capital in order to do so. There is little doubt that we do not have the full record of John's activity in the land market, but what we have shows expenditure of more than £300 over a fourteen to eighteen year period.

Purchases and grants of rights were not the only devices employed. John de Cobham

49. J.W.Flower, 'Notices of the Family of Cobham of Sterborough Castle, Lingfield, Surrey', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 2 (1864), p.320.

50. Hatfield MS306, ff.31-31v.

51. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.185.

52. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.187.

53. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.232.

54. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.xix.

also sought to assert his independence of superior lords by changing the tenure by which he held his manors. In 1247 he paid £100 to Geoffrey Mauregard from whom the lands in Cobham and Shorne had been held by a yearly rent of ten pounds. In future they were to be held by a quarter of a knight's fee and by paying yearly a sore sparrow hawk or 2s. for all service, suit of court, custody, relief, aid, custom and exaction. Thus, not only had John rid himself of the burden of ten pounds a year in rent for an investment which would repay itself it over ten years, but he had secured the agreement that Geoffrey would not be able to benefit from any of the potentially expensive incidents of knightly tenure. Geoffrey had effectively ceded his lordship.⁵⁵ At the same time a grant of free warren was obtained from the king for Cobham's demesne lands in Cobham, Shorne, Chalk and Beckley.⁵⁶

John the elder had thus laid the foundations of a prosperous estate which he passed on to his sons. The first was also named John and appears often to have been styled 'the younger'. Following the rules of primogeniture, he inherited the home manor of Cobham, as well as the other manors held in knight's fee. Other property which was held in gavelkind was divided equally according to custom between all three brothers. Some years later, in 1287/8, a certain amount of rationalisation took place when, in exchange for other lands, John gave to his brother Henry all their father's lands in All Saints Hoo, called *Evere*.⁵⁷ It was either by this agreement or by the original division of inheritance that Henry became the lord of Roundall manor in the parish of Shorne.⁵⁸

55. *Kent Feet of Fines*, pp.405-6; Hatfield MS306, ff.19, 20v. and 21v.

56. Hatfield MS306, ff.2 and 22v.

57. G.O.Bellows, 'The Cobhams and Moresbys of Rundale and Allington', *Arch.Cant.*, 29 (1911), p.154. In 1272, Sir John de Cobham was named in the IPM of John de Grey as tenant of a fortieth of a knight's fee held of the Grey manor of Hoo St Werburgh. *CIPM*, i, No.810; PRO C132 File 42(3).

58. This manor was held in gavelkind according to the IPM of Stephen de Cobham (1333). *CIPM*, vii, No.444; PRO C135 File 32(4). The name is preserved in Randall Wood. According to John Thorpe, who wrote in the eighteenth century, the house then stood in the south-east corner of the wood, about half a mile south or south-west of

The third part of the estate was the manor of Aldington, in the parish of Thurnham, to the west of Maidstone. How this manor came to be included among the possessions of the family is not clear. It was in two parts, one held by the Septvans family and the other by the Cobhams and had been so divided since before the thirteenth century.⁵⁹ As an outlier to the main estate this manor was apparently used to provide an inheritance for the third of Henry's sons, Reginald who held it in the middle years of the century.⁶⁰ In 1248 Reginald acquired other lands in the neighbouring manors of Thornham and Binbury from John de Waltham.⁶¹ However, there are signs that Reginald did not regard this as his main residence, since he enfeoffed three other men. Mathew de Eynton was tenant of a half fee, William de Suneise held a quarter fee and Richard de Capella another quarter fee. By his marriage, which was probably to Maria de Valoynes, Reginald had acquired a knight's fee in Sutton by Dover, which had before been held by John de Valoynes and was afterwards to be held of the Cobham lords by Warresius de Valoynes. This Valoynes connection brought other property to the estate, which was also farmed out. In 1328 Raulina de Hegham's IPM records that a certain tenement in Stourmouth, in east Kent, had been held of Warisio de Valoynes by the service of homage and the rent of a pair of spurs each year. However, the tenement also owed to Henry de Cobham the rather more valuable sum of 50s. annually.⁶²

After Reginald's death in 1257/8, apparently without any children, John de Waltham acknowledged the lands that Reginald had bought to be of the right of Reginald's nephew John de Cobham. However, being at some distance from the home group of

Shorne street. A dry fishpond could then still be seen on the site. J.Thorpe, ed., *Custumale Roffense* (1788), p.247.

59. Hasted, v, pp.525-6.

60. In 1242 he held a fifth of a fee in Thornham of Alice de Bendinges who held of William de Say and in 1253 Reginald is listed as holding half a fee directly of Say. *Book of Fees*, ii, pp.666,674. *Arch.Cant.*, 12 (1878), p.231.

61. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.204.

62. *CIPM*, vii, No.131; PRO C135 File 11(1).

manors, these lands were not retained in the direct control of John who instead immediately granted them to Roger de Northwood and his wife Bona, to be added to their own manor of Thornham, for a yearly rent of five marks.⁶³

The manor of Aldington Cobham also fell to John but likewise was not taken into his permanent demesne. Instead at some time, possibly before Reginald's death, it was granted to Ernulf Biset. After Ernulf died his wife Maud had a claim to one third of the manor as her dower but in 1268 she came to an agreement with John de Cobham that she would receive an annuity of two marks a year, to be paid at the New Temple in London and a life grant of the manor was made to Mary de Valoynes.⁶⁴

John de Cobham had acquired other property elsewhere, perhaps including that brought to the marriage by one or other of his two wives.⁶⁵ These outlying lands he used thirty years before his death to provide for his three youngest half brothers, and here too we see positive evidence of the view that the best arrangement involved compact landed estates, with outlying property being used to provide rent income.⁶⁶ To James went pasture land for 200 sheep in the hundred of Hoo, plus 9 marks of rent in Boardfield in Otterden and 100s of rent in Shelve in Lenham. Reginald was allotted

63. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.298. Prior to his death, Roger de Northwood had held the manor of Thornham of Sir William de Say by the service of ½ a knight's fee and 15s. yearly to Dover Castle and 5 marks at the four principal times of the year to Sir John de Cobham. *CIPM*, ii, No.582; PRO C133 File 42(12).

64. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.350.

65. His first wife was Joan, daughter of Robert de Septvans. Hasted refers to her as a coheir, but the Septvans line went in unbroken male succession from father to son over at least five generations between the mid thirteenth century and the second quarter of the fourteenth. More significant is the fact that on the death of Robert de Septvans in 1252, his son and heir Robert was only 3 or 4 years old. For a fine of 20 marks the wardship was granted to Reginald de Cobham, who was also the guardian of his nephew John de Cobham the younger, himself in his minority following his father's death in 1251. Hasted, iii, p.408; *Arch.Cant.*, 2 (1859), p.311; Waller, *op. cit.*, p.54. John's second wife was Methania who, Hasted suggested, was perhaps from a Hertfordshire family.

66. Three separate fines were made on 20 January 1270. *Kent Feet of Fines*, pp.358-360; Hatfield MS306, ff.22v.-25.

a carucate of land in *Orkesden*⁶⁷ and Eynsford and, since this was to be his home base rather than the ancient Cobham heartland, the property given to him in Stoke and Hoo took the form of £10 of rent.⁶⁸ To the third son William went a carucate of land, 50 acres of wood, a mill and 7 marks of rent in the manor of Aldington, to come to him on the death of its life-tenant Mary de Valoynes, together with 55s. rent in the villes of Wouldham and New Hythe.

A few years later, in 1277, King Edward I granted to John de Cobham licence to acquire a manor in Bekesbourne in the east of the county.⁶⁹ This provided a rent income amounting to 68s.3½d., a pound of pepper, 9 cocks and 36 hens, but more importantly it provided a relationship with some of the knightly families of the east of the county. Included among the tenants of the manor were Sir Alan de Twytham and Eudo de Shillingheld of whom we shall have more to say later.⁷⁰ Being at some distance from Cobham though, Bekesbourne was never an integral part of the estate. Apparently it was used to provide an inheritance for John's youngest son, by whom it was granted to Richard de Rochester for life in 1313.⁷¹ By 1321 Bekesbourne was

67. The fines may post-date the actual division of John I's lands by several years. In the 1253 list of holders in knight's fee Reginald is given as holder of a quarter fee in Orkesden, held of William de Eynsford. Alternatively, this may be Reginald I who seems to have died childless, with his property coming to his brother John I. Some writers, following Hasted, have identified this with Austin Lodge in Eynsford. Hasted, ii, pp.531-2.

68. Reginald de Cobham is included in a list of the tenants of Nicholas de Criel's half of the manor of Eynsford in 1303. Together with his co-parceners, some of them named, he owed a total of 7s.6d., one pound of cumin, 2½ hens and thirteen eggs, and some minor ploughing, mowing and reaping services. This is another instance of the way in which men held in both knight's fee and gavelkind apparently quite contentedly. *CIPM*, iv, No.162; PRO C133 File 108(7).

69. Following a fine paid by John de Cobham, a licence to alienate was granted to Master John de Fodringhey, dated 16 October 5 Edward I (i.e. 1277). CKS U601 T1/1.

70. BL Harl.Roll S7.

71. The grant was recorded by means of a fine in that year. Other fines of around the same time were made with John the son of Henry senior as one of the parties, whereas this man was referred to simply as John de Cobham, leading to the supposition that he was John the younger's son and not his nephew. J.Greenstreet, ed., 'Kent Fines, Edward II' *Arch. Cant.* 11 (1877), p.352.

part of the inheritance of the son of the late John de Northwood.⁷²

John continued to acquire lands as well as rents in the hundred of Shamwell, but apparently not further afield.⁷³ When he died in March 1300, at the age of seventy one, his personal estate consisted of the manors of West Chalk, Beckley, Aldington, Cobham and Cooling together with the lordship of the hundred of Shamwell.⁷⁴ The entries in the Cobham Cartulary, made apparently during his lifetime, also give no hint of activity outside this locality. Thus apart from Aldington, which as we have seen was not one of the manors generally exploited directly, the estate was contained within a circle with a radius of no more than five miles.

John's brother Henry, generally styled either senior or 'the uncle' to distinguish him from John's eldest son and heir, was the first of a line that was to become known as the Cobhams of Roundall. He secured the marriage of Joan, the eldest daughter and coheir of Stephen de Pencestre who had been lord of the manors of Tunstall in Milton hundred, of Allington and of Penshurst.⁷⁵ Here too, after Stephen's death there had followed a rationalisation of his estate, when it was agreed that Joan should take the property in Tunstall, Allington and Elmley (on the Isle of Sheppey) and that her sister Alice, who had married John de Columbariis, should have Penshurst.⁷⁶ Joan brought other lands with her to her marriage with Henry de Cobham, for in 1313 she and her husband remitted and quitclaimed, for themselves and the heirs of Joan, 40 acres of

72. PRO SC6/1145/8, m.2.

73. A John de Cobham is named as party to two fines in Surrey, one from 1271/2 and the other 1290/1. However, in view of the fact that one of the places mentioned is Worplesdon, a parish in the west of the county, some ten miles from Cobham, Surrey, it seems likely that this man (or two men) was a native of that county and unconnected with the Kentish family. F.B.Lewis, ed., *Pedes Finum, or fines relating to the County of Surrey, levied in the King's Court, from the seventeenth year of Richard I. to the end of the reign of Henry VII*, Surrey Archaeological Society, Extra Volume I (1894), pp.48,60.

74. IPM of John de Cobham. *CIPM*, iii, No.602; PRO C133 File 94(8).

75. IPM of Margaret, widow of Stephen de Pencestre. *CIPM*, v. No.134; PRO C134 File 10(3).

76. By fine dated 1308. J.Greenstreet, ed., 'Kent Fines, Edward II', *Arch. Cant.* 11 (1877), pp.325-6.

land in Sturry and Hackington, on the outskirts of Canterbury, to John atte Welle, who paid them £20.⁷⁷ Again other outlying lands brought in a cash income, for the manor of Rainham owed four marks yearly to Henry's son Stephen in 1331.

Each of the rest of this generation of the Cobham family also became associated with their own individual areas. John the elder's son Reginald, who only a year after his father's settlement was able to obtain a quitclaim to 100 shillings rent in Eynsford, Lullingstone, Farningham and Maplescumbe from three coinheriting sisters,⁷⁸ settled at Sterborough on the Surrey-Kent border and thus became the progenitor of the line known as the Cobhams of Sterborough. James died without direct heirs and so, following the terms of his half brother's settlement, his property in Otterden and Lenham went to his brother William. On his death in 1320, William's estate consisted of the rents there and in Orkesden, together with the manor of Chiddingstone which he held of the archbishop of Canterbury.⁷⁹ William also had no direct heirs and his estate was inherited by his nephew Reginald.

In the meantime, Reginald had married Joan, one of the daughters and coheirs of another small gentry lord, William de Hever. Through her the Sterborough branch of the Cobham family acquired half of the manor of Hever⁸⁰ to add to quite a sizable

77. J.Greenstreet, ed., 'Kent Fines, Edward II', *Arch. Cant.* 11 (1878), p.296. This fine was presumably the outcome of a case before the Kentish Eyre of 1313, where John atte Welle had brought a writ of entry against Henry de Cobham and Joan, saying that they had no entry into the tenements except by Joan's father, to whom Juliana de Leybourne had leased them. It was claimed that John's father Thomas had been wrongfully disseised, but the matter was not clear enough for the judges to decide, so it was put to the country. *Eyre of Kent*, ii, pp.97-8.

78. By a fine dated 1 June 1271, Thomas de Marines and his wife Alice, Philip de Novill and wife Mary and Joan de Heygham quitclaimed themselves and the heirs of Alice, Mary and Joan. Reginald made a payment of 50 marks. The same individuals also quitclaimed rents in Shorne and the marsh of Boleham to John de Cobham. *Kent Feet of Fines*, pp.373-4, 376.

79. IPM of William de Cobham. *CIPM*, vi, No.260; PRO C134 File 66(10). The property in Shelve (Lenham), Boardfield (Otterden) and Orkesden was held of Henry de Cobham, that is his eldest brother, the direct heir of John their father. William's heir was said to be Reginald, aged 25 or more but as no relationship is given, he may well not be a son.

80. Not to be confused with the *Evere* lands on Hoo.

estate. His line prospered to the extent that his son Reginald was in a position to marry a daughter of Thomas lord Berkeley. Reginald junior had evidently risen above the rank of the local resident knight, although he seems to have retained much of his Kent estate in his own hands. In 1341 he secured an exemption for life from jury service as well as office holding against his will and also a grant that his houses at Orkesden, Chiddingstone, Stoneherst, Prinkham and Shelve should be free from livery of the king's officials so that they should not be able to lodge there⁸¹. Free warren was granted for his demesne lands of Orkesden, Shoreham, Eynsford, Chiddingstone, Hever, Penshurst, Cowden, Leigh, Edenbridge, Allington, Thornham, East Shelve, Wichling, Charing, Lenham, Newgare, Halstow, Frindsbury and Stoke in Kent, Greenstead and Hartfield in Sussex and Lingfield in Surrey. Moreover, in the same year a licence was obtained for the crenellation of his dwelling-houses of Pringham and Orkesden.⁸²

Another knightly family from the south of the county were the Orlestons who, like the Cobhams, took their name from the manor in which they lived and of which they were the lords. The knights' fees which formed the estate of this family in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are listed in Appendix 2.2. Map 2.2 shows the location of the places mentioned and the pedigree of the family is given as Table 2.2. Orlestone is a parish bordering the south Kent marshes and containing both highly valued marsh and upland. In 1086 three yokes and half a virgate were held in Orlestone by a Norman named William, who held it of Hugh de Montfort.⁸³ It seems plausible to suppose that the later medieval lords of the manor, almost invariably named William de Orlestone, could claim direct descent from this companion of the Conqueror, though the record does not relate whether in fact they did so. We do know

81. *CPR 1340-1343*, p.163.

82. *CPR 1340-1343*, p.304.

83. DB, i, 13c.

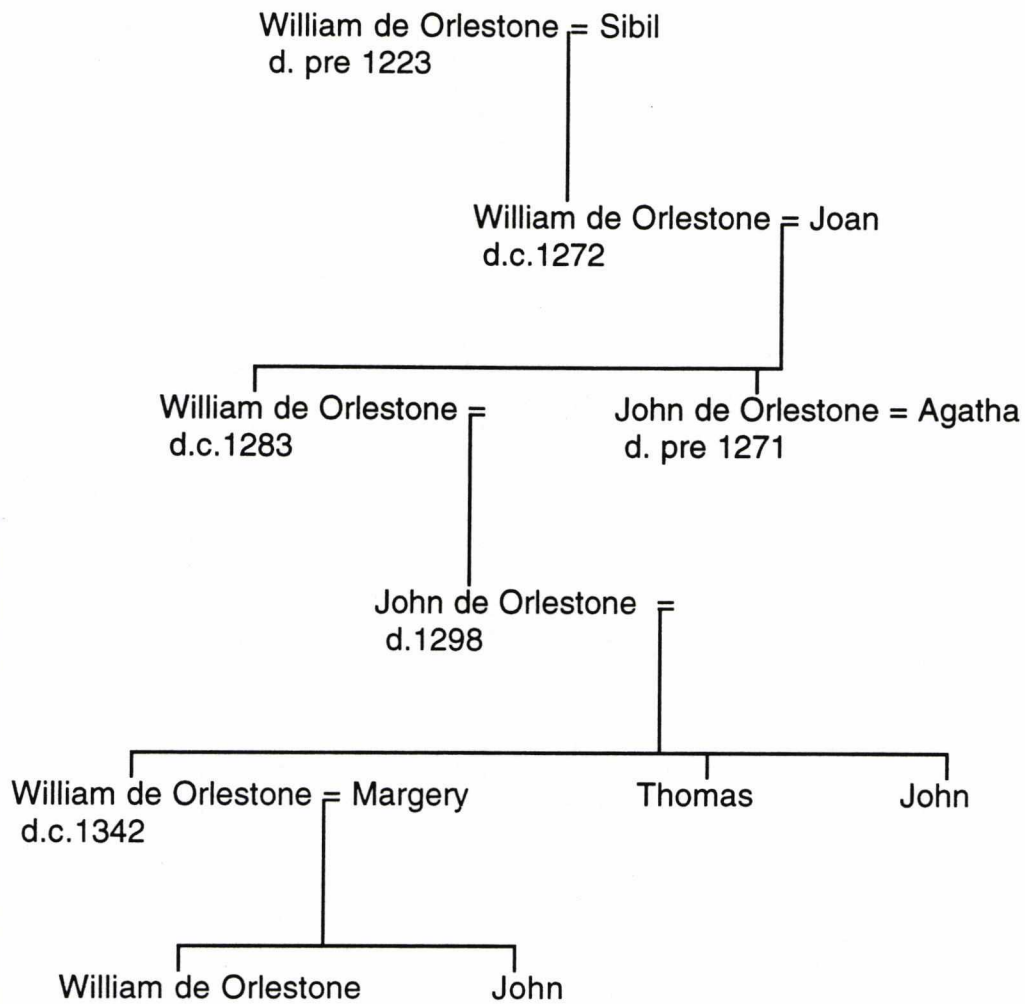
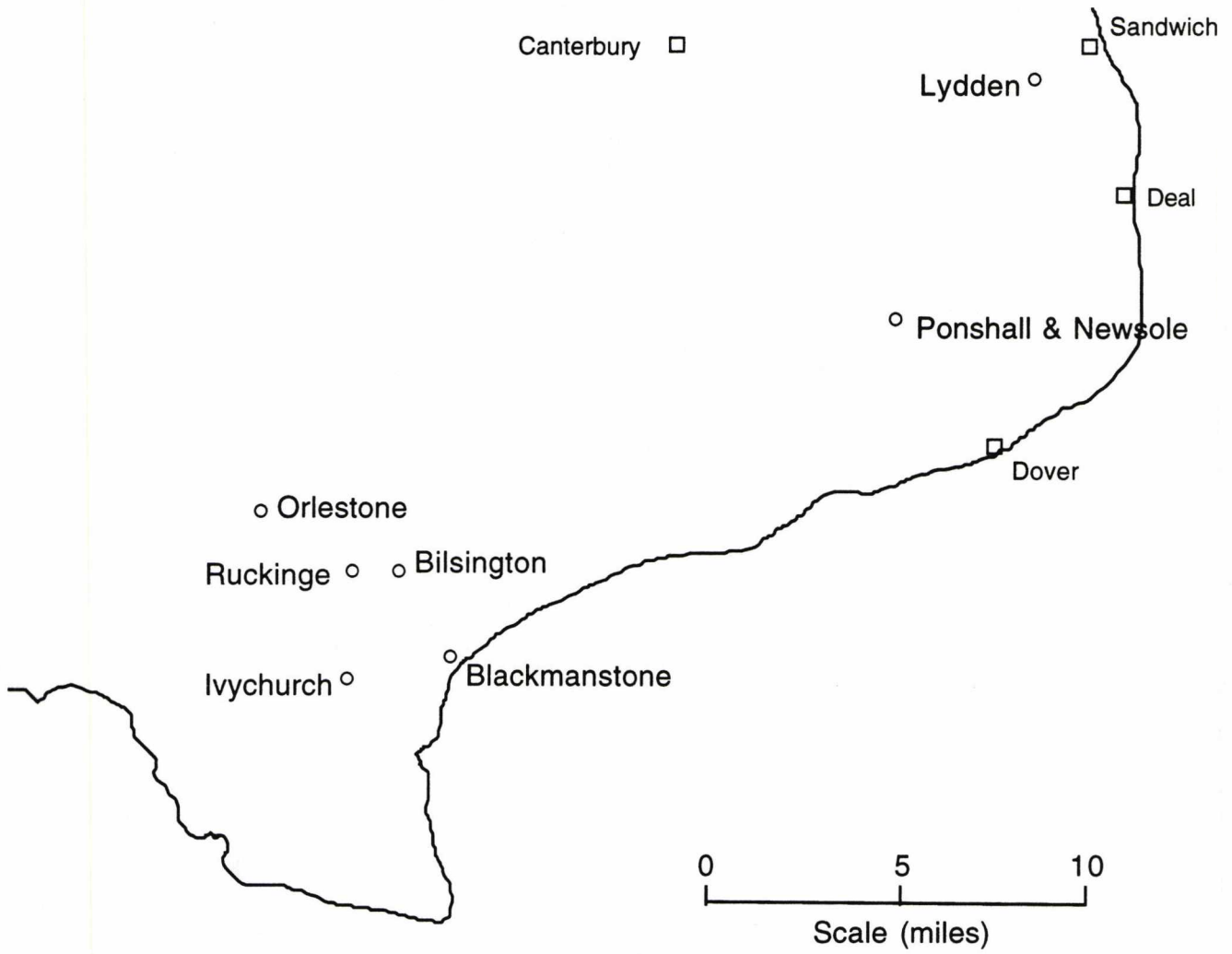


Table 2.2. The pedigree of the Orlestone family of Kent, c.1200-c.1350

For details, refer to the text.



Map 2.2. The location of the manors of the Orlestone estate.

(Canterbury, Sandwich, Deal and Dover are shown to aid location.)

though that Orlestone manor was in the hands of the family to which it gave its name from at least the end of the twelfth century when William de Orlestone is, like Henry de Cobham, supposed to have accompanied his king on crusade to Palestine.⁸⁴ A later William (III on the pedigree) was Keeper of the port of Dover from 1276 until 1283, a justice of gaol delivery at Maidstone in 1278 and a commissioner in Kent in 1281. A few months later following disorder in the city, he was made Keeper of Canterbury. His son John was apparently not so employed as a local administrator, but his grandson William (IV) carried on the tradition. This William was given custody of the Seven hundreds of the Weald in 1321 and served as sheriff of Kent and constable of Canterbury Castle for two years towards the end of the decade.⁸⁵ Once again, despite wider connections brought about by office-holding, in terms of their landed estate the family remained local. In 1223, Sibil, the widow of William de Orlestone, granted away her rights to dower in a moiety of 100 acres of land in Guston to Dover Priory, receiving in exchange an annual payment of half a mark in silver, two seams of wheat and five of barley.⁸⁶ Presumably her old age was to be spent at the Orlestone family home above the marshes. Her great great grandson William (IV) was born in Orlestone and baptised in the parish church. The thought of acquiring a second home elsewhere and leading a migratory existence, in imitation of the greater barons apparently did not appeal to the family, still less the notion of leaving the ancestral home altogether.

Nevertheless, the family retained an interest in the area north of Dover. When William de Orlestone, the son of William and Sibil, died in the early 1270s, he left two sons, William and John. As heir to lands held by knight's service, the elder

84. Hasted, viii, p.362.

85. C.Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, vol.3, Harl. Soc., vol.82 (1930), p.286 and the references given there.

86. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.80. The fact that dower was a moiety of the land suggests that it was gavelkind rather than knight's fee, but as we have seen confusion between the two tenures was possible.

inherited the home manor, and the gavelkind lands were divided equally. John had already married, but the lands which his bride Agatha brought to the marriage were inconveniently situated in Sussex, so in 1261 the couple granted to Roger de Pagham something over eleven acres of land, one third of the site of a mill and 3s.2½d. rent in *Levelsham*⁸⁷, Gateberwe, Playden, Peasmarsh and Grykes together with all the land they held in Iden, Sussex which had been previously held by Daniel le Stabler. The property was to be held of John and Agatha and the heirs of Agatha by the nominal service of ½d. yearly, Roger giving a cash payment of 20 marks for the fine.⁸⁸ John and Agatha settled a little to the north of Orlestone, in the Ruckinge area where after her husband's death sometime before 1271 Agatha held gavelkind land in dower. By an agreement finalised on the first day of July in that year she disposed of some 22 acres of land in nearby Blackmanstone to James Humphrey.⁸⁹

John's elder brother William also participated in the land market, paying 22 marks in one transaction for something over one hundred acres of land and a messuage in Ponshall and Newsole in Coldred.⁹⁰ When William died in 1283 his estate was said to consist of the manor of Orlestone together with other lands there and in neighbouring Ruckinge, plus land at Ponshall and four acres of marshland at Lydden-next-Sandwich, in the parish of Worth.⁹¹

William's heir was his son John who, when he died in 1298, left three sons who were minors.⁹² The king, of whom Orlestone was held, granted the custody of the

87. So given in *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.416. The index to this volume suggests that the editors believed this to be a form of Lewisham. In view of the other property involved I suggest it may be a misreading of Icklesham, in Sussex.

88. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.416.

89. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.388.

90. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.326. The modern Newsole Farm appears on Ordnance Survey maps (OS grid ref. TR284365).

91. *CIPM*, ii, No.527; PRO C133 File 39(3).

92. According to a Proof of Age made when William came to claim seisin of his father's lands, he was born on 10 June 1297. His father had died on Good Friday 1298. Unless William was one of triplets, William must in fact have come late to claim his inheritance. C.Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, vol.3, Harl. Soc., vol.82 (1930),

manor and the marriage of William, the principal heir to one William Martin who in turn sold it to Roger de Bellafago. The estate, when William came of age and requested that the seisin of them be delivered to him, was still reckoned to consist of the double knights' fee in Orlestone, another half of a knight's fee in Ruckinge, gavelkind tenements in Ivychurch and in the marsh, and a further half of a knight's fee in Ponshall.⁹³ Seven years later, in 1316/7, William and his wife Margery acquired a substantial tenement in Ruckinge and Orlestone from Adam the son of Thomas Quikman of Bilsington⁹⁴ and another quarter of a knight's fee was added to the estate at North Ponshall sometime during William's lifetime.⁹⁵ There is no evidence to suggest that the Orlestone family ever contemplated spreading their ownership of land beyond their two small traditional areas of influence.

A much less prominent family than either the Cobhams or the Orlestons were the Shillinghelds, who we already have seen were tenants of John de Cobham at Bekesbourne. From at least as early as the 1240s Eudo de Shillingheld had held half a knight's fee at Shillingheld in Chilham,⁹⁶ as well as another tenement held there of Juliana de Legh for which he paid 20s. a year rent.⁹⁷ The family also held forty acres of land in Elvington in the parish of Eythorne as one sixth of a knight's fee.⁹⁸ In 1274, in answer to the Hundred Roll commissioners' enquiries, it was reported that

p.287.

93. *CIPM*, v. No.178; PRO C134 File 10(14).

94. J.Greenstreet, ed., 'Kent Fines, Edward II', *Arch. Cant.* 13 (1880), p.319.

95. IPM of William de Orlestone (1342). *CIPM*, viii, No.359; PRO C135 File 66(12).

96. *Book of Fees*, p.661.

97. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.216.

98. This was held in 1241 of Richard de Rokele, who then acknowledged it to be of the right of the Abbot of St Augustine. The abbot granted it to Richard in return for payment of 18s. rent plus 12d. sheriff's aid for all services, suits of court and exactions, saving the reliefs and escheats when they should occur. Twenty two years later, Eudo de Shillingheld complained that whereas he held a tenement in Elvington of John de Rokele by the services due from one sixth of a knight's fee and 9s.6d. per annum for all services, the abbot was distraining him for 19s. yearly which John, as mesne lord, ought to acquit him of. John acknowledged the truth of this and remitted all damages. *Kent Feet of Fines*, pp.162, 336.

Ivo de Shillingheld had one sixth of a fee in Elvington held of John Malemains and another quarter fee there, held of Guncelimus de Badlesmere.⁹⁹ The knightly tenements of the Shillinghelds are shown in Appendix 2.3.

This family too had other land apart from these knightly tenements. There may well be other tenancies, but from surviving rentals of around 1320-30 we know that in Shillingheld itself Eudo had a further 20 acres of land for which he paid 18d. and owed suit of court to the manor of Westwood,¹⁰⁰ and that he also paid 4s. in annual rent to Sir John de Cobham's manor of Bekesbourne.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, the Shillingheld estate displays a degree of integrity, being concentrated into two main groups each of which was quite compact. The two centres were no more than fifteen miles apart. Furthermore it seems clear that the family had only one 'home'. It was the men of the hundred of Felborough, which included Shillingheld, who reported to the Hundred Roll commissioners that Eudo had been unjustly treated by the sheriff William de Hever. William had allegedly charged Eudo with harbouring an outlaw and forced him to hand over 40s.¹⁰² Eudo served as a juror on an IPM of 1272, when Richard de Dover's manor of Chilham was described.¹⁰³ In a later generation, another Eudo or Ivo de Shillingheld was twice numbered among IPM jurors, in 1327 and 1339.¹⁰⁴ On these two occasions also the manor under scrutiny was Chilham, where the inquisition was actually held. The family does not appear in any context as resident outside this locality.

One last example is given by the Colepeper family, who rose to local prominence in the Tonbridge area as tenants and retainers of the earls of Gloucester. From the

99. *RH*, p.207.

100. CKS U488 M13.

101. BL Harl.Roll S7.

102. *RH*, i, 211a. William of Hever was sheriff in 1272-3. Hasted, i, p.183.

103. *CIPM*, i, No.924; PRO C132 File 47(7).

104. *CIPM*, vi, No.759; PRO C134 File 104(1) and *CIPM*, viii, No.185; PRO C135 File 56 m.33.

fourteenth century onwards the family were to become important enough in Kentish and Sussex political society to ensure that in the past a considerable amount of effort has been put into piecing the family tree together.¹⁰⁵ Although the origin of the name is obscure, Colepepers had been living in the area east of Tonbridge since at least as early as the reign of King John, when Thomas Colepeper had been an assize juror. This man's grandson or perhaps great grandson was also named Thomas and he was described in 1303 as being of Brenchley. He had two sons Thomas and Walter and together father and sons had seen service in the Scottish Wars, in recognition of which they received royal pardons for various unspecified crimes.¹⁰⁶

Thomas the father died around 1311, leaving his son Thomas as heir to a quarter of a knight's fee in Pembury parish, held of the earl of Gloucester. In 1314 this is called Henherst,¹⁰⁷ but is probably to be identified with the manor of Bayhall which was the family seat in later years. Again gavelkind land was held alongside knight's fee and this was divided equally between the two sons. As with the other families we have looked at, this division was made with an eye to geographical convenience and the younger son moved a short distance away from the ancestral home to found his own branch of the family. When Walter died he held various tenements in gavelkind, including one called Marescales in Brenchley,¹⁰⁸ although in the main his lands were concentrated nearer to Maidstone, a few miles to the north east in East Farleigh and

105. The clearest account of the early family is to be found in F.W.T. Attree and J.H.L. Booker, 'The Sussex Colepepers', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 47 (1904), pp.47-54.

106. *CPR 1301-1307*, p.178. Thomas senior's position in local society is illustrated by his excommunication in 1280 along with about fifty other local men for their support of nearby Bayham Abbey in its struggle with Michelham priory over the church of Hailsham. L.F. Salzman 'Sussex Excommunicates', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 82 (1942), p.129.

107. *CIPM*, v, No.538; PRO C134 File 44 (m.61).

108. *CIPM*, vii, No.62; PRO C135 File 4(3).

Langley.¹⁰⁹

The Colepeper family fortunes were based upon military and personal service and retainership. One of the Thomas's, probably the son, journeyed to France with William de Leybourne in 1299.¹¹⁰ As admiral of the English fleet, Leybourne had powers to appoint lieutenants and to compel the foresters to provide timber for the two hundred new ships ordered by the king.¹¹¹ Perhaps in this case it is not coincidence that in 1318 Colepeper was appointed forester of Ashdown in Sussex, together with the keepership of Maresfield Park at the request of Roger Damory, Bartholomew de Badlesmere and Hugh D'Audley the younger, all of whom were associated with the Tonbridge estate through marriage with the sisters of Gilbert.¹¹² Supported by such powerful patrons, Thomas was able to exert his will upon the local community and his income was no doubt increased thereby. The Kent commissioners of the peace, meeting at Greenwich on 6 February 1317, heard how Thomas Colepeper and John de Bedgebury had made various diseissins in west Kent and thereby committed many transgressions of the peace, in particular stealing from the tithe of the prior of Leeds at Lamberhurst and at Goudhurst, where they allegedly operated with men and arms.¹¹³ One imagines that Thomas, if found guilty, was not punished too severely, if for no other reason than that one of the commissioners was John de Ifeld, with whom Thomas was associated the very next year as a tax assessor and collector in Kent.¹¹⁴

109. Walter was the knight who, as deputy of Bartholomew de Badlesmere, refused Queen Isabel entry to Leeds Castle and thus prompted the siege of October 1321 which was one of the opening shots in the final struggle that saw the downfall of the king's opponents at Boroughbridge. N.Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II 1321-1326* (Cambridge, 1979), p.50. Walter's lands suffered the same fate of forfeiture as Thomas's, and after restoration to his heirs his line prospered, like his brother's, into later generations.

110. *CPR 1292-1301*, p.412.

111. Sir Maurice Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century 1216-1307*, 2nd. edn. (Oxford, 1962), pp.655-6.

112. *CPR 1317-1321*, p.109.

113. *Kent Keepers of the Peace*, p.35.

114. *CPR 1317-1321*, p.347.

It did not stop there though, for in the flood of complaints and inquisitions that followed the royalist victory at Boroughbridge, both Thomas and his brother Walter were found to have been guilty of further crimes against property.¹¹⁵

Both Thomas and Walter Colepeper actively participated in the market for land, purchasing pieces of property both large and small. Indeed the surviving evidence of their involvement is so detailed that it is analysed in some depth in the next chapter. For the moment, it suffices to say that each of these men appear as accumulators of land within the immediate areas of their home manors.

In several respects then patterns have been shown which were common to gentry lords in all parts of the county. The majority of these estates were not composed of scattered manors. Rather, they were concentrated geographically and few, if any, lords in this period kept in their own hands manors lying in more than two more or less consolidated blocks. This same pattern of consolidated lordships has been described in a recent study of a more localised region around the large east Kent manor of Wingham, albeit at a later date.¹¹⁶ The land market was used to augment the estate within these small areas, whereas lands and manors which were acquired further afield were more likely to be used to provide for other members of the family. These outliers to the main estate came most often from marriages to heiresses of families of similar social and economic standing.

Gavelkind land was almost universally held by these gentry lords alongside property held by the more elevated feudal tenure of knight's fee. According to local custom,

115. *CCR 1318-1323*, pp.448-9; *CCR 1323-1327*, pp.241,587,588; *CIMC*, ii, nos.799,872,878. Their kinsman Nicholas Colepeper (who was possibly a brother, see F.W.T.Attree and J.H.L.Booker, 'The Sussex Colepepers', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 47 (1904), p.49.) continued to be the subject of complaints of house and park breaking, trespass and theft. *CPR 1321-1324*, pp.374,383; *CPR 1327-1330*, pp.150,207,426; *CPR 1330-1334*, pp.135,171.

116. E.J.Andrews, *Land, Family and Community in Wingham and its Environs. An Economic and Social History of Rural Society in East Kent from c.1450-1640*, (U.K.C. PhD thesis, 1991), pp.35-47 and map 2.3.

land held by this local 'peasant' tenure descended partly, so that if the holder had sons then all were entitled to inherit equal shares. What this amounted to practically was that there was a ready made mechanism whereby a patrimonial estate could be divided along geographical lines. A common practice in the case of a divided inheritance was for the eldest son to inherit the home group of manors, while younger sons and other kin were endowed with land at some remove, often held in gavelkind. This gavelkind inheritance could thus form the nucleus of an embryonic estate from which a cadet branch of the family could arise. In this work no attempt has been made to analyse the data in order to assess the extent to which this actually happened. That is, the frequency with which sufficient offspring survived to necessitate a division of the estate has not been calculated. What is important is the fact that the estate of the individual member of the lay gentry was generally contained geographically within a very limited area, with a radius of no more than five or six miles. The implication is that the lord had a very local, even parochial, outlook. This has a significance when it comes to considering the practical management of the manorial demesnes and tenants.

Chapter 3

The acquisition of land

In the previous chapter we saw the way in which family links enabled the already established gentry to enlarge and consolidate their estates. It was also apparent that considerable use was made of the land market to acquire both small and large pieces of land. In this chapter the theme is developed further, with particular reference to the acquisitions of two families, the Peckhams of Yaldham manor, near Wrotham and the Colepepers of Bayhall manor, near Tonbridge. What emerges from the study of the charters which record the activities of these two families, as well as from the more general evidence of the IPMs, is that the well-formed market in small pieces of land may have been an important factor in the early formation of many of the small manors which came into being in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Often formed initially as sub-tenancies of the already established manors in the hands of ecclesiastical or lay nobles, these sub-manors formed nuclei around which emergent gentry families were able to consolidate their landed bases. Most such creation is now hidden from us, either because the charters have been lost, or because it took place before such records became commonplace. However, in a few cases the evidence exists to allow us to see the process in some detail and it is with these that this chapter is concerned.

The mass of evidence that we have for a market in small pieces of land in Kent comes in large part from the deeds and charters collected in the archives of the ecclesiastical houses. As lords of manors these abbeys, priories and bishoprics were themselves active in buying land from their own tenants and others.¹ In doing so they

1. See for example M.Mate, 'The estates of Canterbury Cathedral Priory before the Black Death 1315-1348', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, n.s.8 (1986), pp.3-31; A.M.Langridge, *The Tenantry of Chartham from c.1200-c.1550* (U.K.C. MA thesis, 1982), *passim*; V.Everett, *The Tenantry of a Downland Manor - Meopham c.1250-c.1350* (U.K.C. Dip.Loc.Hist. dissertation, 1988), *passim*.

collected charters which recorded their own acquisitions and also very often ones concerning earlier transactions relating to a particular piece of land. Thus we know that these lords made full use of this source of additional land for building up their own demesnes, and it seems reasonable to suppose that other lords did the same.

One prominent Kentish gentry family which certainly did was that of the Northwoods who were lords of several manors in central and north Kent.² Most of these manors were enlarged, and some had probably been created initially by accumulations of small pieces of land and rents. It is clear that the Northwood lords had been acquiring land from their own tenants and others since the late 1250s at the latest. When John de Northwood senior died in 1319 it was remarked by the separate IPM juries giving evidence at the various manors that land had been acquired both by John and by his father Roger, who had died earlier, in 1284.³ We have already observed that in 1257 Roger had received a royal grant to change the service by which he held all his land in Milton hundred from gavelkind rents and customs into knight's service and a contribution to the bailiff of Milton towards the farm of the manor.⁴ After describing the land which had come by inheritance from his father, this charter goes on to list 184½ acres of land, meadow and marsh and 74s. rent in the immediate area which had been acquired from nine parties.

At the time of his death in 1284, the manor of Northwood lay in two parts, consisting respectively of lands on the isle of Sheppey and on the mainland. The manor was then held entirely by knight's service according to the provisions of the grant. However, by 1319, when only the Sheppey half of the Northwood manor appears to have been included in the IPM returns, the value of lands and rents held by

2. IPMs of John and Joan de Northwood, taken in 1319, show the family's estate in the early fourteenth century to have consisted of the manors of Northwood, Thurnham and Bengbury, Shorne, two parts of Harrietsham, Horton and Beuffeld. *CIPM*, vi, Nos.181 & 182; PRO C134 File 62(12 & 13).

3. *CIPM*, ii, No.582; PRO C133 File 42(12).

4. *CChR*, i, pp.458-9; see above, p.37.

the military tenure was more than matched by lands and tenements held in gavelkind, so the policy of acquisition had been vigorously continued by Roger's son and heir John. The valuations given in the 1319 extent are given in Table 3.1 below. The estate was by then more widespread, extending sixteen miles from Shorne in the north west, to Harrietsham in the south east, but Northwood was the ancient family home and remained their base.⁵ The figures of the IPM suggest that this was the manor upon which the greatest effort was expended in improvement. Certainly the total value of gavelkind land amassed was greatest here. If the Northwoods were seeking to enlarge and enrich their home manor, then this seems a reasonable policy given that it was the symbol of their position in the neighbourhood. Other manors of the estate, in particular those of Harrietsham and Thurnham apparently did not receive so much expenditure. In part this may be because they were more established, and in fact Harrietsham and Thurnham were both Domesday manors,⁶ but perhaps it is also because the Northwoods made the decision to concentrate upon improving the ancestral home. Nevertheless, pieces of gavelkind land were purchased on these other manors as well. The components held in gavelkind amounted to a quarter of the whole, and in the heart of the estate at Northwood itself, to over half.

The Northwoods were by no means alone in adopting this approach. Many other lay lords acted in similar fashion as shown by the record of the IPMs, which includes approximately 160 separate estates with elements in Kent which can be seen in detail through the provision of manorial extents.⁷ Of these, almost a half include elements which appear to be additions around a manorial or quasi-manorial core. These additions vary from the very small to the comparatively large, and some are explicitly

5. Hasted, i, p.184 and vi, pp.177-179.

6. Harrietsham and Thurnham were Domesday manors. DB, i, 7d; i, 8b

7. That is, IPMs of related persons, such as husband and wife or father and son, are supposed to refer to the same estate. Such an estate may well have changed character between IPMs, but is here taken as being the same estate.

Table 3.1. Valuations from the IPM of John de Northwood, knight, 1319.⁸

Manor:	Held by:	Value of property held in military tenure:	Value of additional land held in gavelkind:
Shorne	1 knight's fee	£21 16s.	£1 12s.6d.
2 parts of Harrietsham	2/3 fee	£10 6s.8d.	-
Northwood in Sheppey	1/40 fee	£17 13s.4d.	£18 14s.4 1/4d.
Thornham & Bengebury	2 fees	£14 0s.8 1/2d. £4 18s.4d.	£2 3s.1d. £1 11s.4d.
Horton & Beuffeld	1/4 fee	£4 10s.8d. £2 17s.8d.	12s.9d. -
Totals		£76 3s.4 1/2d.	£24 14s.0 1/4d.

acquisitions by purchase while others are in the form of lists of pieces of land or rents held of several named lords, or else by 'divers' lords. John de Godeyeneton for example, died in 1300 holding the manor of Lower Hardres as one knight's fee of the king. The demesne contained 102 acres of arable, of which 84 1/2 acres properly belonged to the free fee and the other 17 1/2 acres were held in gavelkind.⁹

Lavinia atte Welle, whose IPM was taken in 1347, had in her possession on the day she died, half of the manor of Street which she held of the king by half a knight's fee.¹⁰ In addition to the demesne which contained 49 acres of arable, 14 acres of meadow, 34 acres of pasture and 13 acres of underwood, she had held a total of 78 1/2 acres of land of seven different lords, from six of whom she explicitly held in gavelkind. These additional lands ranged from 25 acres which were held of John Beauchamp to the 1 1/2 acres held of the Master of Dover Hospital. Other lords were the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Passelee, Thomas de Westbyry, Henry the

8. *CIPM*, vi, No.181; PRO C134 File 62(12) and *CIPM*, vi, No.182; PRO C134 File 62(13).

9. *CIPM*, iii, No.585; PRO C133 File 93(16).

10. *CIPM*, ix, No.94; PRO C135 File 89(16).

Falconer of Herst¹¹ and John Tristrem.

The number of lords from whom lands were held and to whom rent was owed might reach double figures, especially before 1289¹². Thus John de Planaz who died in 1293 held lands of at least twenty-one different men.¹³ At the heart of the estate was a total of 136¼ acres of arable, pasture, meadow and underwood, a watermill and rents of 17s.11½d. held of the archbishop of Canterbury by the service of one eighth of a knight's fee, an annual rent of 20s. and suit every three weeks at the archbishop's court of Otford. On top of this John held small areas of land and some rents of at least 19 others, as shown in Table 3.2. Arable, pasture and meadow are valued in exactly the same way as the knight's fee demesne acres, and it seems likely that they were in fact being cultivated together. The purchases of these small pieces of land had enabled John de Planaz to enlarge his arable by at least 31%, pasture by 71%, meadow by 76% and underwood by 113%. Purchases of rents had also apparently increased this source of John's annual revenue by around 117%. On the debit side, the rents that were owed to the various individuals and groups from whom the lands had been acquired totalled less than two shillings, since most were held for the nominal rent of a rose. The largest such tenement, held of Richard de Tymberden, carried the burden of a rent of four roses. Thus the regular outgoings had increased by less than 10%, although this does of course ignore the one-off costs of purchase and entry to the lands, of which we have no knowledge.

Sometimes whole manors were composed of such elements. As well as the manor of Street, Lavinia atte Welle had died holding the manor of Welle in Blean, which had

11. That is, Falconhurst which lay a mile or two to the west of Street.

12. The Staute of *Quia Emptores* of 1290 effectively ended the process by which land was sub-infeudated rather than sold. Up to that point alienations usually merely added another rung to the feudal ladder, with the person to whom the grant was made becoming the tenant of the grantor. F.W.Jessup, 'Introduction' in I.J.Churchill et al., eds., *Calendar of Kent Feet of Fines to the end of Henry III's reign*, Kent Records, 15 (Ashford, 1956), p.xxviii.

13. *CIPM*, iii, No.118; PRO C133 File 65(14).

Table 3.2. The estate of John de Planaz as given in his IPM of 1293.¹⁴

<u>Held of:</u>	<u>Details of the property:</u>	<u>Service:</u>
Archbishop of Canterbury	messuage, dovecot, 42a. arable, 8a. 1r. meadow, 70a. pasture, 16a. underwood, 17s. 11½d. rent and a windmill	homage for 1/8 knight's fee, 20s. rent & 3-weekly suit at the archbishop's Otford court.
Richard de Tymberden	10a arable, 21a pasture, 8a underwood, 16s. & 21 hens rent	4 roses.
Heirs of Robert de Tymberden	15a pasture	1 rose.
Symon and Alan de Twetton	4a pasture	1 rose.
William le Pende	1½a meadow	1 rose.
Simon and John de Ecclesia	3r meadow	unknown.
John de Capella	1a 1r meadow	7½d. rent.
Alan de Godyngeston	4a pasture	6d. rent.
William and Master Thomas le Pende	4a pasture	...
Walter le Dyghere	½a arable and ½a meadow	...
Peter Molendinarius	½a arable and ½a meadow	...
Walter le Dyghere	2a arable and ½a meadow	...
Sir Ralph de Hevere	½a meadow	1 rose.
Hamo de Sumercote and Walter de Ponte	½a meadow	1 rose.
William and Master Thomas le Pende	1r meadow	1 rose.
William atte Hoke	5r wood	3d. rent.
Thomas le Betere	2a pasture	1 rose.
"	12d. rent	1 rose.
William de Bradeborn	15d. rent	1d.
Heirs of ...	10a. wood	...
...	½a arable	...

14. *CIPM*, iii, No.118; PRO C133 File 65(14). The document is damaged at the bottom, with an unknown amount of information lost.

been granted to her for life by her husband John atte Welle. This was reported in Lavinia's IPM to be held of various lords in gavelkind, namely the prior of Christ Church, the abbot of St Augustine's, the earl of Oxford, the lady de Ros and the Master of Eastbridge Hospital.¹⁵

In one or two cases it is possible to see the record of the actual transactions which brought these additional elements to the estate. When for example, Fulk Peyforer died in 1275 he held, among other things, a marsh called *Boyworth*¹⁶ which was described as having been bought from the heirs of Reginald de Cornhill, and held by the service of a sore sparrowhawk each year¹⁷. In spite of the fact that the heirs are invoked, almost certainly this is the property which was the subject of a fine recorded in the king's court twenty years before, in 1255. By this Reginald de Cornhill himself had acknowledged a gift to Fulk Peyforer and his wife Juliana of pasture for 175 sheep, 12 acres of land (probably on ground above the marsh) and rents of one mark and 14 hens in Halstow. These premises were to be held of Reginald and his heirs for an annual payment of a sore sparrowhawk and for the grant Fulk and Juliana had given 8 marks.¹⁸

This is a particularly clear case where a fine and a later IPM refer to the same property, but there are other examples where a fine is the record of land bought in a locality where a later inquisition shows a multiplicity of lordships. Several, similar, examples might be given, but to avoid over-burdening detail just two are quoted.

Thomas Abelin's IPM of 1275 records his holding, *inter alia*, 18a. of land in Borden

15. *CIPM*, ix, No.94; PRO C135 File 89(16).

16. Identified by J.K.Wallenberg as the modern Bayford in Upchurch, a mile westwards along the north Kent coast from Lower Halstow. Wallenberg, *Place-Names of Kent*, p.272.

17. *CIPM*, ii, No.230; PRO C133 File 17(13).

18. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.271. The editors of the Fines were unsure whether this should be identified as Higher or Lower Halstow in the absence of evidence other than that included in the fine itself. In the light of the IPM and Wallenberg's identification of *Boyworth*, it must surely be Lower Halstow.

of the king in addition to his main knightly tenement in Murston and Milsted, in the royal manor of Milton, near Sittingbourne.¹⁹ Thirty four years earlier, in 1241, Thomas had been a party to two fines concerning land in Borden. By one he had secured the grant of 20a. of land in Borden from Augustine the son of Peter and his wife Elena, Hamo the son of Mabel, John the son of Cecily and Luke the son of Mabel.²⁰ From the matronymical surnames of three of the four granting parties, it would appear that this is an example of a joint inheritance having been sold off in preference to being divided into unmanageable pieces. Thomas had paid a total of 36 marks (£24) for the grant.²¹

By the second of the two fines, Thomas had secured 14a. of land in Borden from Jordan Kaym and his wife Sarah.²² This land was to be held of Jordan and Sarah and of her heirs, so that this again represents the liquidisation of a wife's inheritance. A rent of 6d. was to be paid yearly to Jordan and Sarah and Thomas was to perform the services due for the land to the chief lords. For this fine Thomas paid 20 marks.

Another example is that of John Crul, holder of a tenement in the archbishop of Canterbury's east Kent manor of Ash, near Sandwich. From John's IPM of 1272, comes the information that this consisted of a total of 50a. of land held of the

19. *CIPM*, ii, No.174; PRO C133 File 13(11). Thomas was also reported to have held 18a. of land of Stephen de Pencester as of his manor of Tunstall, 20a. of land of Alice de Gatton as of her court of Wormshill and 16a. of woodland of the abbot of St Augustine. When Thomas's son and heir Nicholas died three years later, his IPM recorded that he held 70a. of land and wood in Milsted with other lands in Murston and Elmley (on the isle of Sheppey) which his mother held in dower, together with 10a. of land and a messuage in Borden of the king in chief, 24a. of land of Stephen de Pencester, and a further 49a. of land in Milton hundred 'of divers men'. *CIPM*, ii, No.261; PRO C133 File 19(4).

20. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.159.

21. The defendant in the fictitious case which the fine concluded was actually Stephen le Wreuht who warranted to Thomas Abelin the 20a. of land. Thomas paid 24 marks to Augustine the son of Peter and his wife Elena, Hamo the son of Mabel, John the son of Cecily and Luke the son of Mabel. The other 12 marks were paid to Stephen le Wreuht. The land was to be held by Thomas of Stephen for a yearly rent of 1lb. of cumin and 2d. cash, but Thomas was also to pay to the grantors 6d. yearly. Stephen had presumably acted in some way as an agent in the transaction.

22. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.166.

archbishop and another 66a. held of the priories of Leeds and St Gregory, of Sir Roger de Leybourne, William de Chilton and unnamed others. John also had income from 17s.7d. and 18 hens in assized rents.²³ Just seven years before his death, John Crul had entered into a fine whereby 8¼a. of land in Ash had been passed to him by John de Elstane and his wife Maud, to be held of them and of the heirs of Maud for a yearly rent of 4d. For the fine John Crul gave a sparrow-hawk.²⁴

The evidence of the fines, limited though it is in terms of numbers, suggests that these acquisitions were not made as short-term investment. No person, who was personally the subject of an IPM can be seen to have been involved in making grants of land outside the kin-group.

Some fines are patently devices to sort out inheritances. We have seen this use of a fine in the earlier description of the disposition of the Cobham estate.²⁵ Another example is given by the fine of 1270/1 which dealt with the inheritance of the four sons of Gilbert de Ifield. The three youngest sons, Thomas, William and Gilbert quitclaimed to their elder brother, another William, their three parts of a messuage, 280a. of land, 6a. of meadow, a mill, 20a. of wood and 20s. of rent in Ifield. In exchange William senior agreed to pay to Thomas 10s. yearly for his life. This was presumably paid on behalf of the three brothers. However, after Thomas's death William was to be quit of payment. William also paid a lump sum of 9 marks for the quitclaim.²⁶ In 1306 the IPM of Thomas de Ifield, probably William's son, was held.²⁷ Then it was found that Thomas's main tenement in Ifield consisted of a capital messuage and dovecot, 27a. of arable land, 5¼a. of meadow, 6¼a. of pasture,

23. *CIPM*, i, No.803; PRO C132 File 41(16).

24. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.346.

25. Above, pp.52-3.

26. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.362.

27. *CIPM*, iv, No.389; PRO C133 File 123(10).

a wood containing 19¼a. and a windmill.²⁸ This was held by rent and a quarter of a knight's fee of the archbishop of Canterbury's manor of Northfleet, but an annual payment of 7 marks was also due to the heirs of William de Ifield of Stone.²⁹ In addition to this main tenement, Thomas held 64a. of land, 1½a. of meadow and 9s.3d. assized rent and some poultry rents of the manor of Northfleet in gavelkind. Thomas had three sons, Richard, Thomas and John. Richard who was the eldest inherited the knightly holding. All three were entitled to a share of the gavelkind tenement. The fine of 35 years earlier perhaps relates to a time when the tenure by which the main tenement was held was gavelkind, and all four sons of Gilbert were legitimately able to claim shared inheritance. Alternatively, it may be that before the royal escheator was able to untangle the true nature of the tenure, by virtue of a vacancy in the archbishopric, its feudal component was being neglected. We have already seen that such confusion could and did arise.³⁰

Fines were also used on occasion to rationalise estates by performing exchanges. Thus in 1252 Thomas the son of Geoffrey de Tutsham³¹ and his wife Joan acknowledged a messuage and an acre of land in Pympe, in East Farleigh near Maidstone, to be the right of Robert de Barming, for which he owed a rent of 2d. yearly. In exchange Robert granted to Thomas and Joan one and a quarter acres of land in nearby Yalding which was called *Heringeslond*, at a annual rent of 2s. When Robert died in 1269 it was found that he held the manor of Barming, together with over fifty acres of land in Pympe and 20a. in Egerton, but no mention was made of land in Yalding.³²

28. This tenement appears to have been all in demesne as no assized rents were recorded in the IPM.

29. Stone is near Dartford, a little to the west of Ifield and Northfleet.

30. See above, pp.37-8.

31. Tutsham is in West Farleigh. Wallenberg, *Place-Names of Kent*, p.160.

32. *CIPM*, i, No.698; PRO C132 File 36(12), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.* 5 (1862/3), p.299.

Similarly, in 1263/4 Robert de Cowsted and his wife Sabina granted to Ralph Savage a messuage, 38a. of land, 8s. of rent and a rent of 18 hens in Warden and Leysdown on the isle of Sheppey.³³ This was to be held for an annual rent of 1d. of Robert and Sabina and her heirs. This appears to be another example of a woman's inheritance lying inconveniently far from her husband's lands, for in return Ralph granted to Robert and Sabina a messuage and 5¼a. of land in Newington, closer to the main Cowsted manor of which the family were lords, also to be held for an rent of 1d. The imbalance in the areas of land involved in the two grants suggests that Robert was more interested in convenience than size of holding.³⁴

Against such uses of the fines as a mechanism for formalising agreements over inheritance, to consolidate by performing land exchanges or indeed as conclusions to cases genuinely involving litigation, it does seem likely that the majority of fines were part of a well-established conveyancing procedure and that they record land and rent disposal and acquisition.³⁵ On this evidence then, it seems probable that such augmentations as are revealed by the IPMs underestimate the true scale of activity of these gentry lords. Relatively small areas of land must often have escaped the escheator's attention when his main concern was to assess the property in which the king had an interest. Gavelkind, which was the tenure by which the bulk of these small acquisitions was held, was for him a minor issue. By the custom of Kent the custody of such lands and the wardship of its heirs, which were after all the matters which interested the escheator most, belonged not to the king as lord of the fee but to the closest non-inheriting relative.

33. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.344.

34. When William de Cowsted's IPM was held at Newington in 1281, it was recorded that in addition to lands and rents in the hundred of Milton, presumably on the mainland, William had also had income of £4 per year from the farm of a certain land on the isle of Sheppey. *CIPM*, ii, No.388; PRO C133 File 27(7).

35. F.W.Jessup, 'Introduction' in I.J.Churchill et al., eds., *Calendar of Kent Feet of Fines to the end of Henry III's reign*, Kent Records, 15 (Ashford, 1956), p.xxiii.

An example which shows how the IPMs can over-simplify the tenorial picture is given by the Orlestone estate.³⁶ Of the five inquisitions which we have showing the descent through the generations, none is so detailed as that of 1283, taken following the death of William (III).³⁷ Within the manor of Orlestone itself the jury reported that ten acres of land above the marsh³⁸ were held in gavelkind, presumably having been obtained from the manorial tenants. In addition six acres of land were held in Orlestone of the prior of Horton and another ten acres of the archbishop of Canterbury. At Ruckinge, where half a knight's fee was held in chief of the king, a further sixteen acres of marsh-land were held of the Master of God's House, Dover. The single jury of twelve men, sitting at Orlestone, dealt with all the estate, including the lands in Ponshall, which were held of Sir John de St. John. These men were unclear as to the service owed for this property and it is possible that, at a total of just sixty acres of arable, their report of the extent of the land was an underestimate.³⁹ However, they were able to report that John de Orlestone had also held marsh land at Lydden next Sandwich, which they put at four acres. This was held of yet another lord, William de Langedon.

The next time that the estate was described was in 1309 when a jury were called upon to give evidence in answer to a writ of *certiorari* on the petition of William de

36. For a description of this estate and the family tree showing the Orlestone pedigree, see above, pp.56-61. For the location of the various places mentioned see Map 2.2 above, p.58.

37. *CIPM*, ii, No.527; PRO C133 File 39(3).

38. In the original Latin, this land is described as *terra susana*, which the editors of the Calendars of Inquisitions Post Mortem generally translated as 'worn-out land' (e.g. *CIPM*, v, No.145.). However, as in this case the context often suggests comparison with land in the marsh and so the correct translation must be 'upland' in the sense of any land lying above the marshes. This is the sense in which it has been consistently taken throughout this thesis. See also R.E.Latham ed., *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (1965), p.471, where this interpretation is given.

39. In 1262 John's father William de Orlestone had acquired 112 acres of land in Ponshall, where half a knight's fee had been held since at least the early 1250's; see Appendix 2.2 and above, p.60.

Orlestone (IV).⁴⁰ He had been a minor when his father John died eleven years earlier, and having now achieved the age of majority, he sought entry into his father's lands. Perhaps this was the reason why attention was paid to the fine details of the tenures. In any event, in addition to the knights' fees held at Orlestone and neighbouring Ruckinge, John was reported to have died holding 52 acres of arable in Romney marsh at Ivychurch of the abbot of St Augustine's, by half a knight's fee. Significantly though, he had also had 95½ acres of upland and 57 acres in the marsh, held in gavelkind of various unnamed lords. In the other portion of the Orlestone estate, at Ponshall, as well as the half knight's fee held of Sir John de St. John, there were a further 100 acres of land held in gavelkind of various lords, again unnamed. For this land a total rent of 3s.5d. was owed, together with the customary three-weekly suit at the court of the chief lord of the fee who was the abbot of St Augustine.

On the other three occasions that the Orlestone estate appears in the inquisitions, the record is much more terse and small areas of land held by gavelkind are not mentioned. Two alternative conclusions are possible. The first is that the extra lands were added to the estate by William (III) between the date of his father's IPM in 1272⁴¹ and his own death in 1283. If this is the case, then they were then disposed of after William (IV) obtained entry to his lands, and before his own death around 1342.⁴² The alternative interpretation is that the gavelkind lands were simply considered to be of minor importance and were not recorded in the IPMs. Given that only in 1283 and 1309 were full extents given for the knight's fee lands, and that the other inquisitions provide only the barest of details for these, this second possibility seems to be the more likely.

40. *CIPM*, v, No.145; PRO C134 File 10(14).

41. *CIPM*, i, No.879; PRO C132 File 45(12).

42. *CIPM*, viii, No.359; PRO C135 File 66(12).

Of the 163 Kentish estates recorded in the IPMs fifty-five, or 34%, are represented more than once. Of these 55, thirty show signs of having additional pieces of land and rents to the main tenement. As with the Orlestone estate, several appear repeatedly, following the deaths of successive lords. Of these, in only around half of each series of IPMs are the additional holdings described. It is possible that acquisitions were made between IPMs but, as illustrated by the Orlestone example, the most likely explanation for their absence in most cases is that the escheator did not record what he saw as the minor details of the estate in question. It is likely that many, if not all, of these gentry estates also had such additional elements, even if the details are lost to us.

The acquisitions of Thomas Colepeper

We turn now to look in rather more detail at the acquisition policy of two men in particular. With their respective wives, Thomas Colepeper and Martin de Peckham used the market in peasant land, as the Northwoods and the other gentry lords were doing, to build their home manors and to lay the foundations for future prosperity. Enough charters and other records survive for closer study of their dealings and we begin with the Colepepers. This family had been landowners in the area around Tonbridge for at least two generations before Thomas married Margery, who was very likely one of the four daughters of John de Bayhall and a coheir to the Bayhall estate.⁴³ After Thomas was executed, having taken the wrong side in the disputes between the Lancastrian party and Edward II, and his property seized by the crown, his widow Margery petitioned the king for the return of much of it on the grounds that she and her husband had held the lands jointly. A commission was appointed to investigate the facts and the return of this commission's findings includes details of

43. See above for the genealogy of the Colepeper family, pp.62-5.

three grants made to Thomas and Margery in Kent and five more in Sussex.⁴⁴ These are all for substantial areas of land, the smallest being ten acres.⁴⁵ However, several original charters recording the acquisition of smaller properties also survive.⁴⁶

Together with isolated references in the Patent Rolls to forfeited lands, these bring the number of known purchases to over thirty. These are listed with brief details in Appendix 3.1. The places associated with the Colepeper estate are shown on Map 3.1.

It appears that the Colepepers were primarily acquirers of property rather than grantors. It is of course possible that land was transferred out of the estate as well as brought in, but if so, then the record of such sales and leases has not survived. There were intra-familial transfers such as the grant of fifty acres of land at Foulesden that Thomas Colepeper senior made to his son and daughter in law, presumably in order to set them up in married life.⁴⁷ The surviving charters of this couple indicate a policy of rebuilding a divided patrimony as well as adding extra lands.

It is probable that the reason for the Colepepers' prominence in the Tonbridge area was that they were knights and retainers of the earls of Gloucester.⁴⁸ Whether as a

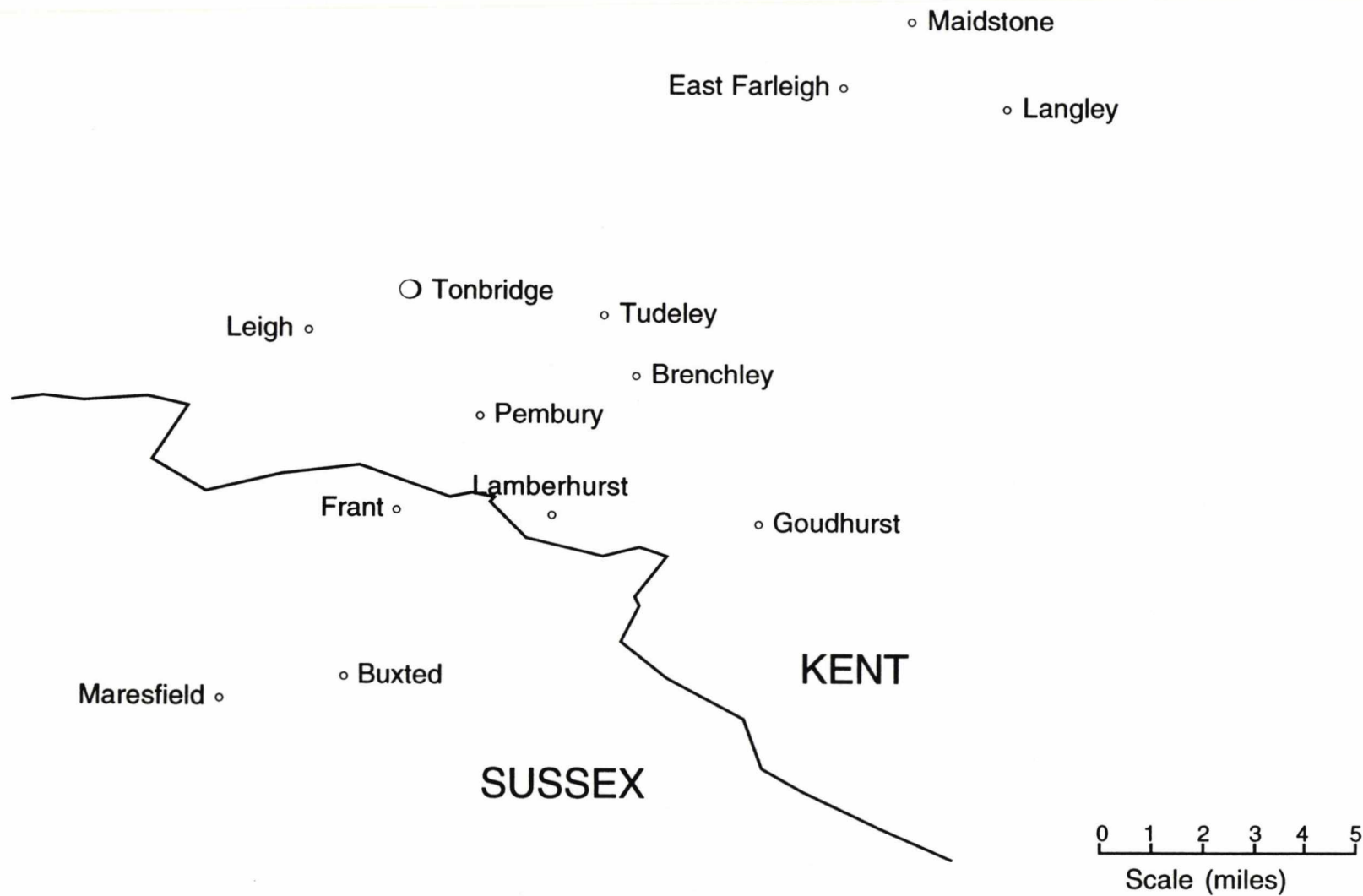
44. This return survives in copies in the British Library and the Public Record Office: BL Harl. Roll T21; PRO C145 File 94(10) (calendared in *CIMC*, ii, No.733).

45. The inquisition return listed the lands as follows. In Kent: two messuages, two mills, 85a. land, 20a. meadow, 60a. pasture, 80a. wood, 20s. rent in Pembury, Tonbridge and Tudeley, acquired by fine from Richard de Headenne and John Colepeper in 1320/21; 50a. land in Foulesdenne acquired by charter from Thomas Colepeper senior in 1310/11; a messuage and a carucate of land in Darnette and Ramherst acquired by charter from Richard Wyth in 1320/21. In Sussex: a messuage and 60a. in Buxted acquired from Ralph Marescot; 10a. in Seyregge acquired from Michael de Bettesfelde; 40a. land and 10a. wood in Frant acquired from Roger de Ferregge in 1316/17; 20a. land in Frant acquired from William de Petteworth in 1318/19 and a messuage and 50a. land in Buxsted and Maresfield acquired from Reginald Burgeys in 1319/20.

46. Among the Harley charters in the British Library. Full references are given in Appendix 3.1.

47. PRO C145 File 94(10) m.5.

48. In the 1340s, Walter Culpeper, probably the son of Thomas and Margery, was an official in the household of Elizabeth de Burgh, one of the overlords from whom Thomas had held his land. Elizabeth held the manor of Southfrith, formerly a part of the Tonbridge estates of the Clare family. M.Mate, 'The agrarian economy of south-east England before the Black Death: depressed or buoyant?', in B.M.S.Campbell ed., *Before the Black Death: studies in the 'crisis' of the early fourteenth century*



Map 3.1. Places named in the text in association with the Colepeper estate.

result of such a relationship or not, during the turbulent years of Edward II's reign, Thomas Colepeper appears to have been in a position to exploit the strength of his position as a retainer of the earl. Both he and his brother, Walter, were able to make very advantageous deals, some of which were later declared illegal. Thomas Gregory for example, had pledged three and a half acres in East Farleigh to Walter Colepeper for two years in return for a loan of 9 marks, the term running from Michaelmas 1318. When Thomas duly made repayment at Walter's house on 15 September 1320, Walter refused to return the land and when a year later Walter's property became forfeit to the crown, this was included with everything else.⁴⁹ It was perhaps in similar fashion that Thomas Colepeper was able to take unjustly from Emma de Tappenese⁵⁰ a substantial tenement in Leigh, which was only returned to her after Thomas's death when no deed could be found among his muniments or elsewhere.⁵¹ Nevertheless, such obviously illegal acquisitions were comparatively few. Although other bargains might well have been influenced by the relative strength of the buyer's position over that of the seller, most appear to be straightforwardly negotiated purchases.

What was the chronology of the acquisitions? Table 3.3 summarises the frequency with which grants were made from the first, which was recorded in 1308/9 until the last which is dated, from 1320/21. Up to 1314 a fairly regular one or two purchases were made per year. The following years saw this figure increase to three or four per year. This may have stemmed from a deliberate policy decision to augment the estate, or perhaps it was a result of Thomas's increasingly strong position within the local community. It is also possible that the root cause was something which lay outside his control and was entirely fortuitous, an example of the fact that it is an ill wind that

49. *CCR 1318-1323*, pp.448-9.

50. Tappenese is the modern Tapners in Leigh parish. See Wallenberg, *Kentish Place-names*, p.77.

51. *CCR 1323-1327*, p.241.

Table 3.3. The chronology of the early fourteenth century land acquisitions of Thomas and Margery Colepeper.

Date of record ⁵² :	1308-11	1311-14	1314-17	1317-21	undated
Number of known acquisitions:	4	5	11	7	5

blows no-one any good. The years 1315 to 1322 were ones of harvest failure and hunger, when small holders in some places around the country can be seen to have sold small pieces of precious land in order to buy food.⁵³ Prosperous families such as the Colepepers, whose landed estates provided a more robust income, were in a position to take advantage. However, because of the nature of the Colepeper archive, we do not have the necessary record of such small acquisitions of land which would confirm this.

What then was the economic use to which the purchased land was put? There were essentially two possibilities. Either the purchaser could pass the land on, through sale, lease or tenancy, or he could retain the land in his own hands and cultivate it personally. It is difficult to be sure, but it looks as though this second course was the one which Thomas and Margery Colepeper adopted. When his estate was the subject of an IPM after the family's restoration to favour following the accession of Edward III in 1327, the inquisition jury described the demesne as consisting of two messuages, 405 acres of arable, twenty acres of meadow, forty acres of pasture and twenty four acres of woodland. There were two water-mills and the rents of assize came to just 20 shillings. No reference was made to lands that had been farmed or leased out.⁵⁴

52. Most of the charters carry only the regnal year in which they were written. Thus, since all the above fall into the reign of Edward II, the break between time intervals occurs in the month of July.

53. As for example at Coltishall in Norfolk and at Redgrave in Suffolk. B.M.S.Campbell, 'Inheritance and the land market in a peasant community', in R.M.Smith, ed., *Land, Kinship and Lifecycle* (Cambridge, 1984), pp.113-5 and R.M.Smith, 'Families and their land in Redgrave, Suffolk 1260-1320', in *ibid.*, p.152.

54. *CIPM*, vii, No.62; PRO C135 File 4(3).

Indeed, following this first inquisition a royal writ to Henry de Cobham, as keeper of the forfeited lands, instructed him to deliver them to Margery de Colepeper, but with the proviso that if the lands had been demised at farm, then the farmers were to be satisfied for their expenditure.⁵⁵ It was the lands which Margery required back, not the income which had been guaranteed by being put out to farm by the king's official after they came into his keeping. The IPM extent is very similar to that given in the enquiry of 1324 following Margery's petition, the only differences in area being in the pasture (60 acres in 1324 and 40 acres in 1327) and woodland (80 acres in 1324 and 24 acres in 1327). The most significant difference however, is that the 1327 extent gives valuations per acre, in common with other IPM demesne descriptions. The conclusion is that while we cannot know exactly how the demesne acres were being used, we can be reasonably certain that they were not permanently rented out or put on long term leases. What is not clear from this evidence is whether arable production was geared towards supplying the market or provisioning the household.

