

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

MEDIEVAL HAMPSHIRE: STUDIES IN LANDSCAPE HISTORY

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

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MEDIEVAL HAMPSHIRE: STUDIES IN LANDSCAPE HISTORY

by Paul Adam Stamper

This thesis examines aspects of the medieval landscape of Hampshire using interdisciplinary methods and a variety of sources.

The initial question posed was what was the place and function of moated residences in the landscape, and this recurs as a theme throughout the work. Hampshire has fewer sites than most English counties, but they show the same characteristics and exhibit the same paradoxes.

The inherent problems of studying moated sites, such as the infrequency of site-specific documentation, were compounded by the lack, to date, of research on medieval rural Hampshire. To establish some basic broad trends of economic development certain themes were examined. These included urban growth in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the agricultural exploitation of the bishop of Winchester's estates, and the distribution of wealth accruing from these activities.

The Loddon area, on Hampshire's northern boundary, where the main spatial concentration of moats lies, was studied in detail. Consistency of land use from the prehistoric period to the fourteenth century was shown, with a clear division between the land-use of the clay and the Chalk-based soils. The medieval landscape was as far as possible reconstructed, and patterns and influences assessed. Specific attention was paid to the exploitation of Pamber forest which largely covered the study area.

Appended are a gazeteer of the county's moated sites, a list of its sites with a licence to crenellate, and a tabulation of the 1327 lay subsidy for Hampshire.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations, used in the notes and the bibliography, may require elucidation.

<u>Ag.Hist.Rev.</u>	<u>Agricultural History Review</u>
<u>Antiq.J.</u>	<u>Antiquaries Journal</u>
<u>Archaeol.J.</u>	<u>Archaeological Journal</u>
<u>B.A.R.</u>	<u>British Archaeological Report</u>
<u>Bull.Inst.Hist.Res.</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</u>
<u>Cal.Chart.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of Charter Rolls</u>
<u>Cal.Close R.</u>	<u>Calendar of Close Rolls</u>
<u>Cal.Fine R.</u>	<u>Calendar of Fine Rolls</u>
<u>Cal.Inq.p.m.</u>	<u>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</u>
<u>Cal.Lib.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of Liberate Rolls</u>
<u>Cal.P.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of Patent Rolls</u>
<u>C.B.A.</u>	<u>Council for British Archaeology</u>
<u>Current Archaeol.</u>	<u>Current Archaeology</u>
<u>Derbyshire Archaeol.J.</u>	<u>Derbyshire Archaeological Journal</u>
<u>Ec.Hist.Rev.</u>	<u>Economic History Review</u>
<u>E.H.R.</u>	<u>English Historical Review</u>
<u>Essex Archaeol.and Hist.</u>	<u>Essex Archaeology and History</u>
<u>H.R.O.</u>	<u>Hampshire Record Office</u>
<u>J.Brit.Archaeol.Ass.</u>	<u>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</u>
<u>J.Ec.Hist.</u>	<u>Journal of Economic History</u>

<u>Med. Archaeol.</u>	<u>Medieval Archaeology</u>
<u>M.V.R.G.</u>	Medieval Village Research Group
<u>M.S.R.G.</u>	Moated Sites Research Group
<u>North Staffs. Jnl. Field Studies</u>	<u>North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies</u>
<u>Numism. Chron.</u>	<u>Numismatic Chronicle</u>
<u>Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist and Archaeol. Soc.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society</u>
<u>Proc. Hants. Field Club and Archaeol. Soc.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society</u>
<u>P.P.S.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society</u>
<u>P.R.O.</u>	Public Record Office, London.
<u>Rec. Comm.</u>	Record Commissioners
<u>Record of Bucks.</u>	<u>Record of Buckinghamshire</u>
<u>Rolls ser.</u>	Rolls Series
<u>R.C.H.M.</u>	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England.
<u>Sx. A.C.</u>	<u>Sussex Archaeological Collections</u>
<u>Trans. and Proc. Birmingham Archaeol. Soc.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society</u>
<u>Trans. Birmingham and Warw. Archaeol. Soc.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society</u>
<u>Trans. Inst. Brit. Geog.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers</u>
<u>Trans. Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists Soc.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists Society</u>

T.R.H.S.

Transactions of the Royal Historical  
Society

V.C.H.

Victoria History of the Counties of  
England

W.C.M.

Winchester College Muniments

World Archaeol.

World Archaeology

Y.A.J.

Yorkshire Archaeological Journal

## CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

Moated sites were noted in some nineteenth-century studies, were classified in 1901 by the Earthworks Committee of the Congress of Archaeological Societies, and featured prominently in many of the county earthwork surveys published in early volumes of the Victoria History of the Counties of England.

With the growth of medieval archaeology after the Second World War an increasing number of sites was excavated, and some preliminary field surveys made. Since 1971, when the Moated Sites Research Group was founded, work has expanded and become nationally co-ordinated.<sup>1</sup>

Increasingly, and rightly, not only have the distribution, morphology and taxonomy of moated sites been studied, but also their place and rôle within the medieval landscape. It was the establishment of these latter aspects that was the primary purpose of this study. Only once the place of moated sites within the landscape is fully understood can the question of the reason or reasons for the construction of the moats themselves be approached.

It soon became clear, however, that the medieval landscape of Hampshire, within which the moats were established, was as much an unknown quantity as were the sites themselves. Whilst it was impracticable to investigate all the relevant themes of interest, several of what were considered to be the most pertinent were selected for study. These included the chronology, and something of the nature of the economic expansion of the 'high middle ages', and the distribution of wealth and population at this time.

A detailed study of the medieval landscape of a group of eleven parishes around the River Loddon, wherein the main concentration of moated sites was found, was also undertaken. This examined, in detail, the relationship of the moated sites to their immediate

surroundings, and the circumstances, as much as they could be ascertained, in which the sites were established.

### The County of Hampshire

The county, as discussed in this thesis, is the historic one of Southamptonshire, its boundaries those which existed before the boundary changes of the later nineteenth century, and 1974. In fact, although internally many small changes were made to civil and ecclesiastical parishes, Hampshire's boundary itself was little altered, and the present county closely corresponds in outline and area to the medieval one. The Isle of Wight was not included in the study.

Spanning the central part of the county is rolling downland, overlying the Upper Cretaceous Chalk formation<sup>2</sup> (fig. 1.1). This runs approximately west-north-west to east-south-east from Highclere to Farnham in the north, and from the Tytherleys, between Salisbury and Winchester, to Hambledon in the south. The downland reaches over 243m (800 ft) to the north of the area, with high ground also lying to the east, near Alton. Much of the Chalk has only a thin, flinty, soil cover, but in both the north-west and the east of the area there are spreads of a brownish clayey or sandy deposit with flints and occasional sarsens.

To the south of the Chalk, in the Hampshire Basin, are later, soft, sandy and clayey Tertiary rocks. To the west of Southampton Water lies the New Forest, and to the east lay the forest of Bere. North of the Chalk, on the edge of the London Basin, the same basic formations produced a similar prevalence of heathland, much of which survives today.

To the east of the county, in the Woolmer district, some pre-Chalk Greensands occur. The Upper Greensand, known locally as Malmstone and in Surrey as Mersham or Bargate Stone, is virtually the only building stone found in Hampshire.

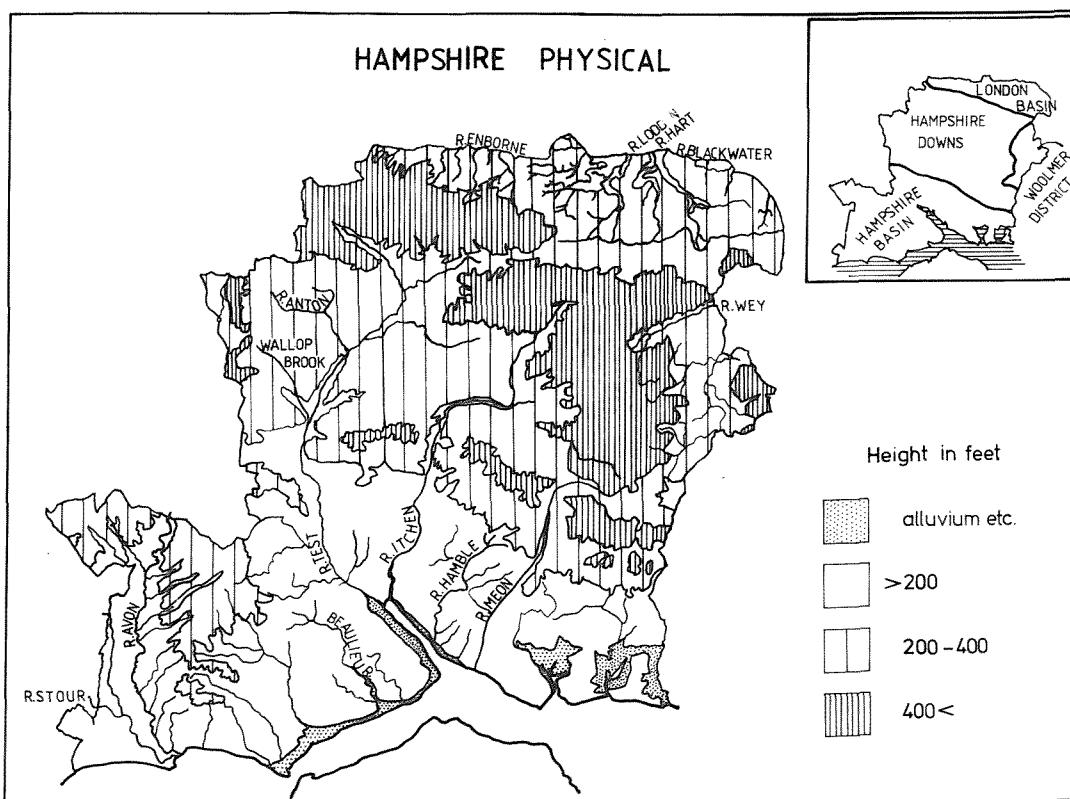
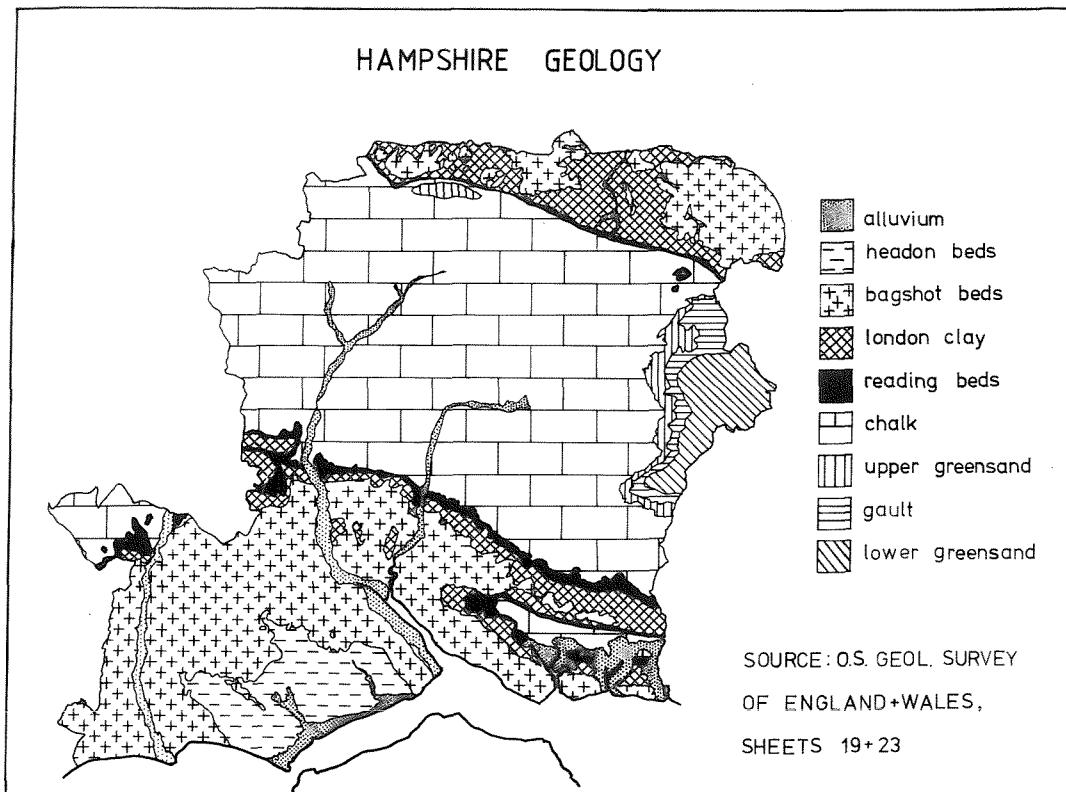


Fig. 1.1

## A Review of the Literature: Medieval Hampshire

Sadly, Hampshire had no general large-scale history written until the 1860's when Woodward's General History<sup>3</sup> appeared; hence there is no such chance to utilize the observations of, say, a Dugdale<sup>4</sup> or Bridges<sup>5</sup>, as the modern-day Warwickshire or Northamptonshire historian enjoys. Leland<sup>6</sup> and Camden, and the subsequent enlargers of his Britannia<sup>7</sup>, all make pertinent observations about the county, and Vancouver's General View of the Agriculture of Hampshire (1810) is a crucial statement about the largely unimproved landscape of the first years of the nineteenth century.

The county is fortunate in possessing a completed, and indexed, set of the Victoria History (5 vols. and index, 1900-1914). Whilst this largely ignores landscape and economic history, which are today given prominence by the History, the sections on 'manor' and 'church' provide invaluable basic tenurial and chronological frameworks.

Little systematic publication of primary sources has been undertaken in Hampshire. Between 1889 and 1899 thirteen volumes were produced by the Hampshire Record Society. In recent years the county's records have again begun to be published, and four volumes in the Hampshire Record Series have so far appeared. Only two of the Pipe Rolls of the bishopric of Winchester have been published<sup>8</sup>, although Titow's work has made available basic agricultural data<sup>9</sup>. Most of the remaining material published has appeared in a secondary rôle in papers or volumes often devoted to a genealogical or parochial theme. Both the range and quality of the original material, and its presentation, are predictably varied.

In terms of modern work, there has been a striking dichotomy of effort and expenditure between urban and rural research. Probably no county in England has seen two such august, and long term projects of urban excavation and documentary research as Hampshire has at Southampton and Winchester.

From the various bodies involved a growing body of published material is emerging, showing the growth and development of these internationally-famous centres.<sup>10</sup>

Occasionally, and incidentally, this work has thrown light on the towns' relations and interactions with their rural hinterlands.<sup>11</sup> But essentially, Southampton and Winchester remain isolated, with the extent of their dependence on the rest of the county, and vice-versa, unexplored.

There have been excavations and associated research on rural sites of the Middle Ages in Hampshire. These, though, have generally been on sites chosen for reasons of intrinsic interest, or convenience. As yet there has not been an integrated programme of research on an area of, or group of sites from, medieval rural Hampshire, although the Wessex Archaeological Committee's research design<sup>12</sup> does outline a programme of work for the region as a whole.

#### A Review of the Literature: Moated Sites

The systematic study of the moated manor, or freeholder's dwelling, is, with a limited number of exceptions, a relatively recent development within the field of medieval archaeology, which itself has largely evolved as an academic discipline only since the Second World War. Little was published before the 1960's on moated manors, but since then there has been a steady increase in the number of articles, and recently even monographs, published on the subject reflecting the growth of interest in this type of site by academics, professional archaeologists and local field workers. Much of the work published is, as yet, necessarily confined to the noting and accumulation of raw data, and relatively few studies have yet posed questions of the available information, or tested models advanced by others.

Both Aberg and Barry<sup>13</sup> have discussed the early literature on the subject, the only work, other than the very parochial

or the very exceptional, such as that by Williams-Freeman on Hampshire<sup>14</sup>, being the sections on ancient earthworks including 'homestead moats' in some of the early volumes of the Victoria History of the Counties of England, and Hadrian Allcroft's Earthworks of England, published in 1908. In this magisterial survey, 40 pages were devoted to 'moated homesteads', combining many plans and descriptions of individual sites with a discussion of the sites' derivation. Allcroft considered them to be the result of the adoption by those of lower social status of the style of the rectangular moated castle, which, he argued in turn, was a natural typological progression from the motte and bailey, rather than it being a relatively independent design tradition. Today this seems a very much over-simplified view, with the ideas of Montelius<sup>15</sup> being carried into fields where their application has little relevance, although it is noticeable that even today taxonomic concerns are still uppermost in some studies.

Allcroft to his credit, also considered the social and economic, as well as what might be referred to as the architectural, background of moated sites. His conclusion was that the appearance of moated homesteads was to be equated with the growth of "an agricultural middle class", the franklin type, particularly during the reign of Edward I (1272-1307). He also recognized the potential link between the civil disorder of the time and moats, considering the possibility that they were dug in order to provide a measure of security for their occupiers.

Although some sites were excavated in the following decades the work was generally undertaken by local amateur groups, and rarely produced intelligible results, which is reflected in the standard of such reports as appeared. It was not until the (then) Desereted Medieval Village Research Group (since 1972 Medieval Village Research Group) and the Society for Medieval Archaeology began to establish and refine the study of the medieval period's material remains in the 1950's that moats were once again seriously considered, not only as a site-type, but also as an element in the medieval landscape. From 1957

data began to be regularly published in the 'Manors and Moats' section of Medieval Archaeology, which still gives a comprehensive annual survey of work undertaken. More detailed reports, and also discussion articles, now appear in the annual reports of the Moated Sites Research Group, which was set up in 1971, and now stimulates and co-ordinates much of the work on moats, and which is gathering a national card index of moated sites, recording each site as an earthwork.

In 1962, F.V. Emery, an historical geographer, surveyed the problem<sup>16</sup>, noting the various theories advanced to explain the digging of moats around manors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and producing a simple choropleth map showing the distribution of sites as it was then known across England. Whilst, as Barry notes<sup>17</sup>, his sources were mainly secondary, he did make two important observations. The first was that in east Suffolk, the Arden region of Warwickshire and Worcestershire, the lower Severn valley and parts of Essex, the medieval encroachment into the surviving woodland left a distinctive pattern of non-nucleated settlement of which moats were a part. His second point was that there was a possible link between land tenure, particularly the growth of subinfeudation, and the appearance of a class of wealthy freeholders who dug the moats. Neither of these two points was really a new idea; they were culled from various published studies, and indeed really represented little advance from the ideas of Allcroft over half-a-century before, but their re-iteration was very necessary.

In all, three major schemes have been produced for classifying moats, and whilst few studies have noted any significant distributional differences between the types, either geographically, or chronologically, most studies still consider the taxonomic aspects of the site or sites in question. The earliest published scheme was that devised by Roberts<sup>18</sup>. Whilst he included several minor classes, determined by their physical characteristics, his three major divisions were made on the basis of a site's positioning, whether it was on level ground, 'perched' on a valley side, or in the bottom of a valley. In retrospect, this was a useful concept, as it did help draw attention to the

predominant number of moats deliberately sited to enjoy a water supply to their moats. More elaborate schemes were forthcoming in 1968 from Taylor, based on his work in Cambridgeshire,<sup>19</sup> and in 1973 from Le Patourel in her survey of Yorkshire's sites,<sup>20</sup> the latter being an elaboration of the former. Both were primarily based on considerations of size and shape, with a medieval/post-medieval division also included.

The last two decades have seen a number of regional or county studies seeking to establish a more definite distribution map for their areas, and to define the factors which produced the observed pattern. In most cases these factors can be neatly divided into two groups; the environmental variables, that is differences in the sites' placings in relation to soil types, altitude and water supply, and secondly, those related primarily to the field of human geography, primarily the sites' places in the man-made landscape.

One of the longest monographs yet published, and certainly the most often referred to, is that by Mrs Le Patourel on The Moated Sites of Yorkshire (1973). This, in addition to reporting on four excavations, contained a valuable gazetteer of sites in the county, drawing on the historical, as well as the archaeological evidence, and also had useful brief sections of analysis and general discussion. Still basic is her section considering the available evidence for the dating of moated sites. Amongst the conclusions of the study was that moat-building did not extend very far down the social scale, and that typology offered few useful insights when this information was analysed. Moats were rarely found off the clay, reflecting the desire for them actually to hold water, as well as the impracticability of digging moats in loose gravel or solid rock. The largest number was found around the manors of Domesday vills, and there was not the high number of moated assart farms recorded in other regional studies.

During the previous year Taylor had published a study of Cambridgeshire's moats,<sup>21</sup> again noting the tendency for them to lie close to a water supply, often actually in a stream bed.

Whilst his general distribution map revealed little in the way of distinctive groupings, abstraction of those moated sites in an isolated situation showed them to be almost entirely confined to what, he argued, were the former forested areas. This strongly suggested that they were assart homesteads, although Rackham's work indicated that it was unlikely that establishment of these holdings actually involved widespread woodland clearance.<sup>22</sup>

This association of, in particular, isolated moats with areas of late, that is thirteenth or fourteenth century assarting and marginal land clearance, adaptation and settlement, has been noted in many regional studies. In Essex, the most densely moated county in England with an estimated 548 sites, the concentration of sites in the north-west is argued by Hedges<sup>23</sup> to be linked with the clearance in the medieval period of the patchy surviving woodland in that part of the county. Many of the sites lay in a peripheral part of the parish, rather than an old-established village core, and again this is typical of what has been found elsewhere. In Maelor, for instance, Pratt<sup>24</sup> noted that moats generally occurred as parish-edge features, where the evidence indicates that assarting was going on in the fourteenth century. What is not clear is why areas with similar environmental and political circumstances in Maelor to those where moats do appear not to always have them; few, for instance, occur in the middle Dee valley, the upper Severn or the vale of Clwyd. Again, this is not a problem confined to one particular area, and other commentators have similarly drawn attention to surprisingly blank areas in their distribution.

The most detailed and rigorous series of studies has been that by Roberts, on the Arden region of Warwickshire, which first began to appear in 1965.<sup>25</sup> In 1968 he published the first detailed study of the parish of Tanworth, in the heart of the Arden forest, which has exceptionally good surviving charter evidence.<sup>26</sup> By 1202, when Tanworth emerged as an independent parish, the northern third of the parish had already been subinfeudated some twenty years before; it was apparently this grant which marked the start of a determined attack on

the woodland which was to last until c.1250. During this time farms were established away from the settlement nucleus. In the following half-century, into the early fourteenth century, a class of small landowners emerged, freemen who enlarged their holdings by buying out smaller landowners, sometimes these concentrated holdings becoming sub-manors. This was when the dispersed settlement pattern fully developed, with small groups of freeholders establishing themselves at a crossroads or other suitable point. As likely as not in this period an Arden freeholder's farmstead would be moated.

In his most recent paper on the subject Roberts has developed the theme of lordship differences being the reason why within Arden the number and density of sites within parishes exhibits such variation, a similar irregularity being apparent amongst the manors of single great estates.<sup>27</sup> He noted that the percentage of manors held in demesne by the tenants-in-chief drastically declined between 1086 and 1350, resulting in an extremely fragmented pattern of landholding. Moreover, this was the time when large numbers of individual land grants were being made by charter, further dividing up the landscape, in what Roberts describes as a "fever of activity".<sup>28</sup>

Notable studies have also been made of some of the Welsh sites, and of those of south-east Ireland by Barry. This latter study,<sup>29</sup> whilst allowing that some moats were associated with the mid thirteenth-century deforestation movement and the establishment of freehold assart manors, also demonstrated that they were a response to political factors. It was found that they were a site-type limited to the area of Anglo-Norman settlement, there being a particularly high concentration of sites in the thinly populated border area between the colonists and the indigenous Irish. One of the few contemporary documents found by Barry relating to moated sites rather confirmed the impression given by this distributional evidence, that moats were built to give some measure of protection to the persons and goods of the occupiers against raiding Irish bands. Under the years 1282/3 and 1283/4 for the Bigod manor of 'BallyConnor' comes, in the accounts rolls, firstly a reference to the digging of a

moat, and, in the following year, notice that oxen had been stolen from the manor.<sup>30</sup> Subsequently, at least some of the oxen were kept inside the moat.

Similar conclusions have been reached by Spurgeon in his review article on the moated sites of Wales, 80 certain and 50 possible sites being considered, mainly along the border lowlands and the southern seaboard.<sup>31</sup> He shows that "politically and culturally their setting is clearly English",<sup>32</sup> moats probably being occupied either by the English, or prominent Welsh supporters of England in the period between the Edwardian settlement and the revolt of Glyndwr (1284-1400). Again moats appear to have been intended to fulfil a defensive role guarding against the activities of the resurgent Welsh. Nevertheless, distributional concentrations are again visible, apparently resulting from the practice of subinfeudation, or local assarting, as suggested for Maelor.<sup>33</sup>

Several studies have also noted how the activities of, particularly, the Cistercians and similar reformed religious orders could lead to the alteration to, or the creation of, where none existed before, a peculiar form of both manor, and manorial system. In Ireland, Barry noted that there were groups of Cistercian granges where the central buildings, the actual granges, were fortified.<sup>34</sup> In England, Platt has already shown, in The Monastic Grange in Medieval England (1969) that a moat was often one of the primary features of a grange, particularly when the ground was wet.<sup>35</sup> In Wales, the not infrequent moating of the dwellings of the clergy has been remarked on, and 'parsonage moat' persists as a site-name in several instances.<sup>36</sup> In all these cases it may be argued that more than an aura of sanctity was felt necessary to protect the religious, in many cases the richest of the local farmers. Several studies have shown how the creation of monastic estates in areas of wasteland, and the eradication of local rights of common, could lead to much ill-feeling, and in some instances violent action.<sup>37</sup>

In the older settled areas of England, particularly where open-field systems were found, there was often little unexploited

agricultural potential even in 1086. Hence relatively little assarting went on later, and what there was, was generally piecemeal rather than on a large scale, which meant that few freehold assart farms were created. Where they do appear they are often moated, but numerically, moats are far more prevalent around ancient manors, in the nucleated settlements themselves. This, for instance, is the impression which Baker had of Bedfordshire's moated sites,<sup>38</sup> and many of the adjoining county of Northamptonshire's moats were around Domesday manors.<sup>39</sup>

Therefore, the work so far undertaken indicates that at least three broad groups of sites where moats are found can be defined; old-established manors, lately-created freehold farms or manors in marginal areas, and colonist homesteads in threatened border zones. These groups are not mutually exclusive, and many sites do not fit clearly into any of them; they serve only to show how general the phenomenon of moating was. Whilst in each case it is possible to identify with some degree of certainty the period when moats were being dug, and by whom, in only the last case, that of the border colonists in Ireland and Wales, can a reason for the digging of a moat be readily ascribed. Here they were almost certainly functional, defensive, features.

Sadly, where commentators have in the past sought to explain why so many of the property owning classes went to the not inconsiderable expense or effort of digging a moat, many have done so without embracing the principles expressed by O.G.S. Crawford. He wrote, "As regards moated sites, I have always felt what wanted doing most was to establish what manner of people lived in them, and what was their place in the social order."<sup>40</sup> The Hursts argued that moats were a response to the climatic deterioration of the later medieval period, a measure designed to raise the dwellings of the lesser aristocracy clear of increasingly wet underfoot conditions.<sup>41</sup> Several writers have pointed out the essential flaws in this argument, that the moating movement was well under way before the onset of the worsening weather, and that in most cases

moats were deliberately sited to be as close to water as possible, in order to ensure that they had standing water in them. It has even been suggested that they were dug in order to ensure a ready supply of water, for drinking, or firefighting, or to act as a fishpond around the house.<sup>42</sup> Certainly, in some cases, moats did serve incidentally in this latter capacity, and Mrs. Le Patourel quoted several examples in her 1973 gazetteer.<sup>43</sup> Quite how compatible the idea of moats as domestic water sources is with that of them as sewage repositories is unclear. Emery argued that they would serve to keep out dangerous predators like wolves, as well as merely gastronomically rapacious deer.<sup>44</sup>

Generally, though, opinion has favoured the theory advanced most recently by Christopher Taylor, who argued in his study of Cambridgeshire sites that moats were merely a fashionable addition to manors, a symbol of newly-acquired wealth and independence, the builders "imitating the higher ranks of contemporary society, as well as following in the footsteps of their ancestors."<sup>45</sup>

Recently, however, Platt has given renewed prominence to Allcroft's theory, which, if it were accepted would mean that moats would once more have to be considered as deliberate defensive additions to properties. He considers that they were a response to the apparently increasing inability of the Crown to deal with the decline in civil law and order, a decline that was noticed by contemporaries by the 1290's, but which may have begun rather earlier. Those possessed of some wealth were taking steps, according to Platt's argument, to ensure they kept it.<sup>46</sup>

The difficulty is that whilst medieval documents may occasionally record that a moat was being dug, they do not, by their very nature, explain why this was being done.

Sources: Medieval Hampshire

After the Domesday survey of 1086, the best available edition for Hampshire being that of J.H.Round in the Victoria County History,<sup>47</sup> the first surviving county-wide survey which includes data possibly capable of revealing regional wealth levels is the 1291 Ecclesiastical Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV.<sup>48</sup>

Sadly, the returns for the survey initiated by Edward I in 1279, the products of which are generally known as the Hundred Rolls, which was at that time the most general and detailed inquisition yet undertaken into land tenure, do not survive for Hampshire.<sup>49</sup> It is not even known if the survey was undertaken in the county; if Urry is right,<sup>50</sup> that only the Oxford and Cambridge had enough literate clerks to fulfil the king's wishes, then the reign of Henry II may have provided the reason why Hampshire too may not have been covered. This was the period when much of the governmental body moved from Winchester to Westminster, depriving the county of the services of a large body of men, trained in the arts of compiling official lists and surveys. Possibly John of Botley, William Gerberge and Roger of Leckford, appointed by the king to enquire into each tenement in Hampshire and Wiltshire,<sup>51</sup> simply could not find enough clerks to record the information.

The mechanics of the 1291 taxation, theoretically a tax of a tenth on the spiritualities and temporalities of the clergy, are reasonably well known,<sup>52</sup> particularly because exceptionally full returns survive for the dioceses of Hereford, Coventry and Lichfield, and the Welsh Marches.<sup>53</sup> All that survive for the archdeanery of Winchester are the lists of totals assessed and paid, when this exceeded a minimum figure. Where it did not, no record of the churches appears. The tax is difficult to use as a guide to wealth or its agricultural basis; not the least of the problems is that only ecclesiastical income was considered, and that this itself was made up of an undefined range of contributions in each case.

The values recorded in 1291 were, however, used as a basis by the compilers of the Inquisitions of the Ninth (Nonarum Inquisitiones) of 1342,<sup>54</sup> and discrepancies between earlier and later totals had to be accounted for. Furthermore, the detailed assessments of 1342 show the constituent figures contributing to the total. Therefore, the tax presents the possibility of allowing statements to be made not only about differing country and county-wide wealth levels, but also, as the wool and corn tithes were usually recorded separately, varying emphasis on arable and pastoral farming. The tax has also been used to investigate the relative productivity of differing soil types, as the acreage contributing to totals was sometimes given.<sup>55</sup>

Theoretically, however, the various lay subsidies are of greater value, largely because the initial sample, that is the number of units taxed, was so much greater. They also offer the possibility of obtaining a more controlled and standardized impression of lay wealth and population levels. The 1334 subsidy was studied across the whole country by Glasscock,<sup>56</sup> and his printed lists, giving the totals for each taxed settlement unit, have here been mapped in detail for the county. Of greater potential was the 1327 subsidy,<sup>57</sup> as this noted the amounts paid by individuals towards the total for each assessed settlement, and hence allows at least broad generalizations to be made about population levels and wealth-structure across Hampshire at this time.

The lay subsidies, especially that of 1327, were also used to construct maps showing where settlements were considered to be in the fourteenth century. The Nomina Villarum,<sup>58</sup> containing a list of vills and their lords, drawn up in 1316 as the basis for the levy of that year, was also considered in this context, useful comparisons being possible with the late eleventh century settlement pattern indicated by Domesday. It is clear though that the naming of a vill was confirmation of no more than its role as an administrative, or taxation unit, not that it possessed characteristics which a modern

geographer would deem necessary for it to be considered a village, or any other kind of nucleated settlement. General preliminary work across Hampshire, coupled with detailed work in the study area, confirmed this, and showed the probable variety of settlement forms present in the medieval landscape.

For Hampshire, one of the most valuable series of records of agricultural production in the later twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is the Pipe Rolls of the ~~bishopric~~ of Winchester. Titow's tabulations<sup>59</sup> of data extracted from these were used as the basis for a detailed examination of production on the bishops' Hampshire manors. They allowed the amount of land in cultivation and production levels to be examined on an intra-county basis, according to physical zones. Limited amplification and expansion of these conclusions, particularly with regard to the progress of the assarting movement, was possible through an examination of the county's royal forests, and certain manorial records.

The growth of urban centres was also considered. A general survey of the medieval towns of Hampshire has yet to appear, despite the extensive work on Winchester and Southampton, by Beresford on the new towns of the Bishop of Winchester,<sup>60</sup> and the preliminary survey by Hughes of the small towns of the county.<sup>61</sup> Of particular relevance to this study was the evidence of economic expansion, of a growth in local market economies dealing in surplus produce, rather than the physical manifestations of this in such things as town plans and market places. Market and fair grants were seen as the most objective way in which this trend could be plotted. As with most studies of this subject the starting point was the invaluable index of market and fair grants, at the Public Record Office in London. This is a comprehensive guide to all the grants recorded in the Charter, Close, Patent and Fine and Oblata rolls of the Chancery. Both national government records and individual local sources were used in the survey and study of the county's moated sites.

The value of inquisitions post-mortem, and particularly the attached extents, compiled on the death of a tenant-in-chief to establish the rights and possessions he had held, has often been noted. Le Patourel, for instance, has demonstrated how these can be of great use in establishing the existence of a moat,<sup>62</sup> and their potential for the study of the layout of manorial complexes has long been realized. However, the number of extents which had details of demesne buildings was found to be very low in this study. Each extent for a moated site in the Loddon study area was examined;<sup>63</sup> none contained details of the manorial buildings. Furthermore, E.Dodds transcribed all the inquisitions post-mortem relating to the deserted settlements of Hampshire; whilst many recorded a capital messuage few listed the constituent buildings of the manorial complex, although dovecotes were often individually noted. The fullest extent of buildings was that of Bekke, in Woodcott, in 1308,<sup>64</sup> which listed a hall, chamber, grange and oxhouse. A further half-a-dozen noted up to three buildings, usually including hall, grange or oxhouse. It could be argued that these were the manors most likely to be impoverished, lacking large numbers of ancillary buildings, as the associated villages were later to be deserted. Archaeological evidence suggests though that even poorer manors would have had several barns and sheds; the deficiency appears to lie in the documents. Good manorial extents do survive for the county; the point is that they are far less common than is sometimes implied in modern commentaries.<sup>65</sup>

The king's houses, however, particularly their building and repair, are relatively well documented over a long period, and this offered the chance of seeing where, when and in what context moats and other defences were added to them. Of particular interest was a group of hunting lodge sites in the New Forest. The major record classes which contain enrolments of expenditure on the royal residences, which have already been much studied by H.M.Colvin and his collaborators,<sup>66</sup> are the Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer, one surviving for 1129-30

and a complete series from 1155, and the Liberale Rolls, beginning in John's reign. Certain instructions to royal officials, enrolled in the Close Rolls, also concern building works; a forester, for instance, might be instructed to send timber for operaciones at one of the king's houses.

The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments began work on the west of Hampshire in the 1970's, and as part of this survey, a large body of documents from a variety of repositories was transcribed, copies of these being subsequently lodged at the office of the County Planning Archaeologist in Winchester. These were all read, with two purposes in mind; to see whether any moated sites unknown from other sources would be mentioned, and to examine quickly a large body of material, of many different dates and causes of origin to see if any class of document not previously used appeared to have any potential. In neither case did the answer prove positive, and the exercise produced in all only some half-a-dozen brief references of incidental interest, dealing with manorial buildings and their repair.

The value of post-medieval representations of buildings since altered or demolished, in paintings, engravings or photographs has often been noted. In this study, information coming from such sources, a major guide to these being the Society of Antiquaries index to Hampshire was limited. The reason for this was probably that the grander, and hence more frequently artistically represented houses in the county tended not to be moated, whilst moated sites either no longer had a building on them when topographic draughtsmanship became fashionable, or were occupied by a less than prepossessing farmhouse. The absence of indigenous building stone across much of Hampshire is largely the reason why so few medieval buildings lasted even into the eighteenth century, when topographic drawings, particularly of the 'romantic ruin' style came to be made and reproduced on a widespread scale.

### Sources: The Loddon Area

A study was also made of the medieval landscape, and especially the place of moated sites therein, of a group of eleven parishes on the northern boundary of Hampshire centred on the river Loddon. Much of this area was, in the Middle Ages, within the forest of Pamber, whose influence on the landscape's development was separately assessed.

In addition to those employed in the general studies of the Hampshire landscape, several further sources were used. Several Anglo-Saxon charters concern estates either in, or immediately adjacent to the study area, and these, together with the evidence of place-names, Domesday book and archaeology, allow at least the broad outlines of the Saxon exploitation of the area to be suggested.

For the medieval period, whilst a full examination of alienation and subinfeudation was not attempted, at least the broad tenurial pattern was established. The various inquisitions and lists published as the Book of Fees<sup>67</sup> and Feudal Aids<sup>68</sup> and the inquisitions post-mortem were used, but in general, reliance was placed on the manorial descents in the Victoria History.

From c. 1200 the various Chancery rolls provide a considerable amount of detailed local information, much of which does not survive in other records. Grants of a licence to impark, for instance, frequently gave detailed topographical information, such as the size of the area to be imparked, sometimes the acreage to be taken from each if the park was to lie in more than one parish, or the current land use. Especially useful was the tendency to note any constituent woods in the newly-enclosed land. Similar information was also given in many of the post-1279 licences for alienation in mortmain. The various types of enrolment concerning the judicial process also give a surprising amount of incidental information in the summary descriptions of alleged criminal actions. Although few instances appear in this study, the commissioning of inquisitions to

investigate possible infringement of rights, such as by the erection of a new watermill, often led to much topographical information being enrolled. Chancery grants also provided the opportunity to construct basic chronologies of local imparkment and assarting movements.

Much of the Loddon area's character is due to its woodland aspect, it having once been either in, or close to Pamber forest. The application of forest law over this area produced records of it in various classes of documents, today generally grouped in the Forest Proceedings class at the Public Record Office, and all those dealing with this forest were examined. Pamber, however, was not one of the great forests, whether as a source of venison, sport or timber, or in spatial terms, and the amount of documentation generated by it was nothing like that forthcoming from the administration of, say, Alice Holt or Woolmer forests elsewhere in the county. Nevertheless, even with this in mind, the collection is disappointing. Two medieval perambulations survive, along with a few rolls of the attachment courts temp. Henry III and Edward III, a list of arrentation of the waste and sales of timber for 1306-7, and a few plea rolls.

No more than a hint of the forest landscape or economy is forthcoming, and certainly the records do not allow spatial or temporal trends to be picked out with any clarity, and there are definitely not the data available to undertake an analysis such as that done by Raftis elsewhere.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, it is the concern with the vert, the woodland, which is of particular relevance when seeking to assess the development and growth of the agrarian landscape, whereas the majority of the surviving entries concern the venison. It is clear though that, as in larger forests, the potential income from the woodland, and especially its clearance, was realized, with the arrentation rolls carefully noting income from assarts of an acre or less.

Once again, considerable information was enrolled in the Chancery records, especially through the use in the medieval

period of the forest as a vehicle for patronage. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries quite a considerable amount of wood and timber was granted from the forest to a variety of recipients, individual and corporate. The grants of licences to impark were also again of use, demonstrating the gradual erosion of land under the Crown's direct control. Venison, too, figures large, with grants being made both as meat, and as livestock for transfer to generally newly-created parks. Perhaps most valuable though was the way in which the large number of grants enabled the economic forest, that is land and wood which was generating income in the forest courts, and which was providing the materials for the exercise of patronage, to be defined within the legal forest, as defined by perambulations. It is clear that at certain times the two were far from conterminous.

For the study area five main groups of medieval records, primarily charters, survive, two published as corpora appendant to old, but still useful, antiquarian works.

Baigent and Millard's History of Basingstoke<sup>70</sup> contains, in an appendix, 70 grants, charters and associated documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries pertaining to the hospital of St. John the Baptist, which was eventually transferred to Merton College. There is also a large body of later medieval and post-medieval leases, terriers, accounts and charter enrolments dealing with the hospital's lands.

Also included are certain documents concerning land in Basing or Basingstoke, originally held by Selborne priory and now by Magdalen College, Oxford. The second group appears in Burrow's Brocas of Beaurepaire,<sup>71</sup> where a large body of grants, leases, releases and quitclaims are presented in transcription. Whilst many pertain to other Hampshire estates of the Brocas family, or their holdings in Berkshire, Surrey and elsewhere, the largest single group deals with the Beaurepaire estate, in the heart of the study area. As well as the charters relating to the estate there are three mid-fourteenth century account rolls known, one of which is discussed by Burrows, and two others, now in the Hampshire Record Office, not apparently known to him.<sup>72</sup>

The three main groups of unpublished material are those from the Vyne estate in Monk Sherborne,<sup>73</sup> from the alien priory of Monk Sherborne, now held by Queen's College, Oxford,<sup>74</sup> and from Eton College's estates. The muniments of Winchester College<sup>76</sup> and Selborne priory<sup>77</sup> were also found to contain relevant material. Again, the majority of the documents are charters.

Not only the geographical extent of the estates from which records survive, but also the chronological range of the records, will determine the extent to which the researcher can reconstruct an area's past history. Chancery records' production saw a "decisive increase" in the decades either side of 1200,<sup>78</sup> and the production of charters as proof of property rights saw a widespread increase in the immediately following decades. For the study area, for instance, there is a noticeable increase in the number of charters surviving from the 1230's onwards, the earliest dating from the 1170's. This means, therefore, that from the late-eleventh century record of Domesday, to the appearance of this new, literate mentality and its products in the early thirteenth century, there is little evidence in the written record of landscape change. It is anyway difficult to compare the broad impression of the countryside and economy given by the Conqueror's great record with the extremely detailed and localized evidence, sometimes concerning plots of less than an acre, given by the charters.

Such post-medieval documentary evidence concerning the study area as survives in the Hampshire County Record Office was examined. The amount of information recovered, however, from the leases, quitclaims, recoveries and indentures was very limited.

The early published maps of Hampshire by Robert Morden and the like were examined, particularly for their representations of the main transport networks in the pre-turnpike era, and the main blocks of woodland. Obviously these need not, necessarily, have corresponded with their medieval predecessors.

For instance, in the later seventeenth and eighteenth century the Crown enclosed and propagated areas of the New Forest, Alice Holt, Woolmer and Bere forests in Hampshire as part of the effort to make the navy independent of imports for timber supplies.<sup>79</sup>

Unpublished estate maps of the early seventeenth to mid nineteenth century were among the most useful of the sources. Several early estate maps survived, the earliest, albeit in a copy, being a 1613 survey of Beaurepaire.<sup>80</sup> Most of these maps seem to have been drawn up in connection with the transfer of land or the guarding of property rights, and hence boundaries were the cartographers' major concern. Invariably, though, a certain amount of more general topographical detail was included, such as land-use or field names. The tithe maps of the 1830's and 1840's provide an indispensable general survey of the landscape across the whole study area. Their value to the historian has often been noted; here, for instance, not only did they provide a framework within which the medieval evidence could be set, but their examination also led to the discovery of several previously unknown moated sites.

### Archaeology

Archaeology has expanded its sphere of interest as it has striven to achieve the status of a rigorous, independent, 'scientific' discipline. Critically self-conscious in this quest for respectability and independence, there has been a corresponding loss of individual identity as both theory and method have been absorbed and adapted from other disciplines.

Geography and the natural sciences have been particularly rich quarries, and ultimately perhaps only excavation can be claimed by archaeologists to be an internally developed method. Those borrowed have, though, in many cases been considerably adapted, and it is ultimately difficult to isolate or categorize which approaches in this thesis can be said to derive from archaeology. No excavation was undertaken, although its results were extensively considered. A large part of the work - on the pre-medieval landscape, buildings, and the field-survey of moated sites - is, of a type, however, most frequently undertaken by those who consider themselves archaeologists, and is, therefore perhaps best considered as archaeological.

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## CHAPTER TWO

## MEDIEVAL HAMPSHIRE: PATTERNS AND PERSPECTIVES

As has already been noted above, no major synthetic work has yet been published on medieval Hampshire; indeed, there would be very few authoritative pieces of work on which to base such a survey. It is in many ways ironic that whilst the number of published works on the county is small their quality is high: most notable are the continuing reports of work by archaeologists and their associates on Winchester and Southampton,<sup>1</sup> and Titow's valuable tabulation of data evolving from the agricultural exploitation of the bishop of Winchester's estates.<sup>2</sup> Only future work will show to what extent the observed trends in these works are exceptional; certainly the two urban centres can be argued to be individually unique within the country as a whole, let alone the county, and similarly the bishop's estates represent a cohesive organization probably not seen elsewhere in the county on such a scale.<sup>3</sup>

This chapter will, therefore, attempt to assess the basic chronology of economic development in Hampshire between Domesday and the mid fourteenth century, and will examine whether differing rates of development can be seen within the county itself. The assessment will be based on three main topics, for each of which, to a greater or lesser degree, data exist from the whole county. These topics are the development of towns and markets, the expansion of arable production, and the progress of the assarting movement.

#### The Expansion of Towns and Markets

In recent years archaeology has confirmed the evidence of the historical sources, producing material evidence of the form and importance of Winchester and Southampton in the middle and late Saxon periods.<sup>4</sup> Although they were to change their emphases, and, in the case of Southampton, its site, and were to be surpassed as the country's leading centres of government

and trade, they remained amongst the country's leading towns until the late Middle Ages. What remains to be determined, however, is the effect that these two centres had on the surrounding countryside; how much stimulation they gave to the rural economy of Hampshire, for instance.<sup>5</sup>

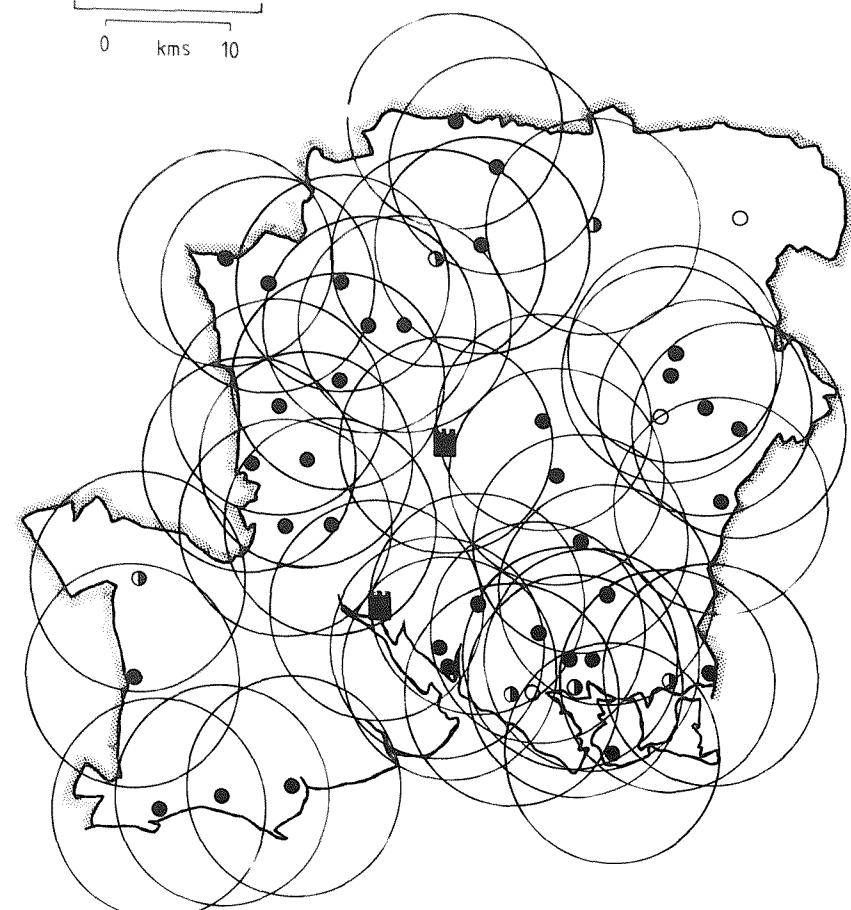
By 1086 Twynham, the modern Christchurch, had apparently developed sufficiently for it to be regarded, along with Winchester and Southampton, as a borough.<sup>6</sup> In addition Domesday notes three markets, at Basingstoke, Neatham and Titchfield, all on or linked to royal manors, with the high toll income for Kingsclere also indicating a market on the royal demesne land there.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries a steady, but unspectacular, growth in the number of urban centres is apparent. In 1175 the men of Andover were granted permission to have a merchant guild, and freedom of toll throughout the realm.<sup>7</sup> Although no market was granted one may have already been in existence at Odiham, with a recorded population of 247 for the manor in 1086. This probably continued to be a settlement of some size. However, an attempt by the king to promote it in 1204, when he granted its fee for £50, was apparently premature, for three years later it was back in his hands, insufficient local interest and finance having been forthcoming.<sup>8</sup> A growing urban complex next to the abbey is indicated for twelfth-century Romsey, a grant of a market and a fair to the abbey by Henry I being successively confirmed by Henry II and Henry III.<sup>9</sup>

Other towns give more positive evidence for the recognition by contemporaries that there was by the end of the twelfth century the trade to support, and repay, capital investment in permanent market centres. Hughes has identified several examples where there is a case for arguing that a regular arrangement of streets had been planned and laid out before 1200.<sup>10</sup> At Bishops Waltham, adjoining the episcopal palace, there is clear evidence of a basically rectilinear street-grid, possibly with a market place as an integral element. Beresford has argued that

## HAMPSHIRE: MARKETS AND FAIRS EXISTING BY c. 1360

0 mls 10  
0 kms 10



- market & fair
- market
- fair
- southampton & winchester

circles represent a  
minimum  $6\frac{2}{3}$  mile journey  
from market centres

### HAMPSHIRE'S MARKETS & FAIRS, 1180-1400 first recorded grants to places

- market
- ▨ fair

source: P.R.O. index of  
markets and fairs

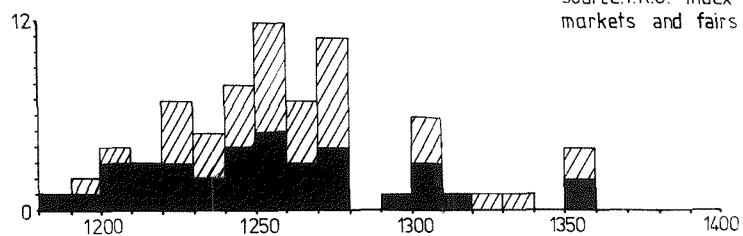


Fig. 2.1

this may be attributable to Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester 1129-71.<sup>11</sup> Petersfield, where burgesses were mentioned in a charter of 1183-9 granting the customs of Winchester,<sup>12</sup> also apparently has planned elements, which may be associated with this phase in its development.<sup>13</sup> Deliberate design is also visible in the plan of Portsmouth, a new town of Richard I.<sup>14</sup>

In the early thirteenth century the bishops of Winchester were to follow the example of Henry of Blois in promoting urban growth in the county. In 1200 Bishop Godfrey had founded the first of the bishops of Winchester's well documented new towns, New Alresford, with typical long burgess plots flanking a wide main market place.<sup>15</sup> A possibly associated exercise, and unusual piece of capital expenditure, was the building of a dam to create a 200-acre pond, perhaps as much to promote it as a centre for fulling, by encouraging the construction of mills, as to facilitate transport up the river Itchen.<sup>16</sup> The other new towns of the bishops in the county, Overton and Newtown, were created a couple of decades later, apparently in 1217-19.<sup>17</sup> Planned elements were also argued by Hughes to be present in the plan of Fareham, held by the bishops, and perhaps deliberately advanced by them in the later twelfth, or early thirteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

At some time between 1184 and 1216 Earl William de Redvers founded the borough of New Lymington,<sup>19</sup> perhaps appreciating the possibility of exploiting the already existing salt trade. Stockbridge, sited on a well-established river crossing,<sup>20</sup> has been argued to owe its planned elements to a grant by Richard I to William Brewer of a market at le Strete in Somborne.<sup>21</sup> In the thirteenth century Wickham appears to have been deliberately developed,<sup>22</sup> again by the bishops of Winchester, and planned elements have also been claimed for Titchfield,<sup>23</sup> although this was never to develop beyond acting as a very local market centre next to the abbey.