Henry de Cobham's predecessor as keeper of forfeited lands was Richard de Potesgrave and there survives an account of the Colepeper lands during the time that they were in his hands. This runs from 3 November 1321 to Michaelmas 1322, a period four days short of a full year⁵⁶. At the end of this time the Kentish lands were leased to Ralph Jodde, John de Shepestalle and John Copping, while those in Sussex were farmed by Thomas de Chitecroft and John atte Knolle. During the time the estate was under Richard de Potesgrave's control however, Bayhall alone produced a total income of £21 12s.6½d.⁵⁷ At £6 6s.8d., almost a third of the total came from the sale of the crop of 36 acres of land sown with wheat and 4 acres sown with 'spelt'.

55. *CCR 1327-1330*, pp.124-5.

56. The account of the issues of the Kentish lands at Bayhall, Foulesdenne, Bernette, Ramherst and Tappernessee are on PRO SC6 File 1146(1) and those of the Sussex lands at Buxsted, Wadhurst and Petworth are on SC6 File 1146(5).

57. PRO SC6 File 1146(1), m.3.

However, neither of these figures can be assumed to be in any way typical of the cash income that the manor had provided to Thomas Colepeper. The crop was presumably that sown during the year of the account, when another 16s.1d. was realised from land leased for the year. But Richard was not necessarily managing the estate in the same way as its previous owner. He was not for instance, concerned to provide food for the household. Furthermore, he was engaged in carrying out the rights of the king to lay waste to the manor. Because of this though, the account does tell us that among the property disposed off from Bayhall were three waggons and two ploughs.

With a total arable area of almost 400 acres, the Colepeper demesnes may have been capable of regularly producing a marketable surplus over and above that required for the household's needs. Although we have no evidence for where any surplus might have been sent for sale, its disposal would on the face of it have been relatively straightforward since within Kent there were two regular and well-established markets within a distance of five miles. These markets may have been devoted to certain types of goods, such as corn or cattle, which would have restricted Colepeper's options. Nevertheless, the closest market was in the borough of Tonbridge which served as a focus for a wide area around.⁵⁸ Another was almost as near to the estate centre, at Brenchley.⁵⁹ Equally, though, it is possible that Thomas Colepeper was engaged in enhancing his social position in the neighbourhood and with it the number of servants and other members of his household, all of whom required feeding. An increased incidence of poverty in years of dearth, including during the period 1315-22,

58. The lowy of Tonbridge, granted in the late eleventh century to Richard of Tonbridge, founder of the Clare family, by William I, had no clear boundaries but was nonetheless extensive. The borough at its centre must have exerted a powerful influence over the development of the surrounding villages. J.C.Ward, 'The Lowy of Tonbridge and the lands of the Clare family in Kent, 1066-1217', *Arch. Cant.* 96 (1980), p.120. W.V.Dumbreck, 'The Lowy of Tonbridge', *Arch. Cant.* 72 (1959), p.146.

59. *CChR*, i, pp.123,182. See also below, pp.280-281.

gave opportunities for public largesse. This may have been the main motivation behind the acquisition of arable acres, with the welcome (to Colepeper) corollary that more land itself gave a higher status.

What was the cost involved in this investment in land? Reference to the acquisitions listed in Appendix 3.1 shows that on the basis of the *gersuma* payments recorded on many of the charters, Thomas was typically spending twenty or thirty shillings on the purchase of the odd acre or two of land in the fields around Bayhall. Those grants which involved more than this were of course correspondingly more expensive and mills and other properties which had associated rights of a profitable nature were especially so. Thus in the summer of 1309, when the four daughters of John ate Bayhall sold their rights in a mill Thomas paid five marks (66s.8d.) in *gersuma* and five years later when Laurence Jop parted with land in three locations together with a share of a messuage at La Bayhalle it cost Thomas six marks (80s.) in *gersuma*.⁶¹

Not surprisingly, when Margery Colepeper came to ask the king for the return of lands jointly held by her and her discredited late husband, the properties on which she concentrated were the larger and more important ones. It is with her petition that we find the charters relating to grants such as the fifty acres in Foulesden from her father-in-law. Given the relationship between the grantor and grantee, it is not surprising that this grant had no associated *gersuma* payment, but other purchases had to be paid for. In Buxted a messuage and 60 acres which Ralph Marescot had sold had cost 20 marks (£13 6s.8d.), while ten acres of land was bought from Michael de Bettesfelde for 10 marks (£6 13s.4d.).⁶² These and the other purchases in Sussex, which all date from the period when Thomas was keeper of Ashdown Forest and Maresfield Park,⁶³ show that whatever the strength of his position in the community, he could not necessarily

61. BL Harl.Ch. 76 B 1 and Harl.Ch. 78 I 14.

62. PRO C145 File 94(10), m.5.

63. *CPR 1317-1321*, p.109.

expect to get land at rock bottom prices.

The largest single amount that the Colepepers paid was in almost their final purchase. In the year 1320/21 they gave 120 marks (£80) for what Margery described in her petition as a messuage and a carucate of land. The charter gives more details and shows that Richard Wyth was in fact selling the tenement he had inherited from his father, with all its appurtenances of houses, gardens, curtilages, lands, woods, lanes, streams, ponds, fisheries, meadows, pastures, hedges, banks, suits, services, rents, escheats and so on, in other words all the elements of respectable 'lordship over men and acres'.⁶⁴

If it was a general phenomenon that lords such as Thomas Colepeper were actively acquiring land, then the question arises as to who was parting with it. A comparison with the available lists of tax-payers is instructive here. The lay subsidy closest in date is that of 1327/8 and since the period of time between the first grant to Thomas Colepeper, that by Thomas de Ongele in 1308/9, and 1327 is almost twenty years, it is clearly more sensible to look for continuity of surnames rather than individuals surviving from the date of their grant until the tax year. Furthermore, many of the surnames involved are derived from place-names, so that apparent continuity or otherwise may be misleading. As a result, only very broad conclusions are possible. Of the sixteen surnames of grantors of land in Kent, only those of Dodeherst, Chitelfcroft and Hesedenne appear as tax payers in Washlingstone hundred in 1327.⁶⁵ Thomas de Dodeherst sold a piece of land in Rancombe in 1315/6, for 32s. and twelve years later, either he or a son of the same name paid 2s.9d. towards the subsidy, implying ownership of moveables within the hundred to the value of £2 15s. Comparison with assessments elsewhere suggests that this may have equated to the

64. N.Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life. Knightly families in Sussex 1280-1400* (Oxford, 1986), p.98.

65. PRO E179 File 123(10), m.59.

ownership of four or five head of cattle, ten or a dozen quarters of grain and a few pigs, although regional variation in assessment was probably very significant.⁶⁶

Benedicta the daughter of Thomas de Chitecrofte made her grant in 1313/4, when she signed over her messuage at Bayhall, together with land and a share in a mill which she had acquired from Margery the daughter of Walter de Bayhall, possibly her mother. In 1327 Thomas de Chitelcroft's moveables were valued at slightly less than those of Thomas de Dodeherst and he paid 2s.1½d. in tax.⁶⁷ Both of these men had property which put them well above the amount apparently considered to be the minimum necessary to be liable to the tax, which was around 1s.2d.⁶⁸

Richard de Headenne was a grantor of a different kind. Together with John Colpeper he had been a party to a fine of 1320/21 which granted two messuages, two mills, 85 acres of land, 20 acres of meadow, 60 acres of pasture, 80 acres of wood and 20s. of rent in Pembury, Tonbridge and Tudeley to Thomas Colepeper and Margery to hold jointly for their lives, with remainder to their son Walter.⁶⁹ Thus Richard de Headenne was probably no more than a professional intermediary in a fictitious grant

66. In Newchurch hundred, the assessors in 1327 valued stocks of wheat at 3s. a seam (equivalent to a quarter), barley, oats, vetch and beans at 2s. a seam, cows at 5s. each, calves at 1s., sheep at 6d., bullocks at 4s. Pigs were apparently not counted, but valued as a herd, with typical valuations being 5s. or 10s. (PRO E179 File 242(103)). For a discussion of this Newchurch taxation return of 1327, see Butcher and Gross 'The Romney Marshes and the storms of 1287-88'. I am grateful to Mr Butcher for allowing me access to this article prior to publication.

In Somerden hundred in 1301, the assessors making valuations for the purposes of the subsidy of a 15th, valued wheat at 5s. a quarter, oats at 1s.6d. a quarter, vetch at 1s.4d. a quarter, horses (stots) at 4s. each, oxen at 8s., cows at 6s., bullocks at 3s. and pigs at 2s. for individual animals. (PRO E179 File 123(6)).

For discussions of the valuations made in these assessments of taxes upon moveables, see J.F. Willard, *Parliamentary Taxes on Personal Property 1290-1334: A study in Medieval English Financial Administration* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), pp.138-41 and S.K. Mitchell, *Taxation in Medieval England*, edited by S. Painter (Yale, 1951), pp.140-4.

67. Walter de Chitelcroft paid 21½d. PRO E179 File 123(10) m.59.

68. The two lowest payments in Washlingstone Hundred in 1327 were made by Peter Jordan who paid 8¼d. and William de Sonygele who paid 8½d, which equate to property valuations of 13¾d. and 14d. respectively.

69. BL Harl. Roll T21.

the object of which was to secure the descent of the property in question. As a tax-payer, he or another of the same name appears in Tonbridge in 1327, paying 8d.⁷⁰ However, others paid tax on property in Washlingstone hundred: Robert de Hesedenne paid 3s. ¼d., Edward de Hesedenne 17½d., William de Hesedene, 20d. and Ralph de Hesedenne, 3s. ¼d. Probably the Richard of the fine was dead, and his sons had inherited a considerable estate.

Another of the grantors of land to Thomas Colepeper was William de Stoupershelde, who leased 12 acres of meadow in Tonbridge for a year.⁷¹ In 1327 he paid 2s. ½d. in Tonbridge. No other surname of a grantor of land to the Colepepers appears among the tax-payers of 1327 in either Tonbridge or Washlingstone. The returns of the 1334/5 subsidy show families named Thomas and Newman as tax-payers in neighbouring hundreds.⁷² However, these names are common enough, and most of the other occurrences are of names that we have already met in 1327.⁷³ The only novelty is Geoffrey Gabin who paid 1s. 6d. in Twyford hundred, suggesting property valued at £1 2s. 6d.⁷⁴ If he were the Geoffrey Gabin who with his brothers John and Simon granted an acre and a half in Hadlow in 1316/7, for which they received 30s., then the conclusion would have to be that the motive behind the grant was not dire need. The impracticality of dividing such a piece of land three ways between coheirs may have resulted in its sale, but out of choice rather than necessity.

Neither does the fact that so many of the names of grantors are not found among the

70. PRO E179 File 123(10), m.53.

71. *CIMC*, ii, p.140; PRO C145 File 88(1); *CPR 1318-1323*, p.641.

72. Philip Newman paid 2s. in Brenchley, Thomas Newman paid 1s. in Littlefeld, Edmund Thomas and Robert Thomas each paid 2s. in Brenchley, whilst Richard Thomas paid 1s. 6d.; 1334/5 Lay Subsidy, pp.124,126.

73. In Washlingstone Walter Chiticrofte paid 3s. 11½d., Thomas Dodeherst 3s. 1¾d., Edward de Hesedenne 1s. 1¾d., John de Hesedenne 4s. 5¾d., Ralph de Hesedenne 4s. 7d., Robert de Hesedenne 6s. 2½d., Richard de Easthesedenne 2s. 3¼d. In Brenchley the widow of Richard Chitecrofte paid 2s., Richard de Headenne 4s., Thomas Stoupershelde 2s. and William de Stoupershelde 2s. (*Ibid.*, pp.124,125,126).

74. The 1334/5 subsidy was a 15th., whereas the 1327 subsidy had been a 20th.

tax-payers mean that they were necessarily so impoverished that they were not liable for the tax, however, since at least three of them left female heirs. Indeed six of the grants were made by the various daughters of John atte Bayhall and another four by the daughter of Geoffrey atte Bayhall and her husband. Thus only five names (31 per cent) appear to have 'vanished' by 1334.

Thus, although it must be remembered that the surviving record is probably weighted in favour of the larger purchase, the Colepeper acquisitions appear to have been from persons who sold not because of impoverishment, but because the price that Thomas was offering was attractive. The number of grants made per year increased after 1315, but this may have had as much to do with Thomas's increasing wealth as with harvest related problems. In 1312/3 Ralph Newman and his wife were paid 31s. for 2½ acres and 2½ dayworks, probably at Bayhall, equating to a little over 1s. per acre.⁷⁵ In 1314/5, Christina atte Bayhall was paid 4 marks for a total of 3 acres, 5 virgates and 6 dayworks, at 12s. per acre. Ralph le Newman received 20s. for 2½ acres in 1316, at 8s. per acre and at about the same time the Gabin brothers were paid 30s. for 1½ acres in Hadlow, at a massive 20s. per acre. Such calculations are not possible for other grants, and for various reasons these four may not be strictly comparable. The land may not have been of the same quality, there may have been other arrangements of which we have no knowledge, or the payments to relatives may have been very different from those made to persons outside the family. Nevertheless, the amounts paid per acre do not give any impression that Thomas was paying cheaply for his acquisitions, even after 1315.

The acquisitions of Martin and Margery de Peckham

The second family for whom we have sufficient source material to investigate their

75. In Kent forty dayworks equalled one acre.

land dealings in some detail is that of Martin de Peckham and his wife Margery. The number of known purchases by this couple is truly impressive. The survival of this family into later generations allowed for the preservation of a family archive and as a result fourteen original charters are extant.⁷⁶ This is only a small fraction of what once existed however, for at some stage a list of the charters and acquisitions was formed which now survives in the form of a parchment roll.⁷⁷ The reason for its compilation appears to have been the need to divide the estate among coheirs after Martin's death in 1307.⁷⁸ The entries of the first four membranes consist mainly of a record of grants made during Martin's lifetime, either to himself alone or to husband and wife jointly, as well as some made to Margery in her widowhood. These have marginalised notes in the hand of a different clerk from the writer of the main text, which may therefore be of a later date. The notes appear to refer to whether or not the land in question was able to be bequeathed. The majority were marked as 'devisable', the grant having been made to Martin (or to Martin and Margery jointly) and to his heirs or assigns. A few were marked 'undevisable' and this seems to have been because the grant specified the heir to whom the remainder belonged. This was the case with the half acre of land which Richard the son of William de Peancompe granted to Margery and John her firstborn son and heir.⁷⁹ Also marked as non-bequeathable was the grant to John himself, styled formerly the son of Martin de Peckham, of a piece of land in Westfield.⁸⁰ A small number of grants had been made in fee tail, that is with reservation to specified heirs after the death of the initial grantee. Thus Nicholas the son of Robert Russell gave to Martin and Margery all his

76. These subsequently became dispersed and some are now to be found in the British Library and others are in the Centre for Kentish Studies. References are given in the notes below and in Appendix 3.2.

77. CKS U442 T149.

78. DuBoulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, p.155; CKS U47/3 T46.

79. CKS U442 T149 m.4.

80. CKS U442 T149 m.4.

tenement in Wrotham, entailed upon their sons William and Alex.⁸¹

This cartulary was supplemented after the executors had completed this first task and later entries concern grants made to Margery alone, but without the marginal annotations.⁸² This brings the number of known purchases by husband and wife, either singly or together, to over one hundred and seventy. These are listed, with brief details in Appendix 3.2.

The result of all this activity was that, after their father died, the heirs of Martin de Peckham held numerous small pieces of various tenements in at least two of the main neighbouring manors, Kemsing and Wrotham. The exact area held and its value is impossible to determine, but some idea can be had from the fact that the total rent due amounted to something over 20s. Nine separate tenements of Kemsing manor were held in part or in whole by Martin while in Wrotham the share of lands allocated to John, the first heir, was contained in twelve cottar holdings.⁸³ In an attempt to sort out the situation and to divide the inheritance equitably other lists were drawn up, with reference to the Kemsing and Wrotham rental rolls, of those lands that were held by Martin on the day he died, and what rents and customs were due for them.⁸⁴

81. The marginal note for this entry is *tallia*. The same word, abbreviated to *tall'*, appears beside three entries on membrane 3, all made to Martin and Margery and the heirs of their bodies. However, other grants carry this entail, but are marked as devisable. The explanation for the anomaly may be scribal error.

82. The complete list, in hands of the early fourteenth century, is in the form of a roll, comprising five parchment membranes. These have been incorrectly stitched together, for the entries on m.4 clearly show that this should follow m.2. However, on the reverse side m.1 is blank whilst m.2 leads directly to m.3. It seems that the roll was at least partially put together, incorrectly, before the entries on the reverse were made.

83. CKS U47/3 M19, m.3a.

84. These documents are now in the Centre for Kentish Studies along with the final account of the dead man's executors. The lists of holdings are CKS U47/3 M19. Following the listing of the names of tenements held in part or in whole by Martin in Kemsing, enquiry was to be made in the rental roll of that manor to determine all rents, services and customs owed per annum for them (Ibid. m.2a.). Unfortunately the Kemsing roll has not survived. The executors' account, which is discussed in DuBoulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, pp.155-6, is included with the surviving original charters under reference CKS U47/3 T46.

It is necessary to spend a little time in describing the background of Martin de Peckham, for his appears to be a particularly clear example of how manors and estates could be created almost entirely by recourse to the land market. Although he married a daughter of the local gentry, he was not able to secure the hand of an heiress to land and her dowry came in the form of cash. After his death, his descendants might have claimed to be part of gentle society, although full acceptance took more than one generation. James de Peckham of Yaldham, who was elected to sit in parliament as a Knight of the Shire in the 1370s and who later served as sheriff, was Martin's great-grandson.⁸⁵

The account of Martin's own family history as given by Hasted and followed by later writers is flawed.⁸⁶ The story is that Martin was the son of John de Peckham of Peckham manor in Hadlow, whose pedigree is relatively easy to follow since he was a tenant-in-chief of the crown. However, several of the charters recording Martin's purchases in Wrotham state that he was the son of Robert.⁸⁷ Nonetheless it is possible that he was related to the holders of Peckham manor in Hadlow, especially since John de Peckham was one of the three knights who headed the witnesses to the purchase of East Yaldham and several other men said to be of Peckham were also present.⁸⁸ However, there is no evidence of Martin ever having any land in the area, nor in the nearby manors of East and West Peckham.⁸⁹ He is frequently styled 'clerk' and clearly earned his living in this way, possibly as an estate administrator for which

85. Hasted, i, pp.189,240,241,242 and v, p.17.

86. For example, by G.Ward in *Sevenoaks Essays* (London, 1931), p.235.

87. BL Add.Ch. 16183, 16495, 16497, 16502.

88. The other knights were Sir Robert de Crevequer and Thomas de Audeham. BL Add.Ch. 16505. Crevequer was lord of Ightham and Audeham lord of the other two Yaldham manors. Hasted, v, pp.16,35.

89. S.E.Rigold linked the name with that of de la Lese, descendants of William de Eynsford of the late twelfth century. In 1261 a case of disputed inheritance concerning the barony of Eynsford brought by Alan de la Lese included the manor of Wrotham, then held in fee-farm. However, I have seen no other evidence to link the Peckham family to this. S.E.Rigold, 'Eynsford Castle and its Excavation', *Arch.Cant.*, 86 (1971), p.113.

there were plenty of opportunities for an able man. An interesting piece of circumstantial evidence suggests a link with the French abbey of Fontevrault. In 1281 a clerk named Martin de Peckham was granted licence to alienate in mortmain to the abbess and nuns a messuage and one hundred acres of land in their manor of Leighton in Bedfordshire.⁹⁰ In Kent the abbey's property consisted of the lordship of a part of the manor of Randall in Shorne.⁹¹ It is surely beyond coincidence that the very next year Martin should marry the daughter of Henry de Shorne.⁹² A tempting hypothesis is that Martin made at least part of his wealth as an agent of the abbey, based perhaps in or around Leighton. Such a connection would conform to Dr Saul's recent suggestion that knights were employed as administrators chiefly by secular magnates who valued the chance to strengthen ties with leaders of county society, whereas humbler professionals worked for ecclesiastical corporations for whom such political considerations did not weigh so heavily.⁹³

It is most likely that Martin de Peckham was an immigrant to the area when he bought East Yaldham. Even fifteen years later he appears not to have been fully integrated into the local community. As a prominent resident landowner and close neighbour of Achard de Aldeham he might perhaps have been expected to be among the witnesses to a grant made by Achard to his new son-in-law, yet his name is not given.⁹⁴ Indeed the name of Martin de Peckham has yet to be found in the lists of witnesses to any Kentish charters or as a juror on any inquisition.

At the time of the purchase of East Yaldham manor, Martin was apparently married

90. *CPR 1272-1281*, p.437.

91. Held by the Cobham family. See for example *CIPM*, vii, No.444. and viii, No.272.

92. BL Add.Ch. 16503.

93. N.Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex 1280-1400* (Oxford, 1986), p.48.

94. BL Add.Ch. 16507. Certainly Achard witnessed several grants to Martin de Peckham, including that of East Yaldham in 1275: Add.Ch.16183,16505. See also Add.Ch. 16498, 16499 and CKS U47/3 T46, (charter of William the carter).

to Alice, the daughter of John Durand of Dunstaple, for a grant of a piece of land in Wrotham was then made to this couple.⁹⁵ Alice must have died by 1282, leaving no sons for the three heirs of Martin were John, William and Alex,⁹⁶ his sons by Margery, who was the daughter of Henry de Shorne.⁹⁷ These all appear as entailed beneficiaries of grants, together with their brother Henry who presumably did not survive to inherit.⁹⁸

The core of the Peckham estate was the manor of East Yaldham, which was itself acquired by purchase in 1274. Yaldham lies a mile or so to the west of Wrotham and was one of the manors granted out of this part of the archbishop's estate to his enfeoffed knights.⁹⁹ The arable land of these manors lay on the fertile soils of the Holmesdale, below the scarp face of the North Downs. The archbishop's own demesne manor of Wrotham was at the centre and Yaldham and the other subordinate manors were located on the periphery.¹⁰⁰ In 1171 William de Malet owed the service of one knight for Lullingstone and Yaldham, as the heir to Geoffrey de Ros, the original Domesday tenant and another half knight was owed for Yaldham by William son of Payn. By the early thirteenth century three half fees were held of the archbishop, one in Yaldham by William Malet, one by Archard of Yaldham and the third by Stephen of Yaldham. These were presumably the three parts which became East, or Great

95. CKS U47/3 T46, charter of William the carter.

96. CKS U47/3 M19, m.2.

97. Margery was not the daughter of Thomas de Aldham, as was believed by Hasted. See for example, BL Add.Ch. 16496, 16497 in addition to the marriage agreement noted above.

98. E.g. BL Add.Ch. 16501 (grant to Martin, Margery, Henry and William); Add.Ch. 16495 (grant to Martin, Margery and William); CKS U442 T149 (grant of Nicholas son of Robert Russel to Martin, Margery, William and Alexander); *ibid.* (grant of Robert le Kyng to Margery and John her firstborn son); *ibid.* (grant of Jacob de Mesdanesmere to John son of Martin).

99. Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, p.391.

100. As was the case at Wingham, another of the archbishop's manors, in the east of the county. E.J.Andrews, *Land, Family and Community in Wingham and its Environs: An Economic and Social History of Rural Society in East Kent from c.1450-1640* (U.K.C. PhD thesis, 1991), pp.35-47.

Yaldham, West, or Little Yaldham and Yaldham St Clere.¹⁰¹

We have no way of knowing the extent or layout of Yaldham manor when Martin took it over. The charter recording its purchase from William Boys merely records, in standard terms, that the grant was of the manor with all its appurtenances, being houses, messuages, curtilages, gardens, lands, meadows, woods, wastes, pastures, homages, rents, services, customs, escheats, suits of court, reliefs, heriots, waters, ways and lanes.¹⁰² Almost immediately however, Martin set about adding further lands. Within two years William the Carter had granted to him a piece of land in the Westfield of Wrotham, which lay adjacent to land already in Martin's possession.¹⁰³

It is clear that the intention was to build a compact block of land. Fifty three of the 181 grants (29%) in the Peckham archive were wholly or partly for land said to lie in the Great or West Field of Wrotham. On maps of the seventeenth century, Westfield is shown as just one of a number of enclosed fields to the west of the village centre.¹⁰⁴ This is shown in Map 3.2 below.

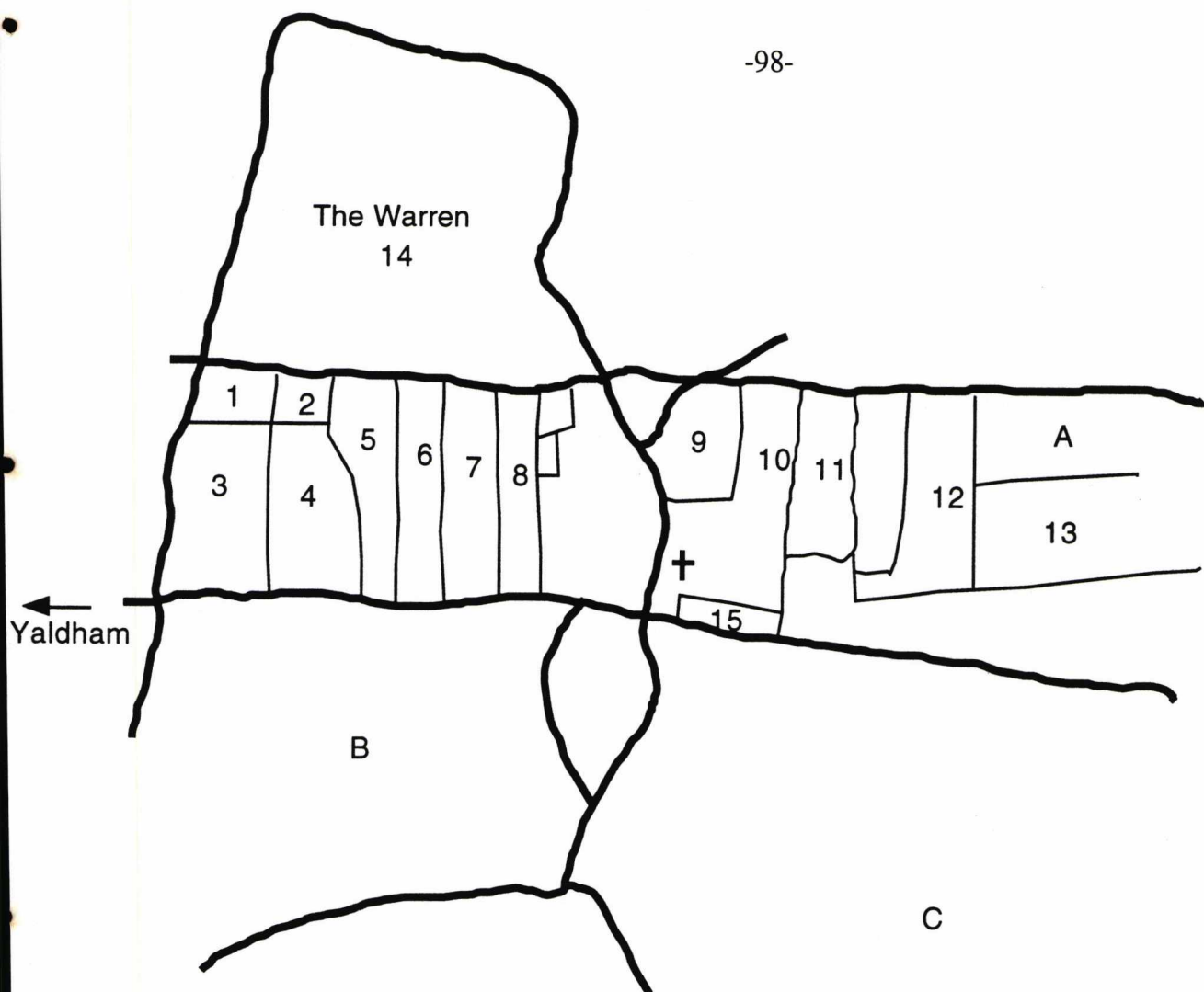
Westfield was then measured at a little over 15¼ acres, but the area so called in the thirteenth century must have been considerably larger, since the Peckhams amassed over 13¾ acres, just in the dozen grants where Westfield is named and the area given. Nevertheless, this was not in fact a single large open field with the tenants' land lying in unenclosed strips. If we are to believe the boundary descriptions given on the cartulary, which are generally not so full as they were on the original charters, then at least one major road passed through the West Field. Two pieces of land have the king's highway from Ightham to Stansted upon the east side, while at least eight border it to the west. Furthermore, other seventeenth century field names sometimes appear in the descriptions. For example, the maps show two fields called Sutting

101. Hasted, v, pp.15-16.

102. BL Add.Ch. 16183.

103. CKS U47/3 T46.

104. CKS U49 P4 and U681 P31.



Key: 1. Fower acres (4a.)
 2. Chekercroft (8a.2r.5p.)
 3. Sutthing (20a.1r.5p.)
 4. Lay Suthing (13a.1r.24p.)
 5. Stony furlong (30a.3r.10p.)
 6. Stonyhook (19a.3r.4p.)
 7. Whitehill (19a.1r.10p.)
 8. Westfield (15a. 1r.5p.)
 9. The Orchard
 10. Churchfeld (11a.1r.5p.)
 11. Eastfield (14a.1r.)
 12. Kingshill
 13. Courtrangers (20a.3r.35p.)
 14. The Warren (204a.1r.10p.)

A. In 1620 this field is shown with 8 or 9 strips, ranging in size from 0.5 acr to 2.25 acres.
 B. There were other separate fields here of roughly comparable size.
 C. In the seventeenth century Wrotham Park comprised several fields from 4a. in size to 23a.

Map 3.2. The area around the village centre of Wrotham, showing field names.

Based upon John Hine's map of 1620 and upon Edward Twisden's map of 1685, which was itself based upon the 1620 survey. CKS U681 P31; CKS U49 P4.

(20a.1r.5p.) and Lay Sutting (24a.1r.24p.) in the west of the area. A marginal note on the Peckham cartulary states that the land in the Westfield of Wrotham, granted by Geoffrey Godynogh, lay in *le Settyngges*.¹⁰⁵ Another seventeenth century field was Stony Furlong which is shown between the Suttings and Westfield. A grant by Richard the son of Hamo Pistor to Margery de Peckham was of a piece of land in Westfield next to a certain place called *Stonyforlang*.¹⁰⁶ Thus it would seem that the true geography of the field pattern of the thirteenth century was similar to that of four hundred years later, at least in this part of Wrotham,¹⁰⁷ yet the whole area to the west of the village centre was referred to under the one title.¹⁰⁸

For the most part the Peckham purchases appear to be concentrated in the north and west of this area, closest to the Yaldham lands. Where roads are the bounds, they are most often the king's highway from Ightham to Stansted on the west and on the north either a road leading from Wrotham to Yaldham or a street called Dun Street. The area around Wrotham has changed dramatically in the last century and a half, following railway and motorway development. Dun Street could well be the modern North Downs Way, which runs along the foot of the scarp face, although there is another parallel road a quarter mile to the south, running between Wrotham and the modern site of Yaldham Manor.¹⁰⁹ Both roads are shown on seventeenth century maps of Wrotham, although these do not go so far west as to include Yaldham. However, only once does the Wrotham to Yaldham road appear to have been given as a southern boundary, when John Brice of Wrotham granted to Margery half an acre of

105. CKS U442 T149 m.2.

106. CKS U442 T149 m.2v.

107. Developments elsewhere, such as the creation of a park and a warren may have destroyed the layout in these areas.

108. A similar story could probably be told about Eastfield. In the seventeenth century this was an enclosed plot of 14¼ acres, surrounded by other fields such as Churchfield and Kingshill, yet an extent of the archbishop's lands at Wrotham made in 1285 states that in *Estfeld* there were 50 demesne acres. CCAL MS E24, f.76.

109. OS grid reference TQ587587.

land with appurtenances lying in length to the south and north between the royal way from Yaldham to Wrotham and the footpath from Fareman's farm (*Varemannesferme*) to Wrotham.¹¹⁰ In contrast, a total of three purchases were of pieces of land bordering this road on the north and a further eight had Dun Street on their northern side.¹¹¹ The original charter recording the grant of William the Carter describes Dun Street as a king's highway, suggesting that these two roads are one and the same.

Of these fifty-three pieces of land in Westfield, at least twenty-one bordered land which was already in the possession of Martin de Peckham. Reconstruction is extremely difficult, especially since the abbreviated details given on the cartulary roll frequently give only two of the more usual four that appeared on the original charter, and are generally undated. Nevertheless, the formation of some contiguous blocks are hinted at. Map 3.3.1 is a diagrammatic representation of one such block, with the probable order of purchases shown by the numbers in the bottom corner. The details are that Robert Lake of Wrotham granted a piece of land in Westfield between land of Geoffrey Godynogh to the south, the rector of Wrotham to the north, John Bedell to the east and land which was already in the possession of Martin de Peckham to the west.¹¹² Next we have a grant of John le Swont who sold a certain piece of land to Martin and Margery which lay between the land of Geoffrey Godynogh to the west, Robert ate Hoke to the east, William ate Hecche to the south and Ralph Bedell to the north.¹¹³ Geoffrey Godynogh himself granted a piece of land in Westfield which lay

110. CKS U442 T149, m.2v.

111. All but one of these grants are listed on CKS U442 T149: lands granted by Geoffrey Skippere (m.2), William ate Hecche (m.4) and by Richard ate Hecche (m.2, with the original charter surviving as BL Add.Ch. 16502) had the road from Wrotham to Yaldham on the north; other land granted by Richard ate Hecche (m.2), plus those granted by Ralph Welford (m.2), Ralph de Croynden (m.1), William Pokoc (m.2), William son of William Coret (m.2), John son of Richard de Osprenge (m.4), Stephen de Osprenge (m.2v.) and by William the Carter (CKS U47/3 T46) were bordered by Dun Street to the north.

112. BL Add.Ch. 16504; CKS U442 T149 m.2.

113. CKS U442 T149, m.2.

between the land of Henry Pistor to the west, Willam ate Hatch to the south and Martin de Peckham to the east and north.¹¹⁴ Finally, Robert de la Hoke granted all that piece of land which lay between land that was John le Swont's to the west, land of the heirs of William Farman to the east, the heirs of William ate Hecche to the south and Ralph Bedell to the north.¹¹⁵

Map 3.3.2 shows another sequence, this time of five grants which involved lands bordering onto Dun Street. The first was that grant made in 1275/6 by William the Carter, of a piece of land in Westfield which lay next to land already in the occupation of Martin de Peckham. This was followed by the other grants to make a larger contiguous block.¹¹⁶ The whole process clearly took a number of years, for the last three grants of the sequence were made to Martin and Margery and thus post-dated the marriage of 1282.

The Westfield acquisitions were only one strand in the Peckham portfolio. Altogether 115 grants were of land in the parish of Wrotham, of which at least 6 were in the borough of Stanstead and 23 in the borough of Yaldham. Overall, 35 per cent of these pieces of land are explicitly stated to lie next to land already held by Martin or, after 1308, by his heirs.¹¹⁷ To the south, in the parish of Seal, 22 grants were made, of which five (23%) were adjacent to Peckham land. Westward, in Kemsing and

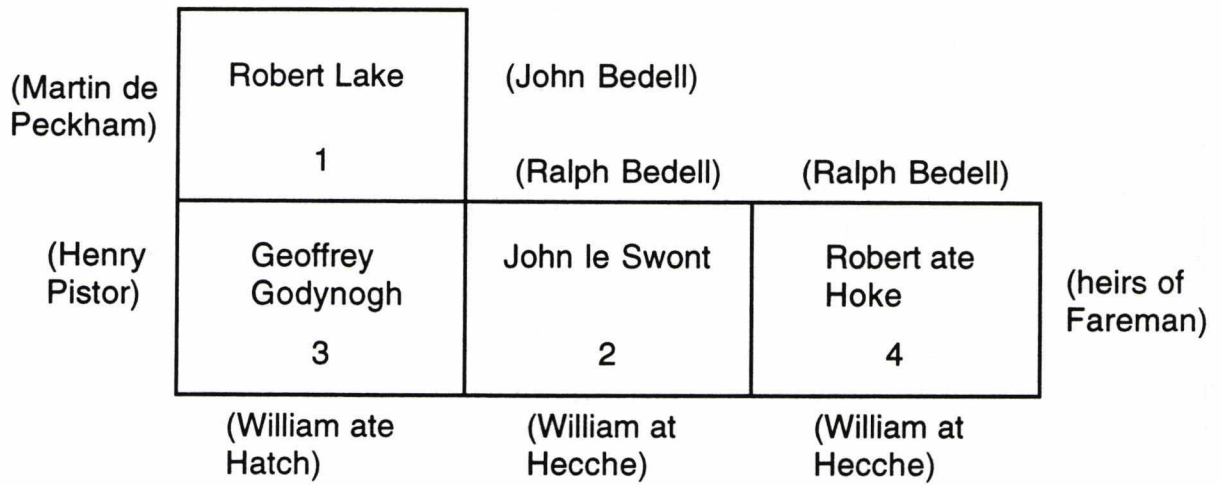
114. CKS U442 T149, m.2.

115. CKS U442 T149, m.2.

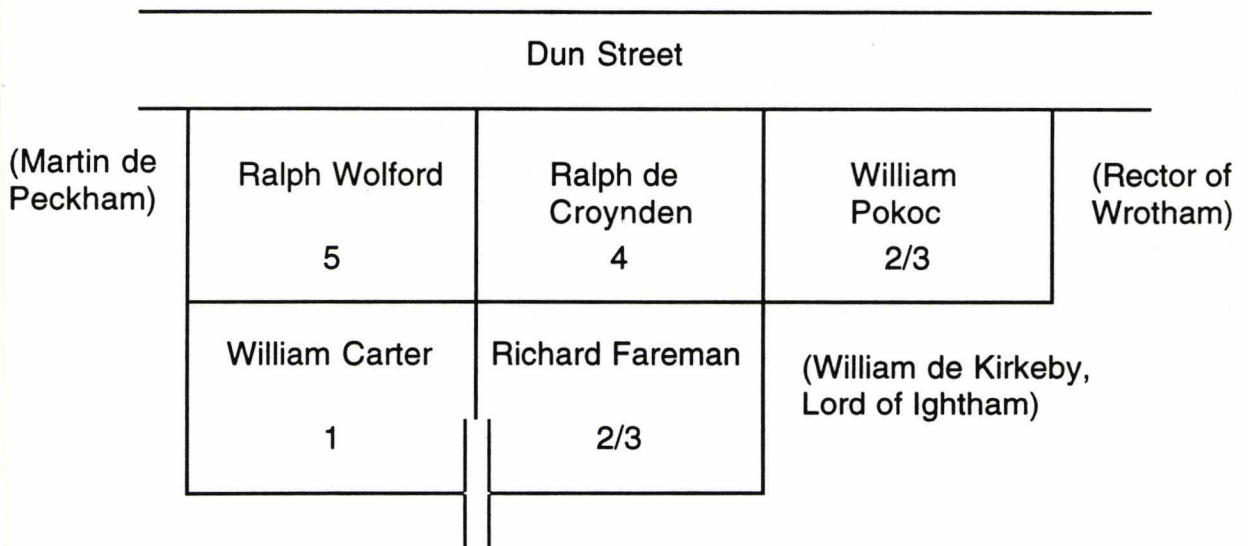
116. These grants are all on CKS U442 T149: first came two grants, one of which was made by William Pokoc and involved an acre of land in Westfield, bordering land of William de Kirkeby, Ralph de Croynden and the rector of Wrotham (m.2). The other was a grant by Richard Farman of a piece of land lying in length between Richard's own land to the south and land of Ralph de Croynden to the north and in width between land of the lord of Wrotham to the east and a certain footpath leading from Ightham to Stanstead (m.3). After these came a grant by Ralph de Croynden of two acres which were held of Martin de Peckham and which bordered Martin's land to the south and east and land of Ralph Wolford to the west (m.1). Finally in this sequence is a grant by Ralph Wolford of a piece of land bordering land of Martin de Peckham which had come from William Carter to the south, land that used to be Ralph de Croynden to the east and other land of Martin de Peckham to the east (m.2).

117. These grants are noted with an asterisk in the Appendix 3.2.

Map 3.3.1.



Map 3.3.2.



Map 3.3. Diagrammatic representations of two sequences of land acquisitions by Martin de Peckham in the Yaldham area east of Wrotham.

For explanation, see the text.

Heaverham the figures appear to tell a different story. Here a total of twenty acquisitions were made, of which only one names Martin de Peckham as the holder of adjoining land.¹¹⁸ However, several of the grants here were for enclosed plots, bounded not by lands of named persons, but by named fields. Thus John Gyles granted to Margery a certain field of land in Kemsing called *Brodefeld*, next to the grove called *Lynleghesgrove*.¹¹⁹ A member of the Formager family had earlier granted to Martin all his land in a field called *Trustelfeld* in Kemsing, which lay between land belonging to his brother William on the west, John Oliver on the east, his brother John on the north and Giles Warston to the south.¹²⁰ All these men appear as grantors to the Peckhams, perhaps showing that here too a contiguous block of land was being accumulated. Among the most distant pieces of land acquired were the two in Greatness, some three miles away from the estate centre. Yet even these were adjacent to each other. First came a grant by John le Boteler of all his meadow in *Swetmed*, *Longemed*, *Grofmed*, *Rouchemed*, *Gosepol* and *Brodemed*.¹²¹ Some time after William Burgeys parted with a piece of land at Greatness which lay alongside the public street leading from the house of John le Boteler and adjoining the meadow which Martin had acquired from John.¹²²

Meadow was also the focus of attention at Heaverham where, of thirteen grants, ten included some of this land. Indeed, of the twenty-three grants of meadowland, almost half were at Kemsing and Heaverham. This region of Kent was an area where the common use of the horse as the sole type of haulage animal probably did not begin until the second half of the fourteenth century, for which the suggested reason is that

118. The grant by William Smith (*Faber*) of a piece of land in Southfield at Heaverham. CKS U442 T149, m.4.

119. CKS U442 T149, m.2.

120. CKS U442 T149, m.1.

121. CKS U442 T149, m.4.

122. CKS U442 T149, m.1.

there was plenty of readily available meadow and pasture.¹²³ It is thus quite likely that oxen were employed upon the Peckham estate and that the extra hay meadows were needed to feed an increasing number of plough-beasts as more and more arable was purchased. Such meadow would also have had considerable value for leasing to others.

The chronology of the acquisitions is more problematic, since the majority of the original charters are undated as are all the purchases entered on the cartulary roll. Nonetheless, it is possible to make certain estimates. Table 3.4 outlines the number of grants naming Martin as a recipient and therefore dating from before his death in 1308 and those which presumably post-date this event. The latter group consists of those grants made either to Margery alone or to her and her son John as joint beneficiaries. The total of pre-1308 grants is 117, of which a little over two thirds were made to Martin alone, another quarter to him and his wife jointly and the remaining four grants were to husband, wife and various combinations of named sons. One hypothesis is that most of the grants made solely to Martin date from before his marriage to Margery. On this basis he was making an average of around ten purchases per year from 1275 to 1282. After his marriage, assuming that the joint purchases form the bulk of the post-1282 corpus, this mean rate drops to 1.2 per year. A more likely alternative is to suppose that the 120 grants were spread more evenly over the thirty-three years until Martin's death and that after his marriage a large proportion continued to be made to him alone. Then his mean rate of acquisition would be 3.6 per year.

However, the chronology of the Colepeper acquisitions outlined above suggests that this may be an oversimplification. Of the twenty-eight charters known to date from after Thomas and Margery's joint grant at Foulesdenne, ten were made to Thomas alone. Thus we should perhaps assume that the joint grants to Martin and Margery de

123. J.Langdon, *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation* (Cambridge, 1986), pp.100, 257.

Table 3.4. A breakdown of those to whom the late thirteenth century grants in the Peckham collection were made.

Grantee(s)	Number of grants	Known dates of charters
Martin alone ¹²⁴	84	1275, 1275/6, 1285/6
Martin & Margery	31	1296
Others including Martin	4	
Total (pre 1308)	119	
Margery alone ¹²⁵	54	1317/8
Margery and John her son	3	
Total (post 1308)	57	
Overall total	176	

Peckham form only around 66% of the total of post marriage transactions. Then we arrive at approximate means of 8 per year for 1275-82 and 2 per year for 1282-1307. We do not know when Margery ceased to buy land, but she certainly continued to do so for at least a decade into her widowhood. On 1 November 1310 a chirograph was drawn up to record an agreement whereby Margery would pay to John de Southash and Elena his wife £20 each year in biannual instalments as rent for John's manor of South Ash and for various tenements in Kemsing, North Ash and Ashurst which his mother Agnes held as her dower.¹²⁶ Elena was the daughter of Martin de Peckham and this would seem to have been a family arrangement for Margery's retirement and peaceful widowhood.¹²⁷ Yet just three months later John admitted in the king's court that various lands and rents in the same three places were of the right of Margery de Peckham whereby she granted them to John and Elena and his heirs by her

124. Including the grant of land made by William Carter to Martin and Alice, daughter of John Durand. CKS U47/3 T46.

125. The grant of South Ash manor made by John de Southash to Margery in 1310 is omitted from this analysis, as are the four grants made to John de Peckham in his own right (nos. 160 and 120, 134, 144 and 160 in Appendix 3.2).

126. BL Add.Ch. 16459.

127. John the son of Ralph de Southash was one of the executors of the will of Martin de Peckham. CKS U47/3 T46.

forever.¹²⁸ Either Margery had decided that a peaceful widowhood was not for her or, and this seems more likely, the entire matter had been an arrangement to ensure that South Ash passed to Elena's children. In any event, we have a charter of a grant made to Margery in 11 Edward II, that is seven years or so after this episode. She was alive in 1334 and although probably into her 70s by then, it seems quite possible that she continued acquiring land up until then, so that the 57 grants to her were made at a mean rate of 2.1 per year.

In the absence of account rolls or an overall demesne description, it is impossible to be sure whether the purchases were let out to tenants or were cultivated directly. Certainly other lords were sowing newly purchased land with their own seed, as happened at Penshurst in 1347. Oats were sown on 32 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres which had that year been acquired from Robert Coleville and 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres recently acquired from George Doubel. Rent for various parts of the Doubel tenement were allowed to the Penshurst bailiff, since these were no longer being collected.¹²⁹

Much the same appears to have been the case on the Peckham lands in and around Yaldham. None of the entries show any sign of not having been retained in Peckham hands. Furthermore, there appears to have been an intention to build a compact unit. If land were to be leased in small parcels then such contiguous blocks as we have seen would have been unnecessary, although sub-letting of these larger blocks does remain a possibility.

As with the Colepeper acquisitions, for the most part Martin and Margery de Peckham purchased land on a permanent basis. We have only one record of a grant to the Peckhams for a term of years. This was the agreement of Martin and Margery to lease lands in Wrotham which Guy de Aldham had inherited from Achard his father

128. J.Greenstreet, ed., 'Abstract of Kent Fines Anno 1 to Anno 6 Edward II', *Arch. Cant.* 11 (1877), p.338.

129. CKS U1475 M62, mm.2, 2v. I am grateful to Lord De L'Isle for permission to consult this collection of the De L'Isle manuscripts.

for 45 years, made in 1296.¹³⁰ Other grants were made in fee, generally to Martin or Margery or both together, and to their heirs forever. Land of all sorts, including woodland and meadow was treated alike, although it may well be that some meadow was also taken on short term leases, the details of which are now lost.

Generally then it seems that permanent alienation was the intention of the grantor and it was written into the charter that the property was given to the grantee and his heirs and assigns, to hold of the chief lords in fee and the charter was the record that seisin had been delivered.¹³¹ It is difficult to be precise, mainly because of the abbreviated way in which details were copied onto the cartulary roll, but many of the tenements held by Martin de Peckham on his death can be positively identified as ones that he had earlier purchased. John Oliver granted all the messuage that was formerly his father Ralph's, with 56 acres of land, wood and meadow. Later we find that the Peckham heirs owed rent for the Kemsing tenement that had been John Oliver's. Lands granted by, among others, Martin Lambert, Robert le Lake, Walter Skipper, William de Wrotham, all appear as part of the inheritance of Martin's three sons.

With an increased capacity to grow produce, Martin de Peckham may have found it convenient to have a market close by. In the second half of the thirteenth century the area around Yaldham was no more richly endowed with regular markets than was the Weald around Tonbridge. Nevertheless, transport here was easier and there were places within comfortable reach where the Peckhams' surplus could be disposed of. In 1285 Otto de Grandison re-established a weekly market and fair which had first been granted to the Countess of Pembroke fifty years before for her lifetime, but which

130. BL Add.Ch. 16508.

131. A.W.B.Simpson, *A History of the Land Law* 2nd. edn. (Oxford, 1986), pp.119-120. In her studies of the estates of Westminster Abbey, Barbara Harvey suggested that many leases of customary land were not for the purpose of disposing of land but of borrowing money with the land providing the security demanded by the lender. B.F.Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford, 1977), p.317. This would not appear to be so in the cases of the Peckham or Colepeper acquisitions.

may have been in technically illicit operation ever since. In any case, the town of Sevenoaks was only a little more distant, at around four miles. Grants of markets at Ash next Ridley to the north followed in 1302, Wrotham in 1314 and Ightham in 1315, the same year as a yearly fair was established at Stanstead.¹³¹ Thus by the time of Margery's death sometime after 1334 there were potentially five sites within a radius of four miles at which produce could be bought and sold. Nevertheless, there still exists the possibility that the prime motivation behind land acquisition was not to produce a marketable surplus year after year, but to ensure the adequate supply of basic provisions for a large and locally impressive gentry household.

Despite the absence of many details of *gersuma* payments on the Peckham cartulary, it is possible to make a crude estimate of the total outlay involved in this investment in demesne production. Firstly, it is clear that as a newcomer, Martin de Peckham was unable to bargain from a position of strength. When he first purchased land in the area 220 marks was paid for East Yaldham, a property which was then described as a messuage and one carucate of land with appurtenances.¹³² This appears to have been a large sum for such a tenement. By comparison, only three years previously Stephen de Pencestre had paid 47½ marks for 250 acres of land, fifty acres of wood and twenty shillings rent in the south of Meopham parish, only a few miles away to the north.¹³³ Thus Martin de Peckham had to pay over four and a half times as much for what was probably a manor of broadly comparable size and value.

It was perhaps because he had had to make such a large capital outlay that Martin was content to take a wife with a cash settlement rather than a land based dowry. Seven years after arriving in Yaldham, at a gathering at Martin's house, he and his

131. This multiplication in the number of markets from the later thirteenth century is considered in more detail below, pp.259-274.

132. East Yaldham was so described in a fine made in the king's court on 20 January 1275. BL Add.Ch. 16184.

133. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.388.

prospective father-in-law Henry de Shorne finalised an arrangement whereby Martin would receive 80 marks in biannual instalments over four years.¹³⁵ Now that he was established as lord of the manor of East Yaldham, with marriage connections to a local gentry family, Martin was in a better bargaining position.

It is only possible to estimate the total sum that the Peckhams spent purchasing land. The enrolled list of grants includes few details and only one or two of the sums paid in *gersuma* are available to be added to those recorded on the surviving original charters. Nevertheless, it would be of great interest to know what proportion of annual income was being invested in this way, so we must do the best we can with the material at our disposal. We must accept that the original purchase of East Yaldham manor was a special case and the other twelve recorded *gersuma* payments then total £81 19s 6d. Individual sums ranged from 3s. paid for a quitclaim to all rights in a piece of land called *Pyghtel* which lay next to Martin's garden,¹³⁶ up to 55 marks (£36 13s.4d.) paid for the tenement in Wrotham to which John de Farningham, coheir of Master Ralph de Farningham, had succeeded and which was sold to Martin, Margery and their sons Henry and Willam.¹³⁷ If we assume that all the rest of the acquisitions in Martin's lifetime were small-scale (which they were not) and that they all attracted a *gersuma* of 3s. (which is highly unlikely), then we arrive at a minimum

135. BL Add.Ch. 16503. This chirograph was the instrument by which Henry de Shorne notified himself bound to Martin de Peckham, contracted to be married to his daughter Margery, in the sum of 80m. Those present to witness the deed included Sir William, vicar of East Malling and Dean of Shoreham, John de Planaz, John the vicar of Wrotham, John de St Nicholas, Hamo de Berstede, Nicholas de Esse, Robert de Schyborn and John his son, Richard de Corton, Henry de Camera and Robert de Levee.

136. CKS U442 T149 m.5. This entry on the enrolled list was apparently seen as particularly important. It is the only one for which the date (3 Edward I), and the witnesses (Sir Michael de Sevenoaks, chaplain, John de Sevenoaks his father, William de Sevenoaks, cook, Nicholas de Ightham, Richard Wolvord, Peter Jue, John his brother, Richard le Bade, William Wolvord and John clerk) are given.

There is one lower recorded *gersuma* payment, which was 18d. paid for a grant of an annual rent of 2d. together with the quitclaim of rights to another 1d. rent. BL Add.Ch. 16498.

137. BL Add.Ch. 16501.

of about £100 over a period of 34 years; that is a mean of a little under £3 per year.

It would be reasonable to suppose that the surviving original charters are those that were treasured, being considered the more important, and that they relate to the larger and more valuable properties. However, this seems not to be the case. For example, we have the charter recording the grant by William son of Alexander de Wrotham of a piece of land for which a *gersuma* of 3s. was paid.¹³⁸ On the other hand, John Oliver's charter, detailing the grant of a messuage and 56 acres of land, wood and meadow, is now only known about through a reference to it on the cartulary roll.¹³⁹ On the assumption that the charters that remain are a random sample of the original set, then we may hypothesise a total outlay of some £820 over the 34 years at an average of £24 per year.

The true figure is no doubt somewhere between the two. The surviving charters probably do form a sample which is weighted towards the larger purchase, so we should perhaps base our average more upon the smaller ones. Such a tentative analysis suggests an average *gersuma* of perhaps 15s. per acquisition, leading to a mean expenditure of something over £4 10s. per year, a figure which, though useful is very much an estimate and hides the enormous potential variation in the numbers of acquisitions per year.

To put such a sum into context, in 1346 John de Peckham paid 10s towards the Aid for knighting the king's son, on the $\frac{1}{4}$ of a knight's fee that Martin had held in Yaldham.¹⁴⁰ In the year before Martin died the quarter fee that Thomas de Ifield held of the archbishop was valued at a little over £18 and after rents and other dues were taken off, the net valuation was £9 6s.5½d.¹⁴¹ This is not a particularly good

138. BL Add.Ch. 16506 and CKS U442 T149, m.2.

139. CKS U442 T149, m.4.

140. J.Greenstreet, ed., 'Assessments in Kent for the aid to knight the Black Prince', *Arch. Cant.* 10 (1876), p.150.

141. The inquisition was taken by the custodian of the temporalities, the see being vacant. PRO C133 File 123(10).

comparison though, for inquisition valuations give no indication of the true annual income of the land and like so many this one ignores land held in gavelkind. Perhaps it is better to consider the example offered by the Sussex manor of Beddingham, consisting of 230 cultivated acres in demesne and an assized rent roll of £5 10s. This manor made a 'profit' of almost £92 in the accounting year 1310/11 and £77 6s. in 1319/20.¹⁴² Yaldham was of comparable size to this manor, also in lay hands and on this basis Martin de Peckham was possibly investing around 6% of the annual income of his manor, and maybe much more, on its enlargement.

If this was so, it would put Martin on a par with his contemporaries, both lay and ecclesiastical. Unfortunately, in the absence of account rolls we can not know how much extra was being spent on improvement of the land through marling, or on construction or repair of mills and other buildings. Furthermore, had the land purchased come from the tenantry of East Yaldham itself, then these acquisitions would represent capital transfer rather than its creation.¹⁴³ Much of the land that was purchased however, was held of the neighbouring manors of Kemsing and Wrotham so that this activity does represent real investment on Martin's part. Given the apparent ease with which it was obtained, the purchase of such additional land was a more profitable course of action than making investment at the high rates that were necessary if the productivity of existing demesne lands were to be preserved or improved.¹⁴⁴

Given that Martin and Margery de Peckham were able to acquire so many small pieces of land, once again we cannot ignore the questions of who the sellers were and whether the initiative truly belonged to the acquirers or to those who were parting

142. N.Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex 1280-1400* (Oxford, 1986), pp.112-5.

143. R.H.Hilton, 'Rent and Capital Formation in Feudal Society', *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1975), p.175.

144. E.Miller & J.Hatcher, *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change* (London, 1978), p.233.

with their land. The lack of a detailed chronology makes it difficult to be sure whether or not harvest related factors were important in this area, but a comparison with the lay subsidy returns can still throw light on the economic standing of the sellers. Once again, the earliest subsidy which provides the necessary detail for the hundred of Wrotham is that of 1327.¹⁴⁵ It is clear that in contrast to the purchases of the Colepepers, those of the Peckhams were mainly from the less well-to-do peasant. Of course we cannot expect total continuity of surnames over a period of fifty-three years from the first grant in 1274, but it is noticeable just how many names do not appear among the tax-payers of Wrotham. Altogether some sixty-nine different surnames appear among the grantors of land in Wrotham, Yaldham or Ightham, all of which lay in Wrotham hundred, yet only eleven of these are discernible in the 1327 return. A further six surnames of Wrotham tax-payers are shared with earlier grantors of land which lay in Kemsing, Seal, Greatness and Heaverham, all in neighbouring Codsheath hundred. Holes in the document may obscure the presence of one or two more, but not enough to significantly alter the conclusions. When the 1334 returns are included in the analysis, some other names re-enter the picture. These bring the total of those living in Wrotham hundred and having sufficient property there on which to pay tax to seventeen if just the grantors of lands within Wrotham hundred are counted or twenty-three if those who actually granted lands in the neighbouring hundred are included. The details of the grants are included in Appendix 3.2, and the subsidy payments are listed in Table 3.5 below.

Widening the search for the grantors' names, just three more instances in nearby hundreds are provided by the indexed returns of the 1334/5 subsidy. Thomas ate Nolwode made two grants of land in Seal to Margery de Peckham and in 1334 Robert ate Nolwode contributed 1s. to the subsidy in Codsheath hundred; land in Wynfeld

145. PRO E179 123/10, mm.50v.-51.

Table 3.5. Lay subsidy payments in 1327 and 1334 made by individuals who were grantors to Martin and Margery de Peckham.

Surname	Christian name	payment in:		item numbers in appendix 3.2
		1327	1334	
A) Grantors of land in Wrotham hundred:				
Aldham	Nicholas	8s.4d.		12-14.
	Acard	4s.3¼d.	1s.4d.	
Bede	John		3s.	11. (Bade)
Bakere	Richard		4s.	146. (Pistore)
Colyn	Barth. & Wm.			
	his brother		4s.	38.
Fareman	Stephen	6s.8d.	6s.8d.	56-61.
	John		4s.	
Godwyne	Hamo	7s.0½d.	4s.	68.
	John		1s.4d.	
atte Hecche	Stephen	21d.	4s.	84-89.
	William	2s.6½d.	3s.	
atte Hoke	William	16¾d.	1s.4d.	93-94.
Ives	Maud	12¼d.		96-97. (Ive)
Kyng	John	20d.	1s.10d.	101-103.
Longe	Robert		5s.	112.
Mounte	William	14s.0¼d.		126.
	widow of Wm.	1s.4d.		
de Osprenge	William	12½d.	2s.	133-137.
Pary	Robert		2s.	138. (Parar?)
Styword	John	6s.6d.		162-163, 165.
Taillour	William	14d.	1s.	164.
	Geoffrey		2s.	
Wolford	Robert		2s.	172-177.

B) Grantors of land in Codsheath hundred:

Campayn atte Hale	Stephen	15d.		36. (Champeneyes)
	Roger	4s.6¾d.		72-77.
	Richard	6s.0½d.		
	Richard	18¼d.		
	William		5s.	
atte Holdenne	Laurence	20¾d.		92. (de Hildenne)
de Ledes	John	2s.3½d.	3s.	109-110.
Pellesholte	John	2s.2¾d.		145.
Smith/Faber	William	20d.	3s.	157-159.
	Adam		1s.4d.	

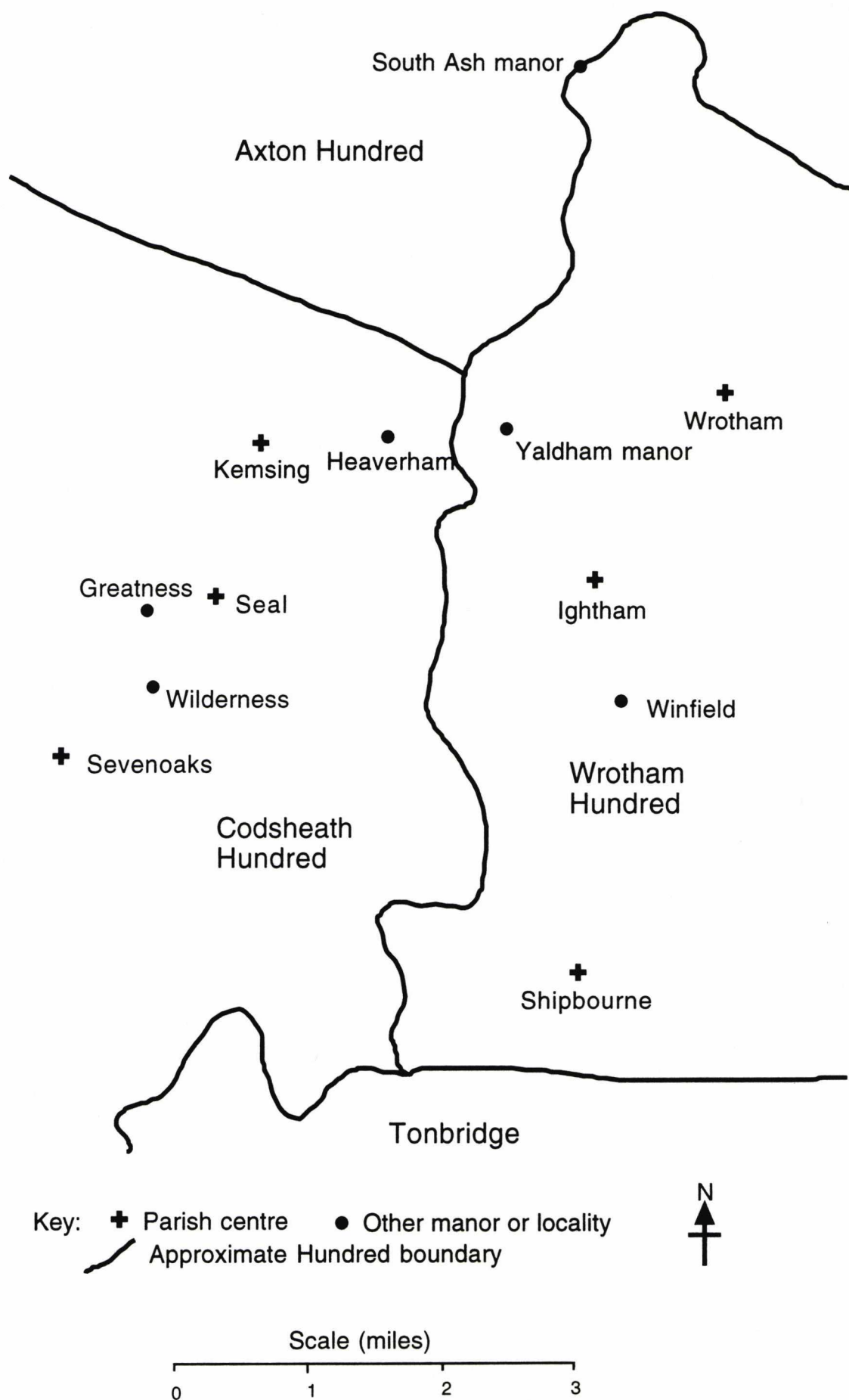
was granted also to Margery by a son of William Lewyne, while John Louwyne is to be found paying 1s. 0¾d. in Littlefeld hundred; the two sons of Richard de Pencompe made grants to Martin de Peckham, one of which involved land in Stansted and in 1334 the Pencompe family paid tax in Axton hundred. Map 3.4 shows these places and the boundaries of the hundreds to which they point.

The proportion of coincident surnames between the persons granting land in Wrotham hundred to Martin and Margery de Peckham, and those paying towards the lay subsidies up to a half century later is at most 33 per cent. This includes place-surnames as well as the common names of Smith and Baker, and comes even after the analysis was taken outside the hundred where the majority of the granted lands lay. Of course, surnames were not immutable and sons bearing a different name to their father may indeed raise the proportion somewhat, but probably not significantly.¹⁴⁶

It is possible that families were no longer resident in the area, but still had enough property where they now resided to be able to pay the tax. However, the indexed 1334/5 returns show no significant numbers in any of the hundreds around Wrotham, so the migration would have had to have been some distance. This does not prove that it could not have happened, but merely suggests that this does not provide a satisfactory solution to their absence among the Wrotham tax-payers. Some families will, of course, have died out in the male line in the period between the grant being made and the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Indeed, some of the grants were made by females, such as that of Joan and Amice, the daughters of Richard Bade.¹⁴⁷ However, such examples account for only a small proportion of the totality of grants, with the vast majority being made by men. In any case, if there were such a preponderance of female heirs then a significant proportion might be expected to

146. On the subject of the problem of surnames in this period, see Z.Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish. Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen 1270-1400* (Cambridge, 1980), p.3.

147. CKS U442 T149, m.2.



Map 3.4. The locations of grants of land to Martin and Margery de Peckham outside the immediate neighbourhood of Yaldham.

marry into the other families represented among the Peckham grantors and thus the pool of names within the hundred might shrink, but not alter radically.

Even if these two factors of migration and a lack of male heirs accounted for the disappearance of another twenty or thirty surnames, this would still leave a third unaccounted for. The only reasonable explanation remaining is that whatever their economic status at the start of the fourteenth century, these families were so impoverished by the second quarter that they were exempt from the tax. In 1334/5 the local assessors in Wrotham used a minimum valuation of 15 shillings for liability. In fact this is a high value in comparison with the other hundreds and must have led to many zero assessments.¹⁴⁸

On balance, the grantors of land to the Peckhams were apparently a representative cross-section of the population. The mean payment by all those who paid on property in Wrotham hundred in 1327 was 43.5d., whereas for those who bore the same surnames as the grantors, it was 45.0d. The corresponding figures for 1334/5 are 46.9d.¹⁴⁹ and 34.5d. If a third of the populace had property below the level considered locally to be sufficient before it could be taxed, then this is entirely reasonable.

The majority of grants to the Peckhams are of small areas of land. Fifty-three are of land in the West Field, with the largest area probably being the three acres there that William Ive, the son of Robert granted.¹⁵⁰ The majority of grants were of pieces of land less than one acre in size. This is a phenomenon which has been seen in other regions of England and is probably largely a result of the reluctance of individuals to part with any more land than they had to in an attempt to overcome short term

148. 1334/5 Lay Subsidy, pp.63-4.

149. Taking the total as calculated by the editors in H.A.Hanley and C.W.Chalklin, eds., 'The Kent Lay Subsidy of 1334/5' *Documents Illustrative of Medieval Kentish Society*, Kent Records 18 (Ashford, 1964).

150. CKS U442 T149, m.4.

problems.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless, the partible inheritance arising from the local Kentish customary tenure may have been a contributory factor leading to fragmentation of holdings. Thus, Richard de Wrotham granted one quarter acre of land in West Field which was next to the land of his brother William de Osprenge; John Ive parted with two acres in le Rede adjoining the land which had been demised to Martin de Peckham by Peter Ive. There are also a few instances of brothers making joint grants. Robert and Michael the sons of Richard de Pencompe have been mentioned already. Others include Richard, Henry and Robert Fareman with land in West Field and Roger and Alan de la Hale who granted land at Heaverham.¹⁵² A survey of the archbishop's manor of Wrotham compiled in 1285 shows the enormously complicated pattern of land-holding at that date, with many co-parceners and holders of small amounts of land.¹⁵³ It is apparent that there was no real easing of economic pressure over the ensuing forty or fifty years and that the effects of the land market were not to allow for a cyclic redistribution of land, but to provide only temporary relief to families desperate to buy food or pay rent and taxes. The pressures and crises of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries led many smallholding tenants into debt and this forced them to part with some or all of their precious land.

Conclusions

In February 1300 at Darenth, a few miles from Wrotham, Robert the son of John Pickard surrendered a croft of land which had been his mother's to the prior of St Andrew's Rochester, from whom it was held. The reason given for this surrender was that Robert wished 'to relinquish [the croft] on account of the rents and other services

151. B.M.S.Campbell, 'Inheritance and the land market in a peasant community' in R.M.Smith, ed., *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle* (Cambridge, 1984), p.116.

152. CKS U442 T149, mm.1,2,4.

153. CCAL MS.E24. This document is more fully described in Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, p.11.

which he found tedious and onerous.¹⁵⁴ It is a great pity that more of the charters which survive are not so informative about the underlying motives and intentions of the parties to these transactions. For the most part we are left to try to guess the story behind the grants. With grants made to the church in all its various guises the motive may often have been more than merely financial. Later, when wills begin to survive in bulk we see a great emphasis put by persons of all sorts and conditions on looking after the good of one's soul.¹⁵⁵ In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries too, many of these grants of land and rents surely arise from an earnest desire to ease the passage to heaven by the doing of good works. Thus William de Orlestone, with the agreement of his son and heir, John, gave to the church of Leeds a rent-charge of 3s. from the tenement of one of his tenants. The enrolled confirmation of this charter notes that the donor and Margaret his wife had chosen their places of burial to be in the church of Leeds.¹⁵⁶ Such pious intent is not the case when we consider sales of a secular nature. Here we might expect to find more purely economic forces at work, although the desire to climb the social ladder and the need for an appropriate estate to match status cannot be neglected.

It may be informative to consider the policies of a large and long-established Kentish landowner, albeit an ecclesiastical one. As a Kentish landlord Christchurch priory had extensive estates. During the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the priory's policy became increasingly one of augmenting the rent-roll by investment in land and rents, apparently in an attempt to provide a hedge against price inflation.¹⁵⁷

154. CKS D/Rc T141/1. Taken from the translation given in the unpublished calendar in the Centre for Kentish Studies.

155. P.W.Fleming, 'Charity, Faith, and the Gentry of Kent 1422-1529', in A.J.Pollard, ed., *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval History* (Gloucester, 1984), p.37.

156. *CChR*, v, p.201.

157. R.A.L.Smith dates this policy mainly from the priorate of Henry of Eastry (1285-1331), but a look at the priory registers and surviving charters shows such investment from at least the early 1240s. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory* (Cambridge, 1943), p.116.

Considering isolated manors can lead to the impression that such activity was uneven, characterised by short bursts of expenditure.¹⁵⁸ However, over the estate as a whole this form of investment was probably as constant as circumstances permitted, with the emphasis shifting from manor to manor as local conditions dictated. At the other end of an economic scale, for the tenant of just a few acres the main preoccupation was to ensure basic survival. Generally land was shed only reluctantly when there was a need to raise cash to buy grain for food or seed or to pay off debt.

The gentry as exemplified by the Peckhams and the Colepepers fall between these two economic extremes. Even before improvement and enlargement their lands were much more than that required for mere subsistence but they were concentrated in one area and cannot be classified as widespread estates. Increasingly over the course of the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the policy of these families was to acquire land. It is likely that local conditions had much to do with the pace at which the investment could be made. In the anciently settled areas of the county, such as the Holmesdale around Yaldham and Wrotham, the pressure on land in the later thirteenth century was such that in times of harvest difficulty, small pieces of land were readily available so that those with cash to spare could benefit and build substantial demesnes. In the more recently settled lands of the Weald the pressures may have been easier, with more opportunity for taking a living from the surrounding forest. If the activity of the Colepepers can be taken as at all typical, then land was purchased at a more leisurely rate and tended to be acquired in larger pieces. However, the exploitative approach of Thomas and Walter Colepeper in their relations with neighbours may be significant here. Even so, notwithstanding such potential regional variation, the IPM

158. At Meopham there was a concentration of sales to the priory in the early 1270s. V.Everett, *The Tenantry of a Downland Manor: Meopham c.1200-c.1300*, (U.K.C. Dip.Loc.Hist. dissertation, 1988), p.38. This contrasts with the situation at Chartham, where the total volume of priory acquisitions was larger and activity seems to have been chronologically more evenly spread. A.M.Langridge, *The Tenantry of Chartham from c.1200 to c.1500* (U.K.C. M.A. Thesis, 1982), p.47.

evidence suggests that in all parts of the county many gentry lords were actively increasing the size of their demesnes.

Was this in order to produce for a market increasingly resorted to by a growing population of landless and near-landless men and women, or did the drive for land come from a desire to acquire and maintain social status? At this stage, the question remains unanswered pending the more detailed discussion of account roll evidence in the ensuing chapters.

It ought also to be said that lords did on occasion part with land when the necessity arose. The knight William Boys sold East Yaldham to Martin de Peckham, apparently because of indebtedness. Another motive for selling land in the thirteenth century was to raise cash in order either to participate in a crusade, or to purchase an indulgence and thus avoid the necessity of personal involvement in such an uncomfortable and dangerous expedition. Simon Lloyd has shown how knights made use of the land market in this way, employing various legal devices to avoid the permanent alienation of their property so far as possible, but often being forced into parting with the land.¹⁵⁹

Thus, when land was lost from the estate it was in a dramatic, large scale way. This is in stark contrast to the acquisition of land. A widespread desire among gentry lords to increase the size of their demesnes is apparent. Precisely how many lords and their ladies were so engaged is difficult to quantify. Certainly Martin and Margery de Peckham stand out in terms of the number of recorded purchases and the impression of activity above the level of typicality may not be wrong. Nevertheless, the manner in which the purchases were recorded may be testimony to the fact that Martin de Peckham's background was as a clerk. It is worth remembering that when Margery Colepeper asked the king for the return of lands that had been given to her and her

159. S.Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1988), pp.183ff.

husband jointly, she did not detail all of them, but only the major ones. It may perhaps have been felt unnecessary, or even unhelpful to her cause, to detail every individual grant. On other estates too, the surviving record, provided by extant charters, feet of fines and the IPMs, probably underestimates a mass of small acquisitions of an odd acre or two of land here and there. The Colepepers and the Peckhams were certainly not unique in their desire to consolidate and enlarge their demesnes. The methods which they adopted to achieve their aims were in all likelihood matched by those of the other gentry lords of similar standing in their own localities.

Chapter 4

Demesne production and income

It was shown in the previous chapter that the practice of acquiring small pieces of land was common among the prospering gentry lords. These new lands were apparently most often added to an existing demesne. The charter evidence and the IPMs give few clues as to the actual use made of the demesne acres, whether newly acquired or of long-standing. It can be seen that in general the valuation of this demesne component of the manors made a significant proportional contribution to the overall value of the estates, as given in the manorial extents of the IPMs and other estate valuations. This appears to have been so on Kentish lay estates of all types and sizes, ranging from a single small manor up to multiple manor estates of the higher gentry. However, this demesne proportion varied greatly from estate to estate, with some lords concentrating more upon demesne production and others more upon tenant based rent income. Underlying this variation are general principles, relating the proportion of the estate value tied up in the demesne to the size and overall geography of the estate, which are dealt with in this chapter.¹

The chapter begins with an analysis of the evidence of the IPMs, in an attempt to assess the relative importance of the demesne element on Kentish estates of different sizes. It then moves on to consider the productivity of the various components of the demesne, beginning with arable and pasture and moving on to consider the demesne woodland and the manorial garden. Discussion of the labour employed on the demesne is postponed to the next chapter, which deals with the financial and other benefits to

1. It was shown by E.A.Kosminsky that in the midland areas covered by the 1279 Hundred Rolls, small manors differed from large ones in the proportion of the total area that the demesne occupied. Small manors he defined as those with a total of less than 500 acres of arable land, medium sized manors were those with between 500 and 1000 acres of arable and large manors had over 1000 acres. On the large manors the demesne accounted for only 25% of this arable land, on medium manors for 35% and on small manors for 41%. E.A.Kosminsky, *Studies in the Agrarian History of England*, ed. R.H.Hilton (Oxford, 1956), pp.96, 99.

be gained by the lord from his tenants and other dependents.

The place of the manorial demesnes in the estate

It is not possible to imitate precisely the work done on lay manors of the east midlands by Professor Kosminsky by making calculations of the relative acreages of demesne and tenant arable on individual manors, since the areas of tenant lands are very rarely given in the IPM extents. However, a similar analysis can be carried out by considering the valuations attached to each of the two components. For this purpose the manors are divided into three subsets, here designated as of 'low', 'medium' and 'high' value. The low value manors are those for which the total IPM valuation is below £8. Those manors with a value of between £8 and £16 are assigned to the medium category, with those with a total value of above £16 being classified as high value manors. It is recognised that these boundaries are fairly arbitrary, but they do have the merit of separating the overall sample of manors described and valued in the IPMs into three convenient subsets of comparable size.

The demesne is taken to include all those lands and other assets which lay under the direct day to day control of the lord or his officers. It thus encompasses the main house and garden, the dovecot and vinyard if these were present, the arable, pasture and meadow lands, any woodland and parks. It also includes the manorial mill although this asset may often have been in the hands of tenants. Nevertheless, the inquisitions often include the mill's valuation in a sub-total with the value of the demesne lands, so for the sake of uniformity it has been treated in the same way here. In fact this makes little difference to the overall figures obtained.²

2. In order to make the analysis as much as possible of like objects, the extra-manorial elements such as markets and fairs, advowsons and the profits of hundredal courts which were sometimes associated with manors on the estates of the more aristocratic lords are omitted from these total valuations. Seignorial control of, and benefits from, markets and fairs are discussed below, pp.259-283. Profits from courts receive attention in chapter 5, pp.222-231.

In order to gain an estimation of temporal shifts in the balance of demesne and non-demesne on these estates, it is convenient to divide up the overall period. Three intervals of roughly thirty years each have been chosen, with the first beginning at the date of the first Kentish IPM in 1246 and ending in 1290. The second interval runs from 1290 to 1320 and the third from 1320 until 1348. The dates chosen as the points of division have a certain significance as climate and disease led to problems in the agrarian economy both in the late 1280s and the period 1315-22. A total of 319 manorial extents were available from 1246 to 1348, of which 76 came from the first phase, from 1246 to 1290; 139 from the second phase, 1291-1320 and 104 from the third phase, 1321-1348. The results of the analysis are displayed in Table 4.1 below.

Throughout the period there were manors of all sorts which were virtually all demesne as well as those with none, but from the wide variation there emerges a general trend. The average proportion of the total manorial valuation which was accounted for by the various components of the demesne falls as one moves from the lower value manors to the higher value manors. For those of low value the averages are 64% in phase 1, 65% in the second phase and 65% in the third. Medium value manors had demesnes with valuations which averaged 64% of the total in the first phase, 53% in the second and 50% in phase 3. The figures for the high value manors are respectively 45%, 40% and 44%. The relatively high figure for the medium value manors before 1290 is the least reliable, since the sample here amounted to manors from just sixteen estates. Taking this into account, the overall pattern is clear. On the smaller, low value manors the demesne lands accounted for some 65% of the overall value, falling to 55% for the medium value manors and 45% or so for the larger, higher value manors.

This analysis is based upon the manor, rather than the estate. However, although the larger and more widespread estates often included small, low-value manors, they also

Table 4.1. The valuation of the demesne components of manors of different size as a percentage of the total value.

	Percentage of total which is demesne:									
	0-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90	91-100
<u>Phase 1 c.1246-1290</u>										
Low value manors	2	0	1	2	5	4	6	6	5	5
Medium value	0	0	1	3	0	3	1	3	3	2
High value	1	0	7	4	4	3	1	1	1	2
<u>Phase 2 1291-1320</u>										
Low value manors	0	2	2	2	9	6	9	7	12	5
Medium value	0	4	3	3	8	6	10	7	1	1
High value	1	2	14	8	6	5	1	4	0	1
<u>Phase 3 1320-1348</u>										
Low value manors	0	0	4	3	3	12	6	4	5	7
Medium value	1	1	3	7	5	6	2	4	2	1
High value	0	1	8	6	4	1	4	2	2	0

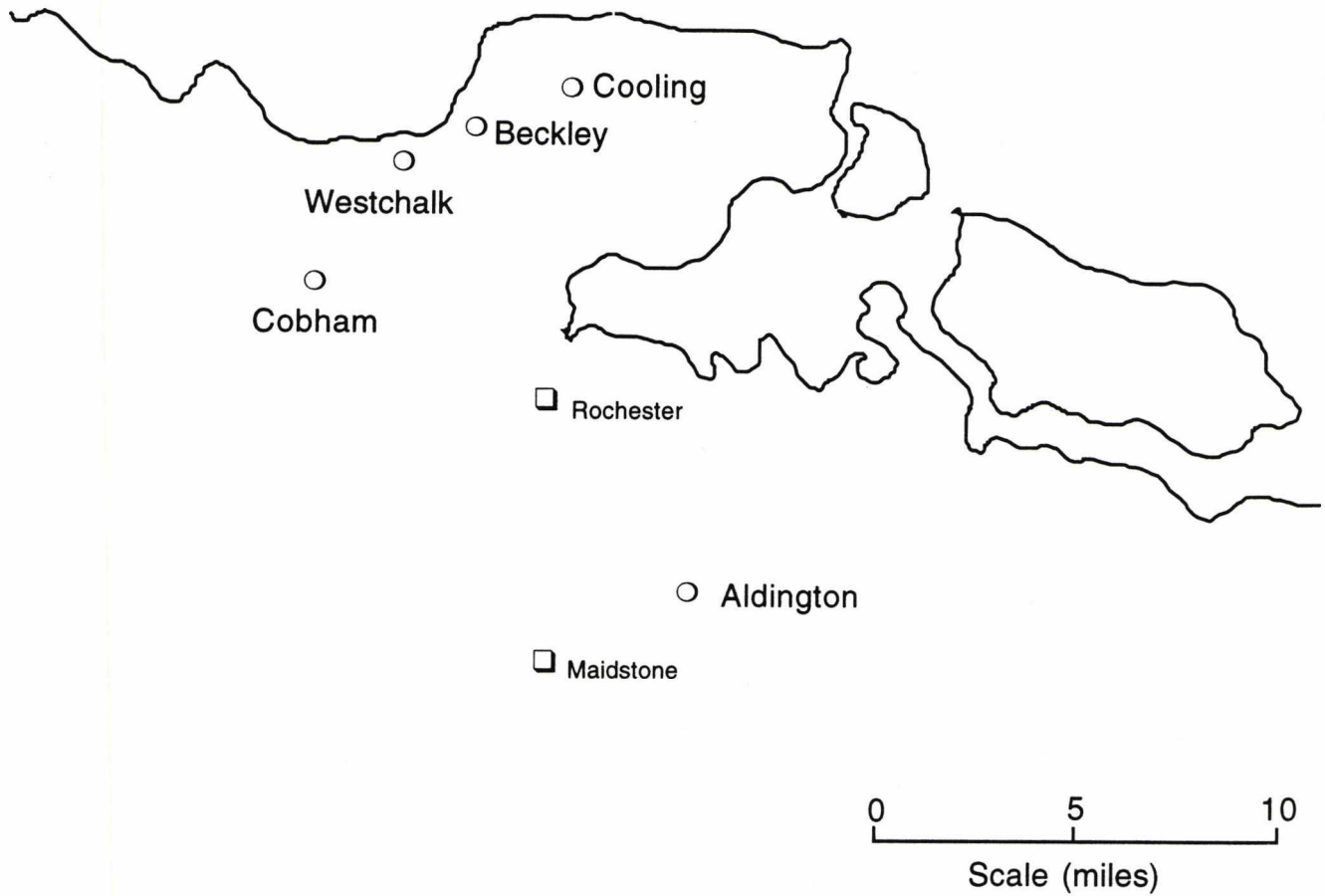
tended to have central manors of high value. For example, the five manors of the estate of John de Cobham are shown on Map 4.1. In the inquisition following John's death in 1300, Beckley, with a total valuation of £4 8s.2¼d., falls into the low-value category. West Chalk and the manor of Aldington, in the parish of Thurnham in the centre of the county, were each of medium value, being put at £8 11s.6d. and £8 7s.11d. respectively. Cooling and Cobham manors, at £26 12s.5¼d. and £30 13s.8½d. respectively were worth far more, and came well into the high value category.³

The IPM of John de Cobham is one of the few to include a list of tenants giving the number of acres that each held as well as the rents owed.⁴ Thus, on the assumption that these tenant lands were predominantly arable, it is possible to calculate the percentage of the total arable in the manors which was in the demesne. The results are given in Table 4.2. It emerges that the manor of Cobham, despite being of high value, would only have been classified by Kosminsky as of medium size. Cooling would only have warranted description as a small manor, as would Beckley, West Chalk and Aldington manors. However, large areas of permanent pasture formed part of the demesne of each of the four manors apart from Aldington.⁵ These totalled 180 acres at Cobham, 360 acres at Cooling, 55 acres at West Chalk and 42 acres at Beckley. When these are added in, the percentages of the total area of pasture and arable within the manors which was devoted to the demesnes become 47% for Cobham, 82% for Cooling, 60% for West Chalk and 85% for Beckley.

3. *CIPM*, iii, No.602; PRO C133 File 93(8). The information given in this inquisition has been tabulated in detail by T.May, in 'Estates of the Cobham Family in the Later Thirteenth Century', *Arch. Cant.* 84 (1969), pp.211-18. I differ in minor respects in my reading of some figures.

4. See below, pp.201-3.

5. The IPM of John de Cobham recorded no demesne pasture at Aldington.



Map 4.1. The five manors included in the IPM of John de Cobham, 1300.

(Rochester and Maidstone are shown to aid location.)

Table 4.2. Demesne and tenant arable in each of the manors of John de Cobham's estate, 1300.⁶

Manor	Demesne arable	Tenant land	Total area	% of total in demesne
Cobham	360½a.	621a.	981½a.	37%
Cooling	313a.	152¾a. ⁷	465¾a.	67%
West Chalk	175a.	150¾a.	325¾a.	54%
Beckley	60a.	18¼a.	78¼a.	77%
Aldington	80a.	241¾a.	321¾a.	25%

These figures are very high.⁸ However, they tend to confirm the picture given by the valuations, as by this measure also the manors of the Cobham estate had demesnes of above average worth. The contributions of the demesnes to the total manorial valuations of the 1300 inquisition were respectively 62%, 85%, 65%, 81% and 48% for the manors of Cobham, Cooling, West Chalk, Beckley and Aldington. These are in broad agreement with the figures given by the analysis by area.

One factor which contributed to the wide variation visible in the figures of Table 4.1 is illustrated by the manors of John de Cobham's estate. Aldington was an outlier, fifteen miles distant from the main estate centre, and as such was more devoted to producing a tenant rent income for its lord than in demesne production. It was seen in the previous chapter how lords of all degrees were active in the land market, buying up pieces of land to add to their demesnes, but with most of this acquisition taking place in one or two manors, generally close to the residential core of the estate.

Compared to these home manors, the relative size of the demesnes of outlying manors,

6. These figures differ from those given by Mrs May in *op.cit.*, p.212, because I have included only arable, following Kosminsky. The tenant land totals have also been recalculated, following my own reading of the inquisition.

7. To this total should be added the unspecified amount of land held by Nicholas de Ore, as 1/20th of a knight's fee.

8. They are far higher than the averages calculated by Kosminsky would suggest to have been the norm in the east midlands.

which were not subject to this practice of enlargement, can be expected to have remained lower in comparison to the area of tenant land.

Another important source of variation is the fact that the inquisition valuations were based upon leaseable worth. That is the values were an assessment of the annual sum which the king could expect to realise if he were to put the lands out to farm for the time that the estate was in his hands.⁹ Undoubtedly this does bear some relation to the actual productivity of the land. Over the county as a whole, the average valuation given to arable land was around 6.5d., but there was wide variation. Particularly high valuations were recorded for the fertile arable land in the marshes which fringe the county, where they could reach 36d. or 40d. per acre. In Lesnes marsh for example, on the lands of the north-west of the county, bordering the Thames estuary, seventeen acres of arable which were held in gavelkind by a rent of 4d. per acre were each valued in 1312 at 3s. above the service.¹⁰ Similarly in the manor of Overland, held of the archbishop of Canterbury's east Kent manor of Wingham, demesne arable acres were valued at 36d. each.¹¹

On the other hand, on the relatively poor soils to be found in the west of the county, arable valuations might be as low as 1d. or 2d. per acre. At Westerham for example, a jury told the escheator in April 1325 that all of the 185 acres of arable that the late Ralph de Cobham had held of the abbot and convent of Westminster were worth only 1d. above the services. Admittedly these services were heavy by Kentish standards. For two messuages, a dovecot and the 185 acres Ralph owed 42s. in cash and various other services which were commuted at the abbot's will for 27s.¹² Nevertheless, such low valuations are seen on other estates in this part of the county. On the demesne of a small manor at Edenbridge which Gilbert de Clare held of the abbot of Westminster,

9. P.D.A. Harvey, *Manorial Records* (British Records Association, 1984), p.20.

10. *CIPM*, v, No.413; PRO C134 File 31(2).

11. *CIPM*, v, No.220; PRO C134 File 17(7).

12. *CIPM*, vi, No.703; PRO C134 File 98(1).

for a total annual rent of 3s.1d. and a pair of gilt spurs, worth 6d., each of the 124 acres of arable were given a value of 1d.¹³ The soils of this part of the county are today graded as class 3, 4 or, occasionally, 5. That is, they are considered to have limitations that are at the least very significant and subject to which arable cultivation is possible, but only with the use of careful or restrictively expensive management practices.¹⁴ Clearly, given the limitations of medieval technology, yields from such land would not have been great, and this is reflected in the valuations.

The presence of local markets in which to sell surpluses and the local degree of land-hunger may also have led to differential valuation. Nevertheless, the example of the estates of John de Cobham has shown that there is justification in taking these inquisition valuations as the basis of the analysis. As a result it can be said that in general the importance of the demesne in the overall estate economy was less for the large landlord than for his less prosperous neighbour. Nevertheless, even on these large, widespread estates, with their high value manors, the demesne typically accounted for over 40% of the overall valuation.

The use of the demesne lands

The inquisitions provide little information on the actual management of the demesnes, but when a detailed extent of one or all of the manors which made up an estate is given, some analysis of the balance between arable and pastoral husbandry at least can be made. It is also possible to learn something of the structure and layout of the demesne from the detailed divisions of inheritance, allocations of dower and other surveys. The question of the reliability of the IPM data on acreages has been considered above,¹⁵ where it was shown that with care, and avoiding undue reliance

13. *CIPM*, iv, No.435; PRO C133 File 128, m.20.

14. C.P.Burnham, 'Land Use Capability', *The Rural Landscape of Kent* (Wye, 1973), pp.79-80 and map, pp.82-3.

15. Above, pp.16-27.

upon isolated inquisitions, reliable statistics might be recovered.

In considering areas, however, there is another technical problem which concerns the definition of the word 'acre', which has different possible interpretations. On occasion we are told the length of the perch used to define the acre¹⁶ and then we may safely take it that the acre was a measured one which had a physical significance as a unit of area.¹⁷ Elsewhere the phrase *acra ut iacet* or 'acre as it lies' suggests that the unit in question was a customary one, that is an acre based upon strips in an open field rather than a measured area.¹⁸ It is possible that this is the case at Rainham where the demesne in 1254 included 144 acres 'as they lie' together with a separate pasture called la Brone containing 16 acres.¹⁹ In the absence of such indications, it is tempting to assume that the acres were at least of comparable size, but it is too easy to ignore this potential source of inaccuracy in calculations.²⁰

Of more consequence is the fact that frequently, in addition to enclosed plots of permanent pasture in the demesne, the extents report the existence of other rights to pasture, but without giving an area. Sometimes such rights were in the form of open pasture upon the marshes, as was the custom on the Hoo peninsula. Here the IPMs provide evidence for three major lay manors. The manor of Hoo All Saints was held by a Sussex family named Aquillon. In 1285/6 the demesne was said to include sheep pasture on the salt marsh, valued at 53s.4d. together with another pasture valued at

16. As at Folkestone in 1263 where an inquisition recorded the perch to be a length of seventeen feet. *CIPM*, i, No.563; PRO C132 File 29(1), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.*, 3 (1860), p.258. The acre was generally reckoned to be 160 square perches, so that the Folkestone acre was some 6% larger in area than that based upon the standard perch of 16½ feet.

17. Even so it would still be a mistake to assume that an actual measurement had taken place. It is of course quite feasible to estimate against a standard unit of measurement.

18. P.D.A.Harvey, *Manorial Records* (British Records Association, 1984), p.16; A Jones, 'Land measurement in England, 1150-1350', *Ag.Hist.Rev.*, 27 (1979), pp.10-18.

19. *CIPM*, i, No.316; PRO C132 File 16(11), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.*, 3 (1860), p.243.

20. P.D.A.Harvey, *Manorial Records* (British Records Association, 1984), pp.16-7.

6s.8d.²¹ Six years later an inquisition extent listed pasture in the marsh for 60 sheep, valued at 6d. for each sheep, a further 18 acres of pasture in a place called *Lynne*, valued at 8d. per acre and another pasture in the same place for 60 sheep, again valued at 6d. per sheep. The sixty acres of arable that were recorded in 1285/6 had apparently by 1292 become 41 acres of arable and 12 acres of pasture.²²

Hoo St Werburgh was in two parts, one held by the family of Grey and the other by the family of Poynz. The Grey portion was the subject of an inquisition in 1272, when it was said that there were in the demesne two marshes for 460 sheep.²³ Just under two years later the demesne of the manor held by Nicholas Poynz was reported to contain pasture for 200 sheep.²⁴ In 1308, by coincidence both halves of the manor were again under the eye of the escheator. In January of that year, the Poynz portion was reported to include marshland upon which 200 sheep could be agisted.²⁵ In October it was the turn of the Grey manor again, when it was explained that the marsh lay in three locations, called *West Wik*, *Husewik* and *Heyham* which together could accommodate a total of 430 sheep.²⁶ Finally, in 1311, following the death of Nicholas de Poynz, this half of Hoo manor was valued once again, and this time it was said that the marsh pasture amounted to 160 acres.²⁷

On manors elsewhere in the county, the lord may have had rights to pasture, but only in common with others. For example, in the east Kent manor of Elham in 1328, Juliana de Leybourne was said to have held 60 acres of pasture which contributed 2d. each to the overall demesne valuation. This pasture was worth no more because it lay

21. *CIPM*, ii, No.604; PRO C133 File 44(10).

22. *CIPM*, iii, No.18; PRO C133 File 61(18).

23. *CIPM*, i, No.810; PRO C132 File 42(3).

24. *CIPM*, ii, No.18; PRO C133 File 2(8).

25. *CIPM*, v, No.45; PRO C134 File 2(19).

26. Made up of 200 in *Westwik*, 150 in *Husewik* and 80 in *Heyham*. *CIPM*, v, No.116; PRO C134 File 8(20).

27. *CIPM*, v, No.346; PRO C134 File 26(11).

in common from 1 August to 25 March.²⁸

More often the existence of pasture might be noted and valued, but its extent, either in terms of the number of animals which it was capable of sustaining or in the number of acres, left unrecorded. The demesne of Juliana de Leybourne's manor of Elham included further pasture in which she had exclusive rights, valued at 10s., but with no other details.²⁹

In the light of all these provisos, it is impossible to be precise about the overall size of demesnes and it is advisable to err on the side of caution. A sample of eighty one manors from thirty nine separate estates has been taken, selected on the criterion of being those manors for which at least two complete and legible extents survive from the period. The locations of these are shown on Map 4.2. These manors, and the estates of which they are part, serve to illustrate the fact that there was no simple rule to govern the way in which a manor ought to have been managed. Rather the policy on the demesnes of each estate and its component manors varied in response to several variables. As will become apparent from the examples that follow, these variables included the overall size and geography of the estate, the soil-type and condition of the land, the ease of access to markets and the level of local market demand, most especially in the north-western region of the county, where the influence of the London market was felt most strongly. The unique combination of these factors that pertained on each individual estate naturally led its lord to adopt a different set of strategies from his neighbours. Nevertheless, it is clear that some factors were of more significance in determining demesne policy than were others. It is not surprising that the soil type and fertility of the land on an individual manor should have been of

28. PRO C135 File 5(4), E152 File 16, m.2d.

29. This pasture is described as *seperale*. The same jury reported that Juliana de Leybourne's manor of Langley, near Maidstone in the centre of the county, also had 60 acres of pasture in its demesne and gave it a similarly low valuation of 1d. per acre for the reason that it was common between August and February. Here too there was, in addition, a private pasture of unspecified extent.

prime importance when the lord and his staff decided whether to raise animals or to sow a crop, and if so, which crop would yield most fruitfully. The size and overall geography of the estate was also a prominent factor, for first the demesne managers had to ensure that the lord's household had sufficient food of an acceptable quality.

To look first at the issue of size, the demesnes of small estates, composed of single manors, tended to be geared towards arable production and many had no recorded pasture at all. For example, Maud de Torpel's manor of Ash next Ridley, located on the chalk downland to the north of Wrotham, formed one such estate. In 1242 this woman held two quarter fees in Ash, one of which she kept to herself and the other was held of her by William de Faukham.³⁰ When her IPM was held in 1276, it was reported that besides the court and garden, the demesne consisted solely of 72 acres of arable and 31½ acres of wood.³¹

Another example of this type of estate is given by the manor of West Barming which, together with its hamlets of Pimpe and *Ledhok*, formed the estate of the family of Barming.³² These places lay on the south bank of the river Medway, some three miles west of Maidstone. In 1269, following the death of Robert de Barming, the demesne of West Barming manor consisted of 100 acres of land, a capital messuage with garden and an unspecified area of woodland, valued at 2s. At Pimpe there were a further 50 acres of land, together with a small amount of meadow. Another 20 acres of land were held of the archbishop of Canterbury.³³ After Robert's son and heir William died the demesnes were again described, in an IPM of 1294. On this occasion the jury spoke of two messuages with gardens and certain enclosures, together with

30. Both quarter fees were held by Mabel of Roger de Mowbray who in turn held them in chief of the king. *Book of Fees*, p.668.

31. *CIPM*, ii, No.178; PRO C133 File 13(15).

32. Spelt 'Barmling' in the records.

33. The meadow at Pimpe was valued at 2s., and was therefore probably only an acre or two in size. The 20 acres held of the archbishop were in *Egerdinton*. *CIPM*, i, No.698; PRO C132 File 36(12), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.*, 5 (1862/3), p.299.

162 acres of arable, three quarters of an acre³⁴ of pasture, 1½ acres of meadow, 80 acres of waste woodland,³⁵ which as in 1269 were valued at 2s., and another 8 acres of arable land held in gavelkind at Pimpe, of Richard de Pympe.³⁶ The woodland may have afforded some pasture, but not of enough quality to give it any great value. The emphasis of the demesne on this small estate was almost entirely upon arable.

On larger estates there is no sign of such complete specialisation in arable husbandry. However, there were manors within the estates which had no permanent pasture and in these cases it is often possible to detect signs of specialisation on the various manorial components of the estate. For example the manors of East Sutton and Sutton Valence, both of which lay on the rich soils of the Holmesdale to the south east of Maidstone, formed a part of the Kentish estate of the earls of Pembroke.³⁷ At East Sutton manor an IPM of 1324 reported 145 acres of land in the demesne, together with 12a. of meadow and a messuage and garden.³⁸ In 1348 the demesne of East Sutton manor was given as a messuage and garden, 108 acres of arable land and eight acres of meadow.³⁹ However, the manor of Sutton Valence lay immediately to the west of East Sutton manor and it may well have been managed in conjunction with it.⁴⁰ Here also there were no pasture acres in the fields, but there was a park which afforded pasture reckoned in 1324 to be worth 30s. above what was required for the sustenance

34. That is three *virgata*, which in Kent has the same meaning as 'rod' or a quarter-acre.

35. *Bosci vascati*.

36. *CIPM*, iii, No.179; PRO C133 File 67(22).

37. The Valence family were earls of Pembroke until the death of Aymer de Valence in 1324. Dying childless his estates passed to his sister Isabel who had married John de Hastings. His son and heir, Laurence de Hastings, obtained confirmation of the earldom of Pembroke in 1339. J.Cave-Brown, *Sutton Valence and East Sutton* (Maidstone, 1898), p.8.

38. There were also two acres of wood which afforded no pasture because of the shade of the trees (*pro umbra arbor'*) and 6 acres of coppice wood (*silva cedua*) in the common wood of the liberty of the queen's manor of Leeds. *CIPM*, vi, No.518; PRO C134 File 83, m.40.

39. *CIPM*, ix, No.118; PRO C135 File 91, m.28.

40. A single jury described both manors in 1348. In 1324 separate juries were used but one man, Roger de Stonlond, was the first named of each of them.

of the deer.⁴¹

The different requirements of the lord of a large and scattered estate from those of the lord holding a single manor could result in rapid changes in the use made of individual demesnes. The manor of Bockingfold for example was held in 1330 as the sole possession of Thomas de Caunville, of the inheritance of Giles de Badlesmere, who was in his minority at the time.⁴² The heart of this manor was in Goudhurst parish, probably near to the modern Bockingfold farm. The IPM extent suggests that although the demesnes were not large in overall acreage, they were comprised of scattered elements in Goudhurst and the neighbouring parishes.⁴³ The demesne description at this time consisted of a messuage and farm buildings,⁴⁴ 121 acres of arable, each valued at 4d. and another 54 acres of better quality (*melior*) arable, valued at 6d. per acre. There were 50 acres of meadow at *Begebok*⁴⁵ and 60 acres of pasture, which were valued at 8d. each. A park and various pieces of woodland provided further pasture.⁴⁶

By 1338, Giles de Badlesmere had attained his majority, come into his inheritance, and died. The resulting IPM shows that Bockingfold had been restored to its position as merely a part of a much larger estate, which had component manors across

41. PRO C134 File 83, m.41.

42. *CIPM*, vii, No.284; PRO C135 File 21(22). At the time of his father's IPM in January 1327 Giles was aged 14. *CIPM*, vii, No.104; PRO C135 File 9(10).

43. There is a modern hamlet named Bockingfold in the parish of Yalding, not far from Malling, where the 1330 IPM was held. The heart of the manor's centre was probably some four miles to the south, in Goudhurst, where today the modern Bockingfold Farm is located, at O.S. grid reference TQ733393. See Wallenberg, *Place-Names of Kent*, pp.169, 307; Hasted, iii, p.33.

44. There were said to be two granges and a cowshed which had fallen down (*prostrata*).

45. That is, Bedgebury which lies two miles to the south of Goudhurst village.

46. The pasture of the park was worth £4, plus 20s. in pannage. A wood called *Sharyndene*, with pasture and pannage was valued at 10s. 13 acres of wood and spinney at *La Redegate* was worth 3s. with pasture and pannage, 4 acres of wood in *Alleret* was put at 12d. and 6 acres of wood in *Snode* was valued at 18d. with pannage. Reed Court and Sherenden are to the north of Goudhurst, in Marden parish, near to Snoad Wood. See Wallenberg, *Place-Names of Kent*, pp.316, 330.

England. The emphasis of the Bockingfold demesne had changed completely. Now a jury reported the presence of a messuage, a mere nine acres of arable, 30 acres of meadow and 253 acres of pasture, together with the park containing 338 acres, and 198½ acres of great wood outside the park.⁴⁷ Giles de Badlesmere's arable production was centred elsewhere in his vast estate. There were a total of 712 acres under the plough in his home manor of Badlesmere, near to Faversham, for example.⁴⁸

The two other major factors in this equation were the type of soil upon which the individual manor was sited and the local accessibility of markets. Only a very small percentage of the land in the county was too steep to plough, so the major constraints which led to pastoral husbandry being more profitable than grain production were low fertility and poor drainage. This meant that the lords of even small estates might sometimes keep sheep flocks in preference to attempting to raise crops. Conversely, ready access to a market for grain might tip the balance back in favour of arable, often to the extent of demesnes having no pasture acres at all.

Many of the demesnes with large areas of pasture are to be found on the manors with lands in the marshes which fringe the county. The manors of the Hoo peninsula have already been mentioned. Other large areas of pasture are to be found in the south Kent marshes. In the heart of the Romney marsh in the late 1290s, in their manor of Blackmanstone, the Marines family had three times as many pasture acres as arable. The demesne in 1298 was reported to consisted of 41 acres of arable, worth 12d. per acre and 13 acres of meadow, worth 2s. per acre. There were also 168 acres of pasture, valued at 2s. per acre and a further 38 acres of pasture which was poorer

47. *CIPM*, viii, No.185; PRO C135 File 56, m.30.

48. *Ibid.*, m.32.

(*pejoris*) and consequently valued at the rather lower rate of 1s.8d. per acre.⁴⁹ The family had just one other manor, on the upland above the marsh at Otterpool five miles away to the north. Here, as well as another 118 acres of pasture, which was perhaps utilised to provide the sheep flocks with winter feeding grounds, there were in total 91 acres of arable.⁵⁰

In the east of the county near to Sandwich, Fleet manor was held by the de Vere family, earls of Oxford. This family had large and valuable estates across the south of England. In 1331, the inquisition of Robert de Vere recorded that the demesne contained 154 acres of arable, of which 100 acres were valued at 18d. each and the rest at a respectable 12d. per acre. In addition however, there were almost twice as many acres of fresh marsh, of which the pasture was valued at £10 13s.4d., which averages at around 8.5d. per acre.⁵¹ Earlier inquisitions of this manor had estimated the extent of this marsh pasture at even more, while at the same time valuing the available arable more highly. In 1296, a jury reported 80 acres of arable, worth 2s. each and 315 acres of marsh, worth 12d. each.⁵² In 1264, another jury spoke of 106 acres of land above the marshes (*terra suprema*), valued at 2s.6d. per acre and 440 acres of marsh land, worth 8d. per acre.⁵³

Poor fertility was the other factor leading to an increase in pasture over arable. Some

49. *CIPM*, iii, No.470; PRO C133 File 84(6). Thomas de Marines was succeeded in 1298 by his son, Thomas, who was then said to be aged 30. This son died just a year later, leaving his 13 year old son, Roger, as heir. Blackmanstone manor again came under the scrutiny of the king's escheator. This second IPM extent has suffered some damage, but it is accompanied by an assignment of dower to Maud, widow of Thomas the son. These suggest the demesne in 1299 to have been 90a. of arable at 2s. per acre, 38a. of poorer land, worth 18d. per acre and 48a. of the poorest land valued at 8d. per acre. Held in gavelkind were 8a. of 2s. land, 5a. of 18d. land and 13a. of 8d. land. The two lower qualities of land seem to have been used for pasture. *CIPM*, iii, No.556; PRO C133 File 92(12).

50. *CIPM*, iii, No.470; PRO C133 File 84(6).

51. *CIPM*, vii, No.379; PRO C135 File 28(17).

52. *CIPM*, iii, No.367; PRO C133 File 76(7).

53. *CIPM*, i, No.586; PRO C132 File 31(1), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.*, 5 (1862/3), p.292.

at least of this pasture may not have been grass pasture, but have resulted from the folding of animals on land sown with vetch and other legumes. Certainly the evidence is that Kent was at the forefront in the use of this innovative method of animal foddering in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁵⁴ Whether or not the lords were aware of the capacity for the nitrogenous crops themselves to improve the fertility of the soil, there is no doubt that they knew of the benefits to be gained from the dung of the animals being applied directly, without the need for costly transportation. There is little evidence for any other form of major investment in soil improvement on these gentry estates. The Clare manor of Yalding, when it was surveyed in 1263, had just two acres of marled land in a total demesne arable of over 170 acres. The potential improvement to be gained from such investment is shown by the fact that the value of the improved land was put at 2s., whereas the best of the rest was worth just 8d per acre.⁵⁵ A similar differential in valuations appears on the estate of John Gerunde who, as lord of the manor of Ashurst, appears to have invested rather more heavily than most. Of the total of sixty acres of arable recorded in his IPM of 1322, forty were marled and the other twenty were specifically said to be non-marled. The marling had increased the value of the former land three-fold, albeit from the very low figure of just 1d. per acre.⁵⁶ However, marling was a very expensive operation, requiring a large input of labour to dig, cart and spread the marl. It was moreover, of only transitory benefit, with the increased yields which it brought about ceasing if the dressing of the land was ended.⁵⁷ Sometimes land-owners were able to find less expensive, if less orthodox, methods of improving the fertility of the soil. A case brought before the justices in Eyre in 1313/4 concerned soil which had been taken

54. B.M.S.Campbell, 'The diffusion of vetches in Medieval England', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., 41, 2 (1988), p.204.

55. *CIPM*, i, No.530; PRO C132 File 27(5), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.*, 4 (1861), p.312.

56. *CIPM*, vi, No. 296; PRO C134 File 68(9).

57. H.E.Hallam, *Rural England 1066-1348* (Brighton, 1981), pp.88-9.

from the king's highway to be spread upon the land.⁵⁸ Accordingly, although other extents display differential valuations of the same order as those on Ashurst manor, few of them speak of improvement being the underlying reason. More common is the comment that low value land was worn out or debilitated.

In 1324 in the manor of Wickham by Strood, another element in the estate of Aymer de Valence, the earl of Pembroke, as well as 16 acres of pasture in the salt marsh, the demesne included 30 acres of sterile land which lay to pasture.⁵⁹ Similarly some of the land which John de Northwood and his father had acquired and added to the demesne of their manor of Shorne⁶⁰ was poor land which lay for pasture.⁶¹

Large tracts of unfertile land lying for pasture can also be seen in the extreme west of the county, in the area to the north of the Weald, at Cudham. The soils here are classified today as grade 2-3, arising from limitations which restrict the choice of crop that can be grown and make management difficult.⁶² This is reflected in low valuations consistently given to the land by inquisition juries. The manor was another which was held as part of a large and widespread estate, in this case that of the family of Say. In 1271/2, the demesne was said to contain a total of 364 acres of arable, valued at only 2d. per acre and another 104 acres of sterile land, worth 1d. per acre. Land specifically designated pasture, in the parks of Cudham, *Bokehurst* wood and *Betred*, were valued at 3d. or 4d. per acre.⁶³ In 1295, it was made explicit that this low value land was then being used for pasture, when 280 acres of arable were said to be worth 3d. each and 108 acres of pasture were put at 1d. each.⁶⁴ Finally in 1322, an inquisition jury reported 300 acres of arable in the demesne of Cudham manor,

58. *Eyre of Kent*, i, p.84.

59. *CIPM*, vi, No. 518; PRO C134 File 83, m.36.

60. Above, pp.68-70.

61. *Iacet pro pastura*. *CIPM*, vi, No.181; PRO C134 File 62(12).

62. S.G.McRae and C.P.Burnham, *The Rural Landscape of Kent* (Wye, 1973), pp.78-9 and 82-3.

63. *CIPM*, i, No.813; PRO C132 File 42(6).

64. *CIPM*, ii, No.271; PRO C133 File 71(19).

worth 2d. each and 340 acres of pasture, at 1d. per acre, together with the pasture in the parks.⁶⁵

Some of the demesne pasture acres may have generated income in the form of rents for areas leased by the season or by the year. At Broxham in Westerham, a small manor in the hands of John de Insula,⁶⁶ the receipts in 1324/5 included 5s. for summer pasture (*estival*) at *Strythynges* and another 20d. for pasture at *Bodesmell*, sold by the lord.⁶⁷ In the same area of the county, the serjeant of Sir John de Pulteneye's manor of Penshurst in his account of 1346/7 detailed receipts from various sales of pasture.⁶⁸ The pasture sold in *Bruggehauth* until the next feast of the Purification (2 February) brought in 2s., 16d. came from pasture sold in *Petiponntteshaugh*, 16d. was for pasture sold in *Nicholeseylom*, 18d. for pasture sold for the first time upon land which was formerly Coleville's and 15d. came from herbage sold in *Dubblemed* from 29 September until 2 February. Pasture sold in *Malotehaugh* realised another 12d. Much of this pasture may have been upon arable land which lay fallow, but the name of the last piece of land in this list suggests that this may be another example of land of low fertility being allowed to revert to pasture.

However, other pasture areas of Penshurst manor gave no cash income in this year either because they had been granted away, or because they were used for the lord's own animals. Thus the pasture *ate Mere* was worth nothing in this year because it was in the hands of Pycot, following the gift of the lord in exchange, but for what we are not told. The pasture in *Holerake* brought in nothing because it was folded for the lord's horse and the agistment of Northpark was also worth nothing because all of the pasture there was used for the lord's animals.

Thus the large areas of demesne pasture are indicative of constructive use by the

65. *CIPM*, vi, 327; PRO C134 File 70(4).

66. Hasted, iii, p.169.

67. CKS U789 M9, m.1.

68. CKS U1475 M62.

lords. Some lords had large flocks of sheep on their lands. When the lands of Bartholomew de Badlesmere were taken into the king's hands following his part in the rebellion against Edward II, among them was the estate of the young Roger de Northwood, which Bartholomew had held in custody.⁶⁹ The goods and chattels found on the manors were sold, as was the king's right, and among the assets was a flock of 1700 sheep on the manor of Northwood.⁷⁰

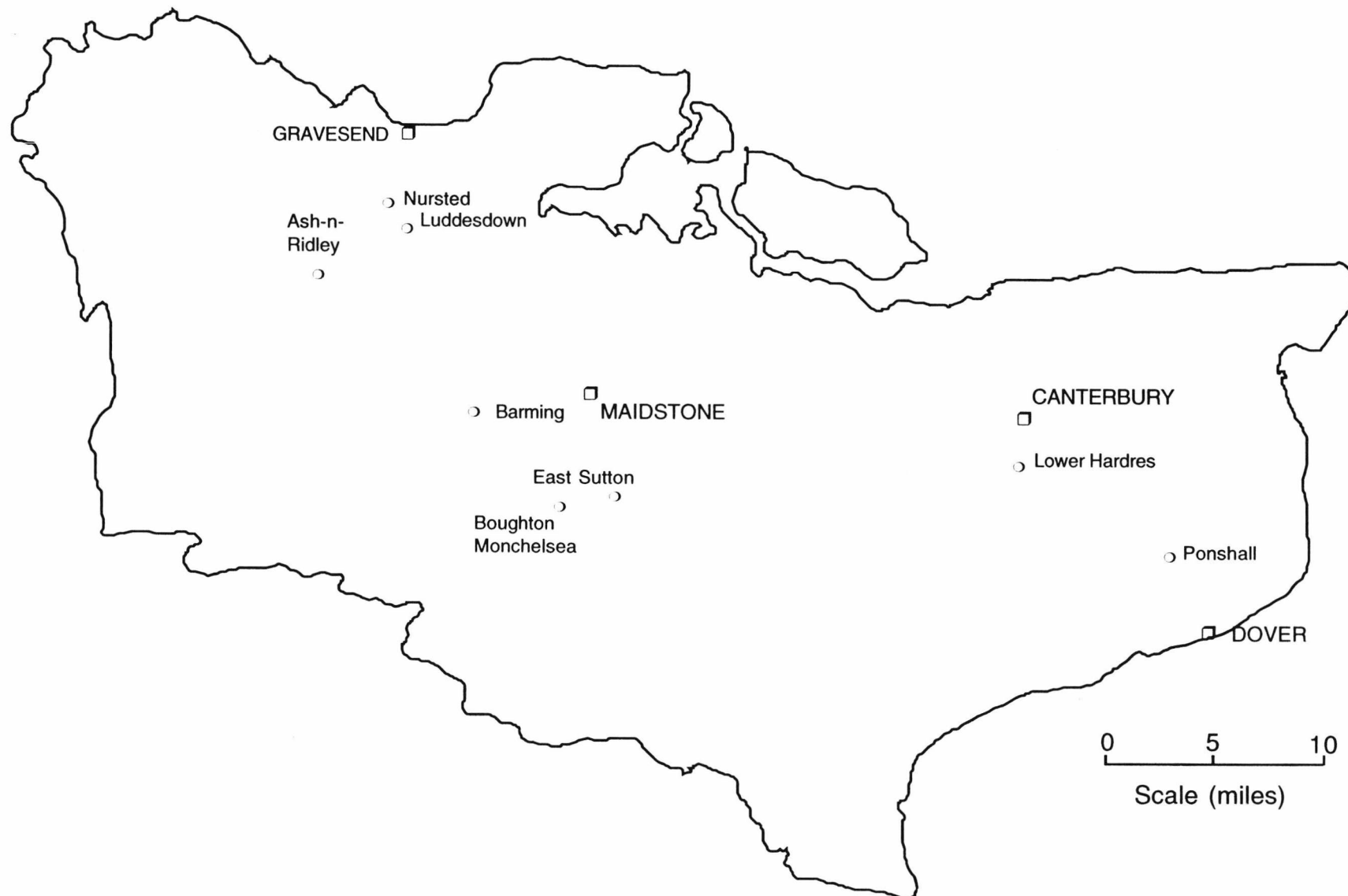
This flock of sheep was taken by ferry from the pastures on the Isle of Sheppey onto the mainland and then driven the twenty miles or so to Canterbury in order to be sold.⁷¹ Such a journey was apparently easily possible with live animals and the cost of the exercise was only 7s.6d., including pasturage on the way, although another 3s.6d. had to be expended on salve with which to grease the sheeps' coats. Carting grain and other produce to a market was undoubtedly more difficult and ease of access to the towns, or to riverine or coastal transport was important when the lord or his manorial officers made the decision to concentrate upon arable production. Of the eighty-one manors with demesnes which were the subject of two or more extents, eight have no recorded permanent pasture. These are shown on Map 4.3, together with the market centres which were closest and to which the bulk of any surplus grain may have been sent.

One of these 'arable-only' demenses was on the manor of Lower Hardres in east Kent. This manor was held by John de Crioll in 1263/4. It was thus an element in an

69. Roger was the grandson and heir of Sir John de Northwood senior, whose IPM was taken in 1319, when Roger was aged 12. *CIPM*, vi, No.181; PRO C134 File 62(12).

70. Symon de Knottingley, to whom the manors were assigned by the king, actually accounted for the sale of 1197 sheep from Northwood, although he claimed the expense of ferrying 1211 over the Swale from Sheppey. However, an inquisition taken later to verify the account found that the number of animals in the flock at Northwood manor was in fact 1700. PRO SC6/1145/8, mm.1,2.

71. PRO SC6/1145/8 m.1 and SC6/893/29 m.1.



Map 4.3. The eight manors (from lay estates in Kent) for which at least two complete, legible, extents survive from the period 1250-1348 and on which there was no or almost no recorded permanent pasture.

Also shown (in capitals) are possible local marketing centres. On the inclusion of Gravesend, refer to the text.

estate with components across the east of the county.⁷² The demesne extents of the inquisition which followed John's death suggest that on this estate there was specialisation among the various manors. Thus, at Walderchain, on the Downs between Canterbury and Dover, the demesne consisted of 200 acres of pasture, while on the fertile soils of Overland manor in Ash-next-Sandwich, there were 195 acres of arable, valued at £8 12s., or something over 10½d. per acre. At Lower Hardres, the soil was not so fertile, although the 100 acres of arable in the demesne of this manor could still achieve the value of £3 4s., or over 7½d. per acre. There were also said to be 20 acres of woodland.

By the turn of the century the manor of Lower Hardres had come into the hands of John de Godeyeneton.⁷³ The demesne lands were described in an IPM of 1300 as consisting of 84½ acres of arable and a further 17½ acres held in gavelkind, worth 4d. per acre, together with 50 acres of woodland.

The manor of Lower Hardres was less than three miles from the important borough market of the city of Canterbury. At about the same distance from Maidstone lay the manor of Boughton Monchelsea. Maidstone was not such a prominent urban centre as was Canterbury, but it certainly had a market of prescriptive origin and from the 1260s several charters were granted giving lords the right to found markets in and around the town.⁷⁴ Since at least the middle of the thirteenth century the lords of

72. John de Crioll died holding the manors of Seaton in Ickham, Ashenfield in Waltham, Overland in Ash, Boyden in Chislet, Walderchain in Barham, Welles in Ickham and Newnham as well as Lower Hardres. *CIPM*, i, No.593; PRO C132 File 31(8).

73. Perhaps it is more correct to say that the manor had returned to the Godeyeneton family. A fine of 1236 shows that it had been held by William de Hardres who had died leaving three women, presumably his daughters, as co-heirs. One of these was Isabel who had married Robert de Godynetun. John de Crioll may have come into possession of the manor as a result of a lease following this divided inheritance. *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.137.

74. See below, pp.262 and 271.

Boughton Monchelsea had been the Hougham family.⁷⁵ These were relatively minor lords whose estate was centred on the home manor of Hougham, thirty miles distant, on the coast between Folkestone and Dover, but for whom Boughton Monchelsea was clearly an important outlier which was kept in hand.⁷⁶ The demesne at Hougham had a mixed nature and was described in 1274 as 100 acres of pasture and land, while that on the manor of Boughton Monchelsea consisted of 150 acres of arable and a small area of woodland.⁷⁷ By 1301, although the numbers had changed, the balance had not. Then an inquisition recorded a total of 150 acres of arable and 56 acres of pasture at Hougham, while in Boughton Monchelsea there were said to be 232 acres of arable, together with meadow and underwood.⁷⁸

Other 'pasture free' manors are to be found in an area around and including the manor of Gravesend. The manor of Ash-next-Ridley has already been seen as the single manor estate of Maud de Torpel. However, after her death in 1276 it came into the hands of the Latimer family, and so became a component part of an estate which stretched from Kent and Surrey in the south of England to Westmorland and Yorkshire in the north.⁷⁹ As at Cudham, the soils around Ash are classified as grades 2-3, so that the demesnes of this manor were not ideally suited to cultivation, and some pasture acres in the folds and coombs would not have been out of place. The two IPMs are fifty years apart and we cannot know what policy was adopted in the intervening period. Nevertheless, if the situation they describe was not untypical on this manor then there must have been a good reason why the demesne here was

75. *CIPM*, i, No.401; PRO C132 File 20(16), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.*, 3 (1860), p.246.

76. The family had also long held a tenement in Boxley, to the north of Maidstone, which was in the hands of a sub-tenant. By 1301 the estate had grown with the addition of lands and rents along the south Kent coast and in Dover. *CIPM*, iv, No.36; PRO C133 File 101(1).

77. *CIPM*, ii, No.58; PRO C133 File 4(18).

78. *CIPM*, iv, No.36; PRO C133 File 101(1).

79. *CIPM*, vii, No.50; PRO C135 File 3(5).

devoted solely to arable.

Lying five miles to the east of Ash, the manor of Luddesdown was also a single element in a scattered estate, being another of the manors of the earl of Pembroke. In 1324 the demesne of this manor consisted of 250 acres of arable worth 4d. per acre, together with 4a. of meadow and 14 acres of great wood which provided neither pasture nor underwood because of the shade of the trees.⁸⁰ The manor of Nursted is another example of a manor which changed status from a single manor estate to an element within a more extensive one. In 1300 Alice, the widow of John de Bello Monte claimed one third of the manor as her rightful dower, together with a half of 80 acres of land which her husband had held in Nursted. The jury of the ensuing inquisition reported that there were 180 acres of land in the demesne besides the 80 acres held in gavelkind, and they explicitly stated that there were neither meadow nor pasture.⁸¹ By 1338 Nursted manor was in the hands of Stephen de Gravesend who also held lands in Milton next Gravesend and other manors in Essex, Surrey and Middlesex. The demesne lands of Nursted manor were now said to consist of 120 acres of arable.⁸²

The manor of Gravesend itself was held for their lives by Henry and Joan de Crammavill, who died in 1298 and 1315 respectively. Each of the resulting inquisitions reported that there were 300 acres of arable in the demesne and on neither occasion was any permanent pasture recorded.⁸³

So what made this area one in which lords devoted their demesne acres to the raising of crops? The fact that a cluster of markets grew up in the same area cannot be

80. CIPM, vi, No.518; PRO C134 File 83, m.39. The 1324 inquisition merely refers to *terra*, it is the inquisition of 1314 which makes it clear that it is all arable. CIPM, v, No.475; PRO C134 File 34(7).

81. CIPM, iii, No.617; PRO C133 File 98(12).

82. CIPM, viii, No.176; PRO C135 File 54(4).

83. CIPM, iii, No.459; PRO C133 File 83(16). CIPM, v, No.524; PRO C134 File 37(7).

entirely coincidental, and it is at least possible that Gravesend was the focus. Certainly there was a ferry associated with the manor, the profits of which were said to be worth 30s.8d. to the lord of the manor in 1298.⁸⁴ We have no evidence of the boats being used for the transit of large cargoes up the Thames, but it is not beyond the imagination. The lords whose lands lay within easy reach of the port would not have slow to take advantage of the access it gave them.

The buoyant market for grain might help to ensure a healthy income for lords who produced a surplus over and above the needs of their own household.⁸⁵ Given such potential high profits, it is perhaps not surprising that there were no estates with demesnes that did not have some acres devoted to the growing of crops. Where individual manors have no arable in their demesnes they are invariably seen to be small components of more extensive estates. The one third of the manor of Harrietsham that Juliana de Leybourne held on her death in 1328 was reported at her inquisition to have just sixty acres of pasture and three acres of meadow in demesne, but the Leybourne estate that Juliana had been the lady of was among the most valuable lay estates of Kent.⁸⁶ The remainder of Harrietsham manor was in the hands of Sir John de Northwood and his demesne lands here included over a hundred acres of arable together with four and a half acres of meadow, eleven acres of separate pasture and another forty acres of pasture in the park.⁸⁷

Nevertheless, although the market had its place in disposing of the surplus production of the demesnes, most of the crop went to feeding the lord and his

84. *CIPM*, iii, No.459; PRO C133 File 83(16).

85. M.Mate, 'The agrarian economy of south-east England before the Black Death: depressed or buoyant?' in B.M.S.Campbell, ed., *Before the Black Death. Studies in the 'crisis' of the early fourteenth century* (Manchester, 1991), p.81.

86. *CIPM*, vii, No.80; PRO C135 File 5(4) & E152 No.16, m.2d.

87. The manor of Harrietsham had been held by William de Leybourne, husband of Juliana. After his death she took one third of the manor in dower, and John de Northwood came into possession of the remainder. *CIPM*, vi, No.181; PRO C134 File 62(12).

household, and in providing liveries to the demesne labour force. Most lords aimed to satisfy their personal requirements from their own manors.⁸⁸

These then were the factors that most heavily influenced the balance adopted on individual manorial demesnes within the lay estates. First and foremost was the need to produce enough grain to feed the lord, his family and his demesne labourers. For the smallest estates, those of only one manor, this meant that a large proportion, perhaps the entirety, of the demesne was devoted to arable. Secondly, the particular soil and terrain upon which the fields lay might dictate whether successful crop production was possible. This meant that largely pastoral demesnes were developed in the marshland margins of the county's north, east and south coasts. In the west too, on infertile sandy soils and on the heavy clays of the weald demesne pasture often predominated over arable.

Thirdly, on manorial demesnes from which access to large and hungry markets was possible, lords had a powerful incentive to over-ride problems of fertility and crop management and devote more acres to arable than they otherwise might. This is seen most clearly on the manors of large and scattered estates, when there was no apparent need to utilise marginal lands for crop production unless it were to supply the market.

Management of the demesnes - the example of John de Cobham.

At this point it will be useful to look in more detail at the actual management of the demesne, to see just what grains were grown in the fields and what animals were pastured. We shall also look at how the crops and the animals were actually utilised. The inquisition extents can tell us little about this aspect. Instead we must turn to manorial accounts and, in the absence of series of annual accounts for these lay estates, we must make what use we can of the isolated examples that survive. One

88. S.L.Waugh, *England in the reign of Edward III* (Cambridge, 1991), p.103.

such survival is an audited account of the serjeant of the manor of Cobham, centre of the estate of John de Cobham.⁸⁹ The serjeant's name was Thomas de Grobbyngdane and his account runs from the day after Michaelmas 1290 to Michaelmas 1291.⁹⁰ The account is complete in the sense that the totals of receipts and expenses are computed and tally with the various sections. A surplus of £31 18s.4¾d. is carried over as a receipt from the previous year, and the expenses are subtracted from the receipts to calculate that the serjeant was in debt to his lord for a surplus of £40 6s.3d. for the current year. The dorse of the roll contains a full and detailed grain and stock account. However, Thomas de Grobbyngdane apparently had no remit to collect the rents from the tenants of Cobham manor, as a section devoted to this does not appear.⁹¹

The general pattern that has been observed of lay estates tending to remain concentrated in an area of only a few miles across strongly suggests that even if the individual manors retained their own separate identities, the demesnes were managed complementarily. There is little doubt that some at least of the five manors of the Cobham estate were organised together. Certainly there are signs of a joint management policy between Cobham manor and the neighbouring Cooling manor. The grain and stock account of Cobham records the delivery of 97 wethers⁹² to William Moys, the serjeant of Cooling manor.⁹³ In the same year William sent 20 quarters of oats to the Cobham barns.

There are other signs of the movement of people and stock from one manor to

89. See Map 4.1 above, p.127.

90. BL Harl. Roll D1. This document and its contents are described and tabulated in some detail by Mrs May, in 'Estates of the Cobham Family in the Later Thirteenth Century', *Arch. Cant.*, 84 (1969), pp.220-8.

91. Apart from the absence of a section devoted to tenant rent income, the account follows closely the scheme and layout of a Phase 2 document, as described by P.D.A.Harvey in *Manorial Records* (British Records Association, 1984), pp.31-5.

92. A wether is a castrated ram.

93. Men bearing the name Moys appear as tenants of John de Cobham in Hoo. Laurence Moys owed 7lb. of cheese and Robert Moys 5lb. for land in a certain marsh called *Upwyk*. William Moys himself held a tenement in *Herdefilde* in Hoo, for which he owed a rent of 8d. Hatfield MS 306, f.40v.

another on the estate. Some of the oats that William Moys sent to Cobham were perhaps in return for those that were expended when four horses from Cooling were stabled at Cobham for eight nights in the autumn. During that time they consumed one quarter of oats, for which Thomas de Grobbyngdane accounted. Two cart horses from Beckley, another manor of the Cobham estate, also spent a fortnight at Cobham, consuming four bushels of oats in fodder.

Furthermore, Thomas apparently had responsibility for the upkeep of all the mills of the estate, including Chalk mill. Other, smaller, tenements held by John de Cobham were also apparently the direct responsibility of the serjeant of Cobham manor, for the corn and stock account tells of quantities of grain received as the issues of Northcourt and of the Monk's Grange parsonage. John de Cobham also owned some local tithes, and his serjeant at Cobham manor received quantities of grain as the tithes of Abbot's Grange and of Thong. The locations of Abbot's Grange, Monk's Grange and Northcourt are not known⁹⁴ but Thong is a hamlet which lies between Cobham and Shorne, just to the north of the modern A2 trunk road.⁹⁵

Nevertheless, grain issues of the manors of Cooling, Beckley or West Chalk are not specifically mentioned, although those of Cobham manor are. Therefore it seems most likely that these parts of the estate were accounted for by an official or officials other than Thomas de Grobbyngdane, even if their management was not entirely separate. It is thus important to recognise that Thomas's account relates to only part of the estate, albeit a very significant part.

The type and amounts of grain that were received by the serjeant of Cobham manor from all the various sources are shown in Table 4.3. Wheat and spring barley were the major crops harvested in 1290, with grey peas and beans coming a long way after. The purchases of barley, vetch and oats were made in part by the manorial serjeant

94. T.May, *op.cit.*, p.221.

95. Located at O.S. grid reference TQ673705.

Table 4.3. The types and quantities of grain received by the serjeant of Cobham manor in the year 1290/1.⁹⁶

	Wheat	Barley:		Oats	Rye	Peas/Beans	Vetch	Mixtil
		Winter	Spring					
Demesne issues:								
of Cobham	167q.2b.	40q.2b.	160q.1b.	10q.4b.	-	36q.4b.	8q.	-
of Parsonage ⁹⁷	30q.2b.	1q.4b.	43q.1b.	4q.7b.	-	2q.½b.	18q.6b.	
of Northcourt	22q.5b.	8q.	17q.1b.	16q.5b.	-	-	-	-
Tithes:								
of Abbot's Grange	8q.5b.	1q.	24q.6b.	2q.	5q.4b.	4b.	4q.4b.	-
of Thong	3q.	4q.4b.	-	-				
Rents and farms:	1q.	-	21q.3b.	-	-	-	-	74q.1½b.
Purchases:	-	1q.4b.	26q.4½b.	379q.2b.		-	5q.7b.	-
Received from								
Cooling serjeant				20q.				
Totals:	232q.6b.	56q.6b.	293q.½b.	433q.2b.	5q.4b.	39q.½b.	37q.1b.	74q.1½b. ⁹⁸

96. Source: BL Harl. Roll D1.

97. The spring barley and oats figures relate to tithes of Parsonage of Monk's Grange rather than issues.

98. The *mixtil* section total of 160q.7½b. in the grain account includes 3½b. remaining from the previous year and 86q.2½b. of other grains included under their appropriate headings in the table.

and partly by the lord himself. The purchased oats for example came in at least nine separate lots, as shown by the number of tallies which recorded the amounts. The lord had purchased 15 quarters which were received from Geoffrey de Kynton as recorded on one tally. Another 79 quarters and one bushel of the lord's purchase were received from Daniel de Burgham by three tallies and 168 quarters from Robert le Couhyerde also by three tallies. He also bought 39 quarters and 4 bushels from John de Frenyngham. A further 57 quarters and 5 bushels of oats were bought by the serjeant. It is not known who Geoffrey de Kynton or Daniel de Burgham were, but Robert le Couhyerde appears as a tenant of Cooling manor in 1300, holding just 1 acre.⁹⁹ It is possible therefore that he was not the man who actually sold the oats to the lord, but merely the servant who handed them over to the serjeant of Cobham manor. The Frenyngams on the other hand, were a rising family. If they were not already, they were shortly to become the lords of Farningham manor, which lay about eight miles to the west of Cobham.¹⁰⁰ The family may also have held other land in the area.¹⁰¹ A significant amount of the spring barley came in the form of food-farms from twelve

99. The names Kynton and Burgham do not figure amongst any of the rental of the Cobham estate. The IPM of John de Cobham records that Robert le Couhyerde owed a rent of 7¾d. and one hen for his tenement in 1300. PRO C133 File 94(8). Earlier, Martin le Couhyerde and his wife Matilda had held land called *Derewenneslond* in Frindsbury. Hatfield MS306, f.49v.

100. In 1287 this manor apparently answered for half a knight's fee, held of the archbishop of Canterbury. It was in the hands of the Frenyngham family by 1346, when Ralph, knight, the son of John de Frenyngham paid Aid on a total of one fee which had formerly been held by John de Ifield. Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, p.344; *Feudal Aids*, pp.48-9.

101. The IPM of John son of Ralph de Frenyngham, taken in 1349 stated that when he died he had held two thirds of the manor of West Barming of the king, substantial amounts of gavelkind land in East Farleigh and Loose of Christchurch Priory, the manor of Sundridge as one knight's fee of the archbishop and a gavelkind tenement in Marden, as of the queen's manor of Milton, as well as the manor of Farningham. *CIPM*, ix, No.401; PRO C135 File 104(3) and E149 File 10(18). Aid was paid in 1346 on the fees in West Barming, Farningham and Sundridge, as well as for a share in a quarter fee in Dartford, held of the bishop of Rochester. *Feudal Aids*, pp.45,48,49,51. Like Farningham, in the late thirteenth century Sundridge had been held by a family of a different name, in this case the Aperfields. DuBoulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, p.375; CKS (Sevenoaks branch) U1000/3 M18 and M19.

individuals.¹⁰²

The farms of the various mills was another source of grain, in this case *mixtil*. Fourteen quarters came from the farm of Uden mill, 18 quarters from Chalk mill and 28 quarters from Cobham mill. Another 12 quarters came from the farm of *Spanges* mill and the serjeant excused the fact that this was all that he had received by pointing out that this was a new mill.¹⁰³

Table 4.4 summarises the use to which the various grains were put. First there was the need to ensure the next year's crop. There appears to have been no attempt, in this year at least, to follow the advice given in the contemporary manuals of husbandry, which was to purchase new seed-corn at least once a year.¹⁰⁴ Instead, 42% of the wheat and 41% of the winter barley was delivered to John ate Southlonde, in his capacity as chief sower. These figures seem extraordinarily high. If, however, the sower had responsibility for more than merely the Cobham manor demesne, he may have been aware of the need to ensure that seed sown on a particular field came from elsewhere on the estate. Therefore, at least some of this seed may have been destined for the other demesnes of West Chalk, Cooling and Beckley. A quarter of the spring barley which had been received this year was also returned as seed. Of course this account is for one year only, and we cannot say too much about the regular practice.

After the requirements of the next year's harvest had been dealt with, the second major use of the estate's grain harvest was in food. Broadly speaking the lord and his

102. John Henry gave 2q., Thomas le Rowel 1½q., the brethren of the hospital known as the New Work, Strood 3b., Thomas de Gregges 1½q., Thomas atte Wod 2q., John Gataylle 2q., William ate Wode 1q., John ate Wode 1q., Robert le Hauek 3q. and John ate Woderove 3q. These individuals do not figure amongst the lists of rent-payers in Hatfield MS306, nor in the list accompanying John de Cobham's IPM. However, Robert Woderove paid rent for land in *Hauekscroft* in Henherst in the late thirteenth century and Thomas Woderove held land in Shorne. Hatfield MS 306, ff.49v. and 51v.

103. The expenses incurred in building this mill are given on the account and are considered below, pp. 243-4.

104. D.Oschinsky, ed., *Walter of Henley and other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting* (Oxford, 1971), pp.174-5, 270ff. and 324ff.

Table 4.4. The uses to which the grain produce of the manors of John de Cobham were put, 1290/1.¹⁰⁵

	Seed	Fodder	Sale	Household use & liveries to <i>famuli</i>	sale at audit	total	total of serjeant's receipts ¹⁰⁶
Wheat	98q.2b. (42%)		41q.6b. (18%)	78q. (34%)	9q.1b. (4%)	227q.1b. (98%)	232q.6b.
Winter Barley	25q.2b. (41%)			31q.4b. (51%)		56q.6b. (92%)	62q.2b.
Spring Barley	72q.7b. (25%)		21q.3½b. (7%)	167q.3b. (57%)	5q. (2%)	226q.1½b. (91%)	293q.½b.
Oats	50q.1b. (12%)	302q.2b. (73%)		23q. (6%)	14q.2b. (3%)	205q.3b. (94%)	413q.2b.
Beans & Peas			1q.2b.			1q.2b.	
White peas				1½b.		1½b.	
Grey peas	13q.2b.	10q.	1q.1½b.	1q.6b.	5q.2b.	31q.3½b.	
total	13q.2b. (34%)	10q. (26%)	2q.3½b. (6%)	1q.7½b. (5%)	5q.2b. (13%)	32q.7b. (84%)	39q.½b.
Vetch	41q.1b. (111%)	1q. (3%)				42q.1b. (114%)	37q.1b.
Drage	10q.6b.					10q.6b.	
Mixtil		6q.4b.		138q.4b.	8q.3b.	153q.3b.	74q.1½b.
Malt		8q.6b.	8q.	61q.	13q.	90q.6b.	
Oat flour				8q.5b.			

105. Source: BL Harl. Roll D1. The figures in parentheses show the proportion of the total of each grain which the account has Thomas de Grobbyngdane in receipt of. In a few cases the figures in the table are slightly inaccurate as only quarters and bushels are given. Small quantities measured in pecks and, in one case, *tertionarii* have been left off. The most accurate measurement given in the account is of the quantity of oats sold at audit. This was 14 quarters, 2 bushels, 3 pecks and one *tertionarius*.

106. From Table 4.3.

household took the better quality grains, while the manorial *famuli* and the horses and other animals were fed on the rest. Thus 70 quarters and 1 bushel of the wheat was baked into bread and pastry for the lord and his household, including fourteen paupers he entertained at Cooling in the autumn. Small quantities went on liveries to the baker and the serjeant of Cooling manor. One quarter was given to a preacher from London named Stephen, on an instruction from the lord.

Twenty-six quarters of the winter barley also went to making bread, together with 28 quarters of the spring barley. A further 54 quarters and 3½ bushels of the spring barley were malted. The resulting ale was mainly used, together with some which was purchased, when the lord was in residence. The poorer quality barley was used mainly for the *famulus*, with 80 quarters and 6½ bushels being given to them, in the form of *mixtil*.

Oats were primarily a fodder crop, being fed to swans and geese as well as horses. Six cart horses were foddered throughout the year at 1½b. per night between them, and four cart-horses from Cooling and two from Beckley were also stabled at Cobham for one or two weeks in the autumn. Twelve affers were fed 1½b. per night between them for seven months between October and May and they also received oats when they took the small cart in the summer. During the year a seventh cart horse was purchased, so that by the year's end there were nineteen horses based at Cobham. The geese and swans were the responsibility of the cook, who was delivered 5 quarters and 1 bushel for their feed.¹⁰⁷

Peas were used in pottage, the better quality white peas being for the lord's table and grey peas mixed with the vetch for the *famulus* and for the fourteen paupers entertained at Cooling. The poorer quality grey pea was also used to fatten pigs for the larder. Vetch was a pasture crop, with the 42q.1b. in the manor barns being used

107. The stock account fails to include these birds, so that we cannot say how many there were.

almost exclusively for seed, although 1 quarter was used for pig feed in the winter. How much the rest of the crop was we do not know, because it was fed to the animals in the fields.¹⁰⁸

The residue of the grains, after food for the household, liveries to the *famulus* and the needs of the sower had been taken care of, was sold. Wheat in particular was apparently grown with the intention of being used in part as a cash crop. Of all the wheat that was received by the serjeant of Cobham manor, 18% was sold. Three quarters of this (28q.4b.) was sold *pro proficuo*. This is clearly differentiated from the other 6q.2b. which was sold *pro necesse manerii*. It would seem that the difference lay in the degree of choice which the lord and his officials had over the timing of the sale, or perhaps the market to which the grain was sent. That sold for *pro proficuo* fetched a price of 10s. per quarter, whereas the other sales raised only 9s. per quarter. Obviously the various crises in the manorial year which necessitated expenditure on repairs and replacements could not be expected to coincide with times of the highest wheat prices. However, it would seem that the surplus of the estate was more than sufficient to cope with these occasions with enough left over which could be stored until the market price was higher. Although there is no attempt in the account of 1290/1 to calculate a profit figure for the manors under Thomas de Grobbyngdane's stewardship, it is clear that the term *pro proficuo* does suggest a conscious attempt to realise as good a return as possible. Furthermore, only wheat was said to have been sold *pro necesse manerii*, indicating that as little grain as possible was used in raising short-term capital. For the most part, that arable produce which was sold was expected to be sold at the optimum time and for the maximum possible amount. A total of 21q.3½b. of barley were sold for 8s. per quarter, while 8q. of malted barley brought

108. At the audit a note was inserted in the account explaining that only 8 quarters of vetch had come to the manorial serjeant from the issues of Cobham manor, because the residue had been expended in keeping the animals.

in 8s.6d. per quarter. 1q.2b. of mixed peas and beans and 1q.1½b. of grey peas were sold for 8s. per quarter. However, the lord was able to benefit by the scale of his farming operation, or perhaps from his position in local society, in making profit from the local corn market. The barley which he bought cost at most 7s.6d. per quarter.¹⁰⁹

Neither the fields nor the total acreages over which the new seed was sown is given and we are not told the sowing rate that the chief sower adopted. The anonymous author of the *Husbandry* may have suggested rates of two bushels to the acre for wheat, rye and peas and four bushels per acre for barley, beans and oats, but he also recognised that there would be variation and these rates were almost certainly lower than that used at Cobham. On the Kent estates of Christchurch Priory in 1291, barley was sown at more than four bushels per acre on thirty out of thirty two manors, although oats were only once sown at more than four, the more usual rate being three or three and a half.¹¹⁰ It seems that this was not common, however, and oats were more usually sown at between six and eight bushels to the acre on the east Kent, Romney Marsh and Medway valley manors.¹¹¹ Lords with widely scattered estates adopted different rates on their various manors, while apparently agreeing with their neighbours within individual regions, so that it would seem that sowing rates were determined by local custom as much as by geology.¹¹² It is likely that the Cobham seed was sown at a relatively high rate, for no weeders appear among the list of those agricultural labourers in receipt of liveries. Dense sowing rates tended to eliminate the on the manor of Penshurst in 1348, where the sowing rates in 1346 are in line with

109. 8q.4½b. of barley cost 7s.6d. and 1½q. of winter barley were purchased for 6s.8d. per quarter.

110. A.Smith, 'Regional differences in crop production in Medieval Kent', *Arch. Cant.*, 78 (1963), p.154.

111. M.Mate, 'Medieval Agrarian Practices: The Determining Factors?', *Ag.Hist.Rev.*, 33 (1985), p.25.

112. *Ibid.*, p.25 and see E.Searle, *Lordship and Community: Battle Abbey and its Banlieu, 1066-1538* (Toronto, 1974), p.287.

the recommendations of the *Husbandry* in all cases except rye, which was sown at two and a half bushels per acre rather than two, 19s.9d. had to be spent on weeding the corn.¹¹³ It is reasonable to speculate therefore that the Cobham sowing rates were of the order of three to four bushels per acre for wheat, five to six for barley and six to seven for oats. The quantities sown and the corresponding assumed acreages are shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5. Seed sown on the Cobham demesne in 1291.

	Quantity	Possible acreage:
Wheat	98q.2b.	200-260
Winter Barley	25q.2b.	30-40
Spring Barley	72q.7b.	100-120
Oats	50q.1b.	60-70
Rye	-	-
Drage	10q.6b.	10-20
Beans	-	-
White Peas	-	-
Grey Peas	13q.2b.	35-40
Vetch	41q.1b.	110-130
<hr/>		
Total		545-680

It must be borne in mind that the chief sower probably had responsibility for more than just the Cobham manor demesne land. On this point, it is worth recalling that the IPM of John de Cobham recorded the total demesne arable acreage of Cobham, Cooling, Beckley and West Chalk as 908a.¹¹⁴ A sown acreage of around 600a. would then leave some 300 acres which was not sown with seed from that accounted for by Thomas de Grobbyngdane. This may indicate that approximately a third of the arable on the estate was left to be allowed to lie fallow for the next year. Alternatively, if some of the grain issues of the Cooling, Beckley and West Chalk

113. CKS U1475 M62.

114. See Table 4.2 above, p.128.

demesnes also went towards seed, then this fallow acreage may have been lower. In any case, whilst the figures of this table give some indication of the scale of operation on the estate, they cannot safely be assumed accurately to model the overall sowing pattern. Furthermore, we have no way of telling how typical this single accounting year was in terms of the management of the demesnes of the Cobham estate. But if it were typical, then at around 25% of the total, the proportion of the area sown with legumes was very similar to that of the Christchurch Priory's east Kent manors.¹¹⁵ As on these priory manors, vetch was apparently being grown for fodder, and the area devoted to oats may have been decreased as a result. However, this entailed the expense of well over £8 on oats to provide all the fodder required in the year. But this was a matter of differential costs. Animals could be pastured on the vetch growing in the fields, whereas oats had first to be harvested and threshed. The manorial management were no doubt aware of the benefit of the manure that was put directly onto the fields as a result but the legumes were probably not being grown because of any knowledge of their own capacity to increase yields of other crops.¹¹⁶

Aside from this method of adding manure to the fields, men were also employed to cart and to fork dung. One man was paid to lop some hedges and afterwards to carry dung for some twenty weeks and another to fork dung for 31 weeks. A second dung-forker was employed at Northcourt for sixteen weeks. This manure came primarily from the sheep flocks pastured on the marshes and upland pastures of the Cobham estate. At the start of the year the flock numbered 444, of which 4 were rams (*hartardi*), 282 wethers (*multones*), 100 ewes, 28 young males (*hogastri*) and 30 females (*jerci*). The ewes produced 90 lambs between them, but the major increase in the size of the demesne flock came from the purchase of 2 rams, 273 wethers and 5

115. M.Mate, 'Medieval Agrarian Practices: The Determining Factors?', *Ag.Hist.Rev.*, 33 (1985), p.27.

116. *Ibid.*, p.31.

ewes. The fact that Thomas de Grobbyngdane's account states that the lord John de Cobham himself paid the sum of £33 6s.8d. for these new animals suggests that this was a special purchase. It was perhaps made to restore the flock after a depletion in numbers due to the storms of the previous couple of years, or it may have been due to a switch in land use on this coastal fringe of Kent, from arable to pasture. It has been found that in some areas before the Black Death repeated sea-flooding caused such a change.¹¹⁷ We have no way of knowing just how much loss the Cobham flocks suffered, but it is unlikely that they would have been completely unaffected.