By 1268, when Wickham was probably laid out, the heyday of the new town in England had passed. Really it had by

1230, as Beresford has shown; the number of towns being founded dropped, and the number of failed foundations amongst those that did come into existence increased.<sup>24</sup>

This date is as true for Hampshire as elsewhere, but commercial expansion, as seen by the growth in the number of markets and fairs approved by the Crown, continued in the county up to the end of the reign of Henry III.

Markets appear at what must have been no more than small villages, the charter grant sought by the manorial lord, who hoped to enlarge his income by this inducement to trade.

Increased profit there may have been for the lords of Lockerley, Selborne, Greatham and South Tidworth, all granted permission to hold a market and fair in the last two or three years of Henry III's reign, but none ever grew into more than a very local centre.<sup>25</sup> Certainly none ever developed true urban attributes.<sup>26</sup> For, by the 1270's, the county had become replete with officially licensed local markets, the second stage, after the creation of the new towns, with their sometimes heavy financial investment, in the process of the organization and exploitation of the new volume of production by agriculture and trade.

This two-tier model, with the growth of local centres overlapping with the end of the period of new town promotion is attractive, although charter evidence, taken as a chronological indicator, can be seriously misleading, reflecting more the desire by the Crown to gather income from the Great Fee of the Seal than economic expansion itself.<sup>27</sup> Equally important is the fact that a market grant does not necessarily mark the creation of a market; it may merely be the licensing of an already existing one, possibly of long standing. And conversely, as has been noted above, the granting of a market charter to a place was no guarantee of future success.

But, having said this, the evidence does suggest that the growth in the number of small market centres in the later twelfth and first three-quarters of the thirteenth century did reflect a real trend of economic growth, and the production of an

increasing agricultural surplus. Certainly this chronology reflects that in other counties, if the work, for instance, of Coates on Derbyshire, Palliser and Pinnock on Staffordshire and Reed on Buckinghamshire is to be accepted as representative of the general situation.<sup>28</sup> Overall, of some 2,800 market grants enrolled between 1199 and 1483, more than half are from the first three-quarters of the thirteenth century.<sup>29</sup>

Spatially, the distribution of markets broadly reflects the pattern of nucleated settlement in general (figs. 2.1 and 3.7 respectively). Markets were sited particularly regularly along the Test valley, with one being reached every three miles or so north as far as Overton. A noticeable concentration is apparent in the south-east of the county, with a very closely spaced group of markets around Portchester, with the coastal towns of Fareham and Emsworth being served by the road south from New Alresford, along which market centres lay every four or five miles. A similar spacing is observed by the sites of the Avon valley and by those along the south-western coastal strip of the county. Other sites ring the Woolmer area.

Where markets are noticeably absent is to the north-east of Winchester, between it and Basingstoke, and in the whole of the Hampshire woodlands district in the north and east of the county, although to a certain extent these areas were served by markets across the county boundaries in Surrey and Berkshire. Had, though, the lord of Preston Candover, whose inhabitants had to travel at least six miles to the nearest market, New Alresford, realized the potential profit that a market in the vill could bring him, he would surely have petitioned the king for permission to hold one.<sup>30</sup>

The principle that a market should not be set up within a distance that could be regarded as competitive was one recognized by contemporaries; the lawyer Henry Bracton held in the mid thirteenth century that a market might be held injurious if set up within six and two-thirds of a league

of another.<sup>31</sup> This was putting a precision which was unwarranted in the circumstances, for market forces would always tend to favour an existing, in preference to a new, market and, as Bracton was probably aware from contemporary examples, a market or town would not survive for long if it lacked custom. It is an interesting figure, however, that Bracton arrived at. For whilst in the more prosperous and densely settled areas of the county, markets tend, as has been stated, to occur every three to five miles, elsewhere Bracton's distance is very close to the observed spacing. The three sites down the Avon valley, for instance, exhibit it. Most striking of all, though, is the way in which Winchester has no competition within this distance, but has some seven market centres ringing it just outside this distance (fig. 2.1). Southampton, when the real distance by road to Titchfield and Fareham is considered rather than the distance as the crow flies, also appears in its own discrete market zone of about the size prescribed by Bracton.

Certainly, whilst few of his contemporaries would have expressed the matter with such precision as did Bracton, the idea that a market had its own particular surrounding area over which it should claim the right to act as an exchange centre was one shared by many. In 1332, for instance, Walter Horn, a tanner, was charged at the morrowspeche of the Andover guild merchant with: "going to the market at Thruxton and buying and selling there and supporting that market to the prejudice of the town and whole community of Andover".<sup>32</sup>

Admittedly, what was at stake here was that a member of the guild had broken his oath and had gone against the rules of the guild, but the underlying principle was that of a market's right of predominance over an area.

As well as commenting on the proper distance between markets Bracton also stated that it could be especially injurious if one market was held on the second or third day before that of a neighbourhood place.<sup>33</sup> This was certainly a concept which was generally applied. In Basingstoke prior to 1203 the market was held on a Sunday, in which year it shifted to Monday.<sup>34</sup> Eleven years later, however, it was again moved, to Wednesday, "in order that this market may not be injurious

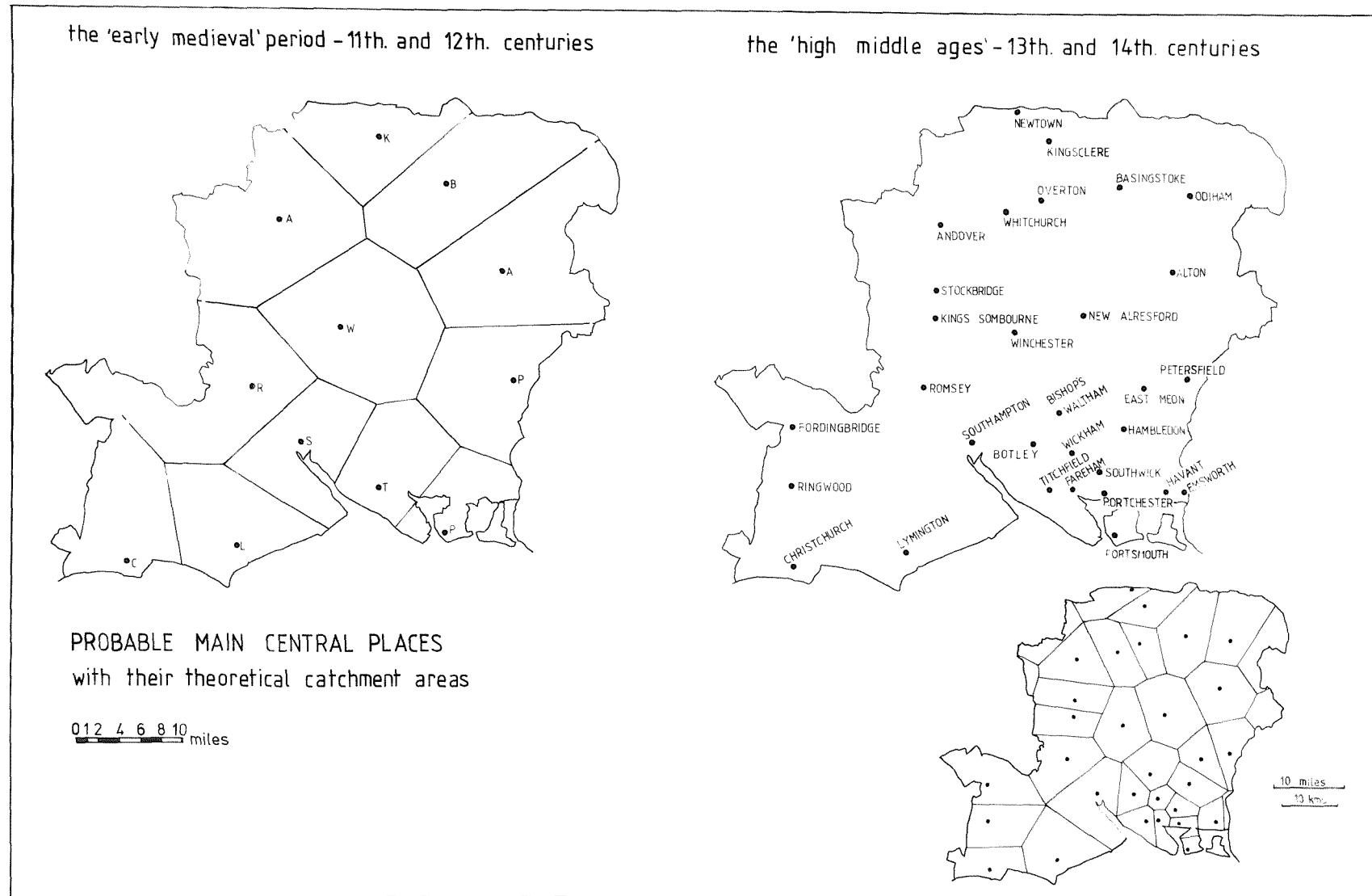


Fig. 2.2

to other markets."<sup>35</sup> Likewise, inquisitors visiting Bishops Waltham in Edward I's reign reported that "the market of Titchfield and Waltham is to the damage of the market of .... which is held on a Saturday."<sup>36</sup>

A more theoretical approach was tested, in order to see if this added to what had already been adduced about the development or urbanism in the county. This involved the technique pioneered by the Swedish geographer Christaller, whereby units known as Thiessen polygons are constructed around a set of known points, in order to divide the available space into homogeneous units.<sup>37</sup> At times the techniques of theoretical modelling have been misunderstood by historians; models such as fig. 2.2 do not purport to show reality; they are best seen as stimulants to constructive and challenging thinking. The use of Thiessen polygons is a very simple technique, and one that has many attendant problems, long recognized by geographers; it does, for instance, assume a flat plain with an even distribution of resources, which was obviously not the case in medieval Hampshire.

When those places which can probably be considered the 'main central places'<sup>38</sup> of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are plotted, and Thiessen polygons constructed around them, the results are striking (fig. 2.2). Winchester's position can be likened to that of a spider at the centre of a web, in the way in which it dominates the middle of the county, lying midway between many of the remaining centres.<sup>39</sup> By the fourteenth century, taking not all places with market grants, but those which appeared to Hughes to have grounds for being considered towns,<sup>40</sup> the extent to which the different parts of the county have developed is clear. Over much of the county the regular spacing of towns remains, as it does up the Avon and Test valleys. The central area of the county was no longer dominated by Winchester though, the town of New Alresford having taken over part of its catchment area, together with part of Alton's, neatly dividing the main part of the Hampshire downs into three equal areas of theoretical

dominance. A much greater degree of economic development can be seen in the south-east of the county, where the Sussex coastal plain enters the county, a whole series of towns now being supported by the economic activities of that region. It is noticeable, on the other hand, that little had changed east of a line drawn from Kingsclere to Petersfield, with only Odiham possibly gaining stature.

A further source of information about the comparative levels of prosperity of Hampshire's medieval urban centres are the various lay subsidies. By the time of the 1327 subsidy the period of expansion within the economy was, according to most recent commentators, over,<sup>41</sup> and what should be represented are the towns and market centres at as near to their commercial zenith as can be isolated. Potentially most interesting is the comparison that can be made between those places which were designated as boroughs and markets by their contemporaries and as towns or central places in this discussion, and purely rural settlements, by a comparison of the differing amounts of tax paid and the number of people paying towards it.

There are two main problems in attempting this comparison, even if one ignores the potential discrepancies caused by erratic or corrupt local assessors. Firstly, a town could have a large population but have a sizeable number of its inhabitants too poor to be liable for the subsidy, and, secondly, a whole group of hamlets and other small rural settlements can appear under one heading, giving it a spuriously impressive stature. Hence differences between rural and urban places may, theoretically, be very much distorted because of this.

A further point which may have a bearing on the validity of any conclusions is that the number of people taxed was, it appears, quite a small proportion of the total population of any one settlement. Unless this was a constant percentage, which is inherently unlikely as it would imply an even distribution of those persons wealthy enough to pay tax across

the county, there will again be a bias introduced. The small numbers recorded can be shown by the examples of Southampton and Winchester, the former with 132 taxpayers in 1327, second only in recorded population to Winchester which had 198 names noted along with a further 61 in the soke.<sup>42</sup> Yet it has been estimated that Southampton had a pre-plague population of 2,500, "or even a few hundred more,"<sup>43</sup> and Winchester a pre-plague population of c.8,000.<sup>44</sup> Even seventy or so years before the tax of 1327, while they were still expanding, the bishop of Winchester's new towns of New Alresford and Overton had respectively perhaps 45 and over 70 burgage plots occupied:<sup>45</sup> occupied, it would be thought, by respectable members of the entrepreneurial community, wealthy enough to pay tax. However, only 34 people paid towards the New Alresford subsidy total, and eleven towards Overton's.

The figures extracted for fig. 2.3 do show that, in general, the places suggested by Hughes to be small towns did have slightly more taxpayers than places which were granted a market charter but did not develop true urban functions. It is doubtful whether a statistician would regard the differences as significant though. The usefulness of the figures is in doubt even more when it is considered whether it would be possible to identify the towns if the only data available were the subsidy information. Examination of appendix III shows that in most hundreds where a town or towns appear there are rural settlements or tax units with at least as many, or even more, taxpayers than these possess. Nor is it the case that an urban parish necessarily paid the highest single sum in a hundred; more often than not it was far outstripped by a rural one.

The conclusion seems inescapable that as a basis for the quantitative identification of towns, or as a means of comparing towns identified from other sources, tax lists are likely to be of little use in this period. This is not to negate their importance to students of the medieval town, for the information they contain on the infra-structure of a town's wealth is very important, with their lists of names and sums paid.

	Market	Borough	Hughes Town	Taxed Population in 1327	Date of Market Grant and day of week when held
New Alresford	X	X	X	34	1200, Thurs.
Alton	X	X	X	22	
Andover	X	X	X	74	Pre 1200
Barton Stacey	X			26	1215, Sat.
Basingstoke	X	X	X	66	Pre 1203 Sun., to 1214 Mon. then Wed.
Bishops Waltham	X		X	23	? mid 12th century
Boarhunt	X			24+6+10	1303, Sat.
Botley	X		?	31	1267, Tues.
Broughton	X			29	1247, Mon.
Chawton	X			6	
Christchurch	X	X	(X)	17	
East Wellow	X			9	1251, Wed.
Emsworth	X		X	26	1239, Wed.
Fareham	X	X	X	25	by 1200
Fordingbridge	X		X	12	
Greatham	X			9	1270, Mon.
Hambledon	X		?	8	
Havant	X		X	35	1200, Tues.
Hound	X			-	1251, Mon.
Kilmeston	X			15	
Kingsclere	X		X	37	Pre 1218 Sun., then Sat.
Kings Somborne			?	20	
Lockeley	X	X		14	1271, Wed.
New Lymington	X	X	X	32	By 1257
East Meon			?	14	
Meonstoke	X			14	1246, Mon.
Milton	X			12	1304, Tues., 1318, Thurs.
Newtown	X	X	X	11	1218
Odiham	X		X	27	
Overton	X	X	X	-	1217/18
Petersfield	X	X	X	18	By 1183
Portchester	X	X	X	29 (+22)	Sat.
Portsmouth	X	X	(X)	61	1194
Ringwood			X	77	1226, Wed.
Romsey	X	X	X	55 (+15)	by 1135
Selborne	X			9	1270, Tues.
Southampton	X	X	(X)	132	Pre Conquest
South Tidworth	X			1	1270, Mon.
Southwick	X		?	25	
Stockbridge	X	X	X	35	1200
Thruxtion	X			28	1304, Mon.
Titchfield	X		X	46	By 1086
Wherwell	X			10	1267, Wed.
Whitchurch	X	X	X	19	1241, Mon., 1248, Thurs.
Wickham	X			31	1269, Thurs.
Winchester	X	X	(X)	198 (+61)	Pre Conquest

Fig. 2.3. Places exhibiting evidence of having at least one urban attribute by 1327, with their recorded taxpaying populations at that date.

Source: P.R.O. Index of Markets and Fairs, with additional information from M.F.Hughes

### The Expansion of Agrarian Production

Evidence for the chronology of the expansion of the area under arable cultivation in the county is less clear. The potential sample is not as strictly defined and finite as it is with the study of the towns, and the surviving documentation is far more diverse, fragmentary and ambiguous. Furthermore, archaeological evidence is very limited.

It was observed above that the most complete sample of data on the rural economy of the county was provided by the surviving accounts of the bishops of Winchester's estates.

It may well be that the scale of the estates and their centralized management meant that they were slightly atypical of Hampshire manors in general in some aspects of their development.<sup>46</sup> However, the large number of the manors and their wide distribution across the county does provide a solid quantitative basis for the study of, in particular, the expansion and subsequent contraction of arable production in thirteenth and fourteenth century Hampshire, both in terms of the area under cultivation, which will be the main concern here, and the yields which were forthcoming from the seed sown.<sup>47</sup> It is unlikely that there would have been much divergence overall between the level of these things on the bishops' estates and on those of other manorial lords, as they were both ultimately the products of responses to changing levels of supply and demand, and the effects thereof, or of 'natural' agencies like climatic change,<sup>48</sup> soil exhaustion<sup>49</sup> or weed infestation.<sup>50</sup>

The Postan thesis<sup>51</sup> is accepted as the basic premise concerning the general pattern of economic development throughout this thesis, that is that in the thirteenth century cereal production took precedence over pastoral land use, whether for reasons of profit on the part of the landlords, or because it offered the most effective food-return from a peasant's land. High profits and a general concern to maximise production were both the products of the effects of the thirteenth century population level, which perhaps rose to a level unseen again until the eighteenth

century, and the general inflation in the economy from c.1160, the years around the turn of the thirteenth century witnessing a particularly vicious jump in prices and wages.<sup>52</sup>

Titow's general conclusions concerning the Winchester estates, which were spread across several counties,<sup>53</sup> were that firstly the greatest growth in the area under arable cultivation was during the period 1221-69, the decade 1227-37 seeing the peak years, with up to 14,000 acres under seed. From about 1270 the amount of arable land in use declined steadily, to less than 11,000 acres from 1284, and under 10,000 from 1310, from 1321 the figure being below 9,000 acres.<sup>54</sup> In other words, in under a century over a third of the land given over to arable production in 1227-37 ceased to be regularly cultivated in this way.<sup>55</sup>

These conclusions were examined in more detail for the Hampshire manors (fig.2.4). This study was undertaken in order to examine firstly whether the chronology of expansion of the Hampshire manors agreed with that proposed by Titow for the bishops' estates as a whole, and secondly to see whether within Hampshire itself differences were apparent in either the rate of expansion, or yield levels produced. To this latter end the bishops' manors were divided into three groups, reflecting the three main physical zones into which it is possible to divide the county. These groups were the wood-land manors of the north of the county (Woodhay, High Clere, Burghclere and Ecchinswell), those on or close to the Chalk (Ashmansworth, Overton, North Waltham, Wield, Alresford, Bentley, Sutton, Cheriton, East Meon, East Meon Church, and Twyford and Marwell) and those south of the Chalk on or close to the coastal plain (Mardon, Stoke, Bitterne, Waltham, Fareham and Hambledon). There were sufficient differences between these groups to suggest that the divisions were not entirely artificial, and that changes, whether the product of 'natural' agencies like geology, soil exhaustion or increased rainfall, or of the farming policies of the bishops' officials, were occurring at slightly different times in each of the three zones.

SOURCE: J.Z. TITOW,  
'WINCHESTER YIELDS'

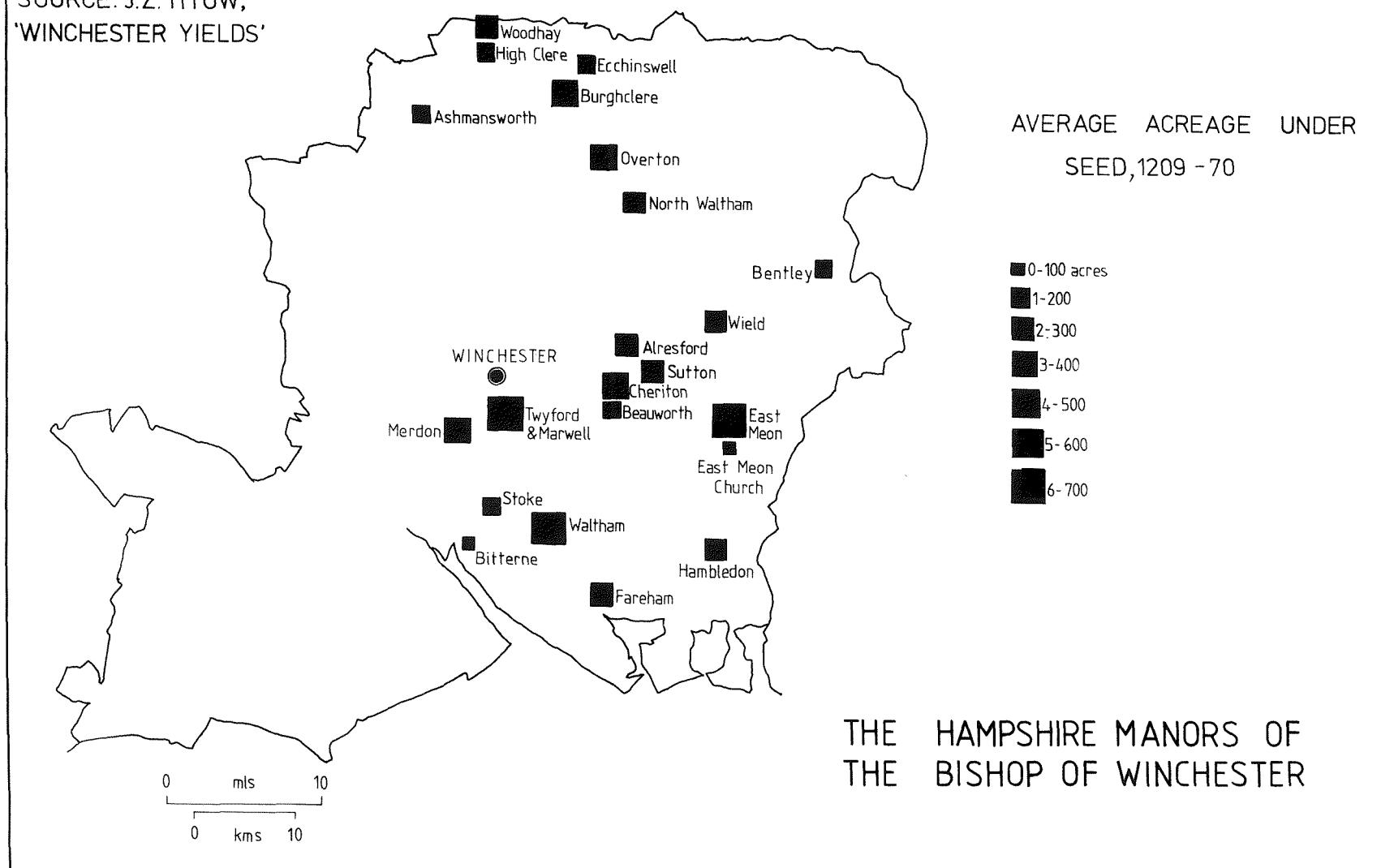


Fig. 2.4

In the woodland zone there was an average decline of nearly eighteen per cent in the amount of land under seed on the bishops' manors in the period 1271-99, compared with the period 1209-70, about the same as on the Chalk, whereas south of the Chalk there was an increase of about six per cent, although this figure may be slightly high.<sup>56</sup> (See fig.2.5 for tabulation of this data.) When the figures for the periods 1271-99 and 1300-24 are compared, the woodland acreage is seen to continue to decline, by some ten per cent, and on all these manors, along with the two most northerly chalkland ones, Overton and North Waltham, there is an unexpected fall in yields between the two periods, which suggested to Titow the onset of soil exhaustion.<sup>57</sup> On the Chalk the area under seed also continued to decline, but by rather less, some six per cent. The largest fall was recorded amongst the manors south of the Chalk, where some fifteen per cent of the land ceased to be regularly cultivated, between 1300-24 and 1325-49 this trend accelerating with a further thirty-three per cent being lost. At the same time another ten per cent was lost on the chalkland manors, and an average of sixteen per cent on the woodland ones.

Overall, the amount of land which had ceased to be given over to arable cultivation by the mid fourteenth century amounted to about thirty-seven per cent of that in use a century or so before, with the largest decline being seen on the area south of the Chalk, where a forty-one per cent loss is indicated.

Titow also extracted from the bishops' accounts the number of animals present on the manors at any one time, dividing these into two groups: sheep, and horses plus cattle. The 'animal ratio' was the number of animals present per 100 acres of arable land, each cow or horse scoring 1, and each sheep 0.25, these totals being added together to produce a single figure. His conclusion for the Winchester estates as a whole was that the number of animals present reached a peak c.1260, and that after this the total number of animals present generally fell. At the same time the amount of arable land in use declined faster than did the number of animals on the manors.<sup>58</sup>

GROUP 1, WOODLAND MANORS	AVERAGE ACREAGE UNDER SEED								Inter-Period Changes in Animal Ratio		
	P.I.	% Change	P.II.	% Change	P.III.	% Change	P.IV.	I-IV % Loss	I-II	II-III	III-IV
Woodhay	238	-30.3	166	-	166	-20.5	132		- 6	-	-12
Highclere	157	-25.9	117	-22.2	91	-19.8	73		+50	+14	+21
Ecchinswell	166	+ 2.4	170	-17.1	141	-12.1	124		- 6	+20	+14
Burghclere	376	-17.3	311	- 2.8	303	-12.2	266		-10	+ 6	+12
Total/Average	937	-17.7	764	-10.5	701	-16.6	595	36.5	+ 7	+10	+ 8.7
GROUP 2, CHALKLAND MANORS											
Ashmansworth	185	-33.0	124	-18.6	101	-22.8	78		+25	+25	-45
Overton	307	- 3.6	296	-29.4	209	+ 2.9	215		- 9	+35	+ 4
N. Waltham	221	-18.6	180	- 8.3	165	-19.4	133		-16	+ 5	-25
Wield	206	-43.7	116	+ 8.6	126	- 7.9	116		+ 9	+34	-29
Alresford	247	-33.2	165	+11.5	184	-	184		- 5	+38	+35
Bentley	187	- 5.4	177	-10.1	159	+ 3.8	165		- 6	-	- 3
Sutton	262	-24.1	199	- 3.5	192	-13.0	167		- 4	+43	-24
Cheriton	381	-26.8	279	+ 1.4	283	-19.1	229		+ 4	+27	+15
Beauworth	140	-28.6	100	+ 9.0	109	-10.1	98		+ 1	+ 4	-18
E. Meon	619	- 7.0	576	-15.3	488	- 3.1	473		+ 6	+25	-13
E. Meon Church	92	-13.1	80	- 3.8	77	-16.9	64			+17	+12
Twyford	633	- 2.8	615	-13.7	531	-26.7	389		- 6	+25	+14
Total/Average	3480	-19.5	2907	- 6.0	2624	-10.6	2311	33.6	- 0.1	+23.5	- 6.4
GROUP 3, COASTAL PLAIN MANORS											
Mardon	396	+41.7	561	-19.3	453	-26.7	332		-24	+27	- 8
Stoke	148	+14.9	170	-12.4	149	-41.6	87		-18	+ 7	+16
Bitterne	94	- 1.1	93	-15.1	79	-34.2	52		-27	+19	- 4
Waltham	532	-20.7	422	-17.8	347	-45.5	189		+ 4	+ 9	+30
Fareham	286	-	286	-22.7	221	-34.8	144		-20	+ 5	+37
Hambledon	254	+ 0.4	255	- 4.3	244	-17.6	201		- 1	+16	+11
Total/Average	1710	+ 5.8	1787	-15.2	1493	-33.4	1005	41.3	-14.3	+13.8	+13.6

PERIOD I: 1209-70; PERIOD II: 1271-99; PERIOD III: 1300-24; PERIOD IV: 1325-49

Fig. 2.5 Changes in the Area Under Seed, and the Number of Animals kept, on the Hampshire Manors of the Bishop of Winchester. Based on Figures given in J.Z.Titow Winchester Yields, Appendix L.

For the Hampshire manors, the general growth in the animal ratio is clear, although whilst there was a steady increase throughout the periods defined above on the woodland manors and on those south of the Chalk, on the Chalk itself the growth occurred in the one phase, between the periods 1271-99 and 1300-24, largely due to an increase in the number of sheep being run.<sup>59</sup> Whether this policy of boosting the animal ratio was deliberate or not its effect on soil fertility was probably slight; on the chalklands, for instance, the big increase in the animal ratio meant, in real terms, an increase of one cow or horse being kept for each four acres of arable, or one sheep per acre.

Therefore, using the figures extracted by Titow, it is possible from the sample of the twenty-one main manors of the bishops of Winchester in Hampshire, to suggest the broad pattern of rural agrarian development during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Hampshire. It seems there was a period of expansion, which started at an unknown date, but which lasted until the mid thirteenth century, after which there was a contraction in both the area under arable cultivation and the yields obtained per acre. To some extent this reduction was counterbalanced by a better stockkeeping ratio, and by more emphasis in particular on sheepfarming.<sup>60</sup> These changes occurred at slightly different times in each of the three zones into which the Hampshire manors of the bishops can be divided.

#### The Progress of the Assarting Movement

It is much more difficult to suggest a similar chronology for the progress of the assarting movement in the county. In a review, H.E. Hallam stated that a  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acre assart by Beaulieu abbey at Soberton was "typical of the late assarting of Hampshire,"<sup>61</sup> although he did not state what led him to believe in this generalization. Certainly there are cases in the county where 'late', that is thirteenth and fourteenth century assarting is known. Of the Winchester manors, Titow noted that Waltham, Twyford and the manors of the Clere group, that is Burghclere, High Clere, Ecchinswell, Ashmansworth and Woodhay, were

"colonizing extensively" in the thirteenth century.<sup>62</sup> It will be noted below how in Pamber forest, to the east of these manors, assarting continued into the fourteenth century.

A mid-fourteenth century custumal and rental of the manor of Crondall, held by St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester, provides useful details about the scale and total extent of tenant encroachment by this time.<sup>63</sup> The manor covered some 29,000 acres of the north-east corner of the county, much of the land being extremely marginal heathland. What it is not possible to establish is the chronology of the clearance movement. To some extent, though, a relative chronology can be established, as in certain cases an encroachment was noted as 'new', and some of the customary tenants held encroachments for which they paid only a rent, no service being attached, as was normally the case. This also suggests the relatively late appearance of the particular encroachments.

Amongst the constituent manors Aldershot had a total of 245 acres of encroachments noted,<sup>64</sup> Crookham 214, and Yately some  $55\frac{1}{2}$ , the average size of the clearances being 5,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  and just under 2 acres respectively. In four instances encroachments were 'new', the amounts concerned being 5,  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , 3 and 1 acre, the total for all Crondall's constituent manors totalling 23 acres. Demesne land does not appear in the document, so it is difficult to give overall figures, but on some of the manors, like Crookham, the land listed as having been encroached almost equalled in amount that listed as cotland, or by virgate, for which customary service was done. The overall impression given by the rental is that when it was composed in the mid fourteenth century<sup>65</sup> the assarting movement was still continuing, a movement which had previously been a vigorous vehicle of change within the landscape.

Obviously, what is needed to enable solid conclusions to be drawn, is a series of figures which will allow quantification, preferably these covering both a large and constant geographical area, and a sufficient length of time to allow trends to be identified. One of the few attempts to study the assarting

movement in England on a scale outside the parochial, or within the context of a large estate,<sup>67</sup> has been by Raftis, whose study of assarting in the royal forests of Northamptonshire in the early thirteenth century was made possible by the survival of several key lists of 'old assarts'.<sup>68</sup>

The forests of Hampshire do not form such a neat whole as do those of Northamptonshire for the historian, and, whilst the broad pattern of their development and geographical extent is known, little detailed work has yet been done on them, with the exception of the New Forest.<sup>69</sup> As in other counties, the amount of land considered to be under forest law varied from one perambulation to the next, and this, of course, often bore little relation to the 'economic forest';<sup>70</sup> the area traditionally considered to be forest and exploited as such, and which appears in Chancery and Exchequer documents throughout most of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, irrespective of the legal boundaries at any one time, as the Crown sought to protect its interests and prerogatives there.<sup>71</sup> Neither the legal nor the economic forest necessarily had any correspondence with the surviving woodland or waste, and it has yet to be satisfactorily demonstrated if forest law did in practice slow down the clearance of land.<sup>72</sup>

Nevertheless, even with these reservations, and those which have been expressed at various times about the exact line of the boundaries they show, it is instructive to compare the two maps which have been published showing the extent of the royal forest in the mid thirteenth century,<sup>73</sup> and in the period 1327-36.<sup>74</sup> Hampshire was always one of the counties most affected by forest law, and in the later of the two periods about half of the county was still theoretically subject to the extra restrictions it imposed.<sup>75</sup> The New Forest, between Southampton Water and the Avon, covered the largest area of the Hampshire forests, but far more settlements were generally affected by being within the forests of Bere-by-Portchester in the south-east, Bere-by-Winchester, Buckholt and Chute in the west of the county, Pamber and Bagshot in the north, and Woolmer and Alice Holt to the east. It may well be this factor, the late

survival of forest law over much of Hampshire, which has given the impression that it was a county where much late assarting took place. The point has already been made, though, that in many places the operation of the forest system may have had little or no effect on the scale of the assarting movement, and it will take a very detailed, objective, study of all of the county's forests before this problem is resolved.

Stagg has recently edited the surviving New Forest documents,<sup>76</sup> and these show that in this part of the county clearances were actively being taken up until the 1330's when the forest eyres were discontinued. Again, though, because there is so little sequential material surviving from the administration of the forest it is difficult to estimate if as much assarting was taking place in the early fourteenth century as there had been a hundred years previously. The marginal quality of the land being brought into use is well demonstrated by the eyre rolls; in the Return of the Total Profit of Assarts, Crops and Purprestures for 1217-44 there were thirty-four cases where a fine for a crop was paid, and seventeen where it was not as the land was fallow.<sup>77</sup> The 132 acres involved were made up of at least fifty-six different blocks of land, the most common size of assart being under two acres. A very similar impression of the size of these extensions to the cultivated area comes from the Forest Pleas of 1257. These also note the type of crop grown in that year; of the twenty-seven purprestures, twenty-two were sown with oats, four with winter wheat and one with rye, emphasizing the marginal quality of the land.<sup>78</sup>

It was the uncleared and underpopulated aspect of so much of the New Forest that made it such a suitable site for the foundation of a Cistercian house, to be known as Beaulieu, in 1204. Expansion continued around the abbey in the thirteenth and into the early decades of the fourteenth century with, for instance, a grange being founded to exploit recent assarts at Holbury probably in the early thirteenth century. Further extensions to this, and the nearby Otterwood grange led, in 1324, to the organized destruction of assart boundaries by

local commoners, whose rights of common were being suppressed over the 223½ acres involved.<sup>79</sup>

Such instances serve only to show that there were cases, and areas, where clearance, or reclamation, continued after the agriculturally disastrous years of 1315-22,<sup>80</sup> apparently often on some of the potentially least rewarding land in the county. They do not, though, as has been emphasized, allow quantitative assessments and comparisons to be made. Evidence from other areas where the process is better documented would suggest that the first stage of expansion, in response to population growth, would be the enlargement of the field areas around the existing settlement nuclei. Only when further expansion had been prevented by the arrival at the physical or legal boundaries of a settlement, or by distance from the vill to the outer fields meaning a prohibitively lengthy journey between the two,<sup>81</sup> would 'daughter settlements', often on the more marginal land towards the edge of the parish or township, be established. In areas of preferred settlement, with closely spaced nuclei, piecemeal assarting would use all the available land up far more quickly than would be the case in areas of less preferred settlement with more widely spaced settlements. Also, there would be less opportunity for discrete freehold estates to be established, these in the main being found in districts with substantial tracts of marginal, largely uncleared land.

Certainly preliminary work indicates that regional differentiation occurs in Hampshire in the types of nucleated settlement, and future work may allow the various different plan-types to be related to tenurial, geographical or chronological factors.<sup>82</sup> In Domesday 458 settlements were noted for Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, of which at least 101 lay on the latter.<sup>83</sup> The Conqueror's survey, as ever, poses problems; were Brown and Chilton Candover both in existence by 1086, only the suffix Candevre appearing in the survey.<sup>84</sup> The six entries for Ordie are now represented by the four 'Worthy' villages. In this context the work by Taylor and Foard in Northamptonshire may prove to be significant, with its suggestion that 'balling' of

a previously more dispersed settlement pattern may only have occurred in the later Saxon period.<sup>85</sup> Whilst it is today accepted that one of the most distinguishing characteristics of medieval nucleated settlements was fluidity of not only house orientation and plan, but also site,<sup>86</sup> it may be that in parts of the country even basic settlement units had yet to become established by 1086.<sup>87</sup>

Using the tithe maps of the 1830's and 40's as a standard source a sample of villages from each of several regions was examined.<sup>88</sup> In the north-west of the county a number of long, narrow parishes running between Thruxtion and Wherwell, visually form a discrete group. These belong to a type of parish which has long been recognized elsewhere, the classic examples being those of the Iwerne valley in Dorset,<sup>89</sup> with the villages' land running up onto downland and woodland from its arable fields attached to a valley-bottom settlement. Each of the settlements examined in the group was very nucleated, and outlying hamlets or farms were unusual, the crofts lying in a line along the road, itself parallel with the watercourse. Whilst each had the basic elements of dwellings front-on to the street, with the crofts running back from these, there was little evidence of a planned origin for the layouts, little regularity of dimension appearing between the different properties. The one possible exception was Upper Clatford where there were long, thin crofts running back on either side of the road, forming a two-row village. In other villages crofts were squat, almost square in some cases, especially in Abbotts Ann.

Elsewhere in the county, there are cases where medieval planning or re-organization can be argued. At Abbotstone, a deserted medieval village, a regular two-row village, with up to six long, narrow crofts on one side of the street, can be recognised on an aerial photograph.<sup>90</sup> Linear arrangements of properties can again be seen at Idsworth<sup>91</sup> and Hartley Mauditt<sup>92</sup> from the archaeological evidence, and the map evidence indicates a possibly similar situation in the parish of Hartley Wespall.<sup>93</sup>

As will be discussed in detail below, associated with the areas of medieval woodland clearance in the Loddon area is a pattern

of classic dispersed settlement, villages being made up of several often widely spaced clusters of houses. Some of these are classic 'End' villages, which in some cases may have been polyfocal in origin.<sup>94</sup> 'Green' names are fairly common, and some greens still survive in the area today. Similar settlement patterns are associated with the other regions of medieval wood and forest, particularly to the west of this in the area of the Clere group of manors, although the early nineteenth century map evidence<sup>95</sup> suggests that it was only in the Loddon area and around the Cleres that the distinctive greens and 'End' villages appeared in any number.

In general, however, the post-medieval map evidence suggests that the most common village form in Hampshire was a loose agglomeration of squat, often irregularly sized crofts, adjacent to the established major village elements, such as church, manor and road junction. Rarely did settlement extend up onto the downland, possibly in contrast to the situation in the mid Saxon period, where the indications are that some quite large villages were deliberately sited on exposed hilltop positions.<sup>96</sup> Chalton is the classic type-site,<sup>97</sup> and it has yet to be satisfactorily explained why there was apparently such a change in the settlement pattern in the late Saxon period. Cunliffe's original model, which had the hilltop site being deserted in favour of two, or possibly three, valley-bottom settlements in the tenth or eleventh century<sup>98</sup> has been substantially demolished by the discovery of eighth to ninth century pottery and unstratified sherds of vegetable-tempered ware, and associated archaeological features in the modern valley-bottom Chalton village.<sup>99</sup> It may be that here too there was a 'balling' of a previously more dispersed grouping of settlements, although far more work will be needed in the area before it can be seen which, if either, of these two models, which are diametrically opposite in their basic features, is correct.

It is clear, therefore, from this preliminary survey, that the development of the pattern of rural settlement was no less complex in Hampshire than in other counties, and that there is

probably considerable regional variation present. Intimately linked with the study of the county's rural settlement will have to be that of the associated field systems, which have been similarly neglected in the past. At the moment it cannot even be said what forms of systems were present in the medieval period, let alone how, and when, these developed. Very few local studies have been published,<sup>100</sup> and the surviving landscape evidence is distinguished only by its paucity; to date only half-a-dozen possible survivals of ridge and furrow are known from the whole county,<sup>101</sup> and there is no guarantee of a medieval date for these.<sup>102</sup> This means there is not the opportunity to undertake work of the type done by Hall in the Northamptonshire region, where he has recreated the medieval field systems of many parishes from the 'fossilized' ridge and furrow. When the study is written, the evidence will have to come almost entirely from a systematic survey of the available documentary evidence. All that can be said of the work since 1915 is that it has yet to modify substantially Gray's map showing the boundaries of the two and three field systems, which placed all of Hampshire therein, with the exception of the north-east corner of the county.<sup>103</sup>

To conclude, there is clear evidence that there are two dates about which the chronology of economic expansion within Medieval Hampshire hinges. The growth of the market economy, based on surplus arable production, had begun well before the advent of large-scale record keeping in the early twelfth century, and may even have originated before Domesday. By the 1230's one peak had been reached, the maximum amount of land at any time in the medieval period being under plough on the bishop of Winchester's estates, at the same time as the era of new town foundation was nearing its end. The growth in the number of local market centres continued until the 1270's, by which time the county was effectively covered by a local market network. Already by then the amount of land under arable cultivation had begun to contract on the bishop of Winchester's estates, probably as the worst of the land from which a crop had been dragged forty years previously was

allowed to return to fallow. By the early fourteenth century the contraction was well under way, and by the time the Black Death arrived in Hampshire perhaps less than two-thirds of the land that had produced an arable crop just over a century before was still being ploughed.

Whilst some loss of production was compensated for by an increase in the number of animals being kept, the amount of grain produced for, and available on, the open market must have been declining if the trends visible on the bishop's estates reflect what was happening elsewhere. And if the population level in Hampshire mirrored what was happening elsewhere in the country there would have been perhaps half-a-century, to c. 1320, when production of food was falling, but demand, in line with population, was rising. It may well have been for this reason that there continued to be a demand for extremely marginal land, like that of the New Forest, in areas of the county that had previously been largely unexploited.

### Notes and References

1. Above, chapter 1.
2. J.Z.Titow, Winchester Yields: A Study in Medieval Agricultural Productivity (1972).
3. The estates of Titchfield abbey present a good smaller example. Inf. from D.A.Hinton.
4. Above, chapter 1.
5. Some evidence for the Saxon period is beginning to come from excavations in 'Saxon Southampton' (Hamwic/Hamtun). See esp. J.Bourdillon and J.Coy, 'The Animal Bones', pp. 79-121 in P.Holdsworth, Excavations at Melbourne Street, Southampton, 1971-76 (1980).
6. For the evidence of urban life in the county in 1086 see R.W.Finn, 'Hampshire', pp.287-363 in H.C.Darby and E.M.J.Campbell (eds.), The Domesday Geography of South-East England (1962), esp. pp.351-5.
7. V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.436.
8. Ibid., p.92.
9. Cal.Chart.R. 1257-1300, pp.102,104.
10. M.F.Hughes, The Small Towns of Hampshire (1976).
11. M.W.Beresford, 'The Six New Towns of the Bishops of Winchester, 1200-55', Med.Archaeol 3 (1959), pp.187-215.
12. R.B.Patterson, Earldom of Gloucester Charters (1973), pp.748-9.
13. Hughes, op.cit., p.112.
14. M.F.Hughes, 'Settlement and Landscape in Medieval Hampshire', pp.66-77 in S.J.Shennan and R.T.Shadla-Hall (eds.), The Archaeology of Hampshire (1981), p.68.
15. Beresford, op.cit., pp.190-3.
16. Beresford, (ibid.) also mentions the Alresford-Alton road. However, it was not a new road, as he implies, but an improvement to an existing one that the enrollment he

cites (Cal.Chart.R. 1257-1300, pp.122-3) was concerned with. Furthermore, it was not primarily to better communications between the two places per se that the improvements were proposed, but to make this notoriously dangerous stretch of road less easy for robbers to operate along.

17. Ibid., pp.196-7.
18. Hughes, Small Towns of Hampshire, p.63.
19. M.W.Beresford and H.P.R.Finberg, English Medieval Boroughs: A Handlist, P.118.
20. It is where the main roads from London and Winchester to Salisbury join and cross the Test valley streams. The crossing figures, for instance, in 1141, when it was the site of Robert of Gloucester's capture of William of Ypres: W. Stubbs (ed.), The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury i, p.121.
21. V.C.H.Hants., iv, p.483.
22. Hughes, Small Towns of Hampshire, p.146.
23. Ibid., p.136.
24. M.W.Beresford, New Towns of the Middle Ages: Town Plantation in England, Wales and Gascony (1967), chapter 2, 'The Chronology of Town Plantation in England'.
25. See Fig.2.3 for details of these grants.
26. In recent years several writers on urban development have defined criteria which they deem necessary for a settlement to be considered as 'urban'. In C.Heighway (ed.) The Erosion of History: Archaeology and Planning in Towns (1972), twelve characteristics were defined, any one of which ranked a place as urban. M.Biddle, in his chapter on 'Towns', pp.99-150 in D.M.Wilson (ed.) The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England (1976) proposed that really three or four of these, a Kriterienbündel, should first be present before this distinction is made. Hughes, in Small Towns of Hampshire, made a similar distinction.
27. For the cost of grant see H.C.Maxwell-Lyte, Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal of England (1926), pp.334-46.

28. B.E.Coates, 'The Origin and Distribution of Markets and Fairs in Medieval Derbyshire', Derbyshire Archaeol. J. 85 (1965), pp.92-11; D.M.Palliser and A.C.Pinnock, 'The Markets of Medieval Staffordshire', North Staffs. J. Field Studies 11 (1971), pp.49-59; M.Reed, 'Markets and Fairs in Medieval Buckinghamshire', Records of Bucks. 20 (1975-8), pp.563-85.

29. Coates, op.cit., p.96; R.H.Britnell, 'The Proliferation of Markets in England, 1200-1349', Ec.Hist.Rev. 34 (1981), pp.209-21.

30. What this presupposes is that very local, informal, exchange mechanisms did not make a major contribution to the redistribution and sale of produce.

31. Henry de Bracton, De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae (ed.), Sir Travers Twiss (1880); Reed, op.cit.

32. E.Parsons, Notes on the History of Andover (1925), pp.5-6, quoting the Andover Guild Roll for 1332.

33. Bracton, op.cit.

34. F.J.Baigent and J.E.Millard, A History of Basingstoke (1889) p.361.

35. Ibid., p.65.

36. V.C.H.Hants. iii, p.278.

37. The method is clearly discussed in P.Haggett, Locational Analysis in Human Geography (1965), pp.247-8.

38. Central Place Theory was first outlined in 1933 by W.Christaller, whose work was published in English in 1966 as Central Places in Southern Germany.

39. The "extra extraction" of Winchester is briefly discussed in M.Biddle (ed.), Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: An Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday (1976), p.482.

40. Hughes, Small Towns of Hampshire.

41. The conclusion reached, for instance, in E.Miller and J.Hatcher, Medieval England-Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348 (1978). See esp. pp.52-63, 'The Limits of Expansion'.

42. P.R.O. E179 173/4; below, appendix III.

43. C.P.S. Platt, Medieval Southampton: The Port and Trading Community, A.D. 1000-1600 (1973), p.262.

44. M.Biddle (ed.), Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: An Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday (1976), p.440.

45. Beresford, 'The Six New Towns of the Bishops of Winchester', pp.192,198.

46. Titow, op.cit., p.5 makes the point that it is difficult to talk in precise terms about the number of manors belonging to the bishopric, as some were at first accounted for as a single unit, but then later divided into their constituent parts. Also, not all manors held by the bishopric in 1349 had been in its hands throughout the medieval period. Of the 39 major manorial units considered by Titow, 22 were in Hampshire. See fig.3.4.

47. The study of which was Titow's main concern.

48. The most pertinent survey to date is M.L.Parry, Climatic Change, Agriculture and Settlement (1978). See also P.A.Stamper, 'Barton Blount: Climatic or Economic Change: An Addendum' M.S.R.G. Annual Rep. 7 (1980), pp.43-6.

49. W.H.Long, 'The Low Yields of Corn in Medieval England', Ec.His.Rev. 32 (1979), pp.459-69, esp. p.460.

50. This is the argument proposed by Long, ibid., to account for falling arable yields.

51. Postan's views are expressed, for instance, in The Cambridge Economic History of Europe vol.1 (1966), esp. pp. 556-9, and M.M.Postan, The Medieval Economy and Society (1972). See also the review article by H.E.Hallam, 'The Postan Thesis', Historical Studies 15,no.58 (1972),pp.203-22.

52. P.D.A.Harvey, 'The English Inflation of 1180-1220' Past and Present 61 (1973), pp.3-30.

53. For a map of these manors see Titow, op.cit., p.38.

54. Ibid., p.10 note 1.

55. The period divisions were constructed by Titow in order to have a roughly equal number of account rolls for each period on which to base calculations.

56. Based on figures given in Titow, op.cit., appendix L, pp.136-9.

57. Ibid., p.137 note e.

58. Ibid., pp.1-33.

59. Ibid., p.30.

60. Based on figures in ibid., appendix L, pp.136-9. Miller and Hatcher, op.cit., pp.225-6 discuss the production of wool on various large estates and how other estates were increasing the number of sheep kept at this time.

61. Review of S.F.Hockey (ed.), The Beaulieu Chartulary, Ag.Hist.Rev. 25 (1977), p.57.

62. Titow, op.cit., p.32.

63. F.J.Baigent (ed.), Returns, Services, and Customs of the Manor of Crondall in the Custumal and Rental of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester (1891), pp.83-141.

64. 'Encroachment' is Baigent's translation of purprestura. I have retained it in the discussion in order to reduce the ambiguity surrounding the terms assartum and purprestura, the latter sometimes being reserved for those clearances on which buildings had been, or were to be, erected (e.g. H.S.Bennet, Life on the English Manor (1937), p.53). In the Crondall records it is used for all types of encroachment, irrespective of use.

65. Figure calculated from amount of rent paid.

66. Internal evidence suggests a date after 1325: Baigent, op.cit., p.84.

67. See Miller and Hatcher, op.cit., pp.33-41,53-7 and 91-7 for an extensive consideration of the literature on assarting.

68. J.A.Raftis, Assart Data and Land Values (1974), pp.100-101.

69. Finn, op.cit., D.J.Stagg, New Forest Documents 1244-1334 (1979).

70. C.R. Young, The Royal Forests of Medieval England (1979) redresses the emphasis put by earlier historians on the legal aspects of the forest and its law, and concentrates on the role of the forest as a source of income to the Crown, and on the many broadly agricultural activities it supported.