The cash raised from the sale of wool formed a significant part of the income of Cobham manor. The lord had paid a high price for his new animals in 1290/1. The figures collected by Thorold Rogers suggest that the more usual price that year for sheep of all sorts was well below 2 shillings.¹¹⁸ In a more recent study, by Farmer, the decennial averages of sheep prices in England shows a dip between 1280 and 1290, to around 2s.6d. for one ewe and one wether.¹¹⁹ However, the sheep that the lord purchased were virtually all bought before shearing, which meant that an income was almost immediately possible to offset the cost. During the course of the year 52 pounds of wool were sold for 2s.8d. per pound, plus 16d., realising a total of £7. A further sack, 11 pounds and 4 cloves (*clavi*) of wool were sold wholesale (*in gross*) for 2s.4d. per pound, which brought in £17 8s.4d. Fifty eight lamb fleeces were sold for a total of 7s.3d., and the skins of various animals which had been slaughtered or had fallen victim to murrain brought in another few shillings. Small quantities of dairy

117. M.Bailey, '*Per impetum maris*: natural disaster and economic decline in eastern England, 1275-1350' in B.M.S.Campbell, ed., *Before the Black Death. Studies in the 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century* (Manchester, 1991), pp.190,203.

118. J.E.Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, vol.II, 1259-1400 (Oxford, 1866), p.198.

119. D.L.Farmer, 'Prices and Wages', in H.E.Hallam, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol.II 1042-1350 (Cambridge, 1988), p.754.

produce were also sold, but presumably most of this was used within the household.¹²⁰

This account reveals that on the demesne lands of Cobham manor, as an integral part of the estate, a policy of mixed farming was followed. Both grain crops and animals were utilised for food within the household and each form of produce was also seen as a commodity to buy and sell. Wheat was grown partly as a cash crop, as to a lesser extent was barley. Sheep were kept on the marshland pastures primarily for their wool, but as useful by-products they provided not only milk, butter and cheese but also manure for the arable fields. The stocks and size of operation of the estate meant that goods could be moved from one part to another as need arose. It also meant that goods, and grain in particular, could be sold when the price was high, and purchased when the price was low. There is no doubt that this advantage was fully understood by the lord and his officials. But grain crops and sheep flocks were by no means the only concerns on the mind of the lay lord in this period. We now turn to consider the important matter of the management of the manorial woodland.

Woodland

The inquisitions reveal that woodland was a significant demesne element of the manors on estates of all sizes in most parts of the county. The issues of this landed asset were of great value to lord and tenant alike, and the intention of this section is to examine the income that it could generate for the lord. It will emerge that to fell the great trees, sell the timber and convert the ground into tenancies might have seemed a very attractive proposition to many lords. Such a policy could generate an immediate cash income which would take many years to accumulate by the traditional methods of

120. A dairymaid received a stipend of 5s. for the year, and various goods were bought, such as rennet, salt, a cheese cloth and some cheese moulds. The sales were of 1½ cheeses for 15s., ½ a gallon of butter for 4d. and 21 gallons of butter-milk for 7½d.

management. It is therefore necessary to question why it was that woodland came increasingly to be regarded as a precious resource to be conserved rather than over-exploited.¹²¹ Part of the answer lies, no doubt, in the fact that many of the most useful products of the woodland came from fallen timber and the trunks of relatively small trees. However, there are other aspects to be considered, such as the importance of tenants' rights of intercommoning.

The woodland element of the demesne as described by the IPMs could take various forms. Most of these estates seem to have included manors with a few acres of woodland and this was valued in the same way as arable or pasture. On his estate in 1300, for example, John de Cobham had 52 acres of wood in his demesne at Aldington, valued at 3d. per acre. At Cobham manor there were 32 acres of wood, worth in all issues 8s. or again, 3d. per acre. There was also another wood at *Coxewode*, pertaining to the manor of Cobham, worth 2d. per acre in all issues. Cooling manor had 15 acres of underwood (*subboscum*), worth 3d. per acre. The term 'underwood' generally signifies management based upon a system of coppicing, that is a regular cutting of species such as ash, hazel or alder near to the ground level, so encouraging fresh shoots from the resulting stool.¹²² Although underwood is the most common term used, others have the same meaning. The term 'cuttable' (*amputabilis*) was used, for example, in 1342 to describe forty acres of wood at Trimworth manor which could be cut every eight years.¹²³ An IPM of 1346 records the existence of coppice wood (*silva cedua*) on the manor of Newington next Sittingbourne.¹²⁴

Woodland was also valued in the inquisitions in terms of the pannage and pasture.

121. P.F.Brandon, 'Farming Techniques: South-eastern England', in H.E.Hallam, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.II, 1042-1350* (Cambridge, 1988), p.316.

122. *Ibid.*, p.317.

123. *CIPM*, viii, No.441; PRO C135 File 69(8).

124. *CIPM*, viii, No.649; PRO C135 File 81(10).

The payments which the lord could exact for the use of these rights by his tenants and others gave them a financial worth. Pasture appears as a significant factor in the woods of the north and east of the county, although it nowhere brought a great deal of income to the lord. Pannage refers particularly to pasturage of pigs, as at Birling where in 1271 the wood provided pannage for 30 pigs, valued at 2d. per pig.¹²⁵ Pasture in the woodland might equally well be for cattle, as fifty years later at Brabourne where there was pasture in the wood of the park for nine heifers and twenty four oxen at a place called *Oxelese* and for a bull and thirty cows at *Coulese*.¹²⁶

The value attached to woodland depended upon its productivity and its scarcity. On Thanet, where there was very little woodland, the value could reach 12d. per acre.¹²⁷ In the Weald, where trees were not in short supply, the value was less. Fifty acres of wood in West Peckham had profits put at 5s.2½d. by a jury in 1305, or 1¼d. per acre, while another wood in the manor called La Hurst containing 200 acres was valued in all at just 2s.¹²⁸

As with all elements of the demesne the woodland was far more than merely a financial asset. It was also of direct benefit in providing fuel for both home and industry as well as material for building and for the construction of farming implements both large and small. In 1290/91 nine hundred faggots were made into charcoal for the provision of the John de Cobham's household at Cobham manor, at a cost of 7s.6d., but the manorial serjeant did not need to account for purchase of the wood itself, since it came from within the manor.¹²⁹ Similarly, when a new mill on the Cobham estate was built at *Homelle* it was necessary to buy finished products such as lathes for the sail, and cogs, crossbars and trundlewheels, but there was no expense

125. *CIPM*, i, No.813; PRO C132 File 42(6).

126. *CIPM*, vi, No.327; PRO C134 File 70(4).

127. Twelve acres of wood in a tenement in Hawe were valued at 12s. in 1303. PRO C133 File 108(4).

128. PRO C133 File 117(1).

129. BL Harl. Roll D1.

recorded on the mill post itself, or any other timber used in the mill's construction.

When the wood was not required by the lord himself for his projects, it might be used to provide a cash crop. Although relating to a manor which was not part of a lay estate, an account of the archbishop of Canterbury's manor of Bishopsbourne for 1325/6 gives an indication of the income that might be generated, in a section concerning the sale of underwood. Apart from 34¼ acres of underwood sold by the year, income was also generated by the sale of 2150 faggots from the park at 8s. per 100 and another 150 faggots for 7s. per 100, giving a total income of £9 2s.6d.¹³⁰

So how was this woodland actually managed? There is recorded evidence for the system of coppicing in Kent as early as Domesday and the IPMs provide evidence of the extent to which it had become prevalent by the thirteenth century as a means of managing the Downland woods of the county. The evidence is scarcer for Wealden manors, but it is possible that here transport costs made this form of management prohibitively expensive and that instead the forest shrank as woodland clearance took place.¹³¹

Aside from the Weald, the only major areas of the county without coppice woodland were the Hoo peninsula, the Isle of Sheppey and the marshlands bordering the Wantsum channel and including the isle of Thanet. Of these three, only Sheppey was probably devoid of measurable areas of woodland. The two halves of the manor of Hoo St Werburgh together contained a total of about fifty acres of wood¹³² while a tenement at *Hawe* in Thanet included 12 acres of wood.¹³³ Nevertheless these three areas are characterised by their low-lying, open landscapes and woodland was sparse

130. CKS U270 M304.

131. K.P.Witney, 'The Woodland Economy of Kent, 1066-1348', *Ag.Hist.Rev.*, 38 (1990), p.37, hereinafter referred to as Witney, 'Woodland Economy'.

132. The two halves being those of Poyntz and Grey. *CIPM*, v, No.45; PRO C134 File 2(19) and *CIPM*, v, No.116; PRO C134 File 8(20).

133. Held by Solomon de Chanuz of the archbishop of Canterbury's manor of Reculver. *CIPM*, iv, No. 159; PRO C133 File 108(4).

then as it is now.

A recent examination of the woodland economy of Kent¹³⁴ has suggested that the exact details of the coppicing regime employed on a particular manor depended predominantly upon the ease with which the logs could be transported to the areas of demand¹³⁵ with the shorter cycles on manors where the wood could be easily transported. As a result the number of years between cuttings ranged from five years to ten or twelve. The shorter cycle was found in the dependent hamlets of the large manor of Folkestone, where an extent of 1263 revealed a total of 240 acres of wood of which 48 could be cut each year.¹³⁶ These logs could easily be shipped by sea around the coast to the north east of the county or to the continent. In the interior of the county on the Battle Abbey manor of Wye which was surveyed fifty years later, Melcombe Wood contained large timber and undergrowth that was cut on a ten year cycle. The logs from this area being that much more difficult to get away, the suggestion is that they were cut less often.

Why should the wood near to the coast be any easier or cheaper to dispose of? The reason is that to cart any goods by road was considerably more expensive than to ship them an equal distance by sea or river.¹³⁷ For example, it cost 7s. to move 140 logs from dens near Hawkshurst and Benenden the short distance to the water at Small Hythe, whereas a load of 100 tree trunks and 1000 logs could be shipped from there around the coast to Sandwich for little more than 10s.¹³⁸ For the same reason the wood from Bexley made the fifteen mile journey to London from Erith or Dartford up the Thames rather than along Watling Street¹³⁹.

134. Witney, 'Woodland Economy', pp.20-39.

135. *Ibid.*, p.47.

136. *CIPM*, i, No.563; PRO C132 File 29(1), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.*, 3 (1860), pp.257-60.

137. C.Dyer, 'The consumer and the market in the later middle ages', *Econ.Hist.Rev.*, 2nd.ser., 42 (1989), p.309.

138. Witney, 'Woodland Economy', p.29.

139. *Ibid.*, p.34.

However, these conclusions relating ease of access to markets to the coppicing cycle were based upon a limited number of cases, largely obtained from printed sources.¹⁴⁰ When the unpublished IPMs are included the number of manors for which we can calculate coppicing cycles in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries rises to over twenty. The figures are given in summary form in Table 4.6 below.

The shortest length of time between cuts was on the south western outskirts of Canterbury, at Milton where William de Septvans held the manor with its twenty one acres of underwood of which seven could be sold each year.¹⁴¹ Certainly Canterbury would have provided a ready market for the fuel that could be supplied from the woods that fringed it, particularly on the south and west, and it may be that Milton's wood crop was sold here, having made the journey up the river Stour.

Yet the manor of Kingston is only some five miles from Canterbury with its woods only a mile or so off the main road between the city and Dover. At twelve years the cropping cycle here was the longest noted. In this manor, in a region of ancient woodland around Hardres, there were 120 acres of woodland of which ten could be cut each year.¹⁴² Could even five miles travel along one of the best roads in the county make Kingston wood less valuable to the town? It is more likely that the tree species was the dominant factor here, for at Milton it was probably the quick growing alder rather than the larger oak or beech. In 1248/9 there were said to be 16 acres of pasture in an alder-bed within the manor, but no other woodland is then mentioned.¹⁴³

140. Much of Mr Witney's argument is based upon the 33 IPMs of which translations are published in the first six volumes of *Archaeologia Cantiana*. Of these, only that of Folkestone provides the necessary detail.

141. *CIPM*, vi, No.414; PRO C134 File 76(3).

142. *CIPM*, viii, No.185; PRO C135 File 56, m.22.

143. *CIPM*, i, No.158; PRO C132 File 8(15), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.*, 2 (1859), p.297.

Table 4.6. The length of coppicing cycle in demesne woodland, with the value and size of the woods.

Place	date	cycle length	no. of acres	value, per acre per year (d.)
Folkestone	1263	5	240	7.2-9.6
Street	1283	6	3	4
West Greenwich	1295	5	100	
Newington-n-Hythe	1306	4	28	3
Boughton Aluph	1310	5?	60	
Sellindge	1314	8?	20	3
Westwood (Preston)	1321	5	16	1.1
Milton-n-Canterbury	1322	3	21	6
Egerton	1327	4?	4	1.3
Ash-n-Ridley	1327	10	50	0.8
Maidstone	1329	8	18	0.5
Knowlton	1330	7	2	5.7
West Peckham	1332	7	400	1.7
Benstead (Yalding)	1334	8	12	3
Patricxbourne	1334	7	7	5.1
Bedmansgore	1334	8	8	5
Sharsted	1334	8	5	4.5
Aylesford	1335	7	200	3.4
Kingston	1338	12	120	4
Sibton	1338	8	50	6
Hothfield	1338	6	12	8
Erith	1338	6	80	3.9
Chilham	1338	8-9	42.5	4.6
Trimworth	1342&6	8	40 or 23?	3-4

At the opposite extreme, Egerton is well inland, in the heart of the Chartland. It lies near to the Great Stour, but above its navigable limit. Yet the woods on this manor appear to have been cut on a four-year cycle. In fact this figure should only be taken to be a minimum, since it is based upon the statement by the inquisition jury that the fourteen acres of underwood there are worth nothing for the next three years because they were cut before the lord's death. The jurors do not unfortunately tell us how long before.¹⁴⁴

Other manors also show the wide variety in woodland management even within the environs of a significant urban market. Canterbury had not the same level of demand

144. *CIPM*, vi, No.759; PRO C134 File 104(1).

as London, but neither is it true that Milton was alone in having woods within very easy reach of the town and we might expect to find similar coppicing policies on other manors. Yet at Chilham, which was only six miles or so up river from Canterbury, coppicing took place on a cycle of eight or nine years.¹⁴⁵ Maidstone was not yet the county town of later centuries, but it held a significance from its position on the river Medway and from the fact that it was an important archiepiscopal manor. Here in 1327 John de Buckland, knight, died holding a gavelkind tenement of the archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁴⁶ This tenement consisted of just four acres of arable and eighteen acres of wood in three pieces. The underwood was valued at 6s. but it had no value for seven years after cutting. It is of course possible that John de Buckland did not exploit the woodland as efficiently as he might have done. His home manor was Buckland to the west of Faversham and his major assets in Maidstone were the two mills attached to the tenement there. One was a water-mill and the other a fulling mill and together they were worth 23s.8d, or some 76% of the total value of the property. The woodland was perhaps used to provide material to maintain these buildings and their gear, but otherwise exploited only intermittently.

Thus the ease of access to the markets probably had little to do with the length of time that the tree shoots were left to grow before they were harvested. On the other hand it did make a difference to the value of the wood and as a result most of the larger areas of coppiced woodland were close to points of embarkation or to centres of population with their high demand for fuel. There were one or two manors where the transport must have been more of a problem however, and here the wood was less valuable. On one third of the manor of Boughton Aluph in 1310, there were 60 acres of coppice wood with a probable cycle length of five years.¹⁴⁷ Twenty years earlier,

145. *CIPM*, viii, No.185; PRO C135 File 56, m.33.

146. *CIPM*, vii, No.237; PRO C135 File 16(18).

147. *CIPM*, v, No.207; PRO C134 File 16(2).

before its division between co-heirs, this manor had supported 150 acres the underwood of which was worth just 6s.8d., or ½d per acre.¹⁴⁸ West Peckham is near to the northern edge of the Weald where transport was difficult at the best of times and could easily become completely impossible in bad weather. Yet in 1332 on one third of the Broke manor of West Peckham there were four hundred acres of wood of which each acre was valued at the end of seven years when it was 12d. This gives an average of just 1.7d. per acre.¹⁴⁹

The woodland was seen as a flexible resource and the lay lords were quite likely to abandon a coppicing regime should the need arise. Such a circumstance did not always come from the need to make a quick profit. Another motive was to make one's mark as a new lord. When Ralph de Normanville died his two sons, Thomas and Ralph, became heirs to his lands held in gavelkind, which they then held jointly. Thomas had no family and when he died his brother was his sole heir. Ralph duly performed fealty to all the lords of the gavelkind land and cut down ten shillings worth of the wood in the name of seisin.¹⁵⁰

It is also true to say that the lords did not generally go so far as to plant up woodland with the intention of cultivating it. Once only does the record suggest such an investment. That was in the north west of the county, close to the London market, at Greenwich. Here in his manor of West Greenwich, a jury reported that William de Say had held a grove of 40a. of young wood which had no pannage or pasture although *housbote* and *herbote* was valued at 14s.6d.¹⁵¹ Elsewhere these are seen as survivals of early forms of rent. The former represented a payment for the provision of sufficient wood for the repair of houses and the latter for the right to cut

148. *CIPM*, ii, No.605; PRO C133 File 45(1).

149. *CIPM*, vii, No.459; PRO C135 File 32(19).

150. *CIPM*, ii, No.479; PRO C133 File 35(6).

151. *CIPM*, i, No.813; PRO C132 File 42(6).

undergrowth.¹⁵² Thus their presence on West Greenwich manor may be evidence that the young trees did not form the only woodland on the manor. When the manor was next surveyed, twenty-four years later, the recorded woodland consisted of 100 acres which could not be sold for five years, because it had been felled.¹⁵³ The clerk who wrote the inquisition return used the word *proficiuus*, and recorded that no profit had been had from the woodland for five years. This need not imply that the lord necessarily saw his trees purely as a profit-earning cash crop. Nevertheless, it may well be that he did so, and that when the trees were felled it had been for sale.

The value attached to pannage and pasturage within the woods generally did not bring a great deal of income to the lord. The yearly value per acre attached to pasturage of the woods was generally less than 3d. per acre, although in favourable circumstances it could amount to more. At Milton next Canterbury, in the middle of the thirteenth century, pasture of 16 acres in an alder bed was said to be worth 8s.¹⁵⁴ and on the earl of Gloucester's Wealden manor of Brasted, in the early fourteenth century, a park containing 15 acres of tall trees with pasture was valued at 6s.8d., or over 5d. per acre.¹⁵⁵ Frequently, however, the pasture was worth far less and the recurring reason given by the inquisition jurors was that the trees gave too much shade (*umbra*)¹⁵⁶ or that the trees were grown too densely (*densitate*).¹⁵⁷ In such circumstances the value might fall to nothing, as at Erith in the north-west of the county where in 1329 it was said that it was not possible to sell the pasture of 6 acres of great wood because of the shade of the trees.¹⁵⁸ The next year, at nearby Ruxley

152. H.E.Mulhfeld, ed., *A survey of the manor of Wye* (New York, 1933), pp.xlv-xlvii.

153. *CIPM*, iii, No.271; PRO C133 File 71(19).

154. *CIPM*, i, No.158; PRO C132 File 8(15), given in translation in *Arch.Cant.*, 2 (1859), p.297.

155. *CIPM*, iv, No.435; PRO C133 File 128, m.20.

156. E.g. PRO C134 File 93(18).

157. E.g. PRO C135 File 56, m.32.

158. *CIPM*, vii, No.229; PRO C135 File 16(10).

manor, a jury reported that the pasture of forty acres of great wood had no value for the same reason.¹⁵⁹

Pannage, which had been important in earlier centuries, but which even in the Weald was probably past its peak by the time of Domesday¹⁶⁰ is mentioned as an element of the lordly income from woodland only rarely. For the most part, it was confined to the Wealden manors, but one or two places outside the forest retained it. At Eltham manor, pannage of an enclosed wood of 200 acres was said to be worth half a mark in 1263.¹⁶¹ This was a manor with a long history and had apparently not undergone the process of division and internal alteration which elsewhere hastened the disappearance of ancient forms of rent. Almost fifty years later Eltham was in the hands of the bishop of Durham and in his inquisition we read of a park, surrounded by hedges, with profits of 60s. from pannage when it occurs.¹⁶² The value given to this source of income was even more in the nature of an estimate on the part of the jurors than normal, for the maturing of the mast upon which pannage depended was by no means a guaranteed event. Beech mast ripens on average only in one year in three and although the acorn crop is rather more reliable, it too may fail.¹⁶³ The jurors frequently qualified their valuation of pannage by the phrase 'when it occurs' (*quando accident*). Those giving their assessment of the manor of Hunton in 1334 may not have been too cautious when they said that thirty acres of great wood gave pannage when it arises valued at 60s., with a compounded yearly value of 10s.¹⁶⁴ They were reckoning on the pigs being able to be pastured in the woods just one year in six.

The lord, as owner of the timber trees, was of course in a position to cut them for

159. *CIPM*, vii, No.285; PRO C135 File 21(23).

160. Witney, 'Woodland Economy', p.25.

161. *CIPM*, i, No.530; PRO C132 File 27(5), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.*, 4 (1861), pp.311-2.

162. *CIPM*, v, No.274; PRO C134 File 21(8).

163. Witney, 'Woodland Economy', p.23.

164. *CIPM*, vii, No.559; PRO C135 File 39(5).

profit or use. Large trees were not utilised in building, as whole trunks were used and these had a diameter of less than fifteen inches, even in the roof timbers of the cathedrals. Nevertheless, the great oaks did have value, in the pedestals for windmills or in the shipbuilding that went on around the Kent coast.¹⁶⁵ Sometimes the lord sold the timber as it stood to investors. On 18 March 1329 Thomas de Brayneford of London and John le Clerk of Dartford paid to Edmund earl of Kent who was then the lord of Swanscombe manor 1000 marks (£666 13s.4d.) for all his wood growing there. It was to be felled and carried away within three years.¹⁶⁶ By fourteen months later, after Edmund's manors had become forfeit to the king, the two men had succeeded in felling wood to the value of £566 13s.4d. and firewood to the value of £30. The wood still growing was said to be worth another £120. Some fifteen years earlier, in 1314, an extent of the manor of Swanscombe had recorded 200 acres of woodland.¹⁶⁷ We learn from the Hundred Rolls of 1274 that an individual tree in the forest of Blean might be worth some 5s.9d., but these were 'great' trees.¹⁶⁸ Perhaps of a more typical size were the trees which Master Hugh de Thornham, clerk of the escheator was reported to have felled in Bocholt, in the hundred of Peckham. Twenty-five of these timber trees were valued at £4 17s.6d. (just under 4s. each) and the other eleven at 32s. (a little under 3s. each).¹⁶⁹ The oak trees that the escheator Master Richard de Clifford took from the archbishop's manor of Lyminge when he had custody there after the death of Boniface, were worth rather less. He took sixteen trunks to his own house to make a door, but another sixty were said to have been sold for a total of 100s. or 1s.8d. each.¹⁷⁰ Another jury reported that fifty one oaks in the

165. Witney, 'Woodland Economy', p.28.

166. *CCR 1330-1333*, pp.25-6.

167. *CIPM*, v, No.475; PRO C134 File 34(7).

168. Witney, 'Woodland Economy', p.28-9; *RH*, 210a.

169. *RH*, 202a.

170. *RH*, 230b.

manor of Bishopsbourne were likewise felled by Clifford, to the value of 65s.¹⁷¹

Two hundred trunks taken from the archbishop's wood at Bockingfold were presumably much smaller, for these were priced at just 13s.3d.¹⁷²

Assuming that the trees of Swanscombe were not dissimilar to those of these east Kent woods, there were something like 8600 trees growing on the 200 acres, or a density of around forty trees per acre. This quantity of timber would have been difficult to shift, were it not for the fact that Swanscombe is right on the north Kent coast. In fact there were two ferries associated with the manor in 1330 which further demonstrates the importance attached to the water-borne transport for reaching the market.¹⁷³

The wood of Swanscombe was said to be worth 33s.4d. a year by the jurors of 1314. They were presumably reckoning without its destruction, but at that rate of return it would have taken the earl Edmund four hundred years to make as much as Thomas de Brayneford and John le Clerk were prepared to pay him. The earl perhaps needed the money urgently, as part of his plan to rescue the late king, Edward II, whom he had been fooled into thinking was still alive.¹⁷⁴ But the reason for the plot against him was that Mortimer and Queen Isabella felt he was a danger to them. Even if he was weaker than he had been, he was still a powerful figure and other lords might not have been able to get such a price for their wood. Still, other lords did cash in and there are many other examples of 'wasted wood' in all parts of the county. At West Peckham, on the northern edge of the weald, a wood called *La Hirst* with 200 acres was worth only 2s. to the lord because before his death in 1293, John de

171. *RH*, 203a.

172. *RH*, 211b. The reports to this commission from the juries of several hundreds detail complaints that the escheator had also made large profits from the archbishop's other woods in his many manors throughout the county in the two and a half years during which he had had control of them.

173. *CIPM*, vii, No.300; PRO C135 File 23.

174. M.McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century 1307-1399* (Oxford, 1959), p.100.

Peckham had destroyed it.¹⁷⁵ The destruction seems to have been fairly complete, for twelve years later when the manor was in the hands of Robert Scarlet, the profits from Hurst Wood, which was still reported to be 200 acres in extent, had the same value.¹⁷⁶ Other woods in the parish, which had not suffered the same fate, were worth rather more. The wood called *Haselwode*, which extended to around 50 acres, was valued in its profits at 6s. in 1293 and 5s.2½d., or 1¼d. per acre in 1305.¹⁷⁷

Sometimes it is clear that the wood was cut for a reason other than sale. Fifty acres of woodland in Rainham in 1253/4 was worth only 6s.8d. because it had been wasted for the 'making' of a marsh. That is, it had been cut to provide the material for the framework of the dykes.¹⁷⁸ On Leybourne manor the woods were cut down apparently with an equally long term aim, but of a rather different nature. Here the intention was to boost the tenant rent income to the lord. In 1307 the jury recorded 500 acres of wood, cut and wasted to the extent that its yearly worth was then nothing. The total of assized rents at this time was 48s.¹⁷⁹ By 1325, when the manor was next surveyed, whereas the areas of arable, pasture and meadow remained broadly unchanged, the recorded woodland stood at a mere six acres, (with underwood worth 13s.4d.) and the assized rents had rocketed to £7 9s.¹⁸⁰ Where the trees had once stood there were now tenant holdings which afforded a regular income which at this time of high population must have seemed guaranteed for ever. Five hundred acres of woodland in this area may have been worth some £8 a year, but that would have depended upon the whole wood being coppiced regularly. More likely, its potential

175. *CIPM*, iii, No.103; PRO C135 File 65(4).

176. *CIPM*, iv, No.274; PRO C134 File 117(1). Hurst Wood survives today, as a large area to the north-west of the village of West Peckham.

177. The name is given in the IPM of 1293, and the area in that of 1305.

178. Witney, 'Woodland Economy', p.31, quoting the IPM of Roger Chauvel: *CIPM*, i, No.316; PRO C132 File 16(11), given in translation in *Arch.Cant.* 3 (1860), pp.28-31. Mr.Witney erroneously gives the value of the fifty acres as 1 mark.

179. *CIPM*, iv, No.410; PRO C133 File 125(7).

180. *CIPM*, vi, No.612; PRO C134 File 91.

value had been half or even less before it was grubbed up. The policy of the lords of Leybourne was apparently a sound one.

If destruction of the woodland was so easy and profitable, why did other lords not adopt the same policy? One explanation must be that the land on which the trees stood was not suitable for other forms of agriculture¹⁸¹ but this is too simple a reason. The profit made at Swanscombe shows that it did not really matter whether the land was used after the wood's destruction or not. It may also be the case that many small lords did not have the resources to make wholesale felling profitable. Unless there was a significant amount of building going on in the immediate area, costly transportation was almost certain to have been necessary, for evidence from surviving buildings shows that most timbers were used within a few months of felling.¹⁸² Although the timber may have been strengthened by being seasoned, it was clearly felt to be preferable to leave trees standing than to fell and store them for the length of time necessary, with all the attendant dangers of loss by theft or fire.

Several of the IPM surveys suggest another explanation, one resulting from a very powerful force in medieval Kent and that is the customary rights of the tenants. Very few of the small tenants held wood as such. One or two did, as for example on the Holmesdale manor of Sundridge, where according to a rental made in 1262, two tenants held small areas of wood, including some in the wood of the *Berthon*. But there were well over another hundred tenants whose recorded holdings include no mention of woodland, although some of them may have had trees in their crofts.¹⁸³ At Darbies Court, another small estate for which a rental is extant, one tenant held some wood in Stallisfield and another had a wood called Walterieswod. Here too these

181. Witney, 'Woodland Economy', pp.27-8.

182. R.Harris, *Timber Framed Buildings* (Arts Council of Great Britain, 1980), pp.9-10.

183. CKS U1000/3 M19.

privileged tenants were far outnumbered by the those with no private woodland.¹⁸⁴

While the tenantry had little wood in their individual property, they often had rights in the woodland of the manor. This frequently reduced the potential value of the wood to the lord. At Ightham, the lord appears to have taken such profit as he could from the timber of the wood called Ealdebery, for its sixty acres were said in 1303 to be wasted. Still he could make no other profit each year, because the pasture of the wood was common to all tenants of the manor. In another wood, this one called *Curtegrof*, containing seven acres, he was more fortunate. The herbage here was worth 21d. to the lord.¹⁸⁵

The strength of common rights was probably the reason that John de Peckham was able to do nothing with Hurst Wood in his manor of West Peckham beyond make such capital as he could from the timber. At the time of his own inquisition it was said that the tenants had some rights there, but the return becomes illegible at the critical point. In 1318 though, by which date the manor had changed hands yet again and was now held by Adam atte Broke, 510a. of cut wood and heath in the manor were said to be worth 10s. and no more because it was common pasture.¹⁸⁶ Much the same was said in 1332, when Adam's wife Joan died holding a third of the manor in dower. The jury of her inquisition reported 400 acres of wasted wood of which the pasture was of no value because it was common (*quia est communis*). However, by now the wood appears to have begun to be coppiced again, for it was also reported that each acre of the wood was valued at the end of seven years, when it was worth 12d.¹⁸⁷ In Greenwich and Lewisham too, two acres of wasted wood in 1342 were common to the lord and his tenants, although here the value was still a respectable 6d. per acre,¹⁸⁸

184. CKS U791 M1/1.

185. *CIPM*, iv, No.162; PRO C133 File 108(7).

186. *CIPM*, vi, No.112; PRO C134 File 59(9).

187. *CIPM*, vii, No.459; PRO C135 File 32(19).

188. *CIPM*, viii, No.394; PRO C135 File 67(2).

perhaps reflecting the proximity to London, with its appetite for coppiced wood for fuel.

Another reason that woodland was preserved, at least on the larger estates, is that the lords had developed a taste for deer parks and the sport that they provided. This in itself gave an impetus to the spread of coppicing, for the parks were enclosed, both to prevent the deer from escaping and to stop cattle and other beasts from entering and depriving the game of pasture. The parks themselves often had areas within them where underwood was cut to provide the paling and they may also have been productive enough to generate income through the sale of pasture and pannage. Often though, because the deer were so destructive of the undergrowth, the parks were sufficient for their own upkeep but had little other value attached to them in the extents. The park of Giles de Badlesmere at Chilham, for example, contained 300 acres, but was of no value above the sustenance of the game and the maintenance of the enclosure. Yet, if there were no game, the jury said, the pasture, pannage and underwood would together have been worth £4, or a little over 3d. per acre.¹⁸⁹

The parks were seen as status symbols as men sought to emulate the greater barons and prelates such as the archbishop of Canterbury, to the prior of Christ Church.¹⁹⁰ The family of Say, with extensive estates in seven counties of southern England, had parks on their manors of Birling and Cudham.¹⁹¹ The Valence earls of Pembroke's manor of Sutton Valence included a park by 1307¹⁹² and Stowting manor, held by

189. *CIPM*, viii, No.185; PRO C135 File 56, m.33.

190. The archbishop had parks at Bexley, Aldington and Lyminge which were exploited by the king's escheator when he had custody of the archbishop's manors. *RH*, 236b, 227a and 230b. The park of the Christchurch priory manor of Westwell suffered a similar fate. *RH*, 213. It is interesting to note that the complaints were put to the Hundred Commissioners not by the prior and archbishop, but by the jurors of the hundred, themselves often only free tenants who presumably had some interest in the preservation of the parks.

191. PRO C132 File 42(6), C133 File 71(19) and C134 File 70(4).

192. PRO C134 File 4(1).

the Kirkeby family whose estates stretched across eight counties, had its park by 1302.¹⁹³

Prominent Kentish gentry endowed their manors with parks where they could. William de Leybourne had acquired chase and warren on his manors of Leybourne and Elham by 1274, but the jurors making report to the Hundred Roll Commissioners were unsure by what right he had them.¹⁹⁴ Bartholomew de Badlesmere, who rose to prominence in the service of Edward II, and his son Giles, who secured a re-grant of the estates after they had become forfeit to the crown following Bartholomew's defeat at Boroughbridge, had parks at their home manor of Badlesmere as well as at Bockingfold, Hothfield and Chilham.¹⁹⁵

The Northwoods were more lowly than these. They could not put a park on their 'home' manor of Northwood in the hundred of Milton, since it was sited on the marshland to the north west of Sittingbourne and on the Isle of Sheppey and so contained little or no woodland. However, they certainly enclosed one on their manor of Thurnham.¹⁹⁶ This manor lay in the large hundred of Eyhorne, in the heart of the county. It was near to the archiepiscopal manor of Maidstone and to manors of other county gentry, such as the Cobham's and Septvans' manors of Aldington. As such, although some distance from the estate centre, it was retained in the hands of the Northwood lords. The siting a park there enabled the Northwood lords to engage in social activity with their peers and, indeed, their aristocratic superiors.

The woodland then was an important part of the manorial demesne on estates of all sizes, but lords of large and extensive estates viewed it somewhat differently from their less wealthy neighbours. The great lords saw their woodland as a place to sport and mingle with their peers, and a potential source of considerable short term profit.

193. PRO C133 File 105(1).

194. *RH*, *sub* various hundreds, e.g. Malling (220a), and Loningborough (230a).

195. PRO C135 File 30(9) and C135 File 56, mm.30, 32 and 33.

196. PRO C133 File 42(12) (dated 1284) and C134 File 62(12) (dated 1319).

The more local lay lord saw the trees more as suppliers of the fuel and building materials so necessary to the successful running of his demesnes. Where the woodland was managed, it was by a system of coppicing not much different from the practice of more modern times. The cropping cycle varied between four or five years up to ten or twelve years. What decided the cycle length on individual estates was a mixture of factors, of which the ease of access to local markets was just one. Since most of the timber on the small estates was utilised within the manor, the market was relatively unimportant. Of more significance was the dominant species and the use to which the wood was to be put. In this, as in everything else, the lords and their demesne managers could be flexible.

Gardens

One further important element of the demesne remains to be considered, namely the gardens that were attached to the main house. The types of estates on which these gardens were to be found and their contribution to the overall value as reckoned by the inquisition juries will be looked at. Occasionally the size of the gardens and their locations with respect to the hall can be gleaned from the extents. A gardener's account for the manor of Penshurst in Kent is extant, and this will be used to identify the range of fruit and vegetables that might have been grown in the gardens. Virtually all of the produce of this garden was apparently used within the household, so its benefit was other than financial. It was used to grow items which enhanced the diet both in terms of flavour and of essential vitamins.

To begin with the inquisition evidence of the numbers and value of the gardens on the lay estates in the county. Gardens are noted in the extents chiefly by the word *gardinum*. The most common format used was to value the chief messuage, garden and other enclosures, including the dovecot if there was one, as one unit. For

example, at Orlestone manor in 1309, William de Orlestone's inquisition valued his chief messuage, garden and other enclosures at 6s.8d.¹⁹⁷ Similarly, Guncelimus de Badlesmere, before his death in 1301, held the manor of Badlesmere near Faversham, where he had a chief messuage, garden, dovecot and other enclosures, all worth 10s.¹⁹⁸ On occasions the word *ortis* is used instead of *gardinus*, but it apparently conveyed a similar meaning.¹⁹⁹ For example, in 1300, John de Cobham, at his manor of Cooling, had a capital messuage, with *ortis* and other enclosures, valued at 6s.²⁰⁰ The word *curtilagium* also appears, but this does appear to have been distinguished from *gardinum*, since both words were used in conjunction. Thus, in 1284 Roger de Northwood died holding the manor of Thurnham, three miles to the north-east of Maidstone, together with a hamlet called Bengesbury. The chief messuage, the messuage of Bengesbury, a curtilage, garden, dovecot and all easements thereto pertaining were valued at 3s.²⁰¹ Similarly, on the manor of Folkestone in 1271, the chief messuage and the easements of the houses of the surrounding sub-manors, together with the issues of the garden and the curtilages, were valued at £4 18s.²⁰² Even where no garden or other enclosures around the main hall are mentioned, the value attached to the chief messuage leads to the suspicion that such enclosures did actually exist. On the Say family's manor of West Greenwich for example, in 1271/2 William de Say's IPM recorded only the chief messuage which was valued at 6s.²⁰³ However, in 1295, following the death of William's son William, the jury reported a chief messuage and garden together worth 2s.²⁰⁴

197. *CIPM*, v, No.145; PRO C134 File 10(14).

198. *CIPM*, iv, No.38; PRO C133 File 101(3).

199. C.f. *hortus*.

200. *CIPM*, iii, No.602; PRO C133 File 94(8).

201. *CIPM*, ii, No.582; PRO C133 File 42(12).

202. *CIPM*, i, No.774; PRO C132 File 40(7); given in translation in *Arch. Cant.* 6 (1864/5), p.240.

203. *CIPM*, i, No.813; PRO C132 File 42(6).

204. *CIPM*, iii, No.271; PRO C133 File 71(19).

Nevertheless, the garden as a demesne asset is more often than not specifically mentioned, and appears as a feature of even the smallest of the lay estates included among the inquisitions post mortem. Maud de Torpel, on her small estate of one manor with a total value of £11 14s.5½d. in the parish of Ash next Ridley, to the north of Wortham, had a court and garden with issues worth one mark.²⁰⁵ Deep in the Weald, near to the border with Sussex, Thomas de Chitecroft held a small tenement in Lamberhurst and Pembury worth in total 34s.4d. His chief messuage and a garden contributed 12d. to this valuation.²⁰⁶

Indeed, gardens were to be found upon manors from a majority of the estates contained in the IPMs and they were prevalent in all parts of the county. Map 4.4 shows the locations of those gardens specifically mentioned²⁰⁷ in the inquisition extents. The scarcity of known garden sites in the Weald is a function of the lack of IPM data for this area.

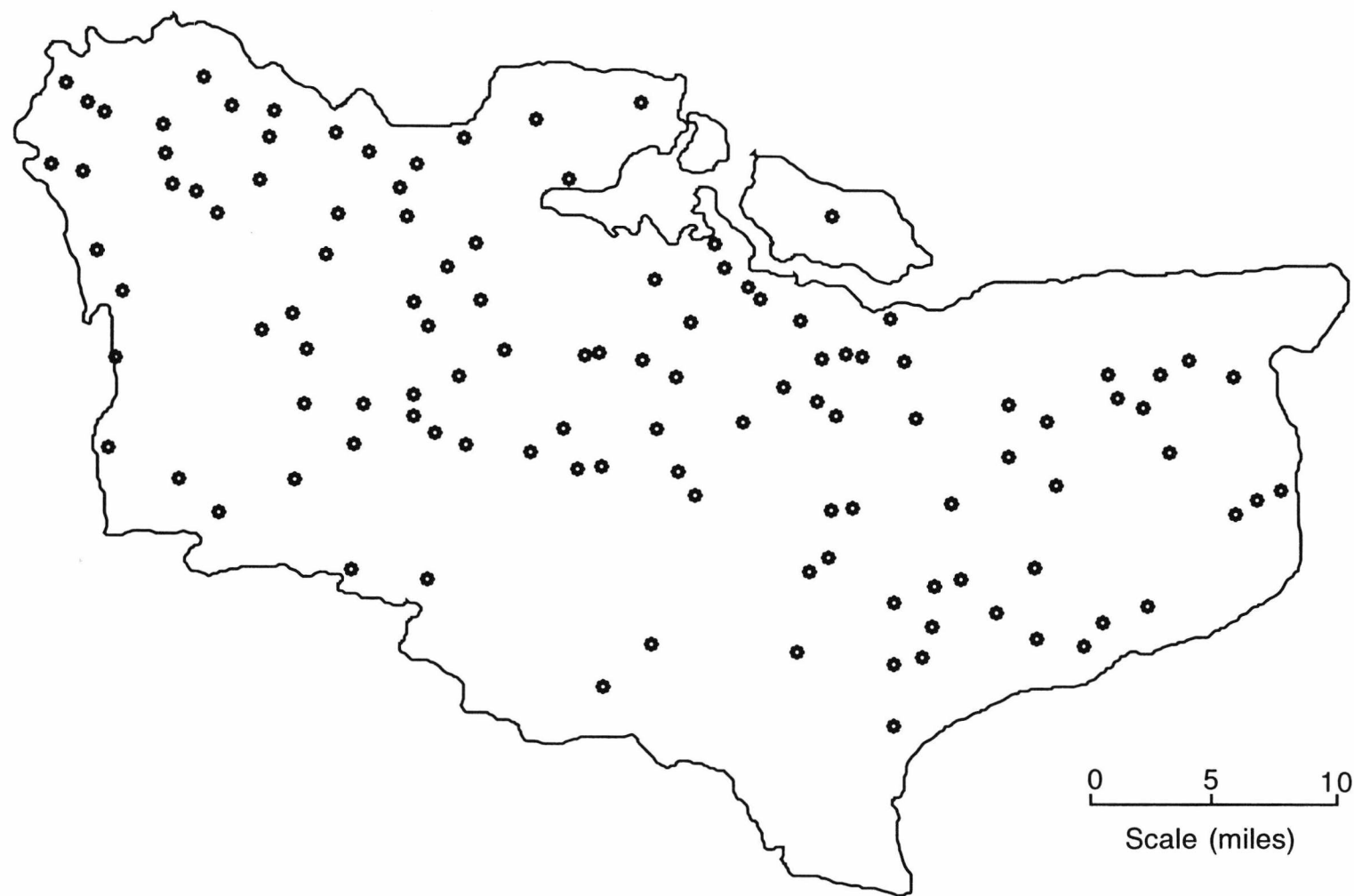
How big were these gardens? Most do not have their size recorded, but the seventeen that do are included in Table 4.7 below. These have an average size of just under three acres, if the garden at Hunton is taken as 4a. in extent and a little over if it is taken as 10a. Calculations based on the values attached to the gardens suggest that the other gardens were of similar size.

Turning to the value of these demesne gardens, since they were clearly seen as inseparable from the chief messuage, we must treat them in the same way. The value was mainly calculated in terms of the produce (*fructus*) of the land, but herbage and pasturage were sometimes also valued. However, the associated asset which added most to the value was the demesne dovecot. This was sometimes treated separately

205. *CIPM*, ii, No.178; PRO C133 File 13(15).

206. *CIPM*, vii, No.22; PRO C135 File 1(22).

207. Usually by either of the words *gardinum* or *ortis*.



Map. 4.4. The approximate locations of all the Kentish manorial gardens mentioned in pre-1350 IPM extents.

Table 4.7. The sizes of gardens on lay estates.²⁰⁸

Manor of	date	size
Westerham	1292	3a.
Yalding	1263	7a.
Street	1316	4a.
Leveshoth	1316	3a.
Hunton	1316	4a.
	1334	10a.
Bensted	1316 &	
	1334	6a.
La Case	1316	3a.
Chilham	1327	7a. in two gardens
two tenements		
in Bromley	1327	2a. and 1a.
Patricxbourne	1334	1r.
Shirlond	1334	1a.
Bedmangore	1334	3a.
Yaldham St		
Clere	1335	1½a.
Brabourne	1335	
Tonge	1338	4a. in two gardens
Badlesmere	1338	6a. in two gardens and a small wood

from the rest of the enclosures around the main hall, but more often was included in the overall valuation. Where dovecots are treated separately, the values can be isolated. These are shown in Table 4.8. The average value is a little over 2.8s.

This conforms with the results obtained by taking all the valuations of messuage and garden where no dovecot is mentioned on the one hand, and all those where both a garden and a dovecot are recorded among the demesne assets on the other. The mean values are found to be 3.9s. and 6.6s. respectively, confirming that the presence of the

208. Sources: Westerham - PRO SC12 9/65; Yalding - *CIPM*, i, No.530; PRO C132 File 27(5), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.* 4 (1861), p.312; Street - *CIPM*, v, No.604; PRO C134 File 48(2); Leveshoth, Hunton, Benstead and La Case - *CIPM*, vi, No.410; PRO C134 File 54(15) (1316) and *CIPM*, vii, No.599; PRO C135 File 39(5) (1334); Chilham - *CIPM*, vi, No.759; PRO C134 File 104(1); tenements in Bromley - *CIPM*, vii, No.50; PRO C135 File 3(5); Patricxbourne, Shirlond and Bedmangore - *CIPM*, vii, No.614; PRO C135 File 39(20); Yaldham St Clere - *CIPM*, vii, No.686; PRO C135 File 44(3); Brabourne - *CIPM*, vii, No.713; PRO C135 File 45(24); Tonge - *CIPM*, viii, No.185; PRO C135 File 56, m.26; Badlesmere - *Ibid.*, m.32.

Table 4.8. The value of dovecots on lay estates.²⁰⁹

Manor of	date	value
Yalding	1263	2s.
Eastwell	1267	4s. (2 dovecots, unstocked)
Folkestone	1271	5s.
	1349	6s.8d.
Buckland	1305 & 1329	2s.
West Peckham	1305	12d.
Tonge	1306	2s.
Ifield	1306	2s.
Pauls Cray	1311	5s.
Totington	1321	2s.
Burham	1322	2s.
Eynsford	1322	3s.4d.
Wickham by Strood	1324	12d.
East Sutton	1324	3s.
Yoke	1325	12d.
Westerham	1325	no value
La Gare	1328	3s.4d.
Ruxley	1330	2s. (ruinous)
Wickhambreux	1330	3s.4d.
Patricbourne	1334	5s.
Shirlond	1334	5s.
Nursted	1338	2s. (debilitated)
Wilrington	1338	3s.
Badlesmere	1338	6s.

209. Sources: Yalding - *CIPM*, i, No.530; PRO C132 File 27(5), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.* 4 (1861), p.312; Eastwell - *CIPM*, i, No.681; PRO C132 File 35(15), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.* 5 (1862/3), p.296; Folkestone - *CIPM*, i, No.774; PRO C132 File 40(7), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.* 6 (1864/5), p.240 (1271) and *CIPM*, ix, No.295; PRO E149 File 10(19) and C135 File 101(10) (1349); Buckland - *CIPM*, iv, No.263; PRO C133 File 116(13) (1305) and *CIPM*, vii, No.237; PRO C135 File 16(18) (1329); West Peckham - *CIPM*, iv, No.274; PRO C133 File 117(1); Tonge - *CIPM*, iv, No.387; PRO C133 File 123(8); Ifield - *CIPM*, iv, No.389; PRO C133 File 123(10); Pauls Cray - *CIPM*, v, No.274; PRO C134 File 21(8); Totington - *CIPM*, vi, No.273; PRO C134 File 66(23); Burham - *CIPM*, vi, No.327; PRO C134 File 70(4); Eynsford - *CIPM*, vi, No.328; PRO C134 File 70(5); Wickham by Strood - *CIPM*, vi, No.518; PRO C134 File 83, m.36; East Sutton - *Ibid.*, m.40; Yoke - *CIPM*, vi, No.632; PRO C134 File 93(18); Westerham - *CIPM*, vi, No.703; PRO C134 File 98(1); La Gare - *CIPM*, vii, No.80; PRO C135 File 5(4); Ruxley - *CIPM*, vii, No.285; PRO C135 File 21(23); Wickhambreux - *CIPM*, vii, No.300; PRO C135 File 23; Patricbourne and Shirlond - *CIPM*, vii, No.614; PRO C135 File 39(20); Nursted - *CIPM*, viii, No.176; PRO C135 File 54(4); Wilrington - *CIPM*, viii, No.185; PRO C135 File 56, m.20; Badlesmere - *Ibid.*, m.32.

dovecot added on average 2.7s. to the value of a garden.²¹⁰ As well as providing an extra source of food, which made them valuable in their own right, the dovecots could also be a rich source of manure.²¹¹

It is logical to suppose that the garden should have been sited near to the hall, but is there evidence for this? Aside from the overwhelming number of cases when messuage, garden and other enclosures were valued as a unit by the inquisition juries, we have some direct proof. When the manor of Boughton Aluph was partitioned between the three daughters of Stephen de Boughton in 1286, the garden was meticulously divided up.²¹² The inquisition records that in the manor there was a capital tenement, with issues of the dovecot, vineyard and fruit garden valued at 6s.8d. Idone and her husband Thomas de Gatesden were allocated half the hall with the chamber adjoining it, together with a kitchen (*coquina*), a bakehouse (*pistrina*) with oven, a new stable, a dairy house, two hen-houses, a large barn, a granary, the dovecot, a house called *Pithus* and a new piggery with a forstall in front of it on which stood 300 trees. These things were in the garden, which was within the court and without it. A similar list of property went to Joan and her husband Ralph de Otterden. The youngest daughter, Isolde, was allocated lands elsewhere, so that her share in Boughton manor was not so large as her sisters. Nevertheless, she was given the messuage of *Beleassise* there, with the remaining barn which was situated in Thomas de Gatesden's part of the gardens.

The indenture of partition of the lands of Richard de Ruxley and his wife Joan between their heirs in 1324 is even more explicit in recording the relationship of the

210. Where the dovecot was valued separately from the other elements the values were added together, to produce data of a standard form. The number of data for the manors without dovecot is 160 and for those with dovecots, 47.

211. H.E.Hallam, *Rural England 1066-1348* (Brighton, 1981), p.88; J.G.Hurst, 'Rural Building in England and Wales', in H.E.Hallam, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales II, 1042-1350*, (Cambridge, 1988), p.882.

212. *CIPM*, ii, No.605; PRO C133 File 45(1).

garden to the hall on the manor of Tirlingham, near Folkestone. One part of the divided inheritance included a small garden on the east side of the hall, with hedges included and with the wall between the hall and the large new granary.²¹³

Similarly, when dower was assigned to Joan, the widow of Roger de Marines in 1342, she was allocated certain lands within the manor of Ofton. As well as the eastern half of the chamber called *Gestene* chamber, her share included a complete barn in the south of the court, with a moiety of the dovecot and a moiety of the large garden, including a path to the north of the hall leading from the main door to the garden. To Joan also went another garden called *Koltone* with free ingress and egress to all her buildings, together with a certain plot against the barn.

Thus the garden was both geographically and conceptually a part of the central buildings of the manor. But what was it actually used for? The produce of the garden rarely appears on the manorial accounts.²¹⁴ It was therefore clearly not the responsibility of the reeve or bailiff in the same way as the demesne fields were. Often a gardener appears among the *famulus* and it would seem that he either accounted separately to the lord and his auditors, or the garden was so much under the eye of the household that no account was felt necessary. However, included with the enrolled account of the serjeant of Sir John de Pulteney's manor of Penshurst for 1346/7, is a membrane containing the account of Curteys Gardinar for the same year.²¹⁵

Penshurst lies in the south west of the county, in the Weald, near to the Sussex and Surrey borders. Sir John de Pulteney had purchased the manor sometime before 1341, at which date he obtained licence to embattle his houses of Penshurst, Chenle in

213. Included in the pourparty of Thomas de Poynyng and his wife Agnes, younger daughter and heir of Richard de Ruxley and Joan his wife. *CIPM*, vi, No.521; PRO C134 File 86(3).

214. C.Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: social change in England c.1200-1520* (Cambridge, 1989), p.64, hereinafter referred to as Dyer, *Standards of Living*.

215. CKS U1475 M62, m.5.

Cambridgeshire and in London.²¹⁶ Before this it had been in the hands of the Pencestre family, as part of an estate of just three manors across Kent, albeit large and valuable ones. In 1309 Penshurst had been valued at £40, Allington manor, a mile to the north of Maidstone was worth £40 and Tunstall manor, near to the north coast of the county close to Sittingbourne, was extended at £60.²¹⁷

The list of crops that Curteys harvested contains no surprises so far as medieval gardens are concerned. A summary appears in Table 4.9. The only produce to be sold outside the household was the thousand teasles, which fetched 12d. and were accounted for by the manorial serjeant under the heading of the issues of the manor.²¹⁸ The rest of the produce was expended either in the lord's household or in the potage of the *famulus*. Four bushels of the apples went to the lord's chamber to be stored, presumably to be eaten by him as table fruit. The remaining 17q.4b. were made into cider and made two tuns (something over 500 gallons) which remained in store at the time the account was made. This was no doubt used by both household and *famulus* in the same way as ale was used elsewhere. Apples took the place of barley on the clay soils of the Weald.²¹⁹ The pears on the other hand went all to the *famulus*, although two bushels was a small quantity, and this year may not have been typical.

216. *CPR 1340-1343*, p.331. Hasted mistakenly dated this licence to the 14th year of the reign of Edward II. Hasted, iii, p.231.

217. *CIPM*, v, No.134; PRO C134 File 10(3). The lord of these manors, Stephen de Pencestre, had been made Constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports by Henry III. Hasted, iii, p.231.

218. CKS U1475 M62, m.1.

219. P.F.Brandon, 'Farming Techniques: South-eastern England' in H.E.Hallam, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.II 1042-1350* (Cambridge, 1988), p.316.

Table 4.9. The produce of the garden of Penshurst manor, 1346/7.²²⁰

Apples	18 quarters.
Pears	2 bushels.
Verjuice	18 gallons.
Grapes	None this year because the vines did not flower.
Madder	4 pecks.
Teasles	1000.
Teasle seed	½ quarter.
Leeks	5 pecks.
Vegetables	1 acre.
Vegetable seed	1 pottle (= 2 quarts).
Oninons and garlic	Issue unknown, because used in absence of the bailiff and the gardener. However, 200 bulbs of each were lifted to be planted next year.

The five pecks of leeks that were harvested were laid in store, while the 4½ pecks that were actually used during the course of the accounting year were those that had been harvested the year previously. Leeks were used entirely within the lord's household. The onions and garlic were also a crop for the household, but they were apparently used straight from the garden rather than being dried and stored, for they had been taken and used without the gardener knowing how many had gone. However, he had lifted two hundred bulbs of garlic and two hundred onions to use as sets for the next year. The vegetables (*olerus*) of which an acre were grown in this year were possibly spinach.²²¹ At Penshurst these were used in roughly equal quantities by the household and in the potage of the *famulus*.

Can the output of the garden of Penshurst manor be taken as typical of a Kentish lay estate? Certainly Curteys Gardener was not paid anything out of the ordinary for his profession. He received an annual stipend of 6s.8d., which put him in a second rank behind the ploughmen and carters, who were paid between 7s. and 9s. each. By

220. Source: CKS U1475 M62, m.5.

221. See J.Harvey, 'Vegetables in the middle ages', *Garden History*, 12 (1984), p.92.

comparison, on Cobham manor in 1290-91, the gardener was paid a stipend of 3s. for three seasons and 3s. for autumn, which was his busiest time of the year. Thus the Cobham gardener received 6s. per year putting him behind the shepherd of the ewes at 8s. and the ploughmen at 7s.6d.²²² The produce of the garden would have varied from place to place. As we have seen, a considerable quantity of cider was made from apples grown in the garden. Elsewhere, on lighter, more easily worked soils, ale made from malted barley was the preferred drink. However, it is the other crops that are more significant, for although to judge from the recipe books of the day they were not considered essential foodstuffs, they did provide flavour as well as essential vitamins and minerals to the diet.²²³

So was the harvest of the manorial garden seen as an important element of the demesne economy? It may be true that by today's nutritional standards the medieval diet was very high in carbohydrate and fat, but low in fibre and some vitamins.²²⁴ However, the output of Curteys Gardener was almost entirely utilised within the manor, and it is certain that relatively little was wasted. If it had been, then the account would have recorded its use as fodder for the pigs rather than for potage for the humans. Given that Curteys Gardener was no better paid than gardeners elsewhere and that the garden at Penshurst manor, barring the apple orchard, was probably no bigger than the average garden of three acres, much the same situation pertained throughout the county. The garden provided a range of valuable, and valued, additives to the diet on lay estates of all sizes.

222. The cowman, ox-herd and shepherd of the flock at Cobham were also paid 6s. per year.

223. Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp.64-5.

224. Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p.65.

Conclusions

The manorial demesne was significant on lay estates of all types. However, its relative importance was greatest on the estates of smaller size, and decreases as we move up the scale of estate value. Even so, on the largest lay manors in the county, the demesnes contributed around 40% of the total value as reckoned by the inquisition juries. The ratios of the various components of the demesne were also different on different estates, but the determining factors were more than just size. Arable tended to predominate over pasture on smaller and more compact estates. However, where soil conditions dictated, as in the coastal marshlands, or the clay soils of the Weald, pasture was more prevalent. The influence of the market can also be seen, encouraging lords of all degrees to devote land to grain production.

Woodland was another important demesne asset. This seems to have sometimes been seen by great lords as a wastable asset, although their passion for sport and the social cachet of owning a park meant that large areas of woodland were preserved. The lay lords of smaller estates used proportionately more of the produce of the woods, both undergrowth and timber, in their manors for fuel and for manufacture. This again led to woodland being preserved. The system of management common to manors outside the Weald was coppicing, with a cycle of between four and twelve years. This cycle length was determined by the speed of growth of the trees and the required size of the product. Common rights to pasturage within the woods also had a part to play in the preservation of an asset which could otherwise realise considerable one-off profits for the lords. Only those who were powerful enough to override those rights were able to waste woodland completely.

Manorial gardens were a feature on estates of all types. The harvests of fruit and vegetables grown in these were generally used within the manor. The better quality produce went to feed the lord and his household and the poorer quality to the *famulus*.

Even though this did not prevent the medieval diet being very high in fat and low in fibre, the apples, leeks, onions and so on provided essential vitamins and minerals that would otherwise have been missing completely. The average size of the gardens as revealed by the inquisitions was three acres, and even the smaller manors had gardens of this size, so that the household of the lord of a small estate perhaps had a larger proportion of garden produce in their diet than that of a more wealthy lord. It has been emphasised recently that although the lesser gentry were obviously much better fed than their peasant tenants and neighbours, they did not consume extravagantly. Even in magnate households, the members lived for the most part on a daily diet of bread, ale and mutton.²²⁵ The 1290 account of the serjeant of Cobham manor confirms this view. Second quality grains were used in the liveries to the famulus, while the better quality was sent to the lord's kitchen but, although wheat made up the largest amount of a single grain consumed by the lord, he also ate barley, oats and peas from the manor. Wheaten bread was baked when the lord was present at Cobham and when he spent two weeks at Cooling during the autumn. Wheat was also sent to Gilbert the cook for making pastry and *pulleta*. Almost the same amount of barley was baked into trenchers, although how much of this was for the lord's own table is not made clear. Oats were eaten by both the lord and his famulus in the form of pottage, despite the fact that pottage has been seen as a poor man's food.²²⁶ Peas were also used in the lord's pottage, although these included the small quantity of white peas which came to the Cobham serjeant from the issues of the extra-manorial Monk's Grange parsonage. The famulus and others had to make do with the lower quality grey peas, most of which were grown on the Cobham demesne.

Meat came mostly in the form of pork from animals which were bred for that purpose. The manor had two boars and four sows, as well as sixty-eight younger

225. Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p.91.

226. Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p.58.

porkers. Sixty-seven of these were sent to Gilbert the cook during the course of the year. The other was allowed to mature into a boar, to take the place of one of the existing males which went to the kitchen, perhaps to be the roasted centrepiece of a special feast. Other meat came mostly from elderly farm stock. Nine oxen were sent to the kitchen, as were twenty-one wethers, out of a total stock of over forty and at least 300, respectively. Younger animals were probably used as a luxury at feast days or when entertaining guests. During the year Gilbert the cook received three calves out of the thirteen that had been born the previous year, ten lambs out of 90 born and six piglets out of 67. Small numbers of hens and eggs supplemented this diet. Of the 143 hens received in the form of rent during the year, thirty went to the kitchen as did 88 eggs, out of 248 that the serjeant accounted for. The same number had come in the form of rent and another 160, which had to be 'sold at audit' were said to have been laid by demesne birds. As well as chickens, geese and swans apparently graced the table of the lord of Cobham. The serjeant had sent 5q.1b. of oats to the cook for their feed during the year.

The manorial account does not give the full picture of the range or quantities of food consumed by the Cobham household. We have seen for example the range and quantities of produce that a manorial garden might provide, in the form of beans, apples, pears, leeks, cabbages, onions and garlic. It is difficult to believe that even in aristocratic households hedgerow fruits such as blackberries and sloes and cultivated plums, cherries, grapes and gooseberries were not eaten from time to time. We know that these were a part of the diet in towns.²²⁷ For the complete story though, we would require household accounts, showing what had been purchased from outside the estate and such accounts are very rare at this level of society.²²⁸ Nevertheless, with

227. Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p.197.

228. Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p.49. John de Cobham kept personal expense rolls, as the one for between 10 August and 29 September is mentioned in the Cobham manor serjeant's account, but they have not survived.

the exception of the fact that the lord John de Cobham ate pottage regularly, the impression is that his diet conforms with that of the typical lesser aristocratic lord in the range and balance of its constituents²²⁹ and that much of it was obtained directly from his own lands.

229. Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp.55-69.

Chapter 5

The financial and other benefits of a body of tenants and suitors

Having looked in detail at the demesne and the management of its various components, this chapter turns to consider the other side of medieval manorial lordship, namely lordship over men. A steady source of cash income which might be expected to keep its value in times of inflation was important and even during a period of high population and potentially buoyant demand for demesne produce, no man or woman whose estate was subject to an IPM before 1350 can be seen going to the extent of completely buying out their manorial tenants. Rents remained a relatively safe and secure way of taking an income with as little trouble as possible to the lord.¹

This chapter begins with an analysis of the importance of the income from the manorial tenants of estates of different sizes and structures, matching the analysis of demesne valuations which opened the previous chapter. The benefits to the lord of having tenants fall into three categories, which the discussion then moves on to deal with in turn. Firstly, as holders of land, the tenants owed to their lord rents, both in cash and in kind. Entry fines, reliefs and heriots of various forms added to the lord's income from these tenancies as land passed from one person to another by sale, lease or inheritance. Secondly, tenants of certain lands within the manors also owed labour services upon the demesne, particularly at the harvest time. Rarely did this customary labour come close to providing all that was necessary however, so the lord had also to employ casual labour for specific tasks. However, most of the regular work was committed to the permanent labour force of the *famulus*. The question of the ratio of the importance of these three sources of demesne labour will be discussed. Third, the tenants of the lord's manors were also suitors to his courts, so that he was able to count on profits of jurisdiction.

1. S.L. Waugh, *England in the Reign of Edward III* (Cambridge, 1991), p.34.

The prominence of tenant-based income in the estates

The extents of the IPMs generally break down the non-demesne elements of the manors and tenements held by the lay lords into rents of assize, renders of poultry and other forms of produce, customary labour services where these were present and the profits of the manorial courts. When these are totalled to give the full contribution of the tenants' and suitors' renders to the overall extent valuation, results corresponding to those of Table 4.1 above, are obtained.²

The conclusions arrived at there concerning the part played by the demesne in the manorial valuations may be turned around. It follows that on the larger, higher value manors, around 55% of the value attributed by the IPMs was composed of the income derivable from the tenants. On manors of the middle range of values, that is those worth between £8 and £16 per annum, the tenants and suitors contributed, on average, around 45% of the total. The smallest and lowest valued manors had, on average, 35% of their total value made up from this source.

Of course, these figures are based upon the manor and take no account of extra-manorial franchises such as the lordship of a hundred. However, where these franchises were owned by the laity, the men involved were the lords of comparatively large and valuable estates. When in 1274 the Hundred Roll commissioners asked the question of who held the hundreds, the responses of the juries revealed that the king held or shared the lordship of at least 36 of the 71 Kentish hundreds.³ Various religious bodies held or shared the lordship of at least thirty-eight hundreds.⁴ Only thirteen hundreds had lay men as their sole or joint lords, and only the powerful magnates the earl of Gloucester, Alexander de Baliol and William de Leybourne had a

2. Above, p.125.

3. Calculated using the data given in H.M.Cam, *The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls* (1930), pp.270-272.

4. The archbishop of Canterbury was sole or joint lord of thirty hundreds, the abbot of St. Augustine's four and the prior of Christchurch three. Seven other religious houses had whole or part lordships.

hand in more than one hundred each. Likewise, inclusion of the ownership of such franchises as the right to hold the assize of bread and ale does little to alter the figures of Table 4.1, other than to slightly increase the percentage contribution to the total valuation of non-demesne elements for the larger estates.

Conversely, large estates included both small and large manors within them. This means that over the estate as a whole the ratio of the demesne element to the tenant based element of the total valuations proportions does not in fact differ quite so markedly between the smaller and the larger estates. Nevertheless, the conclusion remains the same. The tenants' and suitors' renders become relatively more important as one moves up the scale of estate size and value.

This is no more than a re-statement of the conclusion given at the beginning of the previous chapter. Nevertheless, some examples will both illustrate and add further weight to the point that on estates of all sizes the tenants were an ever present feature. Some of the estates which figure in the IPMs were no larger than a modest peasant tenement. The holding of the Townland family was a small estate in Woodchurch and Ruckinge, on the fringes of the Romney marsh, which they held of the king in chief by half a knight's fee.⁵ The demesne totalled a little over forty acres and was valued in Richard de Townland's IPM of about 1263 at 20s. and at this time the tenants' rents pertaining to the fee were worth about the same.⁶ By 1331, and the IPM of Thomas de Townland, whereas the demesne was valued at 22s.6d., the recorded rent total had fallen to 5s.⁷ This may be an under-recording, or it may furnish yet another example of the relative importance placed on the demesne acres. Perhaps the lords of this small

5. *Feudal Aids*, pp.8, 38.

6. *CIPM*, i, No.923; PRO C132 File 47(16). The writ ordering the IPM is missing and the return undated, but the inquisition was held by Fulk Peyforer, in his capacity as escheator in Kent. A similar writ was addressed to the same escheator in 1263/4, ordering an assessment of the property of John de Crioll. *CIPM*, i, No.593; PRO C132 File 31(8).

7. *CIPM*, vii, No.328; PRO C135 File 26(10). The demesne was a messuage and garden, worth 5s., and 42 acres of arable, valued at 5d. per acre.

estate had found it necessary to part with some rents in order to raise capital. In any event, in this inquisition rents still contributed as much as 18% of the total valuation.

An even smaller demesne was that of Philip the cook, whose IPM detailed a holding of a sixteenth fraction of a knight's fee in the king's manor of Ospringe. The demesne consisted of just 22 acres of arable and three acres of woodland besides a messuage and garden, in all worth 28s., but Philip's tenants gave him an added income of 43d. in rents of assize, seven hens, a cock and 50 eggs, valued at 9½d. Here the tenant renders amounted to 14% of the total valuation of the estate.⁸

At the other end of the spectrum of Kentish lay estates, that of the Leybourne family was far more valuable. In 1310, after the death of William de Leybourne, his estate was valued at more than £483.⁹ However, within the estate there were low, medium and high value manorial components. At Bicknor, near to Sittingbourne in the central north of the county, William and his wife Juliana had held jointly a quarter knight's fee with a total value of less than £4. Here the demesne valuation accounted for 85% of the total, and the tenant renders just 15%. At nearby Goodnestone were lands and tenements which formed another element of the estate, held by a cash rent of the king's manor of Milton. The total valuation put on these lands was £9 17s.3½d., so that they constituted a medium value component of the estate and here the demesne valuation contributed 62%. The Leybourne family also held large, high value manors, such as the manor of Elham which lies in a fold of the Downs in the east of the county. Here the demesne was large, with a chief messuage, garden and other enclosures worth 13s.4d., three hundred acres of arable worth £10, 300 acres of pasture at £5, ten acres of meadow worth 40s., a park, a warren, a further 15 acres of

8. *CIPM*, i, No.893; PRO C132 File 46(6). This IPM is undated, but included filed and calendared with those from the reign of Henry III. The valuation of the Cook demesne was more than that of the larger Townland demesne because the arable was worth 12d. per acre. The woodland was worth 2s. and the messuage and garden 4s.

9. *CIPM*, v, No. 220; PRO C134 File 17(7).

woodland outside the park and three windmills worth £7 10s. in total. Against this though, must be weighed a tenant body paying a total of £32 10s.7d. in rents of assize, £7 of customary payments at the feast of All Saints, and ploughing, carrying and other services valued in all at around £4 10s. The profits of the manorial court were put at £10 and there was a market and fair which contributed another 23s.4d. to the total. In all the demesne elements of this manor amounted to just 36% of the total and the tenant based elements to 64%. Over the whole Leybourne estate, the demesne valuations come to 63% of the total valuation and the tenant rents and services, profits of manorial courts and so on, together with the profits of the hundred court of Preston which the family also held, come to 37%.

The size and total value of most Kentish lay estates fell between these two extremes, and the respective ratios of demesne to tenant elements of the valuations of the Orlestone and Cobham estates further illustrate the progression from the smaller estate to the larger. We have seen that the basis of the Orlestone estate was the home manor at Orlestone, with another small manor in neighbouring Ruckinge and a satellite holding at Ponshall twenty miles to the east (Map 2.2).¹⁰ The total value of the estate in 1309 was put at £54 10s.6½d., of which tenant renders made up around 20%.¹¹ The five manors of John de Cobham, together with the Hundred of Shamwell of which John was lord, were said in 1300 to be worth £85 8s.0½d. in all and on this estate the tenants' and suitors' renders contributed 33% of this total.¹²

As was shown in the previous chapters, the demesne was of most importance in the manors near to the home of the lord. Conversely, it was in those manors furthest from the estate centre that relatively large proportions of the total worth were rendered by the tenantry. Thus, on William de Orlestone's home manor of Orlestone, together with

10. For a fuller description of this estate, see above, pp.56-61.

11. *CIPM*, v, No.145; PRO C134 File 10(14).

12. *CIPM*, iii, No.602; PRO C133 File 94(8).

his lands in neighbouring Ruckinge and Ivychurch the rents made up only 18% of the total value, whereas on the fraction of a knight's fee that the family held at Ponshall, the proportion was 24%. On larger or more widespread estates, the outlying components might be entirely let out to tenants. The Septvans family held an estate with three components. One of these was the manor of Aldington Septvans, in the parish of Thurnham where they were neighbours to the Cobham lords of Aldington Cobham. Their second manor was that of Milton next Canterbury, some twenty miles to the east. Another eight miles to the east again was an outlying tenement at Walmestone, near Wingham.¹³ At the IPM of Robert de Sevanz in 1248 this tenement was reported to be entirely in the hands of tenants who rendered a total of 38s.4d. and 13 hens.¹⁴

To summarise then, the trend was for larger and more highly valued manors to have proportionately more of their value contributed by tenant renders and obligations of one sort or another. As one moves down the scale to look at medium and then at small manors and tenements, the ratio of demesne to non-demesne valuations tends to rise. This tendency translates into estates, although the gradient of the change is tempered by the fact that the large estates had small manors alongside larger ones. Conversely the larger estates were more scattered geographically and it was on the outlying manors in particular that tenants often dominated. It must be remembered that these are only averages and isolated illustrations. At the heart of the estate was the lord who was able to form his own policies with regard to his estate. Thus, the estates of lords of similar standing often display different characteristics.¹⁵

13. In the assessments for Aid of 1253 and 1346, this was reckoned to be held of the archbishop of Canterbury as a single knight's fee. *Feudal Aids*, p.26; *Arch. Cant.* 10 (1876), p.124; *Arch. Cant.* 12 (1878), p.206.

14. *CIPM*, i, No.158; PRO C132 File 8(15), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.* 2 (1859), p.297.

15. E.Miller and J.Hatcher, *Medieval England, Rural Society and Economic Change* (1978), p.182.

It should also be remarked that the IPMs tell nothing about the amount of the demesne which was leased to the tenants and others, although again, the likelihood is that this would merely reinforce the trend of more tenant based income for the lords of larger estates, who had the capacity to farm out large portions of their demesnes.

So, how many tenants did these manors and estates support? This is an impossible question to answer satisfactorily, since the full extent of subletting by the immediate tenants of the manor is hidden from us, although deed material allows glimpses of the process. However, we can at least try to ascertain the size of that body of immediate tenants. For a period of a few years around 1300 the IPM extents include lists of tenants and the rents they owed.¹⁶ These give every indication of being up-to-date rentals, reflecting the true situation on the manor rather than merely being copies of old documents. Members of the juries who provided the information appear among the named tenants, and often men and women who can be seen as lords in their own right figure as the tenants of others. For example, in the IPM of Roger le Sauvage of 1299 it is recorded that the manor of Hylth in Nettlestead, on the western bank of the Medway, four miles west of Maidstone, close to where the river emerges from the Weald, was held by half of a knight's fee. Pertaining to this holding were rents of assize totalling 4s.8d., which were paid by five named individuals. These were Richard le Beau who owed 12d., Alexander le Beau 12d., Richard Poteyn 8d., Richard le Frend 8d. and William de London 12d. All of these men served on the jury which furnished the escheator with the information. There were also lands and rents held in gavelkind by Roger le Sauvage within the manor. These extra rents totalled 15s.2¼d., and were paid by Richard Pertrich, Richard le Frend and their co-parceners.¹⁷ Neither the number nor the status of these unnamed co-parceners is clear. They may have been direct tenants of the lord, but it is possible that they were

16. See Table 5.1 below, p.203 and note 19.

17. *CIPM*, iii, No.529; PRO C133 File 88(11).

in fact sub-tenants of the two named men.

The data on tenant numbers which it is thus possible to glean from the IPMs are summarised in Table 5.1. Where the inquisition states that gavelkind lands and tenements are held within the lord's own manor, the tenants paying rent for these have been treated together with those said to hold tenements and pay rent pertaining to the main fee. These of course are not total population estimates. They refer only to heads of tenant households, who were actually responsible to the lord for the payment of the rent for their tenements.