71. Below, chapter 6, for a discussion of this in relation to Pamber forest.

72. Young, op.cit., p.122, discusses the procedure for licensing an assart. However, Raftis, op.cit., pp.101-102 shows how little assarting may actually have been undertaken by the formal process.

73. M.L. Bazeley, 'The Extent of the English Forest in the Thirteenth Century', T.R.H.S. 4th ser. 4 (1921), pp.140-59.

74. N. Neilson, 'The Forests', pp.395-467 and figs. in J.F. Willard and W.A. Morris (eds.), The English Government at Work, 1327-1336 (1940).

75. The work by Stagg, op.cit., and below chapter 6, on Pamber, suggests that the boundaries shown are too inexact to warrant Neilson's map being once again reproduced, although there is nothing to replace it with.

76. Ibid.

77. Perhaps suggesting a three-course rotation was being practised.

78. Stagg, op.cit., pp.52-91.

79. Below, appendix III, no 18.

80. I. Kershaw, 'The Great Famine and Agrarian Crisis in England 1315-1322', Past and Present 59 (1973), pp.3-50.

81. A.R.H. Baker, 'Distance between Farmsteads and Field in some Nineteenth Century French Communes', Geography 56 (1971), pp.293-8, V. Hansen, 'The Medieval Dispersal of Rural Settlement in Denmark as a Function of Distance from Primary Nucleations', pp.53-9 in R.H. Buchanan et al (eds.), Fields, Farms and Settlement in Europe (1976).

82. B.K.Roberts, 'Rural Settlement in County Durham: Forms, Pattern and System', pp.291-322 in D.Green et al (eds.), Social Organization and Settlement (1978).

83. Finn, op.cit., p.293.

84. Ibid.

85. G.Foard, 'Systematic Fieldwalking and the Investigation of Saxon Settlement in Northamptonshire' World Archaeol. 9 (1978), pp.357-74.

86. C.C.Taylor, 'Aspects of Village Mobility in Medieval and Later Times', pp.126-34 in S.Limbrey and J.Evans (eds.), The Effect of Man on the Landscape: The Lowland Zone (1978).

87. C.J.Arnold, 'Early Medieval Settlement Patterns in England' Med.Archaeol. 25 (1981), pp.145-53.

88. Hampshire tithe maps, copies at H.R.O.

89. C.D.Drew, 'The Manors of the Iwerne Valley, Dorset: A Study of Early Country Planning', Proc.Dorset Nat.Hist.and Archaeol.Soc. 69 (1947), pp.45-50.

90. Photograph by Prof.J.K.St.Joseph, Cambridge Univ.Coll. Copy held by M.V.R.G. at Fortress House, Savile Row, London. Reference: Abbotstone, 168/S65345, oblique to S.W., CA 046.

91. Ibid., Idsworth, 181/74 21 40, oblique, AFX 36.

92. Earthwork plan held by M.V.R.G.

93. Below, chapter 7.

94. C.C.Taylor, 'Polyfocal Settlement and the English Village' Med.Archaeol. 21 (1977), pp.189-93.

95. First edition 1" Ordnance Survey maps (1810-17).

96. For instance Bishopstone (Sussex) and Catholme (Staffs.): Arnold, op.cit.

97. P.V.Addyman et al, 'Anglo-Saxon Houses at Chalton, Hampshire', Med.Archaeol. 16 (1972), pp.13-31; T.C.Champion, 'Chalton' Current Archaeol. 59 (1977), pp.364-9.

98. B.Cunliffe, 'Saxon and Medieval Settlement Patterns in the Region of Chalton, Hampshire', Med. Archaeol. 16 (1972), pp.1-12.
99. Champion, op.cit., p.369.
100. The only substantial contribution is G.I.Jones, A Contribution to the Historical Geography of North-East Hampshire c.1600-1850 (1969).
101. Inf. from M.F.Hughes and fieldwork observations.
102. It is very difficult to explain why so little survives, although post-medieval agricultural activity has certainly played its part: R.A.Canham et al, 'Archaeology and Agriculture in Wessex', pp.49-59 in J.Hinchliffe and R.T.Shadla-Hall (eds.), The Past Under the Plough (1980). Yet even so, relict survivals would be expected in woods, along and under hedgerows and the like, and on marginal land, not ploughed since the contraction of the area under the plough in the later medieval period. Its absence may be an indication that medieval farming methods in the county differed from those of the midlands, where plough-ridges were often deliberately built up.
103. H.L.Gray, The English Field Systems (1915), frontispiece.

## CHAPTER THREE

### WEALTH AND POPULATION IN MEDIEVAL HAMPSHIRE

In the previous chapter evidence concerning the economic development of the county in the medieval period was examined. This chapter will consider the spatial distribution of the wealth accruing from this economic activity, before the major changes that took place in the latter half of the fourteenth century in population size and structure and in the form of the economic and social systems. An attempt will also be made to define at least the broad pattern of population distribution within early-fourteenth century Hampshire. The main sources used are the lay subsidies of 1327 and 1334, and the Nonarum Inquisitiones of 1342.

The tax of a twentieth on movable lay wealth in 1327, prompted by the threat of Scottish invasion, was the first subsidy raised under Edward III, and was the last-but-one based on the assessment of individuals, rather than the rendering of a fixed sum by each settlement, the 'village quota', which began in 1334.<sup>1</sup>

For the student of medieval settlement the source has considerable potential value, county-wide data with financial and demographic detail, no matter how open to misinterpretation, being confined to a few lay subsidy rolls for the whole of the period between Domesday Book and the sixteenth-century hearth taxes. 'Hundred Rolls' do not survive from Hampshire, nor do the 1377 Poll Tax returns. Lay subsidies, though, are not really susceptible to anything more than crude analysis, and the limitations noted by Glasscock to the use of the 1334 subsidy are equally relevant when that of 1327 is considered, although as the taxpayers and the sums they paid are noted there is rather more scope for defining and understanding specific problems.<sup>2</sup>

As to what wealth was considered taxable, the criteria adopted in 1327 were basically those of 1290, when lists of exempt

movables were recorded, town dwellers having rather more goods liable to be assessed for taxation than did those people living in villages.<sup>3</sup> Only one taxable minimum was adopted in 1327, 10s., the same figure as had been taken in 1306, 1309, 1313 and 1316,<sup>4</sup> and the subsidy rolls, therefore, record, in theory, all those people not exempt from taxation because of their social grouping who had a saleable surplus of property worth at least this amount. Therefore, the most important consideration is, were the same standards, as far as can be seen, adopted by the local assessors across the whole of Hampshire in 1327, or is there evidence of differing local attitudes as to how the government guidelines were to be applied?<sup>5</sup>

The most positive evidence of local variability in how the tax was gathered comes in the lists of the sums paid by individuals, which should begin at 6d., a twentieth of the 10s. minimum, and move upwards, reflecting the distribution and amount of surplus wealth present. However, in not one of the 460 or so 'rural' places enrolled for Hampshire does anyone appear paying this amount.<sup>6</sup> In one place a taxpayer paid 6½d.,<sup>7</sup> and in 19 cases at least one person rendered 6½d. 183 places have 7d. as the minimum, 58 have 8d. and 56 9d. Local consistency is very apparent towards this minimum amount; in Bishops Waltham hundred 7 of the 11 constituent vills have 6½d. as the lowest figure paid, in Mainsbridge 7d. is the minimum figure paid in each of the 11 cases, in the New Forest Liberty 9d. appears in 9 of the 13 instances, and in Redbridge of the 13 vills, or groups of them, 6 have 9d. as the minimum figure paid by any individual, and the other 7 12d. This suspicious consistency at a local level also appears within village assessments themselves; for instance, all but 3 of the 19 taxpayers in Cholderton (Andover) paid 12d.

What this is evidence of, it is difficult to be sure; perhaps, most likely, it is an indication of the difficulty the assessors found in calculating a person's saleable surplus wealth, they preferring to levy, on the whole, a standard sum. It is generally considered that assessors, local men themselves, tended to err on the low side when calculating individuals' contributions, and the 1327 subsidy, unusually, attracted few accusations of corruption on the part of the collectors.<sup>8</sup> These indications of local variability do mean that detailed intra, or

inter, village studies of the distribution of wealth are unprofitable. Nevertheless, there is no reason to discard the subsidy, even with these and the other drawbacks, as a guide to differing regional distributions of wealth. Grouping the data will tend to smooth out the effects of local inconsistencies in its original collection, and the contrasts which appear when individual places are mapped between areas with large numbers of places paying small amounts, and a small number of places paying large sums, will be removed.

The difficulties of overcoming this latter obstacle are apparent when figs 3.1 and 3.2 are examined, these showing the distribution of wealth, by settlements assessed in 1327 and 1334. But although the initial impression is perhaps one of a reasonably even distribution, concentrations and gaps in the pattern are clearly visible.

Even at this point, representing probably the peak of the medieval expansion the New Forest remained, as it was in 1086, largely devoid of evidence of successful exploitation, although of course the estates of Beaulieu and Netley abbeys were not liable to this subsidy. There were though considerable concentrations of wealth around its periphery, some of the settlements down the Avon valley showing particular evidence of prosperity. There was also a line of quite successful settlements to the south of the forest, and to the west of Southampton Water. This contrasts noticeably with the situation to the east of the Water, the difference apparently being due to the development of the western side after 1086, Domesday Book showing both sides of the Water to be equally undeveloped, if the number of plough-teams enumerated is accepted as a reasonable guide.<sup>9</sup>

Much of the wealth of the county in 1327 was concentrated in and around the Test valley, particularly its upper reaches, including the areas of the Anton and Wallop tributaries, and it is here that some of the wealthiest individual settlements appear. Again, there had clearly been considerable economic expansion since Domesday. It was noted, above, how the

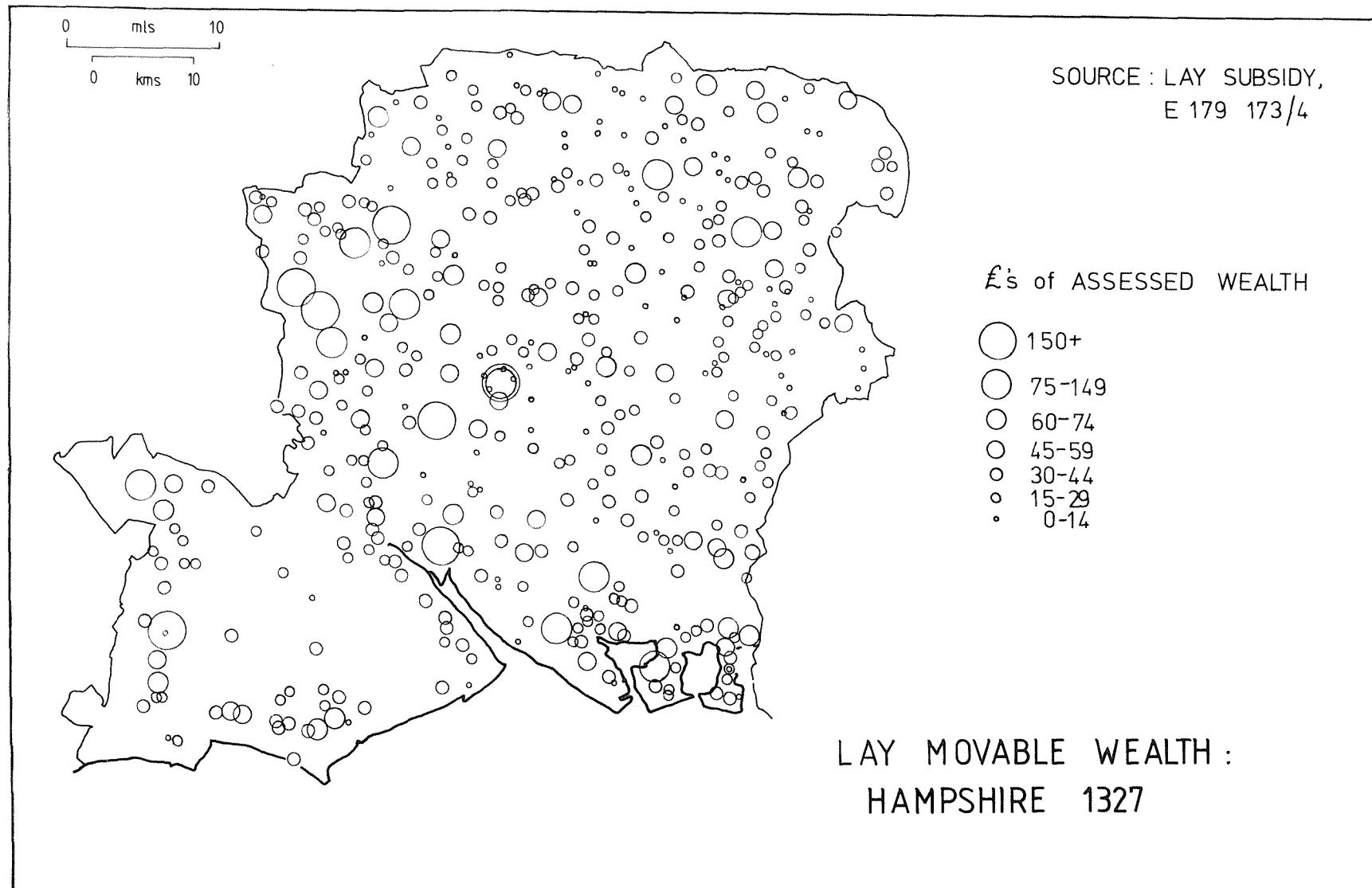


Fig. 3.1

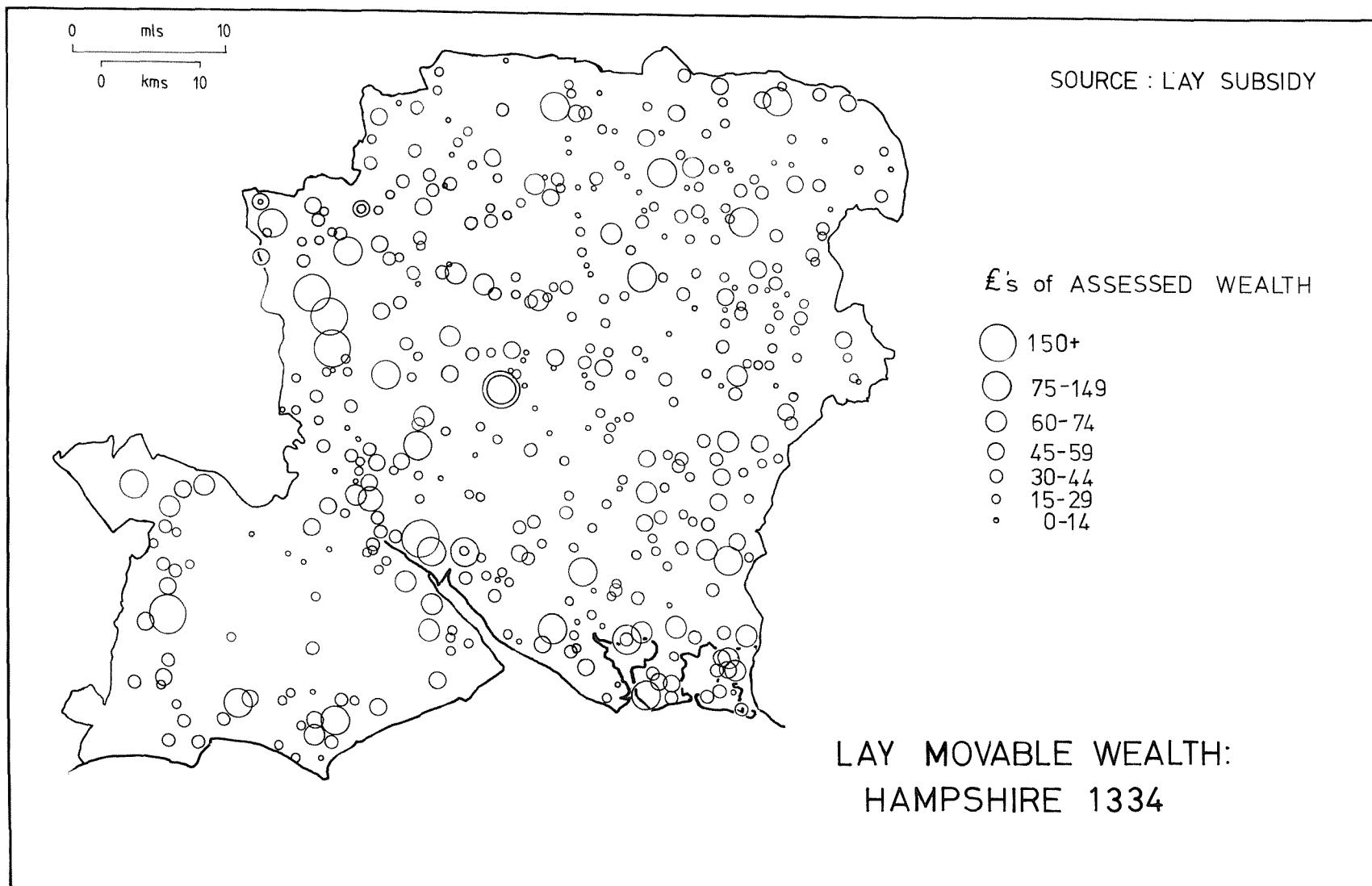


Fig. 3.2

development of urban centres suggests that the south-eastern coastal plain was a particularly prosperous area, and this suggestion is clearly confirmed by the sums paid by the settlements there, Hayling and Portsea islands having some especially wealthy vills.

Across the main part of the county, the chalklands, there was a remarkably even distribution of wealth. There is a noticeable blank on the map, however, to the east of this, in the Woolmer district, and to the north, in the Hampshire woodlands. There, such wealth as there was, appears in association with a few individual settlements. Whilst these latter areas were also relatively poor in 1086, it appears that across the Hampshire downs, on the Chalk, a change had occurred, by the early fourteenth century there being a much wider, and more even distribution of wealth than was indicated by the 1086 plough teams.

The regional differences become rather more clear when choropleth mapping is used to present the data. Usually, hundreds are used as the base-unit, but in Hampshire when this approach was tried it was found that it was unsuitable. Several hundreds had substantial detached portions, others ran across what were obviously differing physical areas. Moreover, whilst the general divisions between hundreds are known, the precise boundaries are not, introducing further potential inaccuracies into the calculations. It was decided, therefore, to divide the county into roughly regular areas, slightly smaller than those adopted by Darby, to allow the regional differences in wealth levels to be seen (fig. 3.3)

The range of values represented was from 0.16 shillings per acre for the central New Forest region, and 0.6 shillings per acre for the area to the south-east of this, around Fawley, to 10s. per acre for the Fareham region, exactly the same figure being assessed for the Portsmouth area if the town itself is included in the calculations (7.6s. per acre if it is exempted). The amount of wealth generated on the coastal plain to the south-east of the county is clear, as is the

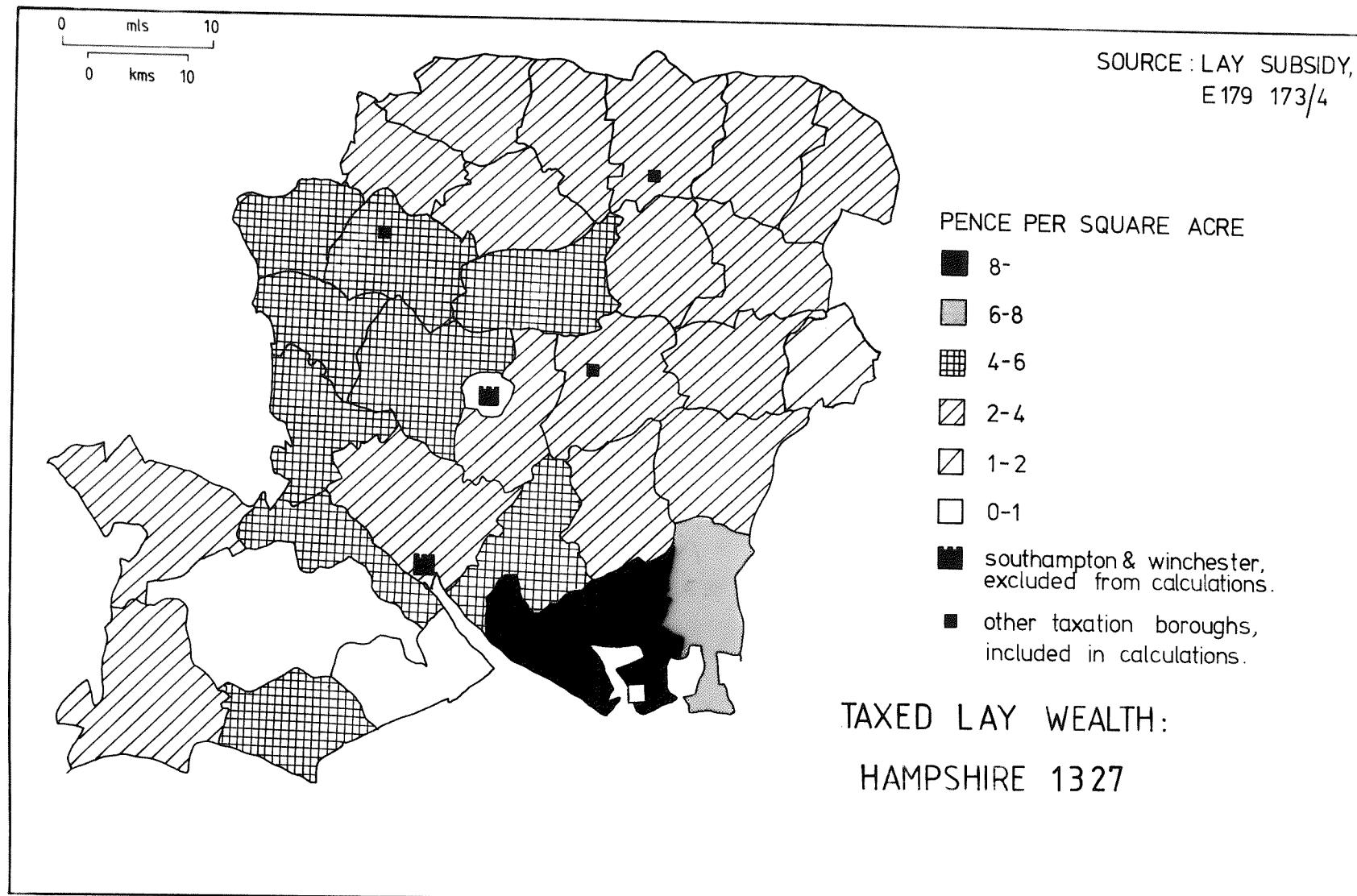


Fig. 3.3

convergence of taxable holdings along the Test and Itchen valleys. Interestingly the rest of the chalklands exhibit the same level of wealth as the woodlands to the north of the county and the Avon valley to the west of the New Forest. The poverty of the Woolmer region is emphasised.

In 1334, after the intervening subsidy of 1332, the government, as Glasscock has noted,<sup>10</sup> ceased to concern itself with the wealth of individuals and went over to a system whereby each community was responsible for raising the sum for which it was liable, this figure being reached by negotiation between the chief taxers and the leading men of the village. It was stated by the king that this figure should not be less than that paid in 1332,<sup>11</sup> and in fact an extra £3,000 was forthcoming from the country. For Hampshire the total wealth assessed was £16,900 in 1327, £15,454 in 1332 and £18,925 in 1334, most of the latter increase coming from the greater amounts rendered by 'rural' places liable to the fifteenth.<sup>12</sup>

Glasscock has mapped the distribution of taxed wealth in 1334 for the whole country,<sup>13</sup> and whilst his use of different basic spatial units to those adopted above for the 1327 tax affects the distribution slightly, broadly the same picture emerges. However, on his map the woodlands appear, along with the Woolmer region, as relatively poor, and further the wealth concentrated in the extreme south-east of the county is not represented. Instead the inclusion of the high Southampton figure of £51.2s.4d. gives the area around it a prominence which should more rightly be reserved for the town itself.

In addition to that of the lay subsidies, the evidence of the so-called Nonarum Inquisitiones was examined.<sup>14</sup> The extant returns relate to a grant made to Edward III by Parliament in 1342 of a ninth of the value of corn, wool and lambs produced in each parish, the great tithes. The ninth was taken after the church's tithe had been removed, and was hence itself of an equal amount, a tenth of the overall amount produced. The tax was raised in order to finance the war with the French although ultimately the sum actually collected was small.<sup>15</sup>

The enquiries were conducted early in 1342, and related to production in the previous year. As a guide the assessors had the Clerical Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV taken in 1291, the jurors being required to explain discrepancies between the old and the new totals. Invariably the earlier figure was the greater as it included the value of the glebe and monastic holdings, income from the small tithes, together with mortuary fees, oblations and the like. However, in some cases a fall in value was recorded because animals had died during the previous winter, or because land had gone out of cultivation because of soil exhaustion or a lack of labour with which to till it, or because a French invasion was feared.

The returns, therefore, permit major agricultural production in 1341 to be examined, albeit through the filter of the taxation system, providing a valuable check, or comparison, with the results obtained from the analysis of the lay subsidies, whose scope included far more than current agricultural income. If the amounts recorded were accurate, or at least consistent, which has yet to be ascertained, the Nonae rolls are a vital source for the study of agricultural production on the eve of the Black Death. Sadly, for Hampshire, there was not the degree of detail recorded that there was for some other counties, such as parts of Sussex, where the individual listing of the separate values of the three great tithes allows the differing emphases on pastoral and arable farming to be studied.<sup>16</sup> What is recorded for Hampshire is limited to an estimate of the total value of the tithe of corn, wool and lambs, with additional information being supplied about the small tithes, the glebe and any monastic holdings in the parish.

Fig. 3.4 gives a visual impression of the overall agricultural income recorded for Hampshire in the Inquisitiones. To arrive at a gross total figure for each parish or settlement the great tithes total was multiplied by ten (as stated above a ninth, of nine-tenths being a tenth), to which was added the sum recorded for the church in the parish, and that of any monastic holdings, again the assessment being multiplied by ten. The figure arrived at is obviously an imperfect guide to the total value of agricultural production, even if the potential vagaries

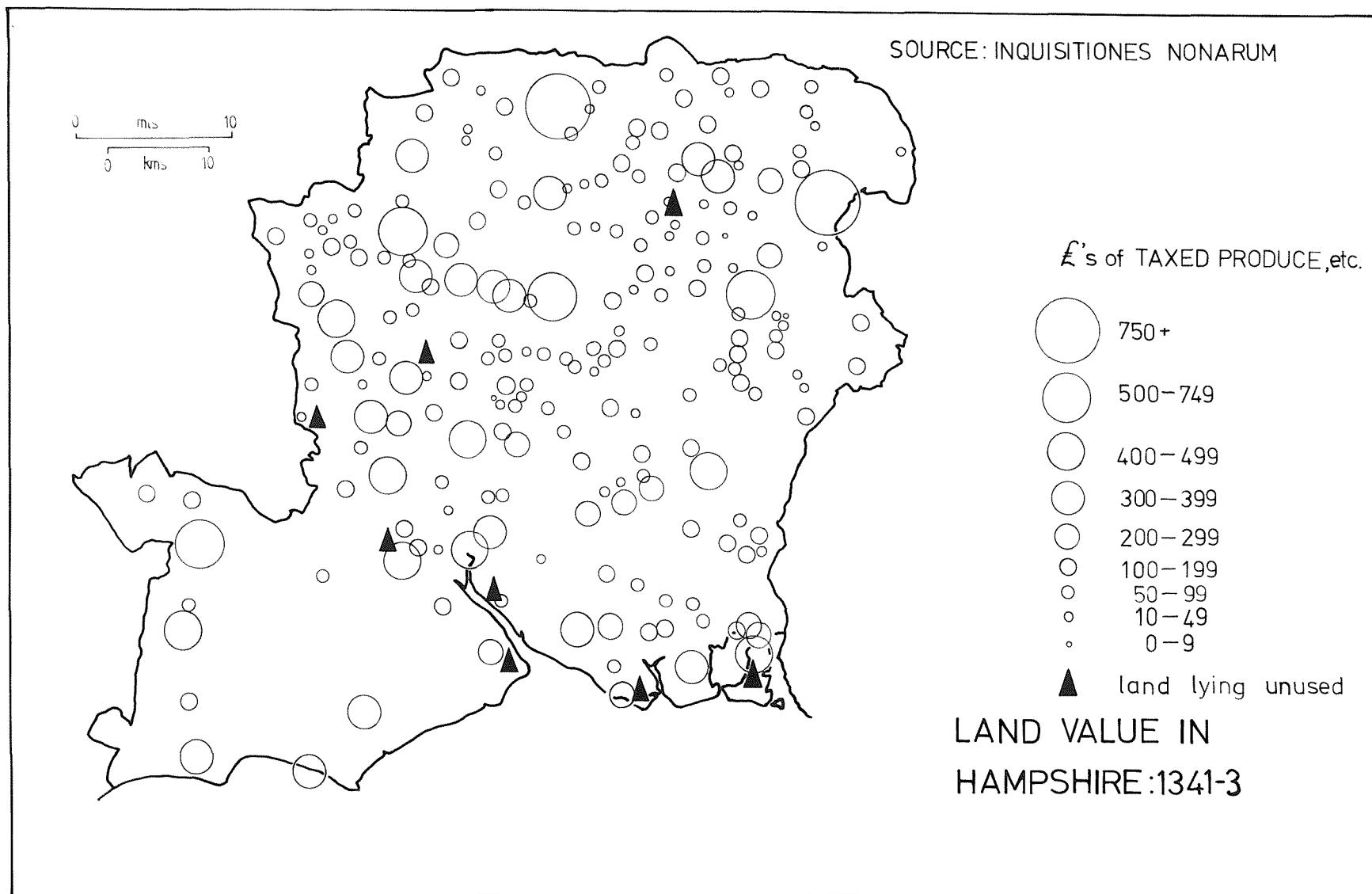


Fig. 3.4

are ignored. Some of the income, although admittedly generally a very small part of each total, was from non-agricultural activities, mortuary fees being the most obvious example. Neither has allowance been made for those cases where the advowson was held by a religious body holding land in the parish. Examples such as this, though, will not lead any given total to be inaccurate by any more than a few per cent, and fig 3.4 can be taken as an accurate representation of the information given in the Inquisitions.

As expected, the Test valley and its tributaries reveal the highest consistent values, reflecting the predominance of corn growing in these areas compared to the higher chalklands in the centre of the county. Figures extracted by R.A.Pelham from the Inquisitions for his study of the distribution of sheep in Sussex show that even in parishes where the majority of the land is thought to have been given over to downland sheep pasture, only rarely did the combined value of the lambs and wool rise above twenty per cent of that of the corn tithe.<sup>17</sup> Corn, per acre, was a far more profitable crop than wool, although this does not take into account the much higher production costs, especially the labour element. This factor was also ignored by the medieval taxation system, which was concerned with wealth or income, not profit.

In order to produce a distribution map with fewer variables and components, the figures giving the amount paid by the laity in great tithes were abstracted and a chloropleth map produced, showing the value of the produce assessed in terms of pence per square mile. This should show, more clearly than does the previous figure, the value of the major saleable agricultural produce in Hampshire in 1341.

Fig. 3.5 shows the most productive area in terms of crops assessed value to have been around Fareham, followed by that containing Havant and Hayling. In the Test valley the highest value of production was in the area which contains the Wallop parishes, this being bisected by the Wallop Brook and bounded to the east by the river Test. Otherwise there is a

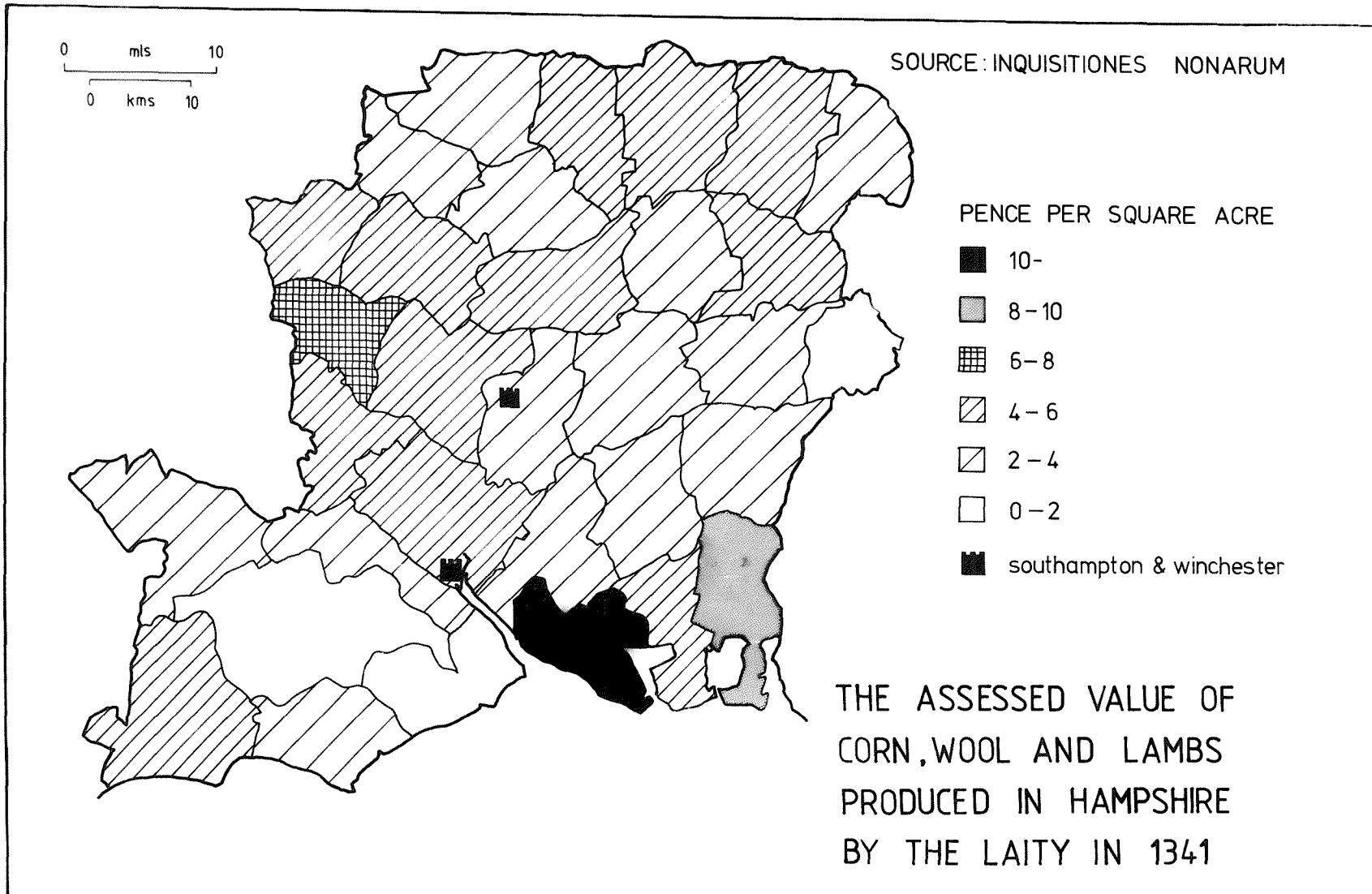


Fig. 3.5

considerable consistency shown, the figure of four to six pence per square acre for the goods produced being the average sum for most of the Test valley, the central portion of the Hampshire woodlands, and much of the northern half of the chalklands. In the Avon valley, the lower half was apparently more productive than the upper. The New Forest was by far the least valuable of the areas, followed by the adjoining area to the south-east, containing Fawley, and the Woolmer district to the east of the county.

Despite the growth in urban centres and functions discussed previously, the medieval economy in the second quarter of the fourteenth century remained centred on the production and distribution of agricultural produce, on which wealth was still largely dependent. The overall correspondence between fig. 3.3, showing taxed lay wealth in 1327, and fig. 3.5, showing the value of the assessed corn, lambs and wool in 1341 bears this out. There are discrepancies, such as the reversed relative positions of the lower Avon valley and the area to its east, and the low 1342 figure for the region to the north of the wealthy Fareham one, but the overall concordance is high. This suggests that the common results can be accepted with some confidence in future discussion.

In seeking to define the reasons why some areas were more productive and more wealthy than others, the actual quality of the land may obviously be of prime importance. Although of limited potential, as Hawke-Smith has shown in his study of the Dove-Derwent Interfluve,<sup>18</sup> the Land Classification Map is the major source of information about agricultural potential. Not the least of the problems in using the map is its inherent assumption that modern agricultural methods and capital are available. Whilst under-investment may not have been as acute as Postan would have it,<sup>19</sup> it is apparent that, even on such major holdings as those of the bishop of Winchester, levels of stocking and equipment were rarely at the optimum. Similarly, whilst the realization that many sets of lynchets on slopes of between 6 and 27 degrees on land between 91 and 182m (300 and 600 feet) above sea level<sup>20</sup> are

of a medieval, rather than an earlier date, suggests a more dynamic (or desperate) regime than has been argued in the past, there is still no doubt that, for instance, waterlogged clayland soils presented serious obstacles to the cultivator.<sup>21</sup>

In general, the grading (fig. 3.6)<sup>22</sup> reflects the underlying geology (fig. 1.1). Across the centre of the county extends a wide band of grade three land overlying the Chalk, this being defined as land with moderate limitations to its use. Bounding this to the east and north are the heathlands of the Woolmer and Crondall areas, and the low land south of the Blackwater and Enborne rivers, classed as either grade four land, with severe limitations, or as being in non-agricultural use. To the west of Southampton Water is the large expanse of grade five land, with very severe limitations to its use, overlying the Bagshot Beds which give the New Forest its character. To the west and south of this are large areas of grade two land, with only minor limitations to its use, areas also appearing to the south of the Chalk in the east of the county. In the latter region is also found most of the county's grade one land, which is classified as having very minor or no physical limitations to agricultural use, with the soil producing high yields.

When this figure is compared to those, above, showing the distribution of medieval wealth and agricultural production a direct relationship is apparent at a general level. However, even without further analysis, it is clear there are variables at work other than purely the physical potential of the land. The chalklands appear, for instance, as almost entirely grade three land, yet figs. 3.3 and 3.5 both show a dichotomy between the western, more wealthy half, and the eastern. This difference can be attributed, directly or indirectly, to the presence of the Test and Itchen rivers and their tributaries. The alluvium in the valley bottoms is rated as grade four land on the Agricultural Land Classification Map, presumably because of its wetness, although the light, easily worked soils of the valley bottoms were the focus of much early settlement, and continued to be a favoured site for nucleated settlements throughout the medieval period. Although rivers could be

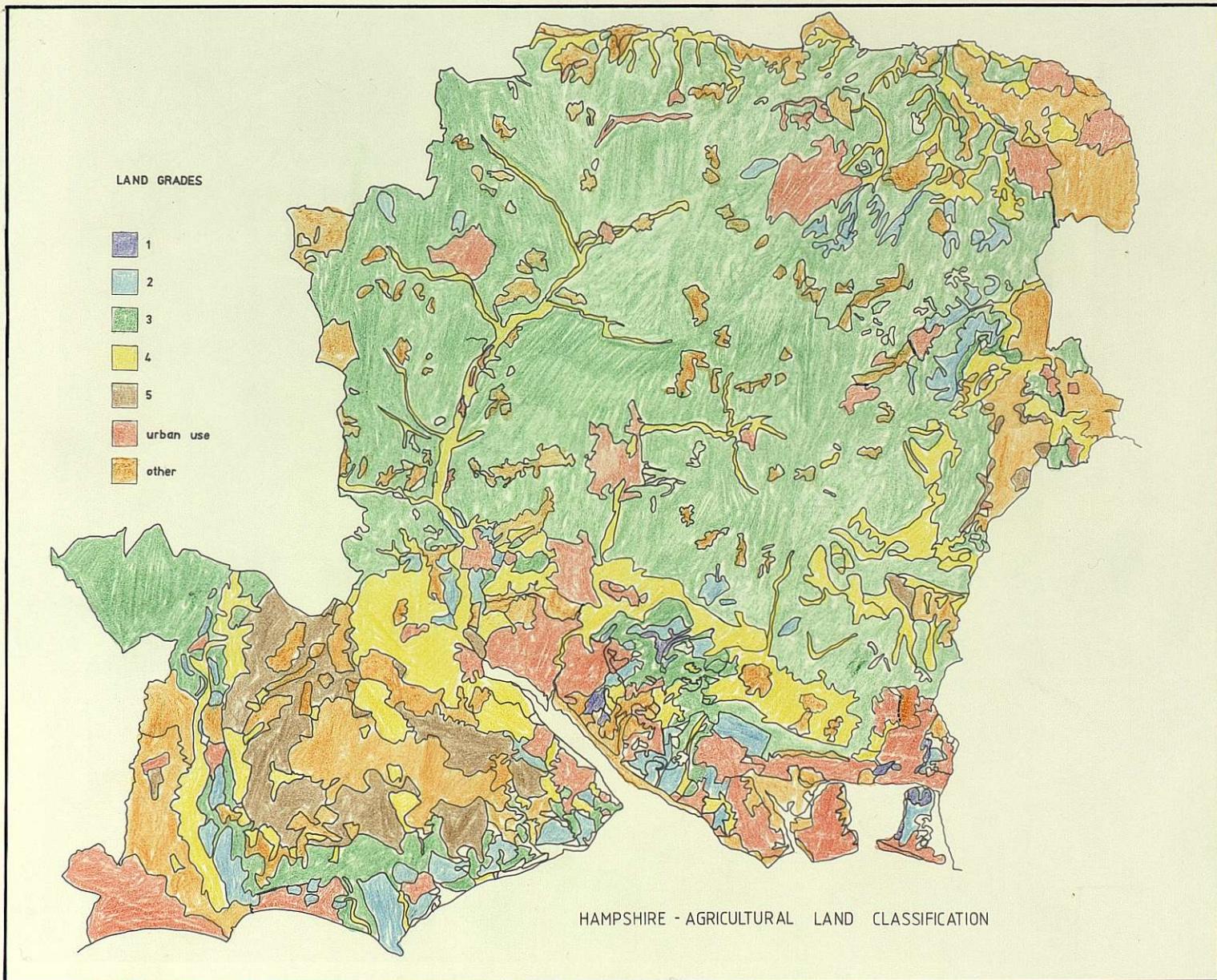


Fig. 3.6

potentially damaging, they had a variety of positive attributes, acting as water supplies, the basis of the valuable meadow land, and often the access to long-distance transport networks. Fig. 3.7 clearly shows the differing density of nucleated settlement between the western and eastern halves of the chalklands, and the extent to which, in the western half, settlements were located on rivers and streams.

Furthermore, by the early fourteenth century, as has been seen, the market network, and presumably the transport network which supplied it, was well developed. As a market developed it would have affected and stimulated the settlement pattern in its region. However, the pattern of markets was itself in part determined by the positions of the pre-existing centres of Winchester and Southampton, which were not recent organic products of the growth in the saleable agricultural surplus, but respectively longstanding administrative, and long-distance trade foci.

It is, therefore, clear that modelling purely on the basis of theoretical land quality is an over-simplistic concept. Many variables, affecting the observed patterns of settlement, production and wealth, are interwoven and at play. Nevertheless, at least at a broad scale, the quality of the land did have a fundamental effect on the development of settlement.

The Nonarum Inquisitiones have also been used as evidence of where contraction was occurring in the amount of land under arable cultivation in the early fourteenth century, although in not all cases was this due to the declining prosperity of the cultivators,<sup>23</sup> or the paucity of the land quality. Compared to some counties, such as Sussex, Shropshire, and the North Riding of Yorkshire,<sup>24</sup> there was very little uncultivated land recorded in assessments made in 1341-2 for Hampshire, although there are more examples than Baker shows on his map. At Somborne and East Dean, detached portions of Crawley parish, three carucates of land were noted as having lain uncultivated for six years prior to the inquisition,<sup>25</sup> and

NUCLEATED SETTLEMENT IN  
14th. CENTURY HAMPSHIRE

0 1 2 4 5 8 10  
MILES

SOURCES:

- NOMINA VILLARUM  
1316
- LAY SUBSIDY LIST  
1334
- SETTLEMENT LISTED  
IN BOTH SOURCES

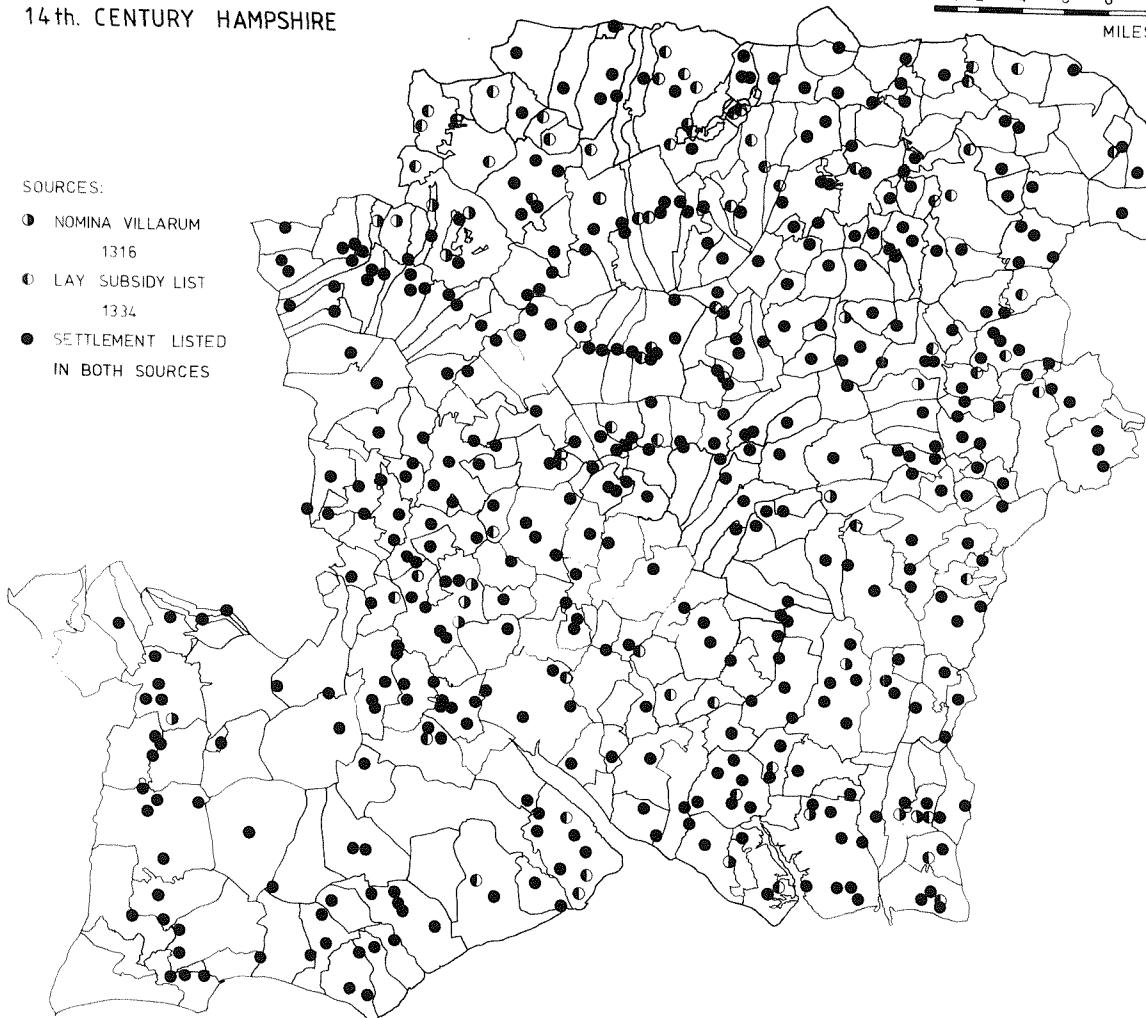


Fig. 3.7

in Hatche (Hackwood, near Basingstoke) 300 acres were out of cultivation,<sup>26</sup> possibly due to an extension of the park created there in 1280.<sup>27</sup>

In his paper, Baker noted that the Nonarum Inquisitiones were not a comprehensive guide to the land which went out of cultivation in the years prior to the Black Death.<sup>28</sup> In Hampshire there is strongly suggestive evidence of this, which has so far escaped comment. At the end of the published, very standardized, assessments taken in 1341-2, are the returns made in 1342-3 for fifteen parishes.<sup>29</sup> Whilst three of these only have brief summaries of the value of the tax produced,<sup>30</sup> the rest contain detailed breakdowns of the various items making up the tithes, and the church lands. Furthermore, in five cases the fact that land was out of cultivation was noted with details, this information not appearing in the assessments of the previous year. At Hayling,<sup>31</sup> Eling<sup>32</sup> and Alverstoke<sup>33</sup> inundations by the sea had led to a loss of agricultural land, and military causes were given as the reason why land in Hound<sup>34</sup> and Fawley<sup>35</sup> had fallen in value or not been cultivated.

Possibly the events being recorded had all happened the previous year, in between the two sets of records being made; French raids on the Hampshire coast were sadly familiar to its inhabitants, and flooding after particularly high tides was similarly well-known.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, so common were both types of misfortune to the coastal districts, it is most unlikely that only Hayling was suffering from the adverse effects of one or other of them in 1341-2, this being the only coastal parish to note a reduction in value for one of these reasons in the assessments of that year. Apart from Hayling, the two amounts of land noted in the assessments as being out of cultivation were large, 300 acres and three carucates<sup>37</sup> (traditionally c. 360 acres). The evidence can, therefore, be taken to suggest that when the Hampshire assessments were being transcribed into their standardized form only two major areas of uncultivated land were noted; smaller cases were not, even if the travelling assessors had taken note of them in the first place. The surviving returns of the following year, not

apparently final copies and containing much more detail, reveal what is probably a truer picture, with the juries of several parishes noting land that was out of cultivation. It was, of course, in their interest to do so, as it could lead to a reduction in the amount which they were expected to pay. Clearly, the Hampshire assessments of 1341-2 are not a true guide to lands lying uncultivated.

Baker further notes the examples of Lincolnshire and south-east Northamptonshire, where it is known from other sources that land was standing uncultivated which was not recorded in the Inquisitiones.<sup>38</sup> Certainly, as had been seen, it was during the early fourteenth century that a large amount of the bishop of Winchester's land was taken from arable cultivation in Hampshire, and there is no reason to assume that this estate was isolated in its policy. Yet this is not to say that this land was no longer producing an agricultural income; the number of sheep being kept increased on the bishop's estates, and even if it was not converted to pasture, the former arable could serve as rough grazing.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, what has to be established are the criteria, if any, adopted by the assessors in considering land to be uncultivated, and hence 'tax-deductible'. The difference between land lying fallow, arable recently given over to pasture, and land which had simply been abandoned cannot have been clear in many cases, and it is quite probable that in some areas some land written-off by the assessors and noted as terra frisca would elsewhere be considered as having changed its use, or as being temporary fallow. Hence it would not be noted in the Inquisitiones, even if it was producing no current income. This is but one of many points about the Nonarum Inquisitiones that would repay study, and in general the source is greatly under-used.<sup>40</sup> The work above shows how it can be used to measure the differing regional levels of agricultural productivity in the period just prior to the Black Death, the level of concordance with the results obtained from the slightly earlier lay subsidies suggesting that the common results do reflect a true picture of relative prosperity levels.

The calculation of medieval population levels has always presented problems.<sup>41</sup> Sources are few, and those that do exist are generally selective in the population recorded, and except in some local sources, only males above a certain wealth, age or class threshold were represented. Inevitably, calculations of limited accuracy are necessary to arrive at a gross population estimate, and the possible inaccuracies multiply if two separate sources are compared to measure population change across time.

For Hampshire, as elsewhere, the first written source to allow conjecture about the level and distribution of the population is Domesday. This, however, is a list of tenants, not of the whole population. It shows the major concentrations of population to have been in the upper Test valley with up to twelve persons recorded per square mile, along the northern edge of the chalklands, and around the upper Itchen and Meon. The lowest numbers were recorded for the New Forest, with the Crondall and Woolmer regions also having few persons noted. In general, there was little settlement south-east of a line drawn between Southampton, Winchester and Farnham, relatively few people apparently being supported by the fertile soils of the coastal plain, in contrast to the situation recorded for Sussex. Parts of the Avon valley were similarly lightly populated.<sup>42</sup> In all, 8,835 people were recorded:<sup>43</sup> what percentage of the county's total population this was is entirely open to conjecture.

The next source which is "ostensibly capable"<sup>44</sup> of producing national population statistics is the 1377 Poll Tax, levied on all lay males, excluding beggars.<sup>45</sup> Hampshire is not one of the counties for which detailed returns survive, and only the total of 33,241 for the county excluding Southampton and Winchester, with 1,152 noted for the former, is known.<sup>46</sup> The total for Winchester is lost. Again elaborate calculations would be necessary to arrive at a gross population figure, less potentially inaccurate than that for Domesday, but still one that few would approach with confidence. Having arrived at these two figures it would then be possible to calculate the

growth in population up to the Black Death, by subtracting a suitable, perhaps arbitrary percentage from the 1377 figure, to allow for those that died in the epidemics and dividing it by the Domesday figure. For reasons that are obvious, the exercise has not been undertaken.

It is, however, not so much the total population which is of interest to this study, but whether its regional distribution can be seen to change between periods, furthering the analysis of the economic development of Hampshire in the Middle Ages. It is because of this that the loss of the Poll Tax returns is so unfortunate.

Lay subsidies are a far less satisfactory source for the study of population, firstly because the initial wealth threshold excluded an unknown percentage of the poor, and secondly because of evasion by those legally liable to taxation. The 1334 subsidy was levied on places, rather than individuals, whose contributions to the assessed total were not recorded. Of the final subsidies raised under the old system, in 1327 and 1332, Glasscock concludes, "They tell us nothing of the total population."<sup>47</sup> In Hampshire in 1327 the taxpaying population numbered 7,160, less than the number of Domesday tenants, and only about twenty per cent of the 1377 Poll Tax total. The relatively small number contributing to the subsidy in the towns has already been discussed in the previous chapter.

Nevertheless, the principle adopted in relation to the use of the subsidy for the study of the distribution of wealth, if accepted, holds good for a similar examination of the population. This is, that if too detailed conclusions are avoided, the source provides relative data of an acceptable standard, particularly if the data are grouped in regional blocks. The subsidy of 1327<sup>48</sup> has been chosen in preference to that of 1332<sup>49</sup> for analysis, as a comparative sample suggested that rather more taxpayers were enrolled therein.

Clearly, when the distribution of taxpayers in 1327 (fig. 3.8) is compared with the distribution of population by settlements in 1086,<sup>50</sup> the way in which areas previously devoid of much evidence of nucleated settlement had developed is apparent.

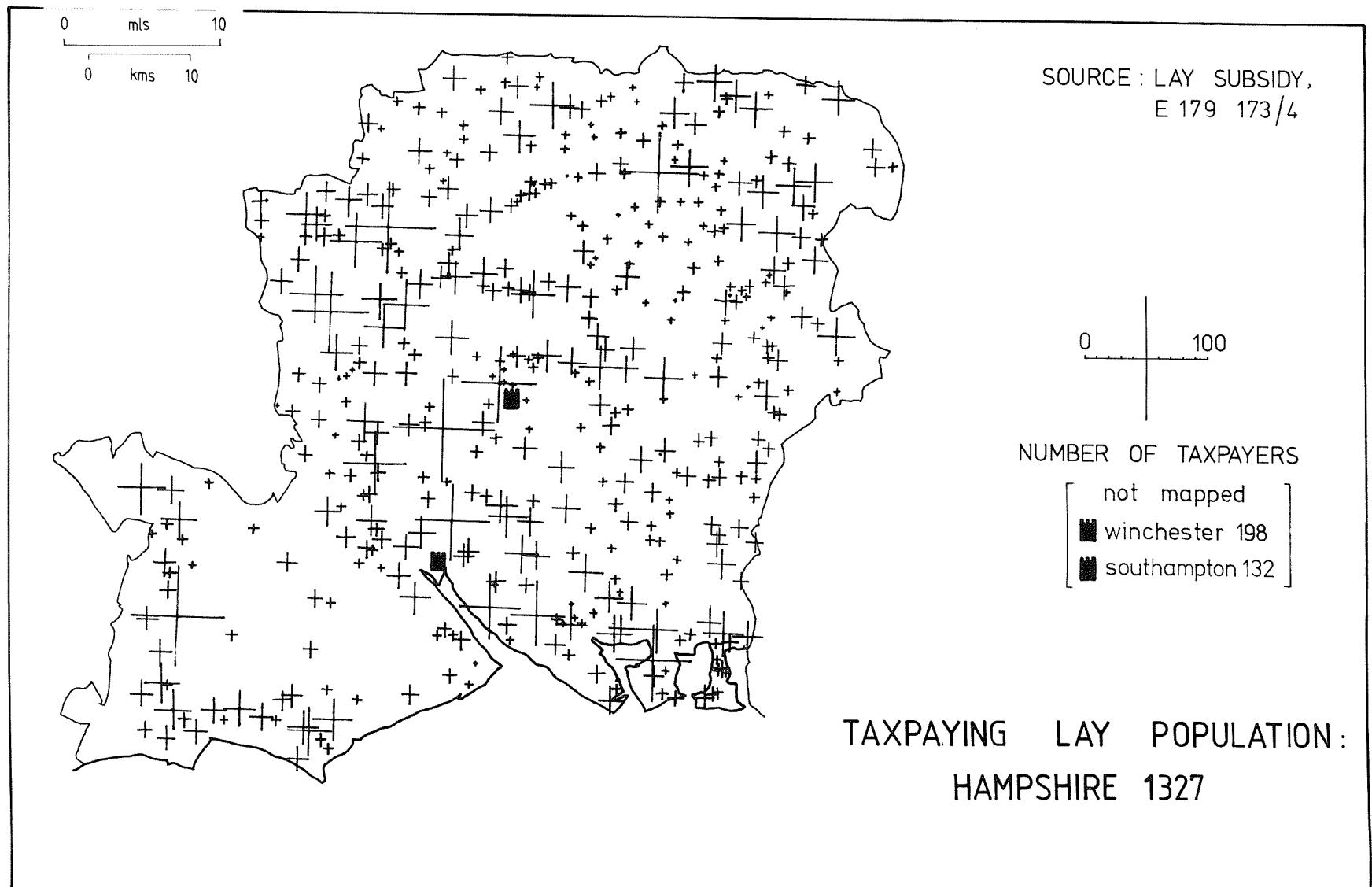


Fig. 3.8

The greatest change had occurred in the lower Test valley, and along a strip some six miles broad east of Southampton Water along the coastal plain. The development of this area was discussed in the previous chapter in relation to the multiplication of towns and markets, and its relative wealth earlier in this one. New concentrations of population also appear to the west of Southampton Water, and across the south-east of the chalklands. To say more than this, or to analyse the distributions in greater detail, would be a pointless exercise; in both cases what was incidentally being presented was a record of fiscal centres, and whilst in most cases these will have corresponded with nucleated settlements, this need not necessarily have been so. In several parts of the county, as discussed above, dispersed rather than nucleated settlement patterns predominated, and in these the grouping of scattered farm 'and hamlets' inhabitants under the heading of the parish gives a false impression of cohesion.<sup>51</sup>

This latter difficulty is overcome with the use of chloropleth maps, whereby the data are grouped into areas. Even so, any conclusions or observations proffered must be regarded as tentative models to be tested, because of the nature of the 1327 figures.<sup>52</sup> It is possible that detailed work on the wealth structure of society, as recorded in the subsidy rolls, would resolve the main problem of how many people were exempted from taxation because of their poverty. At the moment we have no better idea than did Willard.<sup>53</sup> Either distribution, of 1086 or 1327, may be biased, if in certain areas there were disproportionately large or small numbers of poor, in whom no direct interest was displayed by the Crown.

Nevertheless, both sources express an interest in the same type of person, and the biases and inaccuracies in the population they record are probably of a much lesser magnitude than differences in the distribution of those considered as insignificantly poor in both cases. As far as they both go, the two sources are broadly comparable.

In 1327 (fig. 3.9) the greatest recorded concentrations of population were on the coastal plain, with the Fareham area

having a recorded 14.6 persons per square mile, the Hayling one 13.4, and the intermediate Portsea area 10.2. For most of the Test valley there was an average of 5 to 7.5 people per square mile, with the exception of the area to the west of the lower Test (4.82) and that around Overton (3.6). This is the most noticeable development, the upper Test valley being by far the most highly populated part of Hampshire in 1086, whereas by 1327 it had clearly been eclipsed by the coastal plain. Also noteworthy is the relative growth of population in the Lymington and Crondall areas, and in that to the east of Southampton.

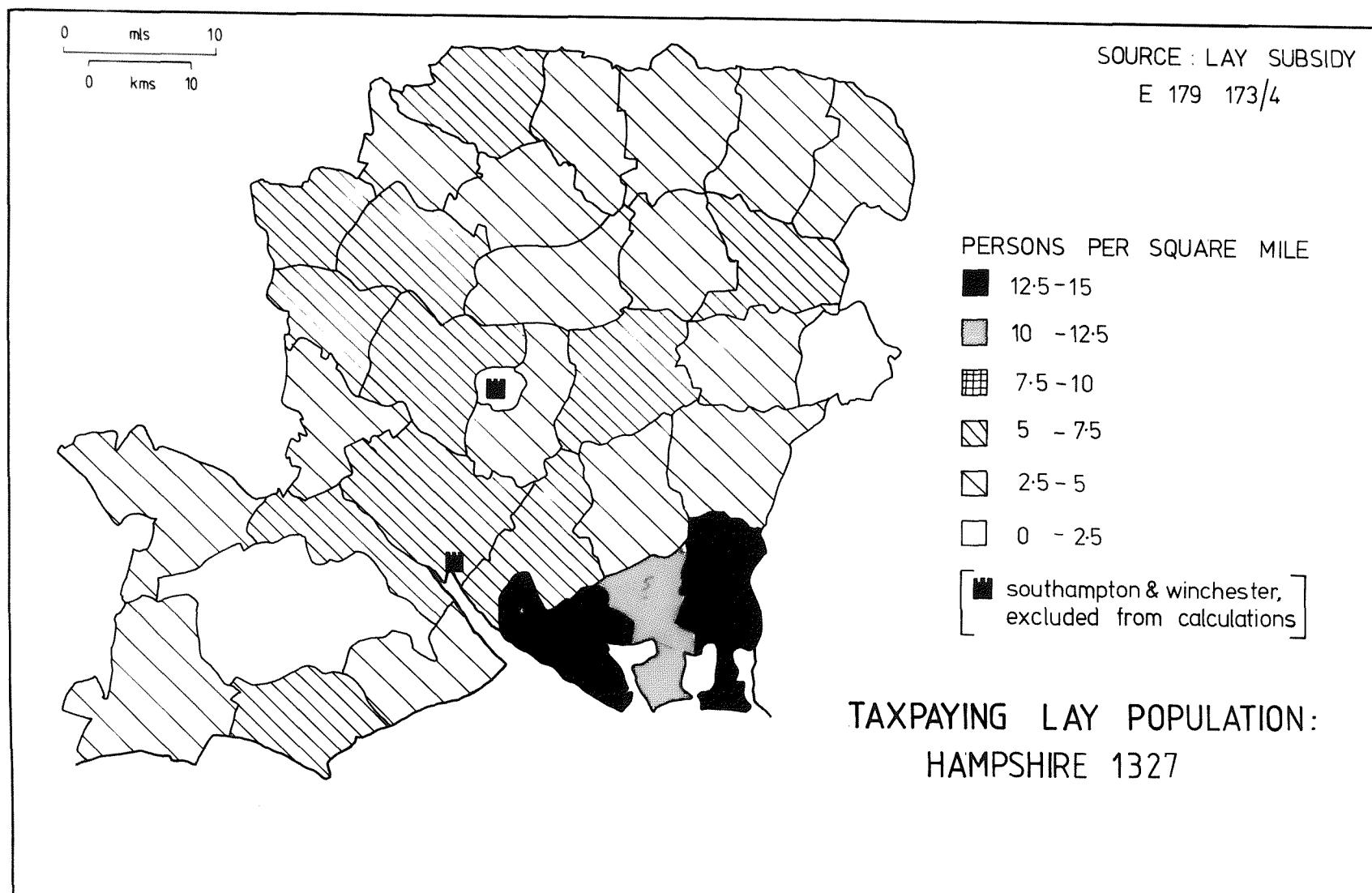


Fig. 3.9

Notes and references

1. R.E.Glasscock, The Lay Subsidy of 1334 (1975), pp.xiii-xv.
2. Ibid., pp.xxiv-xxxii.
3. J.F.Willard, Parliamentary Taxes on Personal Property 1290-1334: A Study in Medieval English Financial Administration (1934), pp.77-88.
4. Ibid., pp.9-11.
5. Professor M.W.Beresford was kind enough to discuss this point with me.
6. For a tabulation of the Hampshire lay subsidy of 1327 (P.R.O. E179 173/4) see appendix III.
7. At Abbotstone.
8. Glasscock, op.cit., p.xv.
9. R.W.Finn, 'Hampshire', pp.287-363 in H.C.Darby and E.M.J.Campbell (eds.), The Domesday Geography of South-East England (1962), p.309, fig.93.
10. Glasscock, op.cit., p.xiv.
11. Ibid., p.xv.
12. The sums paid by counties towards subsidies between 1275 and 1352 are listed in a series of notes by J.F.Willard: 'The Taxes upon Moveables of the Reign of Edward I' E.H.R. 28 (1931), pp.517-21; 'The Taxes upon Moveables of the Reign of Edward II' E.H.R. 29 (1914), pp.317-21; 'The Taxes upon Moveables of the Reign of Edward III' E.H.R. 30 (1915), pp.69-73.
13. Glasscock, op.cit., p.27.
14. G.Vanderzee (ed.), Nonarum Inquisitiones in Curia Scaccarii, (Rec.Comm., 1807), pp.106-27.
15. M.Prestwich, The Three Edwards: War and State in England 1272-1377 (1980), pp.217-8.
16. R.A.Pelham, 'Studies in the Historical Geography of Medieval Sussex' Sx.A.C. 72 (1931), pp. 157-84, esp. pp. 157-67.

17. Ibid., p.162. For Hampshire the only detailed breakdown of the great tithes comes in the returns of 1342-3 printed at the end of the assessments of 1341-2: Vanderzee, op.cit., pp.125-7.

	9th sheaf	9th lamb	9th fleece
Shirley	50s.		10s.
Chilworth	20s.8d.	2s.6d.	3s.6d.
Exton	26s.8d.	3s.4d.	10s.
Exton, St. Swithin's priory land	30s.	5s.	5s.
East Meon	£29	10s.6d.	34s.4d.

18. C.F.Hawke-Smith, Man-Land Relations in Prehistoric Britain: The Dove-Derwent Interfluvium, Derbyshire (1979) pp.43-53.

19. M.M.Postan, 'Investment in Medieval Agriculture' J.Ec.Hist. 27 (1967), pp.576-87.

20. G.Whittington, 'The Distribution of Strip Lynchets' Trans.Inst.Brit.Geog. 31 (1962), pp.115-30.

21. G.Beresford, The Medieval Clay-Land Village: Excavations at Goltho and Barton Blount (1975), pp.51-2.

22. The map has been drawn using reductions of the 'Agricultural Land Classification of England and Wales' maps, sheets 167, 168, 169, 179, 180 and 181.

23. A.R.H.Baker, 'Evidence in the 'Nonarum Inquisitiones' of Contracting Arable Lands in England during the Early Fourteenth Century' Ec.Hist.Rev. 2nd ser. 19 (1966), p.521.

24. Ibid., pp.522-3.

25. Vanderzee, op.cit., p.106.

26. Ibid., p.121.

27. Cal.P.R. 1272-81, p.361.

28. Baker, op.cit., passim.

29. Vanderzee, op.cit., pp.125-7.
30. Botley, Shirley and Chilworth.
31. Vanderzee (ed.), op.cit., p.120.
32. Ibid., p.126.
33. Ibid., p.127.
34. Ibid., p.126.
35. Ibid., p.125.
36. Netley Marsh still floods today. Inf. from D.Stagg.
37. At Hatche, Somborne and East Dean.
38. Baker, op.cit., p.521.
39. Chapter 2, above, discusses the development of the bishops' manors in Hampshire.
40. Baker, op.cit., note 23, references work on the Nonae rolls.
41. Guidance to the extensive literature is given in J.Z.Titow, English Rural Society (1969) and E.Miller and J.Hatcher, Medieval England-Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348 (1978).
42. Finn, op.cit., figs.94 and 95, pp.312-3.
43. Ibid., p.314. This figure excludes Winchester, Southampton and Christchurch.
44. Miller and Hatcher, op.cit., p.28.
45. A.R.H.Baker, 'Changes in the Later Middle Ages', pp.186-247 in H.C.Darby (ed.), A new Historical Geography of England before 1600 (1976 edn.) pp.190-2 including fig.42.
46. E.Powell, The Rising in East Anglia in 1381 (1896), pp.121-3.
47. Glasscock, op.cit., p.xxiv.
48. P.R.O. E179 173/4.
49. P.R.O. E179 242/15a.
50. Finn, op.cit., p.313, Fig.95.

51. Although the presence of 'atte' names is still some test of this at this date.
52. See appendix III.
53. Willard, Parliamentary Taxes, p.181.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### MEDIEVAL MOATED SITES IN HAMPSHIRE

Taylor has defined a moated site as "an area of ground, often occupied by a dwelling or associated structure, bounded or partly bounded by a wide ditch, which in most cases was intended to be filled with water, the whole usually dating from the later part of the medieval period."<sup>1</sup> Refinements of this statement can be offered; Le Patourel has noted that the ditch should have originally been of at least a certain width;<sup>2</sup> both three and five metres have recently been proposed as the minimum figure.<sup>3</sup> Commonly, the enclosure was square to sub-rectangular, and often raised due to the dumping of spoil on the interior. Interior banks are sometimes visible as are the remains of causeways or bridges across the moat. Moats were generally associated with manorial or freehold messuages, and frequently with fishponds, whose provision was facilitated by the apparently deliberately chosen proximity to water of most sites. Excavations and documentary evidence, such as manorial extents, both indicate that moated sites had the same type and number of buildings as unmoated ones of the same status, although the presence of the moat could lead to them being arranged in a more compact grouping than was otherwise the case.

#### General Distribution

Comparison of the figure accompanying Hughes' 1981 survey of the county's moated sites<sup>4</sup> and fig.41 demonstrates the extent to which the subsequent intensive survey of the possible sites discussed and mapped by him has reduced their number. Hughes noted that there were approximately 120 'provisional' sites, and thought that the final total was likely to be 80 to 100 sites. Field visits revealed that amongst the sites listed as possible moated sites were garden earthworks, natural watercourses and ponds, man-made fishponds, gravel pits, manorial sites with fence lines or buildings which had suggested the possible presence of an earlier enclosure, and

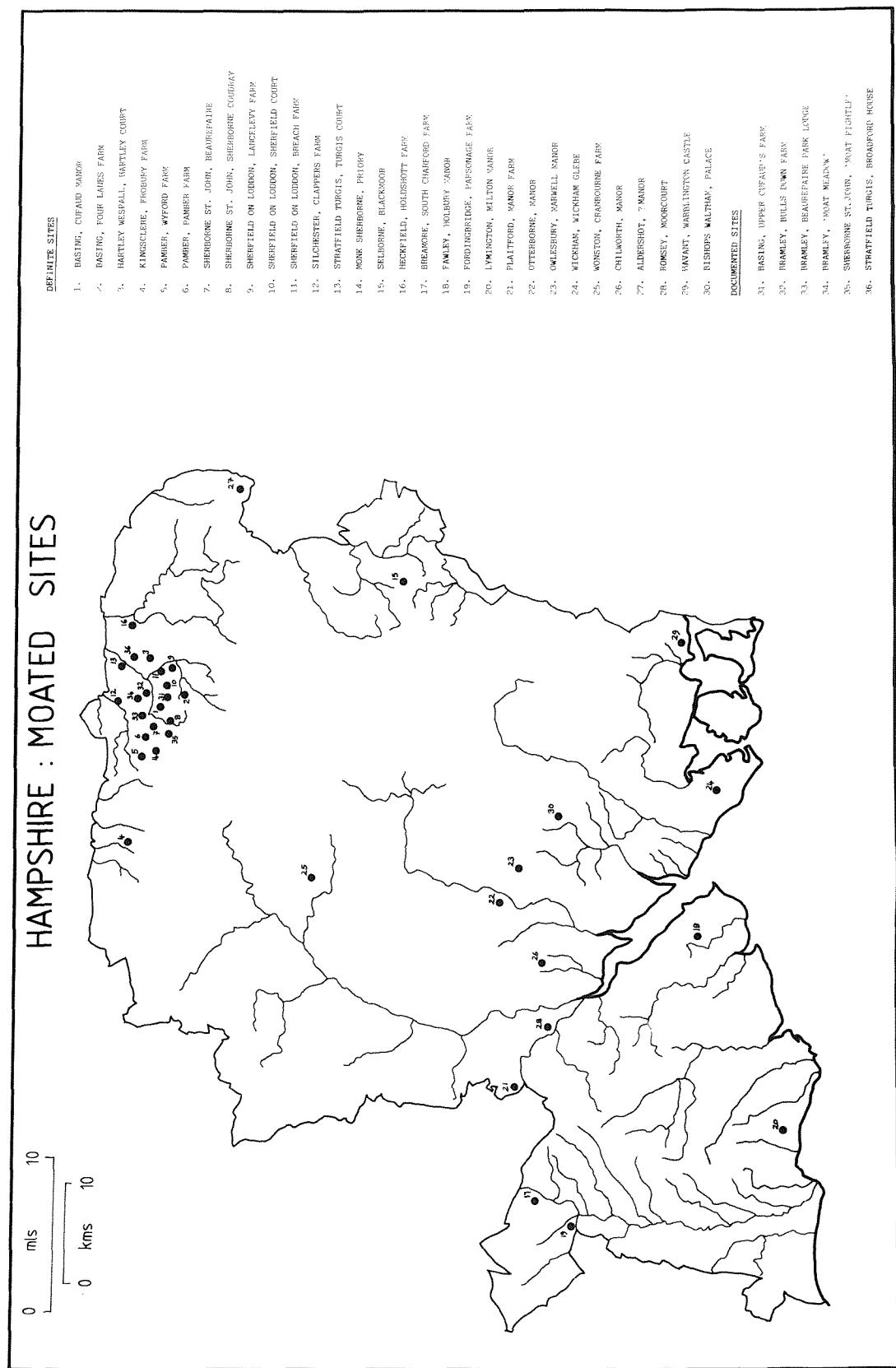


Fig. 4.1

various other archaeological or natural earthworks. The survey revealed only 30 sites where there was either surviving evidence of the moat, or what was considered to be unequivocal evidence that one had once existed (appendix 1). A further six sites have been included on the distribution map and in the discussion, as in these cases it was considered that the documentary evidence indicated that it was highly likely that a moated site had once existed.

The field survey revealed a striking concentration of sites in the central part of the Hampshire woodlands, around the River Loddon. Subsequent detailed study of this area revealed a few, previously unknown, moated sites; this has emphasised the pattern, but has not, it is believed, distorted it. Tithe map and apportionment evidence was found to most frequently reveal new sites. During the course of this research large numbers of the county's tithe maps and apportionments were examined from a variety of differing physical areas, many specifically in order to look for moats. None were found, apart from in the Loddon area. The sites outside this area are scattered across the south of the county and most are associated with modern watercourses.

#### Geology, Soils and Height

The correspondence between the distribution of moated sites and areas of London Clay clearly shows that geology has been a major influence on the way in which the landscape has been developed and exploited.<sup>5</sup> The Loddon group of sites lies almost entirely on London Clay, two outliers being on the sands and clays of the Bagshot Beds. South of the twenty mile-wide band of Chalk downland, between this and the Bagshot Beds and other deposits which occur in the south of county, are narrow bands of London Clay and the Reading Beds. Once again, moated sites occur. Others lie on isolated outcrops of Clay. Most of the remaining sites lie on spring lines rising on the junction between geological deposits.

Such soil maps as exist, of which the main series is the Land Classification Maps, generally show soils' potential under modern methods of exploitation. In Hampshire, (fig.3.6) the Chalk downlands have the same, average potential today as the woodlands to the north, although the downs have high, exposed, thin, Chalk-based soils whilst the woodlands

have low, clay-based and correspondingly wet soils. Clearly, therefore, a modern soil-potential map reveals little about the actual character of the soils, and even less about their potential when only ancient levels of technology were available. A primary determinant of a soil's character is the underlying geology, and hence the conclusions reached above with reference to geology and the distribution of moated sites might be repeated here.

Height, too, can be regarded as a subsidiary function of geology in Hampshire, the Chalk downland rising above 60m. (200 ft.) across the county from east to west, dominating the landscape. Moats are not found on the Chalk, and hence all lie below the 120m. contour. The Loddon area contains some of the lowest land in the county north of the coast (c.45m.). A large number of the county's moated sites are concentrated here, and overall more than half lie below the 60m. contour.

#### Location

Most moated sites in the county are today isolated, spatially distinct from nucleated settlements. This was clearly also so in the medieval period although, as has been discussed below, little is yet known of medieval village types and settlement patterns in Hampshire: to what extent, for instance, nucleated, as opposed to scattered settlements predominated, and the degree to which there was fluidity of settlement site.

Examination of a few specific cases shows that the statement, that the majority of moated sites in the county were originally isolated, cannot easily be refined, and that the modern isolation of some sites may not reflect the medieval situation. At Sherborne Coudray, the moated site of the manor house is today over two kilometres from Sherborne St. John, the nearest nucleated settlement. Documentary evidence shows, however, that in the medieval period there was a hamlet attached to the manor. Similarly, at Sherfield Court, the site of the moated medieval manor comprises, with the rebuilt church of St. Leonard, almost the total extent of the hamlet of Church End, the modern village of Sherfield lying around a green one kilometre to the

north. Documentary evidence suggests that it was only in, or just before, 1270 that the village moved from around the church to this latter site.<sup>6</sup> At Warblington, it is again likely that the early medieval village was adjacent to the church and manor. Warblington though was eclipsed as a settlement by Emsworth, which prior to 1239, when it received a grant to have a market and fair, was probably no more than a hamlet within Warblington parish. The area of the original nucleated settlement had so declined in importance that, probably in the fifteenth century, the lord of the manor was able to impark it.<sup>7</sup> Today, Emsworth is a thriving village, whilst Warblington church and castle, the successor of the moated manor, remain largely free of accompanying settlement. Here then are three sites of manorial status, today isolated but in the medieval period part of nucleated settlements.

Moreover, certain sites were isolated because of their function; in other words their isolation was by design rather than as an incidental consequence of the situation of the associated messuage or farm. Such sites include forest and park lodges, and monastic, primarily Cistercian, granges. In the former category the sites at Clappers Farm and probably Blackmoor may be mentioned, and in the latter Holbury.

To summarise, it can be noted that some sites, such as the latter ones, may have been set apart from the established nucleated settlements because of the function they were intended to fulfil. Sites of manorial status occur both within, and apart from nucleated settlements in the medieval period. In every case though where it is known that a site was not of this status, and was, or can be surmised to have been, the centre of what is usually referred to as a freehold estate, it apparently lay apart from any nucleated settlement.

Various questions about moats remain unanswered, apart from the seminal one of why they were constructed, although each is connected with this. Le Patourel noted in Yorkshire that certain manors of the archbishops of York were moated whilst others were never so enclosed.<sup>8</sup> In Hampshire, several such

cases may be noted; apart from Bishops Waltham Palace, only one of the bishop of Winchester's manors was moated for instance, and only one of the granges of Beaulieu abbey. In neither case does the evidence suggest that either the situation or function of these moated sites was exceptional. Such instances only serve to illustrate the difficulty of defining why moats were dug.

#### Shape

Several elaborate taxonomic classifications of moated sites have been published, reflecting and ordering the wide range of site-types found.<sup>9</sup> Such schemes, whatever their merits elsewhere, would serve little purpose in this study, as Hampshire does not possess a single known 'multiple' or 'elaborate' site. The county's moats were invariably simple in form, although it must be remembered that what is observed today need not, necessarily, be what was originally built.

Alterations, deliberate or otherwise, have been effecting the sites since they were first constructed, both during use and after abandonment. One of these processes, infilling, can be clearly seen going on during the past century and-a-half by comparing moats as represented on the tithe maps with what appears on successive editions of large scale Ordnance Survey maps, and today in modern field-surveys. Other moats were already filled in by c.1840, field names perpetuating their sites' existence; three examples of this can be seen in Bramley parish.<sup>10</sup> Earlier, but still post-medieval, alterations have involved the extension and regularization of moats around or adjacent to generally newly-refurbished buildings to serve as landscape features, as at Beaurepaire and Sherfield Court. Other deliberate alterations noted include the enlargement of the moat at Crambourne to form a watercress bed, the interior of this site being used as a conifer plantation.

Alterations to most sites, however, have been gradual, by erosion due to water, soil, plant, animal and human actions.

Such processes were and are, naturally, more intensively at work where habitation has continued on or near the site since its initial construction. Even when a site is abandoned relatively soon after its construction, to subsequently remain under permanent pasture, erosion leads to the gradual loss of basic features. An originally sharply angular site, with vertically revetted sides and elaborate bridge and sluice mechanisms, soon becomes a rounded, largely featureless earthwork. Moreover, for several as yet imperfectly understood reasons, archaeological earthworks in general in Hampshire are few in number and slight in character.<sup>11</sup> The result is that the county's moated sites are, with a few notable exceptions like Clappers Farm and Bushy Lease Farm, generally of a poor physical quality.

Furthermore, the shape of a moat was determined in many cases by the local terrain rather than by human design. Construction of even the smallest moat involved considerable investment, whether in time or money, and use was clearly made in many cases of existing topographic features to keep expenditure to a minimum. In several instances moats were sited in such a way as to make use of an existing watercourse, as at Bushy Lease Farm and Turgis Court. These various considerations make it unlikely that an intensive study of moats' modern appearance will reveal much of their original form, and hence, possibly, intended function.

Only one example has been noted in Hampshire of a moat whose basic shape was not rectangular. This is Otterborne, a substantial sub-circular moat over 12m. wide, enclosing an area measuring c.125 x 60m. In general, moats of this type are relatively rare, and, excavations have indicated, relatively early compared to the more usual four-sided ones. It has been suggested that they derive from military ringworks of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>12</sup> This theory is not supported by the Hampshire evidence. Here there is only one circular manorial moat, although the proportion of ringwork castles of the early medieval period compared to motte and baileys is unusually high.<sup>13</sup> Sadly,

almost no documentary or archaeological material from Otterborne survives, and it is unknown whether this site too dates from before the mid thirteenth century when rectangular moats began to be constructed in large numbers.

Two other sites, Manor Farm, Plaitford and South Charford Manor Farm, have an irregular shape. Both, though are adjacent to working farms, and hence little reliance can be placed on the modern form of the sites as a basis for historical research.

In all other cases in Hampshire where the shape of the moat is known it is either rectangular or square.

This preference for rectangular enclosures, noted in every published regional survey of moats, has been argued to be an apeing by the holders of lesser estates of the quadrangular moated castles constructed by the Crown and greater nobility.<sup>14</sup> As well as any general objection to diffusionism as an explanation of culture change, this theory can be shown to be unlikely on chronological grounds, as quadrangular moated castles first began to be built in numbers in the late thirteenth century, probably after the widespread adoption of quadrangular moats as the preferred method of bounding manorial capital messuages.

It may rather be suggested that the rectangular form of most moats merely mirrors the increased preference at the time when they were being dug for the courtyard plan for building complexes. Excavations have shown that this is as equally true of peasant farmsteads as it is of royal palaces. Buildings began to be re-ordered, even planned, to enclose a central courtyard or stockyard, probably reflecting both the increasing prosperity enjoyed by many agricultural producers at this time, and the improving structural standards of buildings, stone by then being in many areas the accepted, rather than an exceptional building material.<sup>15</sup>

At Wickham, stone was first used in buildings in the late thirteenth century, at the time the moat was constructed.<sup>16</sup> At

Milton, three phases of timber buildings were found, none showing much evidence of regular organization. In the fourteenth century a square moat, cutting the latest of these phases was dug. No buildings were found associated with the moat, but the alignment of tile dumps suggests that the buildings were laid out parallel to its sides.<sup>17</sup>

Rather than seeing the adoption of a rectangular moat being the reason for the enclosed buildings being arranged in a square, or vice versa, it is perhaps more likely that they together reflect the improved building standards of the time, with the new, longer lasting structures being laid out with far more care than were their more ephemeral predecessors.

### Buildings

Few buildings associated with moats in Hampshire date from before the fifteenth century. Rigold has noted that this is not uncommon, and that buildings which do survive from before this date have done so because of their exceptional quality.<sup>18</sup> A five-bay timber-framed cruck barn at Breach Farm, Sherfield on Loddon, possibly dating from c. 1500 is the only minor secular building to survive within a moat.

The only other case where upstanding buildings survive in use within a moat is at Pamber, where the parish church, formerly that of the alien priory of Monk Sherborne, stands within a square enclosure. The crossing tower and presbytery of the priory remain roofed, whilst the south wall of the nave and part of the north wall of the western range partially remain as a boundary wall. Blocked doors in this latter wall indicate that it was to this side of the church that the conventional buildings lay, and foundations are reported to have been found in this area, now occupied by Priory Farm.<sup>19</sup>

It is the ground north of the church though that is enclosed by the roughly square moat, to form a court of c. 0.3 ha. What was being enclosed is unknown, and in general it is still unclear to what extent the smaller alien priories followed a standard claustral pattern. It is possible that the moat

enclosed the priory's burial ground, as there was apparently an increasing tendency as the medieval period progressed for religious communities to bury their dead outside the cloister, to the north east of the church.<sup>20</sup> As the modern parochial graveyard occupies the site it is improbable that excavation would elucidate this problem. It is perhaps significant though that no burials are known to have been found in the vicinity of Priory Farm which ought to overlie the area occupied by the priory's cloister.

Bishop's Waltham Palace, although described by the Winchester Annalist as a castle, one of the six built by Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester 1129-71,<sup>21</sup> is more correctly classed as a moated residential complex. It was, throughout its life, an extensive, substantial, and probably impressively elaborate, complex if the surviving architectural remains can be taken as a guide. Whilst only the shell of the major buildings, which were largely destroyed in the seventeenth century, remain upstanding, at least the broad details of the site's development have been revealed by excavations.<sup>22</sup>

What remains of the original buildings, probably constructed c. 1135, appears to be portions of the curtain wall, which survives as the inner walls of the later, south, camera, and west, hall, blocks. A three-celled gatehouse guarded the entrance, and in the interior an apsidal chapel was amongst the freestanding buildings. Following the seizure and dismantling of the site by Henry III in 1155, the palace was rebuilt on a larger scale, the work apparently being complete by 1208, as no rebuilding work appears on the first surviving Pipe Roll of the bishopric of Winchester, of that year. As at Wolvesey, the new ranges were built outside the old curtain walls. The great hall occupies the central part of the west range, built at first-floor level over an undercroft, with kitchens to the north and a solar tower, the so-called keep, in the south-west angle. The arrangement of the other ranges, and that of the second, northern, court, are less well understood.

As the moat surrounds the late twelfth century complex, which was built around the earlier buildings, it is likely to be

contemporary with, or later than this date. There is no evidence that Blois's original palace was itself moated. Once the palace precincts were defined by the moat all subsequent rebuilding programmes, by archbishop Wykeham (1367-1404), Beaufort (1405-47) and especially Langton (1493-1501), took place within these established limits.

In other cases in the county, although there are only limited or no structural remains at sites apart from the moats themselves, sufficient documentation survives to allow at least a partial reconstruction of the medieval complexes to be made. At Marwell Manor Farm, another residential manor of the bishops of Winchester, the interior of the moat is today occupied by a farmhouse, which certainly incorporates much re-used material from the episcopal buildings.

The 1208-9 Pipe Roll of the bishopric shows considerable rebuilding work at the manor, apparently following a major fire, as camerae combustae are mentioned. One of the new major chambers was next to, or in front of (ante), the manor's chapel, the carpenter being paid 82s.2d. for work on its walls. This building, though, was chiefly distinguished by its stone chimney which incorporated 93 stones, brought from Beaulieu via Southampton, erected over a nine-week period. The chamber was internally whitewashed. Roofing work was done on the 'high chamber' and its adjuncts, using 375 boards, or planks and lead guttering. There was work on a further hall and on an adjoining passage, as well as various repairs to other buildings of a lesser nature.

In 1210-11 the first of the chambers noted above, which was probably the bishop's own, had its walls painted, the considerable cost of 40s. implying that a skilled muralist was employed. Work on one of the kitchens was sufficiently involved to occupy one of the carpenters for 56 days, and more private chambers were under construction. Luce the painter was paid for 29 weeks and 3 days work, at a rate double that paid to the highest paid carpenter,<sup>24</sup> suggesting that the bishop, Peter des Roches, wished to create a manor whose chambers were not only substantial, but also elaborately

decorated, presumably with biblical and allegorical scenes such as were soon to adorn the walls of the king's palace at Clarendon.<sup>25</sup>

The Pipe Roll for 1213 records expenditure on the 'great gate', and also the manor's farm buildings. Although there would be room for two distinct courts within the moat, one residential and one given over to the farm, it is equally likely that piggeries and the like lay outside it. A barn, sheephouses, oxhouse, dairy and ciderpress were specifically mentioned in that year, and orchards in 1208-9 and 1213.<sup>26</sup>

Later rolls reveal a few incidental details. In 1252 the granaries and piggeries were amongst the farm buildings repaired and a room for the falcons was also mentioned. The 'painted chamber' was repaired and roofed with shingles, and there were minor repairs to the 'knight's chamber' and the clerk's. A new wardrobe was constructed from newly-purchased freestone. It too had a chimney, and was roofed with shingles. At least three bed-chambers (thalamus) with latrines stood within the complex, which by this stage had been moated sufficiently long for work to be done on a new bridge, and for the great ditch (fossatum) to require cleaning out.

The roll for 1262 gives some evidence for the form of the bishop's chamber, as stairs and 'high windows' were mentioned, indicating that this was perhaps a first-floor hall similar to those at Wolvesey and Bishops Waltham. The bishop's study (studium) was also noted.

As well as being one of the leading residential manors of the bishop of Winchester, Marwell was also the site of a small college of secular priests, founded by Henry of Blois. It consisted of a chapel dedicated to Saints Stephen, Lawrence, Vincent and Quintin, and possessed chambers and ancillary buildings for the priests. Peter des Roches added a deacon to their number, and instituted a collegiate system of governance, whose rules mention buildings outside the gate (mansus extra portum). In 1535 the college was termed a chantry and supported two priests, it subsequently passing, with the manor,

to Sir Henry Seymour.<sup>27</sup>

There is some evidence to suggest that the college was inside the moat, its traditional site being in the north-west of the enclosed area. Skeletons, lead coffins and tombstones are said to have been found at some time prior to 1869, in the southern part of the moated enclosure, however, which perhaps argues against the traditional siting of the chapel, although again the reference to 'tombstones' does cast doubt on the reliability of the reports, unless it was stone coffins that were found.<sup>28</sup>

From the above evidence a general impression of the nature of the site in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries can be gained. Prior to 1208 it seems likely that most of the complex was built of wood, and that it was largely destroyed in a conflagration at about this time. In the rebuilding programme which followed, stone was used for at least some of the chambers, including what was probably the bishop's own lodgings, and the wardrobe. The accounts for lead guttering may indeed be indicative of a widespread use of stone at Marwell at this time, and 'excavations' since the Second World War have revealed various stone wall foundations, up to a metre wide lying parallel to the moat.<sup>29</sup> These investigations were not carried out in a professional manner, however, and no stratified dating material was recovered. Stone was, though, in use at Bishops Waltham at this time, and was being adopted as the preferred material for prestigious building projects throughout the country, and hence its widespread use at Marwell would not be exceptional.

Few details of the manor's plan are known, and the mention of the various distinct chambers and connecting pentices suggests that the complex was probably similar to that excavated at South Witham, (Lincs.) with the buildings loosely linked around the edge of the moat, possibly with a separate chapel court.

Following the transfer of Marwell to the laiety at the Dissolution there was considerable, if protracted, demolition of buildings at the site. Tradition has it that Sir Henry

Seymour used the stone from the buildings not only to rebuild Marwell Farm (a datestone inscribed 'H.S. 1575' survives reset in a later structure), but also to extend existing, and to build entirely new farms on his estate. In 1626 his estate passed to the Mildmays, and stone was again removed from Marwell in large quantities until c. 1700. Thirty-eight loads, for instance, were sent to Hensting Farm, a mile to the north.<sup>31</sup>

At Warblington Castle there is little documentary evidence concerning the buildings on the site prior to the early sixteenth century. The Ordnance Survey records a tradition that a licence to crenellate the site was granted c.1340,<sup>32</sup> but there is no Chancery enrollment or other evidence to validate this. Early-fourteenth century inquisitions post mortem only note the presence of a house and garden.<sup>33</sup> Some stone foundations, possibly of this period, have been found around the courtyard but little else. It is likely, though, that the substantial moat around the sixteenth-century house, which partially survives today, initially enclosed a medieval predecessor.

Warblington's main interest is as an example of a large and comfortable residential complex, fashionably re-built in brick, with a crenellated and towered facade, in the early sixteenth century. Few, if any, in an age of gunpowder supremacy, would have considered it defensible, although no doubt they would have recognised the inherent symbolism of its design.<sup>34</sup> Warblington castle well represents the structural transition which major seigneurial residences underwent, an outward display of militarism and strength being retained long after defended manors had become, in substance and function, country houses. Several other sites of this type in Hampshire may be noted; Basing House, Titchfield and Malshanger Tower, although these, unlike Warblington, did not directly succeed moated manors.

Ten years prior to the virtual destruction of the castle in 1633 it was surveyed for its owner, Sir Richard Cotton, by William Luffe. He described it as:

"a very fair place, well moated about, built all with bricks

and stones.... in length two hundred feet and in breadth two hundred feet, with a fair green court within, and buildings round the said court; with a fair gallery, and divers chambers of great court, and four towers covered with lead, with a very great and spacious hall, parlour and great chamber, and all other houses of office whatsoever necessary for such a house; with a very fair chapel within the said house, and the place all covered all with tiles and stones and there is a fair green court before the gate of the said house, containing two acres of land; and there is a very spacious garden with pleasant walks adjoining, containing two acres of land; two orchards with two little meadow platts containing eight acres; and a great fishpond .... with a gate for wood, and two barns, one of five bays, the other of four bays, with stables and other out-houses."<sup>35</sup>

In the early nineteenth century sufficient of the castle was standing to allow the author of a local history to note that there was a south quadrangle containing the chapel, which measured 42ft. by 32ft. and the great hall, 58ft. x 32ft. The hall connected at one end with a small cellar, and at the other with buttery, kitchen, brewery and a further cellar. The author further noted that the 'state apartments' were in the northern quadrangle, with a gallery and sleeping rooms above. Apparently, the main hall was serving as a stable, and this may be the building visible behind the gatehouse, in an engraving which forms the frontispiece to the work.<sup>36</sup> By the time of the tithe survey the complex had assumed its basic modern form.<sup>37</sup>

What survives today, inside the broad moat, are the remains of the gatehouse, with one of the, originally four, narrow octagonal stone and brick towers standing to its full four-storey height, surmounted by crenellations. Parts of the other towers and the central entranceway also stand, although the cable moulding around the main outer entrance, which survived in the early nineteenth century, can no longer be seen.

From less complex and prestigious sites there is, as usual, an absence of detailed documentation concerning the buildings themselves. Best documented of the lesser sites is Beaurepaire.

Even here, where account rolls survive from the period, in the mid fourteenth century, when the site was being refurbished for the Brocas family, only a partial picture of the buildings within the moated complex is revealed.

In the account roll for 1357-8 roofing work on the chapel, hall, chambers, kitchen, house next to the kitchen and the grange is answered for, 12,000 tiles being brought from Odiham, eleven or twelve miles away, for the purpose. Further evidence that the manor was in need of substantial repair at this time, although apparently no new buildings were erected, comes from the expenditure on plastering, new doors, two ovens and three hearths, the high cost of the latter items suggesting that the kitchen was particularly in need of renovation. A new glass window was purchased for the chapel, for which a pontiforium was also bought, costing four times as much as the window.<sup>39</sup>

In 1360-61 the rebuilding work was still going on, with a nova camera of some pretension being constructed, costing almost as much as the entire earlier repair programme, although only this 'new chamber' is specifically referred to, the purchase of 4,000 tiles from a tiler might suggest that work on other buildings had yet to be completed.<sup>40</sup>

Little else is known about the medieval manor's buildings, although the chapel was still in use in the mid fifteenth century.<sup>41</sup> The first pictorial representation of the house, on an estate map of 1613, shows a single, south facing, house with a twin-gabled front, and four separate chimneys.<sup>42</sup> The house represented is very reminiscent of the products of the 'great rebuilding', and its construction may not have preceeded the drawing of the map by many decades. This building in turn was demolished some years before 1777; some parts of the house that replaced it remain standing today.<sup>43</sup>

Otherwise, there are only scattered references to buildings associated with moated sites. In the reign of Henry II William Fitz Adam endowed a chapel within the parish of St. Andrew Sherborne (later Sherborne St. John) a confirmation of this charter in 1202 noting that the chapel stood within the

demesne (in curia) of Fitz Adam.<sup>44</sup> Whether by this stage the site, Sherborne Coudray, was moated, is unknown. In 1369-70 a lease of the manor included a maintenance clause which mentions a hall with chambers, grange, granary and chapel. In 1400 the manorial garden was noted.<sup>45</sup> When Leland described the Vyne, which replaced the moated site c. 1520-25, he noted that the old moated house had been neither great nor sumptuous.<sup>46</sup> This comment may though have been deliberately made in order to emphasize the undoubted splendour of the new residence constructed by Lord Sandys.

Manorial chapels are also known from the moated sites of Frebury, where a chaplain was presented to the chapel of St Thomas c. 1300,<sup>47</sup> Holdshott, where the manorial chapel was replaced by one at Mattingley before the end of the fourteenth century,<sup>48</sup> and South Charford. Here the prior of the nearby Breamore priory is said to have assented to the erection of a chapel, dedicated in 1404.<sup>49</sup> At Cranbourne there was a chapel in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, dependent on Wonston.<sup>50</sup>

The true potential complexity of a moated sites' development has been demonstrated by the recent series of excavations at Wickham; almost no documentary sources concerning the buildings of the manor have been found. The first manorial buildings were erected by the de Port family in the later twelfth century. At the centre of the complex was an aisled hall 20.5m. x 12.0m., with attached, narrower, ranges to the north and east. All the buildings were initially timber-framed, although in the late thirteenth century the hall was rebuilt in stone, its length being reduced to 16.0m. At the same time a stone south crosswing was added, with a further building off this. It was at this time that a moat was dug around the complex and its yards, enclosing at least 1.2 ha.

The complex remained in this form until the mid sixteenth century, when the southern range was removed and a chimney stack built onto the hall. The kitchen to the east was similarly modernized, and a substantial garderobe provided. This

building in turn was superceded by an entirely new brick house, partly overlying the moat, apparently in the mid seventeenth century. Between 1724 and 1764 further brick ranges were added to this house. Demolition took place soon after 1835.<sup>51</sup>

#### Subsidiary Enclosures

There are few instances in the county where evidence for outer enclosures associated with moated sites can be seen. The outer court of Monk Sherborne priory has already been noted, this stretching 200m. west from the present west wall of the church, originally that of the crossing tower. It widens from c. 50m at its western limit to an original width of c. 150m at its eastern end. The exact course of the ditch along the latter side of the enclosure is unclear, but if it followed, as seems likely, the line of a modern field boundary ditch, the overall length of the court would have been c. 300m., with over 2½ ha. in all enclosed.

The best-preserved subsidiary enclosures surround the moated site, at Clapper's Farm, Silchester, which was possibly at some stage a park lodge. To the south of the moat lies a banked and ditched enclosure, slightly offset from the moat itself, its east arm apparently abutting the feeder ditch leading towards the north-eastern corner of the moat. This ditch in turn leads off to form a second, ditched, enclosure to the north of the moat. These enclosures are of 0.6ha. and 0.3 ha. respectively. To the west of the centre of the moat is a break in the bank of one of the subsidiary enclosures, which probably represents the original entrance.

At other sites, such as Wyeford's Farm, Pamber, and Parsonage Farm, Fordingbridge, there is rather less conclusive evidence of subsidiary enclosures. Nowhere, though, does either the archaeological or documentary evidence offer any indication of their function.<sup>52</sup> Evidence from both moated and unmoated sites elsewhere in the country would suggest, however, that here were contained ancillary buildings, generally of an agricultural, or in some cases, industrial nature, or kitchen



gardens and orchards.<sup>53</sup>

#### Fishponds

Many sites had fishponds closely associated with them, in some cases these being integrated with the moat in a single system of ponds and channels. This is clearly seen, for instance at Bushy Lease Farm, Romsey, and Hartley Court, Hartley Wespall. The largest number of fishponds known to have been associated with a site is six, at Marwell: five lay along the stream which feeds the moat, with the sixth lying to the north of the manor. A short pond leading from the west arm of the moat into the interior of the messuage itself may have been a breeder pond.<sup>54</sup> The fishery at Marwell was mentioned in the 1213 Pipe Roll of the Winchester bishopric. Later, in 1252, the dam of the great fishpond, probably Fisher's Pond, north of the stream, was repaired, and a new dam was built for it ten years later.<sup>55</sup>

Such a large series of ponds was, however, very exceptional, and clearly reflects the status of the episcopal manor, and the need for large supplies of fresh fish there. At Holbury there were three ponds, and several sites such as Sherborne Coudray and Beaurepaire, have evidence of two linked ponds, although at the majority of sites where there is any evidence of fishponds it is for only one. All fishponds appear to have been of the standard rectangular type.

#### Hunting Lodges

A class of sites which is, in appearance very similar to moated sites, is the hunting lodges of the New Forest.<sup>56</sup>

In the latter twelfth century, and until 1204, the principal royal lodge in the New Forest was at Beaulieu, in its south-east corner. In that year it formed part of the foundation grant of Beaulieu abbey. From then until 1221, when it was given to the abbess of Romsey, a property in or near Romsey seems to have been the centre of royal activity in the forest. From the latter part of the thirteenth century until 1358 the forest was generally held in dower by the queen, and hence direct responsibility passed from the king. Apparently,

Lyndhurst was the main forest residence.

On the return of the forest to the king in 1358, Edward III immediately ordered the construction of four lodges, at 'the Park' (Lyndhurst Old Park), Hatheburg, Studley and Helmstey. Altogether, £328 was spent on these, and on work at Lyndhurst, between November 1358 and August 1361. Each of the lodges was built of timber frame and plaster, with a roof of Purbeck or Cornish slate; each had a kitchen and was surrounded by a ditch. Hatheburg, which cannot be identified today, lay within Lyndhurst park, and was evidently more substantial than the other lodges, costing £140, as opposed to the usual £40. It had a great gate and postern, a great chamber for the king, a chapel, and a 'long house' containing kitchen, larder, granary and stables; a new hall and other buildings were added before 1365. As well as at the established lodges, work was also done at Hounslow, although this could be an alternative name for one of the lodges built in 1358. Another 'new lodge' was mentioned in 1387-90, during a period of general lodge-refurbishment.