It is an obvious fact that, as a general rule, the larger the manor the longer the list of tenants. The high value manors¹⁸ in Table 5.1 are Throwley, Cooling, Cobham, Eynsford and Walmer and there are no manors outside this set which had more than 40 named tenants. Blackmanstone was also of high value, and if the tenants whose rent was allocated to Thomas's widow Maud represented a third of the manor's entire tenantry, then this manor too had around 36 tenants in total. The middle ranking manors, West Chalk, Aldington Cobham, Hougham, Badlesmere and Stockbury had rather fewer, typically between 20 and 40. The lower value manors and tenements generally had less than 20 tenants paying rent to the lord, although the number could reach into the high twenties, as at Westenhanger, with 27 tenants.

What does this mean for the lay estates? It implies that for the lord of just one small manor, the tenant rent-roll probably consisted of no more than twenty or so names, and in many cases was far fewer. Only when the estate amounted to two or three manors of middling worth does the expected total number of tenants rise to fifty or so.

Lords who could count on the rent from over one hundred tenant holdings across their estate were a very small elite within the county. This has implications for the other potential profits to be gained from tenants.

18. That is those manors having extent valuations of over £16, classified as 'high value' according to the scheme of chapter 4, p.123.

Table 5.1. The number of tenants and the total tenant-based component of the inquisition valuation, for those manors where the data is given.¹⁹

<u>Date</u>	<u>Lord</u>	<u>Manor of (or tenements held in)</u>	<u>No. of named tenants</u>	<u>Tenant-based portion of valuation</u>
1299	William de Cowsted	Cowsted	19	£1 16s.
		Tenements in		
		Newington & Rainham	19	12s.
1299	Roger le Sauvage	Hylth (Nettlestead)	6	£1 2s.
1299	Alice le Parker	Tenement in Maidstone	2	1s.
1299	Thomas de Marines	1/3 manor of		
	(dower to Maud, his widow)	Blackmanstone	12	£2 15s.
1300	John de Godeyeneton	Lower Hardres	12	£2 16s.
1300	Hamo de Gatton	Throwley	c.80	£16 8s.
1300	John de Cobham	Cobham	c.103	£11 2s.
		Cooling	46	£3 18s.
		West Chalk	39	£4 12s.
		Beckley	12	17s.
		Aldington Cobham	24	£4 7s.
1301	Robert de Hougham	Boughton Monchelsea	23	£3
		Hougham	22	£2 11s.
1301	Guncelimus de Badlesmere	Badlesmere	24	£1 10s.
1303	William de Chiltone	Tenement in		
		Weavering (Boxley)	4	5s.
1303	Nicholas de Criol	½ manor of Ightham	19	£4 17s.
		Westenhanger	27	£3 14s.
		½ manor of Eynsford	30	£12 19s.
		Walmer	57	£10 10s.
		Stockbury	37	£6 3s.
1305	William le Latimer	Ash-next-Ridley	20	£4

19. Sources: Cowsted, *CIPM*, iii, No.528; PRO C133 File 88(10); Sauvage, *CIPM*, iii, No.529; PRO C133 File 88(11); Parker, *CIPM*, iii, No.547; PRO C133 File 92(3); Marines, *CIPM*, iii, No.556; PRO C133 File 92(12); Godeyeneton, *CIPM*, iii, No.585; PRO C133 File 93(16); Gatton, *CIPM*, iii, No.636; PRO C133 File 98(31); Cobham, *CIPM*, iii, No.602; PRO C133 File 94(8); Hougham, *CIPM*, iv, No.36; PRO C133 File 101(1); Badlesmere, *CIPM*, iv, No.38; PRO C133 File 101(3); Chiltone, *CIPM*, iv, No.144; PRO C133 File 108(4). William de Chiltone's IPM is C133 File 107(16), but the partition between his daughters Isabella and Sarah, is annexed to the partition of lands of Solomon de Chanuz in C133 File 108(4); Crioll, *CIPM*, iv, No.162; PRO C133 File 108(7); Latimer, *CIPM*, iv, No.330; PRO C133 File 120(8).

The tenants owed more than merely an annual rent. Payments might be due when land was purchased, upon the death of a tenant and upon inheritance to a holding. The money that was payable to the lord when gavelkind land was purchased went by the name of 'relief'. The actual amount varied from manor to manor according to local custom. Thus it has been found that on the archbishop of Canterbury's estate the rate was often a quarter of the annual rent, or about 1d. per acre.²⁰ On the small lay manor of Shelve, in the parish of Lenham, mid-way between Maidstone and Ashford however, William ate Watershippe came into the court in December 1319 and paid 9¼d. in relief for 3 acres purchased from William de Reyton.²¹

On the Wealden manor of Sundridge, which was held of the archbishop's manor of Otford by the Apuldrefeld family in the thirteenth century, a custumal of 1258 makes it plain that the relief owed after the death of a tenant was a full year's rent, although it is not clear whether the same rule applied in the case of acquisition by purchase.²²

Heriot is often seen as being owed by gavelkind tenants on their inheritance following the death of the previous holder. This render usually took the form of the best beast, although there was often the alternative of a payment of 3s.4d. if there were no suitable animals on the holding. Such was the case on the manor of Sundridge.²³ Likewise, on the tiny manor of Fromond's Court, in the parish of Hadlow near to Tonbridge, which was held by the Fromonds family of the earl of Gloucester, surviving court rolls make it clear that a heriot was owed on the death of a tenant. Here it seems that if the tenant had no animals then the custom was for a

20. DuBoulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, p.5; S.Campbell, *Some Aspects of the Social and Economic History of the Manor of Adisham c.1200 to the Dissolution* (U.K.C. PhD thesis, 1981), p.258.

21. CKS U55 M201.

22. CKS U1000/3 M18, m.2.

23. H.W.Knocker, 'The Evolution of the Holmesdale. No.3, The Manor of Sundrish', *Arch. Cant.* 44 (1932), p.197.

double relief in cash to be paid. This is referred to in the court of 6 July 1349, when John the son and heir of Richard Fisher paid 2d. as relief and then, as he had no animals, paid a second relief of 2d.²⁴ It seems that heriots on this manor were not owed only when a tenement was inherited on the death of the holder. On one occasion the lord was able to argue successfully that since an entire tenement had been sold, a heriot should be paid just as if the previous holder had died. The tenant in question was Thomas Newman who had in fact demised two tenements, one called Lee and the other Penecroft, and it appears that the objection against the imposition of relief, heriot and suit, which was presumably raised by the purchasers, was based on the argument that none had been owed on these tenements before. The matter was put to the manorial homagers in September 1342. Their answer was that since heriot had indeed been taken from these tenements by the lord's ancestors he was entitled to demand two on this occasion. One cow was immediately given in payment of one heriot and the second was postponed to the next court, of which we unfortunately have no record.²⁵

The obligation to make such extra-rental payments means that the size of the tenant body has implications over and above the mere total of the yearly assized rent roll. A larger number of tenants meant statistically that more of them could be expected to die or to sell all or part of their holdings, with a consequent inflow of money to the lord through these payments to the court. Conversely if there were only twenty or so tenants who owed these customary payments, then the expected annual profit from this source was correspondingly low. Furthermore, manorial custom was often not the immutable force that theory might suggest it to have been but was formulated case by

24. CKS U55 M360, m.4.

25. *Ibid.*, m.2. For further description of the Fromonds Court rolls, see Appendix 5.2, below.

case by the manorial homage, on the basis of what they claimed to remember of previous occurrences. Hence, something that happened less often was more susceptible to being forgotten, or changed to suit the desires of the members of the homage.²⁶ Sometimes, as at Fromonds Court this may have worked in the favour of the lord, but probably equally often it favoured the tenants, with the result that customary benefits to the lord of a small manor were lost.

Labour on the demesne

In this section, the various sources of labour for the lord's demesnes are described and their relative availability and cost assessed. Following from the discussion of the dues payable by the tenant body, it is convenient to begin with the labour services available from this source. However, as will become clear, most of the labour was provided by paid workers, either employed long-term as members of the *famulus*, or on a casual basis to perform a specific task. The size of the *famulus* and the amounts expended in cash and liveries of grain will be looked at.

To begin with the tenants' labour services. It has been noted that Kentish peasants did not have the same burden of week-work as the customary villeins of the Midlands, or even of neighbouring East Sussex,²⁷ but on the ecclesiastical manors they often did owe, in respect of their land holdings, a wide range of other carriage and labour services.²⁸

The same was true on certain of the lay manors. The custumal of Sundridge for example, states that the tenants of the manor who held land at Ovenden and who had a

26. L.Bonfield, 'The nature of customary law in the manor courts of Medieval England', *Comp.Stud.Soc.&Hist.*, 31 (1989), pp.514-34.

27. DuBoulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, p.183.

28. DuBoulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, pp.165-72; V.Everett, *The tenantry of a Downland Manor: Meopham c.1200-c.1350* (Unpublished U.K.C. dissertation, 1988), pp.15-7; A.M.Langridge, *The tenantry of Chartham from c.1200 to c.1550* (Unpublished M.A. thesis, U.K.C., 1982), pp.56-7.

full plough team owed the ploughing and harrowing of two acres of *benerthe* in the winter and one acre in the spring. The seed to be sown was to be collected from the door of the lord's granary. Those who owned more or less than a complete team owed the service in proportion to the number of their plough-beasts. Tenants of the manor with land at Ide Hill owed the same services in the opposite proportion. That is, they were bound to plough and harrow one acre in the winter and two acres in the spring. There was another group of tenants in the manor of Sundridge who were more heavily burdened with labour services. Each of these tenants who held a virgate of land owed the ploughing and harrowing in the winter of a quarter of an acre of land, with the added commitment of having to collect the seed-corn themselves from the granary.²⁹ They owed the service of mowing a rood of meadow in the autumn, including the binding and carrying in of the hay. Also in the autumn, they were to reap an acre of corn, binding it, but leaving it to stand in shocks in the field. Moreover, they were to reap a further quarter of an acre of meadow and to collect and carry the resulting hay to the lord's grange. Another group of tenants owed services of ploughing the fallow in the summer and if they had horses they were to do carrying service at the will of the lord.³⁰

So how widespread were such services in the second half of the thirteenth century and first half of the fourteenth? The extents attached to the IPMs often include details of the total amounts of various services owed by the tenants, which were then assigned a value. For example, in the manor of Boughton Aluph, according to an inquisition of 1286, there were gavelkind tenants of the manor who owed a certain custom called *gavelherth* by which they ploughed 30½ acres of land on the eve of St. Martin (12

29. It would seem that here the word 'virgate' (*virgata*) does not mean a quarter acre as it usually does in Kentish documents, although in that case it is not clear how much land is involved. In this document the word 'rood' (*rodam*) is used for a quarter acre. CKS U1000/3 M18, m.2.

30. H.W.Knocker, 'The Evolution of the Holmesdale. No.3 The Manor of Sundrish', *Arch. Cant.* 44 (1932), pp.197-9.

November) and a custom of mowing, gathering and carrying the hay from 8½ acres of meadow. Each acre of both ploughing and mowing was valued at 8d., giving a total value of these tenants' services of 26s.³¹ Sometimes the details provided are less informative than this, as on an IPM extent of the manor of Eltham from 1263, where all we are told is that the works of the villeins were valued at 30s.1d.,³² or on an extent of Sharstead manor from 1297 when the so called great and small works in the winter were together valued at 5s.³³ On other occasions far more detail is given, even down to the names of individual tenants and their obligations. These data are summarised for each manor in Appendix 5.1, together with the total area of demesne arable and meadow, as reckoned by the relevant inquisition jury.

The silence of an inquisition on the subject of tenant labour services cannot be taken as evidence of the absence of such services on a manor. Nevertheless, taken as a whole the IPMs demonstrate that the manors on which services were among the tenants' obligations were most often those the formation of which dates from before the twelfth century. Of the sixty four manors which display at least a hint of such services in the inquisitions, as many as 49 (77%) may be traced back to Domesday Book. It follows that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries customary labour services were a product of firm and continuous lordship on these anciently settled manors.

The antiquity of the manor was just one factor in the survival of customary services though. Another was the size of the demesne, since as Postan suggested it was without doubt the lord's need for a ready source of labour on his own lands that had led to the initial imposition of the labour services.³⁴ Thus manors such as Orlestone, with just

31. *CIPM*, ii, No.605; PRO C133 File 45(1).

32. *CIPM*, i, No.530; PRO C132 File 27(5), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.* 4 (1861), p.312.

33. *CIPM*, iii, No.414; PRO C133 File 79(13).

34. M.Postan, 'The Chronology of Labour Services', *TRHS*, 4th ser., 20 (1937), pp.171-173.

a hundred acres or so of demesne arable and meadow apparently never had any services imposed on the tenants, despite a history of settled lordship, possibly stretching back to Domesday itself.³⁵ Likewise, the manor of Fleet in the marshlands near Sandwich in east Kent was in the lordship of the earls of Oxford. If the lordship here was weak, it was so because of the absenteeism of the lord, but not because of the lack of political strength of the lord himself. In any case, the only labour services mentioned on this manor are a custom of stacking corn (*tassatus bladum*) in the autumn, valued at 6d.³⁶ Here the lack of mention of any other services is probably mainly due to the fact that the demesne arable amounted to only 154 acres. Far more of the demesne on this valuable manor was marshland pasture, where the problem of labour supply was not so critical.

The position with regard to tenant services was then that lords of manors with large demesnes often did have this source of labour to draw on. Very often such manors can be traced back to the eleventh century, and the initial imposition of these services most likely dates from this period or shortly after. It is not the case though that all manors with a long and settled history of lordship had tenants owing such dues. The past and present labour requirements of the lord as dictated by the size of his demesne arable and meadow were of equal significance. In terms of the large and small estates, since the larger estates tended to be grouped around a Domesday manor, these lords had tenants owing labour services. Lords of small estates on the other hand, and most particularly those which were formed relatively recently as a result of sub-infeudation or the accumulation of lands through purchase or lease, could not rely on this to solve even a part of their labour supply problems. In this respect the problems of the great and small landlord were not so different from each other. It is also clear from the data of Appendix 5.1 that in virtually every case the labour services of the tenants were

35. See above, p.56.

36. *CIPM*, vii, No.379; PRO C135 File 28(17).

insufficient to provide the quantity of demesne labour needed.

To take the customary ploughing services in particular, only on one manor does the total of the tenants' obligations appear to be anywhere near equal to the total area of arable in the demesne. Even so, this example may be disposed of, since the circumstance seems to have come about because of a division of the manor. The manor was John de Peckham's Wealden manor of West Peckham where the tenants owed a very wide range of labour services and other customs.³⁷ As well as ploughing four acres in the winter and another four in the spring, all the tenants also owed the reaping of a total of one acre of wheat. There were four tenants of the manor who held 12½a. of land by the service of reaping at seven autumn 'bedreps' and threshing thirty six quarters each of wheat and oats. Yet the demesne arable of this manor measured just half an acre, valued in the inquisition at 6d., the meadow was one acre, worth 12d. and there was one acre of pasture, also worth 12d., together with the pasture of *Haselwode*, valued at 6s. and before his death John de Peckham had held a further 10 acres of pasture of the Prior of Christchurch. Beyond this the demesne of West Peckham manor consisted of 200 acres of woodland.³⁸ This demesne extent was virtually unchanged twelve years later, when the manor was in the hands of Robert Scarlet, although on the occasion of his inquisition the tenants' labour services were not given in such detail, it merely being said that the works were valued at 20s.³⁹

Thus the tenant labour services on this West Peckham manor vastly outweighed the needs of the manorial demesne. However, it is plain that this was no ordinary demesne and that something had happened to bring about the discrepancy. In fact, it appears that the demesne had been let out as a separate tenancy. Among the rents of assize in

37. *CIPM*, iii, No.103; PRO C133 File 65(4), E152 File 4(1d) and E152 File 4(9d).

38. There were also various carting and carrying services.

39. *CIPM*, iv, No.274; PRO C133 File 117(1).

the IPM of John de Peckham is a payment of 1d. at the feast of St. John Baptist, owed by the earl of Gloucester. As luck would have it, the earl Gilbert de Clare died just three years later and his inquisition includes the extent of this property.⁴⁰ It was reported that earl Gilbert had died holding a manor in West Peckham of the heirs of John Agullun by the rent of 1d. payable at St. John Baptist.

The range of labour services that were owed by the tenants on this sub-manor were very similar to those on the parent manor of West Peckham. Earl Gilbert's IPM recorded that his tenants owed ploughing services which were valued at 13¼d. each in November and February.⁴¹ A total of 17d. was the value of 17 works in the autumn, each of one day. There were said to be tenants who threshed 38 quarters of wheat and 76 quarters of oats at the lord's will. However, the earl's demesne was much larger than John de Peckham's had been, amounting to 176 acres of arable, 9 acres called *Bromred*, another 110½ acres of pasture and 21 acres of meadow, of which just 5 acres was not fit to mow (*non falcabilis*). Thus it seems most likely that at some time in the past most of the demesne of the manor of West Peckham, together with some of the tenancies, had been sold or leased to the earl of Gloucester to add to his Tonbridge estate. The labour services which remained on the parent manor were the reminder of the days when the demesne had been much larger.

No other clear examples can be found among the IPMs of a lay manor on which the sum of the tenant ploughing services would cover more than a fifth of the recorded demesne arable. It is likely that on the manor of Chatham in 1330, where the demesne arable extended to 50 acres, the tenants owed ploughing for the winter sowing of just over 35 acres and the reaping, binding and stacking of about half this area, but the inquisition is defaced and the details difficult to be certain of.⁴² After this the largest

40. *CIPM*, ii, No.371; PRO C133 File 77(3).

41. Specifically on the feasts of All Saints (1 November) and the Purification of Mary (2 February).

42. *CIPM*, vii, No.295; PRO C135 File 22(9).

percentage of the demesne arable covered by tenant ploughing services comes from manors of the aristocratic Sey family. On Burham manor, on the west bank of the river Medway to the north of Maidstone, the tenants owed a total of 63 acres of ploughing and harrowing at three times of the year, on a demesne with a recorded area of 392 acres of arable in 1271.⁴³ At nearby Birling manor, the Sey family's tenants were bound to plough 40 acres at Michaelmas and after Christmas, on a demesne with 224 acres of arable.⁴⁴ The percentages of the demesne arable potentially covered by the tenants' ploughs were thus 16% and 18% respectively.

Of course, not all the demesne arable acres were necessarily ploughed each year. However, with ploughing for the sowing of winter and spring corn, and a third season of summer ploughing of the fallow to break it up and help prevent the weeds from self sowing, the advice of the contemporary manuals of husbandry was to plough all the acres. Indeed, the anonymous author of Walter of Henley's *Husbandry* recommended double ploughing of the fallow, so that on a ploughland of 180 acres, with a three course rotation, as much as 240 acres would be ploughed in each year.⁴⁵

In terms of the range of the tenants' services these Kentish lay manors appear little different from manors elsewhere and of other types.⁴⁶ Their purpose was to supply the flexibility needed to cope with the periods of the year when seasonal tasks required a large number of pairs of hands, often in a short space of time while the weather was favourable. For the regular and skilled work of handling the demesne plough, sowing

43. *CIPM*, i, No.813; PRO C132 File 42(6).

44. *Ibid.*

45. D.Oschinsky, ed., *Walter of Henley and other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting* (Oxford, 1971), p.315.

46. DuBoulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, p.169; N.Goose, 'Wage Labour on a Kentish Manor', *Arch. Cant.*, 92 (1976), p.203. Professor Postan has pointed out that even in areas of the country where labour services were more onerous than in Kent, whilst on some estates the acreage ploughed by the tenants could amount to a third or even a half of the total demesne area, as a rule the ratio was much less. M.M.Postan, 'The Famulus: The Estate Labourer in the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries', *Economic History Review Supplements*, 2 (1954), p.3.

the seed, looking after the stock, tending the garden and so forth, a regular staff was employed. Even in the case of these seasonal tasks to which the tenants' services were directed, the lord had the option of commuting them for a cash payment, and employing casual labour instead.

So, to what extent were these labour services actually performed on any of these estates? In this respect the evidence of the manorial extents is scant and difficult to be certain of. Monetary equivalents are of course given in all cases, because that was the purpose of these enquiries, so this is not a sign that commutation had taken place. Thus, when in Adam atte Broke's IPM of 1317,⁴⁷ the rents and services of his manor of West Peckham were reported to include various works rendered in cash at 32s.5½d., to wit, 9s.5¾d. on 1 November, 6d. on 2 February and 15s.6d. on 1 August, we may suspect that the services had in fact been commuted, but we cannot be sure. However, the very fact that inquisition jurors continued to report their existence suggests that labour services had not yet become a complete dead letter and that the lords reserved the right to make use of them when to do so was cheaper or easier than to hire labour. Yet such accounts as survive for small lay manors from the first half of the fourteenth century seem to show that by then at the latest the labour services of the tenants had been more or less permanently commuted. For example, at Broxham manor in Westerham the serjeant in his account of 1324/5 noted the receipt of 2s. from the sale of 24 reaping works (*messurae*) and another 4d. for eight men gathering the lord's hay for a day. Among the rent allowances is 9d. from nine more reaping services and 1½d. for hay making, from land which was in the lord's hand. It is, of course, still possible that other labour services of this or other types were performed.⁴⁸ This commutation may be the reason why, after the first quarter of the

47. *CIPM*, vi, 112; PRO C134 File 59(9).

48. CKS U789 M9. Only the first membrane of this account is extant, so that a section relating to works performed may have been included according to the usual pattern of early fourteenth century accounts. P.D.A. Harvey, *Manorial Records*,

fourteenth century, the evidence of the extents begins to diminish on the subject of tenant obligations. Certainly as a general phenomenon this fits in with the widely accepted view of the chronology of labour services, although there were always exceptions, depending upon the lord's needs and the strength of his personal relationship with his less-free tenants.⁴⁹ For the lords of the larger estates it seems that the commutation of services proceeded at much the same rate upon both lay and ecclesiastic estates.⁵⁰

It follows then, that whether tenant services were commuted or not, lords of all sizes of manor had to find most of their demesne labour from paid employees. The questions arise of how much labour was actually required and of how much it cost the lord to obtain it? The paid demesne employees were of two sorts. First, there was a more or less permanent labour force collectively referred to in the manorial accounts as the *famulus* and second, this core was supplemented as necessary by casual labourers. The work of previous writers has suggested that the composition of the manorial *famulus* was typically between eight and fifteen full-time employees, and that this number might be found on manors of widely differing sizes and types.⁵¹

On any one manor the actual number depended, to various degrees, upon the size of the demesne, the number of acres to be ploughed, sown and reaped, the number of sheep in the lord's flock, the number of head of cattle and so on. The relationship was not entirely simple. The number of ploughmen in the *famulus* was in fairly direct proportion to the number of acres to be ploughed, since there was a physical limit to

(British Records Association, 1984), p.32.

49. M.Postan, 'The Chronology of Labour Services', *TRHS*, 4th ser., 20 (1937), p.173.

50. H.L.Gray, 'The Commutation of Villein Services in England before the Black Death', *Eng.Hist.Rev.*, 116 (1914), p.650.

51. M.M.Postan, *The Famulus: The Estate Labourer in the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries*, *Economic History Review Supplements*, 2 (1954), p.47; N.R.Goose, 'Wage Labour on a Kentish Manor: Meopham 1307-75', *Arch. Cant.* 92 (1976), p.204.

the number of acres which one man and his team might plough in one season. The number of stock-keepers was evidently not so sensitive. Single shepherds for example, perhaps assisted by a boy or under-shepherd, were able to look after flocks of widely differing numbers. This can be seen in the composition of the *famulus* on three manors, the choice of which is dictated by the chance survival of isolated accounts.

The manor of Newnham was part of the estate of Boxley Abbey.⁵² In 1335 a certain John accounted for Newnham, as farmer of the manor from the abbey.⁵³ The stipendiary labour in this year consisted of two ploughmen (*carrucae*), two carters (*carectatorii*), a shepherd (*bercarius*), a pigman (*porcarius*), a boy to look after the geese and a cook (*kocus*). In the autumn season, that is from mid-summer until Michaelmas, an extra carter, three forkers (*fugatores*) and a boy to keep the oxen and cows were employed. For the winter season, from Michaelmas until Easter, stipends were paid to just two forkers and there was a harrower at work. Grain liveries were also provided for a boy to scare the birds at seed time, and a digger (*fodiator*) in the manorial garden. The exact details of who was employed between Easter and mid-summer are lost, presumably because they were difficult for the sixteenth century copyist to make out. At any rate, the broad outline of the *famulus* is clear.

The second example is that of Penshurst manor which, as we have already seen, was in the hands of Sir John de Pulteney at Michaelmas 1347, when Robert atte Park, the serjeant of the manor, made his account for the year just ended.⁵⁴ On this manor two parkers, a reaper, a gardener and his boy, ten ploughmen, three carters, a cowman, a shepherd and an under-shepherd, a pigman, two harrowers, and a dairymaid (*deya*)

52. Hasted, iv, p.339. Boxley Abbey also had an interest in the manor of Weaving, in the parish of Boxley, which, Hasted suggests, was accounted as part of their manor of Boxley. Hasted, iv, p.340. The modern Newnham Court is at O.S. grid reference TQ782573, a half mile north east of Weaving Street and 1½ miles south of the village of Boxley.

53. The account survives as a sixteenth century copy from the records of the Court of Augmentations; CKS U274 M6.

54. See above, p.9.

were employed for the full year.⁵⁵

The third example is given by the manor of Cobham, for which the serjeant rendered account in 1291. Liveries of cash and grain had been made to three carters and six ploughmen, a driver of the third cart (*sequentis tertium carectae*), a man to look after the ewes as well as the lord's pigs, a cowman, a dairymaid and a gardener, all for the whole year. Another shepherd was employed, initially to look after 16 sheep from 21 December until 1 August, and then to keep 114 wethers until Michaelmas and presumably beyond.⁵⁶ Six more ploughmen and a chief sower had been paid for the winter half of the year and a reapreave and a thresher in the autumn.⁵⁷

Thus the number of employees varied, ranging from a total of between eight and a dozen at Newnham manor to between seventeen and twenty-six at Cobham manor. Yet, the variation came predominantly through the increase in the number of workers upon the arable, rather than the stockmen. While there were just two permanent ploughmen at Newnham, there were six at Cobham, and this number doubled during the half of the year when most ploughing took place. All this means very little until it is put against the size of the demesne, however.

To consider first the respective number of acres under the plough on each demesne. Newnham was of course an ecclesiastical manor, albeit one in the hands of a lay farmer, and it does not figure in the IPMs. Neither has any other extent been found to give details of the size of the manorial demesne. Nevertheless, some idea can be had from the internal evidence of the account. The area which was sown with the various

55. CKS U1475 M62, m.3. Part of the dairymaid's job was to make the potage for the rest of the famulus.

56. The details of this man's duties come are found in the section of the account dealing with the liveries of maslin. The sixteen sheep seem in some way to have been separated from the rest of the flock.

57. In this I disagree with the composition of the Cobham famulus as given by Mrs May who suggests seven ploughmen but no cowman. T. May, 'Estates of the Cobham Family in the Later Thirteenth Century', *Arch. Cant.* 84 (1969), p.226. The account includes payment of a stipend of 6s. to a *vaccarius*.

grains during the year was 178 acres.⁵⁸ This single account gives no indication of the area left to lie fallow, which itself needed ploughing during the summer but it is doubtful whether this would add more than half again to this sown area, and probably much less since a regular three-course rotation is unlikely.⁵⁹ In any case, this gives some idea of the area which provided the work for which the ploughmen, carters, forkers and the harrower were chiefly employed.⁶⁰

The demesne arable on Penshurst manor was on an altogether different scale. Here a total of over 730 acres were sown with various types of seed-corn over the year. As a Wealden manor lying on cold clay soils, it is possible that there was proportionately rather more land left fallow here than at Newnham. However, there are signs that the lord of Penshurst was actively seeking to cultivate as much land as possible. Wheat for example, was sown upon 18 acres of recently marled land in *Latherame*, which in the last year had been seeded with oats. In the year of the account, oats were sown over 15½ acres in *Bughurst*, 5½ acres in a croft next to *Georgeshat*, 5½ acres in *Clapercroft* and another 12 acres in a field next to *Clapercroft* on the south side of *Georgeshat*, all in the Northpark and all newly ploughed that year, together with another 5¼ acres which had only recently been assarted.⁶¹ Thus the demesne arable on this manor was probably between four and five times the size of that at Newnham, and so needed the services of five times as many ploughmen.

The area of the arable land cultivated by the *famulus* listed on the account of the

58. 64½a. with wheat, 7a. with barley, 27a. beans, 18½a. vetch and 61a. oats.

59. The practice of cropping more intensively than this seems to have been prevalent throughout the non-Wealden areas of the south-eastern shires. P.F.Brandon, 'Farming Techniques: South-Eastern England', in H.E.Hallam, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales ii, 1042-1350* (Cambridge, 1988), p.318.

60. They might of course have been employed upon other duties when they were not actually required to perform those tasks which were their specialisms. J.E.Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, i (Oxford, 1866), p.261; N.R.Goose, 'Wage Labour on a Kentish Manor: Meopham 1307-75', *Arch. Cant.* 92 (1976), p.207.

61. CKS U1475 M62, mm.1v.,2v.

serjeant of Cobham manor is yet more problematic. We have seen that whereas the extent of 1300 gives the demesne arable as 360½ acres, the account of ten years previously suggests that as much as 680 acres may have been sown with the various grains.⁶² This conclusion is now reinforced by the fact that the number of demesne ploughs averaged nine over the year. At a rough estimate then, for every eighty or ninety acres of demesne arable, an extra full-time ploughman was required. The number of carters, harrowers and other men to work upon the corn-fields increased in a similar fashion.

So much is perhaps commonsense, but what about the number of men required to look after the lord's animals? Newnham and Penshurst each employed just one full-time shepherd and one pigman. The Cobham *famulus* included a shepherd and a man who was shepherd of ewes as well as keeper of the pigs. It does not follow, however, that the flocks of sheep or the herds of pigs were much the same size on all three manors. Given the additions from births and purchases, and the deletions due to tithes, deaths, deliveries to the kitchens, sales and so on, it is impossible to know the precise number of either type of animal at any time except the opening and ending of the account. Nevertheless, upper and lower bounds can be calculated.

The stock account of Newnham manor lists the sheep flock at the start of the year as 98 animals, to which 56 were added in receipt from John Pippe and another 100 from the abbot of Boxley. A further 23 were received from John Pippe after shearing. After deductions, including 44 delivered to the abbot, 31 deaths due to murrain and 20 animals sold, the flock at the end of the year stood at 142.⁶³ Thus the minimum size of the flock during the year was probably around 90 and the most it might have reached was 267 head.

The flock at Penshurst manor was somewhat larger. Here there were 10 rams at the

62. Above, pp.159.

63. The total entered in the account is 92, but this appears to be a scribal error.

start of the year, of which one died and 6 were delivered to the lord's larder. Fifteen elderly sheep (*cronatus*) were also taken to the larder. The number of ewes at the start of the year was 217, to which were added the 24 maiden ewes of the previous year. Eighteen of these died and 126 were delivered to the larder. One hundred and five of the previous year's lambs remained, of which 32 died and 30 went to the larder. Finally, the breeding ewes of this year managed to produce 80 young.⁶⁴ Of these, 23 went in tithes, in deaths and in delivery to the household. Thus, the minimum size of this flock was probably around 350, and the maximum that it could have stood at was 451.

The composition of the Cobham sheep flock has already been discussed.⁶⁵ At the opening of the account there were 444 animals, a number which was increased by the births of 90 lambs and the purchase of 280 animals. After the various deductions are taken into account, the minimum size of this flock cannot have been lower than 694.⁶⁶ The maximum number of animals that the lord's flock could possibly have had was something over 800.

Yet, despite the fact that the Cobham estate was home to a sheep flock some seven or eight times bigger than that at Newnham, the number of shepherds was by no means in the same proportion. This is not to say that one or two men could handle any number of sheep all the year round. At the critical times of lambing and shearing extra help was drafted in for a few days or weeks, but in terms of the full-time *famulus*, demesne flocks and herds up to a large size required just the minimum number of keepers.

If shepherds were expected to look after such diverse sizes of flock, might we not

64. There were said to be no more because 19 of the ewes were infertile.

65. Above, pp.160-161.

66. This is based upon the fact that the purchases of 2 rams and 273 wethers were made before shearing, whilst a number of the deaths were said to have taken place after shearing. The lambs were likewise born before shearing-time.

expect to see differential patterns of pay? In fact, for each specialist member of the *famulus*, the rates appear to be much the same on all manors, although there was some variation. In all cases pay was in the form of a combination of a cash stipend and a grain livery. The grain livery to all members of the *famulus* at Newnham in 1334/5 was in the form of mixed corn. Around 39% of this mixed corn came from the mill, and the precise composition is thus unknown. However, of the remainder the majority (32%) was barley, with peas (16%), wheat (7%), rye (3%) and vetch (2%) making up the rest. It is not clear whether the individual liveries to the demesne workers contained all the different types of grain, or whether the better quality grains went to the more important labourers.

At Penshurst the parkers and the reaper were paid in wheat, whereas the rest of the *famulus* received a mixture composed of the multure of the mill (9%), barley (40%), rye (35%), beans (8%), wheat (5%), peas (2%) and vetch (2%). On the manor of Cobham, the remuneration received by the manorial sergeant is unclear, but the rest of the *famulus*, including carters, ploughmen, gardener, herdsman and so forth, were all given mixed corn, of which a large part came from the mills (45%). The rest was composed of spring barley (51%), and a mixture of rye and winter barley (4%). Thus the composition of the grain liveries seems to have varied little from manor to manor.

What about the quantities? Here there was variation which perhaps reflect the amount of work that the different members of the *famulus* were expected to do. The individual ploughmen and carters, who as we have seen were employed to do more or less the same amount of work on each of the three manors, were paid at the rate of a quarter of grain every eight weeks according to all three accounts. However, the shepherds received differing quantities. At Newnham, the shepherd received one quarter of grain every ten weeks, while at both Penshurst and Cobham, the rate for the full time shepherds was a quarter of grain every eight weeks. The position is clearest on the

Cobham estate, where for keeping 200 sheep on the marshes for 14½ weeks from August to November, a shepherd was paid at this rate of one quarter per eight weeks,⁶⁷ while a keeper of 58 lambs in separation from the ewes for 16 weeks was paid at just half this rate, receiving one quarter.

The food liveries were the more valuable part of the pay of the *famulus*, but the cash payments were not insignificant and these tell a similar story. The ploughmen and carters were more or less equally rewarded for their efforts on all three manors. At Newnham the ploughmen were paid 6s.8d. for the year, while the carters received 6s.11d. At Penshurst the pay was 7s. for both types of worker. At Cobham each received 7s.6d. Once again, there was rather more variation in the pay of the stock keepers. The total cash stipend of the shepherd on the manor of Newnham is unclear. The account lists the cash stipends in three sections, for the seasons of autumn (lasting from mid-summer to Michaelmas), winter (Michaelmas to Easter) and the period between Easter and mid-summer. The sixteenth century copyist of the account left out some details of the stipends for the last of these periods. However, we know that the shepherd was paid 3s. for the autumn and 20d. for the winter. That is, in the autumn he was paid at the rate of around 3½d. per week and in the winter this fell to rather less than 1d. per week,⁶⁸ If he was paid at this low rate for the remaining fourteen weeks of the year, then his total cash stipend for the year was around 5s.6d.⁶⁹ On the manor of Penshurst, the cash stipend of the shepherd was 7s. Finally, at Cobham manor, the shepherd-cum-pigman was paid 8s. for the year.

Of course, it must be remembered that the situation on each of these three manors is

67. He received 1q.6½b. for keeping sheep for 8 weeks from 29 September to 25 November 1290 and for a further 6 weeks and 3 days from 15 August to 29 September 1291.

68. The autumn season lasted approximately 10 weeks and the winter season 28 weeks.

69. The recorded totals of the stipends in each of the three periods suggest that this is not far from the truth. For the 28 weeks of winter the total paid out was 24s.8d., whilst for the 14 weeks from Easter to mid-summer it was 9s.6d.

illustrated by just one account and that each dates from a different year,⁷⁰ Rates of pay in either cash or grain were not static, and so it may be that the figures derived have as much or more to do with such fluctuations over time as differences between demesnes of different sizes. Nevertheless, the facts do display a logic which relates the rate of pay to the amount of work expected of an individual member of the *famulus*. It is also true to say that while rates varied over time, such variation was small in comparison to the differences observed here.

In summary, while the small lay estates of just one or two manors had proportionately more of the land of the manor in demesne, in absolute terms the area of the lord's own land was still smaller than that of his wealthier neighbours. Much of the work upon a demesne of less than a hundred acres or so could probably be done without the need for more than one or two full-time paid labourers. The rest of the work, including seasonal harvest tasks could be undertaken by the lord's family themselves. The lay lords of middling and large estates, that is those lords with at least three or four manors, some of which were valued at £8 or more, must have relied upon paid labourers. For these estates, most of the work on most of the manors was done by full and part time members of the *famulus*, supplemented by paid casual workers. This was not simply because of commutation of the tenants' obligation to perform labour services, but because on manors with small demesnes and those which had been formed since the time of Domesday Book, such services had never been imposed in any significant way.

The profits of the manor courts

Aside from the rentier aspect of the relationship between the lord and his tenants, there was also a seignorial aspect. The manor court was the place where the

70. N.R.Goose, 'Wage Labour on a Kentish Manor: Meopham 1307-75', *Arch. Cant.* 92 (1976), pp.208-15.

lord-peasant relationship was emphasised. This was the reason that one of the first things which Ralph de Normanville did after becoming lord of the manor of Kenardington on the death of his brother Thomas was to hold a court in order that he could receive the fealty of his tenants.⁷¹ Attendance at the manorial court, theoretically held once every three weeks, was obligatory for the holders of land in the manor, although not everyone necessarily had to attend all sessions. Yet the manorial court in Kent had less of a role in the lives of the tenants than it did in more highly manorialised shires. The accepted custom of Kent held, for example, that Kentish born men were tenurially and personally free and so were able to leave their lands without hindrance as well as being entitled to take their disputes to the king's court.⁷² Nevertheless, gavelkind tenure was not truly quite as strong as was so-called free tenure elsewhere. Professor Neilson has played down the traditional view that 'there is no villeinage in Kent', recognising that certain facets of villein tenure elsewhere did on occasion prevail in Kent. For example on the bishop of Rochester's manor of Southfleet the tenants theoretically required the lord's permission to marry their daughters to men from outside the vill.⁷³ At Sundridge too, a rental of around 1258 states that no tenant, unless he held by charter, was able to marry his daughter without the licence of the lord, although the cost of obtaining that licence was limited to no more than two shillings.⁷⁴ Thus the distinction between villeinage and free tenure in the manorialised shires of England is replaced in Kentish terms by a distinction between gavelkind and free. Despite the real legal freedoms attached to gavelkind which were made explicit in the Customal of Kent, the manorial court was a franchise of positive potential benefit to the lord.

71. *CIPM*, ii, No.479; PRO C133 File 35(6).

72. *VCH*, iii, pp.325-6.

73. N.Neilson, 'Custom and the Common Law in Kent', *Harvard Law Review*, 38 (1924-5), pp.497-8.

74. W.Knocker, 'The Evolution of the Holmesdale. No.3 The manor of Sundrish', *Arch. Cant.* 44 (1932), p.195.

The court was primarily a means of controlling the affairs of the manor, of monitoring the passing of lands from one man to another and of ensuring that the dues payable on such transfers were paid. The court was the also the forum for answering questions concerning the customs of the manor, which invariably related to how much the lord was entitled to claim. In all these things the right of the lord to levy payment was at the heart of the matter, and so the court was itself a source of revenue.

The IPMs permit an analysis of this aspect of the lord's income, and to this we now turn. Not all extents include a court element in the manorial revenue. For example, there is no mention of a court at the east Kent manor of Knowlton in the extent of 1330 accompanying the IPM of the lord of the manor, Thomas Perot. Yet we know that this court existed, because the records of its sittings are extant.⁷⁵ However, many manorial extents do include a valuation of the pleas and perquisites of courts and tabulating these details gives frequencies which are summarised in Table 5.2. It comes as no surprise to find that the valuations of the profits of the manorial court according to the IPMs correlate strongly with the size of the tenant population, as measured by the assized rent roll. The jurors giving evidence to the inquisition after the death of Giles de Badlesmere in 1338 summed up the position on the manor of Badlesmere by saying that the perquisites of the court were worth no more than 2s. yearly because there were then just thirteen tenants in the manor.⁷⁶ Even lords so locally powerful as the Badlesmere family could not make his manorial court yield more by cajoling a few tenants into making use of it.

The correlation is clearly visible in Table 5.2, with courts becoming progressively

75. *CIPM*, vii, No.293; PRO C135 File 22(7). The court rolls of Knowlton have been edited and printed. I.J.Churchill, ed., *East Kent Records - A calendar of some unpublished deeds and court rolls in the library of Lambeth Palace*, Kent Records, 7 (1922).

76. *CIPM*, viii, No.185; PRO C135 File 56, m.32.

more valuable to the lord as the tenant rent total increases.⁷⁷ Some manors with a large rent total are still credited with a court that was worth only a shilling or two, but generally speaking the courts that achieved the highest average annual incomes were those with the largest rent totals and hence the greatest numbers of tenants. It is important to emphasise here that it is only the valuations of the manorial courts that have been used. Several of the larger manors, owned by the more wealthy lords had attached to them various franchises. Most often this was the right to hold the view of frankpledge, together with the maintenance of the assizes of bread and ale and a theoretical right to gallows, all rights which later in the fourteenth century would come to be included under the heading of the court leet.⁷⁸ Some lords also held hundred courts and these two franchisal jurisdictions were generally more valuable than the ordinary manorial court baron.

So what was the basis for these valuations? To answer this we need to look at the actual record of the courts, and again we feel the general lack of series of documents for these lay estates. Nevertheless, there is one small lay estate in Kent for which a

77. The figures of Table 5.2 in fact present the case in its worst light, since many manors were extended two or three times over the hundred years prior to the Black Death, and some underwent division between surveys. Accordingly the valuations alter. From the resulting sets of assized rent totals, the largest have been taken, since these correspond to the state of the tenant populations before any division, and thus are more likely to represent the situation upon complete manors. In order to present a worst case scenario, the lowest of each set of court valuations has been tabulated. Thus the correlation is probably somewhat better than the table indicates. The product-moment correlation coefficient is 0.88, which on a sample size of 128 is significant at beyond the 0.001% level, using a two-tail test. That is, if there were no connection between the random variables of court value and tenant rent total, such a pattern as appears in the table would be expected to occur with a probability of less than one hundred thousandth. However, such an apparently powerful result is due mainly to the large number of manors falling in the first two cells of the left hand column of the table. Thus the statistical evidence for correlation is not so strong, but is nevertheless present.

78. P.D.A. Harvey, *Manorial Records*, (British Records Association, 1984), p.46. Even if it was not to be so called on court rolls until a later date, the view of frankpledge was apparently known by this name in the early fourteenth century. In 1338 Giles de Badlesmere had two leets (*lata*) held at Hocktide and Michaelmas each year on his manor of Chatham and two at Chilham held at Easter and Michaelmas. *CIPM*, viii, No.185; PRO C135 File 85, mm.31,33.

Table 5.2. A frequency table of the value of a manorial court plotted against the assized rent total as given by inquisition extents.

Assized rent total (s.):	Court value (d.):						
	0-24	25-48	49-96	97-144	145-192	193-240	241-
0-40	31	4	2	-	-	-	-
41-80	23	-	2	2	1	-	-
81-120	6	3	2	1	-	-	-
121-160	6	4	3	2	-	1	-
161-200	3	-	1	-	2	1	-
201-300	1	2	2	1	1	1	-
301-400	2	1	5	2	-	2	-
401-500	2	1	3	-	1	1	1
501-	1	1	-	-	-	-	3

reasonable view of the workings of the manorial court can be obtained from a series of court rolls, and this will serve as an illustration. Twenty sittings of the court of 'Thomas Frommonds' between 1294/5 and 1353 survive as a collection of rolls.⁷⁹ Fromonds court was a manor held by the service of one fifth of a knight's fee, located in the parish of Hadlow, close to Tonbridge. Its suitors probably numbered no more than thirty in the first half of the fourteenth century, and its assized rents in 1433 apparently totalled only £1 4s.⁸⁰

The lord of Fromonds did not have any claim to a court leet and so the matters dealt with arose purely from his right to hold a manorial court for his tenants.⁸¹ With that proviso, the actual entries could come from almost any manorial court of the period.

79. CKS U55 M360. The membranes of the rolls are now separated and filed flat. They have recently been microfilmed and are to be found on Films 1226-1227. A description of the rolls, including evidence for the degree of continuity of the record is given as Appendix 5.2 to this thesis.

80. See Appendix 5.2 for this estimate of the number of suitors. The rent total is given on CKS U55 M360, m.24.

81. P.D.A.Harvey, *Manorial Records* (British Records Association, 1984), p.45.

First come the essoins, of which the number typically ranged from two to six.⁸² The main business of every court was the receiving of fealty and suit that was due for entry to any land whether bought or inherited, the payment of relief and of heriot where it was applicable. The purpose of keeping the rolls was so that the lord knew who held what lands and what services were due for them.⁸³ The other matters heard tended to reflect this same concern of the lord to ensure he received his just entitlements.

Table 5.3 shows the nature of the various matters that reached conclusion in the court during each of the three sequences prior to 1349. Many of these cases had dragged on over several sessions of the court. For example, an inter-tenant case brought by John Clerk of Goldhill against Thomas Gerin was dismissed in the fourth court of which we have record. It had been initiated at least a year before, for in each of the three preceding courts Thomas Gerin had essoined himself. In the event the case was dismissed because when Thomas did come to court John failed to do so.⁸⁴ This case also accounts for the one of the amercements of pledges during the period 1294-7, for Gilbert Kempe and Philip Suelgar had stood surety for John Clerk. Another case which dragged on for years concerned a rent of one pound of wax which the lord claimed was owed to him. This matter is referred to in the court of 23 September 1342, but may have originated before this. Even so it was not until 1348/9, after many attempts by the lord to get together a jury to enquire into the matter, that an answer was forthcoming. The case was referred to a jury on 23 January 1346 and

82. There are some courts for which no essoins are listed, but it is not clear whether there were in fact none. CKS U55 M360 m.2d. (3 Aug 1340), first court of Nicholas Fromond; m.4 (6 July 1349) and m.4d.(1349/50), first two courts after the death of Nicholas; m.6 (18 Oct 1351), first court of Richard atte Wealde.

83. I.J.Churchill, ed., *East Kent Records - A calendar of some unpublished deeds and court rolls in the library of Lambeth Palace*, Kent Records, 7 (1922), p.xxxii.

84. CKS U55 M360, m.1d.

Table 5.3. The various nature of matters reaching a conclusion in the manor court of Fromonds.⁸⁵

	1294-7 (6 courts)	1340-42 (3 courts)	1346 (3 courts)
Fealty, relief, suit etc. connected to admission, inc. heriot:	6	12	7
Amerced as a pledge or mainpernor:	2		3
Amerced for personal non-attendance or default:	2		2
Beadle amerced:	2	2	
Enquiry concluded:	1	1	1
Tenement taken into the lord's hands:	2	1	
Inter-tenant case concluded:	2		1
Miscellaneous:	1		

at the next court, in July, the jurors were given a day at the next court to give their judgement. At that next court, on 9 October, Giles atte Welle, one of the chosen jury, failed to attend and an order was made to distrain him to come to the next session, which apparently took place on 15 January 1349. Presumably Giles turned up, but Gilbert Fisher and Hugh Simon did not. From an interlineated note to the effect that his pledge was amerced, it looks as though Gilbert did not attend the next court either, but at last the lord was able to get his answer, which seems to have been that Hugh Simon was liable for the rent. Even now the matter was not yet completely closed, for Hugh had to be distrained to attend the next court to show his charter and to make payment. However, we hear no more of it.⁸⁶

Table 5.3 records only the matters actually reaching the end of the court process.

85. Source: CKS U55 M360.

86. CKS U55 M360, mm.2, 3A, 3B-3Bd.

However, a large part of the court's time, to judge from the brief details available on the rolls, was taken up with making orders of distraint in attempts to force persons to attend in order to carry their cases forward. Table 5.4 shows, in a similar way to Table 5.3, the balance of the various reasons given for distraint. Once again we see that matters connected with entry to lands upon purchase or inheritance predominate.

Table 5.4. The reasons for distraints taken against persons to appear at the court of Fromonds Manor.⁸⁷

	1294-7 (6 courts)	1340-42 (3 courts)	1346 (3 courts)
Fealty, relief etc. in arrears:	16	6	46
To show a charter:			2
Unpaid rent:	2	2	
Default of court:	1		6
To answer a specific charge of the lord:	4		
To answer against another tenant:		1	
Other reasons:	3		3

Frequently men and women had to have this sanction taken against them for several successive courts before they finally appeared. In these situations, the distraint has been counted in the table once only, and so the figures may present an unbiased picture of the range of business being carried over from one court to another. Because of gaps in the record, it is impossible to say what was the average number of distraints before a case could be completed, but most were probably not so prolonged as the example of John Clolbe. He was first attached to attend the court of 23 January 1346 to answer for many defaults. When he did not respond to that call, his pledges were

87. Source: CKS U55 M360.

amerced and he was distrained to appear at the next sitting. There followed a series of absences during which John was either essoined or distrained until finally on 15 January 1349 he appeared and, as well as performing fealty and paying relief for some land purchased from his brother, he made amends for his default by being amerced 3d.⁸⁸

On some tenants the lord's efforts may have been completely wasted, but comparison of the figures in the two tables indicates that he had some measure of success in bringing his tenants into his court and in using it to safeguard his rights. Overall, although the fragmented nature of the record does not allow us to see the full continuity of the situation, it does seem that persistent non-attenders were the exception rather than the rule.

The actual income generated by the Fromond court is difficult to gauge. Where it is stated that a tenant paid relief for some land, the amount is often not given and the marginal notes added after the main record was written are often faint and illegible. However, the total is given for one court which, from the volume of business, looks fairly typical. This was the court of 3 August 1340 which realised 7½d., made up of two reliefs.

Court income was boosted by occasional fortuitous windfalls, at least so far as the lord was concerned. In October 1346 John Schrop and William Chamberleyn paid 12d. for licence to end the case between them by concord, and in the same court several amercements were imposed, bringing the total to at least 2s.5½d. Heriots were clearly valuable, though they were apparently not always owed. Among a long list of heirs distrained in July 1349, only the heirs of Gilbert Fisher were stated to owe fealty, relief, heriot and suit of court. John Davy senior was distrained for fealty, relief and heriot following the death of John his father. Thirteen other sets of unnamed

88. There is no record of any courts held between October 1346 and January 1349, at which time Clolbe attended.

heirs, who may be assumed to have been relations of recently deceased tenants, owed various combinations of fealty, relief and suit, but no heriot, and this number may be boosted by other named persons.

Thus on the Fromond manor a typical court before the Black Death was worth somewhere in the region of 12d. to 18d. to the lord, amounting to a yearly total of perhaps 3s. It was a court which the tenants used to sort out their own personal differences only rarely, but from the lord's point of view it was a successful means of keeping tabs on the holders of the land within his manor. Some tenants had to be bullied certainly, but almost nobody appears to have treated the institution of the court with complete contempt.

Conclusions

Tenant rents formed an important element of the income of lay estates from single tenements upwards. They can be seen to be of higher significance on larger manors and more geographically scattered estates than on smaller manors and more localised estates, but even on the tiny estate of Philip the cook, held by the service of a sixteenth of a knight's fee, rents could contribute 14% to the total valuation of what amounted to little more than a peasant holding. The actual number of tenants who paid rent directly to the lord was often very small. On manors whose total extent valuation was no more than £8 per year, the tenant body rarely amounted to as many as twenty households. Only the lords of the larger estates, with over four or five manors, of whom there were perhaps twenty or so in Kent, could rely upon the rent of over a hundred tenant holdings in total. This has a bearing upon the additional income that the lord could expect to be generated by his tenants. Heriot, relief, entry fines and other incidents of a change of tenant could boost the income significantly, but if only a small number of tenancies existed, then years might go past without any such changes

occurring. A larger tenant body ensured that while there was fluctuation from year to year, statistically the lord could expect a more regular income from this source. Furthermore, times of hardship such as the agrarian crisis of 1315-22 meant that the number of deaths and sales rose, again producing differential benefits for lords of estates of various sizes.

The size of the tenant body also has a bearing upon the availability and cost of labour that the manorial managers needed to cultivate the lord's demesnes. No manorial tenants in Kent owed particularly onerous labour services. For the most part, such dues were in the form of an acre or two of ploughing, a few days work in the autumn at harvest time and some carrying services. Thus all lords needed to rely heavily upon paid demesne labour. In general, lords of small manors were forced to pay the going rate for the labour on their lands proportionately more than were their wealthier neighbours. The small manors, with values below £8, tended to be of post Domesday formation and, by the late thirteenth century at any rate, such manors had comparatively light tenant services, if any at all. Furthermore, if the lord chose to raise grain crops and also to keep animal herds, then the specialists that he needed to employ included both ploughmen and stock-keepers. Since flocks and herds of a wide range of sizes required only the minimum number of keepers, the owner of a large number of animals was in a position to benefit from economies of scale. The rates of pay varied according to the number of animals under the care of each keeper, but not sufficiently to offset the tendency for pastoral farming to be more expensive on the small manor than upon the large one.

The third source of income that the tenants brought to the lord lay in his right to hold a manorial court. Here again, the monetary value was directly related to the number of tenants, but even so courts were generally not significant generators of income. The proportion of manorial courts with a valuation above 12s. was only some

12%. Nevertheless, they were important in that the real significance of the courts was the mechanism which they gave the lord for maintaining a record of the tenants of land within his estate.

Chapter 6

Deriving income from the community - mills and markets.

In the last two chapters we have seen that the opportunities for the holders of Kentish estates to maintain a high and regular cash income from demesne lands and from their men and tenants were limited. However, as well as being manorial seigniors these lords were also leading members of communities, a situation which was encouraged by their identification with their own particular locality. This chapter examines two ways in which some lords were able to derive further income from this community, by providing facilities which, while ostensibly attached to a manor, were available for use by persons other than the manorial tenants. Fees could be variously charged for the privilege of using these facilities. Also significant is the extent to which the lord's social position within the community was reinforced by his personal involvement with these ventures. The chapter concentrates upon the expenditure and the return that might be expected from just two forms of such local investment, the manorial mill and the village market.

Mills

By the thirteenth century, corn-milling was already an old-established technology. Two Roman watermill sites have recently been discovered at Ickham in east Kent.¹ The late eleventh century enquiries of the Domesday commissioners revealed the presence then of around 350 mills, associated with 137 manors.² Before proceeding to examine the costs and benefits to the lord of placing mills upon his manors, it will be useful to describe briefly the distribution of these ancient mill sites. The reason for this

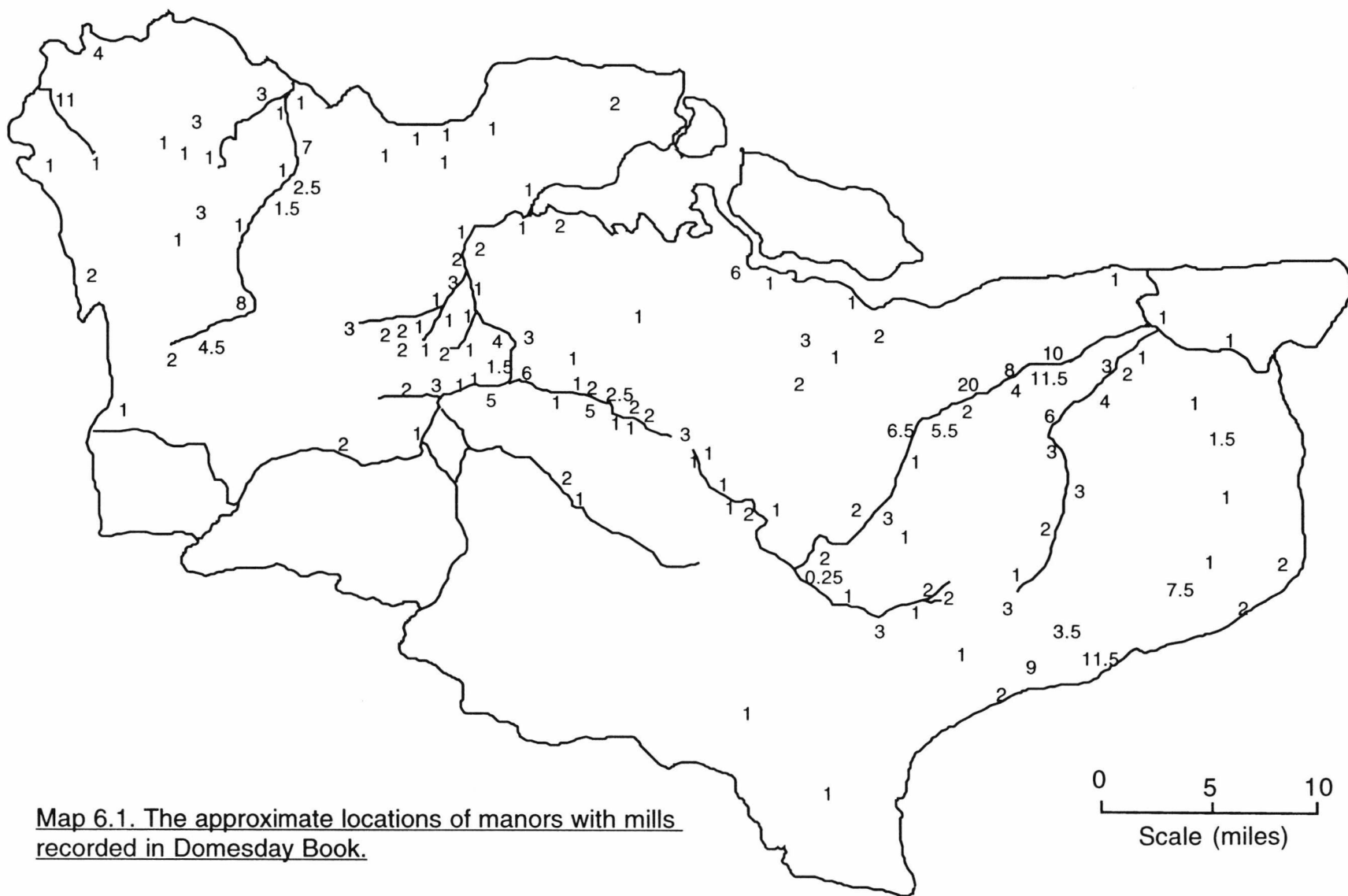
1. M.J.Fuller and R.J.Spain, *Watermills (Kent and the Borders of Sussex)*, Kent Archaeological Society (Maidstone, 1986), pp.1-2.

2. The details are given in W.Coles Finch, *Watermills and Windmills. A Historical survey of their rise, decline and fall as portrayed by those of Kent* (London, 1933), pp.29-31.

is that there are reasons for supposing that three centuries later the total number of watermills was not much changed. Thus it was only with the advent of wind-driven mills that the smaller lay lords, whose manors in any case often lay upon the uplands away from convenient streams, were in a position to erect milling machinery and enhance their income. The power of the machinery and the output of individual mills may of course have increased, and the use of the singular word mill may refer to a building housing several independent units, in the records of either the eleventh or the thirteenth centuries. Nevertheless, outside of the Weald at any rate, most of the sites suitable for water-powered milling appear to have been already in use long before 1250.

The approximate locations of the Domesday manors which had mills associated with them are plotted on Map 6.1. Those few mills which were apparently at some distance from suitable water power may have been beast-driven, but this was a slow and unproductive technology and certainly the majority of mills were tide or stream driven. Apart from the numerous small rivers of the Weald, it is clear that all the major watercourses of the county and many of the minor ones already had mills upon them by the end of the eleventh century. In several instances it is possible to see these same manors in the IPM record and when a comparison is made between the situation in 1086 and that of two hundred years or more later, it can be seen that where a mill had existed in the eleventh century water was still the preferred source of power. Conversely, where a mill had only been erected after 1086 it was more often than not wind driven. This correlation is plain from the figures of Table 6.1 which shows the types of mill on manors described both in Domesday Book and in an IPM.

The table gives the numbers of manors rather than the numbers of mills on those manors, but when individual cases are considered more closely further evidence emerges of the similarity between the numbers of watermills in the eleventh century



Map 6.1. The approximate locations of manors with mills recorded in Domesday Book.

The rivers and streams are based upon those shown on the maps of the Ordnance Survey. The figures refer to the number of mills associated with each manor in Domesday Book. *VCH* iii, pp 203-269.

Table 6.1. Mills on manors which appear both in Domesday Book and in IPM extents of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century.

	Type of mill in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries:		
	Watermill	Windmill	Other
On manors which had mills in DB:	31	7	6 ³
On manors which had no mill in DB:	6	21	1 ⁴

and in the thirteenth. The large manor of Folkestone, whose lord in 1086 was the Norman knight William of Arques, provides a particularly clear example. Domesday Book records the existence of a total of 11½ mills, of which seven were associated with the demesne manor held by William himself. The others were on the sub-manors of three of the ten named tenants.⁵ By the middle of the thirteenth century, when Hamo de Crevequer was lord of Folkestone, the number of mills in the his manor appears to have changed very little. Hamo's IPM, taken in 1263, contains valuations of three very poor (*valde debilia*) watermills at Folkestone itself, another two water-mills at the hamlet of Alkham, four miles to the north west and a windmill at Tirlington, just to the north of Folkestone. Hamo had fourteen tenants by knights' service, holding a total of 14⅓ knights' fees, which presumably included the sub-manors of Domesday.⁶

The same pattern of consistency between eleventh and thirteenth century numbers

3. Most of these were of unspecified type but included are the mills of Boughton Aluph and Thornham manors on each of which there was both a windmill and a watermill.

4. This was the manor of Eastwell, on which there was both a windmill and a watermill.

5. DB, i, 9c.

6. *CIPM*, i, No 563; PRO C132 File 29(1), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.* 3 (1860), pp.255-9.

can be seen on the manors of Hadlow and Yalding, on the fringes of the Weald. In Hadlow in 1086 Richard of Tonbridge had two mills⁷ and according to the IPM of Gilbert de Clare, taken in 1296 there were still just two watermills at that date.⁸ Yalding was a part of the same estate with two mills at the time of Domesday.⁹ By the middle of the thirteenth century there were said to be three mills associated with the manor.¹⁰ However, Gilbert's IPM of 1296 mentions only two watermills and makes it clear that one of these was located at the nearby hamlet of Brenchley. The later IPMs of Gilbert's wife Joan and their son Gilbert confirm this fact. It is possible that for a time there were indeed three mills and that perhaps one of those at Yalding was allowed to fall into disuse to be superseded by the mill at Brenchley.

On other estates of other local knights there is a similarity between numbers of watermills in the late eleventh and in the early fourteenth. Of the five manors which made up John de Cobham's estate on his death, in 1300, four figure in the Domesday record. These were Beckley, West Chalk, Aldington and Cooling manors. Beckley and Chalk were held in 1086 by a Norman, named Adam, and each had a mill associated with it.¹¹ In 1300, in his manor of Beckley, John de Cobham had a watermill and he had another at West Chalk manor.¹² The Domesday manor of Chalk had been split into two by the thirteenth century, with East Chalk being held by the family of de Burgh who granted it to Bermondsey priory and West Chalk being first leased and later granted by the Neville family to the Cobhams.¹³ It is possible therefore that other watermills besides John de Cobham's had been built at Chalk and that these were associated with the manor of East Chalk. However, the situation on John's manor of

7. DB, i, 7d.

8. *CIPM*, iii, No.371; PRO C133 File 77(3), m.B4.

9. DB, i, 14b.

10. *CIPM*, i, No.530; PRO C132 File 27(5), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.* 4 (1861), p.313.

11. DB, i, 8d and 9a.

12. *CIPM*, iii, No.602; PRO C133 File 94(8).

13. Hasted, iii, pp.458-9.

Aldington, in the parish of Thurnham to the east of Maidstone, suggests this may not have been so. In 1086 this manor was held by Ansgot of Rochester who had a mill there.¹⁴ Aldington had been held as two distinct manors before the Conquest¹⁵ and by the thirteenth century it was again separated, with the Cobham and Septvans families each being lord of a manor called Aldington. On his manor, in 1300, John de Cobham had a watermill.¹⁶ The Septvans manor of Aldington did not have a mill associated with it in any of the three complete IPM extents of prior to 1350.¹⁷

On the other hand, it would be a mistake to suppose that no new watermills had been built between the eleventh century and the fourteenth, or that any new mills were only constructed to replace old ones. In 1300 Cobham's manor of Cooling had three mills, one of which was water driven. In 1086, when this manor was probably held by the same Adam who held Beckley and Chalk, Domesday Book made no mention of a mill on this property.¹⁸ Adam held 1½ sulungs at Cooling and another 1½ sulungs were held of Bishop Odo by another Norman named Odo.¹⁹ According to Domesday Book this holding also did not include a mill, so it seems likely that the late thirteenth century one did indeed not have an eleventh century antecedent.

It would also be mistaken to suppose that milling technology had not developed since the time of Domesday. The later watermills may well have been more productive than the eleventh century ones, so that any increased demand for corn milling could be catered for by this increased capacity without the need to build new structures.

14. DB, i, 7d.

15. Respectively held of the king by Godwin and Alwin; DB, i, 7d.

16. *CIPM*, iii, No.602; PRO C133 File 94(8).

17. IPMs of: Robert de Sevanz (1248/8), *CIPM*, i, No. 158; PRO C132 File 8(15), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.* 2 (1859), p.297; Robert de Septem Vannis (1306), *CIPM*, iv, No.349; PRO C133 File 121(9); William de Septem Vannis (1322), *CIPM*, vi, No.414; PRO C134 File 76(3). Of the fourth IPM extent, of Robert de Sevanz (1252/3) only a fragment survives: *CIPM*, i, No.265; PRO C132 File 13(20), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.* 2 (1859), p.311.

18. DB, i, 9a.

19. DB, i, 9a.

Medieval mills invariably turned only one set of stones²⁰ and so multiple mills under one roof, which has been suggested as a possible development would actually be recorded as a number of single mills. Another development which has been hypothesised was a change from an engine driven by a horizontal water-wheel to one with a vertical wheel. The former were smaller and simpler and may have been the more prevalent in 1086, but this is by no means clear. Certainly by the thirteenth century the mill with the more familiar vertical wheel was the dominant type.²¹

Such an increase in the power of watermills was perhaps necessary since, as Map 6.1 and the figures of Table 6.1 emphasise, the available water power in the county was already being well used in the late eleventh century. The streams outside the Weald already had as many watermills on them as they would ever have. For example, a tiny and nameless tributary of the Medway that runs through the village of East Malling apparently already had four mills upon it in 1086, two in the manor of Malling, one in Ditton and the fourth a little further downstream, in the manor of Siffleton. There were still just two mills in East Malling in 1363, when the Abbess of West Malling, who was titular lord of the manor, stipulated that the tithes due should remain to her, though the perpetual vicar had some other rights in the mills.²²

Furthermore, as at Malling, many of these prime riverine milling sites were on the long-established manors of the ecclesiastical and lay aristocracy. The smaller knight often did not have free access to such a valuable resource, his endowment being

20. R.Holt, *The Mills of Medieval England* (Oxford, 1988), p.131, hereinafter referred to as Holt, *Mills*.

21. J.Langdon, 'Water-mills and windmills in the west midlands, 1086-1500', *Econ.Hist.Rev.*, 2nd ser., vol. 44, no. 3 (1991), p.433.

22. M.J.Fuller, *The Watermills of the East Malling and Wateringbury Streams* (Maidstone, 1980), p.6. By the mid-nineteenth century there were four mills in the village, of which only one was a corn-mill. The other three were producing paper, though it is not at all clear that all were operating at the same time. Almost certainly one was closed soon after they all came under single ownership. *Ibid.*, pp.12 and 30-1.

located on the periphery of the parent manor.²³ For these lesser lords the opportunity seriously to invest in milling as an industrial activity came only with the advent to England of the windmill in the late twelfth century. It is apparent that it was these lay lords who were at the forefront of the new developments. One of the earliest recorded windmills in England was one built at Monkton on the Isle of Thanet in the closing years of the twelfth century by William of Wade. The manor of Monkton was the property of the priory of Christchurch, who objected to this threat to their lordship and, after a certain amount of legal wrangling, managed to have it destroyed.²⁴

Fostered by this interest from the small lay lords, during the thirteenth century mill-building spread to the manors of the chalk uplands. The evidence is too incomplete to give a good picture of the actual timescale of the development. It is likely that in the early years there was a certain amount of scepticism of the novel technology. Water-powered milling remained a tried and trusted method and sometimes lords seem to have taken some convincing that wind-mills were a viable alternative.²⁵ Nevertheless, windmills were generally cheaper to build than watermills, although this cost differential might be offset by the more unpredictable nature of the power source, and by the fact that windmills generally did not have the same capacity as the watermills. In any case, the lords of many small estates did not have the option and, once started, windmill building continued into the early years of the fourteenth century.

The extents of the Kentish manors given in the IPMs before 1348 reveal the

23. See for example E.J.Andrews, *Land, Family and Community in Wingham and its Environs: An Economic and Social History of Rural Society in East Kent from c.1450-1640* (unpublished UKC PhD thesis, 1991), pp.35-47.

24. E.J.Kealey, *Harvesting the Air. Windmill Pioneers in Twelfth-Century England* (California, 1987), pp.223-5. See also *Kent Feet of Fines*, p.cxxv.

25. For example, Henry of Eastry, the prior of Christchurch, spent over £200 on the construction of a tide-mill at Lydden in Thanet after an old one was destroyed by storms in the 1290s. This initial replacement cost £143 13s. and when this too was damaged by flooding in 1316 it was moved at a further cost of £74 13s.4d. Ten years later it was ruined again and had to be moved once more. M.Mate 'Property Investment by Canterbury Cathedral Priory 1250-1400, *Journal of British Studies* 33 (1984), pp.8-9.

existence of some 135 mills. Eighty-four of these were described as watermills and forty four as windmills. On one manor, that of Otterpole in the parish of Lymnpe in the southeast of the county, a new watermill appears to have been built in the first half of the fourteenth century, against the general trend, to replace a windmill which had been described in 1298 as worthless. In 1342 the watermill was valued at 6s.8d.²⁶ These data support an estimate of about 33% of mills on lay manors of this period being wind-powered, underlining the significance of this relatively new technology to the economies of the lesser lords.²⁷

By the late thirteenth century much of the activity in mill construction may have been aimed at replacing old and worn-out buildings and equipment. If it is the case that entirely new mills were being built in the early fourteenth century, then in Kent this form of investment would have continued for longer than some other areas of the country.²⁸ However, the IPM evidence provides some support for this view that new windmills were still being constructed on the manors of some lay estates until at least the 1320s. The failure of an inquisition jury to mention the existence of a mill does not necessarily mean that there was not one on the manor. Demesne mills might be leased or granted out either temporarily or permanently and thus not be listed in the manorial extent. Or the jury might simply neglect to mention a broken down mill. We know for example, that the manor of Milton by Canterbury, held by the family of Septvans, had a watermill in the mid-thirteenth century, when it was valued at 30s. and that there was a watermill there in 1322, worth 6s.8d. However, in an IPM extent

26. *CIPM*, iii, No.470; PRO C133 File 84(6) and *CIPM*, viii, No.394; PRO C135 File 67(2).

27. This is a significantly higher proportion than the 20-25% that John Langdon has estimated from the IPMs of lay estates in the west midlands. J. Langdon, 'Water-mills and windmills in the west midlands, 1086-1500', *Econ.Hist.Rev.*, 2nd ser., vol.44, no.3 (1991), p.433n.

28. Richard Holt reckons that in the eastern midlands and East Anglia for example, new building had virtually ceased by 1279. Holt, *Mills*, p.32.

of 1306 no mill is listed.²⁹ So we must beware of placing too much emphasis on negative evidence.

Nevertheless, on at least one estate a new mill does seem to have been built between the mid-thirteenth century and the mid-fourteenth. This was the south Kent estate of the Orlestone family, which was described in detail by IPM juries on three occasions. No mill was mentioned in either of the first two IPM extents, of around 1272 and 1283 but the valuation of a mill appears in the return of the third extent, made in 1309.³⁰ Then a windmill on the family's home manor was said to have an annual worth of 20s. It is at least possible that this mill was indeed constructed only towards the very end of the thirteenth century.

If the wind-mills brought such a boost to the economy of the small lay estate, then what figures can we put on the expected rate of return on the lord's investment? The first and largest expense was obviously the cost of actually building the mill and installing its machinery. In line with their consistency of valuations, Richard Holt has estimated that a new windmill cost a fairly regular £10 or so to build.³¹ The erection of a new mill at Mongeham, on the downs above Deal in the east of the county, which was probably a windmill, cost Christchurch priory £13 8s.1d. in 1310-11.³²

Unfortunately, only incomplete details of this sort of expenditure can be seen on manorial accounts from Kentish lay estates. The 1290 account of the serjeant of John

29. IPMs of: Robert de Sevanz (1248/9), *CIPM*, i, No. 158; PRO C132 File 8(15), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.* 2 (1859), p.297; Robert de Sevanz (1252/3), *CIPM*, i, No.265; PRO C132 File 13(20), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.* 2 (1859), p.311; William de Septem Vannis (1322), *CIPM*, vi, No.414; PRO C134 File 76(3);

30. *CIPM*, v, No.145; PRO C134 File 10(14).

31. Holt, *Mills*, p.86. A new windmill at Walton in Suffolk, erected in 1290 to replace a tide-mill which had become too precarious following flooding in a storm of two years earlier, cost around £10 to build. M.Bailey, 'Per impetum maris: natural disaster and economic decline in eastern England, 1275-1350', in B.M.S.Campbell, ed., *Before the Black Death* (Manchester, 1991), p.199.

32. S.Campbell, *Some Aspects of the Social and Economic History of Adisham c.1200 to the Dissolution* (unpublished UKC M.Phil thesis, 1981), p.86.

de Cobham's manor for example, contains some items relating to a new windmill that was being built at *Holme*.³³ A total of a little over £1 was paid out, including the wages of a carpenter who was paid 4d. a day for ten days work in making the building and of a roofer who was required to roof the mill-house, for which he was paid 25d. The total amount spent on labour was 12s.5d. and on materials such as lathes for the sail, nails, pegs, an iron hoop and various cogs and crossbars, was 9s. No large timber was accounted for in this year, either because it was all provided from within the manor, or because it had been laid in previously. More significantly, there is no record of money having been spent on the purchase of a mill-stone, although two stones were hooped, milled and laid at a cost of 5s.³⁴

Since the detailed evidence is so lacking, it is worth considering the account of another mill-building project from a slightly later date.³⁵ In 1374 a mill was constructed in *Melcombe*, which was probably in Boughton Aluph. As there are several streams running off the North Downs into the Great Stour which runs past here, it has been proposed that this was most likely a watermill, although this is by no means certain. Construction of the mill building took six weeks and a variety of labourers were paid by the day. Carts were hired to transport timber and a cooper was employed in the second week to fit the mill-stone. The total cost of £7 13s.6d. breaks down into roughly 15% cartage, 50% labour, 9% materials and 26% in miscellaneous payments of which most were apparently rent and an admission fine to the manor of Boughton.³⁶

Watermills were generally more expensive to build than windmills. Christchurch

33. BL Harl. Roll D1. See above, pp.149-150 for a fuller description of this document and its contents.

34. Hooping and milling each stone cost 2s. and they were laid at a cost of 1s.

35. CKS U386 A7. A translation from the original French is given in F.Hull, 'Melcombe Mill: A Fourteenth Century Building Account', *Arch. Cant.* 72 (1958), pp.54-9.

36. Hull, *op.cit.*, p.55.

Priory for example, spent £15 8s.7¼d. on a new mill at Shalmesford, in their manor of Chartham in 1293.³⁷ Nevertheless, some lords of small estates were occasionally able to invest capital in this way. Details survive of a project to build two new mills at Teston, on the river Medway near to Maidstone, in 1307.³⁸ The man behind the scheme was John de Buckland, whose family held the manor of Great Buckland in Maidstone.³⁹ He contracted one William of Southfleet, a carpenter of Maidstone, to build two mills at Teston under one roof (*sub uno cumulo*). The contract price was £14, although this was just to cover the carpentry, which included provision of the necessary timber. When the job was not satisfactorily completed John took William to court. In his defence William claimed that all the iron work, including the nails was to have been provided by John. For his own part, all the carpentering had been done but was now lying in a shed in Maidstone. In the event the prosecution won the case, and received damages of £20 6s.8d., which presumably took into account the £13 6s.8d. which John had paid in advance together with an amount to cover the loss of income for the unknown period of time for which the mill was out of operation. The mills were eventually built, being valued in total at 23s.8d. in the IPM that followed John's death in 1329.⁴⁰

An estimate of between £10 and £15 therefore seems not unreasonable for the initial costs of building and installing the machinery of a new mill. Often though there was the alternative possibility of purchasing or leasing an existing construction. Two other small estates which have figured before in this thesis are those of the Colepepers and the Peckhams. We have seen that each of these families, in a similar fashion to many of their contemporaries, built up their estates by purchasing small pieces of land and

37. R.H.Furley, *A History of the Weald of Kent*, vol.2, (Ashford, 1874), p.209.

38. *Eyre of Kent*, pp.9 and 11.

39. Hasted, iv, pp.303-4.

40. *CIPM*, vii, No.237; PRO C135 File 16(18). This IPM shows that John also had an interest in the manor of Buckland near Faversham.

other properties, including rights in mills.⁴¹ When Margery Colepeper petitioned the king for the return of the property which had been forfeit after her husband's part in the rebellion against Edward II, but which she claimed to have held jointly with him, the ensuing inquisition found two mills among their property in the Tonbridge area.⁴² One of these was presumably the mill in Pembury parish in which the four daughters of John atte Bayhall had had shares which they had granted to Thomas and Margery in 1309.⁴³ The *gersuma* payment for this grant was 5 marks (£3 6s.8d.).

Mills were also included in the property accumulated by Martin and Margery de Peckham in and around their manor of East Yaldham. The manor itself probably did not include a mill, as the word does not appear in the list of appurtenances of the manor on the document accompanying its sale in 1275.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, there were existing mills in the area and Martin and Margery acquired rights in at least three of them. John the son of Nicholas de Bersted granted the couple a watermill called *Sharpesmill* and from Richard the son of Nicholas de Ightham they obtained a sixth share in the windmill of *Wynefeld*.⁴⁵ Margery was later sole beneficiary of a grant by one Gilbert of a half share in a mill called *Wynefeldmill*, together with the other half which Matilda, widow of Thomas de Wynefeld, had taken, presumably as part of her dower. Margery was also granted a share in a mill called *Chetrwerghthemelle*.⁴⁶ Unfortunately no details of payments are given on the surviving record of these grants.

A collection of original charters which do survive tell of a sequence of transactions concerning a watermill in the Rochester Priory manor of Darenth, near to Dartford in the north west of the county. Although not relating to purchases made by a layman, the information these charters offer about the costs of such mill grants is useful. The

41. Above, pp.80-117.

42. BL Harl.Roll T21 m.4.

43. BL Harl.Ch. 76B1.

44. BL Add.Ch. 16183, 16184 and 16505.

45. Both grants appear in CKS U442 T149, m.3.

46. CKS U442 T149, m.2v.

story begins in 1273/4 when Warin the son of Nigel de Ballonde and Christine the daughter of John de Mollendino enfeoffed the prior of Rochester in their shares of North mill in Darenth. This property had come to them on the deaths of their ancestors John and Walter de Mollendino, together with a wharf 80 feet wide extending away to the south along the watercourse. A significant franchise attached to ownership of this wharf was the right to take *wharfbote* from the neighbouring lands as often as necessary for its maintenance. In return the prior was to pay to Warin and Christine an annual rent of 4 seams of *tolcorn*, and a *gersuma* payment of 10 marks (£6 13s.4d.) was made.⁴⁷ A further one sixth share in the mill had gone to a minor named Henry the son of Henry who was in the wardship of Warin. In September 1274 the prior was granted a separate lease of this share for the term of nine years, presumably timed to expire when Henry reached the age of majority. For this an annual rent of 21s. in silver was to be paid to Warin.⁴⁸

Nearly twenty years later, in May 1293, one sixth of North mill was granted in fee farm to Roger de Rippes and Christine his wife. It would appear that this couple were by then in possession of the rest, for among the terms of the grant were the conditions that suit of court and the other customary services should be performed for five parts of the mill and that Roger and Christine should find their own sustenance at no charge to the priory and run the mill properly and well. The rent attached to the grant was the same as earlier, four seams of *tolcorn* a year.⁴⁹ Although at some stage Roger and Christine leased North mill to John de Borstalle for an unknown term at an annual rent of 9 quarters of corn, made up of two quarters of wheat and seven of best barley,⁵⁰ the mill apparently became known as *Riplesmelle*, taking its name from its new owner. The Waryn family still retained their right to rent that had come from the original

47. CKS DRc T145/1 and 2.

48. CKS DRc T145/3.

49. CKS DRc T145/4.

50. CKS DRc T145/5.

grant, for in September 1328 John the son of Edmund Waryn leased a yearly payment of 10 quarters of wheat from the watermill called *Riplesmelle* in Darenth, which he had inherited on his father's death, no matter into whose hands the mill may fall.⁵¹ A few months later, in January 1329, John quitclaimed all rights in the mill to the priory.⁵² This sequence cannot be thought of as equivalent to a straightforward purchase of a mill by a lord with no existing interests. The mill stood on a priory manor and had perhaps been built on the priory's initiative. Nevertheless, at £6 13s.4d. the capital outlay on the 1273/4 grant is not too far out of line with the £3 6s.8d. paid by Thomas and Margery Colepeper for Pembury mill.

Although from an earlier date, around the beginning of the thirteenth century, it is worth looking at Rochester priory's activity relating to another Darenth mill, named *Goldhawk* mill.⁵³ John, Osmer and Eilred the sons of Harvey enfeoffed the priory in the mill and also made quitclaims for which they were paid a total of at least £3 6s.8d.⁵⁴ A little later Elias the son of Robert Brech enfeoffed the priory in half of *Goldhawkesmelne* with a messuage next to it, 3½ acres of land called *Meleland*, a meadow and an alder grove which were his father's and which belonged to the half share of the mill. A rent of 12s.6d. had been paid to the prior's court of Darenth, together with 5d. each to the lords of Fawkham and of Helles, two neighbouring manors.⁵⁵ For this grant, as well as an annual rent of 1d., the priory paid 25s. A few years later Tecla the daughter of Robert the miller quitclaimed all her rights in *Goldhawk* mill which had belonged to Adam her brother. On this occasion the priory

51. CKS DRc T145/6.

52. CKS DRc T145/7.

53. Given the later change of name of North mill, this may in fact be the same mill.

54. CKS DRc T105/1, 2 and 3.

55. Fawkham lies two miles south east of Darenth. Helles St Margaret is just half a mile up-stream along the river Darent from Darenth. Hasted, ii, p.373.

parted with 12s.⁵⁶

These examples provide little hard evidence for the actual amounts which were paid for mills by lay lords of the later thirteenth century, but they do give an indication of the order of magnitude. The suggestion is that a reasonable estimate for the total outlay, including the possible purchase of quitclaims following a grant would be somewhere between £5 and £10.

Once the mill was built or acquired there was the cost of regular maintenance. A replacement millstone was the largest single expense, whether new or second-hand. This is the reason why the responsibility for this item was often spelt out in grants. For example, when Martin de Polle mortgaged lands and a watermill in Chiddingstone to Ralph de Dytone and his wife for three years, a condition was written into the charter that Martin would be responsible for all essential and reasonable expenses and, in particular, that he was to repair one millstone on request.⁵⁷ The lack of stones was the most frequent reason given by IPM juries for a low valuation of a mill. The windmill of Keston manor in the west of the county was idle in 1296 because, it was said, it lacked a millstone.⁵⁸ At Sharsted manor, near Chatham, in the same year the windmill was reported to be of no value because it was broken and without stones.⁵⁹ A few years later in the IPM of Nicholas Criel, lord of half the manor of Ightham, the value of half share of an old watermill was put at nothing because it then ruined (*disrupti*) and without stones.⁶⁰ A jury reporting for the IPM of Giles de Badlesmere in 1338 told of a watermill in Dover which was associated with the nearby manor of Ringwould. This was said to be worth 13s.4d. and no more for want of a mill-stone.

56. The charters refer to the priorate of William. There were two priors by this name in the early thirteenth century. One served 1218-1222. D.E.Greenway, ed., *John le Neve: Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300*, II *Monastic Cathedrals* (1971), p.80. The other, named William of Hoo, served 1239-1242. *VCH*, ii, p.125.

57. CKS U1587 T2/2.

58. IPM of Alexander de Cheny. *CIPM*, iii, No.335; PRO C133 File 74(23).

59. IPM of Simon de Sharstede. *CIPM*, iii, No.414; PRO C133 File 79(13).

60. *CIPM*, iv, No.162; PRO C133 File 108(7).

They went on to say that the various customs and charges which the bailiffs of Dover were taking from it each week in the name of defence against the French, with whom England was then at war, were also to blame. It had apparently been possible to lease the mill for £4 a year in time of peace. However, these charges amounted to just 4½d. a week, or a yearly total of just under £1, so the lack of a mill stone was probably the more serious problem.⁶¹ On the same estate, a different jury reported a mill at Chilham manor to be similarly worthless because it had no stone, but if repaired it would, it was said, have been worth 20s.⁶²

The average cost of a single stone between 1259 and 1400 was around 20s., although there was wide variation.⁶³ Some Kentish mills undoubtedly used a local stone, for in the second half of the thirteenth century there were quarries in the manor of Folkestone, valued at 20s., from which mill and handmill stones were dug.⁶⁴ In the case of stones from further afield, it is possible that access to coastal water-bourne transportation gave Kentish lords an advantage over their contemporaries further inland. In 1330/1 the cost of five stones purchased in London for the Oxfordshire manor of Cuxham, with their finishing was £3 8s.9½d., but this was boosted by almost a third by the cost of transport, loading dues and the bailiff's journeys to and fro.⁶⁵ A new stone at Downton in Wiltshire in 1324/5 cost a similar 60s., plus 10d. for its carriage.⁶⁶

Besides the occasional need to remill and replace stones and to repair other moving

61. *CIPM*, viii, No.185; PRO C135 File 56, m.27.

62. *Ibid.*, m.33.

63. R.Bennett and J.Elton, *History of Corn Milling, vol.3 Feudal Laws and Customs* (London, 1900), p.98.

64. The quarries are first mentioned in the 1263 IPM of Hamo de Crevequer. *CIPM*, i, No.563; PRO C132 File 29(1), given in translation in *Arch. Cant.* 3 (1860), p.257. The detail of their use comes from an extent of the manor made in answer to a writ of partition of 1271. *CIPM*, i, No.774; PRO C132 File 40(7), printed in translation in *Arch. Cant.* 6 (1864/5), p.240.

65. L.Syson, *British Water-mills* (London, 1965), p.114; R.Bennett and J.Elton, *History of Corn Milling, vol.3 Feudal Laws and Customs* (Cambridge, 1900), p.104.

66. Titow, J.Z., *English Rural Society 1200-1350* (London, 1969), p.127.

parts that inevitably suffered from constant wear and tear there were other, more regular costs. In the case of watermills, for example, there was a requirement to keep the mill-stream running freely. Sometimes such costs could be met by the services of the tenants, as on the Say family's manor of Burham where the tenants owed a custom of clearing 84 perches of the mill pond, a service which was valued at 1d. per perch or 7s. in total each year.⁶⁷ Other maintenance costs could be lessened by having the work done by the manorial servants, as at Penshurst where repairs to the mill-wheel in 1347 cost nothing because they were undertaken by the lord's carpenter.⁶⁸ In general maintenance of watermills cost proportionately less than that of windmills. Accurate and reliable figures for average annual expenditure on Kentish mills on lay estates are difficult to come by in the absence of regular series of manorial accounts. We know that the annual cost of upkeep of the windmill on the Sey family's manor of Cudham in 1271/2 was put by an IPM jury at 6s.8d. per year, which amounts to 22% of the value of the 9 quarters of grain that it was then said to yield.⁶⁹ It is impossible to tell how representative of all mills this is, although it is not widely out of line with a recent calculation that in East Anglia 33% of the average rental income for a windmill went on regular maintenance. For the more robust and powerful watermills the figure there was twelve per cent.⁷⁰

We turn next to the question of the lord's income generated from a manorial mill. Since it was usual for mills to be leased out, with the lord taking a regular rent in the form either of cash or of milled corn or a mixture of the two, a fair indication of their worth is given by the valuations given to them in inquisitions, as this was based upon the potential leaseable value. The annual valuations of the mills given in the IPMs are tabulated below in Table 6.2. As so often with IPM data, variations in the valuations

67. *CIPM*, i, No.813; PRO C132 File 42(6).

68. CKS U1475 M62 m.3.

69. *CIPM*, i, No.813; PRO C132 File 42(6).

70. Holt, *Mills*, p.86.

of the same mill in two or more extents makes it difficult to be sure of the exact value to assign in such a table. However, on the basis that different valuations were due at least in part to the condition of the mill and the state of demand for its services at the relevant period, the maximum for each mill has been taken here. Thus the table shows, so far as is possible, the potential value of a mill rather than the income actually achieved.

Table 6.2. Valuations given to mills in the IPMs and other manorial extents.

<u>Windmills:</u>						
Value (s.)	-10	-15	-20	-25	-30	≥ 30
No. of mills	11	9	11	4	7	3
 <u>Watermills:</u>						
Value (s.)	-10	-15	-20	-25	-30	-35
No. of mills	7	15	16	1	10	0
	-40	-45	-50	-55	-60	≥ 60
	7	5	2	1	1	14

Notwithstanding problems over interpretation of individual cases, it is apparent that the range of values for windmills was much lower than for watermills, probably reflecting the fact that they were all of much the same size and design. Watermills, which were located on waterways of different strengths display a correspondingly wide range of potential values. Indeed the distribution of watermill valuations shows that while many were no more valuable than windmills, there were a significant number around the county which were worth twice or even three times as much. This is emphasised in the mean values which come to a little over 16s. for windmills and almost 34s. for watermills.⁷¹ These calculations ignore mills of either type which were described as dilapidated, ruinous or without stones and the windmill figure was

71. Richard Holt has found the same ratio of valuations elsewhere in the country. *Ibid.*, pp.77-8.

arrived at by omitting as unrepresentative the half a windmill which was owned by the lord John de Cobham on his manor of Cobham, valued in 1300 at 56s.⁷² Why the difference? Watermills were generally more reliable than windmills, particularly those of rivers and streams with constant flows. As the Christchurch Prior Henry of Eastry's experiences with a tide-mill at Lydden demonstrates, conditions on the coast were less predictable. Nevertheless, windmills, wherever they were sited, had to have suitable weather to be able to operate effectively and they were more prone to damage. Watermills would also stand idle if the mill-pond ran dry. Around 1800 in Kent there were certainly mills on streams which were so seasonal and insignificant that they stopped work for much of the year,⁷³ and the same may well have been the case in the thirteenth century.

So what lay behind these valuations? It is necessary to consider who might be expected to make use of a local mill. In the first place, it should be said that, although it is usually a matter for supposition, it seems likely that the vast majority of the wind and watermills were built to grind corn. There certainly were mills with other, industrial, uses but these were not common. The fulling of cloth was one such alternative use, but fulling mills have been found to have been generally less profitable than corn-mills and so they were only built where the available water-power exceeded that required for grinding corn. They have been found to have been rare throughout eastern England,⁷⁴ although they certainly existed on lay estates in Kent from the thirteenth century onwards. As early as 1262 Henry de Apeldrefeld was in receipt of

72. *CIPM*, iii, No.602; PRO C133 File 94(8).

73. M.J.Fuller and R.J.Spain, *Watermills (Kent and the Borders of Sussex)* Kent Archaeological Society (Maidstone, 1986), p.3.

74. Holt, *Mills*, p.156. In the west midlands John Langdon has shown that it was only after population declined and the pressure on corn milling fell that investment was switched to fulling, and then in a haphazard way. J.Langdon, 'Water-mills and windmills in the west midlands, 1086-1500', *Econ.Hist.Rev.*, 2nd ser., 44, 3 (1991), p.435.

rent from a fulling mill and a messuage in Sundridge.⁷⁵ The Hundred Rolls of 1274 contain a reference by the jury representing the Hundred of Hoo to two mills which the earl of Gloucester took into his lowy of Tonbridge from the king's demesne. One of these was a corn mill and the other a fulling mill.⁷⁶ This conjunction of corn and fulling is mirrored in the enterprise of John de Buckland. One of the two mills which he contracted to have built in Maidstone in 1307 was specifically intended as a fulling mill. This was in operation by 1329, when it and the corn mill in the same building were together valued at 23s.8d.⁷⁷ Sir John de Pulteney's manor of Penshurst also had two mills in the middle of the century and in 1346/7 the manorial serjeant accounted for 3s. received as the farm of a certain fulling mill. The other mill, presumably for grinding corn, had brought in no income during that year.⁷⁸ A less clear but somewhat earlier instance of a fulling mill may come in a law suit of 1195/6. Then Amicia the wife of William de Mohesden claimed rights in a mill at Dartford which Renger the miller held. The tenants named in the resulting fine include Hugh the miller and Reginald the fuller.⁷⁹ Fulling mills with a good supply of head-water were more powerful and therefore more attractive as an investment,⁸⁰ but to provide this artificially was not easy while population was high and agricultural land was in demand. In the cloth industry centre of Cranbrook in later years as much as 130 acres of water were dammed back which provided enough head-water to power twelve mills and when Anglely manor was sold in the sixteenth century there were two fulling mills

75. CKS U1796 T2.

76. *RH*, 223a.

77. *CIPM*, vii, No.237; PRO C135 File 16(18).

78. CKS U1475 M62.

79. *Kent Feet of Fines*, pp.1-2.

80. One of the reasons that the marginal Pennines and central Dorest developed textile industries in the fourteenth century was the presence of so many fast flowing streams. M.Bailey, 'The concept of the margin in the medieval English economy', *Econ.Hist.Rev.*, 2nd. ser., 42 (1989), p.13.

with twelve acres of land covered with water.⁸¹ In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries it is clear that fulling was seen only as an adjunct to the more profitable grinding of corn.

The Weald was also home to an iron industry in the later medieval period, and a water-powered forge for hammering blooms found at Chingley in Kent has been dated to the first half of the fourteenth century.⁸² Another possible example of industrial milling on a Kentish lay estate comes from the Badlesmere family's manor of Chatham. In 1330, while Giles de Badlesmere was in his minority, the manor was held by Guy Ferre and in his IPM of that year the jury told of a watermill which was used for *acera falcatum*.⁸³ Such examples are few and far between and it is probable that industrial mills represent less than 2% of the mills on the lay estates of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, though they became more common towards the end of the period. It is clear that while the population was relatively high corn grinding remained the predominant use of milling power. It is also true to say that after the Black Death, when labour was more expensive, investment in such labour saving machinery as industrial mills became more attractive.⁸⁴

In order to assess the potential demand for a milling service, we also need to estimate the number of corn mills actually in operation. The maximum number of mills in Kent probably occurred around the turn of the century, in common with the rest of England.⁸⁵ As to the size of that maximum some approximations are necessary. The first estimate is to suppose that the number of watermills was roughly

81. R.H.Furley, *A History of the Weald of Kent* vol.2 (Ashford, 1874), pp.329 and 330n.

82. Holt, *Mills*, p.150.

83. *CIPM*, vii, No.295; PRO C135 File 22(9).

84. In the west midlands, John Langdon found that tool-sharpening mills comprised less than 1% of the total of his sample of mills whilst fulling mills were rather more numerous than in Kent, running at 6-8% from the beginning of the thirteenth century until 1350. J.Langdon, 'Water-mills and windmills in the west midlands, 1086-1500', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., 44, 3 (1991), p.434.

85. Holt, *Mills*, p.116.

the same as in the late eleventh century. There had been some clearing and settlement in the weald, perhaps with attendant watermill building on the streams there.

However, this probably adds little to the total. Secondly we need to consider the expansion of the urban centres in the county. The inquisitions neglect almost completely the mills of towns and of ecclesiastics, but these were predominantly watermills and thus were probably at much the same level in 1300 as in 1086. It is difficult to see how Canterbury could improve upon the eleventh century total of 23½ mills in Northgate, St Martin's, Westgate and in the City itself.⁸⁶ Maidstone had six mills in 1086, but was surrounded by manors occupying sites on the rivers into and out of the town, so again had not much scope for expansion of its milling. Rochester may have had some spare capacity, but the Medway here is wide and tidal and unsuitable for watermills.⁸⁷ The third estimate concerns the contribution that windmills made to the total. The number of windmills on lay estates amounted to around one third of the total and on ecclesiastical estates somewhat less. We shall not be too far wrong if we estimate that about a quarter of all working mills at the end of the thirteenth century were windmills. On this basis, it is reasonable to suppose that there were some 440 working corn mills in Kent at the beginning of the fourteenth century, of which 350 were watermills, including tidemills, and the rest windmills.⁸⁸

Since there are some four hundred parishes in Kent, a total of 440 suggests an average figure of a little over one mill per parish. Martin and Margery de Peckham,

86. For possible sites of mills along the two branches of the Stour through the city of Canterbury in 1066 and 1086, see T.Tatton-Brown, *Canterbury in Domesday Book* Canterbury Heritage Series, no.1 (Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 1987), pp.16-7.

87. On the tidal reaches of the river Severn in southern Worcestershire windmills were seen as a better alternative to watermills. J.Langdon, 'Water-mills and windmills in the west midlands, 1086-1500', *Econ.Hist.Rev.*, 2nd ser., 44, 3 (1991), p.433-4.

88. A total of 90 windmills seems reasonable given the figures for later centuries. In 1596 maps depict 39 windmills in the county, in 1795 there were 95 and in 1843, when the number of windmills in England is reckoned to have reached a peak, there were 239. J.Viner, *Faversham's Lost Windmills* Faversham Papers, no.21 (The Faversham Society, 1982), p.9.

for example, found three at least within easy reach of East Yaldham.⁸⁹ However, the mills acquired by this couple were in at least two separate parishes. We do not know where Sharp's mill was sited, but the mill in Winfield was to the south east of Wrotham, while the land of *Chetrwerghete* was in the manor of Kemsing, to the west. The distance between these two was something around four miles. The Colepepers likewise had two mills, but these were associated with property in three or more parishes.

Thus there was a considerable potential demand for mechanised corn-milling. On the other hand, the personal and tenorial freedom of Kentish men meant that they could not often be coerced into using a seignorial mill. Elsewhere the custom of suit of mill added considerably to its value, for it enabled the lord, or whoever was farming the mill if the right had been signed over to them, to exact from the significant proportion of the population which was unfree far more than the market rate for the privilege of having their corn ground. Free tenants on the other hand, were entitled to take their corn to whichever mill they chose, or indeed to grind it themselves at home. Suit of mill was certainly not unknown in thirteenth century Kent. Evidence for this is found in a clause in a custumal from the Apuldfeld family's manor of Sundridge, made in 1258.⁹⁰ Styled a 'recognition of rents, services and customs owed to the lord Henry, the son of Sir Henry de Apuldfeld in Sundridge of a third of that manor which once belonged to Lady Letitia de Broklesham', the custumal was drawn up after evidence given on oath by twelve named men who had been elected by the court for the purpose. It was reported that all the lord's tenants owed suit at his mill to have their malt milled. Furthermore, all those tenants who lived in the parish of Sundridge had to attend with their multure and there give a toll of all the corn and malt that had been milled there that year, with the exception of malt milled against Christmas and Easter.

89. See appendix 3.2, below.

90. CKS U1000/3 M18, mm.3-4.

A half-yearly customary toll called *tolfry* was owed by all those tenants who did not hold by charter. Such a distinction between the free who held by charter and the relatively unfree who did not is found in other aspects of the tenants' obligations at Sundridge.⁹¹ Those who did not hold by charter had other servile conditions attached to their tenure, such as having to seek the lord's licence before their daughters might marry.⁹² Nevertheless, in these matters the lord's rights to tax his tenants were limited. The jury in 1258 went on to say that it was known that the miller might only receive a thirty-second part of the malt. This was a low price compared to the amount that unfree tenants in other counties had to pay. It is known for example that millers in northern counties commonly took up to a thirteenth.⁹³

In any case, such references to suit of mill in Kent are few and far between, and are not backed up by court roll references either to amercements for failure to attend the manorial mill or to the payment of fines in lieu of suit of mill. Accordingly the conclusion must be that suit of mill, even if it were not entirely unknown, was at least not normal on Kentish manors.⁹⁴ In this case we must see the rate that the users of a corn mill paid in multure to the miller as one set by the market,⁹⁵ and in turn that the amount for which the manorial lord could lease the mill was also dependent upon this market rate for milling services.

An estimate can now be made of the expected rate of return on the lord's investment. If an average windmill cost between £5 and £10 to build and equip, and was worth around 16s. per annum thereafter, this suggests that after only about ten years the initial costs would be recouped. If the lord was in the fortunate position of being able to erect a watermill on his estate, the rate of return could be even higher.

91. H.W.Knocker, 'The Evolution of the Holmesdale. No.3 The Manor of Sundrish', *Arch. Cant.* 44 (1932), pp.194-6.

92. Above, p.223.

93. Holt, *Mills*, p.50.

94. J.West, *The Windmills of Kent* (revised edn.1979), p.18; Holt, *Mills*, pp.36ff.

95. Holt, *Mills*, p.50.

This explains why the number of mills grew as it did over the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, for this rate is very favourable. Lords may not have thought in such modern economic terms, but they were certainly capable of following their neighbours in adopting a good idea. Indeed, there were also other, less quantifiable, benefits to be had from the ownership of a mill which may have appealed to some. The robustness necessary for its construction often made the manorial mill one of the more secure buildings in the neighbourhood, and for this reason mills on some manors of the Christchurch estate are known to have been used as gaols from time to time in the early thirteenth century.⁹⁶ Indeed, as the justices in Eyre discovered in 1313/4, two mills in the county were held by serjeanty, the service being the task of holding prisoners when required.⁹⁷

Markets

The formation and patronage of markets was another significant way in which landlords sought to raise income from the community, although the opportunities here were more limited and only those aristocratic lords of the richest estates seem to have found it possible to guarantee success. Partly this arose from protectionism and partly from the fact that markets were able to serve a wider community than mills, for example. Just as every neighbourhood had its mill, so by the mid fourteenth century if not before, no house or cottage in Kent was more than a few miles from a regular weekly market and annual fair. Many of these markets had existed before they were formalised by the grant of a royal licence. Fairs, in particular, were frequently held around the feast day of the patron saint of the parish church, which the local populace had been treating as an occasion for meeting and revelry for centuries past.⁹⁸

96. R.A.L.Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory* (Cambridge, 1949), p.96n.

97. *Eyre of Kent*, p.147.

98. G.C.Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), p.53.

Nevertheless, as an exercise in encouraging trade in the neighbourhood as well as opening the possibility of increased income through stallage rents and the profits of jurisdiction, the thirteenth and early fourteenth century saw a proliferation of market grants all over the country⁹⁹ and Kent was no exception. It is difficult to be sure but it does seem that in some instances at any rate, these grants do indicate an expansion in the number of markets actually operating.¹⁰⁰

An attempt has been made in Appendix 6.1 to gather the documentary evidence for markets and fairs in Kent, chiefly from the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries, although some miscellaneous references from outside this period have been included. Where these references themselves contain an implication of the earlier existence and use of a market, this has been marked. In several other instances also, there are earlier indications of a market at the same place, as will be evident from the discussion which follows. In particular, Domesday book references to markets and boroughs are not included in the appendix.

There is some debate over whether the medieval markets were a product of an increasingly agrarian lordship, or if they were one cause of its transition into the more capitalist gentry of later centuries who leased out their demesnes.¹⁰¹ Whatever the later situation, the distribution of local markets in the century before the Black Death is of importance in understanding the strategy of the lords with respect to their demesnes. The growing number of these trading centres is generally recognised to have allowed an easier interchange between those with a surplus to dispose of and those who needed to purchase. They are also seen to have allowed the peasants to

99. R.H.Britnell, 'The Proliferation of Markets in England 1200-1349', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 34 (1981), pp.209-10, hereinafter referred to as Britnell, 'The Proliferation of Markets'. The term 'market grant' is here used to cover both markets and fairs.

100. For the example of Wingham market, see below, p.266.

101. See, for example, R.Brenner, 'The Agrarian Roots of European Capitalism', *Past and Present*, 97 (1982), pp.16-113.

make a small amount of land go that little bit further, by producing high price, quality bread grains for the market, while buying in lower quality grains for their own consumption.

It is necessary first to look at the proliferation of markets from a geographical point of view. It is clear that the crown was a prime mover in the creation of a licensed trading network and that steps were taken to ensure that no market conflicted with another. Accordingly, lords were not so free to establish markets and fairs as they were in the case of mills, for example. As shall be seen, markets were mostly beyond the reach of the lords of small estates, although sometimes such men could attempt to break the monopoly held by their more prosperous neighbours. Success depended upon there being few existing markets close at hand.

By the close of the twelfth century, Kent already had an established network of markets. The more important of these were often, but not exclusively, those which achieved borough status. At the time of Domesday Kent had at least six boroughs (Dover, Fordwich, Hythe, Romney, Sandwich and Seasalter) and two larger towns (Rochester and Canterbury).¹⁰² Of the boroughs, Seasalter was described as small and belonging to the archbishop's kitchen. Although it continued to be taxed as a borough through the fourteenth century, it probably did not have much more than local trade to sustain it.

To this list of pre-twelfth century market-towns should be added Faversham, Maidstone, Dartford, Milton Regis, Newenden, Lewisham and Wye. Faversham is described in Domesday book¹⁰³ as having a market and a charter of Edward I confirmed the customs of the town from before 1066.¹⁰⁴ Newenden and Lewisham

102. Much of the following is taken from M.Beresford and H.P.R.Finberg, *English Medieval Boroughs, a handlist* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp.128-31, hereinafter referred to as Beresford and Finberg.

103. DB, i, 2d.

104. Beresford and Finberg, p.128.

similarly were described in 1086 as being sites of markets.¹⁰⁵ Dartford had been another of the four Royal manors in Saxon times and it is possible that the market here has one of the longest histories of all,¹⁰⁶ although the same might be said for Maidstone, Milton and Wye all of which certainly had prescriptive markets.¹⁰⁷ Indeed it is plausible to hypothesise that many of the early Jutish estate centres were home to markets which served their region. In that case we might have to include another ten or a dozen sites, such as Chilham and Elham where successful claims based on prescription were made to the justices of *Quo Warranto* in the early fourteenth century.¹⁰⁸ The topography of villages such as Bridge, Wingham and Eastry suggest small, local markets serving the immediate area.¹⁰⁹ Archaeological evidence suggests a pre-Conquest market at Sevenoaks.¹¹⁰ Tonbridge may also have had quasi-burghal status in the eleventh century since it was the centre of a significant part of the Clare estates, although we do not have direct evidence of its status until 1241 when it was represented as a borough and vill at the eyre.¹¹¹ In the 1150s, Lydd became the newest borough in the county with a royal charter which extended the privileges of the Cinque Ports to cover the archbishop's men there and in neighbouring Dengemarsh.¹¹² Two further early markets are implied at Brasted and Newenden, both of which were described as boroughs and vills in the eyre of 1227

105. DB, i, 4a and 12d.

106. S.K.Keyes, *Dartford. Further Historical Notes* (Dartford, 1938), p.5; J.Dunkin, *The History and Antiquities of Dartford* (London, 1844), p.248.

107. A.Everitt, *Continuity and Colonization, the evolution of Kentish settlement* (Leicester, 1986), pp.86 and 117. In an early fourteenth century *Quo Warranto* case Battle Abbey based a successful claim to a market and fair at Wye on a charter of William the Conqueror. *First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls* vol.1 (1889), pp.77ff., hereinafter referred to as *Comm. on Markets and Tolls*.

108. *Comm. on Markets and Tolls*, pp.77ff.

109. A.Everitt, *Continuity and Colonization, the evolution of Kentish settlement* (Leicester, 1986), pp.9, 13n. and 83.

110. *Ibid.*, p.269.

111. Beresford and Finberg, p.131. The Clare lords were created earls of Gloucester in 1217, when some Gloucester lands were added to the family's original holdings around Tonbridge.

112. Beresford and Finberg, p.129.

and represented by their own juries.¹¹³

Not all markets were boroughs, even if all boroughs may be taken to have had markets.¹¹⁴ Other markets which were certainly established before 1200 were at Folkestone, Malling, Minster in Thanet and Stonar. Folkestone market apparently originated with a grant of king Stephen, from 1135-41, a monastery having been founded in 1095.¹¹⁵ Malling had been given by bishop Gundulf of Rochester to the new abbey which was probably founded around 1090. This donation was confirmed by several later kings and bishops who included a market among the monastery's assets. In 1190 both the abbey and the town were badly damaged by fire.¹¹⁶ Finally, Minster and Stonar were both manors of St Augustine's Abbey. In 1227 the abbot received a grant for a market at Stonar, pursuant to a charter of Richard I and a confirmation by John.¹¹⁷

There was virtually no lay seignorial involvement in the foundation of these early markets. Table 6.3 summarises the list under the headings of royal, lay seignorial and ecclesiastical, where the founders can be identified.¹¹⁸ Fordwich and Romney have a joint royal/ecclesiastical origin. Newenden and Maidstone were both manors of the archbishop in Domesday Book and so they have been placed tentatively under the ecclesiastical heading. As a limb of the large manor of Otford, Sevenoaks should probably be placed here too. Thus, just two out of these 22 markets had a lay seignorial owner, and that was the powerful Clare family. The lesser knights at this

113. At the eyre of 1313/4 they were still described as villis and to their number had been added Dartford, Lesnes and Malling. *Eyre of Kent*, pp.192, 193, 197 and 199.

114. Beresford & Finberg, p.37.

115. W de G.Birch, *Cartularum Saxonicum*, 3 vols (London, 1885-93), no. 445; P.H.Sawyer *Anglo-Saxon Charters; an annotated list and bibliography* (Royal Historical Society, 1968), no.1439 and A.Ballard, *British Borough Charters, 1042-1216*, (Cambridge, 1913).

116. C.H.Fielding, *Memories of Malling and its Valley* (West Malling, 1893), p.15.

117. *CChR*, i, p.12. The Kentish antiquary, Edward Hasted, noted that Stonar had a fair from 1104, the same date as he gives for the foundation of Minster market. Hasted, x, pp.273 and 415.

118. Including using the data of Beresford and Finberg, pp.40 and 128-131.

Table 6.3. Classification of the founders of pre-thirteenth century markets.

Royal	Ecclesiastical	Lay seignorial	Unknown
Canterbury	Maidstone	Brasted	Sevenoaks
Dartford	Malling	Tonbridge	
Dover	Minster		
Faversham	Newenden		
Hythe	Rochester		
Lydd	Sandwich		
Milton	Seasalter		
Sandwich	Stonar		
	Wye		
	(joint)		
	Fordwich		
	Romney		
Totals: 8	2	9	2
			1

time were apparently not able to become involved in this form of investment.

Nevertheless, the opening of the thirteenth century saw a county with regular markets in at least twenty and possibly many more places. These were located in the centres of population and indeed many were associated with hundredal centres. Plotted on Map 6.2 are the locations of those markets that were almost certainly in use before the thirteenth century. It shows that they were concentrated along lines of easy communication. Fourteen of these markets were sited on the coast, and the two main rivers gave access to others. The Stour was certainly navigable as far as Fordwich, which served as a port for Canterbury, only two and a half miles further upstream. Wye may also have benefited from its position on the Great Stour. In the centre of the county, the Medway was certainly open to river-borne transport to Maidstone and beyond, possibly almost as far as Tonbridge.¹¹⁹ It is noticeable that although several of the towns were located on the main roads that ran from the coast at Dover and Sandwich to Canterbury and thence towards London, they also had access to rivers

119. A.Everitt, *Continuity and Colonization, the evolution of Kentish settlement* (Leicester, 1986), p.72.



Map 6.2. The sites of pre-thirteenth century markets.

For details of the sources, refer to the text.

0 5 10
Scale (miles)

and sea.

Thus, although only a small elite took the revenue from tolls and market rents, most of the population was within a few miles of a place where they could sell the surplus produce of their land or purchase what they needed. Nevertheless, after the opening of the thirteenth century the lesser lay landlords began to be able to invest in market-making. The year 1200 marks something of a watershed in the history of markets. Surviving enrolments of royal charters begin at this point and, despite the problems over deciding whether an individual market grant is evidence of an actual beginning or merely a legitimisation, there are indications that manorial lords increasingly took the opportunity to create markets on their property.

The process that led to the grant of a royal charter often involved a local enquiry to ascertain whether a proposed new market would be disruptive to existing ones. The standard question to be answered was if there were any markets on the same day within six and two thirds miles, which was reckoned to be the distance a man might travel in the morning, do his buying and selling and return home before nightfall. One such enquiry took place in the spring of 1252. On the 14th March a jury of twelve was called upon to reply to a writ *ad Quod Damnum* as to whether a Tuesday market at the Archbishop of Canterbury's manor of Wingham would be to anyone's disadvantage. The reply came back that it would not since there was no other market on a Tuesday nearer than Lenham, twenty leagues away. This was well outside the required limit, since twenty leagues is thirty miles, although in fact the distance from Lenham to Wingham is around twenty two miles, as the crow flies. The Wingham jurors went further, expressing the belief that a Wingham market would be positively beneficial to the towns of Canterbury and Sandwich, for these markets would be improved by the traders coming to Wingham, midway between the towns.¹²⁰ Such a

120. The inquisition taken in response to this writ is included amongst the IPMs translated in *Arch. Cant.* 2 (1859), p.307.

response suggests that these local men had an appreciation of the function of village market-centres in supplying the larger markets of the boroughs.

The visiting traders provided a mechanism for surplus produce to be taken to the towns, as well as making manufactured goods and imports more accessible to the local populace. Rural markets were generally in use for just one day each week and the merchants presumably moved around them, following more or less regular itineraries. A charter had been issued just a year before the Wingham enquiry authorising a market to be held on Thursdays at Bertram de Crioll's manor of Mongeham, midway between Sandwich and Dover.¹²¹ The abbot of St Augustine's himself had another market at Minster in Thanet, four miles to the north of Sandwich, which was held on Friday. The king and his government were keen to promote such endeavours, since they were seen as helping to boost the level of trade in the boroughs which in turn, through farms and taxes, served to increase the crown's cash income. This was probably true, although in some places the density of markets seems to have grown to such an extent that competition for a limited amount of trade may have been inflationary. In the late thirteenth century, some forty years after its creation, the then flourishing market of Wingham was alleged to be intercepting goods from the port of Sandwich which were intended for Canterbury. In doing so it was pushing up the prices in the city.

It is generally assumed that the archbishop was awarded his market, although no record of the actual grant has been found, and in this he was by no means alone among lords of Kentish estates. In the mid-thirteenth century the peak period of market legitimisation was just beginning. Table 6.4 shows the chronology of pre 1349 market foundation in Kent.¹²² The first column includes markets for which the date

121. *CChR*, i, p.356.

122. The format of this table is the same as Dr. Britnell has used to tabulate the chronology of market formation in 21 English counties, excluding Kent, for which most of the evidence remains unpublished. Britnell, 'The Proliferation of Markets',

Table 6.4. The chronology of pre 1349 Kentish market foundations.

	Sometime pre-1349	-1200	-1224	-1249	-1274	-1299	-1324	-1349
<u>primary evidence</u> ¹²³	15	14	6	6	19	7	12	3
<u>secondary evidence</u> ¹²⁴	-	1	1	-	1	3	3	2
Totals:	15	15	7	6	20	10	15	5

of origin cannot be placed with confidence into any of the other time periods, and this probably includes some markets with a pre-thirteenth century foundation.

Most of the market charters from after 1200 were granted to non-ecclesiastical landlords, although ecclesiastical lords continued to acquire grants for their manors, as, for example, the abbot of St Augustine's did for his manor of Wingham. The chronology of market formation in Kent mirrors closely that of most of the rest of England, with a peak in the third quarter of the thirteenth century¹²⁵. This is followed by a slackening off during the final 25 years before 1300. There was then another burst of activity early in the fourteenth century.

In some cases market charters appear to have been granted more from a perspective of enhanced political and social status than on purely economic grounds. This may well be true of a grant made in 1315 to the Kentish lord Bartholomew de Badlesmere which was unprecedented among the Kentish gentry. By this charter, markets were allowed on three of Bartholomew's Kentish manors, at Chilham, Ringwould and Erith.

p.210.

123. Sources: Chiefly the published Calendars of Charter Rolls and the *Comm. on Markets and Tolls*, pp.77ff. See Appendix 6.1 for fuller references.

124. Sources: Chiefly Hasted. See Appendix 6.1 for fuller references.

125. Dr. Britnell's table shows the chronology in the different geographical regions of England. Of these, only the south-west, represented solely by the county of Devon, has a peak in the fourth quarter of the century.

Annual fairs were allowed in these three places and also at Tonge, Kingston and Kingsdown. Altogether fourteen markets were included in the grant, on thirteen manors across southern England.¹²⁶ Badlesmere had risen in the service of the earl of Gloucester, from whom he held lands in Sheldwich and Blean,¹²⁷ and he fought many times against the Scots, with some distinction.¹²⁸ Indeed the king respected Badlesmere so much as a military leader that he was called upon in the autumn of 1315 to give advice to the king on the keeping of the marches during the ensuing winter.¹²⁹ He became more and more allied to the court and, from September 1316, was retained for life by Edward II in whose presence he appears as a constant witness to royal charters.¹³⁰ The 1315 charter seems to have been a manifestation of this patronage. Dr. Britnell has found that such multiple market charters were fairly commonplace elsewhere in England in the fourteenth century, but among grants to Kentish lords Badlesmere's charter is unique.¹³¹

Yet the background to these grants to lay lords was not entirely political. The previous year Badlesmere had been summoned on a writ of *Quo Warranto* to appear before the justices in Eyre. He was asked to explain his claim to the Erith and Chilham fairs and markets, among other franchises, to which the reply was that they had been granted to Alexander de Baliol. Badlesmere produced the charter by which Edward II had given him Baliol's Chilham barony, with all the attendant franchises and customs.¹³² Baliol himself in an earlier case had successfully claimed that the

126. At the same time Badlesmere received a grant of free warren on his demesne lands in 46 places across the south of the country, of which 25 were in Kent. *CChR*, iii, p.315.

127. *CIPM*, v, No.538; PRO C133 File 44, m.61.

128. C.Moor, *Knights of Edward I (A-E)* Harl.Soc., vol.80 (1929), p.13.

129. J.R.Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster 1307-1322: A Study in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford, 1970), p.180.

130. *Ibid.*, p.199. It was not until 1320 and the break-up of the court party that Badlesmere allied himself to the smaller group of magnates who ultimately led a rebellion against the king.

131. Britnell, 'The Proliferation of Markets', p.220.

132. *Eyre of Kent*, pp.169-71.

market and fair of Chilham and the fair of Kingston were held by prescriptive right.¹³³ Nevertheless, there were at the end of the day other outstanding questions which awaited the king's own judgement and the matter was remitted to him in Parliament. The issue by Edward II of the multiple market charter of the next year was no doubt intended to make certain Badlesmere's title, probably having been granted at Badlesmere's own request since it repeats grants that need not otherwise have been made.

Another Kentish lord to appear before Justice Staunton and his colleagues on a writ of *Quo Warranto* was William Inge.¹³⁴ This case concerned claims to various franchises in his manor of Ightham and, although neither market nor fair was mentioned, once again it was in the next year that a charter for these was issued. Altogether seven of the fifteen market-grants of the 1300-24 period came after the 1313/4 Kentish Eyre and it may be that many of these, as well as some of the earlier ones, are a product of such 'mopping-up' operations under writs of *Quo Warranto*.¹³⁵ If this is the case, then the second 'peak' in numbers of market grants may not be significant in terms of the chronology. The heyday of the formation of markets by the manorial lords was the third quarter of the thirteenth century. Of course, the gentry were operating within the political framework of the time, but they were also responding to economic forces, creating and adapting existing structures to their own best advantage.

Naturally enough, the earliest markets were established at sites which had the easiest communication links both with the surrounding countryside and also with boroughs and urban centres further afield. Later charters were for markets further away from the coastal and riverine access, and off the main roads crossing the county. Partly this was

133. *Comm. on Markets and Tolls*, pp.77ff.

134. *Eyre of Kent*, p.168-9.

135. Britnell, 'The Proliferation of Markets', p.211.

the result of the spread of settlement and, although many markets undoubtedly struggled and some failed, the venture was not started unless the prospective market owner saw some chance of success. It is noticeable that even Bartholomew de Badlesmere did not attempt to put markets on all his Kent manors. On those manors which he judged could not sustain a weekly market he was content just to establish or reaffirm an annual fair.

So it is likely that the charter evidence gives a reasonable indication of the number of actual markets in operation, even if the degree of success is less susceptible to analysis. Map 6.3 shows the location of the known markets and fairs which had been created by 1350. The areas of highest concentration were around the growing settlement of Maidstone and along the Thames coast of the north west. The tendency in the east of the county seems to have been to augment the existing network of boroughs and rural markets, with new foundations as at Wingham and Mongeham which added to that matrix.

In the west of the county the influence of the London market was strongly felt, and many of the manorial market foundations took advantage of the availability of easy transport to the capital, particularly water-borne. On the river Medway, there were thirteenth century foundations on the Grey family's manor of Aylesford (1239),¹³⁶ the Leybourne family's manor of La Mote on the outskirts of Maidstone (1266)¹³⁷ and the Pencestre family's manor of Allington (1280),¹³⁸ as well as at Boxley manor, belonging to Boxley Abbey (1252)¹³⁹ and on the archbishop of Canterbury's manor of Maidstone (1261).¹⁴⁰ Further up-river, other markets were created in the early fourteenth century. At Watringbury, another of the manors belonging to the

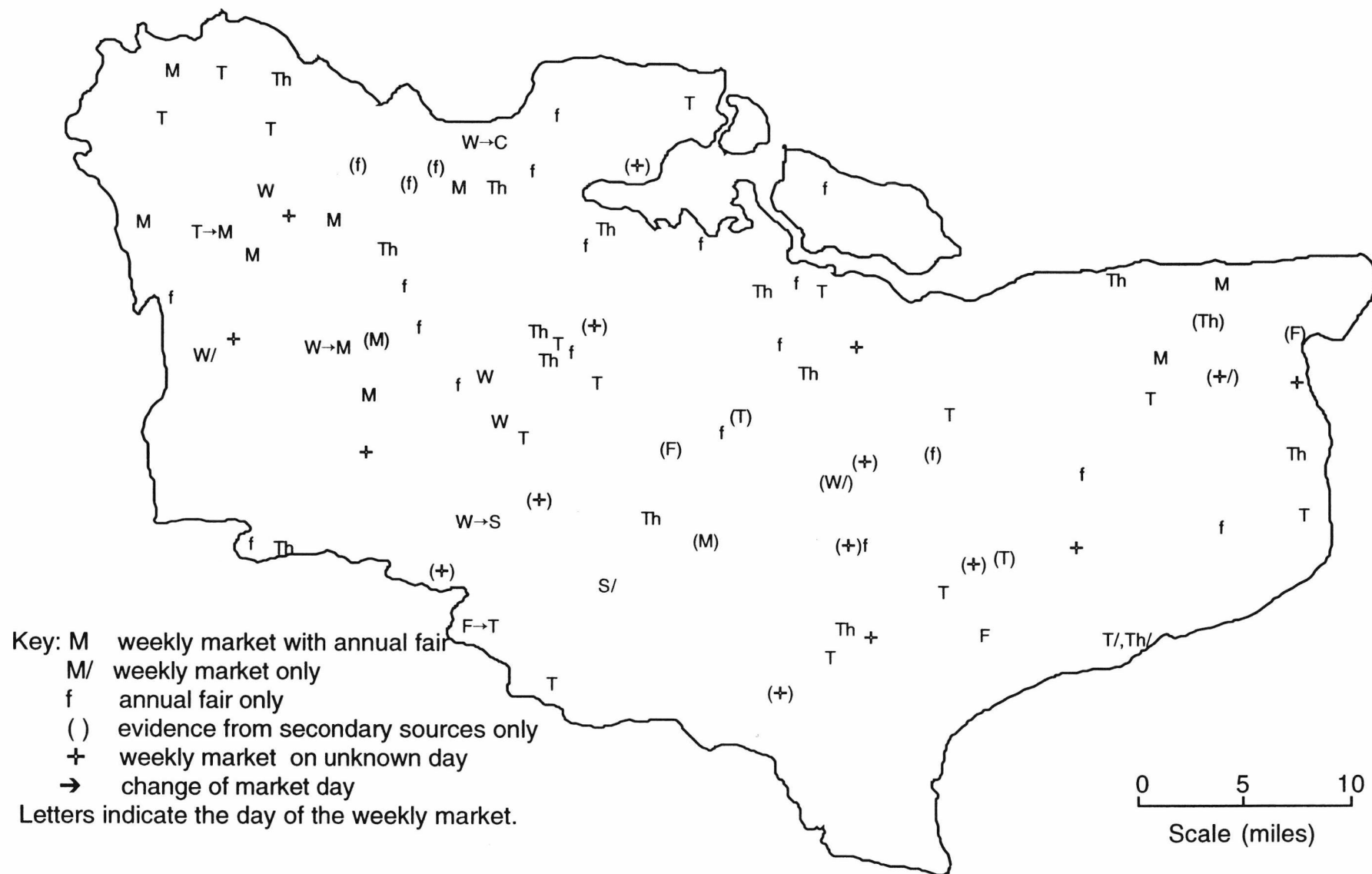
136. *CChR*, i, p.241.

137. *CChR*, ii, p.61.

138. *CChR*, ii, p.233.

139. Hasted, iv, p.332.

140. *CChR*, ii, p.37.



Map 6.3. The approximate locations of all village markets known to have been created in Kent before 1350.

For details of the sources, refer to the text.

prosperous Leybourne family, a market was granted in 1311¹⁴¹ and one on the manor of Yalding, which was a part of the Tonbridge estate formerly of the earls of Gloucester, now held by Hugh d'Audley was founded in 1318.¹⁴²

Gravesend is something of an enigma, for no evidence exists of its use as a port for the transportation of goods, yet a cluster of rural markets within a few miles of Gravesend suggests that it may have had a role in shipping produce to and from the capital. It is known that Richard II granted to the abbot and convent of St Mary Graces in London that the men of Gravesend and Milton should have the sole privilege of carrying passengers by water from there to London via Billingsgate. After 'long use' their right was recognised and confirmed on 6 Sept 1401 by Henry IV.¹⁴³

While riverine communication was important for the passage of large and heavy loads, road transport was clearly also important at a local level. A recent study has demonstrated that medieval men and women were in the habit of frequenting two or three local markets. From the point of view of the ease with which this was possible, it emerges that all persons were more or less equally able to get to their closest market. However, once the second closest market is brought into consideration, it becomes clear that the shorter the distance, the more choice the peasant had and the greater was his knowledge of marketing possibilities. This divergence in opportunity has its effect even where the range of distances to a second market was only between two and nine miles.¹⁴⁴ The major problem was the cost of road transport, which affected the lords as well as the peasants. In the west midlands, the costs of transporting barrels of wine by road could be as much as five or six times as

141. *CChR*, iii, p.160.

142. *CChR*, iii, p.395.

143. Hasted, iii, pp.320-1; F.A.Mansfield, *History of Gravesend in the County of Kent* (Rochester, 1981), p.2.

144. K.Biddick, 'Medieval English Peasants and Market Involvement', *Journal of Economic History* 45 (1985), pp.826-7.

expensive as taking them by boat up the river Severn.¹⁴⁵ Thus the inland markets had a local importance acting, like Wingham, as collection and distribution points for small traders and fitting into a wider network of marketing centres that were able to make use of the cheaper water-borne transport.

The fact that markets served a much wider radius than mills is one reason why most lords were unable to exploit this method of investment in the community. The requirement to gain royal approval meant that there was a mechanism which all but excluded the lesser lords and left the more prominent and politically active in control of this potentially lucrative source of income.

So how much were markets and fairs worth to a lord? The range of valuations shows that success for a market even after it had been licensed was not guaranteed. Some clearly did not last for very long and some grants may have been dead letters from the start. For example, William de Orlestone acquired a market grant for his home manor in 1267.¹⁴⁶ Seven years later, when enquiries were made into the origins of such franchises, the jury representing Newchurch Hundred spoke of this new market, recording that they did not know by what right William claimed to hold it.¹⁴⁷ This suggests that it was then operational but a jury in a case of *Quo Warranto* of the early fourteenth century found that the 1267 grant had never been put into effect, so that William de Orlestone, the great-grandson of the grantee, was in mercy and his right to use the grant was revoked.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, in 1338 on the manor of Chilham, held then by the Badlesmere family, both the market and the annual fair were said by the jury at the IPM of Giles de Badlesmere to be of no value to the lord because they were no longer used.¹⁴⁹

145. C.Dyer, 'The consumer and the market in the later middle ages', *Econ.Hist.Rev.*, 2nd. ser., 42 (1989), p.309.

146. *CChR*, ii, p.67.

147. *RH*, 231a.

148. *Comm. on Markets and Tolls*, pp.77ff.

149. *CIPM*, viii, No.185; PRO C135 File 56, m.33.

This is the only explicit zero valuation given in any of the Kentish IPMs, but the silence of these inquisitions on the subject of markets and fairs which were supposedly appendant to a manor is significant. Thirty two grants of markets or fairs were followed more or less closely by inquisitions to which the juries provided full extents of the relevant manors. In only nine of these extents are the markets mentioned. Nevertheless, this need not imply that most markets failed to get off the ground. For example, when Juliana de Leybourne died in 1328 and an extent of the manor was made of her large and valuable manor of Elham, four miles to the north of Folkestone, neither fair nor market was mentioned.¹⁵⁰ Yet eighteen years earlier, when Juliana's father William de Leybourne had died, his IPM had recorded that the market of Elham was worth 20s. yearly in tolls and that there was then a new annual fair, held at the feast of All Saints which was valued at 3s.4d.¹⁵¹ In fact this fair was not so new, for it was recorded in the Hundred Rolls of 1274, when it was said to be worth 3s. yearly.¹⁵² The history of the market of Elham may also be traced back to the middle of the thirteenth century when Elham was in the hands of the prince Edward.¹⁵³ Juliana de Leybourne certainly intended to keep the market and fair going after her father's death, for she claimed them in court by prescriptive right.¹⁵⁴ It may well be that the fair failed because in 1332, four years after Juliana died, William de Clynton, as new lord of the manor, obtained a grant to hold a fair for three days at the feast of St Denis (9 October).¹⁵⁵ The explanation for the failure of the 1328 IPM to mention a market on the manor probably lies in the fact that the extent on this occasion was much more perfunctory than the 1310 version. It seems likely that the market and fair were not dealt with as a separate issue, being instead

150. *CIPM*, vii, No.80; PRO C135 File 5(4).

151. *CIPM*, v, No.220; PRO C134 File 17(7).

152. *RH*, 230a.

153. Hasted, viii, p.98.

154. *Comm. on Markets and Tolls*, pp.77ff.

155. *CChR*, iv, p.259.

included under the heading of free rents of assize, if they were thought of at all.

Elham market certainly thrived in later centuries,¹⁵⁶ although this can not be taken as evidence of a continuous history. Westerham was another manor on which a market was founded in the thirteenth century. It was also one of the sixteen market towns that have been identified within the county in the sixteenth century.¹⁵⁷ Conditions though, do not seem to have favoured this creation. Thomas de Camvill, as lord of the manor in 1227 obtained the first grant to a market here, to be held on Wednesdays.¹⁵⁸ Over a century later, in 1351, the abbot of Westminster, to whom the lordship had been granted, obtained a charter for a weekly market on Mondays together with a fair at the feast of the Nativity of St Mary.¹⁵⁹ In the seventeenth century the market had to be recreated, this time by local entrepreneurs.

Thus the fact that an IPM failed to mention a market attached to a manor may indicate that an earlier foundation had come to naught, but equally the market may in fact have been in operation. In such cases the value of the market may be subsumed under the heading of the capital messuage. At the Ruxley family's manor of Sandling in the parish of St Mary Cray an IPM extent made in 1291 includes a valuation of 40s. for the capital messuage, with garden, dovecot and *cum foro*.¹⁶⁰ The charter authorising this market had been granted to the lord Gregory de Ruxley ten years previously.¹⁶¹ In other cases, as perhaps at Elham in 1328, markets may have been neglected or otherwise subsumed. Much of the financial value of ownership of a market came from the right to charge tolls¹⁶² and the proximity of a market to the

156. A. Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce' in J. Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol. IV 1500-1640* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 474.

157. *Ibid.*, p. 477.

158. *CChR*, i, p. 52.

159. *CChR*, v, p. 124.

160. *CIPM*, ii, No. 824; PRO C133 File 60(9).

161. *CChR*, ii, p. 253.

162. The market court was of little or no financial value. Its purpose was to ensure the correct use of weights and measures, and although fines could be imposed and goods and equipment seized, this brought in little regular income to the lord. The

central buildings of the manor must often have led to their being valued as all one entity. In this respect the example of John de Hadlow, lord of the manor of Street is significant. His activities were complained about by the jury of Street Hundred in 1274, who said that the market was by the path which led to his court and which was used by the people of the neighbourhood who both walked and rode along it. So, when John installed a stile (which he perhaps intended as a toll-gate), it was to the detriment of the community.¹⁶³

Those valuations of markets and fairs which do occur in the IPMs are listed in Table 6.5. The majority of these were relatively well-established affairs, with the earliest known reference coming at least thirty years before the valuation. Furthermore, it is hardly surprising that the largest seignorial profits were to be made from those markets which had grown to become quasi-boroughs. By far the majority (90%) of the value of Erith market came from burgage rents, paid for tenements in the town. Erith was one of the beneficiaries of Bartholomew de Badlesmere's charter of 1315. The burgage rents were paid on 11 October and on Hockday, in the spring. They were over and above the ordinary assized rents paid, as was usual, at four occasions in the year.¹⁶⁴

In the smaller markets associated with more modest estates, the potential rents were correspondingly lower. The boroughs no doubt had trading places which were based

surviving record of the Court of the abbess of Malling, held at West Malling on the day of the annual St Leonard Fair in 1364/5 has only one case. Alan Dyer of Maidstone sued John de Stonhill in a plea of debt, saying that he owed £25 10s. The bailiff of the fair took 29 wool fells from Stonhill, in accordance with the law of the fair, as bail against his attendance in court. However, Stonhill could not be brought to the court at any of the three sittings, that is 9 o'clock in the morning, mid day and again in the afternoon. The woolfells remained in the custody of the bailiff until the following fair, for which we have no record. Presumably, if Stonhill again failed to appear to answer the charge, then the bulk of property would go to Dyer in payment of the debt. PRO SC2/181/68.

163. *RH*, 232a.

164. *CIPM*, viii, No.185; PRO C135 File 56, m.29.

Table 6.5.

a) The value of markets to the lord of the manor with which they were associated.¹⁶⁵

Manor	Creation or earliest reference	Date of valuation	Valuation and notes
Tonbridge	1241	1296 1307/1314	13s.4d. stallage and market tolls 2s. <i>stretpanes</i> , 6s.8d. market tolls; 13s.4d. pleas and perquisites of the borough court.
Brenchley (Yalding)	pre 1230	1263 1296/1314	21s.9½d. <i>forinsec</i> rent; 24s. stallage & shops. 26s.8d. <i>forinsec</i> rent & 8-10d. new rent; 10-20s. stallage.
Erith	1315	1338	42s. burgage rents; 4s. stallage.
Chatham	1285	1330	40s. stallage?
Dartford	pre 1086	1253/1260	39s. burgage rent; 23s.4d. from the Guild; 9-10m. toll of market etc.
Sandling (St Mary Cray)	1281	1330 1291	18s.10d. rent of stalls and guild. 40s for the capital messuage, garden, dovecot and with the market.
Brasted	1227	1346 1296 1307/1314	value of market illegible. 5s. market tolls 10s. <i>stretpanes</i> , 10s. minor farms, 3s.4d.-4s. toll of market.
Ashford	1278	1310	22s. market
Elham	1250	1310	20s. toll of market.
Eynsford	unknown	1303	6s.8d. half the tolls and stallage of the market
Chilham	1291	1338	market of no value because it is not used.

b) The value of Fairs to their owners.

Chatham	pre 1285	1338	2s. fair at Langeport; 40s. another fair.
Cudham	unknown	1322	20s. pleas and perquisites, including fair of <i>Bertrey</i>
Ashford	unknown	1310	18s.
Tonbridge	unknown	1307-1314	4s. <i>fairepanes</i> .
Elham	unknown	1310	3s.4d. from a new fair.
Ashurst	unknown	1308	2s. each for two fairs.
Chilham	1291	1338	fair of no value because it is no longer used.

165. Sources: see Appendix 6.1.

around permanent shops and shambles.¹⁶⁶ These were supplemented with stalls and pens set up in the street, but in the more numerous weekly village markets such temporary structures were the norm. Wooden stalls with hooped cloth coverings are clearly shown in a contemporary illustration of the medieval fair of Lendit in France.¹⁶⁷ Such stalls could command only a small rental value, and maybe paid no rent at all. In sixteenth century Romford in Essex, butchers paid 6d. for a stall while for other traders the stallage was 3d., 2d., 1d. or 'what could be gotten of them'.¹⁶⁸

The markets and fairs that do figure in extents are generally the ones that we would expect to be the more valuable. The vast majority of the rest were worth far less to their owners in pure monetary terms. When, in 1310-11, John de Lenham tried to claim that his market and fair at Hunton, near Maidstone, were prescriptive he alleged that they had been allowed in the eyre of 1306-7. This was found to be false and as a result the market was disallowed. The fair was restored to him on payment of a fine of 13s.4d., its annual value being just 3d.¹⁶⁹

Nevertheless those lords who had taken the gamble on founding a market on their estate did make the effort to keep their creations going in so far as they could. The market of West Wickham was apparently a weakling child. Granted to Walter de Huntingfield in 1318 nothing more is heard of it until the sixteenth century, although it has been suggested that the widening of the High Street in typical market fashion is evidence that it was laid out for this purpose.¹⁷⁰ In any case, the Huntingfield lords of West Wickham apparently had the interests of their own market in mind when, in

166. As they were in the sixteenth century, A.Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce' in J.Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol.IV 1500-1640 (Cambridge, 1967), p.484.

167. Reproduced as the frontispiece to E.W.Moore, *The Fairs of Medieval England, An Introductory Study* (Toronto, 1985).

168. A.Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce' in J.Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol.IV 1500-1640 (Cambridge, 1967), p.487.

169. *Comm. on Markets and Tolls.*, pp.77ff.

170. P.Knowlton and J.Walker, *West Wickham - Past into Present* (West Wickham, 1986), p.18.

the early 1340s, it was alleged that their men assaulted the bailiffs of the Archbishop of Canterbury's manor of Croydon. In 1344 the archbishop made a complaint that Walter de Huntingfield, Hugh de Huntingfield and seven or eight others of West Wickham were preventing his men from collecting the toll and profit of Croydon market.¹⁷¹ Croydon market had been created by a charter of 1314¹⁷² and, although according to conventional wisdom they were not in direct competition for they operated on different days, it seems that the Huntingfield lord's market was having difficulty in establishing itself in an area which already had several thriving market towns. Another recently established market only three miles away was probably just the easiest target for the West Wickham men looking for a scapegoat.¹⁷³

In order to boost the level of trading at existing markets and so increase their own income from them, some lords tried the tactic of altering the timing, although this did not often meet with success. For example, in 1230 Hamo de Crevequer obtained a charter to change the market day at his manor of Brenchley from Sunday to Wednesday.¹⁷⁴ Three years later he got another charter, this time for a Saturday market.¹⁷⁵ That the move to a Wednesday market had failed is suggested by the fact that the second grant included provision for an annual fair for three days at All Saints (1st November), just as the earlier charter had done. If the Wednesday market was thriving and Saturday was to be the occasion of a second weekly market at Brenchley, then either the fair need not have been mentioned, or both the fair and the Wednesday market would have been confirmed together. In any case, even Saturday does not appear to have met with the approval of the local traders, for in 1296, when the manor

171. *CPR 1343-45*, p.386.

172. *CChR*, iii, p.271.

173. West Wickham market continued, though it never seems to have amounted to very much. The profits to the lord in 1580 were put at only 5s. P.Knowlden and J.Walker, *West Wickham - Past into Present* (West Wickham, 1986), p.19.

174. *CChR*, i, p.123.

175. *CChR*, i, p.182.

of Brenchley was the subject of an IPM following the death of Gilbert de Clare who then held it, the market there was said to be held on Sunday.¹⁷⁶ This was eleven years after the Statute of Westminster had expressly forbidden the holding of markets on a Sunday, which is probably why the clerks took the unusual step of including in the inquisition return this detail. In any case, the suggestion is that the Brenchley villagers had long been used to having their market held on a Sunday and were resistant to change.

Thus new markets stood little chance of becoming very profitable within a short period. The main motive of the lords in creating markets was not as a short or even medium term investment. The conclusions of recent studies also serve to show that the driving force was not pure demand either.¹⁷⁷ There may be an element of truth in the assertion that the tenth-century abbot of St Albans founded a market there 'out of love for the district and its inhabitants'¹⁷⁸ and some thirteenth century lords may have acted with similar paternalism towards their poorer tenants.¹⁷⁹

The main intention of the lord who founded a market was to derive a cash income from tolls and rents, but there was also a recognition of the benefits of extending the marketing network and providing a place for the manorial tenants to buy and sell. The thirteenth and fourteenth century lord, as cultivator of his own demesnes, recognised himself to be part of a community even if he was socially above the vast majority of his neighbours. His tenants needed to be provided with the means to support themselves reasonably comfortably if they were to be able to continue to pay their rent, work on the demesnes and keep their own land in good heart. Furthermore, even if most lords obtained their luxuries and imports from London and the majority of

176. *CIPM*, iii, No.371; PRO C133 File 77(3).

177. K.Biddick, 'Medieval English Peasants and Market Involvement', *Journal of Economic History* 45 (1985), p.823.

178. Riley, ed., *Gesta Abbatum*, I, p.22.

179. Britnell, 'The Proliferation of Markets', p.221.

their grain and meat from their own lands, there were still occasions on which the ability to trade locally must have been welcome. In 1290 most of John de Cobham's grain sale income came from selling at a high price when the price was right, but it seems that at times there was a need to sell small quantities of wheat at a lower price and, perhaps therefore, at short notice.¹⁸⁰ Animals were sold when they became sick, and small amounts of dairy produce can have gone no further than the local market.

On the other hand, John de Cobham also seems to have made purchases locally. Whereas when he bought 4000 plain tiles and three corner tiles, these were shipped along the coast from Woolwich to Chalk, the costs of most of the myriad other requirements for building and repair work around Cobham manor in 1290 do not include elements relating to transport arrangements. The conclusion must be that a significant proportion of these were obtained locally. In this context it is interesting to note that no market was founded on the Cobham estate until 1367, when a later John de Cobham obtained the requisite charter for the manor of Cobham itself.¹⁸¹ The benefit to the lord then was not purely financial, but lay also in simply having a market close at hand. This was probably the reason why William de Orlestone did not worry too much about utilising the powers to found a market at Orlestone given him by his charter of 1267.¹⁸² Warehorne manor lay immediately to the west of Orlestone and the lord here, Hugh de Windsore, had acquired a charter in the same year which was repeated in the same terms in 1280, in a grant to Richard de Bedeford.¹⁸³

In conclusion, to found a successful market and to reap a significant income from it depended upon political influence. The need to obtain a royal charter and to defend the new creation against the jealousies of neighbouring lords meant the larger and more

180. See above, p.157.

181. *CChR*, v, p.208.

182. *CChR*, ii, p.67.

183. *CChR*, ii, pp.85 and 233.

profitable markets and fairs were almost inevitably to be found on the larger and more valuable manors, which were in turn part of extensive estates. In the centuries before the arrival of the Normans, it had been the English kings who established and maintained a network of marketing centres.¹⁸⁴ From the beginning of the twelfth century onwards the process of market creation had spread first to the ecclesiastical and lay barons and later to the lesser manorial lords. The abbot of St Augustine's claim that the market and fair on the manor of Minster in Thanet had originated with a charter of Edward the Confessor was upheld by the justices of *Quo Warranto* in 1310, while Combwell priory and Faversham abbey based similar successful claims upon charters of Henry II.¹⁸⁵ When the charter rolls begin in the reign of John, the earliest Kentish market grants that we find were made to the archbishop of Canterbury, the abbot of St Augustine's and the prior of Christ Church.¹⁸⁶ Within a few years grants began to be made to lay barons. In 1214 William de Averenches and Stephen Harengod were respectively granted the right to hold a market and fair at Folkestone and at Stowting, both places which were more than mere manors, being hundredal centres.¹⁸⁷ As the thirteenth century progressed, more charters were granted to knights such as Nicholas de Lenham or William de Orlestone. Nicholas was granted a market and fair at his manor of Hunton, near Maidstone 1257¹⁸⁸ and William's grant was for Orlestone in 1267.¹⁸⁹

Markets and mills are two rather different phenomena, but from the lord's viewpoint they had similarities. Firstly, each represents an attempt to realise an income from the

184. D.C.North and R.P.Thomas, *The Rise of the Western World: A New Economic History* (New York, 1973), p.59.

185. *Comm. on Markets and Tolls*, pp.77ff.

186. Grants of a fair at Northfleet made on 16 March 1201, a market at Stonar in the Isle of Thanet made on 15 June 1203 and a market at Orpington made on 4 April 1206. *Rotuli Chartarum*, vol.1, part i (1837), pp.91, 106 and 163b.

187. *Ibid.*, p.201.

188. *CChR*, i, p.463

189. *CChR*, ii, p.67.

whole neighbourhood, both tenant and non-tenant. Secondly, each was financed initially by the lord, who then took a rent income in one form or another. The bulk of the lord's profit from markets came from rents on stalls and tolls on the goods sold. Markets could be extremely valuable, but success could not be guaranteed and so they represented a significant risk. Mills may have relied upon technology which was prone to failure and the cost of their upkeep may have appeared high. From the numbers of watermills and windmills that appeared in the Kentish countryside over the course of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries they were presumably well enough used by the local populace as a place to have their corn ground. Mills, in particular, gave a welcome boost to the incomes of gentry lords of estates of all sizes.

Implications for the rationality of estate management.

The various different elements of the estate that have been described largely in isolation from each other in fact constituted a coherent whole. In large part the disintegrated view of the previous chapters is a product of the documents. The surveys and extents upon which much of the work has been based, and which were made to delineate and put values on the estates, give the same impression. In attempting to arrive at an accurate total valuation, each manor and isolated tenement which was actually part of the lord's personal estate at the time of his death was taken in turn and within these everything was listed, item by item, and given a separate assessment.

However, in the day by day and year by year management of his estate, the lord saw things very differently. At all levels within the whole no one part could be altered without affecting other components. Indeed, no one element could exist profitably in isolation. On estates which consisted of more than one manor there was generally some degree of intermanorialism. Most often this can be seen in the movement of stock from one manor to another. For example, on the north Kent estate of John de Cobham, in 1290, 273 wethers were purchased during the year and, of these, 97 were sent from Cobham to Cooling after they had been sheared¹. On Sir John de Pulteney's manor of Penshurst, in the far west of the county, where the emphasis was on cattle raising rather than sheep, movement of stock was also a feature of the management. The manorial serjeant, Robert atte Park, accounted in 1346/7 for various animals both received from and sent to other manors of the estate during the course of the year². One of these other manors was Ospringe, near Faversham.³ In 1346/7 the bailiff here was one Walter Skayn to whom Robert atte Park sent four cart-horses and a foal. On

1. BL Harl.Roll D1, stock account.

2. CKS U1475 M62, stock account.

3. Sir John died in 1349, when an IPM was taken, providing a description of the estate. *CIPM*, ix, No.183, PRO C135 File 95(13).

May 8, a bull, twelve cows and four calves were received in Penshurst from Ospringe and in the following March the same number of adult animals were returned. There was also movement of cattle between Penshurst and Yenesfeld, another Pulteney manor in the Weald. Sir John had an interest in Dartford as well and in this year he successfully distrained Edmund Polle, a tenant of that fee for arrears of rent. Around Christmas time John de Cleyndon, the bailiff of Dartford sent to Penshurst the four cows which Edmund had been forced to part with.