The Studley of 1358 can be identified today on the ground, and the existence of a 'hounslow' place-name close to the earthwork at Church Place, Denny Lodge, suggests that these sites are one and the same. The earthworks at these sites, to which an historical identity can be fairly certainly ascribed, are very similar to those of the Churchyard, Hyde, and the second Church Place site at Denny Lodge, and it is, therefore, likely that these latter sites are of a similar date and function to the former.

One further earthwork of this type can be linked to a known historical site, this being Queen's Bower, in Brockenhurst. When first mentioned, in 1482, it was clearly already an established site, and its similarity to the sites of known fourteenth century date suggests that it, too, may have been constructed then. When mapped (fig.4.2), there is certainly a very regular spacing visible between the two Church Place sites, Queen's Bower, and the Churchyard, stretching roughly east-west across the centre of the New Forest. These sites commonly occupy prominent ridge-top sites.

THE NEW FOREST, SHOWING BOUNDARIES AND BAILIWICKS c.1330, WITH  
SELECTED SITES (boundaries from Sumner, Guide to the New Forest and Stagg, New Forest Documents)

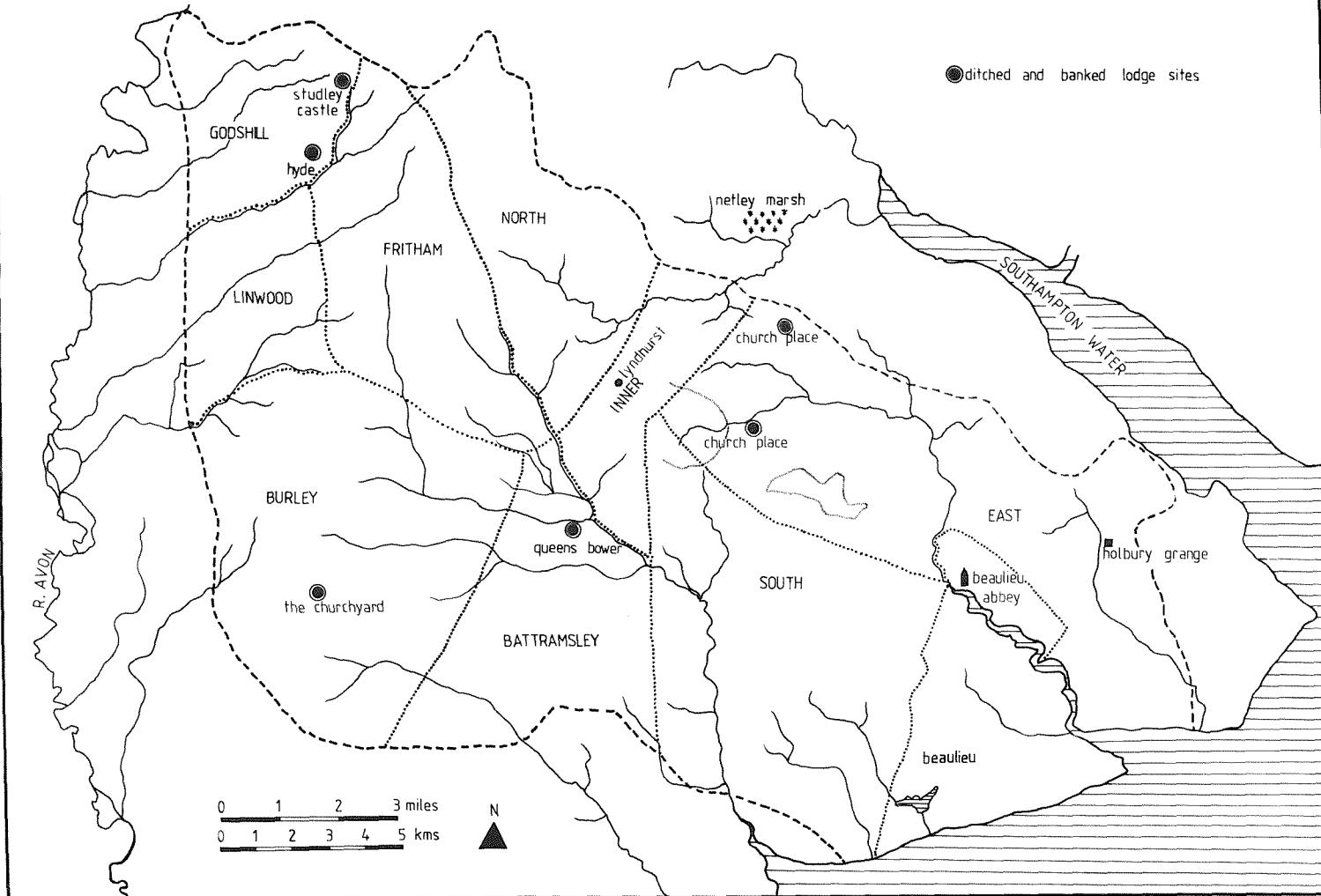


Fig.4.2

Although the profile of the bank and ditch around the enclosure at Hyde is similar to those around the site discussed above, the area enclosed is over four times larger. The Ordnance Survey suggest that this is Hatheburg, but this identification is clearly incorrect for, as noted above, that site lay in Lyndhurst park, several miles to the south-east of Hyde. It is possible Hyde was a lodge site, but the New Forest is rich in problematical earthworks of many dates.

It has been the poor physical quality of the soils of the New Forest, and the associated lack of human settlement, that has led to the frequent survival of archaeological sites as upstanding earthworks. Whilst hunting lodges are known to have existed in other forests in Hampshire no earthworks of the type described above from the New Forest are known in these. Until further work is done on royal lodges no more can be done than to note the appearance of a class of ditched and banked square sites in the New Forest, and their absence from other Hampshire forests. Superficially, at least these lodge sites resemble moated ones, although moats invariably had wet ditches, as opposed to the dry ones of the hunting lodges.

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4. M.F.Hughes, 'Settlement and Landscape in Medieval Hampshire', pp.66-77 in S.J.Shennan and R.T.Shadla-Hall (eds.), The Archaeology of Hampshire (1981) p.73, fig.23.
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6. Above, chapter 7, 'Fields and Related Settlements'; for references to specific sites see below, appendix II.
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9. Ibid., p.3 ff.; R.C.H.M., West Cambridgeshire (1978), pp.lxi-lxvi.
10. 'Moat pightle' occurs three times, once in association with 'moat close'; below, fig.7.8.
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13. D.J.C.King and L.Alcock, 'Ringworks of England and Wales', pp.90-127 in Château Gaillard 3 (1969), esp. pp.92, 115.

14. C.C.Taylor, 'Medieval Moats in Cambridgeshire', pp. 237-49 in P.J.Fowler (ed.), Archaeology and the Landscape (1972).
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16. Below.
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27. V.C.H.Hants ii, pp.211-12.
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29. W.H.Jackson, 'Marwell Manor: A Brief Sketch; Early History and Excavations' (typescript, n.d.: copy in Cope Collection, Southampton University Library).

30. Platt, op.cit., pp.60-1.
31. Jackson, op.cit.
32. Ordnance Survey record card SU 70 NW 9.
33. Cal.Inq.p.m. v,p.113; vi,p.15; viii,p.204.
34. C.Coulson, 'Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture' J.Brit.Archaeol.Ass. 3rd ser. 132 (1979), pp.73-90.
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43. Burrows, op.cit., p.201; N.Pevsner and D.Lloyd, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight (1967), p.137.
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46. V.C.H.Hants. iv,p.161, note 76.
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48. Ibid., pp.46-50.
49. Ibid., pp.562-3.
50. Ibid., iii, p.454; ibid., i, p.470.
51. R.Whinney, "All that capital messuage called Wickham Place": Excavation and Research on the Manor House at Wickham, Hampshire, 1975-1980 [1980].

52. At Holdshott Farm the tithe map shows that the River Whitewater formed an outer enclosure, called pound meadow, to the west of the moat. To the east lay chapel meadow: H.R.O., Heckfield tithe map and apportionment.
53. At Chalgrove (Oxon.) a subsidiary enclosure was excavated. Nothing was found, and its excavator has suggested that it formed a garden: M.S.R.G. Annual Report 6 (1979), pp.18-20.
54. Jackson, op.cit.
55. I am indebted to Mrs H.E.J. Le Patourel for these references.
56. The following section is based on Brown et al, op.cit., pp.983-6.

## CHAPTER FIVE

## THE LODDON AREA: ARCHAEOLOGY AND EARLY HISTORY

The Study Area (fig.5.1)

The eleven parishes comprising the study area cover an area some nine miles north-south by eight miles east-west (fourteen and-a-half by thirteen kilometres). The northern boundary is what was, in the medieval period, the county boundary, Mortimer West End being a relatively modern addition to Hampshire.<sup>1</sup> At the southern extreme lie Basing and Basingstoke. In all, an area of just over 72 square miles (155 square kilometres) is involved.

The area straddles the central part of the region known as the Hampshire woodlands, on the southern edge of the London Basin. The woodlands, in general, is an area of low relief, lying between 61 and 106m. (200 and 350ft.) above ordnance datum, some of the lowest ground of all, c.45m. (150ft.) being in the Loddon valley to the north of Stratfield Turgis. The Loddon is the major watercourse in the study area, flowing north-east towards the Thames. It is joined by several affluents, such as the Wey Brook; these usually rise close to the edge of the Chalk. From Baughurst and Pamber forest the Tittlebourne, or Foundry Brook, feeds into the River Kennet, which also receives feeders which rise on the edge of the Chalk. Overall, streams, ditches and drains form a recurring feature of the study area.

Geologically, the area spans a range of formations. Running from the centre of Monk Sherborne to the centre of Basing parish is the northern boundary of the Chalk, on which virtually the whole of Basingstoke parish lies. Then follows the narrow band of Reading Beds, under a mile wide. The rest of the area is covered by the younger formations, largely London Clay, with Pamber and some of Silchester parish lying on outcrops of the Bagshot Beds. There are also patches of alluvium around the watercourses, particularly the Loddon.

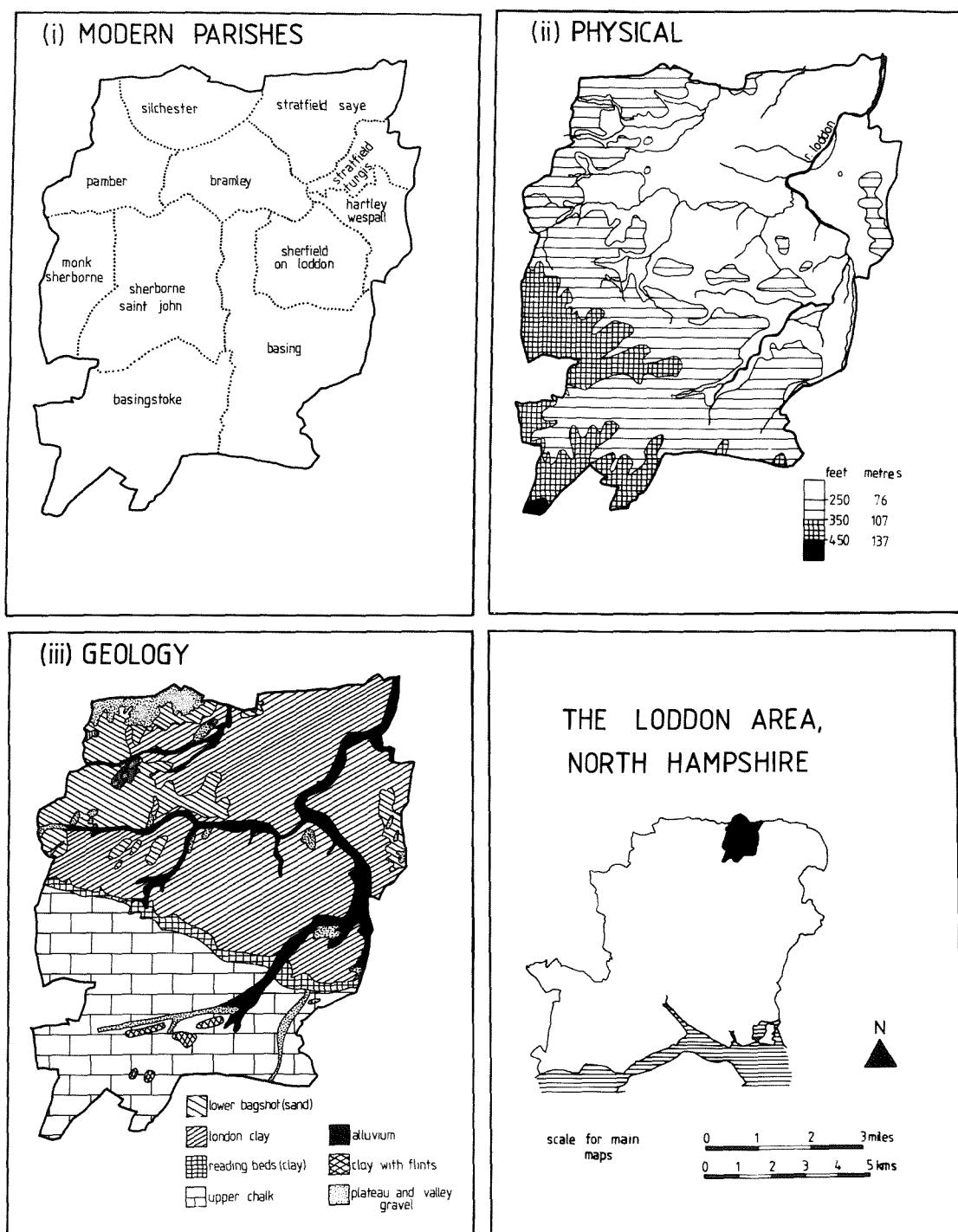


Fig.5.1

The modern Land Classification Map shows the greater part of the area as grade three land, a continuation of the grading which it gives to the chalklands. Before the introduction of modern methods of farming, though, commentators viewed the woodlands with some disfavour. Vancouver, writing in the early nineteenth century, said they "May be said to consist of a tough, sour clay. The heath and commons, interrupted with peat and sandy bottoms, afford but indifferent pasture on substrata of gravel, wet and poor sandy loam".<sup>2</sup> He also noted that "the raw damps exhaling from this district are supposed to produce rheumatisms, and to be otherwise unfriendly to the health of the inhabitants".<sup>3</sup> It was reputedly a common saying, prior to the mid nineteenth century, that "the Vyne was the last place on earth and Beaurepaire [both Sherborne St. John parish] was beyond it", and Horace Walpole is reported to have exclaimed that "the Vyne must be approached on stilts".<sup>4</sup>

#### Early Settlement Evidence

##### (i) Pre-Iron Age (fig.5.2 (i))

The earliest finds from the study area are Paleolithic, four sites in the parishes of Basing and Basingstoke having produced flints of this date.<sup>5</sup> One of these sites has also produced Mesolithic material. Neolithic flints have been found on several sites in these parishes, as well as in Bramley and Stratfield Saye, the latter find being of a polished axehead. A long barrow of Neolithic date lies in Basingstoke parish.

In terms of known field monuments of a funerary nature the Bronze Age is better represented, although this need not imply a larger population; round barrows usually represent individual burials, whereas Neolithic long barrows are conventionally argued to have acted as a burial place for a whole community, remaining in use over some considerable time. In all, at least 22 round barrows are known from the area; soil-stripping at Cowdery's Down (Basingstoke) recently revealed a group of five ring ditches, which well demonstrates

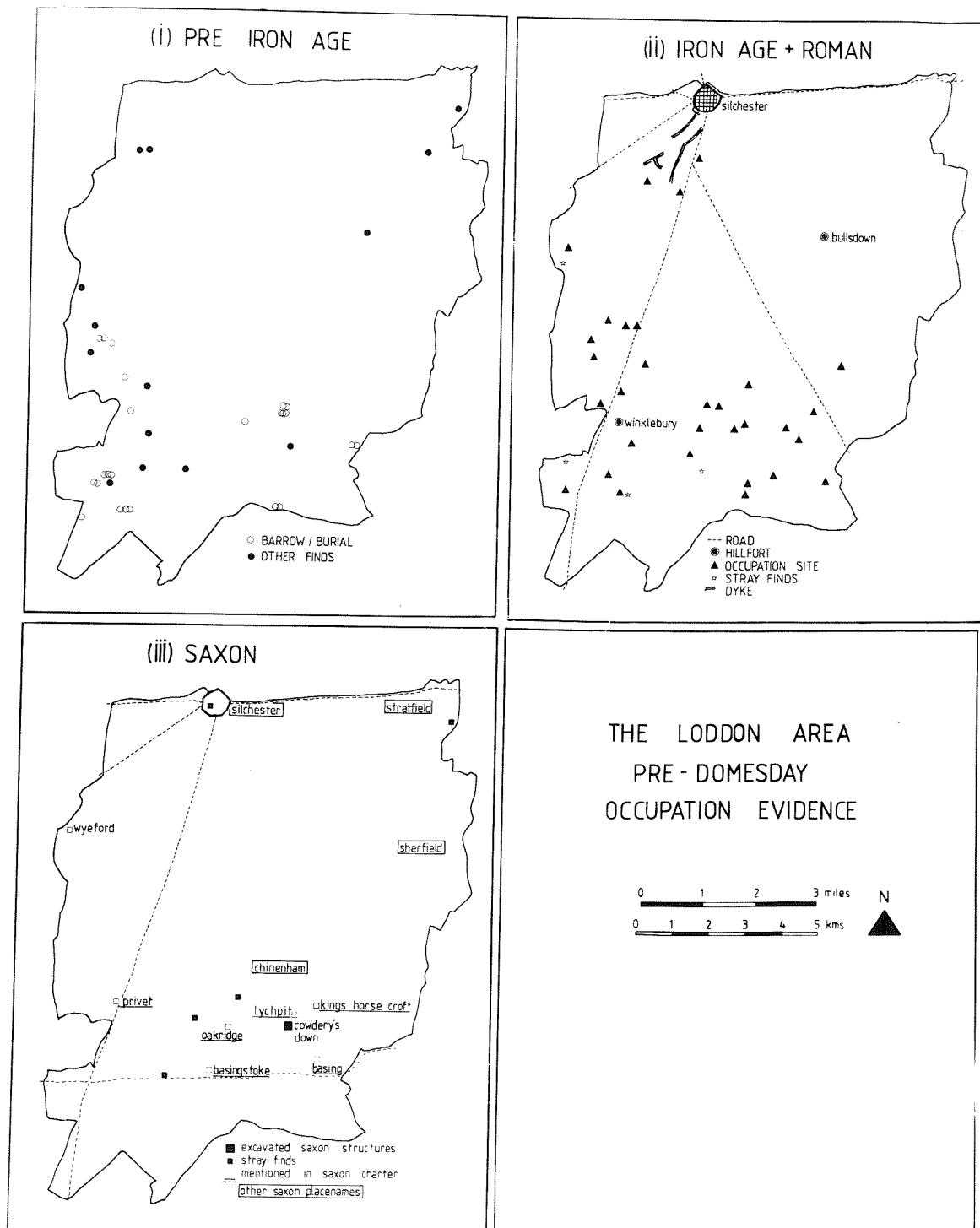


Fig.5.2

how small the known total is likely to be compared to the original one.<sup>6</sup> Two crouched burials, found during building work, are also known from the area, and again the most likely date is Bronze Age. The only finds of this period from the north of the study area are three bronze axeheads: a 'bronze palstave' from Stratfield Turgis, and late Bronze Age socketed and middle Bronze Age winged axeheads, both from Pamber.

This sample, small as it is, is distorted by two biases. The first is morphological, that the heavier soils northward of Basing and Basingstoke are more often given over to pasture, rough grazing or woodland than are the lighter soils of those two parishes. Hence conditions in the latter parishes are more conducive to the recovery of archaeological material, whether through surface finds on arable land or via aerial photography. Even when it is ploughed 'heavy' soil tends to produce poorer quality cropmarks than does 'light' soil, often only major features appearing on the former, such as large ditches, whereas sites on Chalk or gravel can often show very minor, shallow features. The second bias is that the known sample is not random, even with due allowance for this latter factor. A large part of the available data were collected by G.W.Willis, S.E.Winbolt and J.R.Ellaway, all working from Basingstoke prior to the general advent of motorised transport. It seems probable that the greater part of these fieldworkers' activity was confined to the Basingstoke locale. Furthermore, the amount of urban development around the town this century has produced a large number of chance finds, many of which were recorded by these workers.<sup>7</sup>

Despite these reservations, it seems likely that the observed distribution, with the general division between prehistoric activity on the lighter Chalk-based soils but not on the heavier clay-based soils of the north, reflects the real situation. Studies in other parts of the country, where the fieldwork has been intensive, and systematic, have generally produced similar results, with prehistoric settlement reflecting a preference for more easily worked soils.<sup>8</sup> However, what this should be taken to imply about the nature of the landscape, and the nature of land-use in the Loddon area, it is difficult

to say. Probably, by the end of the Bronze Age, at least, large tracts of the chalklands were cleared and under regular arable cultivation. To what extent the land to the north remained unexploited, as uncleared woodland and scrub, is unknown; the finds of axeheads in the 'woodland' zone may reflect a process of clearance, but without further evidence this is little more than speculation. Only future excavation, and in particular the collection of paleobotanic samples, will allow substantial advances to be made towards a resolution of this problem.

(ii) Iron Age and Roman (fig.5.2 (ii))

The Roman settlement of the Basingstoke region was the subject of a paper by Applebaum.<sup>9</sup> His survey area only extended as far north as the edge of the London Clay, although it did cover a much larger part of the Chalk than does the present study. In his study Applebaum divided his material chronologically, reviewing the evidence for the 'Belgic' period, the first century, and so on, separately, attempting to show different settlement distributions at different times.

Here no such divisions have been made, and the figure shows all sites or stray finds which can be assigned to either of the two periods. The reasons for this decision were twofold. Firstly, Applebaum's data were drawn almost entirely from the collections of the Basingstoke museum, and there is no guarantee that the material from any given site was representative. Only in recent years has systematic fieldwalking been developed in such a way as to provide the quality of data demanded by the concept of the representative sample. Secondly, since the publication of Applebaum's study, a number of sites have been found through the use of aerial photography. Many of the crop or soil marks of sites are undiagnostic, and can only be said to be Iron Age/Romano - British, and apparently few have been fieldwalked to collect dating material. Moreover, whilst Applebaum's thesis was largely that of discontinuity and change, such recent work as there has been in the area has tended to show just the opposite, with sites apparently in continuous occupation from the third century B.C. to the fourth century

A.D. now being known.<sup>10</sup> In view of this work it would be highly desirable to re-examine those sites where it was earlier claimed that there was Iron Age or early Roman occupation, and then desertion, with re-occupation in the third or fourth centuries.

In terms of how representative the observed sample is, the conclusions reached in the above section (Pre-Iron Age) are broadly relevant. There has, however, been a second focus of academic activity, apart from Basingstoke, around Silchester. The best-known part of the work is the excavations within the walls themselves, carried out between 1890 and 1909 by W.H. St. John Hope and his colleagues, whilst in recent years attention has also been focused on the outer earthworks and the amphitheatre.<sup>11</sup>

Two nodal points of early to mid-Iron Age settlement occur within the study area, the hillforts of Winklebury (Basingstoke) and Bullsdown (Sherfield on Loddon). Little can be said of the latter site, a small univallate earthwork of some ten acres (four and-a-half hectares). Its date, like that of many of Hampshire's hillforts, is uncertain, and it awaits excavation. Its lack of elaboration, and the proximity of Calleva Atrebatum, do suggest though that it should be dated to before the latter century of the Iron Age. Winklebury, covering some nineteen acres (seven and-a-half hectares), was also univallate. Excavations have shown that occupation occurred in two phases, a period of abandonment possibly dividing them. The first phase is thought to have begun in the sixth to fifth centuries B.C., the second, during which the defences were refurbished, in the third century B.C. Final abandonment took place sometime in the first century B.C.<sup>12</sup>

One of the major themes of Iron Age studies in recent years has been the growing complexity of social organization in the latter part of the first millennium B.C., and how this is reflected in the archaeological record. A movement which has received particular attention was that towards a more central organization of society, with multiple regional centres, the hillforts, being replaced by single, larger ones, which can

sometimes be associated with geographically defined, or politically known units. Such a centre was perhaps Calleva Atrebatum, Silchester, sited on a spur of Plateau Gravel above the London Clays. Whilst its development in the late Iron Age is still the subject of debate, Boon's conclusions on the matter can be profitably stated.<sup>13</sup> Period I is seen as lasting from c. 50 B.C. to the expulsion of Tincommius c. 5 A.D. In period II, Calleva apparently became the major oppidum of the Atrebates, with coins being minted there by Eppillus. In period III, subsequent to the Catuvellaunian expansion, Calleva continued to function as an oppidum. It is with one of the latter two phases that the massive dyke series to the south is to be associated. To what extent the roles that Winklebury and Bullsdown had fulfilled were subsumed by Calleva is unclear; certainly, the former site appears to have been finally abandoned at about the time that major settlement is first indicated at Calleva, and it is not improbable that a similar chronology would be found were Bullsdown excavated.

Little need be said of the development of Roman Silchester, which acted as an important regional centre throughout the first to fourth centuries. Its walls are still upstanding today, and the above-mentioned series of excavations by Hope produced a general plan of at least the more substantial buildings. Roads radiated to other major towns, giving the area a prominence it was not to enjoy again.

What is less clear is the extent to, and manner in, which the local area was exploited. Few sites have produced Iron Age material in the area surrounding Calleva, and the same absence of data is equally true of Roman sites around Silchester. Overall, there was a clear avoidance of the claylands by settlements. Possibly there was not a large resident population at the oppidum, which may have served more as a political centre, with market and redistributive functions. Certainly, goods from the continent were reaching there.<sup>14</sup> Alternatively, it can be postulated that such arable land as there was in the area was exploited directly by farmers resident within the oppidum, or that the economy was

largely pastoral, the herds, when away from the centre itself, being controlled by a small number of itinerant herdsmen. Indirectly, evidence points to both open country and woodland being present close to Calleva Atrebatum. The name itself is indicative that a large part of the surrounding countryside was still uncleared forest at the time the oppidum was established, it being understood to mean 'the woodland town of the Atrebates'.<sup>15</sup> Conversely, the dykes to the south, controlling the approach to the promontory, are conventionally argued to be indicative of open country.

The only environmental samples yet published from an Iron Age site in the study area come from Winklebury, where the snail evidence suggested that both open Chalk downland with long grass, and shaded, or woodland, habitats were present.<sup>16</sup>

Boon has commented on the most distinctive feature of the Roman settlement pattern in the Silchester area, this being the small number of occupation sites, particularly those of villa status, which are known.<sup>17</sup> He has suggested that the land was farmed directly from the town, pointing out that several of the town's houses have large yards and outbuildings suitable for agricultural use, and the incidence of finds with an agrarian function.<sup>18</sup> Aerial photography has certainly shown that fields did abut the western part of the town, and Boon has argued for a cultivated zone a mile (1.5 kilometres) wide around the town.<sup>19</sup>

There is, however, a distance of between four and five and-a-half miles (six and eight kilometres) between Silchester and the densely occupied Chalk to the south almost devoid of settlement, and even making due allowance for a zone of arable cultivation stretching north from the Chalk for a similar distance to that proposed to the south of Silchester, this still leaves a two to three and-a-half mile (three to five and-a-half kilometres) wide zone of land between the two where it seems unlikely that there was a significant amount of arable cultivation. This land would, nevertheless, have been of considerable value as an economic resource. Substantial amounts of wood, timber and underwood<sup>20</sup> would have been in constant

demand from the town as building material and fuel. Industrial sites in and around the town, such as the tile works to the south-west,<sup>21</sup> would also have created a demand for fuel. In such circumstances, it seems almost certain that the woodland was in many cases managed in a coppice system, and it is not improbable that such a regime was already in existence in the Iron Age, providing supplies of this material for the oppidum. The pasture and meadow land was also probably utilized to the full; the Silchester excavations found evidence of the butchery of large numbers of cattle, apparently for use in the tanning industry there.<sup>22</sup> It is perhaps significant that whilst there is also evidence for the common availability of pigs and deer, both of which can be easily exploited in a woodland environment, little evidence was found of sheep, usually kept on open pasture.

On the lighter soils, to the south of the woodland and pasture zone, the number of occupation sites is high. Without reliable dating evidence from each site, and some intensive area surveys to check whether the observed distribution of sites approximates to the real one, statements about the density of occupation to which any validity can be attached cannot be made. All that can be said at the moment is that, taking all sites with evidence of occupation at some stage in the Iron Age or Roman periods, the density is approximately one site per square mile (two and-a-half square kilometres). The evidence indicates that sites of differing levels of status are present, up to villas, hypocaust tiles, tesserae, painted wallplaster and other high quality building materials here being taken as indicative of this status. A greater bias towards arable and arable/sheep farming than was the case around Silchester would be expected, and the absence of sites in the extreme south of the study area coincides with the rise in ground level up onto what was to be downland in the medieval period.

A line of east-west communication between these settlements is likely to have existed, and it is probable that the road today known as Pack Lane, which was certainly in use in the Saxon period, was already functioning. There is, however, no positive evidence for this, and accordingly it does not appear on the

figure.

(iii) The Saxon Period (fig.5.2 (iii))

A certain amount of evidence has been found to support the contention that Silchester continued to function as a settlement well into the fifth century. O'Neil pointed out that a high proportion of the coins found at Silchester could be dated to 388-95, and that many of these were well worn, indicating the continuance of a monetary economy for perhaps several decades in the fifth century.<sup>23</sup> Fragments of glass beads and vessels of the latest Roman types have also been found, as well as certain items with western, Celtic, affinities.<sup>24</sup> Possibly also of fifth century date, although a seventh century date or later has also been proposed, is the Ogham stone from insula IX, this being the most easterly example known of an inscription in this alphabet.<sup>25</sup> Further evidence that a British enclave may have survived in and around Silchester, until perhaps the mid sixth century, when the next major phase of Saxon expansion occurred, is the lack of Saxon material which can be assigned to a date before this. This is so as far north as Dorchester. The survival of the supposedly 'British' names of 'Loddon' and 'Pamber' may also be significant. It has been argued that Carcel, at which land was mentioned in the will of ealdorman Aethelwold (946 x 947), should be equated with the modern Silchester, on the basis that Caer-cell is a quasi-Welsh rendering of Calleva.<sup>26</sup>

Evidence of the eventual appearance of Saxons, or Saxon fashions in the area, is very limited. Archaeological finds are limited to a single spearhead, and a group of possibly Saxon inhumations from Basingstoke parish, along with the recently excavated settlement site on Cowdery's Down.<sup>27</sup> This proved to be a three-phase nucleated settlement, hall-type buildings appearing in each in association with fenced enclosures. As yet only a mid-Saxon date can be suggested. The tithing name 'Chineham', one of 35 examples of the -ham suffix in the county, may be further evidence of early to mid-Saxon occupation. As is characteristic of this name-form the tithing lies in the vicinity

of a Roman road, in this case that from Silchester to Winchester, which passes approximately a mile to the east.

Some 360 or so authentic Saxon land charters survive for Hampshire and the Isle of Wight and six of these concern estates in, or abutting on, the study area. One of the most detailed dates from 945, and is a grant by King Edmund to Aethelnoth, his presbyter, of property including 'a certain monastic property at Basing called Cynniges Hors Croht, (king's horse croft), and two hides with the wood on Acrycge (Oakridge) pertaining thereto, in the place which is called Licepyt (Lychpit).<sup>28</sup> These sites are all close to Chineham tithing, and the excavated Cowdery's Down settlement, and it is a reasonable premise that there was some form of settlement focus in the immediate area in the mid to late-Saxon period. Both Basing and Basingstoke appear in other tenth-century charters,<sup>29</sup> and the stoc element in the latter placename is generally taken as evidence that it was the later or subordinate settlement of the two. Basing further appears in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 871,<sup>30</sup> and Asser's Life of King Alfred,<sup>31</sup> as the site of a Danish victory.

It is difficult to make positive statements about the nature of the Saxon landscape from the brief mentions of certain estates in the charters, as it is to determine to what extent these estates were the predecessors of those listed in Domesday. The only detailed bounds attached to a charter which impinge on the study area are those of a grant of 990, by King Aethelred to Aethelward, his minister, of fifteen hides at Wudatun (Wootton St. Lawrence).<sup>32</sup> This, today, is a parish immediately to the west of the parishes of Monk Sherborne and Basing. At its southern edge the tenth-century estate apparently extended further south than did the post-medieval parish.<sup>33</sup> However, two points pertaining to the eastern boundary indicate that here the estate and parish boundaries followed the same line. Withigford is the modern Wyeford, in the extreme south-west of Pamber parish, abutting Wootton St. Lawrence, and Wrefet, apparently a scribal error for Prefet, is the modern Privet, at the meeting places of the parishes of Monk Sherborne, Sherborne St. John and Wootton St. Lawrence. Hence, at least the

central portion of the western boundary of the study area was established as a territorial division by the later tenth century.

The separate existence of the Basing and Basingstoke settlements by this date has already been alluded to, although the existence of two nucleated settlements need not imply that the original estate had yet been divided. More contentious is the date of the southern boundary of Silchester parish which, with the northern boundary of Mortimer West End, encircles the walled town of Silchester, and has been argued to be of Roman date. This was proposed by Biddle in his paper 'Hampshire and the Origins of Wessex', although the argument lost some of its strength when Gelling pointed out that the inclusion of Mortimer West End in Hampshire is a recent development, post-dating the first edition of the Ordnance Survey maps.<sup>34</sup> However, the actual land-unit of Mortimer West End was in existence as a tithing prior to this boundary change, and its ultimate origins are unknown. Therefore, the major premise of Biddle's argument remains, that the two parishes together form a unit which is, in its shape, anomalous when compared to the other parishes in the surrounding area, and that this unit has an obvious spatial concordance with the walled town of Silchester. A point that has not previously been made is that the Silchester parish boundary closely follows the line of the Silchester brook, which flows about half-a-mile to its north. It was the Silchester brook which, Boon argued,<sup>35</sup> may have marked the southern limit of the arable land worked by cultivators resident in the Roman town of Silchester. The possibility that there is a direct correspondence between these two points deserves further consideration in the future.

To what extent the roads associated with Silchester in the Roman period continued to act as routeways in the Saxon period was apparently variable. Today, some survive in long, unbroken stretches, like the 'Devil's Highway' (the London road), which marks the northern boundary of the county and the study area. The importance of this route in the late-Saxon period is reflected by the notice of a bridge on its line, at Stratfield, in a grant of 1053x66 by King Edward to Westminster abbey of his estate at Eversley.<sup>36</sup> The name 'Stratfield' is itself evidence of the

road's recognition in the Saxon period. Gelling translated it as 'open land by the Roman road'.<sup>37</sup>

There is some evidence to suggest that the roads leading south from Silchester, to Sarum, Winchester and Chichester, were still in use as unbroken, long distance routes, at least as late as the phase of Saxon expansion and settlement in Hampshire. The evidence for this is the distribution of placenames with the element -ham as suffix, this currently being argued by place-name scholars to be the earliest of the Saxon place-name suffixes. The distribution in Hampshire<sup>38</sup> emphasizes the validity of Cox's observations on the Midlands and East Anglia, that names with this element are "almost without exception sited not more than three miles from a Roman road".<sup>39</sup> The location of Chineham has already been noted.

By the late-Saxon period it would appear probable that these roads no longer survived as unbroken communication routes, for they do not appear as boundaries when these were first written down, usually in the tenth century. Certainly, by the thirteenth century, from which period written records begin to survive in some number, only short stretches remained in use as roads. In Berkshire, Gelling has noted a similar disregard of Roman roads by parish, and hence in most cases, late Saxon estate boundaries, and has commentated on how anomalous the 'Devil's Highway' is in the length of its survival.<sup>40</sup> In Hampshire, the charter evidence suggests that the roads from Silchester to Sarum and Winchester were of greater importance, judged in terms of the extent to which they survived, than was the road to Chichester, although there is not sufficient charter-evidence to allow much weight to be attached to this statement. One long distance route which crosses the study area is first positively identified at this time, although it was suggested, above, that an east-west road was likely to have been in existence on something like the same line by the Roman period. This road is that known locally as Pack Lane, almost certainly the Herepath of the Wootton St. Lawrence charter of 990, which also appears to the east in charters concerning Long Sutton and Crondall.<sup>41</sup>

### The Domesday Evidence (Fig.5.3)

In all, Domesday lists seventeen estates in the study area under thirteen place-headings, there being parts of three hundreds involved.<sup>42</sup> It is clear that by 1066 the major medieval tenurial outlines of the Loddon area were firmly established. Two medieval parishes were, however, not given separate listings in Domesday. Sherfield on Loddon was part of the royal manor of Odiham in 1086, and was to remain with the Crown until 1167-8. Where Pamber was listed, if at all, is more of a problem. In 1260, it was considered as part of Basingstoke hundred, but in the fourteenth century it was evidently considered as part of the hundred of Barton Stacey, which was made up of several detached portions.<sup>43</sup> If it was excluded from listing in 1086, rather than being incorporated under another heading, this may be because it was already considered royal forest. With the exception of the separate New Forest section, the recording of forest in Hampshire in Domesday appears to be casual and incomplete, and although there are indications of the existence of the other medieval royal forests they were not mentioned by name. Finn noted the possibility that royal forests were, in general, ignored or only partly recorded in 1086, as they were under the jurisdiction of an official other than the sheriff.<sup>44</sup>

#### (i) Woodland (Fig.5.4 (iii))

It was noted, above, that in the two millennia or so prior to 1086 the evidence suggests that a considerable part of at least the northern six miles of the study area remained largely unsettled, and probably wooded. The paucity of references to woodland in the Saxon charters does not allow late Saxon clearance, if any, to be monitored, and only the wood on Oakridge (Basingstoke) is specifically mentioned.<sup>45</sup>

The woodland in this area appears in Domesday under the formula 'there is woodland worth x swine', the so-called swine render, which was the normal method of assessment in the counties south of the Thames. Whilst Rackham has noted that in the Weald these swine rents are part of a complex economy, with detached -denn settlements, there is no evidence to suggest that the woods

	HIDES		LAND FOR x PLOUGHS	PLOUGHS AT WORK			POPULATION					MEADOW (ACRES)	WOOD (SWINE)	MILLS	CHURCH	OTHER	VALUE (SHILLINGS)			
	1066	1086		DEMESNE	OTHER	TOTAL	V	B	S	C	TOTAL						T.R.E.	1066	1086	
SILCHESTER	5	3	5	1	4	4	9	13	3		38	6	20				100	60	60	
	5	5	5		3	4	5	4	4			2	60				100	100	120	
STRATFIELD	1	*	2			0	2											15		
	2	2			1	1	3					5	2				15	13s.4d.	13s.4d.	
STRATFIELD TURGIS	1	1	4	1½	3	4½	5	9	4		18	15	5	1		forge	30	30	30	
STRATFIELD SAYE	15	7½	17	2	16	18	30	10	14		54	40	100	2	1		300	240	300	
BRAMLEY	5	2½	8	2	11	13	14	14	8		36	2	80	2	1		100	140	180/240 <sup>+</sup>	
MONK SHERBORNE	10½+½virgate		12	3	4	7	8	13	5		26	16	23				160	160	200	
CHINEHAM	3	3	2	1	2	3	3	4	7		14	2					50	50	50	
SHERBORNE ST. JOHN	10	7	10	3	5	8	16	19	5		40	20					200	200	300	
HARTLEY WESPALL	1½	1½	illegible		3 2	3 2	4 5		1		10	6 6	5 4	1			40 15	40 15	40/4 <sup>+</sup> 15	
BASINGSTOKE	Royal Manor		20	3	12+4		19	20	8	6	12		20	20	3	1	market fair			
		1			1	1	2	4			52	2		1					85	
BASING	11	6½	10	3	11	14	20	41	7		68	19	25	3				240	160	320
LYCHPIT	2	2	2	2		2		8	5		13	5						60	60	60
EASTROP	3	3	3	1	2	3	2	15	3		20				1			80	60	80
TOTAL	76	55½	102	22½	84	106½	148	162	72	12	404	163	342	17	4		1490	1328s.4d.	1868s.4d.	
																		1892s.4d. <sup>+</sup>		

\* Did not pay geld in 1086.

\*\* Church had half-a-hide as well, paying 20s.

<sup>+</sup> The figure before the oblique line is the assessed figure.  
and the figure following the amount that was actually paid.

Population: V - villeins

B - bordars

S - serfs

C - coliberts

FIG.5.3 The Study Area: Tabulation of Domesday Figures

Source: V.C.H.Hants. i, pp.399-526

recorded in the Loddon area lay anywhere other than on the estates under which they are noted.<sup>46</sup> It is possible though that the rents noted were ancient and customary, and hence not representative of the relative amounts of woodland on the Domesday estates.<sup>47</sup> This must be born in mind when considering the following conclusions.

Relative comparisons are all that can be made, as it is impossible to equate the swine rents of 1086 with the modern acreages. In terms of assessing the extent of woodland still standing in the late eleventh century, the omission of Pamber as an independent unit is unfortunate as this was the heart of the royal forest, and, if the medieval documentary evidence and the earliest cartographic representations are any guide, was likely to have been the most heavily wooded of the study area's parishes throughout the medieval period. In Sherfield on Loddon, on the other hand, very little wood survived into the post-medieval period, and there are few medieval references to it; it was perhaps largely cleared by the time of Domesday. The other case where woodland was not recorded in Domesday is Sherborne St. John, which was certainly very well-wooded in the thirteenth century. No reason can be suggested for the failure to state the swine rent due from the parish, other than a scribal omission, unless the northern, wooded, half of the parish was, with the whole of Pamber, already royal forest, and hence outside the concern of the Domesday inquisitors. The largest recorded swine renders were 100 for Stratfield Say, 80 for Bramley and 100 for the two Silchester vills.

When the swine renders of 1086 are compared with the woodland acreages recorded in 1905 by the Board of Agriculture<sup>48</sup> there is a general lack of correspondence in the relative amounts of woodland listed. This may well be due to the intervening centuries of landscape change, but even so one might have expected fewer discrepancies in the relative figures than are apparent here. As with so many medieval 'statistics' the picture given by Domesday should be taken as no more than a rough and incomplete guide to the late eleventh-century landscape.

With this in mind, what is most striking is the clear dichotomy, suggested previously from indirect evidence, between the large

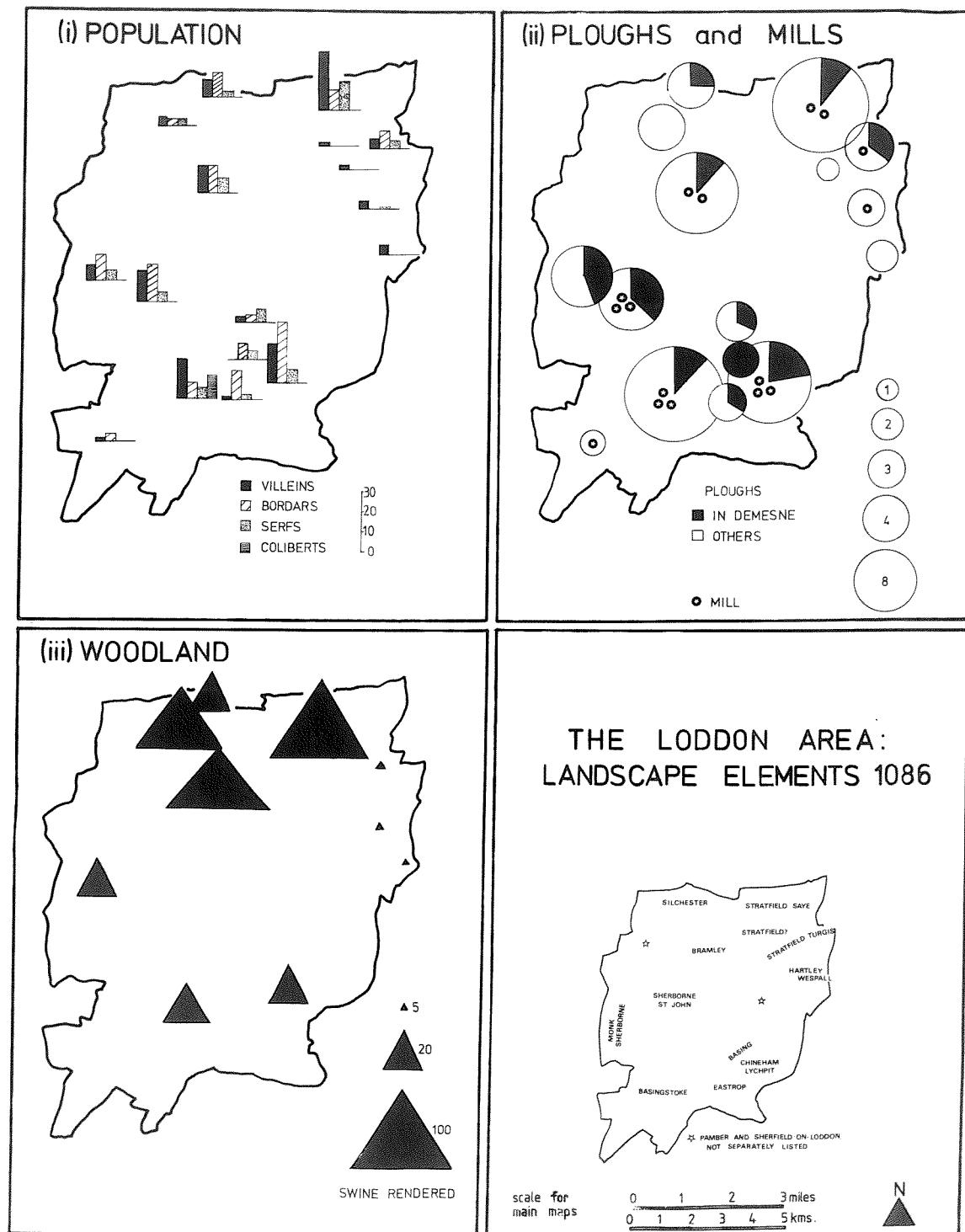


Fig. 5.4

amounts of woodland on the northern manors compared to the southern ones. The degree of abruptness of the change is largely hidden because of the absence of figures for Sherborne St. John and Sherfield on Loddon, which lie on the divide between the two zones. The entries in Domesday concerning the area do not give any indication of the nature of woodland management being practised, as they do in some cases. Nor is it possible to be certain where the Domesday woodland was in each parish, although in many cases, where the medieval landscape can be broadly reconstructed, the large tracts of wood known then were probably the same ones assessed in 1086.

(ii) Ploughs and Mills (Fig.5.4 (ii))

A total of  $105\frac{1}{2}$  ploughs or ploughteams was recorded at work in the study area in 1086, of which  $21\frac{1}{2}$  were in demesne. This means that, excluding Pamber and Sherfield on Loddon from the calculations, an average of about two ploughs per square mile were at work, this figure being about average for Hampshire.<sup>49</sup> The largest numbers appear at Basing and Basingstoke to the south (fourteen and nineteen ploughs respectively), and at Bramley and Stratfield Saye to the north (thirteen and eighteen).

The most noticeable, and noteworthy, thing about the figures is the greater proportion of ploughs in demesne in the southern half of the area, which was suggested, above, to have had the more established arable farming tradition. This could be taken as evidence of there being, or having been, a proportionately greater peasant assarting movement in the north of the area than the south. On the other hand, there are rather more borders on the southern estates than the northern. The overall implication seems to be that in 1086 not only in the north, where there were considerable amounts of wood recorded, but also in the south, there were quite extensive tracts of land, presumably on the periphery of estates, still being brought into cultivation.

Discrepancies between the potential, or estimated, number of ploughs or ploughteams that could work the land of the estate, as indicated by the formula 'there is land for x ploughs', and those that were actually doing so, are not completely understood by Domesday scholars. The most probable explanation of a shortfall

of ploughs at work is that it shows "a failure....to cultivate the full extent of the lands that were quickly and demonstrably cultivable".<sup>50</sup> The greatest shortfall in the study area is at Monk Sherborne (seven at work, land for twelve), with lesser ones at Sherborne St. John, Silchester and the third Stratfield estate. The most substantial 'surpluses' are at Stratfield Saye (land for ten, twenty at work), Bramley (eight:thirteen), and Basing (ten:fourteen).

Mills occur evenly across the area, given that their topographic location is by vill only. Of the sixteen recorded, ten are in the southern half of the area, with three each in Sherborne St. John, Basing and Basingstoke. Streams or rivers run through, or border, each of the parishes where a mill is noted, and there is hence no reason to suppose that estates possessed detached mills.

### (iii) Meadow, grassland and waste

Each vill in the area, with the exception of Eastrop, had some meadow listed, although some of the amounts involved were very small, such as one acre at Hartley Wespall, and two at Bramley. The largest amount was at Stratfield Saye, which had 40 acres, another five estates having between fifteen and twenty acres each.

In common with most of Hampshire no pasture was recorded in Domesday for the study area,<sup>51</sup> and this, along with waste land (that is very rough pasture, heath, scrub and the like) constitutes the greatest omission, in spatial terms, by the survey.<sup>52</sup> If the broad division of land into arable, woodland, and pasture is accepted, the amount of any one of the types can be arrived at by subtracting the combined area of the other two from the total known area. In this case, as has been noted above, this calculation cannot be simply undertaken, because of the different, and imperfectly understood units of measurement used to list woodland and arable. Therefore, each type of land use has to be individually considered, and conclusions concerning the third, pasture, arrived at through comparative observations.

When density plots are produced of woodland and arable the results are of some interest (Fig.5.5). As expected, woodland was

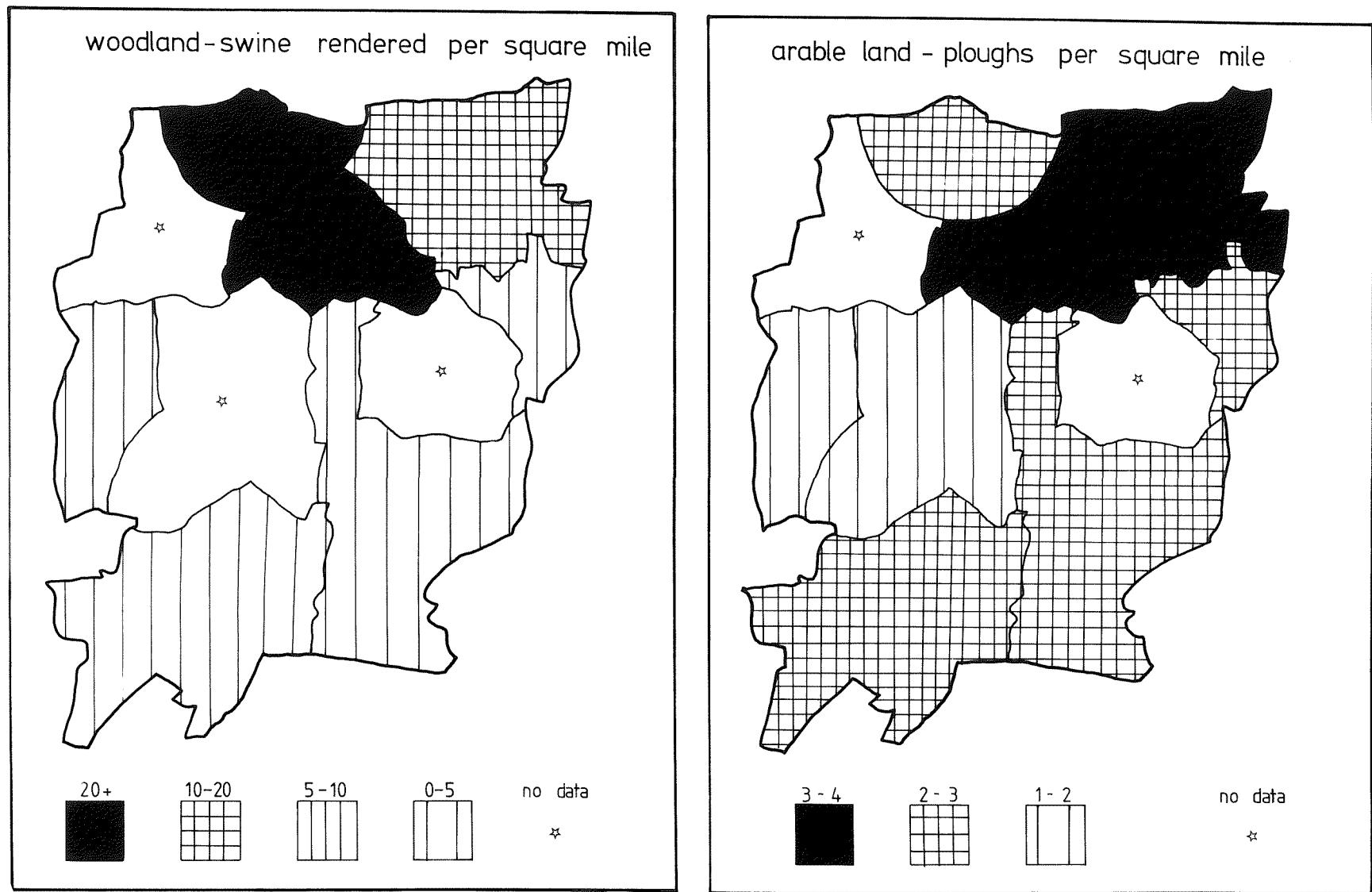


Fig.5.5

densest in the north, in Silchester and Bramley, with the Stratfield estates (here grouped together) falling in the second highest group.<sup>53</sup> The parishes to the south of these all had far less woodland per square mile, and in general the northern parishes had, in 1086, at least three times the density of woodland of the southern ones.

Bramley also, along with Stratfield, had the highest density of ploughs at work. Silchester appears in the middle group, along with the parishes to the south and east of the area. Sherborne St. John appears in the lowest density group as, once again, does Monk Sherborne.

In terms of the amount of land given over to arable cultivation or woodland it is clear that the greatest combined totals were in the north-eastern parishes of Silchester, the Stratfields and Bramley, and it is in these parishes that we come closest to seeing land-use being fully recorded in 1086, especially when the 57 acres of meadow for the three Stratfield vills are included. Conversely, Monk Sherborne, and probably Sherborne St. John, were the vills least given over to woodland and arable, and hence, according to this argument, with the greatest amount of grassland and waste. Basing, Basingstoke and Hartley Wespall fall in between the two extremes. It will be seen that this suggested ordering of land-use intensity, and potential under-utilization, approximates closely to the situation suggested above from the discrepancies between the number of ploughs for which there was theoretically land, and the number actually at work.

#### (iv) Population (Fig.5.4 (i))

In all, 406 persons were recorded in Domesday in the study area, an overall density of 9.8 recorded persons per square mile.<sup>54</sup> This, in the context, is a high figure, comparable with much of the Test valley, the Hampshire woodlands, of which the study area is a part, in general had a density of two to six persons per square mile. The figure was as high as 12.9 for the Stratfield estates, 12.5 for Silchester parish, 11 for what is today Basingstoke parish,<sup>55</sup> 10.3 for modern Basing,<sup>56</sup> and 10 for Bramley. The results closely reflect the number of ploughteams

at work, with the lowest recorded populations being in the two Sherbornes and Hartley Wespall. Villeins and bordars occurred in roughly equal numbers (148 and 162 respectively), there being in addition 72 serfs and, in Basingstoke, twelve coliberts.<sup>57</sup> The number of bordars, 41, in this parish was also very high, although it was noted previously that there was no particular part of the study area in which the bordars were concentrated; the same holds true for villeins and serfs.

(v) The Assessed Value of the Estates

In about half the manors within the study area the basic five-hide unit was still visible, in 1086 whether as a five-hide assessment, or as a multiple thereof. Chineham (three hides) and Lychpit (two hides), for instance, were probably linked together originally for geld purposes.<sup>58</sup> Typical of the southern counties was the reduction in geld liability between T.R.E. and 1086 seen on several of the estates.

In terms of what the vill was thought to be worth, several of the estates show the phenomenon, common to many Hampshire estates,<sup>59</sup> of a decline in the intermediate, 1066, value, with a recovery by 1086. Others show substantial increases in value by 1086; Bramley rose from 100s. at T.R.E. to 140s. in 1066 to 180s. in 1086, and actually paid 240s. The assessed value of Basing dropped from 240s. to 160s. and then rose substantially to 240s. Between 1066 and 1086 the value of Sherborne St. John rose from 200s. to 300s., and that of Monk Sherborne from 160s. to 200s. One of the Hartley Wespall vills, whilst being valued at 40s., only paid 4s. in 1086.

When the figures for 1086 are considered in terms of assessed value per square mile, the highest figures are for the parishes with the heavier arable bias, Bramley, the Stratfields, and Silchester. At the lower end of the scale come Hartley Wespall and Basingstoke, although the latter's status as a royal manor probably affected its value.

(vi) Settlements

There is no evidence in Domesday for the study area about either

the type of field systems in use at that time or the nature of settlement. The major point of interest here is to what degree the various vills had nucleated, rather than dispersed, settlements attached to them, as this should reflect the associated field, and other, sub-systems. If nucleated settlements are to be expected anywhere, it is arguably, in conjunction with churches, and Domesday records four of these, in Stratfield Saye, Bramley, Sherborne St. John and Basingstoke.<sup>60</sup> The latter, royal, manor was probably already the leading settlement in the area by the late eleventh century, and a relatively sizeable settlement is likely to have existed by the church, with a market and fair being recorded there by Domesday. The only other indication that is given of economic activity other than farming is at Stratfield Turgis, where a forge (ferraria) was mentioned.<sup>61</sup>

#### Pamber Forest

It was suggested above that Pamber Forest may have already been established by 1086, because of the complete omission of Pamber from Domesday, and the absence of recorded woodland in Sherborne St. John parish. There is, however, no direct evidence of this and positive evidence of Pamber's existence as a forest appears first in the early years of the reign of Henry II.

The first mention of the forest is in the Pipe Roll for 1164-5, when Alexander the forester rendered ten shillings for Pamber Forest.<sup>62</sup> Roger Wulfesenge had taken over the farm by the next year.<sup>63</sup> He continued to account for Pamber, for the same amount, until 1173-4, when Alexander the forester, possibly the same man as had accounted for it nine years previously, took over the farm.<sup>64</sup> In 1177-8 he was replaced by Alardus filius Willelmi,<sup>65</sup> the account being for the firma de Penberga, with no specific mention of its status as a forest being made. He still farmed Pamber in the early years of Richard's reign, Hugh de Neville becoming chief forester in 1201-2<sup>66</sup> and henceforth accounting for the farm.

In the first year or two of John's reign there was evidently a major reorganization of the running of Pamber, with a distinction

being made between the Bailiwick of Pamber, for which an annual farm of twenty-two shillings was paid, and the bosci of Pamber, for which ten shillings were rendered. The first indication of this divergence is in the Pipe Roll for the second year of John's reign (1200-1201) where, in addition to the ten shillings owed by Hugh de Neville for the firma de Pen berga, under the Honour of Windsor, there is an entry under Hampshire in the Nova Oblata section recording that Osbert the son of Alexander the forester paid 40 marks to have the custody of Pamber forest.<sup>67</sup>

Osbertus does not appear again in the Pipe Rolls, Hugh de Neville farming both the bosci of Pamber and the bailiwick (albeit often in arrears)<sup>68</sup> for the rest of John's reign.

Evidently, the distinction that was being made here was between the bailiwick of Pamber, probably the whole area under forest law, and the physical forest of Pamber, the two being considered separately. This division, between the actual demesne woods of the Crown, exploited for the king's direct interest, and the greater area under forest law, was to continue throughout the middle ages.

The fact that ten shillings was the farm of the bosci, the demesne woods, and that ten shillings had been the amount paid for the foresta of Pamber for the previous 35 years, suggests that these two were one and the same thing, and that it was the bailiwick which was the new creation of John's reign. Generally, both the bailiwick and the bosci were entered under the honour of Windsor in Berkshire, although there was no real consistency in this. In 1192 entries for Pamber appeared under both Bray and Cosham (Berks.)<sup>69</sup> and London and Middlesex.<sup>70</sup> As mentioned above, the entry fine paid by Osbert the son of Alexander in 1201 appeared under Hampshire,<sup>71</sup> whilst in the middle years of John's reign Pamber was generally entered under Marlborough.<sup>72</sup>

What area actually comprised the bailiwick of Pamber is unknown, as is the extent of the bosci of Pamber which is of greater importance when the development of the landscape and the progress of the assarting movement is under consideration, as it is here. No topographic details concerning Pamber appear in the Pipe Rolls

prior to Henry III's reign. It is noticeable, though, that the ten-shilling farm was the lowest sum rendered for a forest farm under the Angevins. There were, on average, fifteen annual forest farms during the reign of Henry II.<sup>73</sup> It is perhaps unlikely though that there was any direct relationship between the size of the forest and the sum paid.

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3. Ibid., p.8.
4. V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.162 note 104.
5. The following sections draw heavily on the records of the Ordnance Survey Archaeological Division.
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7. Their work is acknowledged, and referenced, in S.Applebaum, 'The Distribution of the Romano-British Population in the Basingstoke Area' Proc.Hants.Field Club and Archaeol.Soc. 15 (1954), pp.119-38.
8. C.Taylor, 'Roman Settlements in the Nene Valley: The Impact of Recent Archaeology', pp.107-120 in P.Fowler (ed.), Recent Work in Rural Archaeology (1975).
9. Applebaum, op.cit.
10. K.Smith, 'The Excavation of Winklebury Camp, Basingstoke, Hampshire' P.P.S. 43 (1977), pp.30-130. See p.111.
11. For Silchester see G.C.Boon, Silchester: The Roman Town of Calleva (revised and expanded edition 1974), which assembles in a whole what has only previously been available in piecemeal form. Reading University has recently begun work on the amphitheatre, some of the defences, and part of the interior: M.Fulford, 'Silchester', Current Archaeology 82 (May 1982), pp.326-31. Sir Mortimer Wheeler is said to have commented on the St. John Hope excavations that they were "going at it as if they were digging spuds": A.R.Duffy, 'Anniversary Address' Antiq.J. 60 (1980), p.3.
12. Smith, op.cit., and R.Robertson-MacKay, 'The Defences of the Iron Age Hill-Fort at Winklebury, Basingstoke, Hampshire' P.P.S. 43 (1977), pp.131-54.

13. Boon, op.cit., passim.
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15. K.Jackson, 'Appendix II: Romano-British Names in the Antonine Itinerary', pp.68-82 in A.L.F.Rivet, 'The British Section of the Antonine Itinerary' Britannia I (1970), pp.34-82.
16. Smith, op.cit., p.73.
17. Boon, op.cit., pp.244-5.
18. Ibid., pp.255-61.
19. Ibid., pp.245-8.
20. The three are very different: O.Rackham, Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape (1976), p.23.
21. Boon, op.cit., pp.277-9.
22. Ibid., pp.290-1
23. B.H.St. J.O'Neil, 'The Silchester Region in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D.' Antiquity 18 (1944), p.114, citing J.W.E.Pearce in Numism.Chron. 9 (1929), p.328 ff.
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28. G.B.Grundy, 'The Saxon Land Charters of Hampshire with Notes on Place and Field Names' Archaeol.J. 78 (1921), pp. 100-102. This is charter no. 505 in P.H.Sawyer, Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography (1968).
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32. Sawyer, op.cit., no. 874. G.B.Grundy, 'The Saxon Land Charters of Hampshire with Notes on Place and Field names (4th series)' Archaeol.J. 84 (1927), pp.313-7. Aldsworth has considered the question of the distribution of charters, and associated bounds, of the Anglo-Saxon period for Hampshire, and has shown that they were produced almost entirely for estates held by the Church: F.G.Aldsworth, Towards a Pre-Domesday Geography of Hampshire - A Review of the Evidence (1974), pp.49-69.
33. Grundy, 'The Saxon Land Charters of Hampshire (4th series)', p.316.
34. Gelling, op.cit., p.809.
35. Boon, Silchester, p.245; see also D.A.Hinton, 'Hampshire's Anglo-Saxon Origins', pp.56-65 in S.J.Shennan and R.T.Shadla-Hall (eds.), The Archaeology of Hampshire (1981), p.57.
36. H.P.R.Finberg, The Early Charters of Wessex (1964), p.66, no.174.
37. Gelling, op.cit., p.808.
38. As shown in M.Biddle, 'Hampshire and the Origins of Wessex', pp.323-41 in G.deG.Sievking <sup>et al</sup>, Problems in Economic and Social Archaeology (1976).
39. B.H.Cox, 'The Significance of the Distribution of English Place-Names in -ham in the Midlands and East Anglia' J.English Place-Name Soc. 5 (1973), p.18.
40. Gelling, op.cit., p.808. She also notes that the reason for the lack of correspondence could, theoretically, be because the land units were in existence prior to the Roman roads.
41. Above, supra note 32. Aldsworth has considered the general trends visible in communications at this time, and has concluded that by the late-Saxon period there had been a move from the lines of Roman roads to the "lines of least physical resistance": Aldsworth, op.cit., p.74.

42. Basingstoke, Holdshot and Chuteley.
43. V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.104; F.J.Baigent and J.E.Millard, A History of the Ancient Town and Manor of Basingstoke (1889), passim.
44. R.W.Finn, The Domesday Inquisition (1961), p.116, note 1.
45. Grundy, 'The Saxon Land Charters of Hampshire', p.101.
46. Rackham, op.cit., p.61. Detached woodland blocks have also been noted in Shropshire: V.C.H.Shropshire 9 (forthcoming).
47. For references to work on the problem on swine-assessed woodland see E. Searle, Lordship and Community; Battle Abbey and its Banlieu (1974), p.47, note 10.
48. These statistics are usually given for Hampshire parishes at the start of the V.C.H. parish account.
49. H.C.Darby, A New Historical Geography of England Before 1600 (1976 edn.), p.48, fig.12.
50. B.Harvey, Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages (1977), p.114.
51. R.W.Finn 'Hampshire', pp.287-363 in H.C.Darby and E.M.J.Campbell (eds.), The Domesday Geography of South-East England (1962), p.340, notes that only 33 of the 458 settlements in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight have pasture recorded.
52. With the exception of the omission of whole parishes.
53. The reason why Sherborne St. John appears on fig.5.5 as having 'no data' is explained above.
54. Excluding the areas of Pamber and Sherfield on Loddon from the calculations.
55. Domesday's Basingstoke and Eastrop.
56. Domesday's Basing, Lychpit and Chineham.
57. See Finn, 'Hampshire', pp.311-15 for a discussion of this class.
58. F.M.Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (3rd. edn., 1971), pp.646-7.
59. Finn, 'Hampshire', p.316.

60. None today have known surviving Saxon fabric, and only Bramley Norman work.
61. Iron ore occurs in Hampshire in the Tertiary formations of the Bracklesham, Barton, Headon and Osborne Beds, whilst iron nodules are found in the London Clay and Lower Bagshot Beds. V.C.H.Hants. v, p.463. The ferraria is the only one mentioned in Domesday for Hampshire, and paid 2s.2d. See Darby, op.cit., p.62 for other ironworking in Domesday.
62. Pipe Roll 11 Henry II, p.41.
63. Pipe Roll 12 Henry II, p.102. Wulfesuge is the most common form his name appears in.
64. Pipe Roll 20 Henry II, p.117. A final debt of 13s.4d. owed by Roger de Wulfesuge was recorded annually until 1179.
65. Pipe Roll 24 Henry II, p.105.
66. Pipe Roll 2 John, p.187.
67. Ibid., p.205. C.R.Young, The Royal Forests of Medieval England (1979), p.15, comments on the tendency for forest farms and offices to remain with a single family over several generations.
68. Pipe Roll 13 John, p.87, records that he owed £4.5s.0d. for the bosci for eight and-a-half years, and £13.15s.0d. for the bailiwick, this being for half the first year of John's reign, and the twelve subsequent years.
69. Pipe Roll 3 and 4 Richard I, p.164.
70. Ibid., p.140.
71. Pipe Roll 2 John, p.205.
72. For instance, Pipe Roll 10 John, p.203.
73. Young, op.cit., p.56.

## CHAPTER SIX

THE EXPLOITATION AND DIMINUTION OF PAMBER FOREST  
IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

It was noted in the previous chapter that the Pamber area was under forest law by the mid twelfth century, and was possibly one of the forests in existence, but not mentioned by Domesday, in 1086. Whether, and if so to what extent, the theoretical limitations which the application of forest law in addition to common law imposed on economic development did actually slow down an area's exploitation in the early medieval period, has never really been examined.<sup>1</sup> At various times whole counties were placed under forest law, and it has been indicated that at one point virtually the whole of Hampshire was so covered, although the source for this statement was not given.<sup>2</sup> However, it was only for certain short periods, if at all in Hampshire, that the wholesale imposition of forest law was attempted by the Crown. Overall, there seems little evidence that forest law was ever effectively applied outside the areas which were, by the early thirteenth century, traditionally subject thereto. Of particular prominence in this context were those areas adjoining royal demesne woods and parks, as the vert and venison contained therein not only provided supplies directly to the royal household and works, but also valuable revenue when sold and produce to be awarded by grant. Here an attempt will be made to determine what this traditional area was in the case of Pamber forest, and to examine what Crown policy, if any, there was towards the exploitation of the forest, particularly the retention or release of land from forest law.

Firstly, it is necessary to establish the area over which forest law was operative between the accession of Henry III, in 1216 from which time contemporary written records begin to survive in some numbers, and the later fourteenth century, by when the medieval forest system had ceased to be an issue of any serious economic or political moment to either the Crown or its subjects. Furthermore, it needs to be established to what extent this, the 'legal' forest, coincided with the 'economic'

forest. What is meant by these two terms is important, though largely self-explanatory. The 'legal' forest was that area under, at any one time, the forest law, theoretically the area defined by the most recent perambulation.<sup>3</sup>

More important, it will be argued, to the study of landscape history, is the 'economic' forest. This was the area mentioned above, consisting of the royal demesne woods and parks, and the surrounding countryside, which was consistently referred to in the Chancery and Exchequer records of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as being 'within the forest'. Within this, for instance, it was apparently necessary for a landholder to obtain royal approval, by licence, prior to the establishment of a park.<sup>4</sup> A deliberate policy of management and conservation was adopted by the Crown towards this district, whence came timber, wood and venison for royal consumption, sale, and the provision of grants to individuals and religious houses.<sup>5</sup> The 'economic' forest was the traditional core of any forest, and could, at certain times, cover a much smaller area than the 'legal' forest, the whole area within the perambulated bounds. To a large extent this difference is reflected in the range of places which appear in the documents of the Forest Proceedings class, which were generally those within the legal forest at any one time, as opposed to those which figure in the central records of the Chancery, which was usually concerned only with the places within the traditional or economic forest.

The application of forest law, and the various constitutional struggles in which it was an issue, has been relatively well studied.<sup>6</sup> Although royal hunting preserves and woods were almost certainly established prior to 1066, forest law, as such, was a Norman introduction,<sup>7</sup> and probably reached its widest extent under Henry II. That some afforestation took place under Richard I is clear from the terms of the Great Charter and the Charter of the Forest, and whilst under John, too, there were additions to the Forest, this was not enough to balance the disafforestments of these reigns. Similarly, after Henry III declared himself of age in 1227, his lavish gifts and grants of liberties meant that more was lost from the forest than was

gained. In the forest, as elsewhere, Edward I made attempts to reimpose royal authority and jurisdiction, but generally these measures met only limited success in their application. Only in the fourteenth century under Edward III, however, was the extensive forest system dismantled. One must always be careful when dealing with the forest not to be over-specific or dogmatic; whilst forest law itself was largely regularized by the Charter of the Forest (1217), such important matters as the limits of the various forests continued to be contentious issues throughout the rest of the time that the medieval forest system was operative.<sup>8</sup>

In defining the spatial extent of a forest at any one time it is therefore necessary to put forward two, possibly different, sets of limits: the legal, and the economic. For Pamber, only two perambulations are known to survive, from 1279<sup>9</sup> and 1298, copies of the latter surviving in both the papers of the Duchy of Lancaster at the Public Record Office, London,<sup>10</sup> and in the Southwick Priory Cartulary.<sup>11</sup> No earlier perambulations are known.<sup>12</sup>

The perambulations made in 1279 were authorized by Edward I, when under baronial pressure to reduce the area under forest law. Although Bazeley<sup>13</sup> claimed he had no intention of diminishing the amount of land claimed to be in the forest by the perambulations made following the majority of Henry III, in 1227 in Hampshire, as in Dorset, considerable disafforestments were demanded.<sup>14</sup> As no previous perambulation survives for Pamber it is not possible to see whether the bounds of the forest adopted in this year encompassed an area less extensive than the Crown had in the past claimed to be under forest law, although this is suggested by certain earlier grants which stated that certain places were in the forest, these here being outside the given boundary (fig.6.3). The perambulation cannot be precisely mapped, but appears to follow the same bounds as were given in 1298, although certain detached woods, here included, were excluded in the later perambulation.<sup>15</sup>

In other forests, many areas exempted from claims of disafforestation in 1279 were, in this next general series of perambulations, lost from the forest.<sup>16</sup> Pamber, though, perhaps not least because of its long establishment and its relatively restricted size, was not

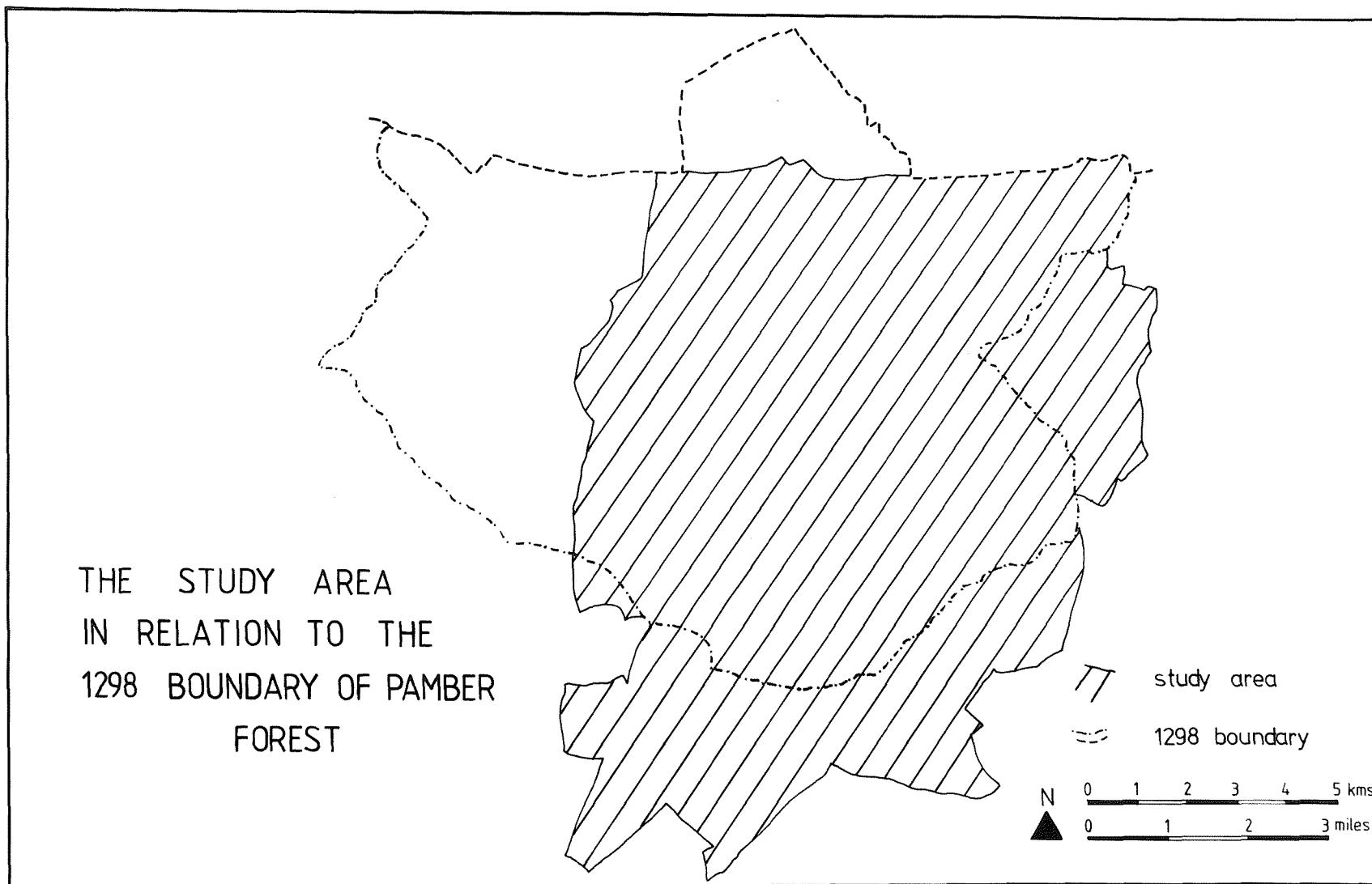


Fig. 6.1

apparently further reduced from its 1279 extent, apart from having detached woods removed. Roughly speaking, the forest occupied the central part of the Hampshire woodlands, adjoining the county boundary with Berkshire, and stretched approximately nine miles (fifteen kilometres) from east to west and a maximum of six miles (ten kilometres) from north to south. The eastern half of the forest falls within the study area, which extends outside the forest to the south and east (fig.6.1).

In 1298 the boundary of Pamber forest (fig.6.2) ran from Stanford End on the Hampshire/Berkshire border westward, along the county boundary, formed by the road known as 'Devil's Highway' and subsequently the River Enborne, until it reached a tributary which led south towards Kingsclere, past Axmansford. From here the perambulation looped south and east towards the River Loddon's upper reaches at Houndsmill, in Basingstoke. From here the boundary was the river itself, northward to Stanford End, the initial starting point of the perambulation. The overall area subject to forest law was something like 43 square miles (112 square kilometres).

Perambulations do not, however, do more than express either what the Crown wished to see as the area subject to forest law, or, at certain times, what it was pressurized into accepting by other parties. Government enrolments provide a broader, more constant record of what was considered to be within the forest. Frequently, as with Pamber, these records predate the first perambulations. Fig.6.3 has been drawn up to show the distribution of the places which appear in licences to impark, or to enclose woodland, or to assart, as being within the forest of Pamber. It has been divided into instances pre-, and post-1298, in an attempt to show whether the extent of Pamber forest actually was diminished in the fourteenth century as has been argued for the forest generally. Did the reign of Edward I mark the start of the decline that was to result in the end of the forest-system proper in the reign of Edward III?<sup>17</sup>

In the earlier of the periods under consideration, that to 1298, the enrolments sometimes indicate that whole parishes were within the forest, as when concessions in, or enforcements of, the law concerning the lawing of dogs were recorded, as in Basing and

## THE BOUNDS OF PAMBER FOREST IN 1298

SOURCE : DL 39 1/8

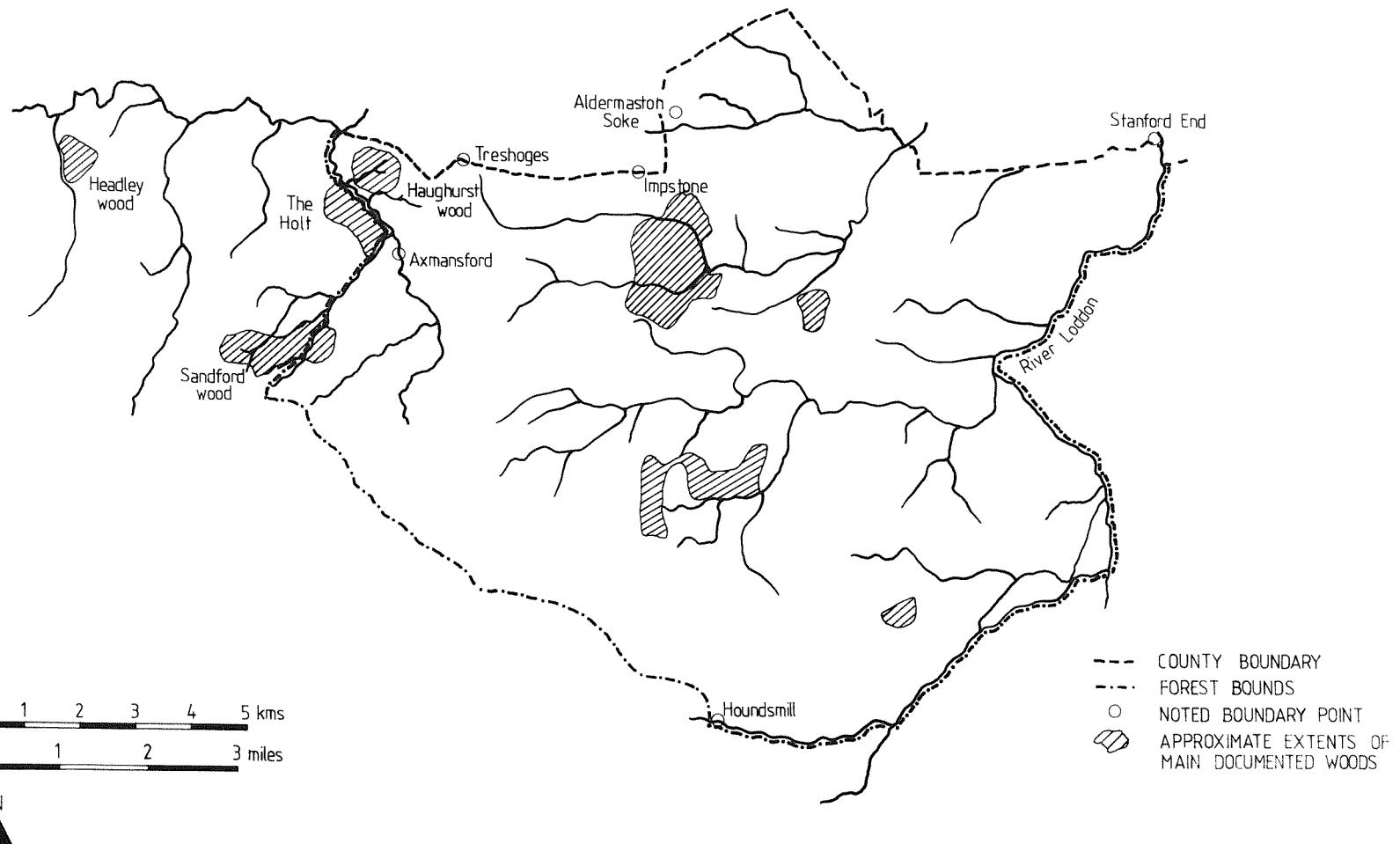


Fig. 6.2

Sherborne St. John in 1250,<sup>18</sup> or when rights of pannage were clarified.<sup>19</sup> Grants of licences to impark also sometimes indicate that a whole manor or parish was within the forest, as when John de St. John was allowed to enclose and impark 100 acres of wood, land and pasture in his manor of Sherborne St. John in 1292.<sup>20</sup> In the perambulation of 1279, whilst Sherborne St. John was recorded as being within the metes of the forest, Basing was clearly excluded. By 1369, when the park of Beaurepaire was created, Sherborne St. John, too, was no longer considered a part of Pamber forest, although the adjoining parish of Bramley still was.<sup>21</sup> Just over a year later the original park of 150 acres was enlarged by a further 28 acres in Bramley, which was once again referred to as being within the forest.<sup>22</sup>

More usually, where there is mention of a specific part, rather than the whole forest of Pamber, it is to a wood, and, where the reference is an isolated one, it is often not clear whether it was just the wood that was in the forest, or the whole parish in which it lay. Royal demesne woods were generally distinguished as such from private ones. In 1208, for instance, King John granted the prior and convent of Merton his wood at Hazeley called Le Garston Regis,<sup>23</sup> and in 1248 a wood called Kippingefrith was apparently in demesne,<sup>24</sup> as was Bokholt in 1299.<sup>25</sup> At certain times the king was in a position to exploit directly, or take the income from other woods, such as Bramley Frith wood, which belonged to the alien priory of Monk Sherborne, but was taken into the king's hands in 1340 for vert offences.<sup>26</sup> In 1292 the woods belonging to Thomas Peverell at Manebrigg, Pokesle and Sheleworth were similarly seized, in this instance for waste committed within them. Although stated to be part of Pamber this was certainly not so.<sup>27</sup> In both cases, however, the woods were returned, perhaps immediately, to their owners to await the visitation of the justices of the forest.

In terms of the number of woods, as opposed to the total acreage involved, it is clear that most were privately owned. In 1279, for instance, the keeper of Pamber forest was ordered to allow the abbot of Hyde (Winchester) to take timber from his own woods towards the repair of the abbey refectory.<sup>28</sup> Generally, the location of the medieval woods is fairly precisely known, and

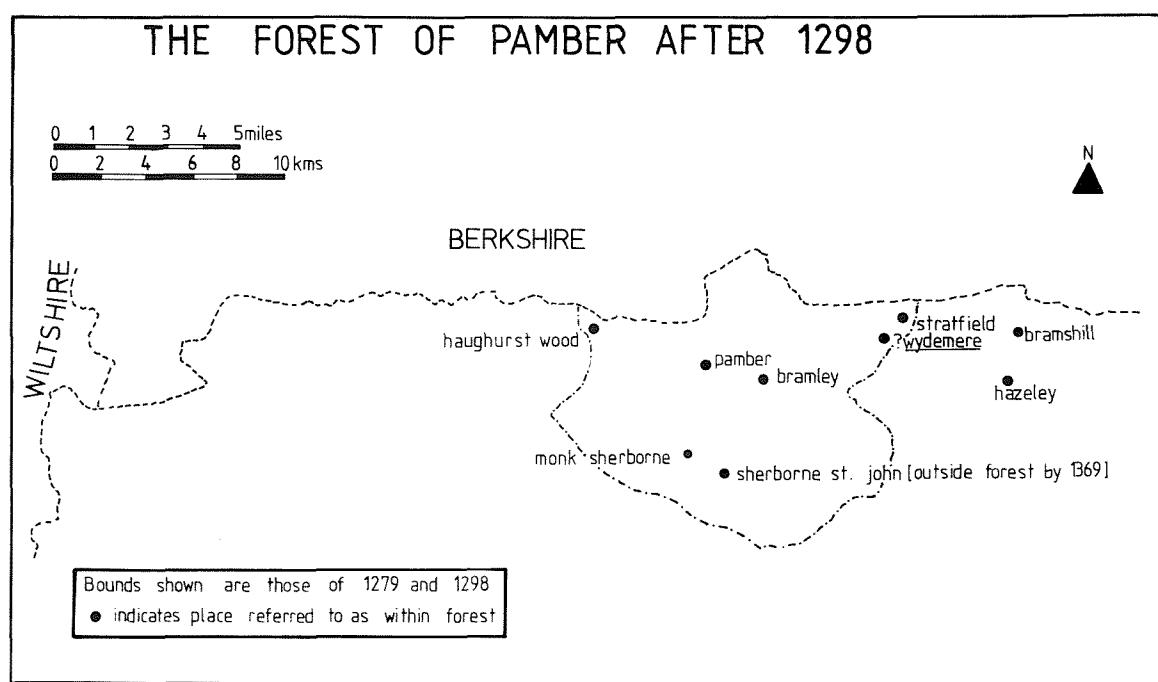
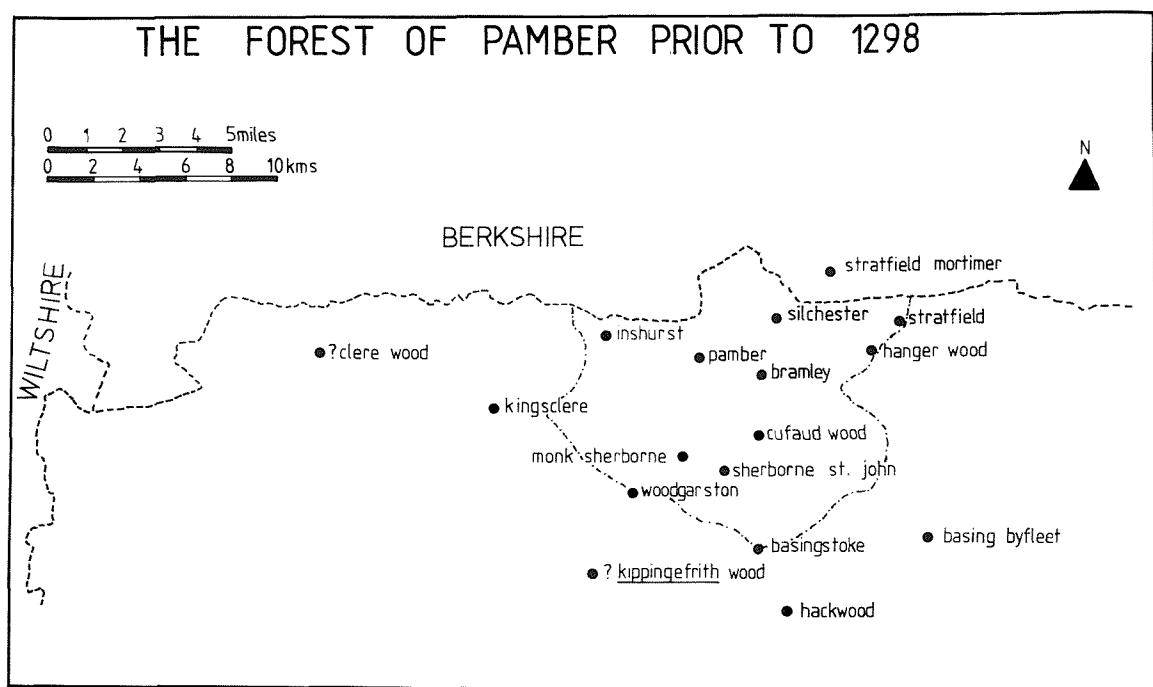


Fig. 6.3

many still survive today. What is more problematical is establishing what size they were, as only rarely do contemporary documents note their acreage. Exceptions are Cufold wood, stated in 1270 to be "containing more than 30 acres by the king's perch",<sup>29</sup> and Haughust wood, which was said to be 100 acres in extent in a dispute of 1331.<sup>30</sup> It is likely that woodland made up the majority of the 40 acres of Hagwood with adjacent lawns noted in 1280,<sup>31</sup> and probably a considerable part of the 100 acres of wood, land and pasture imparked in Sherborne St. John in 1292 (see fig.6.3 for locations).<sup>32</sup> But overall there are considerable problems in attempting to estimate the amount of woodland present in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century in Pamber forest and in the study area generally, which is equally true of all the various different forms of land use.

The demesne woods of Pamber forest were a source of timber and wood, both for the Crown's direct use in the king's works, and as gifts or grants to other parties.<sup>33</sup> The reigns of Henry III and Edward I saw the main incidence of the recorded taking of timber from Pamber (fig.6.4), the principal recipients of grants being religious houses.<sup>34</sup> Often the purpose was specified; in 1249 the prior of Monk Sherborne was granted an oak, to make windows in the Queen's chamber,<sup>35</sup> and in 1291 the Dominicans of Oxford were given six oaks suitable for the repair of their stalls there.<sup>36</sup> One of the largest grants made from Pamber was in 1299, when 80 oaks from Pamber including 40 from Bokholt wood, were assigned for the repair of the houses at Westminster abbey recently burnt down in a fire.<sup>37</sup> Generally, however, the number of oaks granted was small. The most frequent recipient of grants was the alien priory of Monk Sherborne, which lay close to the demesne woods of Pamber,<sup>38</sup> whilst at other times the Dominicans at Winchester,<sup>39</sup> Oxford<sup>40</sup> and Reading<sup>41</sup> received grants, as did Godstow,<sup>42</sup> Chertsey,<sup>43</sup> Hyde,<sup>44</sup> and Westminster abbey,<sup>45</sup> the canons of Caversham,<sup>46</sup> (Reading), the friars of Mount Carmel,<sup>47</sup> London, the personae ecclesie of Overton,<sup>48</sup> and the church of St. Catherine, Winchester extra.<sup>49</sup>

The number of recorded grants to individual members of the laity

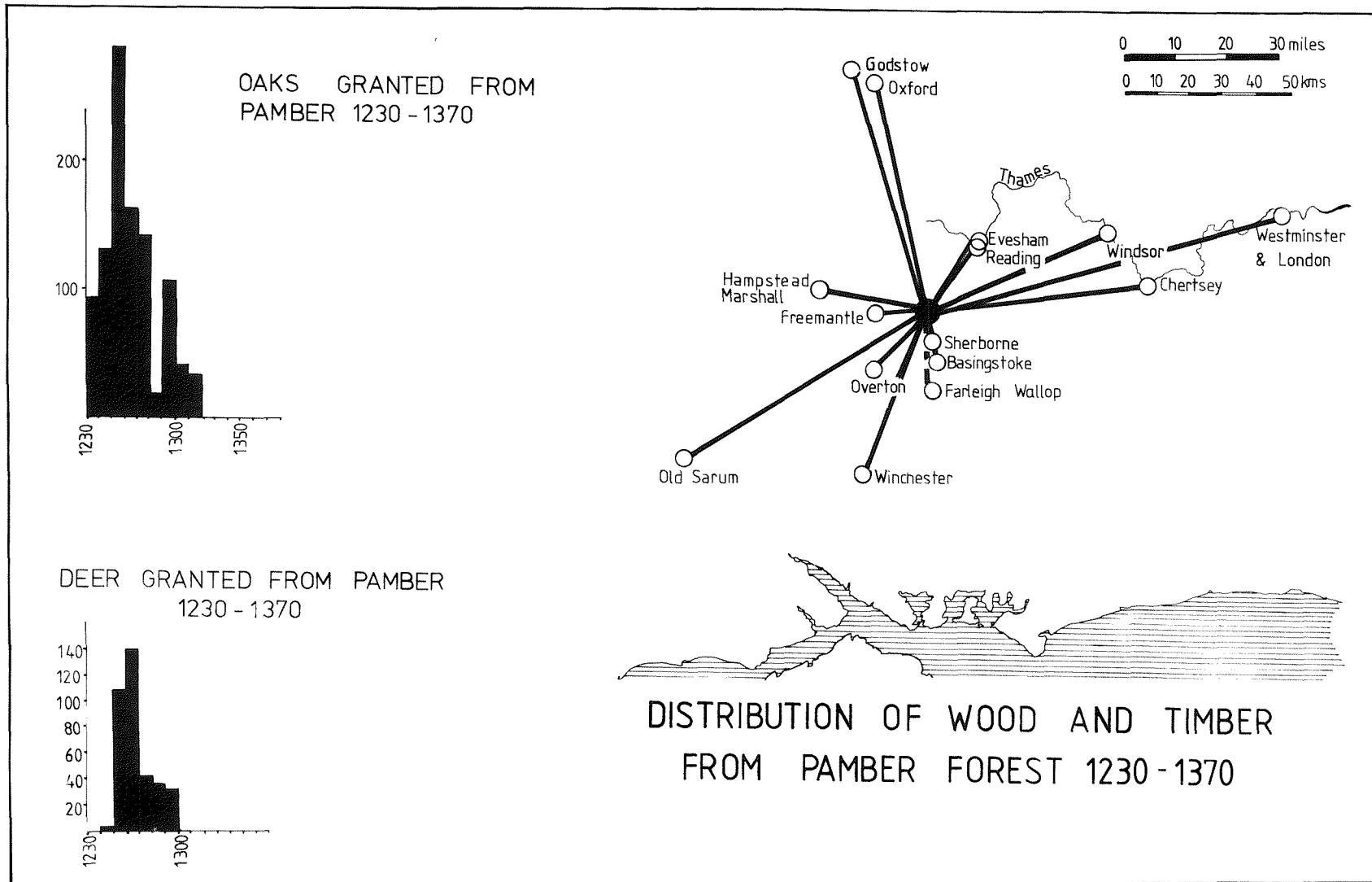


Fig. 6.4

totalled only about half the number to religious houses. The amounts of timber involved were of much the same size, though, most gifts being of under ten oaks. Typical was the grant of 1263 to William la Zouche, of eight oaks from Pamber and eight from Digherle forest, to "rebuild his houses of Farnle lately burnt".<sup>50</sup> Occasional diplomatic gifts are recorded, such as that of 30 oaks to Alphonso of Castile in 1260.<sup>51</sup>

The Chancery enrolments demonstrate the dual direct uses of timber from the demesne woods, which could either be used in the king's building works, or occasionally sold for cash.

Relatively few cases where the latter happened are recorded; in 1268 a gale led to 16*s.6d.* being delivered to the Wardrobe by a clerk, this being the sum raised by the sale of wood 'thrown to the ground' during a storm,<sup>52</sup> and in 1301 £100 worth of trees, wood and underwood, both green and dry, was specified to be taken from Bere and Pamber forests. This was part of a round-up of £2,000 worth of wood from forests south of the Trent. It appears that the original intention had been to take this £100 worth of wood from Clarendon, as the order notes that to take this amount of wood from that forest would lead to its destruction.<sup>53</sup>

When oaks were taken for use in royal building projects the enrolment of the order for the trees to be taken often fails to note their intended destination. From instances where it is noted, however, it is apparent that considerable amounts of timber from Pamber were used in the building works at Windsor Castle in the mid thirteenth century,<sup>54</sup> and also at the royal residence at Kingsclere, on the western edge of the forest.<sup>55</sup> Pamber also supplied timber for the building works at Winchester Castle,<sup>56</sup> Westminster<sup>57</sup> and at Old Sarum.<sup>58</sup>

Most recorded grants were of single, mature oak trees, known as standards.<sup>59</sup> It seems that these were normally supplied lopped, for occasional grants specify that the loppings, the side branches, were to be taken as well as the trunk.<sup>60</sup> A few gifts of smaller-sized timber were also recorded, especially that suitable for forming into rafters,<sup>61</sup> whilst wood for scaffolding,<sup>62</sup> shingles<sup>63</sup> and lathes<sup>64</sup> was also expressly noted in grants. Whilst the number of such grants, and the amount of timber involved, is few beside the number of oaks taken from Pamber destined to serve as major

structural timbers, Rackham's work has demonstrated that, in overall quantitative terms, it was the younger, smaller wood produced through managed coppicing and pollarding, for uses such as those specified above, and for use as fuel, that was the main product of the forests. Only rarely, as above, does this type of wood figure in grants; presumably potential grantees had no need of coppice-wood, easily available in their own woods, unlike 80 year-old standards. Moreover, only rarely does younger wood appear in the enrolled instructions concerning materials to be taken from the forest for use in the royal building works, which would seem to indicate that it, unlike mature oaks, did not need the royal approval before it was taken from the forest. Its production is reflected, though, in the divisions of Pamber forest named on the 1838 Tithe Award map,<sup>65</sup> such as King's Hogstye Coppice, the dates of which, although unknown, are probably, at least in part, medieval. The presence of open wood-pasture, as well as mixed woodland and coppice, is indicated by the several grants of robora, most probably dead pollards,<sup>66</sup> granted for firewood or for charcoal manufacture.<sup>67</sup> Smaller fallen deadwood could probably be taken by common right, although the right of Monk Sherborne priory to remove this from the forest was formalized by a grant of 1246, which allowed it two cartloads of deadwood a week, "so that they take no greenwood".<sup>68</sup>

These records are valuable for the impression they give of the range of woodland resources, and the way in which they were exploited within Pamber forest in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. What is more problematical is extracting from these sources any accurate impression of whether those grants represent a diminution of woodland, and, if so, how much? Several problems with the sources have already been alluded to, such as the fact that it is generally only the taking of standards that was recorded, when these may have been a relatively small part of the overall volume of timber and wood being produced in Pamber. Another problem is that several of the grants were unspecific about the number of trees to be removed, although they suggest that a considerable number could have been involved. In 1279 the abbot of Hyde was allowed to

take enough timber from his woods in the forest for the repair of the refectory of the abbey,<sup>69</sup> and in 1303 the sheriff of Berkshire was ordered to cause all the timber felled in the forest of Pamber to be collected and placed in some suitable place near Reading. It was then to be covered, and the king notified of the number of beams (lignum) felled.<sup>70</sup> This felling may have been a product of Edward I's policy, between 1298 and 1301, "to make the forest a profitable venture".<sup>71</sup>

A further problem is that, despite recent advances in the subject, certain aspects of woodland management remain largely unelucidated. Only rarely can it be seen how densely standards occurred in woods, this in any case being likely to have varied from wood to wood. Rackham's work in Essex has suggested, for instance, that Colchester forest was a large producer of oaks, whereas Hainault was not.<sup>72</sup> The only indication of the possible density of standards in the mediaval forest of Pamber appears in a lease of woodland in 1579, which stated that the lessee was to leave twelve standards or storers standing at every felling.<sup>73</sup> This accords with figures quoted by Beevor for woods in Norfolk, of five to twelve mature trees per acre, although there was one exceptional wood there which had 40.<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, it would obviously have effected the long-term rate of productivity if all the mature trees in a wood were at any time felled at once, rather than certain individually selected trees being taken every few years.

Hence, little can be stated with precision about the figures presented in fig.6.4, showing the recorded taking of oaks from Pamber. It is likely, though, that the relatively heavy exploitation of timber indicated in the middle decades of the thirteenth century is genuine. The peak decade was 1250-60, when 294 oaks, 100 timbers and 15 cartloads of planks and wood for scaffolding, as well as an amount of deadwood, was authorized to be taken from the forest. To give a purely speculative figure, if we regard these timbers to have also been the products of single, mature trees, with an average density of twelve standards to the acre in the royal woods, these 400 trees would represent the clearance over the ten years of major timber trees from 33 acres. This, of course, is assuming that they

were not replaced. Throughout the period from 1235 to 1272, 784 oaks were recorded as coming from Pamber, along with the miscellaneous items noted above, and 120 saplings in 1240,<sup>75</sup> an overall total of approximately 1,000 trees. Comparatively, throughout the whole of the reign of Henry III, (1216-72), only 482 oaks were recorded as being taken from Hainault forest, and 189 from Havering park, although these were not prime timber-producing forests.<sup>76</sup> After this peak decade a steady decline is apparent in the amount of oaks being taken from Pamber, until in the decade between 1310 and 1320 only 30 or so were enrolled as being felled. In simple economic terms this seems to indicate one of two things: either a fall in demand for high quality timber, or in the ability of the royal demesne woods to supply it.