At the lower level of the individual manor it was also impossible in the day-to-day management to deal with one aspect of the property by considering it apart from the other elements. The decision to increase the amount of land sown with the lord's seed might mean that the area of demesne available for sheep or cattle pasturage was diminished. This in turn would lead to a decrease in the amount of dung being readily available for manuring the land and thus to an increase in the real cost of this useful commodity. An alternative way of ensuring an increase in the area of arable was to purchase land, either from the tenants of the manor or from outside the estate. To do so cost money, in both the short and the long term. Initially there was the purchase price, and perhaps an entry fine to be paid to a neighbouring lord. Then came either a diminished rent-roll if the land had come from the lord's own tenant, or an increase in the outgoing rents if the land was held of a neighbouring manor. In either case, in net terms the lord had to meet these ongoing real costs.

A mill might be built on the estate, but this had to be considered very carefully. Was there sufficient demand in the neighbourhood for such an enterprise? Were there already enough local mills to supply the required capacity? Would such a long-term investment ultimately prove a costly waste of precious money and resources? On the other hand, a new mill might enable the lord's tenants to make better use of their own lands by allowing them to process their grain more cheaply and effectively than they

had been able to do hitherto. In that case, at least some of those who would otherwise succumb to the economic pressures on their small-holdings might be helped to survive and rents could therefore be preserved and maybe even increased. A thriving body of tenants itself had implications beyond the rent and customs which it paid into the lord's coffers, for this population was one of the potential sources of labour on the lord's own lands. The desire to ensure the well-being of the tenants was one motive behind the charitable bequests made to the poorer of the testators' tenants in gentry wills of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴

On estates of all sizes, outlying manors and tenements most often came to be a part of the lord's property as a result of marriage. These outliers were frequently not managed directly, but were used for other purposes. On larger estates they gave a convenient way of dividing an inheritance, ensuring that younger sons and other relatives were well provided for. They were also on occasion granted to free-holding sub-tenants and retainers in return for military or political support. Others might be leased out for terms of years, again to give a largely cash-based income.⁵

Previous chapters, especially chapter 4, have shown that the lesser gentry lord saw his estate as existing first and foremost to sustain himself and his family in the lifestyle to which their position in society entitled them. Thus, sufficient arable, pasture and meadow land was kept in demesne to provide at least a large proportion of the food which was needed. This land had to be worked, necessitating a readily available labour force, with the flexibility which would allow for workers to be taken on and laid off at short notice as the demands of the agricultural seasons varied. Although for most lords the service rents of the manorial tenantry fell far short of the total amount needed, this body of small-holding families probably did provide much of the labour. There were

4. C.Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200-1520* (Cambridge, 1989), p.251.

5. Above, pp.43ff.

some tenant services on many manors, chiefly those with a history stretching back to the eleventh century. When economic conditions were right, the lords were able to use some or all of these. Certainly at harvest time, when the labour demands of all landholders were at their highest, the lord who could call upon his tenants to perform boon-works was at an advantage over his less fortunate neighbours. As well as having first call upon the workers, he had only to pay them the customary food and drink for the day. Only a minority of lords were able to do this, however, because previous commutation or a relatively recent formation of a manor meant that the prevailing set of customs did not include such labour services. However, many of the tenants held only a few acres of land, if any at all, in addition to their cottage and so they must have needed to supplement their income with paid labour, and the lords made use of this. They also had bodies of more or less full-time employees, many of whom again were probably as yet unmarried sons of the manorial tenants.

To dispense with the tenantry completely and devote all of the manor to demesne was unwise, even if it were possible. Tenants of established holdings and their legitimate heirs under gavelkind had rights of tenure which could not be disregarded lightly. If a lord wanted to bring more of the land in his manors into his own demesne, then he had either to buy his tenants out or to wait until a tenement escheated to him for lack of heirs. We certainly see signs of lords following the former course, and the examples of Roger and John de Northwood, of John de Planaz and others have been described earlier.⁶ No doubt if we had more consecutive series of court rolls from the manors of these gentry estates, we would see some lords retaining forfeited and escheated tenant holdings in their own hands as well. Nevertheless, the IPMs show almost no examples of granges, that is of manors with no tenants at all. Certainly, there are no complete estates with absolutely no tenants.

6. Above, pp.68ff.

As well as providing a labour force for the demesne, the presence of a tenant element to the estate gave other opportunities for income to the lord. Firstly and most importantly they owed rent, in cash and kind. This was a regular and reasonably dependable source of income. Although external demands on the peasantry could be high, in the form of clerical dues, government taxes, purveyances and so on, the surviving court rolls from Kentish manors suggest that tenants falling into arrears with their rent was not a major problem. Furthermore, rent income was supplemented by other occasional payments, since when a tenancy was taken up, following either a purchase or inheritance, heriots and entry fines were often owed. Secondly, with a large proportion of tenants having holdings too small to provide all their own food, they ensured a ready demand for surplus demesne produce. They also needed timber for the building and maintenance of their own cottages and wood for fuel, particularly in the winter. While tenants of some manors may have had rights to gather such wood as they required, the sale of underwood brought a regular income to many lords. Thirdly, lordship of a manor entailed the right to hold a court for the tenants, which had two benefits. One was that it gave the lord and his officers a mechanism to keep track of the tenancies and to ensure that rents and other dues were paid. The other benefit was the opportunity to exact further small payments in the forms of amercements, as punishments for breaking the customary rules of the manor.

The tenants, as well as the lord, his family and everybody else associated with the estate, were also members of a wider community, which again allowed opportunities for income to the enterprising man. Mills took about ten years or so to recoup the costs of construction, but the lords did not lightly engage in such investment.⁷ A regulated market too, if one did not already exist, could provide a modest income in the form of rents and tolls. In any case, such improvements to the amenities of the

7. See above, p.258. M.M.Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society* (London, 1972), p.104.

neighbourhood all served to strengthen the lord's position as benefactor.

Finally, others in the locality provided a demand for other commodities which the lord had at his disposal, such as demesne meadow and pasture which was regularly leased on a short term basis. Arable might also be leased out in certain circumstances, although at this level of gentry lordship in Kent this seems to have been rare before the mid fourteenth century.

Most of these elements were present in some degree on the majority of estates. Typically, at the level of estate with one or two manors, in terms of leaseable worth the demesne lands accounted for some sixty per cent of the total. Tenant based income provided the other forty per cent. However, this is not to say that every estate was managed in the same way. Indeed, one of the enduring themes of the thesis has been the differences between individual estates. These differences have been seen as the products of numerous factors, including the size of the estate, its position within the geography of the county, its own internal layout, the state of the national and regional economy and demographic fortunes of the family. It was only on the estates of the wealthier and more prominent lords that markets were founded during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and not all of these lords could guarantee the success of their creations. Rather more estates acquired mills after the introduction of windmills early in the thirteenth century, but even so a mill is not a typical element of the manor in the same way as the demesne and the tenants are. Indeed, not all manors had demesne land and not all had tenants, although by far the majority had at least some of each. The right to hold a manorial court was enjoyed by all lords, but for many the small number of tenants made this of little importance. The fact that not many court rolls survive for the small lay manors probably results from a lack of systematic record keeping on small estates.⁸

8. Kosminsky, p.269.

A significant aspect of the lay gentry estate which has emerged from this work has been their very local aspect. This requires some further discussion. For the men whose estates comprised just one or perhaps two manors, so much is perhaps obvious. The descendants of these lords in the fifteenth century and later have been termed 'parish' gentry, as opposed to their more wealthy and politically active neighbours, the so called 'county' gentry.⁹ The landed estates of these lesser lords gave them small profits and few opportunities to gain an interest in lands outside their immediate locality.

However, the same is true of many of the 'county' gentry as well, as has been shown. John de Cobham was a royal justice who served his king as a baron of the exchequer. As a leader of troops he fought in Scotland. At a more local level, he was an administrator who held inquisitions in all parts of Kent. More than likely, he earned a sizeable income from such activities which, had he so chosen, would have allowed him to build an estate of far larger proportions than he in fact did¹⁰. Yet when he died, his personal estate consisted of five manors, four of which lay in a small area around the village from which his family took their name. The detailed investigation of the allotment of the Cobham manors shows that this was not simply the result of a retirement and pre-mortem distribution of previously much more widespread lands. Other properties further afield did come into the Cobham estate, but these were quickly allocated to relatives or retainers. In terms of his own personal estate John de Cobham was bound by more than purely economic ties to the locality of his patrimonial estate. William de Orlestone too, served as a commissioner in Dover and Canterbury. Yet as a landowner, his interests also remained centred upon the ancient

9. P.W.Fleming, 'Charity, Faith, and the Gentry of Kent 1422-1529', in T.Pollard, ed., *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History* (Gloucester, 1984), p.36.

10. Hatfield MS 306 contains copies of several extracts from the Exchequer rolls, which often relate to monies owed by the Cobham lords for various franchises and custodies that they held. Hatfield MS 306, ff. 34v.-36, 38-39.

family lands, in this case the manor of Orlestone, with other lands elsewhere having the appearance of no more than satellites.

This is not to say that all men remained strictly parochial in their outlook. This period saw the emergence of many of the families who would be the true county gentry of later years, and some did allow their influence to spread. Reginald de Cobham, great-nephew of John, was one such.¹¹ Another member of the Kentish gentry who clearly had far wider horizons and ambitions was Bartholomew de Badlesmere. The IPM of his father Guncelimus taken in 1301 records that on his death he held only the manor of Badlesmere, near Faversham in the north of the county. The return explicitly states that Guncelimus then held no other lands or tenures of the king or others south of the river Trent, that is within the jurisdiction of the king's escheator Walter de Gloucester.¹² In fact the Badlesmere estate had knightly sub-tenants at least from early in the thirteenth century. The *Testa de Nevill* in a list of 1242/3 includes fees then held of Bartholomew de Badlesmere. These fees are the same as those which appear in the 1328 IPM of Guncelimus's son and heir Bartholomew. The reason that they were not listed among Guncelimus's own assets is most probably because there was no writ of *certiorari de feodis* issued to the escheator on that occasion. It is though, possible that Guncelimus had shed some of his manors and other rights in his old age in favour of his heir apparent.

Nevertheless, Bartholomew's own IPM, taken in 1328, after the accession of king Edward III, shows that he and his wife Margaret had between them held an estate quite disproportionate in size to Guncelimus's single manor and few knightly tenants. As well as the manor of Badlesmere, the estate comprised the castles and manors of Leeds and Chilham, the manors of Bockingfold, Lesnes, Tonge, Whitstable, Kingston and Hothfield and other lands in Kent. A total of approximately fifteen knights' fees

11. See above, p.56.

12. *CIPM*, iv, No.38; PRO C133 File 101(3).

were held by sub-tenants of these manors and there were other manors, fees and advowsons in Essex, Hertfordshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Shropshire, Sussex, Herefordshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire and Buckinghamshire, valued in all at over £300 per annum.¹³ His position among the gentry of Kent had become correspondingly more elevated. He was now able to obtain grants of wardships which previously might have been expected to go to others. For example, when John de Northwood died in 1318, leaving a twelve year old son as his principal heir, Bartholomew was granted custody of the estate. True, one of the manors was Horton which was held as a quarter knight's fee of the manor of Badlesmere, but this was a minor part of the Northwood estate. Larger and more valuable were the manors of Shorne and of Thornham, in respect of both of which John had had connections with the Cobham lords. Given this connection, Henry de Cobham 'the nephew', who was around sixty years old at the time, might reasonably have had a good claim to the guardianship of the Northwood heir. Some of this increase in the status and wealth of the Badlesmere family was undoubtedly the product of a successful marriage, but this cannot be the whole story. Bartholomew must have achieved a high social and political standing before he was able to approach a widow or heiress with such an endowment. It was after all as a result of the enormous legacy that Bartholomew's son Giles inherited that he was able to secure the marriage of Elizabeth, the daughter of William de Montacute, the earl of Salisbury. Giles's four sisters also married peers of the realm. From beginnings which do not seem at all different from the mass of small gentry families of thirteenth century Kent, the Badlesmeres were able to achieve wealth and prominence and their estate grew in size and value as a result. If it had not been for the fact that Giles died childless whereupon the estate was divided among these four sisters, the Badlesmere line might have increased further to take its place

13. *CIPM*, vii, No.104; PRO C135; File 9(10).

among the greatest in the land.

Nevertheless, in terms of the Kentish gentry of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century this family is the exception rather than the rule. There was internal development and an accruing of property around the edges of the manors, but in absolute terms the majority of gentry estates remained much the same in size and complexity throughout these years. Their lords remained singularly loyal to the places of their births and upbringing. To an extent this is testimony to the stability of landed society during this period. Although many lines failed through lack of heirs and some lords were forced to sell up because of indebtedness, barring such misfortunes the estates provided sufficient income to allow the lords to live comfortably and independently and most apparently chose to do so rather than attempt engrossment beyond their means.

There is no doubting that the gentry did make use of the market to dispose of demesne surplus. There was a need to generate income to cover work and repairs around the estate, the 'necessities of the manor' in the words of the Cobham serjeant. The London market in particular certainly generated a significant demand for foodstuffs. With a population which has been estimated to have been not far short of 100,000 in 1300,¹⁴ the produce necessary to support such a number must have come from far and wide. Grain was frequently shipped directly to London from the north Kent manors of Christchurch priory for example.¹⁵ By comparison with the lay gentry estate the priory's estate was a large and widespread concern, which made good use of marketing to raise cash from basic demesne produce. Much of this income was needed simply to meet the crown's tax demands on the clergy. It has been found that

14. D.Keene, 'Medieval London and its region', *The London Journal* 14 (1989), p.99.

15. M.Mate, 'The agrarian economy of south-east England before the Black Death: depressed or buoyant?' in B.M.S.Campbell, ed., *Before the Black Death. Studies in the 'crisis' of the early fourteenth century* (Manchester, 1991), p.80.

as much as 16% of the priory's revenues between 1295 and 1297 were expended in the form of taxes.¹⁶ The lay gentry may have been taxed this heavily, although 1294-97 was a quite exceptional period for taxation of all kinds. Nevertheless, on other occasions the lesser gentry lord may also have needed a large cash income, as for example when men such as Thomas Colepeper followed his masters north to fight alongside them against Edward II. The lay gentry sometimes undertook religious pilgrimages to shrines overseas, particularly towards the end of their lives, when they felt the need to secure the salvation of their souls.

For the most part though, the main emphasis of the demesne production was on feeding the household and the manorial workers. In this respect, the cropping regime on the demesne and the foodstuffs consumed in the household and liveries given in payment to servants and others were to some extent in symbiosis. The manorial serjeant of Cobham claimed that 4 bushels of malted wheat had been purchased for the lord's use, but this item was disallowed by the auditors. The lord himself also bought a considerable quantity of oats, most of which was used to fodder horses, because insufficient had been grown in the accounting year 1290/1. Nonetheless, in general, the types of grain that could be grown in a particular geographical area were those that were used in the liveries and broadly determined what was consumed in the household. Conversely, within the limits of technological progress, the balance of crops grown and of animals kept were matched to the needs and consumption patterns of the household and servants.

If crop growing was geared toward feeding the household, something ought to be said about wool production. Without doubt Kent was a county whose landholders between them harvested a relatively large quantity of wool each year. In the 1341-2 wool tax it was the third most productive shire in terms of the number of sacks at

16. W.Ormrod, 'The crown and the English economy, 1290-1348', in B.M.S.Campbell, ed., *Before the Black Death* (Manchester, 1991), pp.159-160.

which it was assessed, behind Norfolk and Lincolnshire. However, this tells us nothing about the distribution of production income available to the individual producer nor, indeed, the size of sheep flocks or the number of persons owning them. From the records of the 1338 wool levy, it has been found that most of the wool delivered to the collectors came in small parcels of a few stones. This has been taken to suggest that peasant stocks made up the bulk of the contributions.¹⁷

Just how significant then was the market as a factor in the rationale of the estate management at this level? There is no denying the importance of the market in giving a smoothness to the operation. The opportunity to raise cash at short notice allowed work to be done when it was needed. The ability to save, or to obtain credit, permitted investment in new technologies. Furthermore, most lords augmented their manors by recourse to the market in small pieces of peasant land. Nevertheless, the gentry economy was not so market-centred as to encourage the adoption of monoculture. If the market were so important, why do we not see lords producing grain that might be expected to yield a good rate of return in sale terms and then buying in other grains as required? One reason is prudence of course. Nobody could be sure from year to year what crops might fail. Still, it is surely significant just how much of the demesne produce went not to the market, but to the lord's own table to feed himself and his household.

Again, is this just the result of a price differential? In order to ensure a successful crop the managers of the demesne had to adopt a mixed economy. The household required a variety of grain, fruit, vegetables and meat for its own consumption and it was cheaper to produce these from one's own land than to buy it in. Still, the indications are that in good years when the crops yielded well the household consumption increased correspondingly. If in the early fourteenth century the market

17. *Ibid.*, p.177.

system had been so advanced and well integrated into the economy as has been suggested, then a more sensible response would surely have been to sell more and store the cash receipts against leaner times to come. There was of course the problem of a lack of coin in the realm,¹⁸ but this could have been overcome if the will had been there. It was, for example, possible to store wealth in the form of plate rather than cash. After the Kentish landlord, Roger de Northwood, died, it was found that he had several pieces of silverware in Canterbury, including two lidded cups and a jug in the keeping of the prior of St. Gregory's.¹⁹

A model of the smaller gentry estates will now be proposed, based upon the findings of previous chapters. A rough and ready calculation of the possible net income to the lord from his manor or manors will be made, with the aim of understanding why the estates remained so local when lords of larger estates were able to make such use of the markets at home and overseas to secure high profits.

A hypothetical model of the small gentry estate.

The small estate may be characterised as one comprised of just a single manor, or manorial type unit. Such units were often held by fractions of a knight's fee, but they

18. Prestwich has estimated that there was unlikely ever to have been more than £1 million in current coin in circulation and that £800,000 may be nearer to the true figure. This was roughly the same as the total amount raised in direct taxation in the course of Edward I's reign. M.Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance under Edward I* (London, 1972), p.195. A lack of coin in the period when money rents were being introduced into the manorial economy, has been taken as a reason for the fact that Michaelmas rents were almost always higher than those of other times of the year, since just after the harvest was when a surplus of goods was available to the peasant for sale in the local market. In the early thirteenth century, peasants in Buckinghamshire had to be lent cash to fulfill a ritual payment. P.R.Hyams, *King, Lords and Peasants in Medieval England: The Common Law of Villeinage in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1980), p.11.

19. This information comes from the account made after the manors of Roger Northwood had been held for 24 days by Symon de Knottingley. PRO SC6/893/29. Following an inquisition into the details of the account, it was claimed that he ought to have answered for six silver plates, five saucers, two lidded cups of which one was gilded and the jug. The total value of these goods was put at £42 15s. 3¼d. PRO SC6/1145/8, m.2.

might also be held by the tenure of serjeanty or by the local customary tenure of gavelkind. In any case, in addition to the major component of the holding the likelihood is that during the course of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries other, generally small, areas accrued to the estate. Most often such additions appear to have come about by the mechanism of purchase. Estates of this type were prevalent throughout the county, with those with a knight's fee core numbering something in the region of 400. As such, although they each covered only a small area, they were the most numerous of the lay estates and cumulatively have an important bearing upon the economy of the region.

For the most part, manors of this type were managed as mixed farming enterprises, engaging in both arable and pastoral husbandry. Very few small lay lords specialised to any degree. This makes sense because of the recognised way in which the two aspects of agriculture complemented each other. The most fertile of land had to be left fallow every few years if that fertility was to be maintained, even after the advent of leguminous crops. Animals could be pastured on the rested acres, so that the land was not entirely without income for the year. At the same time the dung of the animals helped to enrich the soil, at no extra cost to the lord, in terms of either acquisition or transportation to the field. Thus, in our first model the main manorial core of the estate is taken to have a demesne consisting of 80 acres of arable land together with permanent pasture for a small flock of sheep, numbering perhaps 50. There is a small area of woodland and an acre or two of meadow. The gavelkind lands which the lord has accumulated add another 50 arable acres which are directly cultivated by him. The lord also practises a mixed economy in terms of combining a tenant rent income with demesne agriculture. The gavelkind tenants of the manor number a dozen or so households. On this small manor there is, as yet, no seignorial mill.

The absence of regulated common cultivation, with strips in open fields cultivated

according to customary rules and a strict cropping regime, means that the Kentish lord was able to be flexible in his approach. Nevertheless, some fallowing was necessary and of the total of 130 arable acres, perhaps an average of 100 can be sown each year. This amount is determined partly by the needs of the soil to be rested, but it also relates to the fact that 100a. is the approximate amount which may be covered by one full time ploughman and his fellow workers.²⁰

The emphasis of the cultivation of these arable acres was upon the production of food for the lord, his family and his servants. Any excess might be sold, but the bulk of the produce went to the household. This carries a double implication. In the first place, we may assume that the actual harvest of the demesne to some extent dictated the pattern of consumption during the ensuing year. The lord will no doubt have ensured that he and his kin had sufficient good quality corn whereas his servants had to make do with inferior grains. In years of very poor harvests however, even the immediate household may have had to resort to eating comparatively poorly. Secondly, the amounts of the various crops sown mirrored the requirements of the different levels of the household and estate hierarchy. Accordingly, we need to assess these requirements in order to be able to add the acreages of each crop to the model. Since we are interested here in the broad outline of the estate economy, we shall concentrate upon the main grain crops of wheat, barley, oats. Indeed, in terms of quantity this is precisely what the demesne managers did.

The lord's immediate family consists of himself, together with his wife and their three young children. In the household were two servants, of whom one was probably little more than a child.²¹ There were then three adults and four children to be fed. The adults may be taken to have required approximately twelve bushels of wheat for their bread, sixteen bushels of barley malt for ale and a quarter of a bushel of oat-meal

20. Above, pp.216-218.

21. Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p.90.

for their pottage each.²² If we allocate to each child half these rations, we arrive at totals of 7½ quarters of wheat, 10 quarters of barley and 1¼ bushels of oats.

Next, the demesne *famulus* were paid at least in part in grain. If we allocate a permanent workforce of four, being a bailiff, a ploughman, a carter and a stock-keeper, then these between them might receive liveries of 24¾q. of mixed corn.²³

When seasonal labour is included, allowing for an extra carter for half the year, a boy to scare away the birds, weeders, harrowers, an under-shepherd to assist at lambing time, a part-time gardener and a man to cart the night-soil from the manor-house to the fields and to fork and spread animal dung, perhaps ten more quarters of grain are needed. Probably the majority of this mixed grain was expected to be barley and rye, depending upon the region, with the remainder made up of wheat and other minor grains such as peas and beans. We will suppose for the purposes of the model that 80% was barley and the remainder wheat.

The demesne plough was probably pulled by a mixed team of oxen and horses. Much of the fodder requirements of these animals is met from pasturing them in the fields and upon the small crop of vetch that may be grown. However, the horses also need oats when they are stabled. If we allow four horses on a demesne of this size, being two horses to pull the plough, one cart-horse and a fourth for the lord's personal riding horse, we may not be too far wrong. These would have required a bushel of oats each per week if they were fed at the same rate as the horses on the Cobham manors at the end of the thirteenth century. In that case a total of 25 quarters was needed. In all then this hypothetical demesne needs to supply, as a minimum, approximately 14½ quarters of wheat, 38 quarters of barley and 25 quarters of oats.

Wheat commonly cropped at something over 3½ times the seed sown, although the

22. Following the estimates in Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp.153-4.

23. Allowing 6½ quarters each for the bailiff, ploughman and carter and 5¼ quarters for the stock-keeper. See above, pp.220-221.

actual rate varied from year to year and also from estate to estate as a result of differences in agricultural practice. The actual rate at which it was sown may have been determined by local custom and on average in mid-Kent was probably around 3 bushels to the acre.²⁴ In this case, after a tithe was paid out of the harvest and seed-corn was taken, 14½ quarters represents the crop of around 17½ acres. Similarly, taking barley to have cropped at 4½ times the seed and to have been sown at 5 bushels to the acre, 38 quarters was the harvest of 20 acres. The oats, cropping at 3 times the seed and sown at a rate of 6 bushels per acre were the harvest of almost 20 acres. Thus 60 acres of the demesne arable were necessarily devoted to the production of foodstuffs for internal consumption. Fifteen of these acres, or some 11% of the total demesne arable, including fallow, supplied the basic dietary needs of the immediate household and the other 45 acres, or 34%, was needed to provide the grain liveries of the *famulus*.

The above analysis is, however, based upon average cropping and harvesting rates. The lord and his serjeant were well aware of the all too frequent problems of wet weather, drought, frost and the harvest failure that might ensue. Accordingly there was a need to fill the remaining forty acres of non-fallow land with a mixture of crops as an insurance as well as in the hope of selling in the market. Nevertheless, let us suppose that all forty acres were sown with the crop which might have achieved the highest profit. Wheat sold during this period for an average price of about 6s. per quarter, rising to well over 8s. per quarter during the famine years 1315-22.²⁵ At a net rate of 6½ bushels per acre, land sown with wheat might then realise 4s.10d. per acre during an average year. Barley was somewhat cheaper, at around 4s. per quarter, but it cropped at a net rate of about 15 bushels per acre so that land sown with this

24. Above, pp.158-159.

25. T.H.Lloyd, *The Movement of Wool Prices in Medieval England*, Economic History Review Supplements, no.6 (Cambridge, 1973), p.48.



might realise as much as 7s.6d. per acre. Oats, selling for 3s. a quarter and cropping at a net rate of 10 bushels per acre might have brought in 3s.9d. per acre. The maximum expected income in an average year at £15 would then have been achieved by sowing the remaining forty acres with barley. This indeed is what appears to have happened on the demesne of John de Cobham's manors in 1290.

The woodland and meadow elements of the demesne were too small to add much to the cash income of the estate. For the most part they were non-capital forming assets, being used rather to satisfy, at least in part, internal needs. The meadow provided hay and pasture for the plough oxen, while the trees of the few acres of woodland gave fuel and material for minor repairs. The sale of underwood to the local populace may have raised perhaps 3s.4d. if we suppose there to have been 10 acres of woodland valued at 3d. per acre.

The demesne sheep flock, as well as providing valuable dung, and supplementing the household's diet with dairy produce and meat had a vital role in providing wool as a cash-crop. Basing the calculations upon the weight of wool which John de Cobham obtained from his flock, the fleeces of the 50 sheep of our hypothetical estate weighed something like 17 stones. Five of these fleeces went in tithes and the remaining ones probably sold for around 60s. taking 4s. a stone as an average price for much of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.²⁶

Much guesswork has had to go into arriving at these figures because of the amount of variability. The income derived from the manorial tenants is just as problematic, and not so susceptible to detailed analysis. However, the work of the previous chapters suggests that a total of £1 or perhaps £2 in assessed rents is not unreasonable.²⁷ The manorial court provided the lord with another 3s. or so a year in fines and amercements. Heriots were more valuable, at a theoretical 3s.4d., but were

26. *Ibid.*, p.48.

27. Table 5.1 above, p.203.

unpredictable. If we suppose a tenant's life-span at the time of taking on his holding to be around 24 years, so that one of the twelve postulated tenements becomes vacant every two years, then on average these raised the equivalent of 1s.8d. per year.

In total then, an estate of this size, managed in a way which does not seem far removed from the patterns that have emerged in the course of this study, was capable of providing the basis of the diet of the lord, his family and his demesne workforce. It was further able to give the lord an income of perhaps £20. There were though other regular items of cash expenditure which had to be met out of this. In the first place, the rent owed to the overlords for such an estate could be large. The Northwood lords paid over £4 7s. for their lands in Milton next Sittingbourne, for example.²⁸ This, though, was the result of a change of tenure from gavelkind to knight's fee during the thirteenth century, when the king, as overlord of Milton, insisted that he should lose none of the income which the tenancy of the Northwood lands had previously provided him with. Other manors with a longer history of feudal tenure were encumbered with obligations to make contributions towards the manning of Rochester or Dover Castles, or to pay a share towards the upkeep of Rochester Bridge. However, such payments were light in comparison to the rent due for gavelkind lands, which were typically around 4d. per acre. Our hypothetical estate, held by the tenure of a quarter knight's fee perhaps carried the equivalent service of a rent-charge of 2s. per annum. For the fifty acres of gavelkind land the lord owed rents totalling 16s.8d.

Secondly, the grain liveries to the demesne *famulus* were just one part of their wages. The bailiff, ploughman and carter each received 6s.8d. while the stock-keeper was paid 5s.6d. Adding in the casual and seasonal labour brings the wages bill to around £1 10s. It was also necessary to give away some grain and to spend a few shillings each year in charitable largesse.

28. See above, p.37.

Less onerous, but only slightly less regular from the late thirteenth century onwards were the semi-regular governmental taxes upon moveables, the lay subsidies. The lord of our estate would have found himself assessed at around 6s. or 7s. on the occasion of a tax of a twentieth. On this basis, over the period from 1300 to 1350 he paid an average 2s. per year.²⁹

Overall then, regular and semi regular cash disbursements drained off almost £2 10s. annually, leaving an apparent excess of £17 10s. However, this neglects the unknown and largely unquantifiable amounts spent on such necessary items as repairing roofs and walls, mending carts and ploughs and shoeing horses.

Much of this excess went on purchasing such necessities as candles and luxuries such as wine and cloth. Later, as sons in particular grew up there was the need to see to their education. The conclusion is that the lord of such an estate could expect to live and eat at a level well above that of his lowlier neighbours, but that he was by no means divorced from the land. He was not so susceptible to the vagaries of the weather, to disease and to crop failure as his tenants, but nevertheless, such events as the storms of the late 1280s or the famine years of 1315-22 cannot have left him untouched. If he failed to make significant capital investment in his estate, it was not purely because he chose to spend lavishly, but also because his income simply did not permit him to save except in good years. These were generally followed all too closely by bad years, when such savings had to be used in maintaining the gentry lifestyle and in charitable giving.

Lords of larger estates were better off. A middling estate may be modelled as a cluster of three manors. The main residence was a manor somewhere near to the centre of the estate which may have been held in unbroken succession by father and son for several generations. Its scale was probably somewhat larger than the single

29. W.Ormrod, 'The crown and the English economy, 1290-1348', in B.M.S.Campbell, ed., *Before the Black Death* (Manchester, 1991), p.153.

manor of our previous hypothetical lord. It is not unreasonable to estimate the demesne arable at 300 acres. It is likely that on a manor of this size and age there was a seignorial mill, most likely wind-driven. The second and third manors of the estate were smaller, having demesnes not dissimilar to that of the previous model. The short distance between the three component manors allowed the estate to be run as a single unit, at least to a degree, with resulting economies of scale. For example, the lord of a single manor estate may have had to purchase seed-corn if he wished to follow the advice of the treatises on husbandry, that seed from elsewhere be used in preference to seed that came from a crop grown in the same area.³⁰ The lord of a multi-manor estate had more scope to use seed from manor A on the fields of manor B. Stock might also be wintered together on upland pastures, being moved to marshland pastures for the summer months. Sheep from all parts of the estate could be brought together at shearing time. Nevertheless, in many respects the manors might be managed separately, each being looked after by a stipendary bailiff.

The modelled size of the lord's household must be increased in line with his wealth and status. A reasonable estimate might be that he had eight or nine servants, of whom two were no more than children, so that the immediate household numbered eight or nine adults and perhaps six children if the lord himself was father of four. Thus the total of the requirements for a basic diet were somewhat more than double that for the smaller estate. Given the likely increase in the amount of entertaining done by the lord at this level of society, it was probably far more than doubled. According to this model then, the household consumed well over 20%, and perhaps as much as 30% of the harvest of 130 acres, including fallow, or 15% of a demesne of 300 acres. To keep the calculations simple, we shall assume that the immediate household's needs were met from the crops of the central manor, although in practice this situation is

30. D. Oschinsky, ed., *Walter of Henley and other Treatises of Estate Management and Accounting* (Oxford, 1971), p.325.

very unlikely. To cope with the demands of a demesne of this size, the *famulus* has to be trebled in size. Thus, from taking the crop of 34% of 130 acres, they take that of 45% of 300 acres. Assuming the same rate of fallowing, at around 25%, this indicates that around 15% of the demesne arable, or 45 acres produced a 'surplus' above the dietary needs of internal consumption. The second and third manors of the estate had *famuli* which took the crop of 34% of the demesne arable and allowing for fallow this leaves 41% to produce a 'surplus'. Overall the figures are 8% of the total of the three demesnes is used to satisfy the needs of the lord's family and household servants, 40% to provide liveries to the *famuli*, 25% fallow and 27% to produce a 'surplus' which may be sold in the market. This equates to a total of around 150 acres which, if planted entirely with barley may achieve a cash return of over £50. The other major component of demesne based income was from the sheep flock. A flock of 200 animals would give an income of £10 for the sale of the fleeces, plus a small amount from the sale of such items as surplus butter.

The tenants of the chief manor were probably correspondingly more numerous than on the smaller manors, averaging 30 to 40 households as against ten or twelve. The total assessed rent of these tenants gave the lord of this estate an annual income of perhaps £7. To this should be added 15s. in court fines and amercements and the equivalent of 8s.4d. in heriots. The mill, catering as it did for these tenants and others in the neighbourhood, was worth the equivalent of another 16s. or so each year in grain tolls.

The potential income from such an estate was then in the region of £70. Against this much be balanced the regular and semi-regular costs. As before, the rents and services due to overlords were comparatively light. Taxes such as lay subsidies also took only a very small proportion and tithes have already been dealt with. The cash wages of the labour force were the largest item of expenditure, taking around £7 10s. in total. This

leaves over £60. Once again repairs to buildings and equipment took an unknown proportion of this.

That this estimate is of the correct order of magnitude is shown by the account of John de Cobham's manors in 1290. The upkeep of ploughs, carts, buildings and mills took a total of £13 15s.6½d.,³¹ and after all the credits and debits had been taken care of, the serjeant accounted for a surplus of £40 6s.3d.

The overall conclusions of this work are then, that the estates of the small and middling lords, who were by far the majority of the lay landowners in the county of Kent and who between them accounted for a sizeable proportion of the total land area, were managed in a surprisingly self contained manner. The market, which has been seen by some writers as having an increasing importance across the whole spectrum of land-holding, appears to have had only a marginal significance on these estates.

The local gentry of Kent were the forebears of the independently minded knights, esquires and gentlemen of later centuries. They administered their estates in a way which reflects this independence and the standing which they held in society. These men and women sought to bolster their position, for example by giving alms to the local poor, but at heart their policy was based upon self-sufficiency. In the fifteenth century, as Carpenter has told us, the mark of gentility was lordship over men and, therefore, possession of at least a substantial segment of a manor, with seignorial rights.³² So it was in the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, the manors of the estate were also the means whereby a livelihood might be gained. The advice given to the countess of Lincoln, to 'arrange her economy so far as possible so that her household,

31. £7 4½d. on ploughs, 78s.6d. on carts, 65s.8d. of which 38s.4d. was *forinsec* on buildings and 29s.4d. on mills. BL Harl. Roll D1.

32. C.Carpenter, 'The Fifteenth-Century English Gentry and their Estates' in M.Jones, ed., *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe* (Gloucester, 1986), p.38.

manorial servants and almsmen were victualled direct from the estate produce',³³ might have been addressed to, or indeed, written by, almost any of these small gentry lords. The difference is that whereas the countess had profits over to turn into wine, robes, wax and wardrobe, these lords had little beyond what they actually needed to maintain themselves and their household in the position expected of them.

For the most part they were apparently content to remain local, although a notable minority sought power and influence beyond the areas of their patrimonial lands. For most, there was no travelling from manor to manor, even when the estate was in theory extensive enough to allow for this. Demesne lands close to the main, or sole, residence provided the bulk of the food consumed within the household and although local and not so local markets might have provided luxuries and offered the security of tiding over periods of difficulty, the scale of the operations, even on an estate of three or four manors simply did not allow for the sort of investment which was necessary to exploit this potential fully. As Waugh has recently pointed out, even if the landlords had their eye on the market, in order to be responsive to market forces they had to be flexible in the use of their resources.³⁴ At this level of landlordship, on the majority of estates, there simply was not that degree of flexibility.

33. R.H.Hilton, *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1975), p.178.

34. S.L.Waugh, *England in the Reign of Edward III* (Cambridge, 1991), p.104.

Appendix 2.1. The knight's fee holdings of the Cobham family in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹

- 1242/3 Reginald de Cobham held one fifth of a fee in Thurnham (Eyhorne hundred) of Alice de Bendinges, who held of William de Say, who held of the king.
 John de Cobham held half a fee in Beckley (Shamwell hundred) of John de Wolton, who held of Muriel de Somery, who held of Margery de River, who held of the king.
- 1253/4 Reginald de Cobham held a quarter fee in Orkesdene (Axton hundred) of William de Eynsford; also half a fee in Thurnham of William de Say and a quarter fee in Wichling of John de Mares; also, by his wife's dower, one fee in Sutton by Dover of the abbot of St Augustine's.
 John de Cobham held half a fee in Boardfield (Faversham hundred) of Robert de Champagne.
 John de Wadeton and Simon de Berbelinge each held a sixth of a fee in Cuxton (Shamwell hundred) of Reginald de Cobham. Matthew de Eyntone held half a fee and William de Suneise and the heirs of Richard de Capella each held a quarter fee of Reginald de Cobham in Thurnham (Eyhorne hundred).
- Stephen de Boughton held a half fee in Kersney (Bewsborough hundred) of Reginald de Cobham.²
- 1284/5 John de Cobham held Westchalk for half a fee of Hugh de Nevill, who held of king; also Cooling for one fee of Roger le Botiler, who held of the countess de Insula, who held of king; also a quarter fee in Cobham of Adam de Quatremars, who held of king.
 Henry de Cobham, John de Hakynton and Ralph de Tokyngton held half a fee in Higham of the countess of Insula, who held of king.
- 1316 Henry de Cobham, junior is lord of the hundred of Shamwell; also of the vill of Cooling; he and Edmund de Pakenham, Mary de Hoyvile and the bishop of Rochester are lords of Cobham; he and the prior of Bernmundsey are lords of Chalk; he and John de Northwood are lords of Shorne; he and William de Septvans are lords of Aldington in Thurnham (Eyhorne hundred).
 Henry de Cobham, senior is lord of the vill of Allington (Larkfield hundred); he is lord of the vill of Tunstall (Milton hundred).
- 1346 John de Cobham, John the son of John Mortimer and the heirs of John de Swafham paid Aid for $\frac{3}{4}$ fee that William de Godyenton, John Mortimer and William de Hethe had held in Lower Hardres of Hamo Crevequer.
 John de Cobham, knight, the son of Stephan de Cobham, knight paid Aid for a half fee that Margery de Pencestre had held in Allington (Larkfield hundred) of John de Roos, as of his manor of Horton Kirkby, who held of the king; he also paid Aid for two thirds of a fee that Sarah de Pole had held in Southfleet

1. Sources: 1242/3: *Book of Fees*; 1253/4: J.Greenstreet, ed., 'Holders of Knight's Fees in Kent at the Knighting of the king's son, anno 38 Henry III. (A.D. 1253-4)', *Arch. Cant.* 12 (1858), pp.197-237; 1284/5: *Feudal Aids*; 1316: *Feudal Aids*; 1346: J.Greenstreet, ed., 'Assessments in Kent for the Aid to Knight the Black Prince', *Arch. Cant.* 10 (1876), pp.99-162 and *Feudal Aids*.

2. In 1247 the IPM of Elias de Boughton had included a half fee in Kersney, near Dover, held of Sir Reginald de Cobham. *CIPM*, i, No.88; PRO C132 File 5(8), transcribed in *Arch. Cant.* 2 (1859), p.295. By 1286 Elias's heir was holding this fee of John de Northwood. *CIPM*, ii, No.605; PRO C133 File 45(1).

(Axton hundred), of the bishop of Rochester.³

Reginald Cobham and William de Septvans paid Aid for two fees that Henry de Cobham had held at Aldington in Thurnham (Eyhorne hundred), of the king.

Sir Reginald de Cobham, knight paid Aid for one fee that John the son of John de Vielston had held in Veilston (Codsheath hundred) of the archbishop of Canterbury, which fee was then held by the said Sir Reginald by gift of the king; he also paid Aid for a half fee that Simon de Echyngham had held in Lullingstone of Richard de Ruxley, who held of the king of the honour of Leeds.

The heirs of John de Strood paid Aid for half a fee that Henry de Cobham had held in Sutton by Dover of the abbot of St Augustine's.

Appendix 2.2. The knight's fee holdings of the Orlestone family in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁴

1242/3 William de Orlestone held two fees in Orlestone (Hamme hundred) of the king, as of the honour of Perches.

1253/4 William de Orlestone held two fees in Orlestone of the honour of Hagenet; also half a fee in Ponshall (Bewsborough hundred) of Robert de St. John.

John de Orlestone held half a fee in Ruckinge (Newchurch hundred) of the king, as of the honour of Perches.

1284/5 John de Orlestone held half a fee at Ruckinge of the king; also half a fee in Aloesbridge hundred of the abbot of St Augustine's; also two fees in Orlestone of the king.

1346 William de Orlestone paid Aid for the two fees that William Martin had held in Orlestone of the honour of Hagenet; he also paid Aid for a thirty second part of a half fee in Hamme hundred that William de Silesbridge had held of the honour of Perches, of which the rest of the half fee was in the hundreds of Newchurch and Blackbourne; he also paid Aid for a half fee that the heirs of John de Orlestone and Margery de Sokenasshe had held in Snaves (Aloesbridge hundred) of the abbot of St Augustines; he and Thomas de Westbery paid Aid for an eighth of a half fee that the heirs of John de Orlestone and Adam the son of Thomas de Westbery had held in Newchurch hundred; William also paid Aid for another eighth fee which Roger Freland had held; together with Henry Daniel (for his wife), William paid Aid for a quarter fee in Ruckinge (Newchurch hundred) which Nicholas Foliot and the heirs of John de Orlestone had held, which for a time was in the custody of the king, by reason of the escheat of the capital messuage which William de Sylesbregge had held of the earl of Pertico; William also paid Aid for another eighth of the half fee that had been held by the heirs of John de Orlestone.

William also paid Aid for an eighth fee that the heirs of John de Orlestone had held at North Ponshall (Bewsborough hundred) of the barony of Say; together with John Monyn he paid Aid for another quarter fee that the heirs of John de Orlestone had held at North Ponshall of the same barony; he also paid Aid for a half fee that the heirs of John de Orlestone had held in South

3. A rental of the Rochester Priory manor of Southfleet, of 1339, shows Sir John de Cobham, knight to have been the tenant of a little over 75 acres of land in the manor. CKS DRc F2.

4. Sources: as note 1.

Ponshall of John de St. John.

Stephen Galiot paid Aid for a further eighth of the half fee in Newchurch hundred, which Roger Freland had held of the heirs of John de Orlestone.

Appendix 2.3. The knight's fee holdings of the Shillingheld family in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁵

- 1242/3 Eudo de Shillingheld held a half fee in Chilham (Felborough hundred) of Richard son of the king; also a quarter fee in Elvington (Eastry hundred) of Nicholas de Sellindge, who held of Hamo de Crevequer, who held of the king.
- 1253/4 Eudo de Shillingheld held half a fee in Felborough hundred of William de Wilton; also a quarter fee in Elvington of Henry Malmeyns; also a quarter fee of Rose de Dover in Shepherdsweil (Bewsborough hundred).
- 1284/5 Eudo de Shillingheld held a half fee in Shillingheld of Alexander de Balliol, who held of the king.
- 1346 The heirs of Eudo de Shillingheld paid Aid for the half fee that Eudo had held in Chilham of William de Wilton.
Isabella, the widow of Peter Cundy of Sandwich, paid Aid for the quarter fee that Eudo de Shillingheld had held in Elvington of John Malmeyns.

5. Sources: as note 1.

Appendix 3.1. The grants of land and other property to Thomas and Margery Colepeper.¹

	Grantor(s)	Grantee(s)	Brief description of the property ²	Reference ³	Date ⁴	<i>Gersuma</i> ⁵
1.	Thomas de Ongele	Thomas, jun.	land called Marlinge, on road from <i>Bokelesworthegate</i> to <i>Coppingescrouche</i>	Ha.Ch.78A14	1308/9	20s.
2.	Cecilia, Margery, Amice & Christina daughters of John	Thomas son of Thomas	all their part in a mill in Pembury parish which came from their grandfather, William ate Bayhall	Ha.Ch.76B1	21/6/1309	5m.
3.	Thomas Colepeper, senior	Thomas & Margery	50a. land in <i>Foulesdenne</i>	Ha.Roll T21	1310/11	
4.	Amice le Bolle	Thomas, junior	croft called <i>Neweland</i> (Tonbridge)	Ha.Ch.76C55	1310/11	20s.
5.	Alice de Ranecoumbe	Thomas	pourparty of <i>Ranecoumbe</i> tenement	Ha.Ch.80B10	1311/12	33s.
6.	Ralph Neweman & Alice, d. & heir of Geoffrey ate Bayhall	Thomas & Margery	2½a. 2½d., next to Thomas's garden & land	Ha.Ch.79D45	1312/13	31s.
7.	Walter s Geoffrey ate Bayhall his sister Agnes & Ralph Neweman	Thomas & Margery	grove of 2a. on roads from Bayhall cross to <i>Coppingecrouche</i> & Bayhall cross to <i>Fletchers</i> , adjacent to Thomas's land	Ha.Ch.76B2	1312/13	26s.
8.	Gilbert de Bayhall	Thomas & Margery	<i>Vorstalveld</i> , on road from <i>Kockesbregge</i> to Bayhall cross, next to Thomas's land	Ha.Ch.76B4	1313/14	50s.

1. Sources: primarily BL Harl. Roll T21; BL Harl. Ch. various; PRO C145 various files.

2. Holders of neighbouring lands are not normally given here, except for Thomas Colepeper himself.

3. Those charters whose details appear in BL Harl Roll T21, and which survive in the original, are to be found in PRO C145 File 94(10), m.5, but these are mostly rubbed and faded, although some extra information can be gleaned.

4. Full dates are quoted where these are given. To save space modern format has been adopted, using the historical year beginning on January 1. C.R.Cheney, ed. *Handbook of Dates for Students and English History*, (1978), p.4.

5. The sum paid in *gersuma* is given where this is stated on the charter or other document.

9.	Benedicta d. Thomas de Chitecrofte	Thomas & Margery	Messuage upon Bayhall; land & a share in a mill acquired from Margery d. Walter ate Bayhall	Ha.Ch.77F20	9/2/1314	
10.	Laurence Jop	Thomas	<i>Suthveld</i> , next to Thomas's land; 1½a. in <i>Herebardegroft</i> , on road from <i>La Hoke</i> to this grove; 1a. 5d. in <i>Melgrove</i> field, on road from Bayhall to <i>Coppingescrouche</i> , next to Thomas's land; pourparty of messuage at Bayhall	Ha.Ch.78I14	1314/15	6m.
11.	Christina d. John ate Bayhall ate Bayhall	Thomas	3a. in Melgrove field, on road from Bayhall to <i>Coppingescrouche</i> and 5v. 6d. in field called <i>Le Hamme</i> , both next to Thomas's land	Ha.Ch.76A50	1314/15	4m.
12.	Christina ate Bayhall	Thomas	a yearly payment of 4d.	Ha.Ch.76B3	1315/16	3s.
13.	Thomas de Dodeherst	Thomas & Margery	a piece of land of fee of <i>Ranecoumbe</i> , adjacent to Thomas's land	Ha.Ch.77F43	1315/16	32s.
14.	Ralph le Newman	Thomas	1½a. in a <i>loco</i> called <i>Wetgrotene</i> ; 1a. in <i>Petfeld</i> that belonged to Agnes d. Geoffrey ate Bayhall	Ha.Ch.79D47	29/11/1316	20s.
15.	Christina ate Bayhall	Thomas	pourparty of wood between <i>Rodgate</i> & pond of Bayhall	Ha.Ch.76A52	8/12/1316	2s.
16.	Walter Beng	Thomas & Margery	land in Suthlond of the fee of Sir John de Lenham kt., adjacent to lands called <i>Cheldecote</i> and <i>Tretlesred</i> & land of Thomas.	Ha.Ch.76C3	10/2/1317	5m.
17.	Ralph Newman	Thomas & Margery	all land in fields called <i>Redett</i> & <i>Mesebroc</i> , on lane from <i>Ranecoumbe</i> to Bayhall & next to Thomas's land; 1a. at <i>Le Hoke</i> , on road from <i>Yleshersche</i> to <i>Coppingescrouche</i> , adjacent to Thomas's land	Ha.Ch.79D46	1316/17	'a certain sum'
18.	John, Geoffrey & Simon Gabin	Thomas	1½a. in Hadlow, adjacent to Thomas's land	Ha.Ch.78C32	1316/17	30s.
19.	Christina d. John ate Bayhall	Thomas & Margery	all her messuage & garden at Bayhall; 3a. land in <i>Longefeld</i> ; land in field called <i>Le Fleche</i>	Ha.Ch.76A51	1316/17	'a certain sum'

20.	Roger s Richard de Ferregge	Thomas & Margery	40a. land & 10a. wood in Frant ⁶	Ha.Roll T21	7/10/1316	
21.	Cecelia d John ate Bayhall	Thomas & Margery	pourparty of a messuage & a curtilage	Ha.Ch.76A53	5/3/1318	4m.
22.	Joan widow of John ate Bayhall	Thomas & Margery	quitclaim of land acquired from Sibill (Cecilia?), at Bayhall	Ha.Ch.77E52	1317/18	3½m.
23.	Prior of Tonbridge	Thomas s Thomas	113a. land in Pembury & Capel	C145/100/14	7/9/1318 ⁷	
				<i>CPR</i> iv, Ed II, p.470		
24.	Richard s John Thomas	Thomas	rents from lands (mostly illegible)	Ha.Ch.80C25	Jul 1318	20s.
25.	William s John de Petteworth	Thomas & Margery	20a. land in Frant ⁶	Ha.Roll T21	1318/19	
26.	Reginald s Reginald Burgeys of Buxsted	Thomas & Margery	messuage & 50a. in Buxsted & Maresfield ⁶	Ha.Roll T21	1319/20	
27.	William s Richard Tebaud	Thomas	land & tenement in Pembury, on road (with release & quitclaim)	Ha.Ch.80F45		'a certain
				Ha.Ch.80F46	11/5/1320	sum'
28.	Richard de Headenne & John Colepeper	Thomas & Margery (remainder to son Walter)	2 messuages, 2 mills, 85a. land, 20a. meadow, 60a. pasture, 80a. wood, 20s. rent in Pembury, Tonbridge & Tudeley	Ha.Roll T21	Sep 1320	
29.	Richard Wyth	Thomas & Margery	messuage and carucate land in <i>Bernette</i> and <i>Ramherst</i>	Ha.Roll T21	1320/21	120m.
30.	William de Stupereshelde	Thomas	12a. meadow in Tonbridge for 1 year	C145/88/1	n.d.	
31.	Thomas le Botyler & Alice	Thomas(?)	18a. land in Pembury in exchange for 4q. grain each year & pasture at Bayhall	C145/101/14	n.d.	
32.	Ralph Marescot	Thomas & Margery	messuage & 60a. in Buxsted ⁶	Ha.Roll T21	n.d.	20m.
33.	Michael de Bettesfelde	Thomas & Margery	10a land in <i>Seyregge</i> ⁶	Ha.Roll T21	n.d.	10m.

6. Included in the Sussex portion of the inquisition taken following Margery de Colepeper's petition for the return of the lands she and her husband had held jointly. For details, see the text.

7. Considering the grantee, this date may be in error. No original charter has been found and the date comes from an inquisition of 1325.

Appendix 3.2. The land transactions of Martin and Margery de Peckham.¹

	Grantor(s)	Grantee(s)	Brief description of the property ²	Reference	Date ³	<i>Gersuma</i> ⁴
1.	Joan d Simon	Martin & Margery	4a land in Kemsing	U442 T149, m.1		
2.	Gilbert -	Margery	a moiety of mills in Wynfeld	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.		
3.	Richard -	Martin	two pieces of land called <i>Donkesland & Richecoppeshoc</i> in Seal	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1		
4.	“	Martin	field called <i>Cheslanelond</i> , that came after the death of his father William	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1		
5.	William s William Adam	Martin	moiety of piece of land in Great Field of Wrotham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2		
6.	Dionisius d John Asselyn	Margery	piece of land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.		
7.	John Asselyn	Martin & Margery	land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1		
8.	“	Martin	1a land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2		
9.	“	Martin	piece of land in Westfield (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4		
10.	William Asselyn	Martin	3v land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4		
11.	Joan & Amice, daughters of Richard Bade	Martin	1½a 2d land with wood growing upon it, in the borgh of Yaldham (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2		
12.	Bartholomew s Achard de Aldham	Martin, Margery & William their son	all that land which came from Edmund Clerk, called <i>Jurleslond</i> ; land that came from the heirs of Ivo de Yaldham called <i>Piricroft</i> in the borgh of Yaldham and a meadow called <i>Wulfordesmed</i>	Add.Ch.16495-6	n.d.	£8

1. Sources: primarily CKS U442 T149; CKS U47/3; BL Add.Ch. various.

2. Holders of neighbouring lands have not in general been noted here, except that (*) signifies that Martin de Peckham or his heirs are holders of lands bounding at least a portion of the property being granted.

3. Dates of grants are not normally given on the cartulary roll U442 T149. The same format has been adopted as for Appendix 3.1.

4. Payments of *gersuma* are not normally noted on the roll U442 T149.

13.	Guy de Aldham	Martin & Margery	all his inheritance from Achard his father, with exceptions (lease for 45 years)	Add.Ch.16508	1296	40m.
14.	Osbert s Robert de Aldham	Margery	piece of land in field called <i>Brodered</i> in Kemsing	U442 T149, m.4		
15.	Ralph Bedell	Martin	land upon <i>Caleweheld</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1		
16.	John de Bersted, s. Nicholas	Martin & Margery	the mill called <i>Sharpesmell</i> & adjoining land	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3		
17.	John le Boteler	Martin	all meadow called <i>Swetmed</i> , <i>Longemed</i> and <i>Grofmed</i> at Greatness in Sevenoaks parish; all meadow called <i>Rouchemed</i> ; all meadow called <i>Benhache</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4		
18.	Walter & Mabilia Boys	Martin	Manor of East Yaldham	Add.Chh.16183-4 & 16505	1275	220m.
19.	John s Robert Brice	Martin	piece of land (in Wrotham) (*)	U442 T149, m.2		
20.	John Brice	Margery	½a land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.		
21.	Thomas s Simon Brokhol	Martin(?)	land in Seal (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> m.1		
22.	"	Martin	his lands and tenements called <i>Fotesland</i> & <i>Heymondesland</i> , lying to south of <i>Le Southwode</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1		
23.	Thomas Brokhol	Martin & Margery	a certain field in Seal	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2		
24.	William Burgeys	Martin	land at Greatness, next land that Martin acquired from John le Boteler (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1		
25.	Lambert Cappe	Martin	piece of land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2		
26.	"	Martin & Margery	piece of land in Westfield (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2		
27.	"	Margery	a certain grove and lane, formerly Ralph de Fremyngnam's (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m2v.		
28.	William Carter	Martin ⁵	piece of land in Westfield (*)	U47/3 T46	1275/6	22s.
29.	John s William	Martin	2d. rent from a messuage in Wrotham; also quitclaim of			

5. The grant was made to Martin de Peckham, but the charter contains the phrase: 'to have and to hold to Martin and Alice, daughter of John Durand of Dunstapele...'

	Carter		1d. rent for a piece of land in Westfield which Martin acquired from his father	Add.Ch.16498	n.d.	18d.
30.	Robert s William Cementar	Martin	piece of land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2		
31.	Geoffrey s William Coret	Margery	piece of land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.		
32.	William formerly s William Coret	Margery	piece of land in Westfield (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2		
33.	William & Richard formerly ss William Coret	Margery	piece of land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.		
34.	Robert Cost, s Costantun	Martin & Margery	piece of land; garden called <i>Amablehagh</i> ; 1d. rent received from Baldwin de Aldeham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3		
35.	William de Chaggele	Martin	land in borgh of Yaldham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1		
36.	Thomas Champeneys	Martin & Margery	1a meadow called <i>Palmeresaker</i> in Seal	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2		
37.	Martin ... le Chetelwertte	Martin	land called <i>Hethfeld</i> and a lane leading to <i>Stonyfeld</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1		
38.	Simon Colyn s Nicholas Ightham	Margery (wid) & John her son	a croft of land called <i>le Heel</i> and another called <i>Bourgsty</i> in borgh of Yaldham (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4		
39.	Geoffrey ate Crouche	Martin & Margery	1v land in Westfield (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2		
40.	Ralph de Croynden	Martin & Margery	2a land held of Martin in Westfield (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1		
41.	Richard s Roger Dandewyne	Martin	4a land in Leigh parish, next land that came to Martin from William de Hildene (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3		
42.	Roger Dandewyne	Martin	fields called <i>Eastfeld</i> and <i>Austinescroft</i> in Seal; a way for carts and driving pigs	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3		
43.	“	Martin	all his land called <i>Boylottesland</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3		
44.	Richard Donekon & Joan d Alan le Lepere	Martin	all wood and meadow in fee of Martin, in <i>Le Hoke</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2		
45.	Richard s John de la Donne	Margery (rem. to John, her son)	12a 3p in field called <i>Westdonne</i> in Wrotham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4		

46.	John atte Doune	Martin & Margery	3a 7d arable in borgh of Stanstead (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2		
47.	"	Martin	4a 4d land in Wrotham, next way leading from Martin's house (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3		
48.	Richard ate Doune	Martin	a croft of land , next way leading from Martin's house (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3		
49.	"	Martin	10a land in borgh of Stanstead	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3		
50.	"	Margery	2 pieces of land in Wrotham called <i>Germeynesaker & Spenseresland</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4		
51.	John s John Draper	Martin	piece of land, next to <i>Piriefeld</i> (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2		
52.	Roger Dyn	Margery	meadow in <i>Longemed</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2		
53.	Reginald s John Dyn	Margery (rem. to John, her son)	meadow called <i>Fromondesmed</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4		
54.	Reginald Dyn	Margery	7a land in the field called <i>Brodered</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.		
55.	William de Eynesham	Martin	piece of land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2		
56.	John s Henry Farman	Margery	1a 1r 5d land in Westfield, by <i>Heckeresheg</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.5		
57.	John Farman	Margery	land called <i>Ismongeressland</i> in parish of Stanstead	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.		
58.	"	Margery	2a land in Westfield, in loco called <i>-orne</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.		
59.	Richard, Henry & Robert, sons of William Fareman	Martin	piece of land in Westfield (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1		
60.	Richard Farman	Martin & Margery	piece of land in Westfield (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3		
61.	"	Martin & Margery	piece of land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4		
62.	John de Fremyngham s Matthew de Heyham & coheir of Master Ralph de Fremyngham	Martin & Margery and Henry & William their sons	all his tenement in Wrotham inherited from Ralph, except a croft called <i>Litelcrofte</i>	Add.Ch.16501	n.d.	55m.
63.	- Furmager?	Martin	land in <i>Trustelfeld</i> in Kemsing parish	U442 T149, m.1		
64.	John Furmager	Martin	his land in Heaverham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1		
65.	R- Furmager?	Martin	8d meadow in <i>-egemed</i> (Longemed?)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1		
66.	William Furmager	Martin	1v meadow in Heaverham, moiety of <i>Helfeld</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1		
67.	William Furmager(?)	Martin	meadow in <i>Longemed</i> at Heaverham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1		

68.	Robert Godwyne	Martin	a certain croft in borgh of Yaldham (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1	
69.	Geoffrey Godynogh	Martin & Margery	land in Westfield (in <i>le Settyngges</i>) (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2	
70.	Ralph Gyles	Margery	meadow in <i>Longemed & Newemed</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
71.	John Gyles	Margery	field called <i>Brodefeld</i> in Kemsing	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2	
72.	William s Jacob ate Hale	Margery	a grove in Seal (*)	Add.Ch.16472 & 1317/8 U442 T149, m.2v.	
73.	"	Margery	his part of <i>Chetelwerthegrove</i> and grove next the garden of <i>Newenham</i> ; his part of a mill called <i>Chetewerghthemelle</i>	U442 T149, m.2v. <i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
74.	"	Margery	a croft in Leigh (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
75.	"	Margery	his part of wood called <i>Bromveldeswode</i> in Seal parish	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
76.	Roger & Adam, sons and heirs of William de la Hale	Martin & Margery	3a 3p land at Heaverham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2	
77.	William in the Hale	Margery	all his field called <i>Netherevifacres</i> , in Leigh	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
78.	Richard Hamekyn	Margery	piece of land in <i>loco</i> called <i>Heghethorne</i> in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
79.	Roger s Robert de Hamme	Martin	piece of meadow in <i>loco</i> called <i>le Hope</i> in Pecham (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4	
80.	John s Peter Hamon	Margery	part of a grove called <i>Mapuldresgrof</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
81.	Robert s Peter Hamon, senior	Margery	part of a grove called <i>Mapuldresgrof</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
82.	Robert s Peter Hamon junior	Margery	part of a grove called <i>Mapuldresgrof</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
83.	William s Arnold de Heaverham	Martin	all his meadow in <i>Newmed</i> at Heaverham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1	
84.	Richard atte Hecche	Martin	piece of land in Westfield (*)	Add.Ch.16502 & n.d. 4s. U442 T149, m.2	
85.	"	Martin	piece of land in Westfield	U442 T149, m.2	
86.	"	Martin	piece of land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2	
87.	"	Martin	moiety of meadow in <i>Chalkwellecroft</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2	

88.	William ate Hecche	Martin & Margery	piece of meadow next Westfield (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3	
89.	“	Martin	piece of land in Westfield (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4	
90.	William s John Herberd	Martin	all his wood in <i>Jourlegrof</i> , in the borgh of Yaldham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3	
91.	Richard le Hight(?)	Margery	all his tenement in borgh of Yaldham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
92.	William de Hildenne	Martin	a field in Leigh	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3	
93.	Robert de la Hoke	Martin & Margery	piece of land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2	
94.	“ (smith, s Terrici)	Martin & Margery	piece of land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3	
95.	Richard s Nicholas de Ightham	Martin & Margery	sixth of mill of Wynefeld	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3	
96.	John Ive	Martin	2a in <i>le Rede</i> in tenure of Yaldham, next land demised to Martin by Peter Ive (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2	
97.	William Ive s Robert	Martin & Margery	3a land in Westfield (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4	
98.	John Junior, formerly s Simon Clerk	Margery	piece of land in <i>Scottemanneslond</i> in Leigh parish	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
99.	William le Kede	Martin	1v meadow in <i>Newemedede</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1	
100.	William de Kenefold	Margery	piece of land at <i>Heghethorne</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4	
101.	Robert le Kyng	Margery & John her son	3¾r meadow & 2a ½r land in Wrotham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4	
102.	Robert s William le Kyng	Margery	part of a grove called <i>Mapuldregrof</i> in the borgh of Yaldham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
103.	William & Constantun le Kyng	Martin	quitclaim of rights in a piece of land called <i>Pyghtel</i> (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.5	3s.
104.	Robert Lake	Martin & Margery	piece of land in Westfield	Add.Ch.16504 & U442 T149, m.2	n.d. 6s.
105.	“	Martin	piece of land in <i>Middelveld</i> in Wrotham	U442 T149, m.3	
106.	“	Martin	1a land in <i>loco</i> called <i>Brodeland</i> ; 1a in <i>aloco</i> called <i>Brokhole</i> , both in Wrotham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3	
107.	“	Martin	piece of land in <i>Middelveld</i> ; piece of land in Westfeld (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3	
108.	Martin Lamberd	Martin	his messuage with houses in Seal at <i>Holyndenne</i> , lands in Seal and Tonbridge and rents in Leigh, Sevenoaks,		

			Tonbridge and Seal	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1	
109.	John s George de Ledes	Margery	3p meadow in Leigh, which came to him after the death of his father	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3v.	
110.	Richard s George de Ledes	Margery	1a meadow in Leigh (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4	
111.	- s William Lewyne	Margery	land in borgh of Wynefeld in Wrotham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
112.	William s William Long	Martin & Margery and William their son	all that land which his father bought from the heirs of Philip Rosbern at <i>Mepedrewelle</i> in Wrotham parish; another piece of land		
113.	Agnes w Richard Lovecok	Margery	piece of land in Westfield	Add.Ch.16497 n.d. U442 T149, m.2v.	10m.
114.	Paulina & Katerina dd Richard Martyn	Margery	a croft of land in Kemsing	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
115.	Jacob de Mesdanesmere	Martin	a certain land called <i>Shingeshull</i> , all his piece of meadow in the said parish (of Seal?)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3	
116.	"	Martin	all his piece of grove in Seal	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3	
117.	"	Martin	all his land called <i>Wetercroft</i> and <i>Hernewyldefeld</i> in Seal (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3	
118.	"	Martin	8a land in Seal	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3	
119.	"	Martin	part of a mill, that came after the death of Emma his mother	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3	
120.	"	John s Martin	a fifth(?) of a messuage in Seal	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4	
121.	Matilda de Mesdanesmere	Martin	certain land called <i>Welred</i> in Seal (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3	
122.	Hamo le Milte	Margery	piece of land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
123.	"	Margery	piece of land in Westfield (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
124.	"	Margery	piece of land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
125.	"	Margery	piece of land in Wrotham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
126.	Richard s Ralph de Monte	Martin	piece of land in Wrotham (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4	

127.	Geoffrey s William Moryn	Martin	2a upon the hill of Wrotham	Add.Ch.16499 & U442 T149, m.2	n.d. 10s.
128.	Thomas ate Nolwode	Margery	2a land in field called <i>Pendfeld</i> in Seal	U442 T149, m.2v.	
129.	"	Margery	piece of land called <i>Bencroft</i> in Seal parish	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
130.	Osbert Ode	Martin	piece of meadow in <i>Bedmed</i> at Heaverham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4	
131.	John Oliver	Martin	a messuage that was Ralph his father's, with 56a land, wood and meadow in Yaldham of the tenure of Martin	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4	
132.	Richard Onderevre	Martin	land called <i>Wiggehale</i> , in Underiver in Seal, next to the way Martin has over the land (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3	
133.	John s Richard de Osprenge	Margery	piece of land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3	
134.	"	John, formerly son of Martin	piece of land in Westfield (same as the above?) (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4	
135.	"	Margery	piece of land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
136.	Stephen de Orsprenge	Margery	piece of land in Westfield (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
137.	"	Margery	piece of land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
138.	Peter Parar(?)	Margery	land in <i>Ismongereland</i> (?) in Wrotham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.	
139.	John Paumere	Martin	a messuage called <i>Janetteshagh</i> in Seal; a lane leading to <i>Wyggeshale</i> ; crofts including <i>Nepcroft</i> and <i>Hoe...</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1	
140.	Robert s Richard de Pencompe	Martin	3a land in Wrotham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2	
141.	Michael s Richard de Pencompe	Martin	piece of land upon hill; 2 parcels of land in field	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2	
142.	Robert & Michael sons & heirs of Richard de Pencompe	Martin	all their arable land and wood upon Wrotham down in the borgh of Stanstead (quitclaim of the previous two?)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4	
143.	Richard s William de Pencompe	Margery & John	½a land in Wrotham (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4	
144.	Margery de Peckham	John s John de Peckham	a field called <i>Holefeld</i> & a croft called <i>Elyanoremed</i> croft with grove adjoining	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4	

145.	Simon de Pelesholte	Martin	all land held of the heirs of William Long of Seal, being over 7a in two fields	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3
146.	Richard s Hamo Pistore	Margery	piece of land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.
147.	Robert Pokoc	Martin & Margery	piece of land in Westfield (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3
148.	William Pokoc	Martin	1a. land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2
149.	John Pouke	Martin	piece of land in Westfield (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2
150.	Robert le Pouke	Martin & Margery	½a 1d land at <i>Chalkwell</i> in field of Wrotham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3
151.	Walter in the Reye	Margery	all the field called field called <i>Troustelhel</i> in Kemsing	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.
152.	Nicholas s Robert Russel	Martin & Margery and William & Alex	all his tenement in Wrotham hundred and parish	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4
153.	Geoffrey Skippere	Martin & Margery	piece of land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2
154.	"	Martin & Margery	land in <i>Caldewellescroft</i> (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2
155.	Walter Skippere	Martin	land in croft called <i>Rysshmed</i> in Wrotham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2
156.	"	Martin	1a land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2
157.	William Smith	Martin & Margery	meadow in <i>Newemed</i> at Heaverham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4
158.	"	Martin	piece of land in <i>Southfield</i> in Heaverham; piece of meadow in <i>Bedemed</i> (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4
159.	"	Martin	3a land at Heaverham; land and wood in a <i>loco</i> called <i>Shurnedegrove</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4
160.	John de Southash & Elena, d Martin de Peckham, his wife	Margery	Manor of South Ash and all tenements which Agnes his mother holds in dower in the manor in parishes of Kemsing, Northash & Ashurst	Add.Ch.16459 1/11/1310
161.	Margery de Peckham	John s Ralph de Ash & Elena	2 messuages & a carucate of land etc., in Kemsing, Northash and Ashurst	<i>Arch.Cant.</i> 11 (1877), p.338 9/2/1311
162.	Richard Stiword jn.	Margery	piece of land <i>Eleycroft</i> in the borgh of Yaldham	U442 T149, m.4
163.	Richard Stiword sn.	Margery	all the field called <i>Boyefeld</i> in Wrotham (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.
164.	John le Swont	Martin & Margery	piece of land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2
165.	Richard Tanuater, s John Styward	Martin	½a land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2

166.	Robert Taillor	Martin & Margery	piece of land in Westfield	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3		
167.	Richard Tassel s William Wynsere	Martin	piece of land in Westfield (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1		
168.	Richard s John Tassel	Margery	½a land in Westfield (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.		
169.	Robert Tassel	Martin	land (in Westfield?) (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1		
170.	“	Martin	a croft land in the borgh of Yaldham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.4		
171.	John s Giles Warstan	Margery	meadow in <i>Longemed</i> & <i>Newemed</i> at Heaverham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.		
172.	Ralph Wolford	Martin	grove in Wrotham parish (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1		
173.	“	Martin	2 crofts in Yaldham (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1		
174.	Ralph Wolford	Martin & Margery	piece of land in Westfield (*)	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2		
175.	Richard Wolvord	Martin	meadow in <i>Brodemed</i> & <i>-med</i> in the borgh of Yaldham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.1		
176.	“	Martin & Margery	land called Churchland, of tenure of Martin & Margery, in borgh of Yaldham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.3		
177.	Thomas Wolvord	Margery	all that tenement in Yaldham of tenure of John de Peckham	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2v.		
178.	John s Ivo de Wrotham	Martin	croft called <i>Bustede</i> in the borgh of Yaldham (*)	Add.Ch.16500	n.d.	30s.
179.	Richard de Wrotham s John de Orsprenge	Martin & Margery	1v land in Westfield, next land of William de Orsprenge, his brother	U442 T149 m.2		
180.	Richard s Adam de Wrotham	Martin	3v land, next land that was Richard de Orsprenge's	<i>Ibid.</i> , m.2		
181.	William s Alex de Wrotham	Martin	piece of land (*)	Add.Ch.16506 & U442 T149 m.2	1285/6	3s.

Appendix 5.1. Details of tenant services in inquisitions (chiefly I.P.M.)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Lord</u>	<u>Manor</u>	<u>Demesne:</u>		<u>Services:</u>	<u>Reference</u>
			arable	meadow		
1246	Geffrey de Everle	Smeeth	98a.	16a.	averagium worth 6s.8d. and a custom of mowing ½a.	Arch. Cant., 2, p.293
1260	Walter de St.John	Nashenden	117a.	8a.	Thomas Man and his parceners owe ploughing of 1a. 1p. at their own expense, worth 10d. They also owe the making of a wattle, worth 1d.	Arch. Cant., 3, p.250
1263	Richard de Clare	Eltham	206a.	2a.	The works of the villains (sic) are extended at 30s. 1d.	Arch. Cant., 4, pp.31-2
		Yalding	327a.	55a.	Works and customs of the tenants are extended at 58s.6½d. The licencia maritandi, averagium and carriage of writs extended at 12s. The great bind-day, in the autumn, is extended at 12s.6d.	Ibid., pp.312-3
1263	Hamo de Crevequer	Folkestone	c.600a.	c.25a.	Holders of knights' fees owe service of enclosing the park. There is a custom of ploughing, sowing and mowing 18a. At Alkham there are 37a. of Bouherthe.	Arch. Cant., 3, pp.257f.
1263	John de Crioll	Lower Hardres	100a.		9d. in rent of ploughing, 9d. in rent of harrowing, 21¼d. in hay-making, 7½d. in malt-making.	PRO C132 File 31(8)
1268	heirs of Monchensie	Wickham (Strood)	44a.	18a.	16d. owed by tenants for mowing lord's meadow & 3¾d. for reaping corn, because they will be boarded by the lord.	Arch. Cant., 5, p.293
		Milton (Gravesend)	75a.	18a.?	Men of the ville are bound to mow 24a., worth 4s., and ... from each acre 2 good sheaves, of the value of 2d.	
1270	Rowland de Axstede	Nettlestead	50a.		9 customs of reaping corn and carrying hay, valued at 18d.	Arch. Cant., 5, p.301
1271	heirs of Averench	Folkestone	640a.	26a.	Tenants of knights' fees ought to cut and carry fencing and fence the park every 4 years, for 360 perches, value 45s. Customs of ploughing and harrowing 54a., worth 36s.; reaping and stacking 18a. of corn, 10s.6d.; threshing 12q. corn, 4s.; mowing, carrying and stacking 1¾a. meadow, 10d; carrying hay with 2 waggons for one day, 12s.	Arch. Cant., 6, p.240
1271	John Gravenel	Graveney	89a.	12½a.	Customs of reaping 21a., worth 10s.6d. and mowing 9a. meadow, 3s.	PRO C132 File 41(15)
1272	John de Grey	Hoo	215a.	3½a.	325 works (operibus), valued at ½d. each.	PRO C132 File 42(3)
1271	William de Sey	Burham	392a.	24a.	Tenants owe ploughing and harrowing at 3 times, 63a., valued at 42s. They owe hay-making, 21d.; clearing 84p. of the mill-stream, 7s. Each house ought to send one man to the lord's meadow at Lovand, and the lord provides food twice in the day.	PRO C132 File 42(6)
		Cudham	304a.		Each tenant plough owes ploughing and harrowing 1a. in winter and 1a. in spring. The lord provides food for six men per plough.	