Several pieces of information suggest the latter possibility. In the first place there was no decline in the amount of royal building at this time which might have led to a fall in demand; indeed, the later thirteenth century saw some of the most concerted campaigns of castle building seen since the Conquest, as well as continuing repairs and improvements to the king's houses in general. Similarly, both lay and ecclesiastical building continued apace, and there would have been no reduction in the number of potential recipients of the king's timber, were it available. And by 1260, in many forests, it would seem that it was not, in 1257 Henry III having suspended the removal of oaks from a large number of specified forests and parks 'because of the destruction caused'. The entry against Hampshire, 'nothing' (nichil), is ambiguous, and it is not clear whether this meant there was no prohibition on the removal of timber from the county's forests, or whether nothing was to be taken because of the generally dilapidated number of timber trees therein. In view of a statement made about Pamber in a Regard Roll twelve years later, the latter is more likely.<sup>78</sup> This recorded that the king's wood of Pamber was waste, because of the recent deliveries to the king's works at Winchester and elsewhere, and the gifts made by the king of 251 oaks.<sup>79</sup> In 1301, there comes a further indication that the Hampshire forests in general still had little mature timber, for when three of the

king's officials were assigned to sell timber to the very modest value of £100 from the forests of Chute, Clarendon (Wilts.), Bere (Hants.) and Pamber, with another £50 worth from Guildford park (Surrey), they failed to reach their totals, with sales of only about £100 in all.<sup>80</sup>

The cutting and non-replenishment of standards was probably a necessary precursor to the release of land for assarting. Oaks, valuable not least because of the 20 to 70 years it took them to reach the necessary size,<sup>81</sup> were jealously protected by the Crown through the various forest officers. When assarting is noted in the Forest Proceedings, the record generally being subsequent to the actual clearance, rather than permission for it to be undertaken, the fine is a nominal one, with standard rates according to the use to which the land had been put. It is clear that the Crown would have only taken this attitude as long as this was secondary clearance, subsequent to the removal of the mature trees from the land. What would be left after the removal of standards would be coppice or general underwood, or perhaps even just scrub, if the sales campaign after 1298 was as intensive as it appears to have been in some areas. This suggests a two stage model of clearance, with the actual assarting of the land, that is the grubbing-up of stumps and the removal of lesser wood and undergrowth, followed by the introduction of arable cultivation, only beginning once the landowner had disposed of the standards through use or sale. Often, on smaller lay or monastic estates, both stages were undertaken by the landowners themselves. Rarely, of course, was the division between the two stages clear-cut, with the first stage completed prior to the onset of the second, particularly where the overall wooded area was large, as in a forest. Both processes were piecemeal and could be co-existent, and it would be wrong to think of the Crown as having an overall policy towards woodland clearance.

Nevertheless, the evidence presented above, showing an increase in the amount of timber being taken until a peak was reached in the decade 1250-60, with the subsequent steady decline in supply, does allow broad chronological parameters to be applied to the first stage of this process in the forest of Pamber, although

the known limitations of the source prevent anything more than the crudest of methods and the broadest of conclusions to be applied and extracted. The records of the Forest Proceedings are not as detailed as they are for other forests, where relatively continuous series of records allow fairly precise limits to be attached to the assarting movement, not merely in chronological, but also in spatial and social terms. In other words, they can show not only when clearance was going on, but also where, and by whom it was undertaken. For Pamber there is not the source-material to allow this to be done, and other sources and methods have had to be used.

The second major resource taken from Pamber forest was venison. The enrolled government figures recording deer taken for royal consumption, or bestowed by grant to others, have been extracted in order to examine to what extent the supply-figures matched those of timber. Like the grants concerning timber, most orders pertaining to the removal of venison were delivered by letter Close. The graph (on fig.6.4) records the number of deer authorized to be taken from Pamber forest; no distinction has been made between fallow deer (dami and dame, bucks and does) which made up the vast majority of the deer culled, and red deer (cervie and bisse, harts and hinds) or roe (capreolus or cheverellus).<sup>82</sup>

Whilst little comparative work has yet been published, it appears that Pamber was not a great producer of deer. The maximum yield recorded in a decade was 140, in 1260-70, with the next three decades seeing only an average of about 30 deer taken in each ten-year period. Almost all the deer taken appear to have been for almost immediate consumption, although there are occasional instances where live deer were granted, as in 1257, when Thomas le Blund was given six does and four bucks to stock his park.<sup>83</sup> The number of deer taken is very low when compared with the total taken from the 1100-acre Havering park (Essex), where an average of over 400 deer were taken in the three decades subsequent to 1234, a similar amount being taken in the south-west Essex forests at the same time. Hatfield, another Essex forest, was at this time producing 120 deer per decade.<sup>84</sup>

Certainly there are deficiencies in the recorded totals of deer taken in Pamber, not the least of the unenrolled removals being through poaching. Work done on Sherwood forest has indicated that losses in this way probably equalled the number of deer taken for royal consumption.<sup>85</sup> The surviving records of the attachment courts, inquisitions de statu foreste, and pleas of vert and venison in the Forest Eyres for Pamber are too incomplete in their survival to allow quantification, but the surviving documents do contain lengthy lists of presentments for offences against the venison. There is also, as with the timber, the problem that not all orders and grants may have been enrolled, and that this proportion may have differed over time, lessening the value of conclusions based on figures taken from Chancery enrolments. For instance, after c.1292 the number of grants of both timber and deer, particularly the latter, appearing in the Close Rolls, falls off to virtually nothing. Almost the only references to deer are found in the orders for the annual deer hunt, which took place in Pamber during the early fourteenth century in July or August.<sup>86</sup> What is known of Pamber from other sources supports the probability though that this forest, like many others, had seen productivity fall to this much-reduced level, rather than this being a false trend resulting from a deficiency in the sources. Omissions of minor data, such as are being discussed here, from even major sources, may be suspected, but in the absence of corroborative material are impossible to prove.

However, whatever suspicions the early-fourteenth century sources give rise to, those for the period between c.1240 and 1292 appear to be fairly complete.<sup>87</sup> These suggest that, in Pamber forest, the decades between 1250 and 1270 saw deer taken from the forest in numbers that were not to be matched again, with, by the end of the century, deer being taken only once a year, during the annual hunt (above). This closely reflects what was concluded above, concerning the exploitation of the forest's timber resources, where the peak of exploitation was argued to be in the ten years between 1250 and 1260, after which there was a steady decline. Some confidence can be attached to these conclusions, as this peak and decline occurs at least thirty years before the possible source omissions.

The next group of grants which must be examined, as a part of the construction of a chronology of the reduction and clearance of Pamber forest, is that giving the right to enclose private woods or parks. These grants are important, not only because they deal with such large areas of the forest, but because they frequently contain quite detailed information about land-use. Once again, though, certain problems with the source-materials present themselves. Whilst away from areas under forest law no licence to impark was apparently necessary, it was when the projected enclosure was either in, or close to the forest.<sup>88</sup> As far as can be seen, the requirement to obtain a licence was largely an arbitrary one, although close proximity to demesne woodland, and particularly venison, did make it more likely to be demanded. Hence the inclusion of a place in a licence of this type is not a guarantee that it was in the forest, unless the licence states this. It may have been just outside the forest, or be a case where the Crown was attempting to extend the forest law to an area where it was not traditionally applied. This problem was mentioned (above) in the discussion of the bounds of Pamber, where it was noted that the possibly changing boundaries of the legal forest ought to be considered in this context. Furthermore, the granting of rights of chase to the bishop of Winchester in 1284 removed all his demesne woods and lands, as well as the woods of his fees, and likewise the lands of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester, from the constraints of forest law.<sup>89</sup> Henceforth, woodland management was entirely at the bishop's discretion, and woodland could be enclosed, felled, or assarted at will. To what extent this grant represented a generous concession is unclear; it should have relieved the bishop and his tenants of periodic fines for transgressing the forest law, but whether the presence of, or subsequent removal of land from forest law did actually effect its management, is unknown. Thirteen of the bishop's fourteen Hampshire parks were in existence by this date, and only Twyford, first noticed in 1323,<sup>90</sup> may have been created subsequent to this privilege being granted. There had, also, been extensive colonization and clearance on the bishop's manors in the Clere group, to the west of the Hampshire woodlands, during the thirteenth century,<sup>91</sup> notwithstanding that these were within the forest.<sup>92</sup>

The sample is too small to base on it any firm conclusions, but of those parks specifically stated to be within Pamber forest the majority were created, or first appear, in the mid to late thirteenth century, (fig.6.5), reflecting park-creation in Hampshire as a whole (fig.6.6).<sup>93</sup> Admittedly, the total area excluded from forest law in this way was limited, although it is difficult to give a precise figure. In only about half the cases involved does the grant, or any other source, give an area for the park. Where an acreage is stated it is likely that this is given in statute acres, measured by the king's perch, usually sixteen and-a-half feet,<sup>94</sup> although an early fourteenth century grant giving permission to assart 58 acres at Hazeley refers to the twenty-foot perch.<sup>95</sup> It may well be, then, that the real size of parks where the acreage is given, but not the perch on which it was based, was approximately 30 per cent greater than would appear.<sup>96</sup> Charters from the study area do not enable further elaboration of this conclusion, there being no cases encountered where the basis of the measurement given is stated. A further difficulty is that frequently the size of the enclosure was stated to be a figure which was an exact multiple of ten, bearing witness to the estimated, rather than measured, origin of the figure. The exact measurement of large, irregular blocks of marginal land, was not usually practised in the medieval period, although obvious care was taken to calculate exactly the area of smaller blocks of arable land, presumably using a measuring rod. When permission was given to form a park it would have been the bounds thereof which would have been of interest to the Crown's officials, in order to allow them to administer effectively the forest law, rather than its area. The imprecise nature of the grants of establishment are in contrast to the later grants which give permission to enlarge a park, by the addition of smaller pieces of land. Not only were these smaller, and thus more easily measured areas, they were also not infrequently bought from other landholders, rather than being grantee's demesne land. The sale or exchange that this involved led to the land being measured and the total becoming available for recording in the enrolment.

Whilst the number of unknown variables makes it impossible to give precise figures, by using contemporary written records in

PARK	DATE	GRANTEE	AREA	LAND USE	OTHER REMARKS	REFERENCE
SILCHESTER	1204	Ralph Bluet				<u>Rot. De Oblatis et Finibus</u> (Rec. Comm.), p.221.
PREVET (Sherborne St. John)	Pre 1245	William de St. John				<u>Cal.Chart.R. 1226-57</u> , p.284.
BRAMLEY	1245	Robert de St. John	20a.?			<u>Ibid.</u> , <u>V.C.H.Hants.</u> iv, p.141-2.
STRATFIELD SAYE	1260	William de Saye		wood		<u>Cal.P.R. 1258-66</u> , p.131.
SHERBORNE COUDRAY (Sherborne St. John)	1270	Peter de Coudray	30a. +	wood		<u>Cal.Chart.R. 1257-1300</u> , p.33.
HACKWOOD (Basingstoke)	1280	William de Braiboeuf	40a.	wood and lawns		<u>Cal.P.R. 1272-81</u> , p.361.
MORGASTON (Sherborne St. John)	1292	John de St. John	100a.	wood, land (i.e. arable) and pasture		<u>Cal.P.R. 1281-92</u> , p.511.
BEAUREPAIRE (Sherborne St. John)	1369	Bernard Brocas	176a.	In Sherborne 120a. arable, 30a. wood (this not in the forest), and 12a. arable, 12a. wood and 2a. meadow from the forest.		<u>Cal.P.R. 1367-70</u> , p.188.
<u>Ibid.</u>	1370	<u>Ibid.</u>	28a. enlarge -ment	24a. of land and 4a. wood in Bramley.		<u>Ibid.</u> , p.436.
<u>Ibid.</u>	1388	<u>Ibid.</u>	100a. enlarge -ment	Of the total 60a. of land and 4a. of wood are in the forest.		<u>Cal.P.R. 1385-9</u> , p.517.

## PARKS NOT STATED TO BE WITHIN PAMBER FOREST, BUT WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN.

BASING	By 1254				Mentioned in confirmation of composition. W.D. Macray (ed.), <u>Selborne Documents</u> , pp.7-8.
SHERFIELD ON LODDON	1274	John and Alice Wintershill	Common pasture?	Men of Sherfield given replacement pasture	<u>Abbrev. Plac.</u> (Rec. Comm.), p.263.
STRATFIELD MORTIMER (2 parks)	By 1304				<u>V.C.H.Berks.</u> iii, p.426.
BULLSDOWN (Bramley)	By 17th century				<u>V.C.H.Hants.</u> iv, p.143.

FIG. 6.5 PARKS WITHIN PAMBER FOREST

conjunction with map and fieldwork evidence, it seems that the total area imparked from Pamber forest prior to 1350 was under 1,000 acres. This represented something like four per cent of the area under forest law; the amount of the forest which was wooded and imparked cannot be calculated even roughly, but was disproportionately higher than the overall figure.

It is not so much the precise amount of land involved that is important, rather it is the indication that the grants give that the Crown was willing, at this time, to see the forest of Pamber spatially diminished. Licences to impark can, therefore, like grants of timber and venison, be used as chronological indicators. These again indicate that it was the mid to late thirteenth century when the Crown was not only exploiting its own resources within the forest on a scale never to be seen again, but also releasing land for more intensive use by others.<sup>97</sup>

As has been already noted, the imperfect survival of records of the Forest Proceedings class concerning Pamber means that it cannot be tested in this case how good an indicator of the general assarting movement the above mentioned Chancery grants and licences are, although it should be feasible for the better-documented forests, like Rockingham. Whilst, though, such records of the Forest Proceedings as survive do not provide an accurate guide to the quantity of assarting, they do give a valuable indication of the form it took.<sup>98</sup>

A grant, for instance, of six and-a-half acres in two parcels in Pamber in 1260<sup>99</sup> was almost certainly of assarts, made by previous holders of the land, the 4d. an acre rent being standard for much assarted land.<sup>100</sup> A roll of the Attachment Court temp. Henry III<sup>101</sup> has the standard categories of new and old assarts; under the latter half-mark fines were paid individually by two men for assarts in the woods of Silchester and Bramley. Whilst various factors determined the level of the fine, a comparison with the fines paid in Rockingham forest in the mid thirteenth century would suggest that these assarts were of between five and fifteen acres.<sup>102</sup> A half-acre assart noted at Kingsclere<sup>103</sup> was probably more typical of the scale of individual assarts, which were limited both by the labour

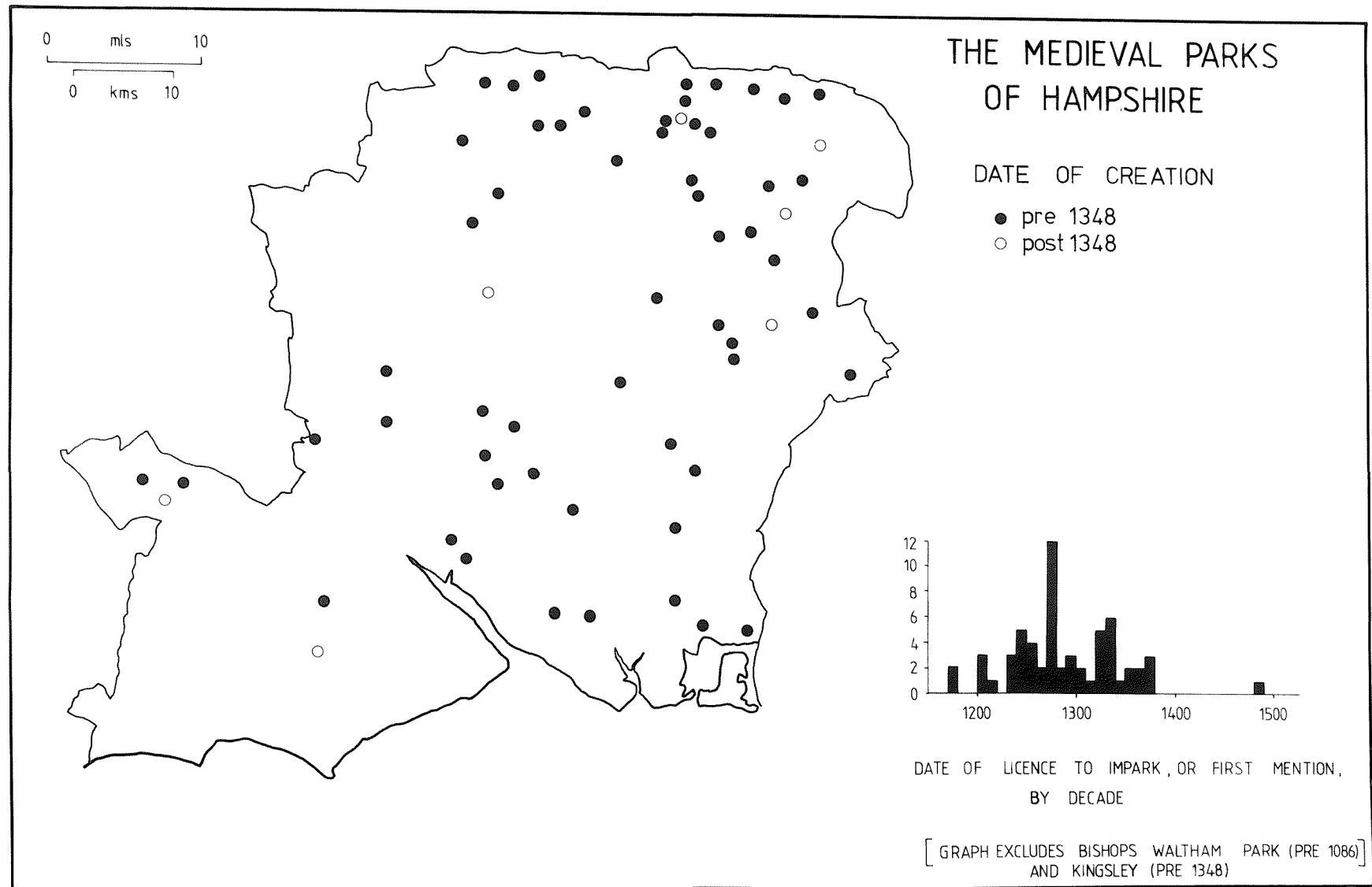


Fig. 6.6

available to pay the entry fine and the subsequent rent. The new assarts listed in the Regard of Michaelmas 1269<sup>105</sup> were of much the same order, all but one being in Silchester: three were of eight acres, one of twelve and one of half-an-acre; the other assart was a three-acre one at Stratfield Mortimer.

The next surviving enquiry into assarts and purprestures in Pamber forest dates from 1279/80,<sup>106</sup> and lists 24 individuals, holding a total of 49 acres of clearances at a variety of different rents. These were apparently new assarts; none of those which appeared on the 1269 roll were here listed. No spatial concentrations are apparent.<sup>107</sup> Raftis has commented on the relatively small acreages recorded in records of this type as being assarted, when the total acreage of the parishes concerned is considered.<sup>108</sup> He makes the point, however, that the larger blocks of enclosure and assarting tended to take place subsequent to a grant of royal charter, which often excluded the land from the view of the regarders. Only in the later thirteenth century do some of these charters appear in the Forest Proceedings, an example from Pamber being the grant to Gilbert of Bramley, clerk, of 52 acres and a rood of the king's wastes in Pamber forest, in two parcels, which he was authorised to bring into cultivation. This grant was enrolled in the Fine Rolls for 1311,<sup>109</sup> having first appeared in the Forest Proceedings in 1306/7.<sup>110</sup> It also apparently appears in a list of assarts dating from 1329-31,<sup>111</sup> which has other indications that considerable clearance was taking place in Bramley in the first decades of the fourteenth century.

Sizeable assarts were noted at Tytehulle, which cannot be positively identified, but which is shown by other enrolments of Gilbert of Bramley's assarts to have been in the area of the modern Latchmore Green, between Bramley and Pamber (fig. 7.12). Assarts of 16, 20, 46 and 51 acres, (the latter that of Gilbert of Bramley) were listed, as well as three small clearances with a total area of  $\frac{3}{4}$  acres. Therefore, apparently since the last regard, 120 acres had been released for cultivation in this area. Several of the remaining entries on the roll illuminate one of the aspects of assarting which continues to be contentious, this

being whether it was the result of individual, communal, or seigneurial enterprise. In this case it is clear that it was the latter, as a list of ten purprestures made by John Bluet at Silchester is given, Bluet holding the manor of Silchester between c. 1287 and 1316/17.<sup>112</sup> As these purprestures do not appear in the Forest Proceedings of 1306/7 they can be tentatively dated to the decade between then and Bluet's death. The purprestures were all held by other people, and were of eleven, ten, eight (two cases), four, three, two (two cases) and one acre (two cases); the fines ranged from  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 4d. per acre.<sup>113</sup> It appears likely that this was an investment by Bluet, although it is not clear whether this was a single clearance, or annexation, from the forest, then partitioned, or a gradual clearance of a single area, or the clearance of various separate parcels in the parish at one or more times. The theory that it was gradual clearance may be indicated by the different rates of fine, but this may equally well be a reflection of the different uses the holders were putting the land to, or its inherent quality. Equally unclear is why the term 'purpresture' was used, as opposed to the usual term 'assart'.<sup>114</sup> This may simply be loose use of an interchangeable terminology, but it may, on the other hand, be a real indication that Bluet was here creating individual holdings which included a dwelling,<sup>115</sup> whereas the assarts at Tytehulle, noted on the same roll, may have been purely agricultural closes, lacking dwellings. If these plots did contain dwellings their different sizes would seem to preclude a planned extension to the village, as, for instance, may be evidenced at Hartley Wespall,<sup>116</sup> indicating rather irregular infilling, or a dispersed settlement pattern. Certainly, as will be shown below, this is the type of settlement pattern indicated by other sources. Whichever, it seems clear that there was still a very definite demand for new land in the area of Silchester, Pamber and Bramley in the early fourteenth century.

Charters of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, of which there is a considerable number surviving which relate to the study area, contain a considerable amount of topographic detail. Relatively few references, however, concern assarts, and there are certainly

not enough to provide an independent guide to the chronology of the assarting movement. There are occasional mentions of assarting in the forest, two occurring with references to Knovile or Knovileslond<sup>117</sup> in Pamber, in 1397<sup>118</sup> and 1428.<sup>119</sup> A private assart was noted in a grant of c.1240-60 by John of Stratfield, of land in Stratfield Turgis, including one rudinga, formerly an assart of his wood.<sup>120</sup> In other cases land that had been cleared in the past is recognisable because of its description, as above, as a ridding,<sup>121</sup> purpresture,<sup>122</sup> or Nywelond.<sup>123</sup> La Bordelonde, which was granted to the hospital of St. John, Basingstoke in the mid thirteenth century,<sup>124</sup> was probably also quite recently cleared land.

The most detailed description of assarting occurs in an inquisition taken in 1265,<sup>125</sup> concerning the right of the small alien priory at Stratfield Saye to the tithes of a particular piece of land in that parish, called 'little frith'.<sup>126</sup> William of the frith, who presumably lived on, or near to this land, swore that he was with Roger, a former prior of the house, at the time that he first assarted the said land of la frythe from his demesne wood and reduced the same to cultivation. He went on to say that after the death of Roger his successor assarted more of the same wood. Such a personal description of the assarting movement is unusual, and it adds a welcome dimension to the formal lists of royal grants and private assarts. It is, though, only when these latter sources are used together that spatial and chronological parameters can be defined, and applied with some confidence to a discussion of the exploitation of Pamber forest in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

### Notes and References

1. The difficulty of any such study would be compounded by the frequent deliberate sitings of forests on marginal, under-populated land, which would mean that it would have to be assessed whether a forest's agrarian under-development was due to the inherent quality of the land, or the imposition of forest law.
2. Map accompanying M.Bazeley, 'The Extent of English Forest in the Thirteenth Century' T.R.H.S., 4th ser., 4 (1921), pp.140-59.
3. Or a previous perambulation re-adopted by decree.
4. G.J.Turner (ed.), Select Pleas of the Forest (1901), p.cxvi.
5. C.R.Young, 'Conservation Policies in the Royal Forests of Medieval England' Albion 10: ii (1978), pp.95-103.
6. C.R.Young, The Royal Forests of Medieval England (1979) is a useful guide and is well referenced.
7. C.Petit-Dutaillis, Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History, ii (1915), pp.166-70.
8. Young, Royal Forests of Medieval England, pp.71-3. The forest of Pamber was only abolished in the early seventeenth century, although it ceased to be of any economic importance in the later fourteenth century (below): N.D.G.James, A History of English Forestry (1981), p.69.
9. P.R.O. C47 12/2.
10. P.R.O. DL 39 1/8.
11. Southwick Priory Cartulary vol.ii, f. 45v. sqq. I am grateful to D.Stagg for bringing this to my attention, and Mrs.A.Hanna, who is editing the cartulary, for providing me with a copy of it.
12. However, as noted above, Bazeley's map of the thirteenth century forests (op.cit. in note 2) shows Pamber stretching as far south as Winchester. Her source, though, is not given, and all the evidence I have seen indicates that Pamber forest never extended south of Basingstoke parish. There should have originally been a perambulation of 1217-18, made

after the Charter of the Forest: D.Stagg, New Forest Documents (1979), p.35.

13. Bazeley, op.cit., p.156.
14. The whole of Bagshot forest, with the exception of two or three woods, and a large part of Savernake were disafforested: ibid.
15. The bounds run anti-clockwise from Stratfield Stoteville, a manor in Stratfield Saye parish, along the county boundary to where the Sherburne falls into the River Enborne. The bounds run upstream, past the 'house once of Roger de Stonlode', and then upwards to the Blackwater (River Loddon), and then north to the point of commencement to include Bramley and Sherborne St. John. The end of the perambulation notes that most of Silchester, the woods called Holt and Headley, and the canons of Rouen's manor in Kingsclere is in the forest. Holt, Headley and the canon's manor were not included in the 1298 perambulation.
16. This was the case, for instance, with certain lands in Bagshot and Eversley forests; Bazeley, op.cit., p.158 note 1.
17. The grants tend to give a retrospective picture, as they generally record the removal of an area from forest law.
18. Cal.Close R. 1247-51, p.321.
19. Ibid., 1251-3, p.44.
20. Cal.P.R. 1289-92, p.511.
21. Ibid., 1367-70, p.188.
22. Ibid., p.436.
23. V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.47.
24. Cal.Close R. 1247-51, p.66. This was probably the wood called 'the frith' in a 1266 grant of wood: ibid., 1264-8, p.173.
25. Ibid., 1296-1302, p.251.
26. Ibid., 1339-41, p.507.
27. Ibid., 1288-96, p.231. Mainsbridge was a hundred and manors near Southampton: V.C.H.Hants. iii, pp.462-89. Pokesole was

a tithing in Fareham: ibid., p.209. Chilworth lies immediately north of Southampton. Their inclusion here as a part of Pamber, which they were not, may have been a temporary administrative convenience.

28. Cal.Close R. 1279-88, p.3.

29. Cal.Chart.R. 1257-1300, p.133.

30. Cal.Close R. 1330-33, pp.246-7.

31. Cal.P.R. 1272-81, p.361.

32. Ibid., 1281-92, p.511.

33. For a discussion of the Crown's exploitation of its demesne woods see Young, Royal Forests of Medieval England, pp.122-7.

34. The distances involved in these grants are, as Rackham has noted, (O.Rackham, Ancient Woodland: Its History, Vegetation and Uses in England (1980), pp.151-3) considerable, especially when the great weight and length of outsize oaks is considered, and this rather belies the commonly held beliefs about medieval road conditions. At least the major roads must have been passable to allow the carriage of timber from Pamber to Old Sarum, a minimum journey of 40 miles. The journey to Godstow and Oxford was a similar distance. Presumably the Thames, navigable at least as far as Henley, was used to take timber to London and the residences en route to Westminster.

35. Cal.Close R. 1247-51, p.164.

36. Ibid., 1288-96, p.211.

37. Ibid., 1296-1302, p.251. The fire was in March 1298, and destroyed a large part of the abbey and palace complex: Matthew of Westminster, The Flowers of History, ed. C.D.Yonge, ii (1853), p.527.

38. Cal.Close R. 1234-7, p.36; ibid., 1247-51, p.164; ibid., 1251-3, p.385; ibid., 1254-6, p.249; ibid., 1256-9, pp.6,72,233,367,393, 404; ibid., 1259-61, pp.102,374; ibid., 1264-8, pp.72,307; ibid., 1268-72, p.314.

39. Cal.Lib.R. 1260-7, pp.179-80; Cal.Close R. 1256-9, pp.221,398; ibid., 1259-61, pp.101,366; ibid., 1261-4, p.30; ibid., 1268-72, pp.310,349.

40. Ibid., 1288-96, p.211.
41. Ibid., 1242-7, p.520; ibid., 1268-72, pp.232, 442; ibid., 1279-88, p.25.
42. Ibid., 1247-51, p.409; ibid., 1268-74, p.173.
43. Ibid., 1234-7, p.95.
44. Ibid., 1256-9, p.373; ibid., 1279-88, pp.3, 4.
45. Ibid., 1296-1302, p.251.
46. Ibid., 1256-9, p.397; ibid., 1279-88, p.77.
47. Ibid., 1268-72, p.340; ibid., 1272-9, p.261.
48. Ibid., 1268-72, p.450.
49. Ibid., p.59.
50. Cal.P.R. 1258-66, p.293; Farnle is Farleigh Wallop, the houses referred to presumably being those of the capital messuage. The grant is also not untypical in that William la Zouche was related to Alan la Zouche, Justice of the Forest, south of the Trent.
51. Cal.Close R. 1259-61, p.321. Alphonso was elected King of Germany in 1257, as was Richard of Cornwall. The two maintained their rival kingships until 1273. I am grateful for Dr. E.O. Blake's help on this point.
52. Cal.P.R. 1266-72, p.220. Note that it is the specific term 'wood' that is used.
53. Ibid., 1292-1301, p.593.
54. e.g. Cal.Close R. 1237-42, pp.216, 412; ibid., 1369-74, p.14.
55. Cal.Lib.R. 1251-60, p.175; Cal.Close R. 1247-51, pp.395, 431; ibid., 1251-3, p.317; ibid., 1253-4, p.88.
56. Ibid., 1268-72, p.219; ibid., 1272-9, pp.173, 471; ibid., 1288-96, p.226; ibid., 1296-1302, p.432.
57. Ibid., 1288-96, p.350.
58. Ibid., 1313-16, p.246.
59. See O.Rackham et al., 'The Thirteenth-Century Roofs and Floors of the Blackfriars Priory at Gloucester' Med. Archaeol 22 (1978), pp.105-22, esp. pp. 118-21 for the size of the royal

oaks given in grants.

60. e.g. Cal.Close R. 1256-9, p.221.

61. e.g. ibid., 1234-7, p.427.

62. Ibid., 1251-3, p.56.

63. e.g. ibid., 1253-4, p.88.

64. Ibid., 1251-3, p.317.

65. H.R.O., Pamber tithe map and apportionment.

66. O.Rackham, 'Archaeology and Land-Use History' Essex Naturalist, new ser. 2 (1978), p.34.

67. e.g. Cal.Close R. 1268-72, pp.310, 318.

68. Cal.P.R.1232-47, p.475. The grant was repeated in 1275: ibid., 1272-81, p.78.

69. Cal.Close R. 1279-88, p.3.

70. Ibid., 1302-7, p.7.

71. Young, Royal Forests of Medieval England, p.125.

72. Rackham, 'Archaeology and Land-Use History', p.33. See also O.Rackham, Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape (1976), p.76.

73. Eton College Records vol. 18, no.57. This was for a ten-acre coppice in Stratfield Saye, the same lease also specifying that the same number were to be left in the wood in the same parish called Widmore.

74. H.E.Beevor, 'Norfolk Woodlands, from the Evidence of Contemporary Chronicles' Trans.Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists Soc. 2 (1924), pp.488-508, esp. p.506. For post-medieval figures see Rackham, Ancient Woodlands, pp.147-9.

75. Cal.Close R. 1237-42, p.205.

76. Rackham, 'Archaeology and Land-Use History', p.33. Havering covered c. 1,000 acres; Hainault was about three times this size: ibid., pp. 30,21.

77. Cal.Close R. 1256-9, pp.131-2.

78. P.R.O. E32 158, Pleas of Vert and Venison, and Regard, for Pamber and Eversley Forests.

79. Presumably since the last regard.

80. Young, Royal Forests of Medieval England, p.125. By comparison, a sale of oaks and other wood from Sherwood forest realized £718 after a commission of 1298. In 1301 sales from the parks and forests of Oxfordshire raised £320. At about the same time £273 came from Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire: ibid.

81. Rackham, Ancient Woodlands, p.145. Outsize trees, most difficult of all to obtain, could be very much older; ibid., p.152-3.

82. Ibid., esp. pp. 177-85 concerning deer, and Rackham, 'Archaeology and Land-Use History', pp.28-32.

83. Cal.Close R. 1256-9, p.93.

84. Rackham, 'Archaeology and Land-Use History', pp.28-32. See also Young, Royal Forests of Medieval England, p.133 for the numbers of deer taken in Sherwood forest.

85. Rackham, 'Archaeology and Land-Use History', pp.29-32, based on H.E.Boulton, The Sherwood Forest Book (1965).

86. Cal.Close R. 1307-13, p.324 (July 1311); ibid., p.465 (July 1312: 30 bucks): ibid., 1313-16, p.5 (July 1313: 8 does, 6 bucks); ibid., p.60 (August 1316). That there is not a hunt recorded every year may again indicate a deficiency in the sources.

87. An observation based on the massive number of grants enrolled, and the minor concessions they often involve.

88. Turner, op.cit., p.cxvi.

89. Cal.Chart R. 1257-1300, p.274.

90. V.C.H. Hants iii, p.340. List of Hampshire parks compiled by Prof. L.M.Cantor, with additions: H.R.O., pamphlets box 5.

91. J.Z.Titow, Winchester Yields: A Study in Medieval Agricultural Productivity (1972), p.33.

92. At least according to M.Bazeley: below, note 2.

93. Cantor, op.cit. There may have been others. A grant of 1365 in Bramley refers to Poblyngesperke, possibly an

otherwise unrecorded park: M.Burrows, The Family of Brocas of Beaurepaire and Roche Court (1886), document 157.

94. e.g. Cal.Chart R. 1257-1300, p.133, enclosure of la cufold wood (Sherborne St. John) 1270.
95. Cal.Fine R. 1307-19, p.291, and version of the same grant in P.R.O. E146 1/36 (1306-7). Acres and perches were sometimes larger in forests: A.Jones, 'Land Measurement in England, 1150-1350' Ag.Hist.Rev. 27 (1979), pp.10-18; Titow, op.cit., p.9.
96. This figure rises to c. 50 per cent if the  $24\frac{1}{2}$  foot perch, which was sometimes used, was the basis.
97. See R.H.Britnell, 'Finchingfield Park Under the Plough, 1341-2' Essex Archaeol. and Hist. 3rd ser. 9 (1977), pp. 107-12 for a case where arable, as well as pasture and wood, was present in a park.
98. It is dangerous, however, to see the 'assarting movement' as a purely thirteenth to fourteenth century phenomenon, although a very large amount of marginal land was brought into cultivation at this time. Campbell, in a discussion of field systems, stresses how the 'cyclic' demographic patterns of the twelfth to later eighteenth centuries may have been reflected in field systems and other developments: B.Campbell, 'Commonfield Origins - the Regional Dimension', pp. 112-29 in T. Rowley (ed.), The Origins of Open-Field Agriculture (1981), esp. pp. 123-5.
99. Cal.Chart R. 1257-1300, p.33.
100. See, for instance, figures in Stagg, op.cit., and J.A.Raftis, Assart Data and Land Values (1974), p.109 and appendix IV.
101. P.R.O. E32 157 (pre 1270). Entries in P.R.O. E32 158, [1270] refer to old assarts, which are described as de novo in the former roll.
102. Raftis, op.cit.
103. P.R.O. E32 157.
104. This could be considerable if there were the stumps of standards to be removed.

105. P.R.O. E32 158.

106. P.R.O. C47 11/3, no. 43.

107. The locations of the assarts themselves are not listed. In terms of the origins of the persons paying the fines (i.e. looking at surnames of place-attribution, x de y), three or four persons come from Hamme (a Johannes appears twice), with Inshurst, Pamber, Baughurst,? la knoke (reading unsure), la Blakewatere (probably the lower Loddon), la Welberewe and la lachēne also appearing.

108. Raftis, op.cit., p.101.

109. Cal.Fine R. 1307-19, p.91.

110. P.R.O. E146 1/36, Inquisition into the arrentation of the wastes, and sales of timber in Pamber forest, Michaelmas 53 Henry III, [1270].

111. P.R.O. E32/167, Rolls of the Attachment Court. These appear catalogued as temp. Edward III (1327-77), but the appearance of Nicholas de Hoghton, stated to be custodian during the minority of Hugh de St. John, allows these limits to be applied: Cal.Inq.p.m., vii, p.183 names Hugh as the heir of John de St. John, and his age as 19 on 26 May following, the normal age of majority for the knightly class being 21.

112. V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.53.

113. The other two cases where the roll notes fines for purprestures are 6d. for one acre made by Robert Sannde, now held by John Hereward, and 4s. for seven acres made and still held by the prior of Sherborne.

114. See below, chapter 2 note 64, for the problem of assart/purpresture terminology.

115. Land quickly passing from the original holder of the assart, usually of seigneurial status, to other parties was, for instance, also a feature of the clearance of Salcey and Whittlewood forests, Northants., in the thirteenth century: Raftis, op.cit., p.104.

116. Below, chapter 7 and fig. 7.14.

117. More likely to derive perhaps from 'Nevile's land' than 'new vill/neuville'. I am grateful to Prof.M.W.Beresford for his comments on this.
118. Burrows, op.cit., document 291.
119. Ibid., document 368.
120. Queen's College Archives, i,251.
121. e.g. mid-thirteenth century charters dealing with Stratfield Saye refer to Wyderuding: ibid., 247, 249; in Basing a confirmation of 1254 mentions la rudinga: in Pamber c.1270 a croft called la rudynge is mentioned: Queen's 105, 106. For the term 'ridding' or 'riding' see I.H.Adams, Agrarian Landscape Terms: A Glossary for Historical Geography (1976), p.108.
122. J.E.Millard, A History of the Ancient Town and Manor of Basingstoke (1889). p.8.
123. Grant to Monk Sherborne priory c. 1200-1241: Queen's College Archives, i, 117.
124. Burrows, op.cit., document 320; Baigent, op.cit., documents 64 and 65.
125. Baigent, op.cit., p.600. For the term 'bordar' see S.P.J.Harvey, 'Evidence for Settlement Study: Domesday Book', pp.195-99 in P.H.Sawyer (ed.) Medieval Settlement (1976).
126. Eton College Records, vol. xviii, no.26.
127. 'Frith' areas were, under forest law, immune from random hunting: Adams, op.cit., p.107.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

## THE LATE MEDIEVAL LANDSCAPE OF THE LODDON AREA

During the century and-a-half prior to the mid fourteenth century there were still, as the previous chapter has demonstrated, major developments occurring in land-use and organization in the Loddon area. In this study no artificial terminal date has been adopted, although a suitable symbolic date would be 1369-70, when Beaurepaire park was founded and subsequently enlarged.<sup>1</sup> This major, and relatively well-documented, imparkment of land in three parishes was typical of the way in which, in the medieval period, the more marginal areas of land were subjected to a more formal, and almost certainly more intensive, pattern of exploitation. The scale of Beaurepaire park was very much a product, however, of the changed circumstances of the later fourteenth century. In this chapter the spatial arrangement of the various major landscape elements will be considered in relation to the settlement pattern. Particular emphasis will be given to the place of moated sites in the landscape of the area.

For no parish or estate<sup>2</sup> is there sufficiently extensive or detailed documentation to allow a certain sub-division of this critical period, which saw the population level rise to a teetering apogee, probably in the first decades of the fourteenth century, and then decline, ultimately causing major changes in the social and economic systems.<sup>3</sup> Often it is impossible to be sure when even major landscape features, such as open fields, developed. In some cases, features such as this were clearly well-established when they were mentioned in the first extant detailed documents, charters of the early thirteenth century. Others do not appear in the written sources until much later, but in many cases it can be argued that the late date of appearance is illusory, the earlier sources being deficient in number, and or content, to demonstrate a feature's presence. Even when a precise date of creation can be given for a landscape feature, such as a park, caution should be applied, and the question asked, whether this was merely the legal formalization of a potentially much older extant feature. In other words, it should be

determined whether the change was one of management and use, or merely legal status.<sup>3</sup> As is so often the case, it can be argued that the answer frequently lies somewhere between these two extremes, that a formal change of status could lead to the speeding up of a process that had already begun.

Only through a rigorous use of the contemporary sources in conjunction with the later ones, particularly maps, can any generalized picture be built up of the landscape in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Wherever possible, in the maps which accompany this chapter, precise boundaries have been shown, derived from locational clauses in medieval documents, used in conjunction with sixteenth century and later maps, and occasional archaeological evidence, such as boundary banks or artifact scatters. As Roberts has commented of the similar maps he has produced of the Arden region of Warwickshire, "Errors and omissions must inevitably occur; nevertheless this map assembles in their correct relative locations, the essential ingredients of the medieval landscape".<sup>4</sup> Certainly, as will be seen below, the correct relative geographical locations of the various landscape elements can usually be established, whereas their relative chronological relationships often remain uncertain, although general models can be postulated. Therefore, the picture that the maps present is in many respects falsely static.

### Field Systems

It is clear from the documentary sources that, by the early thirteenth century, the parishes along the southern edge of the study area were largely occupied by open-field land.<sup>5</sup> The parish with the largest proportion of such land was Basingstoke (fig.7.1), where, apart from 'the Down' there may have been very little land outside the town not within the arable open fields. The fields shown on a detailed map of 1762<sup>6</sup> were, according to terrier evidence, present in the mid sixteenth century.<sup>7</sup> A rough memo, listing lands in the parish c. 1409,<sup>8</sup> mentions the same fields, with the exception of Hatch Field: the inclusion of certain lands described as being 'beyond the herepath', and hence in the south of the parish, does suggest though the presence of open-field land in the area of what by the mid sixteenth

century had become this formal field. In a survey of the lands of William of Bentworth, taken c. 1300,<sup>9</sup> Middle, North, West and South Fields were mentioned; there is no evidence to suggest that the land that was later to be Hatch Field was by then under cultivation. That this should have been the last major block of land brought into arable cultivation, and ultimately the formal field-system, is not surprising. It is higher land, rising up to the south, away from Basingstoke, apparently very similar in inherent potential to the area of permanent pasture which lay to the west, 'the Down'.

There is some evidence to suggest that the land nearest to the town was under greater demand than that further away, which is only to be expected, as the transport input involved in its agricultural exploitation was obviously less. This contention is supported by the detailed map of 1762, which shows that the strip divisions within the shotts decreased in regularity, and the strips increased in size, the further the holding was from the nucleated settlement. An integral contributory factor to this pattern, along with the subdivision of holdings through sale or inheritance, was engrossment. Already in 1300, William of Bentworth's estate in Basingstoke included groups of strips lumped together, including one totalling nine acres. By the early sixteenth century, enclosure of engrossed holdings was occurring, and the tone of a court roll of 1511 recognizes that this could easily become usual, to the detriment of the established open field system.<sup>10</sup> It is, therefore, not easy to decide how much of the pattern of smaller land-divisions nearer the town was due to demand for that land when the open field system was operative, as opposed to it being under closer scrutiny, and less likely to be engrossed and enclosed, as the system began to decay. The two cases are obviously closely linked, both having as their basis the higher demand for easily accessible land, although having slightly different implications, and dates.

Court-roll evidence suggests that in the sixteenth century inter, rather than intra, field rotation was practised. In 1511 it was noted that men "hath sown this year in Millfields, that should lie fallow with Hatchwodefield, contrary to rights and customs",<sup>11</sup> and in 1543 that the North field was grouped with Holyghost

## EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BASINGSTOKE

(Sources: H.R.O.  
10 M 57/4 and  
23 M 72 P1)

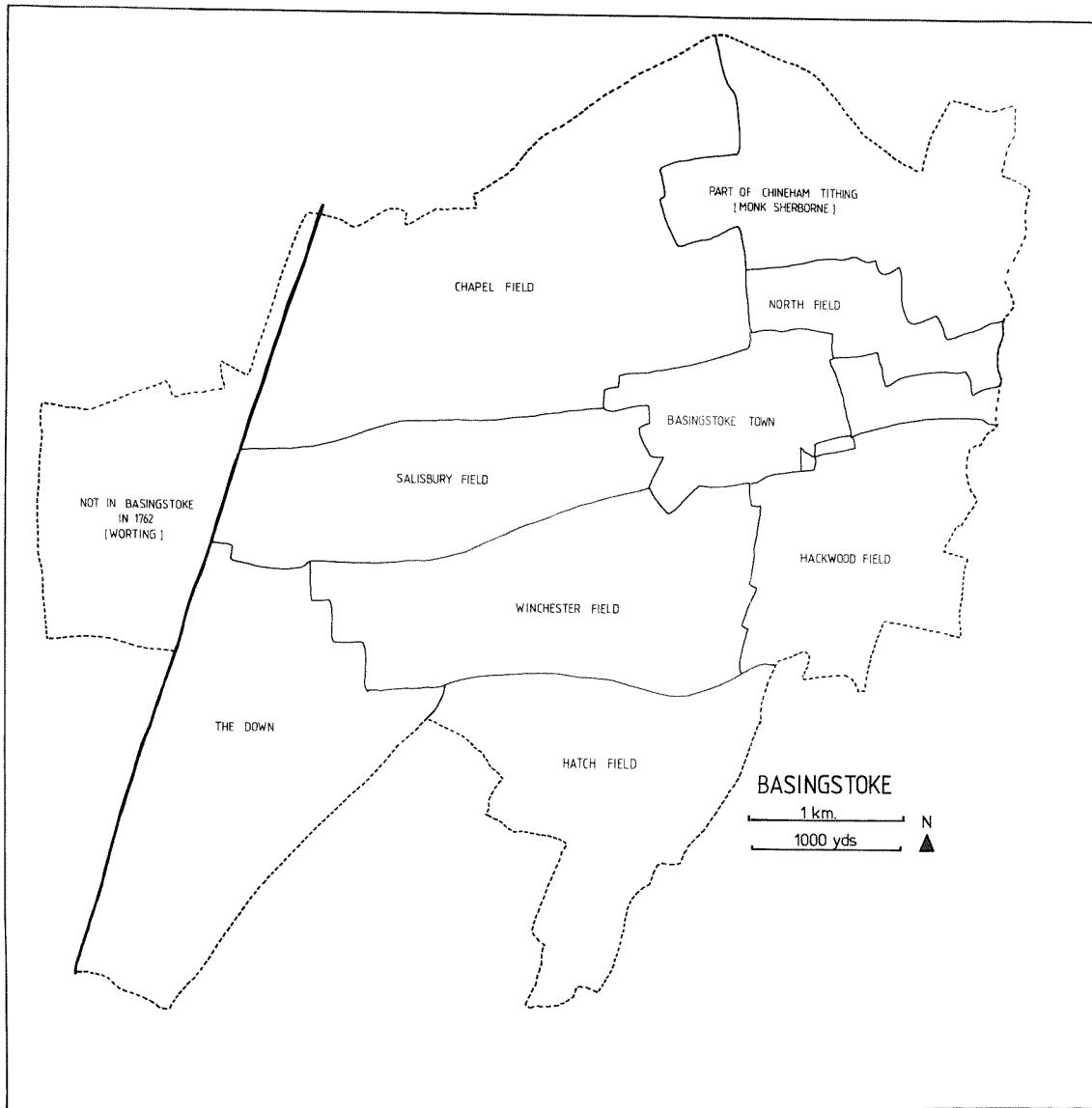


Fig. 7.1

(or Chapel) field,<sup>12</sup> suggesting that there was a three-course rotation being practised (3 x 2). If this was then the system, it is unlikely to have been of great antiquity in that specific form, in view of the suggested late formalization of Hatch field. Overall, the evidence indicates that the field-system of Basingstoke was constantly, if gradually, developing, and that it had not yet reached its full spatial extent by 1300. The mid eighteenth century maps further show that the demesne holdings were scattered throughout the fields, rather than being concentrated in one area, reflecting the pattern revealed in the various lists of lands in the field-land of Basingstoke which are known from the thirteenth century onwards.

How far the field-system's development had progressed by 1200 is unclear; certainly the early-thirteenth century documents indicate the widespread existence of open-field land in the parish.<sup>13</sup> Already by this time a large detached tract of meadow land, Wildmoor, was attached to Basingstoke, this lying in Sherfield on Loddon, some four miles (six-and-a-half kilometres) away. The absence of Sherfield from Domesday means that it is not possible to see whether Wildmoor was already attached to Basingstoke at this date, although it would not be unlikely, as there were twenty plough-teams at work in Basingstoke, but only twenty acres of meadow there on which to feed the oxen.<sup>14</sup>

As in Basingstoke, the open-field land of Basing (fig.7.2) survived into the late eighteenth century.<sup>15</sup> It lay in the south of the parish, and was divided by the Basing Park/Oxford Grounds land-unit, with Westfield to the west, and Deanfield, Homefield and the smaller Chiterbourne field to the east. Whilst the fields do not appear by name, the location of strips of open-field land in grants of the first half of the thirteenth century<sup>16</sup> indicates that the southern part of the parish was by then already divided into the broad divisions of the eighteenth century noted above, of open-field land divided by the Oxford Grounds, although it is not possible to say whether Chiterbourne field, too, was in existence by that date. Similarly, nothing is known of how the Basing field-system operated, although it is known from the post-medieval map evidence that the fields were divided into irregular, generally end-on, furlong, or shott, blocks.

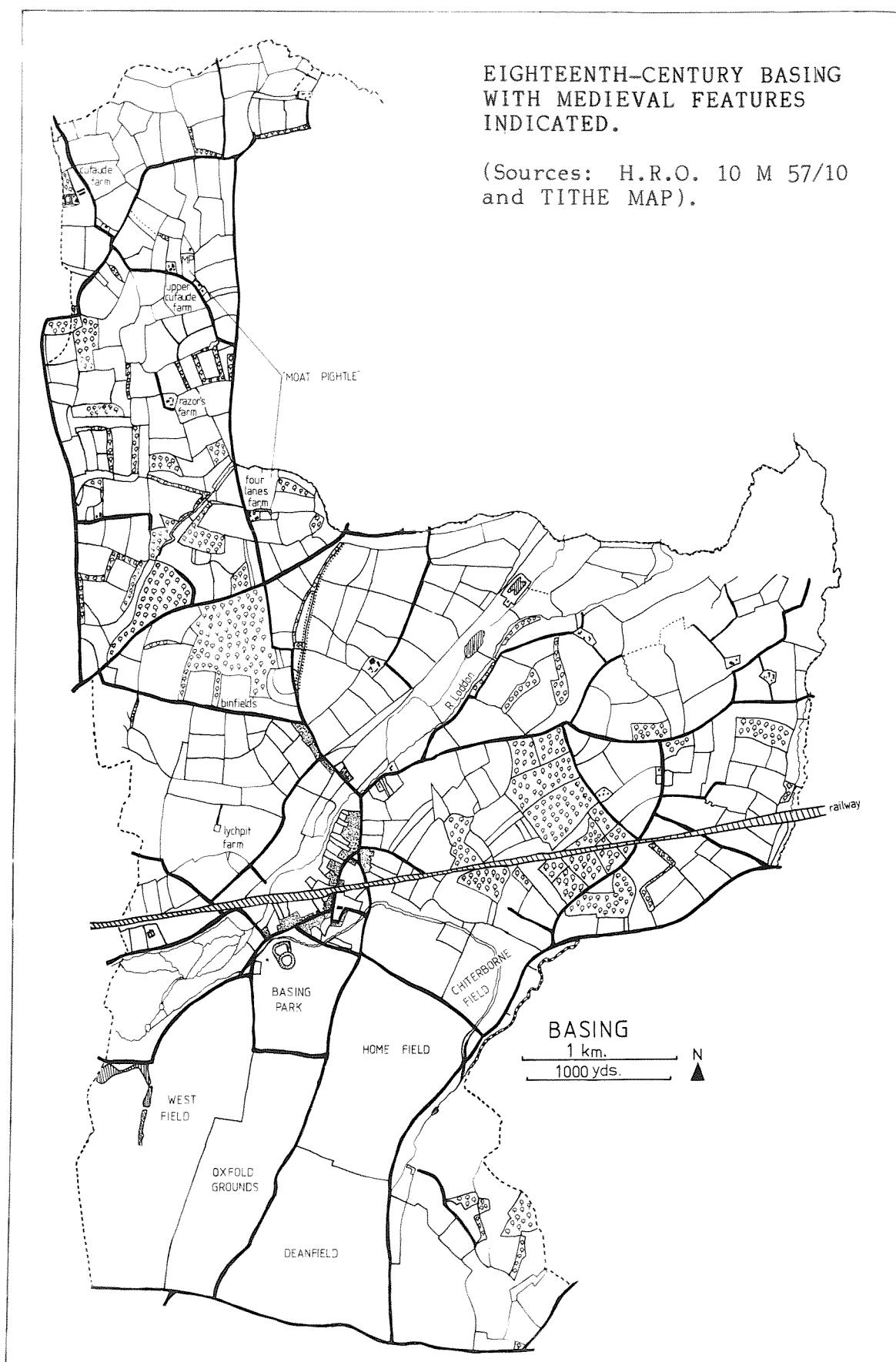


Fig. 7.2

Other sources suggest the existence of at least one other open field in the medieval period in Basing, lying north-west of the present village, in the area of the modern Binfields Farm. A grant of 1241 refers to land held in Benetfeld,<sup>17</sup> implying that it was subdivided. This is similarly suggested by a confirmation of 1254,<sup>18</sup> which makes reference to "all Great Benefeld"; Benefeld was also noted, and it is not clear whether it was one, or two fields that were being dealt with. The linking of Benefeld with lands called la Neulonde and la Rudginge suggests that it may have been of fairly recent origin. Similar semi-regular fields to those which today cover the Binfield's area also exist over much of the centre of the parish. If it is accepted that those in the former location are the product of late medieval, or early post medieval, enclosure, then this suggests the possibility that there may well have been other similar, but undocumented, open fields elsewhere to the north of the village.