		Birling	224a.	35a.	Ploughing at Michaelmas 40a. and after Christmas 40a. Mowing the lord's meadow with 50 mows, when the lord provides food 3 times in the day. Cart the hay from all 35a. Provide 16 carts for hay and 16 for dung. The town smith ought to make ploughshares or pay 21d. rent.	
1275	Eleanor of Leicester	Kemsing & Seal	300a.	11a.	20a. <i>gavelerohe</i> , 20s.; 21a. <i>gavelrip</i> with carriage, 14s.; custom of reaping 58a. 1r.4p. oats, 24s.3½d.; custom of taking 28 carts of manure for 1 day, 4s.8d.; custom of 44 men for 1 day spreading manure, 11d.; custom of mowing, gathering and carrying 4a. meadow, 2s.8d.; 80 <i>averagia</i> , 26s.8d.; custom of making 17½ seams malt; custom of <i>Burghmed</i> , fencing 65 perches around the park, 16d.	PRO C133 File 10(16)
1283	John de Haudlo	Street	70a.	26a.	Customs & services 25s.; mowing 7a. meadow, 28d.	PRO C133 File 34(6)
1284	Roger de Northwood	Thurnham	160a.	6a.	Customs of ploughing 7a. land between Michaelmas and All Saints, 7s.; likewise 5a at Lent, 4s.2d.; mowing 2a. meadow, 16d.; threshing for ½ day, 5d; reaping 27a. corn in autumn, 13s.6d.	PRO C133 File 42(12)
1286	Stephen de Bocton	Boughton Aluph	300a.	17½a.	Custom of <i>gavelherth</i> ploughing 30½a. at morrow of St Martin, 20s.4d. custom of mowing, gathering and carrying hay of 8½a. meadow, 5s.8d. Customs called <i>Heveshale</i> and <i>Senighale</i> at feast of St Martin, valued at 19s.4d.	PRO C133 File 45(1)
1287	Ralph Oteringeden	Otterden & Sengden	407a.	14a.	Customs attached to knight's fee valued at 15d.; minor rents and customs attached to land held in gavelkind, 12s.	PRO C133 File 49(1)
1289	Richard de Bedeford	Warehorne	288a.		Diverse services, 10s., attached to both knight's fee and gavelkind.	PRO C133 File 54(2)
1291	Gregory de Rokesle	Hawkswell (Folkestone)	54a.	3a.	4 tenants plough at Michaelmas at Hythe, 12d.; 2 tenants cart hay in summer for 1 day, 4½d.; same cart corn for 1 day in autumn, value 6d.; 3 tenants cart dung for 1 day, value 7½d.	PRO C133 File 60(9)
1292	Hamo de Gatton	Throwley	100a.		Tenants plough 13a. in winter, 13s.; also reap and gather 18a. wheat in autumn, 9s.	PRO C133 File 61(22)
1292	Joan de Caunvile	Westerham	384a.	20¼a.	Customs called <i>Alebedrip</i> and <i>Dreybedrip</i> at autumn reaping, value 18s.; tenants owe a custom of carriage called <i>Rostwod</i> , viz 34½ carts, 5s.9d.; also owe ploughing for seed 42½a., 21s.; a reaping custom called <i>Gavelrip</i> of 28a., 14s.; mowing custom called <i>Gavelswet</i> of 11 works, 16½d.; mowing 12 works called <i>Bedsithe</i> , 3s.; also 6 works of half a day, 6d.	PRO SC12 9/65
1293	John de Peckham	West Peckham	½a.	1a.	All tenants carry manure at Michaelmas, 5s.7d.; they carry 6 seams wheat at same time, 3s.; they make 11 seams of malt * against Christmas, 11¼d.; they make <i>Rostwod</i> against Christmas, 7½d.; they	PRO C133 File 65(4)

plough 4a. in summer, 4s.9½d.; and 4a. in Lent, 4s.9½d.; make hay, 2s.3¼d.; cart hay from *Crongeyri* to Peckham, 2s.11d.; reap at autumn *Bedrip*, 4s.2d.; at Hocktide they make 13 wattles, 6¼d.; 4 tenants (at *Crongebyri* ?) thresh 36 seams wheat and 36 seams oats at Michaelmas, 12s.**; same reap at 7 *Bedreps* in autumn, 7d.; make hay, 3½d.***; reap 1a. wheat, 3½d.

* 11 seams and 1 bushel in 2nd return. ** these four hold 12½a. by this threshing service according to 2nd return. *** 7½d. in 2nd return.

1293	George de Laverton	Boughton Aluph	120a.	4a.	Certain tenants owe ploughing of 7a.¼r. land at St Martin, 8d. per acre; they pay at the same time <i>Eveshale</i> and <i>Shewinghal</i> , 4s.10d.; they mow, gather and carry 4a. meadow, 2s.	PRO E152 File 4(10d)
1294	William de Barmlyng	West Barming	162a.	1a.	2 tenants plough 1/6 acre land in Lent, 2d.; they reap the same, 1d.; other tenants pay in autumn for <i>Gavelrep</i> , 3s.4d.	PRO C133 File 67(22)
1294	Bertram de Crioll	Tirlingham	110a.		At Christmas, 15s. from enclosing the park and <i>Wodelode</i> , paid by tenants; 6s. from ploughing at the same time.	PRO C133 File 71(18)
		Newington next Hythe	42a.	2a.	14s. at St Peter ad Vincula from fencing; 3s. at Christmas from ploughing	
1295	William de Say	Birling	224a.	35a.	Tenants plough 26a. in winter, 27a. in Lent, 27a. in summer, 6d. per acre.	PRO C133 File 71(19)
		Burham	300a.	12½a.	Certain tenants plough 13a. in winter, 13½a. Lent, 13½a. mid-summer, 8d. per acre.	
1296	Alexander de Cheny	Patricbourne	80a.		Some tenants owe 15a. winter ploughing for wheat, value 10s.	PRO C133 File 74(23)
		Keston	95a.		Some tenants reap in autumn by 1 man for 23 days, at lord's food, 23d.	
1296	Gilbert de Clare	Hetherede	10a.		60 great works (mowing, reaping) worth in all 10s.; 268 small works (threshing, digging), 12s.; there are tenants who plough 5½a. in winter for food, value 3s.; 103 <i>bedrips</i> in autumn, 8s.7d.	PRO C133 File 77(3)
		Dachirst	345a.	43a.	There are tenants who plough 10a. for food, value 6s.8d.; 2½a. of <i>werchland</i> , rendering 6s.6d.; 8d. from <i>averagium</i> ; 2s. from <i>werchgaveles</i> ; 116 boonworks in autumn, for food, 9s.8d.	
		Hadlow	166a.	14a.	12 <i>averagia</i> at Michaelmas, 4s.; 180 great works (mowing, reaping and such) 30s.; 1206 small works (threshing, digging and such) 44s, Some tenants plough in winter and Lent 18a. of Bencherthe, for food, 9s.	
		West Peckham	176a.	21a.	6 <i>averagia</i> at Michaelmas, 19½d., at Christmas 6¼d. for malt-making and <i>Rostwode</i> ; at Michaelmas 18d. for carting manure; 6 carts in autumn for carrying corn, valued at 12d.; 7 carts in summer to carry hay; for ploughing 26½d. at All Saints and Purification of Blessed	

				Mary; 17d. from 17 works in autumn, viz 1 day; at Easter 1¼d. for making hurdles; there are tenants who thresh at the lord's will 38q. wheat, worth 6s.4d., and 76q. oats, 4s.9d.		
		Brasted	323a.	22¼a.	Certain tenants plough 2a. in winter, 8a. 1r. in Lent and harrow, value 12d.; 120 <i>bedrips</i> in autumn for 1 day, 10s.5d.; certain tenants reap 10a. in autumn, called <i>gavelerip</i> , valued at 45d.	
		Yalding	263a.	27a.	Certain tenants make 26q. malt from lord's wheat and oats, value 2s.2d.; thresh for fodder of horses at Christmas, 19d.; carry lord's corn for 1 day in autumn, 2s.6d.; reap in autumn for 1 day, 12s.6d.; 64 great works (mowing, reaping) 10s.8d.; 300 small works (threshing, digging and such) 17s.9d.; provide 17 men to mow lord's meadow for 1 day for food, 1s.10d.; plough in winter 10a. and in Lent 10a., 13s.4d. Great and small works in winter valued at 5s.	PRO C133 File 79(13)
1297	Simon de Sharstede	Sharsted	288a.			
1298	Thomas de Marines	Otterpool	68a.	31a.	Tenants plough 2a. in winter, value 20d.; harrow for 8 days, with one horse at lord's food, 8d.; make 4 seams malt at Christmas and Easter 16d.; mow 2a. meadow, 12d.; weed lord's corn for 7 days for food, no value; provide 4 men for reaping wheat, for food, 6d.; roof the barn and <i>Bovium</i> when needed, for food, 12d.; make 5 wattles, 5d.; wash and shear half the lord's sheep for food, no value; make each week when no other work, 3 <i>averagia</i> with 1 horse if the lord wills...	PRO C133 File 84(6)
		Blackman-stone	175a.	13a.	Tenants mow, gather and cart 4a. meadow, value 2s.; reap 200? sheaves corn, 5d.; weed the lord's corn, 6d.	
1298	Hugh de Gerunde	Ashurst	100a.	6a.	Named tenants owe ploughing, mowing and reaping services	PRO C133 File 86(5)
1299	Thomas de Marynes	Blackman-stone	175a.	?	Some tenants mow 4a.? meadow, value 2s.8d.; 3d. worth of reaping custom; custom of weeding the lord's corn, worth 6s.	PRO C133 File 92(12)
1300	John de Godeynton	Lower Hardres	84½a.		Named tenants owe rents for ploughing, harrowing, hay-carting and malt-making services.	PRO C133 File 93(16)
1300	John de Cobham	Beckley	60a.		Named tenants owe c.2½a. reaping, gathering and stacking in autumn for food.	PRO C133 File 94(8)
		Aldington Cob'	80a.		Named tenants owe ploughing of 1a. in winter, value 8d.; reaping c.9a. corn in autumn, value 4d. per acre; enclosing 28p. hedge, 7d.	
1300	Hamo de Gatton	Throwley	200a.		Named tenants owe 11½a. ½r. winter ploughing and approx. 18a. reaping, valued at 15s.4d. and 12s.1d. respectively.	PRO C133 File 98(31) & E149 File 6(3)
1302	William de Kirkeby	Stowting	300a.	12a.	There are tenants who reap 8a. wheat, value 4s., and carry hay in summer, value 6s.8d.	PRO C133 File 105(1)

1302	John de St.John	Earde (Crayford)	262a.	27a.	All tenants plough and harow 15a. corn in autumn, value 10s.; carry 10a. corn in autumn to the lord's grange, 20d. Each complete tenant plough ploughs for 1 day of <i>Beenherthe</i> in winter and 1 day in spring, for which food is given.	PRO C133 File 105(6)
1303	Thomas de Gatesden	Boughton Aluph	100a.	6a.	Tenants plough and harrow 7a. of <i>Gavelherthe</i> at seed time, value 4s.8d.	PRO C133 File 107(17)
1303	Nicholas Criel	Ightham	98a.	7a.	Named tenants of 7 ' <i>ferlings</i> ' owe 14a. ploughing at 2 seed times, value 14s.; they mow, spread, toss and stack 1a.3r. meadow, 10½d.; they reap, bind and carry 11a.1r. corn, 5s.7½d.; reap and bind 7a. oats, 2s.4d. There are 2 tenants who hold ' <i>Vorelond</i> ' and reap and bind 2a. corn, 12d.	PRO C133 File 108(7)
		Westen- hanger	80a.	15Ȳa.	Some named tenants harrow for 18 days at oat-sowing for food, or give 6d., also mow, spread and toss hay of 11a, meadow without food or give 5s.6d.	
		Eynsford	157½a.	11Ȳa.	Named tenants plough and harrow 11½a.1½r. t 2 seasons, value 11s.10¾d.; mow, spread, toss, gather and carry in 3a. meadow, value 2s.; reap in the autumn 8a.1½r., value 4s.3½d.	
		Walmer	200a.		Some named tenants make 80q. malt, or give 13s.4d. at Purification of the Blessed Mary; they plough and harrow 3½a. or give 2s.3d.; reap and bind 1½a.1r. corn or give 8Ȳd. There are <i>Gavilmen</i> who reap and bind 32a. corn or give 13s.4d. There are tenants of Oxene who make 80q. malt or give 13s.4d.	
		Stockbury	220a.		Tenants of <i>Sutherdislose</i> , <i>Northerdislose</i> , <i>Heydesole</i> and <i>Iccenore</i> plough and harrow 9a. in Lent for food, or give 12d. per acre; reap 9½a. for food, 6d.; cart 2.67 carts of the lord's corn in autumn or give 3s.; cart ... loads hay, or give 6d. per cart...	
1305	Robert Scarlet	West Peckham	1a.	½a.	From works, 20s. at Purification of Mary, Assension and Michaelmas; there are 3 tenants who render 2s.6d. at mid-summer for <i>Gavelhey</i>	PRO C133 File 117(1)
1305	Robert de Septvans	Aldington Septv Milton next Canterbury	90a. 76a.	1a. 3a.	5a. customary reaping in the autumn, value 20d.; 13½d. for carrying manure and hay paid at feast of St Peter ad Vincula. 13 <i>averagia</i> at Easter, valued at 26d.	PRO C133 File 121(9)
1306	Robert de Burghersh	Boughton Aluph Stowting	100a. 140a.	9a.	12a. customary ploughing, value 8s.; at St.Martin, 8s.11½d. from <i>Avesinghale</i> and <i>Schewinghale</i> . 4 works of corn carrying in autumn, value 12d.; work of reaping 8a. corn in autumn, 4s.	PRO C133 File 122(9)
1306	Ralph fitz	Sibton	139a.	15a.	1a. customary ploughing at Lent, value 10d.	PRO C133 File 123(8)

Bernard						
1307	Joan de Clare	West Peckham Dachirst	200a. 303a.	18a. 41a.	4s.6d. from great works put to farm at Michaelmas; 5s. from small works put to farm at Christmas, 12d. from <i>Gavelherth</i> at Easter. <i>Benherthe</i> ploughing of 13a. at 2 seasons for food, value 4s.; from great works out in pence, 7s.6d. at Michaelmas; small works likewise 13s.6d. at Christmas, Easter and mid-summer; <i>averagia</i> at Christmas 6d; 180 autumn boonworks, 1d. each. (See also below [1314])	PRO C133 File 128
		Hadlow	205a.	18a.	350 great works, value 2d. each; 1500 small works, 62s.6d.; 15 <i>averagia</i> at Michaelmas, 1d. each; 26a. of <i>Benherthe</i> ploughing at 2 seasons, value 4d. per acre. (See also below [1314])	
		Brasted	315a.	20a.	Custom of <i>Rostwode</i> put in pence, 7s. at Christmas; custom of enclosing the <i>Burghyard</i> at mid-summer, put in pence at 17d.; 4s. from <i>averagia</i> put in pence at Michaelmas. <i>Benerthe</i> ploughing at 2 seasons, 3a. value 18d. above food. 80 autumn boonworks at corn reaping, value 6s.8d. (See also below [1314])	
		Yalding	365a.	31a.	20a. <i>Benherthe</i> ploughing at winter and Lent, value 13s.4d.; 52 great works at mid-summer and 1 August, value 8s.8d.; 298 small works at Easter and mid-summer, value 18s.7½d.; 96 boonworks, value 12s.; 10 waggons to cart in autumn, 2s.6d.; 16 <i>molsithes</i> at lord's mowing, 2s.; 13 <i>averagia</i> at Michaelmas, 6s.6d. Tenants make 25q. malt against Christmas, 2s.1d. and thresh for fodder against Christmas, or give 19d. (See also below [1314])	
1308	Hugh Poyntz	Hoo St Werburgh	210¼a.	7a.	Between 21 December and Easter, gavelkind tenants owe 88 works, between Easter and mid-summer 87 works, between mid-summer and Michaelmas 88 works and between Michaelmas and 21 December 87 works, valued in all at 21s.11½d.	PRO C134 File 2(19)
		Lullingstone	250a.	20a.	Between Michaelmas and Christmas tenants owe 14½ cartloads of manure spreading, value 2s.5d.; in autumn 15 works of reaping 16a. corn, value 5s.; between Michaelmas and Easter 20 <i>averagia</i> and between Easter and Michaelmas 20 <i>averagia</i> , 6s.8d.	
1307	Joan de Valence	Sutton Valence	180a.	14a.	Tenants plough in winter 13a. for wheat sowing and 13a. in Lent for food, value 13s.; reap in autumn 48a., 24s.; mow 4½a. meadow, toss and carry the hay, 2s.3d.; at Christmas 19s.4d. for <i>averagia</i> and 20d. at Michaelmas.	PRO C134 File 4(1)
		Brabourne	240a.	36a.	At Christmas, from <i>averagia</i> £6, at Easter 40s. from ploughing, at Christmas 17s. from enclosure and carriage of wood; 21s.8d. on 1	

1308	Henry de Grey	Hoo St Werburgh	172½a.	7¼a.	August for hay carrying; 13s. from <i>Kepsilvir</i> in autumn.	PRO C134 File 8(20)
1310	Step. de Burghersh	Stowting	200a.	4a.	From the gavelkind tenants, 225 works, valued at 14s.¾d.	PRO C134 File 16(2)
		Boughton Aluph	100a.	12a.	There are tenants who reap 8a. wheat, value 4s. and owe carriage of manure, for food, for 4 days, value 2s.	
					4s.8d. from customs of <i>Shewyngale</i> and <i>Evesingale</i> at St.Martin; 17s. ¾d. at same time for <i>Gavelerthe</i> , viz for c.21a. ploughing; there are tenants who mow, toss, carry and stack the hay of 4a. meadow in <i>Brodemedede</i> at mid-summer, value 3s.	
1310	Willm. de Leybourne	Elham	300a.	10a.	Certain tenants owe ploughing of 15a. in winter, value 12s.6d.; 60 <i>averagia</i> , value 50s.; 6 <i>fotaveria</i> and <i>carietum</i> in return for 2d. each and no value above this; tenants mow, toss and carry the hay of 1½a., 9d.; reap in autumn, bind and carry the corn of 15a., 7s.6d.	PRO C134 File 17(7)
		Preston	226a.	24a.	£4 from <i>averagium</i> at 4 rent-terms; certan tenants owe ploughing of 5a. in winter, value 40d.; carriage with 20 carts for 1 day, for food, 6s.8d.	
		Ashford	107a.	18a.	Certain tenants owe for meadow mowing, 5s at mid-summer; at Christmas 6s.8d. for <i>averagium</i> , 5s. for <i>maltseivre</i> .	
1311	Anthony, bp. of Durham	St Paul Cray	317a.	21a.	Tenants owe ploughing and harrowing of 1a.1¼r., value 10½d.; reaping 13a.1¼r. wheat, 6s.8¼d. and 7a.1r.6p. oats in autumn, 2s.5¼d.	PRO C134 File 21(8)
1311	Nicholas de Pointz	Hoo St Werburgh	200a.	5a.	350 works, value 18s,3½d.	PRO C134 File 26(11)
1314	Gilbert de Clare	Dachirst Brasted	288a. 315a.	46a. 26a.	Same as in 1307. 45 great works @ 2d. each and 324 small @ ½d.	PRO C134 File 43
					<i>Rostwode</i> , enclosure around <i>Burghyard</i> and <i>averagia</i> as in 1307. 6a. <i>Gavelherthe</i> in winter and Lent, value 4s.6d.; custom called <i>Benherthe</i> in Lent valued above food at 2s. Boonworks as in 1307.	
		Hadlow	205a.	18a.	Great and small works, <i>averagia</i> as in 1307. 26a. <i>Benerthe</i> in winter and Lent, 8s. above food; 150 autumn boons, 12s.6d.	
		West Peckham	200a.	18a.	27 great works of threshing the lord's corn, value 4s.6d.; customs of carrying corn, making malt, carrying <i>Rostwode</i> , making wattles and enclosing fences, value 5s.; 13¼d. from <i>Gavelherthe</i> in winter & Lent.	
		Yalding	365a.	31a.	<i>Benherthe</i> , great works, boonworks, waggoning, <i>molsithes</i> and <i>averagia</i> and malt-making as in 1307. 298 small works at Christmas, Easter and mid-summer, value 18s.7d.; threshing service of 19q. oats for fodder at Christmas, value of the work 19d.	
1317	Adam atte Broke	West Peckham	37a.	1a.	Various works put in pence, 32s.5½d. at 3 terms.	PRO C134 File 59(9)

1319	John de Northwood	Shorne	81a.	6½a.	102 works in autumn called <i>Sheafwork</i> , value 21s.3d.; 52 works in autumn called <i>Herdwork</i> , 12s.6d.	PRO C134 File 62(12)
1322	Geoffrey de Say	Birling Burham	180a. 320a.	30a. 18a.	Custom of <i>Gavelerthe</i> in winter, 40a. and in Lent 40a. Custom of <i>Gavelerthe</i> in winter 20a. and in Lent 20a.; in summer for fallow 20a.; custom caled <i>Medselver</i> at mid-summer, 21d.	PRO C134 File 70(4)
1324	Aymer de Valence	Wickham (Strood) Brabourne	91a. 257a.	3½a. 39a.	3a. of reaping of <i>Gavelryp</i> , valued at 9d. From <i>averagia</i> around St Andrew, £6; a custom called <i>Wodelode</i> in March, 9s.; pence for enclosing <i>Bourghey</i> , 7s.11d. at same time; for carriage of hay around 1 August, 21s.7d.; for meadow mowing, 6s.7½d. at same time; for ploughing called <i>Gavelherth</i> in March, 39s.1½d.; custom of enclosure valued at 8s at mid-summer. Rents of manor of <i>Icoundes</i> include hay mowing and tossing, 5d. and manure spreading, 1d.	PRO C134 File 83
		Luddesdown	250a.	4a.	Ploughing called <i>Gavelerth</i> 32a. in winter, 16a. and at Lent 16a., value 21s.4d.; reaping called <i>Gavelrip</i> of 32a., 16s.	
		East Sutton	145a.	12a.	2s. called <i>Lyefsilver</i> , 4s.9d. called <i>Aversilver</i> , 2s.5d. called <i>Wodegavel</i> , 15d. called <i>Mowyngselver</i> ; 5a. of <i>Gavelerth</i> , value 5s. sold at 2 times; ploughing called <i>Benerth</i> of 5a., 3s.4d. at same times; pence called <i>Dinerselver</i> to mow meadow, 6d at mid-summer; reaping called <i>Bederip</i> of 16a., 8s.8d.	
		Sutton Valence	223a.	11½a.+	65½ horse <i>averagia</i> @ 21s.10d. sold at Christmas; 20d. <i>maltselver</i> at same time; 26a. ploughing called <i>Gavelerth</i> , 31s.8d.; 5½a. ploughing called <i>Benherth</i> , 2s.9d.; reaping called <i>Bedryp</i> of 49½a., 24s.9d.	
1329	John de St.John	Earde (Crayford)	190a.	20a.	Works of the tenants valued at 12s.6d., viz ploughing for wheat and oats, 5s. equally and reaping corn in the autumn, 7s.6d.	PRO C135 File 19(1)
1330	Guy Ferre	Chatham	50a.	2a.	... for winter seed c.36a., value of this custom ...; 57¼(?) <i>averagia</i> , 7s.11½d. (for each 10a. land, 1 <i>averagium</i>); enclosing the lord's corn; tenants owe reaping, binding and stacking of c.18a., value 8s...d. (for each 20a., ½a.½r.)...	PRO C135 File 22(9)
1330	Edmund earl of Kent	Wickham-breux Swanscombe	274½a. 468a.	25a. 60a.	Works of ploughing, harrowing, mowing, tossing, carting and spreading manure, reaping etc., valued at £11 8s.7¾d. Certain tenants plough and harrow 34a. land, value 20s.	PRO C135 File 23
1332	Joan atte Broke	West Peckham	36¼a.	3½r.	2½ carts of hay of 'gavel' sold at St.Peter ad Vincula, value 6s.	PRO C135 File 32(19)

1334	William de Cheyny	Patrib'ne	62a.		16s. paid at All Saints from a custom called <i>Graserthe</i> .	PRO C135 File39(20)
1335	David de Strabolgi	Brabourne	342a.	39a.	<i>Averagia</i> rent at All Saints, value £6; custom called <i>Drofselver</i> at same time, 4s.; custom of ploughing, harrowing, <i>Burghyard</i> and <i>Wodelode</i> in March, 57s.3½d.; custom of carting hay on 1 August, 21s.6d.	PRO C135 File 45(24)
1338	Giles de Badlesmere	Wilderton	120a.		A custom called <i>Shirselver</i> at St Martin, 7s.	PRO C135 File 56
		Erith	373a.	23a.	Custom called <i>Sithselver</i> , valued at 4s.; a custom called <i>feuger</i> , 2s. each at Michaelmas.	
		Chatham	60a.		A custom at St.Peter ad Vincula, value 5s; another called <i>Gavelrip</i> , at Michaelmas, 10s.; another called <i>Average</i> at St.Martin, 5s.; another called <i>Gavelerth</i> , 40s.	
1341	Roger de Maryns	Chilham	443a.	15a.	From ploughing works in winter in spring, 50s.	
		Blackman-stone	80a.	12a.	Customs paid by tenants for malt-making at Easter, 4d.	PRO C135 File 67(2)
1348	Laur. de Hastings	Sutton	128a.	12a.	21s.5½d. issues from a certain custom called <i>Gavelerth</i> , sold at Christmas; 19s.2¼d. from a custom called <i>Bederip</i> at St.Peter ad Vincula; 21s.10d. from a custom called <i>Averagium</i> , at Christmas; 7s.8¾d. from a custom called <i>Mowengselver</i> at St.Peter ad Vincula.	PRO C135 File 91
		East Sutton	108a.	8a.	3s.3d. issues from a certain custom called <i>Gavelerth</i> at Christmas and Easter equally; 4s. from works of <i>averagium</i> at St.Martin and Pentecost equally; 19½d. from a custom called <i>Mowengselver</i> at St. Peter ad Vincula.	
1350	Maria de Segrave	Folkestone	250a.		There is a custom called <i>Wodelode</i> at Christmas, value 16s.10d.; custom of harrowing in Lent, 31s.	E149 File 10(19)

Appendix 5.2

The court roll of the manor of Fromonds Court, Hadlow

The record of some twenty sittings of the court of 'Thomas Frommonds' between 1294/5 and 1353 survive in a collection of rolls in the Centre for Kentish Studies.¹ Thomas Fromond was the holder of a fraction of a knight's fee from the earl of Gloucester from the later thirteenth century, and his name continued to be applied to this small manor in later years. Thomas and his descendants were just one line of several who bore the same surname. There were at least two knightly tenements held by men called Fromond of the earl's barony of Tonbridge, and there may have been other lands in the area held of other lordships. A list of fees of the barony made in 1314 includes the information that Thomas Fromond held a fifth of a knight's fee and John had half a fee.² The same pattern is seen in the Aid to knight the Black Prince, taken in 1346. Then John Fromond held half a fee at Swanton in Hadlow and John ate Wealde and Gilbert Fromond paid Aid on a sixth part of a fee at Fromund.³ The half fee at Swanton was no doubt that which a hundred years before was held by Richard de Swanton,⁴ but the earlier history of the other holding is now lost.

The court roll relates to this small fraction of a knight's fee. It was a manor somewhat different from those of John de Cobham, being in appearance much more akin to the smaller estates of the Colepepers or the Peckhams. The record contains no surprises in terms of the type of matters which the court was faced with, or of the terms in which it was written down. The membranes of the roll or rolls are now separated and flattened, although they still have a pronounced tendency to curl up when removed from the constraint of the folder in which they are kept. The collection

1. Catalogued as CKS U55 M360, the membranes of the rolls are now separated and filed flat. They have recently been microfilmed and are to be found on Films 1226-1227.

2. *CIPM*, v, No.538; PRO C134 File 44, m.61.

3. *Feudal Aids*, iii, p.46.

4. *Book of Fees*, p.672.

consists of twenty four membranes of assorted sizes and quality. What the original arrangement of these membranes was before their repair and rearrangement is not possible to say. Neither is it clear how much material has been lost. Two different modern numbering systems have been used, with the most prominent failing to include the third membrane.⁵

The first membrane measures 162mm by 396mm and contains the record of six courts, the first being from 1294/5⁶ and the last dated 10 January 1297. A heading to this membrane proclaims it to be the court roll of Thomas Fromond, from 23 Edward I. Only one court appears on what was the dorse side of this skin, but this in fact is the fifth of the six and the next court was written at the bottom of the first side. Thus it is possible that subsequent courts were recorded on new membranes and that these are now lost.

Whether or not there was an actual break in recording, the next court of which we have record occurs on membrane 2 and is dated 3 August 1340. This skin is entitled the court roll of Nicholas Fromond, from 14 Edward III. From the heading to the first court we learn that Nicholas was the son of Thomas Fromond. The third and fourth of this sequence of five courts are faded into illegibility. The fifth is dated 23 September 1342. There is then another gap to Membranes 3A (measuring 186mm by 199mm) and 3B (187mm by 418mm) which between them have three courts from the year 1346, when Nicholas was still the lord. That there were courts between 1342 and 1346 of which we now have no record is shown by the essoins of the court of 23 January 1346. John Schrop and Nicholas Fromond both made their excuses for a second successive time, but John Schrop had definitely been present in September 1342, when he had produced his charter of purchase of a piece of land.

5. I have here adopted this more prominent modern numbering, but have included two membrane 3's, distinguished by 3A and 3B.

6. Fading of the roll has rendered the feast day illegible.

The last of the three 1346 courts, dated 9 October, was written on the front side of the present membrane 3B and continues to the bottom. On the reverse side are two courts from 1349, but at the top of the reverse side is a single entry relating the fact that John Symon junior came to the court and did suit and paid relief for lands purchased of John the son of Nicholas Symon. It is not clear whether this represents the final act of the court of October 1346, or whether that court had continued onto another, now lost, skin. However, in the court immediately preceding that of October 1346, John Symon junior had done fealty and paid relief of 3d. for lands purchased of the same John son of Nicholas Symon. He had also been distrained to produce his charter at the next court. It seems likely therefore that the entry on the dorse relates to this next court, and that there was in fact a gap of two years, either in the holding of courts or in the making or copying of the record.

By 6 July 1349 Nicholas Fromond was dead and the court of that day is described as being the court of the heirs of Nicholas Fromond. At the time of the next court, the precise date of which is unclear but which took place in the same year, the lord of the manor was Alice, the widow of Nicholas. These two courts are recorded one on each side of membrane 4 (213mm by 288mm). Membrane 5 (205mm by 520mm) may well continue without a break. On the front of the skin are two courts, from July and December 1350 and on the reverse is one from May 1351.

The record continues on membrane 6 (286mm by 260mm) which is entitled the Roll of Court of Alice atte Wealde of distrains, fines and rulings in the years of Edward III as aftersaid. Nicholas' widow had evidently remarried herself to Richard atte Wealde who is named as holder of each of the three courts on this membrane and of subsequent courts until at least 1362.

The later membranes of the collection carry the story on into the early sixteenth century, as the manor passed through the hands of the Godying family from around

1380.⁷ There are also two copies of a rental of 1433 (on membranes 22 and 23) and other lists of rents and suitors. One is a list of rents acquired by John the son of Richard Fromond of Hadlow (membrane 14), and another of tenements and tenants of lands of Richard Fromond (membrane 15). The latter has what looks like the date 1345 roughly scribbled in a fourteenth century hand, but the names included bear little relation to those of the court rolls, or indeed to the lay subsidy of 1334/5, and it is difficult to be sure of the correct dating of either listing. A third list gives the names of suitors and this has been tentatively dated to c.1400. There is some continuity of surnames from the Richard Fromond list. There were several suitors to the courts of Thomas Fromond and his descendants who also bore the name Fromond, and after the lordship passed to Richard atte Wealde, they continued to be tenants of the manor as before. It is possible that Richard atte Wealde changed his name to Fromond, but this is doubtful since he continued to be referred to by his original name for at least ten years after his marriage. More likely, these lists relate to holdings of other members of the Fromonds clan whose exact relationship to the lords of the manor remain obscure.

An accurate estimate of the pre Black Death number of tenants of Fromonds is difficult to derive, but it was certainly small compared to many other manors. The first item recorded in the court of 3 August 1340, which may well be the first court of a new lordship, is a list of twenty three men who would appear to have been those present.⁸ A further thirteen names appear as those distrained for various reasons.⁹

7. The first record of William Godyng as lord occurs on membrane 10. The change in lordship was reflected in the manor's change of name from Thomas Fromonds to Goodins. W.V.Dumbreck, 'The Lowy of Tonbridge', *Arch.Cant.* 72 (1959), p.147.

8. Although John Schrop does not appear in the list he was present, for he did fealty and paid relief for land purchased from Thomas Newman. Also John Eillard appears in the list, but had to be distrained to do fealty and pay relief for a tenement acquired from Peter Hereward. CKS U55 M360, m.2.

9. Together with John Eillard, and counting the heirs of Nicholas ate Welde as one person.

Together these account for most of the names that appear over the next few years, and suggest a body of suitors numbering in the region of thirty.¹⁰

10. The list of suitors which appears to relate to the end of the fourteenth century gives twenty four names. CKS U55 M360, m.16.

Appendix 6.1. Thirteenth and early fourteenth century references to markets & fairs.¹

Manor ²	date	lord	market day	fair at, for 'n' days	reference ³
Allington	1280	Stephen & Margaret de Pencestre	Tuesday	St Lawrence, 3	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.233.
Appledore	c.1310	Christchurch Priory		St Peter in summer	<i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
"	1358	"	Saturday	St Barnabas ap., 1	<i>CChR</i> , v, p.157.
Apuldfreld	1364	Henry de Apuldfreld	not given	not given	Hasted, ii, p.69.
Ash-n-Ridley	1302	William le Latimer	Thursday	SS Peter & Paul, 3	<i>CChR</i> , iii, p.26.
Ash-n-Wingham	1364	William Latimer	Thursday	Assumption, 3	Hasted, ix, p.193.
Ashford**	1278	William de Leybourne	not given		Hasted, vii, p.528.
"	c.1310	Juliana de Leybourne	Saturday	Dec. of St John, 2	PRO C134 File 17(7) & <i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
"	1348	William & Juliana de Clynton		St Anne, 3	<i>CChR</i> , v, p.86.
Ashurst**	1220	Nicholas de Gerunde	Wednesday		<i>Rot.Litt.Cl.</i> , i, p.444.
"	1308	Hugh de Gerunde		2 fairs	PRO C134 File 2(5).
Aylesford	1239	Richard de Grey	Thursday	SS Peter & Paul, 1	<i>CChR</i> , i, p.241.
"	1330	Richard de Grey	Thursday	Ascension, 3	Hasted, iv, p.424.
Bewsborough	1228	Master of St Mary, Dover		SS Philip & James, 2	<i>CChR</i> , i, p.78.
Bexley	1315	Archbishop of Canterbury		Exhaltation of the Cross, 2	<i>CChR</i> , iii, p.289.
Bourne	1226	Hugh, earl of Arundel		Dec. of St John,3	<i>Rot.Litt.Cl.</i> , ii, p.129.

1. Sources: primarily the *CChR*; 'Analysis of Entries in *Rotuli Placitorum de Quo Warranto*' in the *First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls*, vol.1 (London, 1889), pp.77ff.; Hasted.

2. For places marked *, a claim based upon prescriptive use was allowed in the king's court. For places marked **, there is the implication of an earlier grant or of prescriptive use. For places marked *** the grant was for the life of the grantee only.

3. References to Hasted have generally been given only where the primary evidence has not been located. *Com.Mar.Toll.* is the 'Analysis of Entries in *Rotuli Placitorum de Quo Warranto*' in the *First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls*, vol.1(1889), pp.77ff.

Boxley	1252	Boxley Abbey	not given		Hasted, iv, p.332.
Brabourne	1312	Aymer de Valence	not given	not given	Hasted, viii, p.18.
Brasted*	c.1292	Earl of Gloucester	Thursday	Ascension Day	<i>Com.Mar. Toll.</i>
Brenchley**	1230	Hamo de Crevequer	Wednesday	All Saints, 3	<i>CChR</i> , i, p.123.
"	1233	"	(from Sunday)		
Bromley	1205	Bishop of Rochester	Saturday	All Saints, 3	<i>CChR</i> , i, p.182.
Canterbury		Abbey of St Augustine	Wednesday		<i>CChR</i> , i, p.42.
				Translation of St	
Challock	c.1310	Battle Abbey		Augustine	<i>Com.Mar. Toll.</i>
Charlton	1268	Bermundsey Abbey		not given, 2	<i>Com.Mar. Toll.</i>
Chatham**	1285	Leeds Priory		Holy Trinity, 3	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.115.
" **	1285	king		not given	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.301.
"	1290	Otto de Grandison		not given	<i>CChR</i> , ii, pp.301-2.
Chilham*	c.1292	Alexander de Baliol	Monday	St James ap., 3	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.346.
"	1291	Alexander & Isobel de Baliol	Tuesday	Assumption, 8	<i>Com.Mar. Toll.</i>
			Tuesday	Assumption, 8	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.404.
"	1315	Bartholomew de Badlesmere			
Cliffe	1257	Master Hugh de Mortuo Mari	Tuesday	Assumption, 3	<i>CChR</i> , iii, p.282.
Cobham	1367	John de Cobham		St Giles, 3	<i>CChR</i> , i, p.472.
Combwell**	1227	Combwell Priory	Monday	St Mary Magdalen, 1	<i>CChR</i> , v, p.208.
				St Mary Magdalen, 2	<i>CChR</i> , i, p.48 &
"	1232	"			<i>Com.Mar. Toll.</i>
"	1233	"	Friday		<i>CChR</i> , i, p.148.
Cranbrook	1290	Archbishop of Canterbury	Tuesday		<i>CChR</i> , i, p.175.
Cudham**	1322	Geoffrey de Sey	Saturday		<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.343.
				St Lawrence, ?	PRO C134 File 70(4)
Darenth**	1292	Rochester Priory			& Hasted, ii, p.72.
Dartford**	1253		not given	not given	Hasted, ii, p.372 & <i>Com.Mar. Toll.</i>
					Inquisition printed in
					<i>Arch.Cant.</i> 2 (1859), p.311.

Eastling	1303	Fulk Peyforer	Friday	Exhaltation of the Cross, 3	<i>CChR</i> , iii, p.40.
Eastbridge	t.Henry III	Master of Domus Dei, Dover	not given	not given	<i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
Eastchurch	c.1310	Christchurch Priory		Annunciation of Mary	<i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
Elham	1250	Prince Edward	Monday	not given	Hasted, viii, p.98.
" *	c.1310	Juliana de Leybourne		All Saints, 3	PRO C134 File 17(7) & <i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
"	1332	William de Clynton		St Denis, 3	<i>CChR</i> , iv, p.259.
Eltham	1284	John de Vescy	Tuesday	Holy Trinity, 3	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.279.
Erde (Crayford)	1396	Archbishop of Canterbury	Tuesday	Nativity of St Mary, 6	<i>CChR</i> , v, p.362.
Erith*	c.1310	Bartholomew de Badlesmere	Tuesday		<i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
Erith/Lesnes	1315	"	Thursday	2 fairs, 6 days in total	<i>CChR</i> , iii, p.282.
Eynsford*	c.1292	Richard de Sandwich & Nicholas de Criel	not given	not given	<i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
"	1303	Nicholas de Criel	Friday		PRO C133 File 108(7) & <i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
Farnborough	1290	Otto de Grandison	Tuesday	St Giles, 3	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.346.
"	1344	Henry, earl of Lancaster	Monday	St Giles, 10	<i>CChR</i> , v, p.32.
Farningham	1270	Master Ralph de Farningham	Monday	SS Peter & Paul, 4	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.155.
"	1384	John de Farningham	Tuesday	SS Peter & Paul, 1	<i>CChR</i> , v, p.292.
Faversham*	c.1292	Faversham Abbey	not given	not given	<i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
"	t.Henry III	"		St Peter in Chains, 8	Hasted, vi, p.325.
Folkestone	1214	William de Abrinches	Wednesday	St Giles, 3	<i>Rot.Litt.Cl.</i> , i, p.201.
"	1348	John de Segrave	Tuesday & Thursday		<i>CChR</i> , v, p.86.
Frindsbury*	c.1310	Rochester Priory		not given	<i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
Gillingham	1336	Archbishop of Canterbury	Thursday	Invention of the Cross, 8	<i>CChR</i> , iv, pp.360 & 373.
Godmersham	c.1310	Christchurch Priory		St Laurence	<i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
"	1364	"	Tuesday	Whitsun week, 2	<i>CChR</i> , v, p.190.

Goudhurst	1380	widow and heirs of Bedgebury	Wednesday	Assumption, 1	<i>CChR</i> , v, p.262.
Gravesend	1366	men of the town	Thursday	Translation of St Edward, 1	<i>CChR</i> , v, p.194.
Groombridge	1286	Henry & Joan de Cobham	Thursday	St John of the Latin Gate, 3	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.329.
Guston?	t.Henry III	William de Monte Caniso	Thursday		<i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
Harrietsam	c.1310	John de Northwood		Nativity of St John	
				the Baptist, 2	<i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
Hawkhurst	1312	Battle Abbey	Tuesday	St Laurence, 3	<i>CChR</i> , iii, p.189.
Headcorn	1251	Ospringe Hospital	Thursday	SS Peter & Paul, 3	<i>CChR</i> , i, p.362.
Herne	1351	Archbishop of Canterbury	Monday	St Martin, 2	<i>CChR</i> , v, p.124.
Hoo All Saints	1271	Reading Abbey	Tuesday	All Saints, 3	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.175.
Hoo St Werburgh	c.1190	Boxley Abbey	not given		Hasted, iv, p.10.
Hunton	1257	Nicholas de Lenham	Tuesday	Assumption, 5	<i>CChR</i> , i, p.463.
Hythe	1261	barons and men of the town		St Edmund the king, 4	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.36.
Ightham	1315	William & Isolde Inge	Monday	SS Peter & Paul, 3	<i>CChR</i> , iii, p.289.
Kemsing	1219	Fulk de Breaute		Assumption, 2	<i>Rot.Litt.Cl.</i> , i, p.393.
Kingsdown	1315	Bartholomew de Badlesmere		St Edmund the king, 3	<i>CChR</i> , iii, p.283.
Kingston	c.1292	Alexander de Baliol		St Giles, 2	<i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
"	c.1310	Bartholomew de Badlesmere		St Giles, 2	<i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
"	1315	"		St Leonard abbot, 3	<i>CChR</i> , iii, p.282.
La Mote, Maidstone	1266	Roger de Leybourne	Tuesday	All Saints, 3	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.61.
Lamberhurst	1314	Archbishop of Canterbury	not given	not given	Hasted, v, p.299.
Lenham	c.1210	Abbey of St Augustine	Tuesday		Hasted, v, p.421 & <i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
"	1337	"		St Augustine, 3	<i>CChR</i> , iv, p.399.
"	1355	"		St Augustine, 3	<i>CChR</i> , v, p.143.
Lesnes	1256	William & Roesia de Wilton	Thursday	SS Simon & Jude, 5	<i>CChR</i> , i, p.452.
Lillechurch	1289	Lillechurch Priory		St Michael, 3	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.339.
"	1226	Nuns of Higham		St Michael, 3	Hasted, iii, p.485.
Lower Halstow	1235	Holy Trinity, Canterbury		St Margaret, 2	<i>CChR</i> , i, p.202.
Maidstone	1261	Archbishop of Canterbury	Thursday		<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.37.
"	1268	Master Hugh de Mortuo Mari		St Edmund the king, 1	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.113.

Marden	1282	Queen Eleanor	not given	not given	Hasted, vii, p.53.
Mereworth	1290	Roger de Mereworth		St Laurence, 3	<i>CChR</i> , ii, pp.367-8.
Milton	1319	Queen Isabella	Thursday	St Margaret, 3	Hasted, vi, p.173.
Minster in Thanet	11th cent.	Abbey of St Augustine	Friday	St Mildred, 2	<i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
Modinden (Headcorn)	1253	Priory of Modinden		not given	Hasted, v, p.327.
Mongeham & Sholden	1251	Bertram de Criel	Thursday	St Luke, 3	<i>CChR</i> , i, p.356.
Newenden*	c.1310	Geoffrey le Waleys	Thursday		<i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
Northfleet	1201	Archbishop of Canterbury		not given	<i>Rot.Litt.Cl.</i> , i, p.91.
Orlestone	1267	William de Orlestone	Thursday	Invention of the Cross, 3	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.67.
Orpington	1206	Christchurch Priory	Wednesday		<i>Rot.Litt.Cl.</i> , i, p.163b.
Ospringe**	1227	Hubert & Margaret de Burgh	not given	not given	<i>CChR</i> , i, p.11.
Paddock	1253	Robert de la Parrock	Wednesday	Assumption, 3	<i>CChR</i> , i, p.416.
"	1268	"	Saturday	Translation of St Edmund, 3	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.89.
Plumstead	1270	Abbey of St Augustine	Tuesday	St Nicholas, 3	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.138.
Preston	1307	William de Leybourne	Monday	Invention of the Cross, 3	<i>CChR</i> , iii, p.83.
Queenborough	1368	foundation charter	Monday & Thursday	2 fairs, 14 days in total	<i>CChR</i> , v, p.211.
Reculver	t.Edward II	Archbishop of Canterbury		St Giles, ?	Hasted, ix, p.117.
"	1314	"	Thursday		<i>CChR</i> , iii, p.235.
Ringwould	1315	Bartholomew de Badlesmere	Tuesday	St Nicholas, 3	<i>CChR</i> , iii, p.282.
Ruckinge	c.1310	Christchurch Priory		St Mary Magdalene	<i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
Sandling (St Mary Cray)	1281	Gregory de Ruxley	Wednesday	Assumption, 3	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.253.
Sandwich	1290	Queen Eleanor		3 fairs, 93 days in total	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.368.
Sarre	1219	Bertram de Criel	Thursday		<i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
Seal***	1233	Countess of Pembroke	Wednesday	St Edith, 3	<i>CChR</i> , i, p.186.
"	1285	Otto de Grandison	Monday	SS Peter & Paul, 4	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.284.
Sheppey**	1329	Sheppey nunnery		St Sexburga, ?	<i>CChR</i> , iv, pp.112-16.
Shipbourne	1285	Adam de Bavent	Monday	St Giles the abbot, 3	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.319.
Shorne	1271	Roger de Northwood	Thursday	SS Peter & Paul, 3	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.169.
Singlewell	1331	Thomas de Hever	Monday	St Laurence, 2	<i>CChR</i> , iv, p.199.

Smarden	1332	Archbishop of Canterbury	Monday	St Michael, 5	Hasted, vii, p.480.
Smeeth	1337	"	Tuesday		<i>CChR</i> , iv, p.423.
Southfleet	1292	Rochester Priory		St Nicholas, 1	Hasted, ii, p.427 & <i>Com.Mar.Toll</i> .
St Mary Cray	1278	Christchurch Priory	Wednesday		Hasted, ii, p.113.
St Nicholas	1336	Archbishop of Canterbury	Monday	Nativity of Mary, 2	<i>CChR</i> , iv, pp.360 & 373.
Stansted	1315	William Inge		Assumption, 3	<i>CChR</i> , iii, p.290.
Stoke*	c.1310	Rochester Priory		not given	<i>Com.Mar.Toll</i> .
Stonar	1104	Abbey of St Augustine		St Augustine, 5	Hasted, x, p.415.
"	1203	"	not given		<i>Rot.Litt.Cl.</i> , i, p.106.
" **	1227	"	not given		<i>CChR</i> , i, p.12.
Stowting	1214	Stephen Haringod	Wednesday	Assumption, 2	<i>Rot.Litt.Cl.</i> , i, p.201.
Street	1257	Nicholas de Hadlow	Friday	St Martin, 3	<i>CChR</i> , i, p.464.
Strood	1205	Bishop of Rochester		Assumption, 2	<i>Rot.Litt.Cl.</i> , i, p.42.
Sutton Valence* c.1310		Aymer de Valence	not given	not given	<i>Com.Mar.Toll</i> .
Teynham	1259	Archbishop of Canterbury	Tuesday	Assumption, 3	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.25.
Tonbridge**	1296	Gilbert de Clare	not given		PRO C133 File 77(3).
" **	1307	Joan de Clare		St James, ?	PRO C133 File 128.
"	1318	Hugh & Margaret de Audley		Holy Trinity, 3	<i>CChR</i> , iii, p.395.
Tonge	1315	Bartholomew de Badlesmere		St Giles the abbot, 3	<i>CChR</i> , iii, p.282.
Ulcombe	1292	Ralph de St Ledger	Friday	All Saints, 3	Hasted, v, p.389 & <i>Com.Mar.Toll</i> .
Walmer*	c.1310	Nicholas de Criel			<i>Com.Mar.Toll</i> .
Warehorne	1267	Hugh de Windsore	Tuesday	St Matthew ap, 3	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.85.
"	1280	Richard de Bedeford	Tuesday	St Matthew, 3	<i>CChR</i> , ii, p.233.
Watringbury	1311	Henry de Leybourne	Tuesday	St John the Baptist, 3	<i>CChR</i> , iii, p.160.
West Malling*	1278	West Malling Abbey	Saturday & Wednesday	3 fairs, 7 days in total	Hasted, iv, p.523 & <i>Com.Mar.Toll</i> .
West Wickham	1318	Walter de Huntingfield	Monday	St Mary Magdalene, 3	<i>CChR</i> , iii, p.376.
Westerham	1227	Thomas de Camvill	Wednesday		<i>CChR</i> , i, p.52.
"	1351	Westminster Abbey	Monday	Nativity of Mary, 3	<i>CChR</i> , v, p.124.

Westwell	1278	Christchurch Priory	Wednesday		Hasted, ii, p.415 & <i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
Wingham	1251	Archbishop of Canterbury	Tuesday		Inquisition printed in <i>Arch.Cant.</i> 2 (1859), p.307 & Hasted, ix, p.227.
Wouldham	c.1310	Rochester Priory		not given	<i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
Wrotham	1314	Archbishop of Canterbury	Thursday	St George, 3	<i>CChR</i> , iii, p.271.
Wye	t.William I	Battle Abbey	Thursday	St Gregory, 3	<i>Com.Mar.Toll.</i>
Yalding	1318	Hugh & Margaret de Audley	Wednesday	SS Peter & Paul, 3	<i>CChR</i> , iii, p.395.

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A list of the Tenants-in-Chief whose IPMs reveal holdings in Kent, by name.

(Including references to translations of the IPMs, in *Arch. Cant.* 1 (1858) to 6 (1864/5), where applicable.)

Note: Surnames are spelt as they appear in the printed 'Calendars of Inquisitions Post Mortem' (*CIPM*).

<u>Surname</u>	<u>Christian name</u>	<u>Date of I.P.M.</u>	<u>CIPM reference</u>	<u>PRO document reference</u>	<u>Arch. Cant. reference</u>
Abel	John	1322	vi, No.398	C134 File 75(10)	
Abelyn	Thomas	1275	ii, No.174	C133 File 13(11)	
Abelyn	Nicholas	1278	ii, No.261	C133 File 19(4)	
Aguylun	Robert	1285/6	ii, No.604	C133 File 44(10)	
Aguillon	Margery	1292	iii, No.18	C133 File 61(18)	
Apeldorefeld	Isolda de	1295/6	iii, No.353	C133 File 75(14)	
Assheburn	Edith de	1310	v, No.178	C134 File 14(10)	
Aubeny	Walter de	1273	ii, No.24	C133 File 3(4)	
Audeham	Thomas de	1275	ii, No.193	C133 File 14(10)	
Audele	Hugh de	1347	ix, No.56/7	C135 File 87 & E149 File 10(1)	
Averench	Maud de	1271	i, No.774	C132 File 40(7)	6 (1864/5), p.240
Axstede	see Okested				
Badlesmere	Guncelimus de	1301	iv, No.38	C133 File 101(3)	
Badlesmere	Bartholomew de	1328	vii, No.104	C135 File 9(10)	
Badelesmere	Bartholomew de	1331	vii, No.399	C135 File 30(9)	
Badelesmere	Giles de	1338	viii, No.185	C135 File 56	
Barbling	Robert de	1269	i, No.698	C132 File 36(12)	5 (1862/3), p.299
Barmlyng	William de	1294	iii, No.179	C133 File 67(22)	
Basyng	William de	1316	v, No.566	C134 File 46(17)	
Bassyngge	Margaret de	1341	viii, No.307	C135 File 64(14)	
Basyng	Thomas de	1349	ix, No.318	E149 File 10(15)	

Basyng	Thomas	1349	ix, No.317	C135 File 102(5)
Bavent	Adam de	1292	iii, No.75	E149 File 2(1) & E152 File 4(1)
Bedeford	Richard de	1289	ii, No.718	C133 File 54(2)
Bek	William le	1277	ii, No.242	C133 File 18(5)
Bek	Anthony	1311	v, No.274	C134 File 21(8)
Bello Campo	John de	1343	viii, No.470	C135 File 70(7)
Bello Monte	John de	1300	iii, No.617	C133 File 98(12)
Berdolf	Hugh	1305	iv, No.236	C133 File 115(1)
Betryngdenne	John de	1349	ix, No.335	E149 File 10(14)
Blyburgh	William de	1313	v, No.372	C134 File 28(13)
Bocton	Stephen de	1286	ii, No.605	C133 File 45(1)
Boctun	Elyas de	1247	i, No.88	C132 File 5(8)
Boklond	John de	1329	vii, No.237	C135 File 16(18)
Boreford	Roesia de	1329	vii, No.229	C135 File 16(10)
Brewosa	William de	1326	vi, No.701	C134 File 97(6)
Brok	Laurence de	1275	ii, No.110	C133 File 9(7)
Broke	Adam atte	1317	vi, No.112	C134 File 59(9)
Broke	Denise atte	1332	vii, No.460	C135 File 32(20)
Broke	Joan atte	1332	vii, No.459	C135 File 32(19)
Burghersh	Robert de	1306	iv, No.376	C133 File 122(9)
Burghersh	Stephen de	1310	v, No.207	C134 File 16(2)
Burgherssh	Henry de	1349	ix, No.241	C135 File 99(7)
Burnell	Robert	1292	iii, No.65	C133 File 63(32)
Burnell	Philip	1294	iii, No.194	C133 File 68(10)
Burnel	Edward	1315	v, No.611	C134 File 48(9)
Byset	Benedict	1278	ii, No.278	C133 File 20(8)
Canti Lupo	William de	1308	v, No.120	C134 File 9(4)
Caunville	Thomas de	1330	vii, No.284	C135 File 21(22)
Chanuz	Salomon	1303	iv, No.159	C133 File 108(4)

2 (1859), p.295

Chany	Alexander de	1296	iii, No.335	C133 File 74(23)	
Cheny	William de	1334	vii, No.614	C135 File 39(20)	
Chauvel	Roger	1254	i, No.316	C132 File 16(11)	3 (1860), p.243
Chiggewell	Joan de	1324	vi, No.585	C134 File 89(14)	
Chiltone	William de	1303	iv, No.144	C133 File 107(16)	
Chitecroft	Thomas de	1327	vii, No.22	C135 File 1(22)	
Chyvene	Henry de	1308	v, No.128	C134 File 9(12)	
Clare	Richard de	1263	i, No.530	C132 File 27(5)	4 (1861), p.311
Clare	Gilbert de	1296	iii, No.371	C133 File 77(3)	
Clare	Joan de	1307	iv, No.435	C133 File 128	
Clare	Gilbert de	1314	v, No.538	C134 File 43	
Cobham	John de	1300	iii, No.602	C133 File 94(8)	
Cobeham	William de	1321	vi, No.260	C134 File 66(10)	
Cobham	Ralph de	1325	vi, No.703	C134 File 98(1)	
Cobeham	Stephen de	1333	vii, No.444	C135 File 32(4)	
Cobeham	Avice de	1340	viii, No.272	C135 File 62(3)	
Cocus	Philip		i, No.893	C132 File 46(6)	
Codestede	William de	1281	ii, No.388	C133 File 27(7)	
Codsted	William de	1299	iii, No.528	C133 File 88(10)	
Godstede	William de	1329	vii, No.227	C135 File 16(8)	
Godstede	Richard de	1345	viii, No.584	C135 File 76(35)	
Colebrond	William	1324	vi, No.514	C134 File 82(6)	
Colepeper	Thomas	1327	vii, No.62	C135 File 4(3)	
Colpeper	Walter	1327	vii, No.74	C135 File 4(15)	
Columbariis	Philip de	1277	ii, No.217	C133 File 16(14)	
Columbar	Philip de	1342	viii, No.396	C135 File 67(4)	
Columbariis	Alainora	1342	viii, No.397	C135 File 67(5)	
Corby	Robert	1324	vi, No.542	C134 File 87(8)	
Cramavill	Henry de	1269/70	i, No.727	C132 File 37(20)	5 (1862/3), p.300

Crammavill	Joan de	1315	v, No.524	C134 File 37(7)	
Cressy	Hugh de	1263	i, No.559	C132 File 28(14)	3 (1860), p.264
Crevecuer	Hamo de	1263	i, No.563	C132 File 29(1)	3 (1860), p.253
Crioll	John de	1263/4	i, No.593	C132 File 31(8)	
Cryel	Simon de	1267	i, No.680	C132 File 35(14)	5 (1862/3), p.297
Crioll	Bertram de	1294/5	iii, No.270	C133 File 71(18)	
Crioll	Alianor de	1301	iv, No.62	C133 File 103(17)	
Criel	Nicholas	1303	iv, No.162	C133 File 108(7)	
Criel	Bertand de	1306	iv, No.372	C133 File 122(5)	
Cryel	Alyanora de	1349	ix, No.421	C135 File 104(22)	
Crul	John	1272	i, No.803	C132 File 41(16)	
Dene	William de	1341	viii, No.330	C135 File 65(11)	
Deen	Martha de	1349	ix, No.171/2	E149 File 10(16)	
Dyen	Elizabeth de	1339	viii, No.227	C135 File 60(2)	
Deen	Thomas de	1349	ix, No.171	C135 File 95(2)	
Dispenser	Hugh de	1350	ix, No.428	C135 File 106 (1)	
Dovor	Richard de		i, No.924	C132 File 47(17)	
Dovor	Isabel de	1305	iv, No.249	C133 File 115(14)	
Duston	William de	1271	i, No.760	C132 File 39(13)	6 (1864/5), p.238
Elmested	William de		i, No.895	C132 File 46(8)	
Eslingge	Ralph de	1298	iii, No.460	C133 File 83(17)	
Estwelles	Matilda de	1267	i, No.681	C132 File 35(15)	5 (1862/3), p.296
Everle	Geffrey de	1246	i, No.59	C132 File 3(19)	2 (1859), p.293
Falconarius	Robert		i, No.835	C132 File 43(8)	
Fauconer	Robert le	1302	iv, No.75	C133 File 104(7)	
Ferre	Guy	1323	vi, No.422	C134 File 76(11)	
Ferre	Guy	1330	vii, No.295	C135 File 22(9)	
Fisshere	Thomas le	1321	vi, No.281	C134 File 67(8)	
Fitz Bernard	John	1259	i, No.468	C132 File 24(3)	

Fitzbernard	Ralph	1306	iv, No.387	C133 File 123(8)	
Fitz Bernard	Bona le	1334	vii, No.606	C135 File 39(12)	
Fitz Reynaud	Peter	1323	vi, No.413	C134 File 76(2)	
Fortibus	William de	1260	i, No.471	C132 File 24(6)	3 (1860), p.249
Frelond	Roger	1306	iv, No.357	C133 File 121(17)	
Frenyngham	John de	1349	ix, No.401	C135 File 104(3) & E149 File 10(18)	
Frenyngham	John de	1351	ix, No.630	C135 File 112(17)	
Gacelyn	Edmund	1337	viii, No.120	C135 File 51(1)	
Gardinis	Thomas de	1328	vii, No.129	C135 File 10(25) & E152 File 16(m.1)	
Gatesden	Thomas de	1303	iv, No.145	C133 File 107(17)	
Gatton	Robert de	1264	i, No.581	C132 File 30(16)	5 (1862/3), p.292
Gatton	Hamo de	1292	iii, No.22	C133 File 61(22)	
Gatton	Hamo de	1300	iii, No.636/7	C133 File 98(31) & E149 File 6(3)	
Gerunde	Nicholas de	1268	i, No.677	C132 File 35(11)	5 (1862/3), p.295
Gerunde	Hugh de	1298	iii, No.481	C133 File 86(5)	
Gerounde	Hugo de	1308	v, No.31	C134 File 2(5)	
Gerounde	Hugo de	1309	v, No.100	C134 File 8(4)	
Gerounde	John	1322	vi, No.296	C134 File 68(9)	
Ghent	Abbott of	1319	vi, No.161	C134 File 61(21)	
Giffard	John	1348	ix, No.111	C135 File 90(5)	
Gloucester	Richard de	1329	vii, No.223	C135 File 16(4)	
Godeyeneton	John de	1300	iii, No.585	C133 File 93(16)	
Godstede	see Codestede				
Grandissono	William de	1335	vii, No.676	C135 File 43(4)	
Gravenel	John	1271/2	i, No.802	C132 File 41(15)	
Graveshend	Stephen de	1338	viii, No.176	C135 File 54(4)	
Grendon	Ralph de	1280	ii, No.356	C133 File 25(1)	
Grey	Isolde de	1246	i, No.58	C132 File 3(18)	2 (1859), p.298
Grey	John de	1272	i, No.810	C132 File 42(3)	

Grey	Henry de	1308	v, No.116	C134 File 8(20)	
Grey	John de	1311	v, No.345	C134 File 26(10)	
Grey	Richard de	1335	vii, No.683	C135 File 43(12)	
Guldeford	Henry de	1312	v, No.413	C134 File 31(12)	
Gyse	Anselm de	1295	iii, No.275	C133 File 71(22)	
Haringod	Stephen	1257	i, No.389	C132 File 20(4)	3 (1860), p.244
Harnhulle	William de	1339	viii, No.211	C135 File 59(13)	
Harnhull	William de	1349	ix, No.303	C135 File 101(17)	
Harnhull	William de	1350	ix, N o.548	C135 File 108(20)	
Haspale	Roger de	1312	v, No.348	C134 File 26(13)	
Hastings	Mathias de	1277	ii, No.220	C133 File 17(3)	
Hastynges	John de	1325	vi, No.612	C134 File 91	
Hastynges	Laurence de	1348	ix, No.118	C135 File 91&92	
Hastynges	William de	1349	ix, No.287	C135 File 101(3)	
Haudlo	John de	1283	ii, No.469	C133 File 34(6)	
Haudlo	John de	1316	v, No.604	C134 File 48(2)	
Haudlo	Nicholas de	1316	v, No.605	C134 File 48(3)	
Haudlo	John de	1316	v, No.604	C134 File 48(2)	
Haudlo	Richard de	1343	viii, No.441	C135 File 69(8)	
Haudlo	John de	1346	viii, No.667	C135 File 82(1)	
Hauekeswell	Safredus de	1288	ii, No.668	C133 File 50(15)	
Hay	William del	1334	vii, No.578	C135 File 38(16)	
Heggham	Raulina de	1328	vii, No.131	C135 File 11(1)	
Hoeseye	Henry	1290	ii, No.779	C133 File 57(8)	
Hollane	Henry de	1307	iv, No.417	C133 File 125(14)	
Hucham	Robert de	1258	i, No.401	C132 File 20(16)	3 (1860), p.246
Hugheham	Robert de	1274	ii, No.58	C133 File 4(18)	
Hughham	Robert de	1301	iv, No.36	C133 File 101(1)	
Hugham	Robert de	1317	vi, No.20	C134 File 53(20)	

Huntingfeld	Peter de	1308	v, No.12	C134 File 1(12)
Huntyngton	John de	1349	ix, No.297	C135 File 101(11)
Husee	Henry	1349	ix, No.222	C135 File 98(1)
Ifeld	Thomas de	1306	iv, No.389	C133 File 123(10)
Inge	William	1322	vi, No.328	C134 File 70(5)
Kendale	Margaret de	1347	ix, No.16	C135 File 83(16)
Kent	Edmund, Earl of	1330	vii, No.300	C135 File 23
Kirkeby	William de	1302	iv, No.91	C133 File 105(1)
Lathomer	William de	1305	iv, No.330	C133 File 120(8)
Latymer	William le	1327	vii, No.50	C135 File 3(5)
Latimer	John	1336	viii, No.14	C135 File 46(14)
Laverton	Johanna de	1293	iii, No.123	E152 File 4(10d)
Lenham	John de	1316	vi, No.40	C134 File 54(15)
Lengham	Margaret de	1334	vii, No.599	C135 File 39(5)
Leyburn	Thomas de	1307	iv, No.410	C133 File 125(7)
Leyburne	William de	1310	v, No.220	C134 File 17(7)
Leyburn	Juliana de	1328	vii, No.80	C135 File 5(4)
Leyburn	Juliana de	1328	vii, No.80	E152 File 16(m2d)
Lucy	Geoffrey de	1284	ii, No.254	C133 File 38(8)
Lucy	Geoffrey de	1346	viii, No.649	C135 File 81(10)
Malemeyns	Nicholas	1292	iii, No.13	C133 File 61(13)
Malemaynes	Nicholas	1349	ix, No.418	C135 File 104(20)
Maleville	William de	1272	i, No.805	C132 File 41(18)
Mares	William de	1272	i, No.783	C132 File 40(16)
Marshall	Eleanor	1275	ii, No.138	C133 File 10(16)
Marines	Thomas de	1298	iii, No.470	C133 File 84(6)
Marynes	Thomas de	1299	iii, No.556	C133 File 92(12)
Maryns	Roger de	1342	viii, No.394	C135 File 67(2)
Maryns	Joan de	1349	ix, No.140	C135 File 94(11)

Monte Alto	Isabel de	1305	iv, No.331	C133 File 120(9)	
Morton	Thomas de	1293	iii, No.88	C133 File 64(14)	
Nevill	Jollan de	1246	i, No.78	C132 File 4(18)	2 (1859), p.295
Noel	Richard	1236	i, No.1	C132 File 1(1)	2 (1859), p.292
Noel	William	1279	ii, No.330	C133 File 23(15)	
Normanvill	Thomas de	1245/6	i, No.55	C132 File 3(15)	2 (1859), p.293
Normanvill	Thomas de	1282	ii, No.479	C133 File 35(6)	
Northwood	Roger de	1284	ii, No.582	C133 File 42(12)	
Northwode	John de	1319	vi, No.181	C134 File 62(12)	
Northwode	Joan de	1319	vi, No.182	C134 File 62(13)	
Axstede	Rowland de	1270	i, No.741	C132 File 38(14)	5 (1862/3), p.301
Okested	Roland de	1291	iii, No.24	C133 File 61(24)	
Orlaweston	William de		i, No.879	C132 File 45(12)	
Orlaweston	William de	1283	ii, No.527	C133 File 39(3)	
Orlaweston	John de	1309	v, No.145	C134 File 10(14)	
Orlaustone	William de	1342	viii, No.359	C135 File 66(12)	
Orlaston	William de	1349	ix, No.460	E149 File 10(17)	
Oteringeden	Ralph de	1287	ii, No.639	C133 File 49(1)	
Oteringdene	Joan de	1293	iii, No.124	C133 File 66(3)	
Pakenham	Edmund de	1333	vii, No.436	C135 File 31(34)	
Parker	Alice le	1299	iii, No.547	C133 File 92(3)	
Passele	William de	1327	vii, No.32	C135 File 2(4)	
Pateshulle	Walter de	1330	vii, No.285	C135 File 21(23)	
Pavely	Walter	1327	vii, No.3	C135 File 1(3)	
Payn	Alice	1314	v, No.429	C134 File 32(3)	
Paynel	Isolda	1324	vi, No.511	C134 File 82(3)	
Pecche	Gilbert	1322	vi, No.353	C134 File 72(19)	
Peckham	John de	1293	iii, No.103	C133 File 65(4) & E152 File 4(1d)	
Penecestr'	Margaret de	1309	v, No.134	C134 File 10(3)	

Pencester	Joan de	1324	vi, No.564	C134 File 88(19)	
Perot	Thomas	1330	vii, No.293	C135 File 22(7)	
Peyforer	Fulk	1278	ii, No.230	C133 File 17(13)	
Peyforer	Lora de	1325	vi, No.632	C134 File 93(18)	
Planaz	John de	1293	iii, No.118	C133 File 65(14)	
Polre	John de	1324	vi, No.541	C134 File 87(7)	
Ponynges	Thomas de	1339	viii, No.231	C135 File 60(6)	
Poynz	Nicholas	1273	ii, No.18	C133 File 2(18)	
Poyntz	Hugo	1308	v, No.45	C134 File 2(19)	
Pointz	Nicholas de	1311	v, No.346	C134 File 26(11)	
Poyntz	Hugh	1337	viii, No.128	C135 File 51(8)	
Pulteneye	Johnde	1349	ix, No.183	C135 File 95(13)	
Reyham	Roger de	1331	vii, No.374	C135 File 28(12)	
Rokele	Richard de	1277	ii, No.218	C133 File 17(1)	
Rokesle	Gregory de	1291	ii, No.824	C133 File 60(9)	
Rokele	Philip de la	1295	iii, No.258	C133 File 71(8)	
Rokesle	Richard de	1321	vi, No.273	C134 File 66(23)	
Rokesle	Richard de	1323	vi, No.521	C134 File 86(3)	
Rokesle	Joan de	1323	vi, No.424	C134 File 76(13)	
Rokesle	Reginald de	1337	viii, No.98	C135 File 50(9)	
Rokesle	Emery de	1346	viii, No.627	C135 File 80(10)	
Rokesle	Thomas de	1346	viii, No.626	C135 File 80(9)	
Roking	Aluf de	1250	i, No.179	C132 File 9(15)	2 (1859), p.301
Roos	William de	1343	viii, No.474	C135 File 71	
St Amand	John de	1257	i, No.412	C132 File 21(7)	3 (1860), p.245
Sancto Clere	John de	1335	vii, No.686	C135 File 44(3)	
St John	Walter de	1260	i, No.467	C132 File 24(2)	3 (1860), p.250
Sancto Johanne	John de	1302	iv, No.96	C133 File 105(6)	
St John	John de	1329	vii, No.244	C135 File 19(1)	

Sancto Johanne	Hugh de	1337	viii, No.82	C135 File 49(25)	
Sancto Johannes	Edmund de	1347	ix, No.52	c135 FILE 85(6)	
Sancto Laurencio	Thomas de	1348	ix, No.88	C135 File 89(10)	
Saunford	Joan de	1252	i, No.273	C132 File 14(8)	2 (1859), p.310
Sauvage	Roger le	1299	iii, No.529	C133 File 88(11)	
Sey	William de	1271/2	i, No.813	C132 File 42(6)	
Say	William de	1295	iii, No.271	C133 File 71(19)	
Say	Geoffrey de	1322	vi, No.327	C134 File 70(4)	
Scarlet	Robert	1305	iv, No.274	C133 File 117(1)	
Scerington	Odo de	1247	i, No.94	C132 File 5(13)	2 (1859), p.296
Segrave	John de	1343	viii, No.463	C135 File 70(1)	
Segrave	John de	1349	ix, No.296	E149 Files 10(13) & 10(19)	
Sellyng	John de	1322	vi, No.431	C134 File 77(6)	
Sevanz	Robert de	1248/9	i, No.158	C132 File 8(15)	2 (1859), p.297
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Septem Vannis	Robert de	1306	iv, No.349	C133 File 121(9)	
Septem Vannis	William de	1322	vi, No.414	C134 File 76(3)	
Sharstede	Simon de	1297	iii, No.414	C133 File 79(13)	
Sharstede	Robert de	1334	vii, No.617	C135 File 39(23)	
Shelvyngge	John de	1330	vii, No.292	C135 File 22(6)	
Strabolgi	David de	1327	vi, No.759	C134 File 104(1)	
Strabolgi	David de	1337	vii, No.713	C135 File 45(24)	
Taylur	William le	1249/50	i, No.183	C132 File 9(19)	2 (1859), p.298
Torpel	Mabill de	1276	ii, No.178	C133 File 13(15)	
Toutesham	John de	1331	vii, No.330	C135 File 26(12)	
Trailly	John & Alice	1305	iv, No.214	C133 File 112(8)	
Tune	Ralph de la	1260/1	i, No.480	C132 File 24(15)	3 (1860), p.251
Tunlande	Richard de		i, No.923	C132 File 47(16)	
Tunlond	Thomas de	1331	vii, No.328	C135 File 26(10)	

Twytham	Alan de	1351	ix, No.628	C135 File 112(15)	
Tydyngden	Margery de	1349	ix, No.307/8	C135 File 101(21) & E149 File 10(21)	
Valence	Joan de	1307	v, No.56	C134 File 4(1)	
Valence	Aymer de	1324	vi, No.518	C134 File 83	
Ver	Hugh de	1264	i, No.586	C132 File 31(1)	5 (1862/3), p.292
Veer	Robert de	1296	iii, No.367	C133 File 76(7)	
Veer	Dionisia de	1314	v, No.475	C134 File 34(7)	
Veer	Robert de	1331	vii, No.379	C135 File 28(17)	
Vescy	John de	1289	ii, No.723	C133 File 54(7)	
Vivonia	John de	1314	v, No.486	C134 File 35(1)	
Welle	Lavine	1348	ix, No.94	C135 File 89(16)	
Wilmynton	Roger de	1337	viii, No.96	C135 File 50(7)	
Woldeham	John de	1332	vii, No.438	C135 File 31(36)	
Wrotham	Richard de	1250	i, No.217	C132 File 11(12)	2 (1859), p.301
Wylgheby	Philip de	1305	iv, No.263	C133 File 116(13)	
Wylmyngton	Ralph de	1336	viii, No.15	C135 File 46(15)	
Wylyngton	Henry de	1349	ix, No.218	C135 File 96(23)	
Wysham	John de	1334	vii, No.579	C135 File 38(17)	
Zouch	Eudo la	1326	vi, No.740	C134 File 101(13)	