In the north of the parish is an area of generally smaller, more irregular, closes, and there is no evidence to suggest that these have ever been anything other than enclosed fields held in severalty.

Chineham (fig.7.3), a detached tithing of Monk Sherborne, lying partly within the northern part of Basingstoke parish, may have had the closest approximation to the 'classic' three-field system,<sup>19</sup> with West, East and Middle fields being mentioned in 1329.<sup>20</sup> Whilst only East field can be securely located from nineteenth-century map evidence,<sup>21</sup> it is clear that most, if not all, the open-field land was in the southern half of the tithing, south of the nucleated settlement<sup>22</sup> and the road which bisects the tithing from north-west to south-east. As in Basing, the north of the tithing was divided into irregular closes, some wooded.

In the parish of Sherborne St. John (fig.7.4), the open fields once more lay in the south of the parish. The first notice of these occurs in a grant temp. Henry II, confirmed in 1202.<sup>23</sup> As was the case in Basingstoke, there were considerable changes over time in what the fields were called, but the balance of probability suggests that the four open fields portrayed on nineteenth century maps represent the main limits and divisions

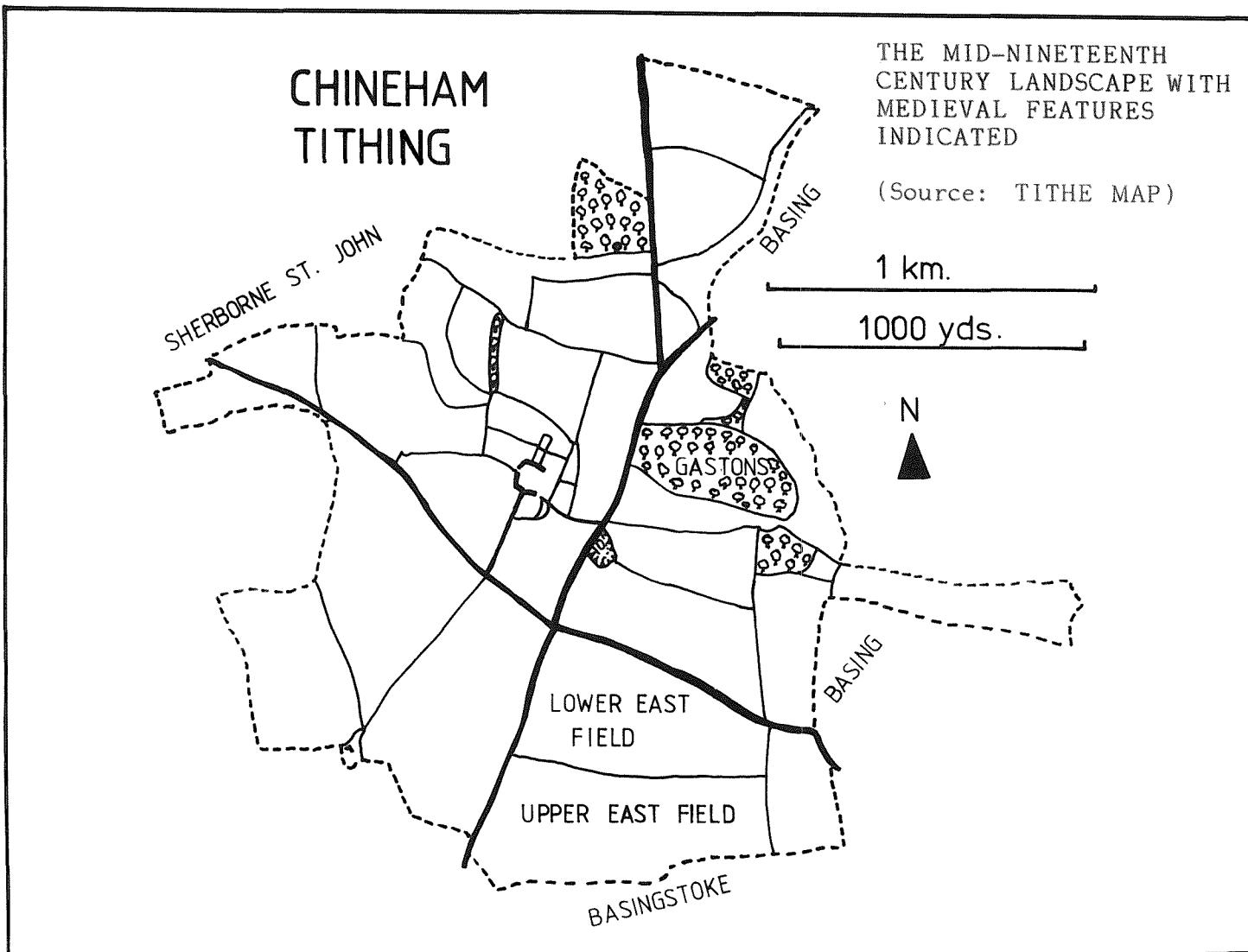


Fig. 7.3

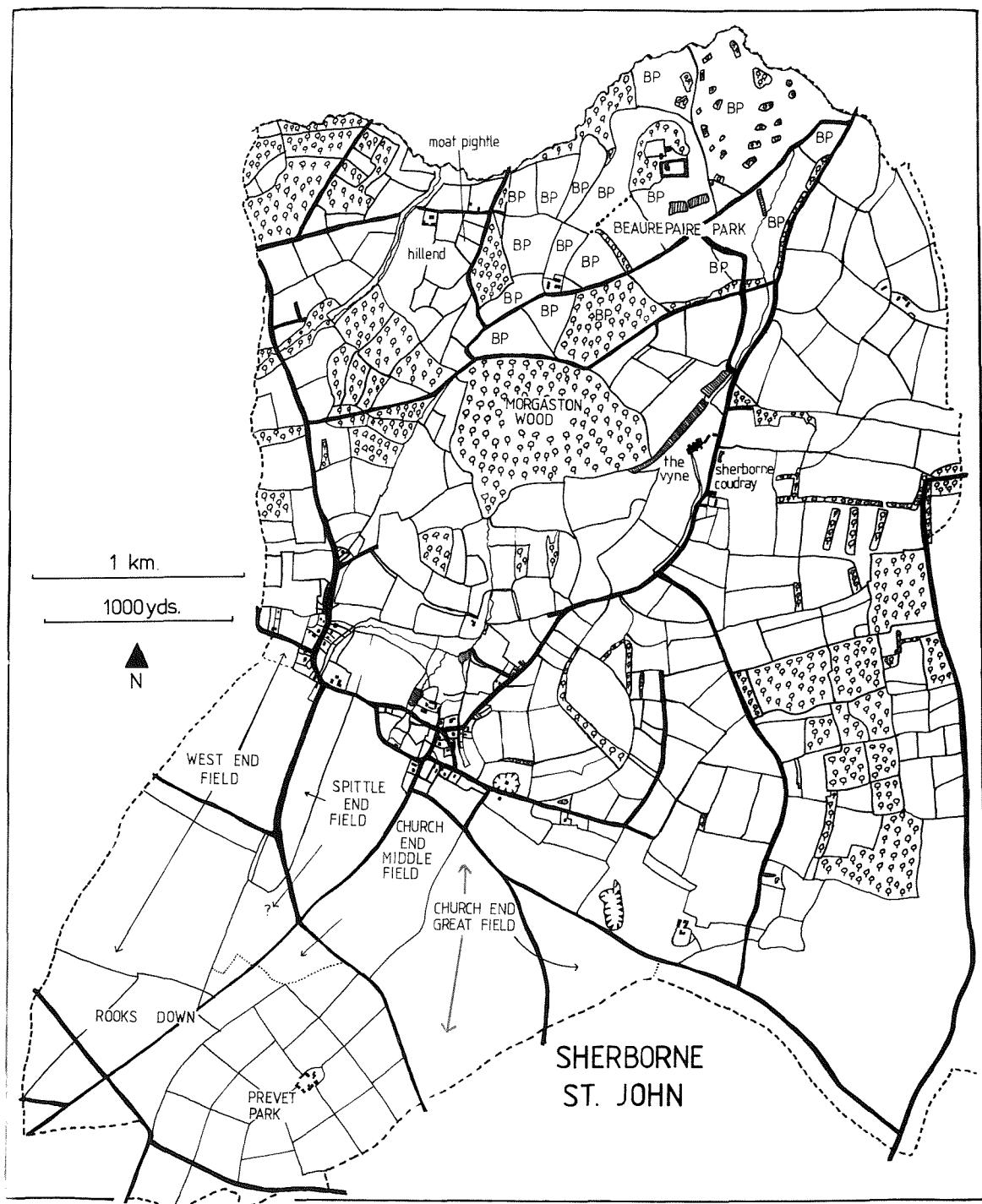


Fig. 7.4

THE EARLY-NINETEENTH CENTURY LANDSCAPE  
WITH MEDIEVAL FEATURES INDICATED

(Source: TITHE MAP)

of the medieval open fields. Early-nineteenth century maps of two of the fields, Church End Middle field,<sup>24</sup> and West End Field<sup>25</sup> (fig.7.5) show several interesting features. West End Field, in 1817, was subdivided into a middle, lower and upper field, suggesting that a three-course rotation may have been followed within this field, and perhaps, by implication, in the others. There is some evidence that this division was one that had been imposed on a field that was already fully subdivided into furlongs, as whilst the boundary between the upper and middle divisions is straight, that between the middle and lower ~~wavers~~ wavers around furlong boundaries. The pattern of strips suggests further that there had originally been a longitudinal division between the east and west halves of the field, which had in time, presumably in a period when there was excessive demand for land, itself been partitioned into selions. The basic land unit was the strip, the maps clearly showing that many of them exhibited the ~~atral~~, or reversed S curve, and that they were grouped into furlong, or shott, blocks. There was no particular logic in the way the furlongs were arranged, although in the upper and middle field divisions there may originally have been two lines of furlongs parallel to each other with a cap in between. These may have been the oldest parts of the field system, as this arrangement was not visible in the lower field division. Whether the strips in adjoining furlong blocks lay parallel, or at right angles to each other was almost random in its lack of pattern. What is clear is that once again there was a noticeable tendency for the strips nearer the village to be both initially smaller, and later less prone to engrossment than those further away.

Church End Middle Field was more regular in its arrangement than West End Field. Whilst quite a large part of the middle of the field had been engrossed by c.1816 it seems fairly certain that the field was originally divided laterally, that is from east to west, into six blocks, with a division running right through these from north to south, giving twelve furlongs in all.<sup>26</sup> At some stage an extra 'tongue' of open-field land was added at the southern end of the field, that is at the opposite end of the field to the village. With the exception of one strip, and a furlong

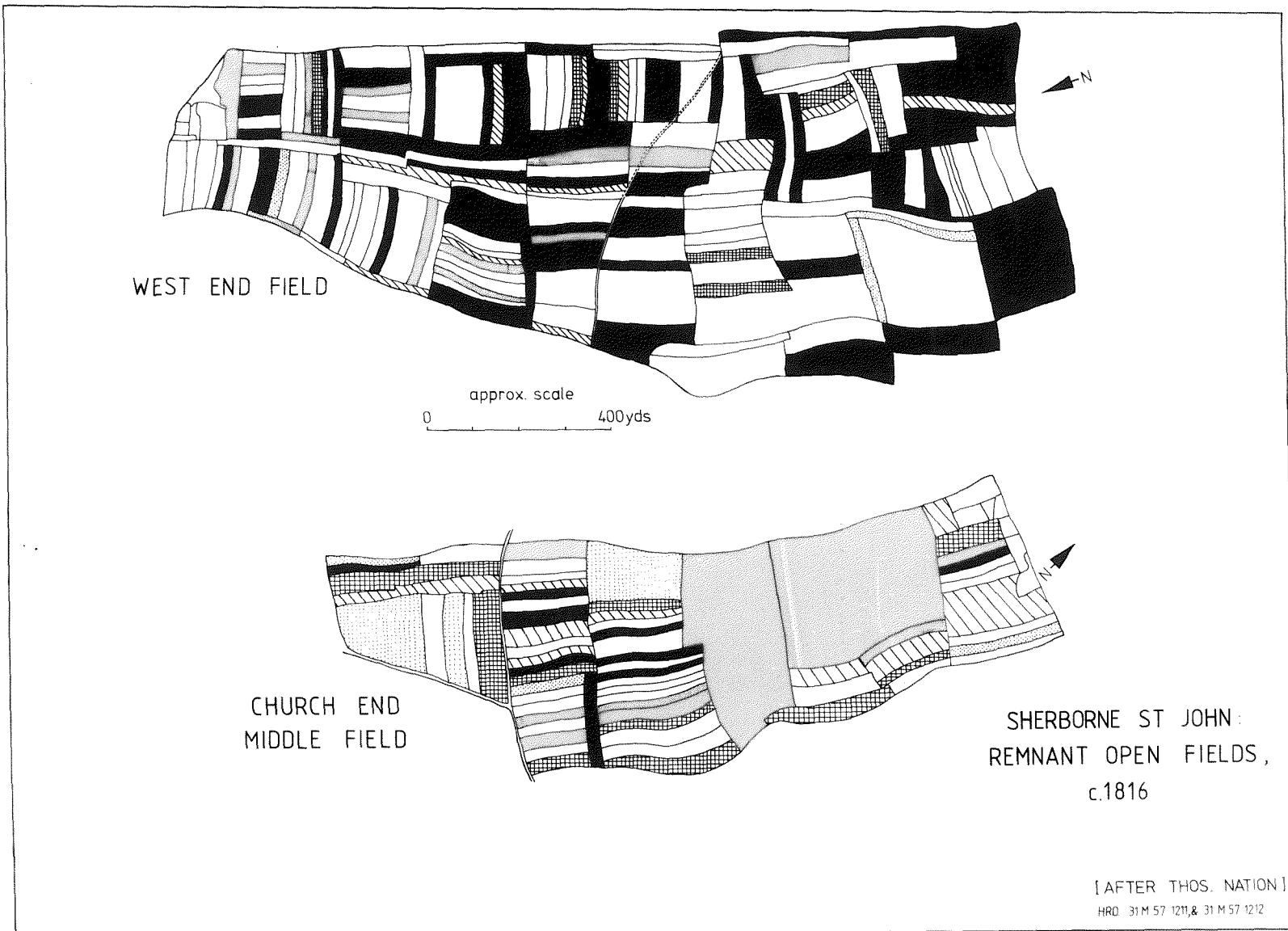


Fig. 7.5

in the 'tongue', all the strips were aligned north-south, that is across the contour, probably to facilitate drainage. Again the nineteenth century surveyor faithfully recorded the <sup>atral</sup> curves.

Fig.7.6 shows a possible developmental model for these fields. In both cases it would seem, if the model is accepted, that there was a degree of overall planning before the system was started on, with the intended cultivated area being divided roughly into two in each case, from north to south. Then, in each case beginning from the village, blocks of land, the furlongs, were brought into the system, perhaps at this time being divided into strips. The next furlong to be formed would be that opposite the first, across the central dividing line, which probably began to take on its intended function as an ~~access~~<sup>#</sup>way. The system would continue to be formed in this way until, for whatever reason, it was decided to stop. At some later date, when there was a need for more land, extra furlongs were added to the south of each field, and infilling of the ~~access~~<sup>#</sup>ways was permitted. This is a general model, and deliberately no chronological parameters have been applied to any of the three stages, that is the initial furlong development, the later infilling, and the subdivision, in at least one case of a field into three roughly equal parts.

There may also have been open-field land in Sherborne St. John associated with the manor and vill of Sherborne Coudray, which lay in the north-east of the parish, 326 acres of arable comprising the bulk of the manor's land in 1361.<sup>27</sup> The fields in the area of this manor, around The Vyne, have the same characteristics as those fields elsewhere in the study area which are suspected to be early enclosures of open-field land. A further area of open-field land may also have lain at the Hill End, in the north-west of the parish.<sup>28</sup>

In Monk Sherborne (fig.7.7), the parish to the west of Sherborne St. John, the evidence again indicates that the majority of the southern half of the parish was open-field land, although no precise details, other than the boundaries of Dell Field and East Field, which survived into the eighteenth century,<sup>29</sup> are known. In addition to the fields in the southern half of the parish there may also have been a small open field on what is

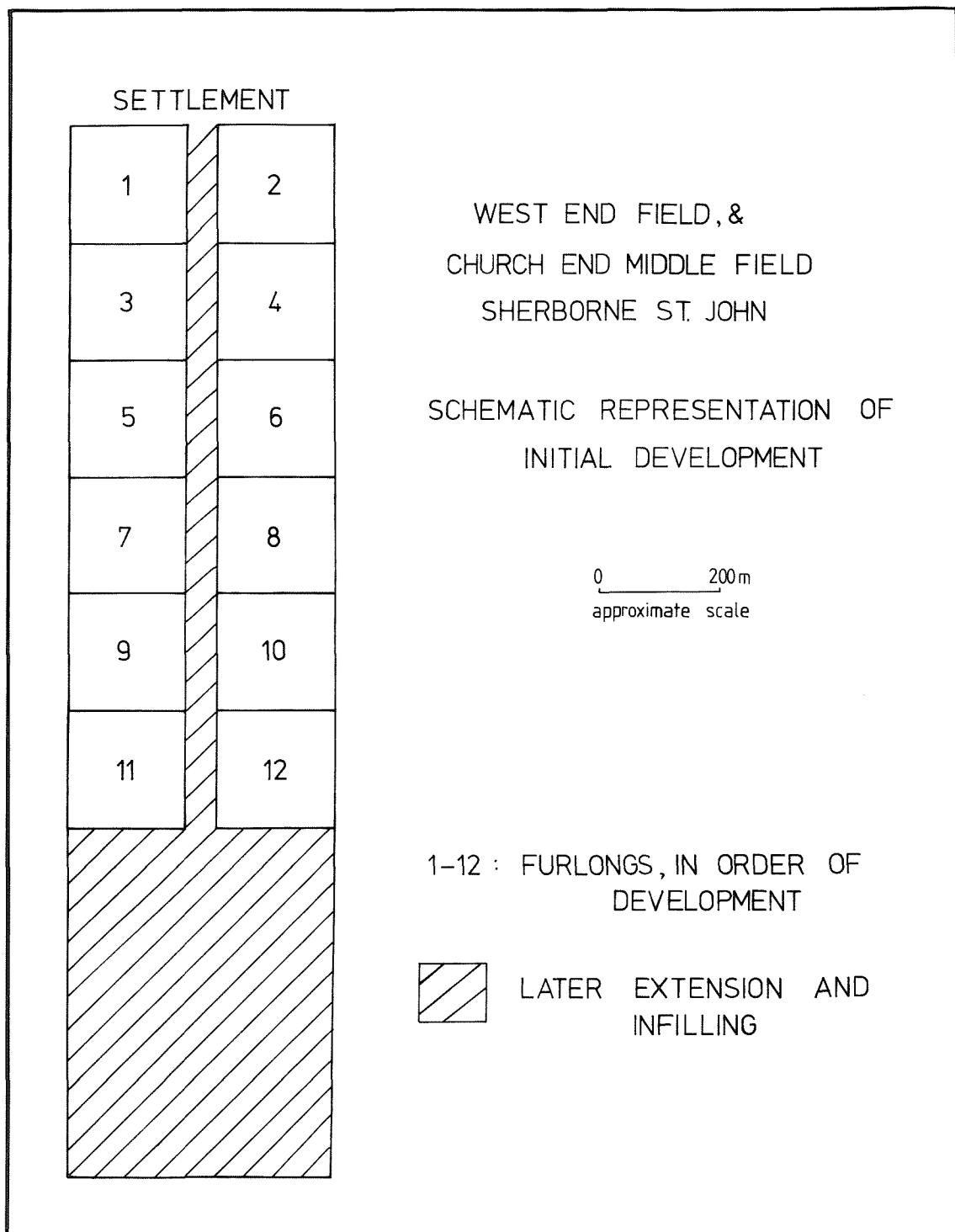


Fig. 7.6

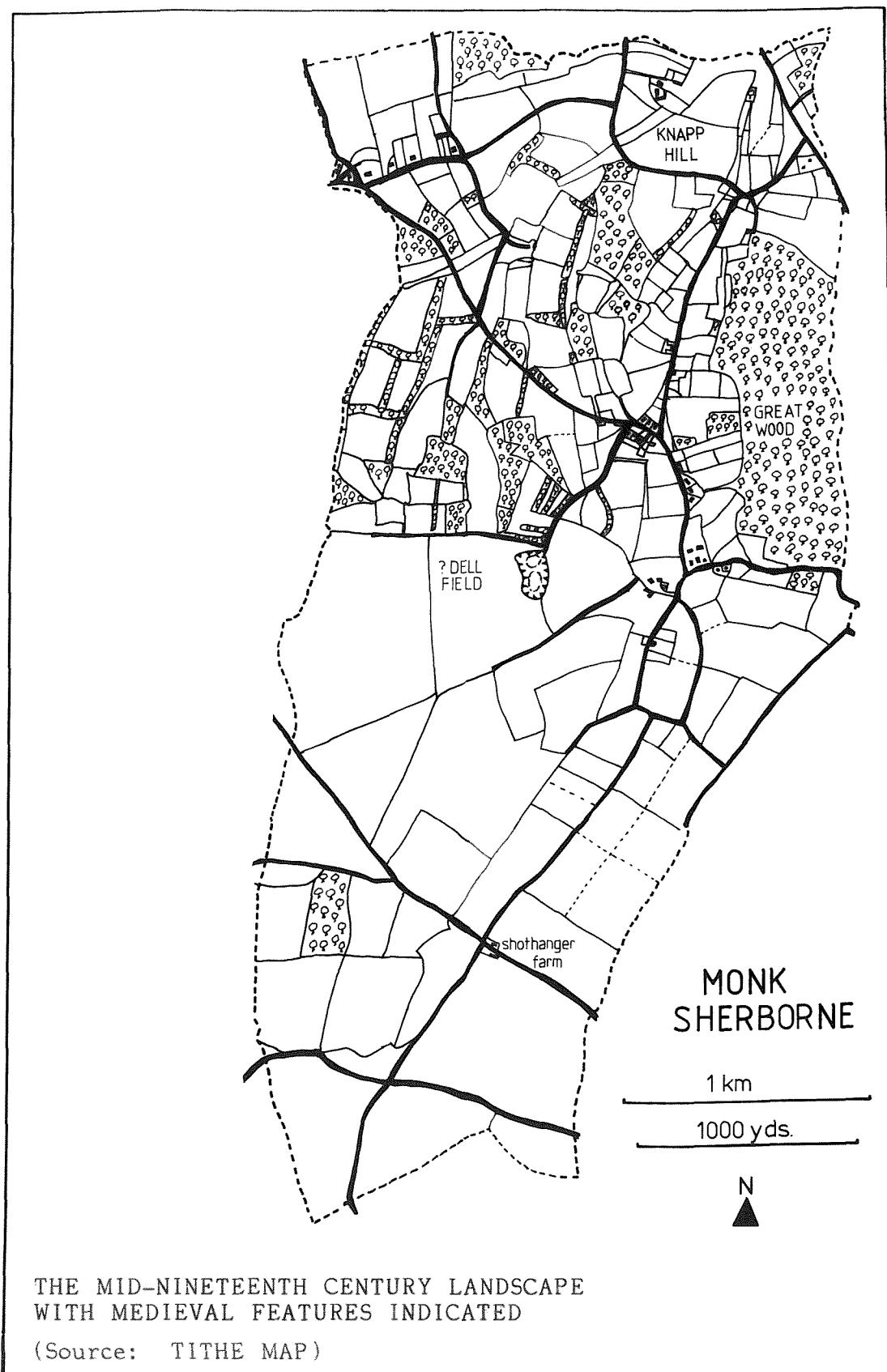


Fig. 7.7

today known as Knapp Hill, in the north of the parish.<sup>30</sup>

North of this band of parishes along the southern edge of the study area, the sources suggest that in some parishes open fields may never have existed, whilst in others the open fields were often individually small, although there could be several in one parish in a multiple field system.

In Bramley (fig.7.8), some strips survived unenclosed into the 1830's, when they appeared on the parish tithe map lying south-east of the settlement, by the church.<sup>31</sup> The notched field boundaries, fossilizing furlong boundaries, show that the main block of open-field land in this area was bounded to the west by Beaurepaire park, to the east by the north-south road running half-a-kilometre to the west of Bullsdown Farm, and to the north by the main road running past the church.

According to the tithe award, this area was known as 'Burghfields' to the north, and 'Further Burghfields' to the south, away from the village. In the medieval period there were possibly other open fields, a grant of 1338 referring to a selion of land in a large croft (una crofta magna) called 'Northam',<sup>32</sup> this terminology perhaps suggesting that this was a discrete field, not a furlong in the main block of open-field land. Nothing more is known of this field, and overall the fourteen or so known medieval charters dealing directly with the parish reveal remarkably little about its fields in general.<sup>33</sup> Fields of the type suggested to be early enclosures of open-field land, some with notched edges, appear in the north-eastern quarter of the parish, and this may have been where 'Northam' lay, but really this is only a guess.

Very similar evidence exists for Stratfield Saye (fig.7.9), where charters of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century provide the names of several fields where strip cultivation was practised.<sup>34</sup> The main area of open-field land is indicated by the tithe map to have lain in the centre of the parish,<sup>35</sup> with, again, the presence of notched edges to the fields and the survival of the name 'Burghfields' being the indicative factors. In this case the antiquity of the 'Burghfields' name can be proven, as a grant of 1310 deals with two pieces of land in the field called

## BRAMLEY

THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY LANDSCAPE  
WITH MEDIEVAL FEATURES INDICATED

(Source: TITHE MAP)

MP: moat pightle  
MC: moat close  
MM: moat meadow

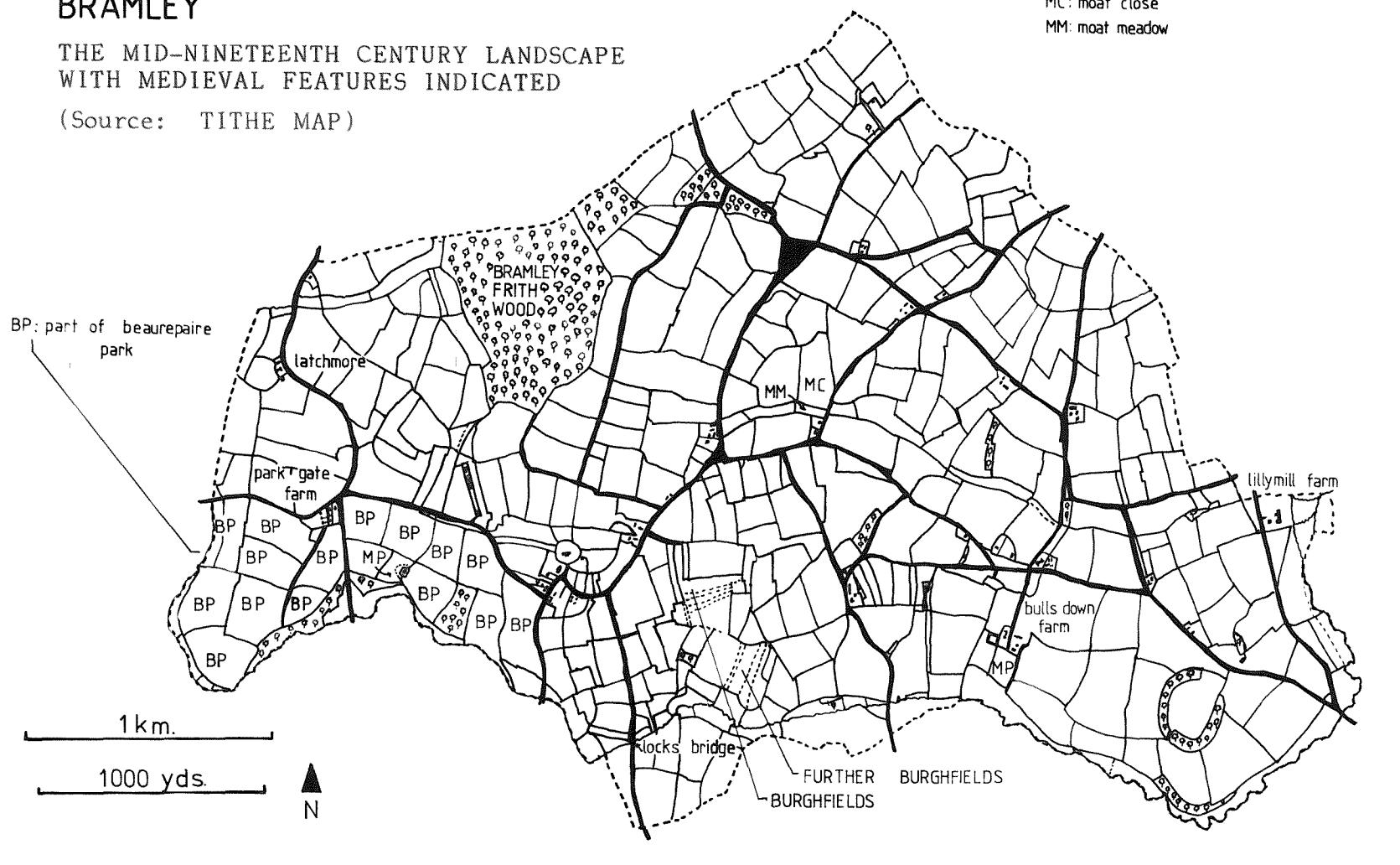


Fig. 7.8

THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY LANDSCAPE  
WITH MEDIEVAL FEATURES INDICATED

(Source: TITHE MAP)

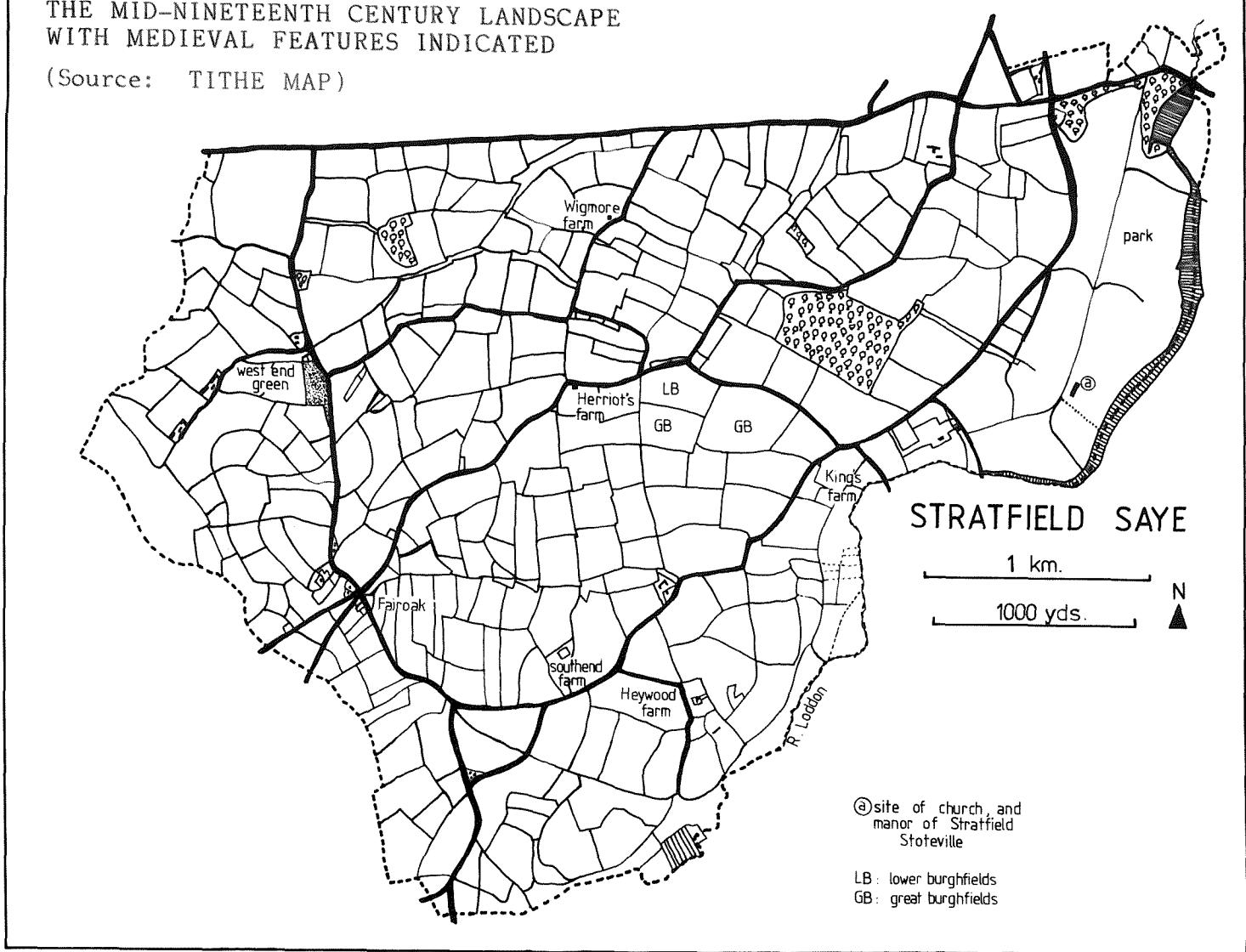


Fig. 7.9

THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY LANDSCAPE  
WITH MEDIEVAL FEATURES INDICATED

(Source: TITHE MAP)

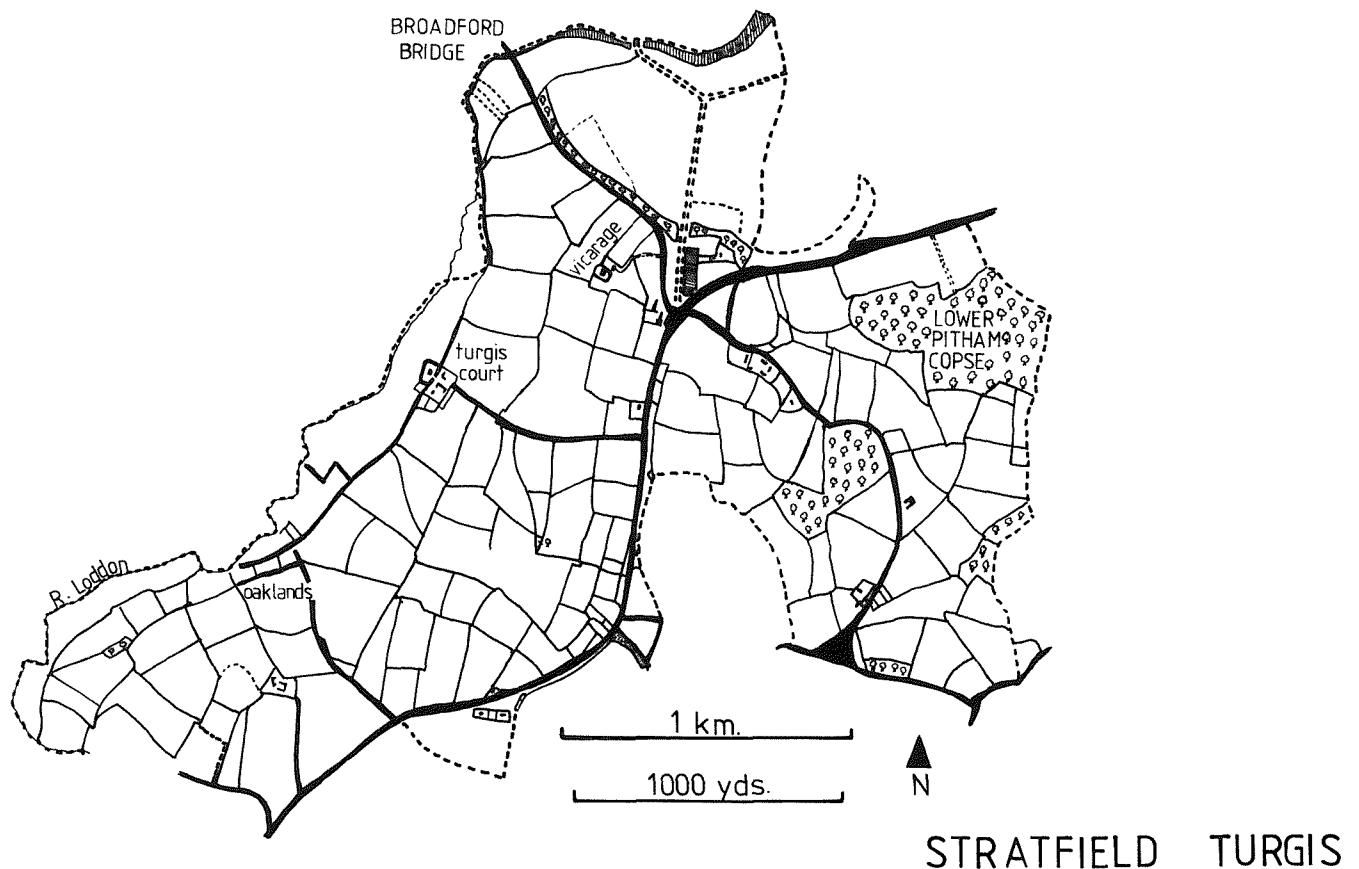


Fig. 7.10

Burifeld.<sup>36</sup> It is possible that this is the same area which was referred to in a grant of 1276, as an acre in the 'great field' (magno campo) of Stratfield Saye.<sup>37</sup> Both the probable north, and south, boundaries of this major block of open-field land are formed by roads leading from Fairoak to Kings Farm.

Both charter and map evidence suggest the existence of other, smaller, areas of strip cultivation. To the north of Burghfields, but south of Wigmore, lay an area of common arable known as Goseflok, first mentioned in 1276.<sup>38</sup> A further area lay in the south-west of the parish at la Widerudinge, the name indicating a relatively late clearance date, the first documentary reference to it being c.1230-50.<sup>39</sup>

There are mentions of six acres in la Feldlond of Stratfield Turgis (fig.7.10) in 1294 and 1332,<sup>40</sup> and the map evidence indicates that the open-field land, presumably this, lay to the west of the road bisecting the parish from north to south. The absence of known later references to open fields in this parish once again probably indicates that enclosure occurred at an early date.

In the remaining four parishes, of Sherfield on Loddon, Pamber, Silchester and Hartley Wespall (figs.7.11; 7.12; 7.13; 7.14), there is even less evidence of open-field land, and certainly none of extensive tracts thereof. For the latter parish there is no evidence whatsoever, either written or physical, of anything other than several cultivation in closes. In Silchester, John atte Felde was listed in the 1332 lay subsidy,<sup>41</sup> and the 'field' element referred to was possibly an area of open-field land. The tithe map<sup>42</sup> shows various field boundaries to the west of the centre of the parish which appear to be enclosed parcels of strips, the width of the fields indicating that in some cases perhaps as few as two or three strips had been enclosed or engrossed. Since the 1830's these have been thrown into larger fields. The evidence, therefore, suggests that in Silchester there was some open-field land, and that this was subject to piecemeal enclosure. As in several of the other parishes in the study area, this is likely to have occurred at a relatively early date; none of the early travellers who

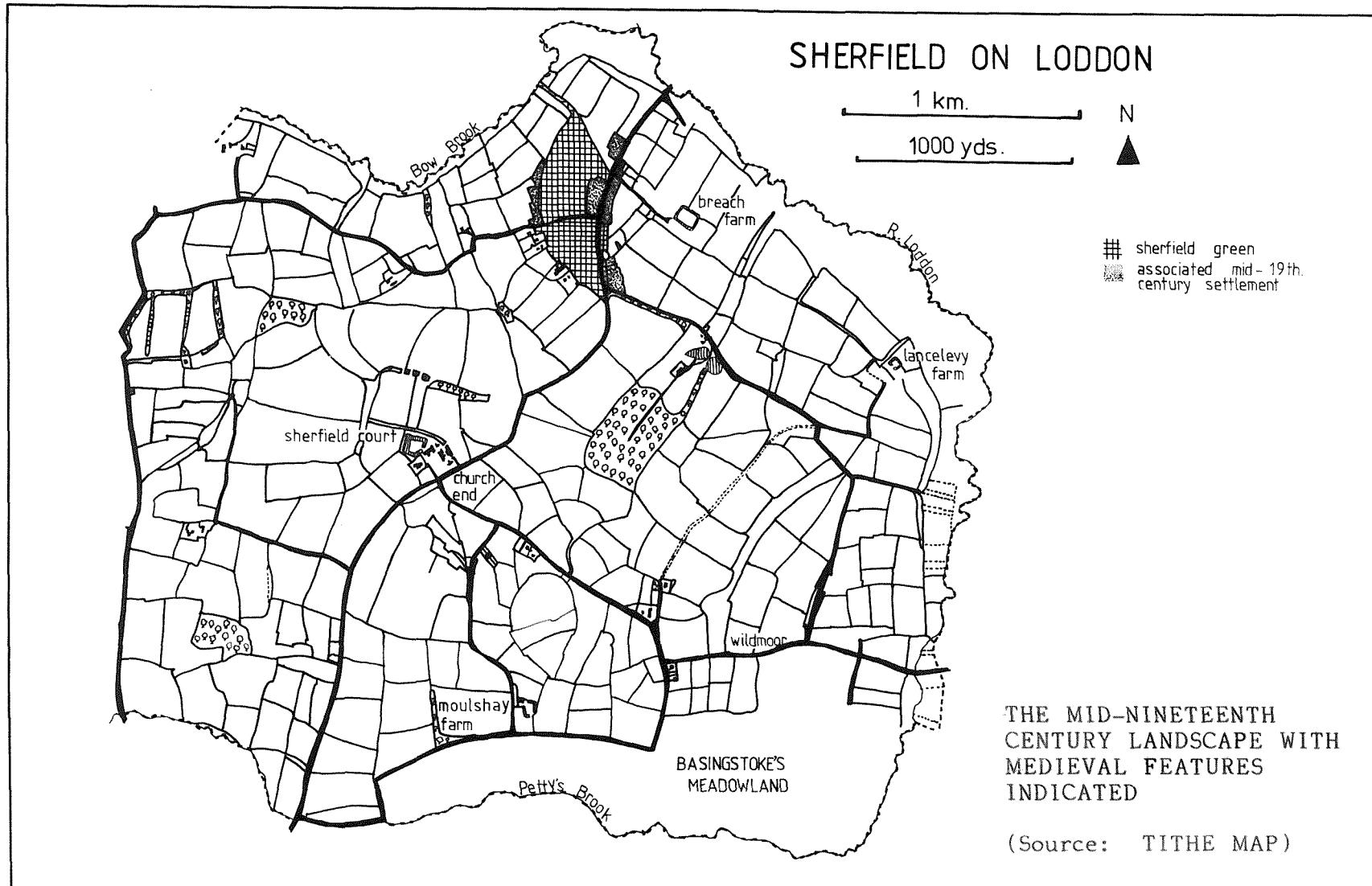


Fig. 7.11

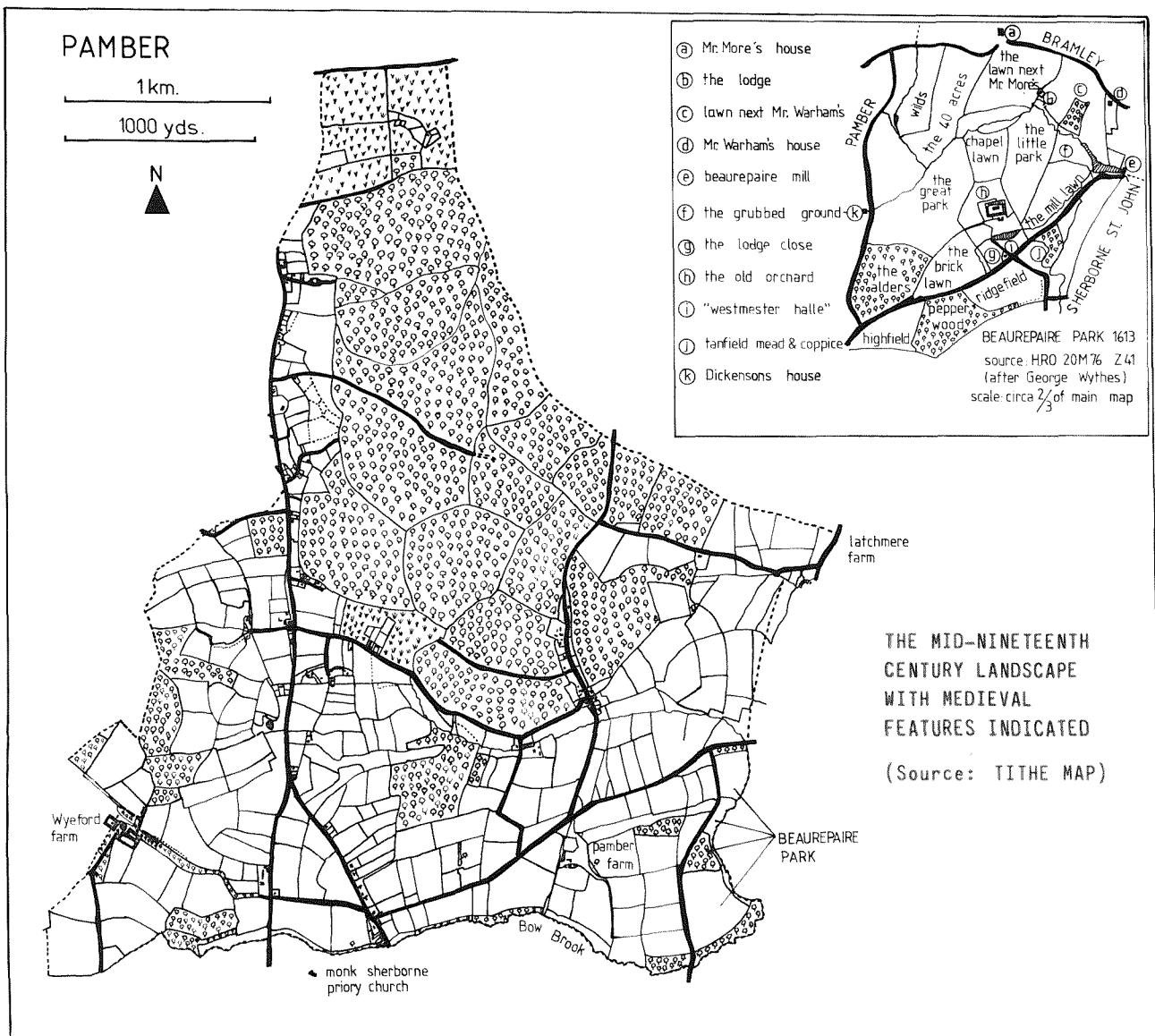


Fig. 7.12

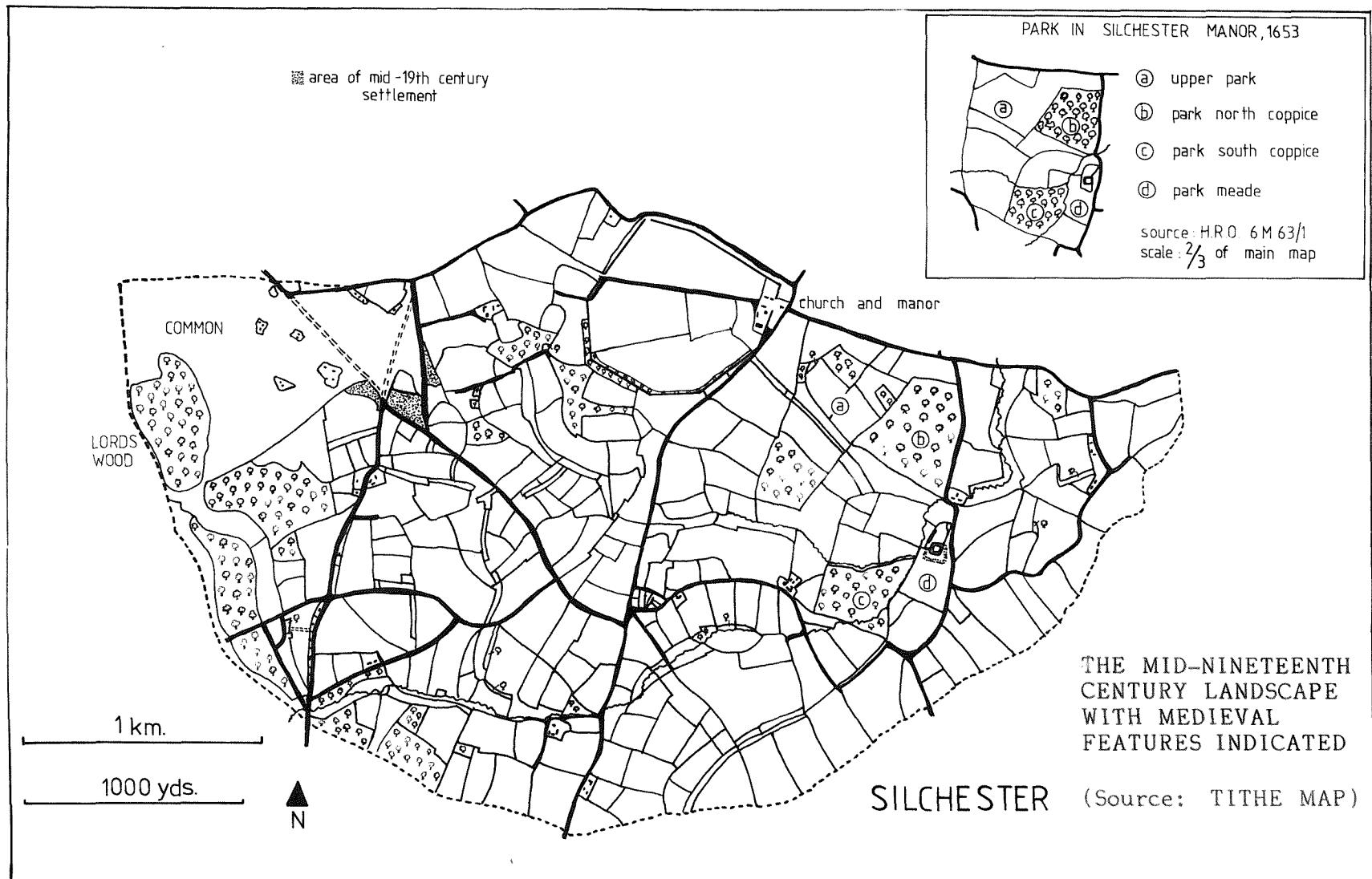


Fig. 7.13

THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY LANDSCAPE  
WITH MEDIEVAL FEATURES INDICATED

(Source: TITHE MAP)

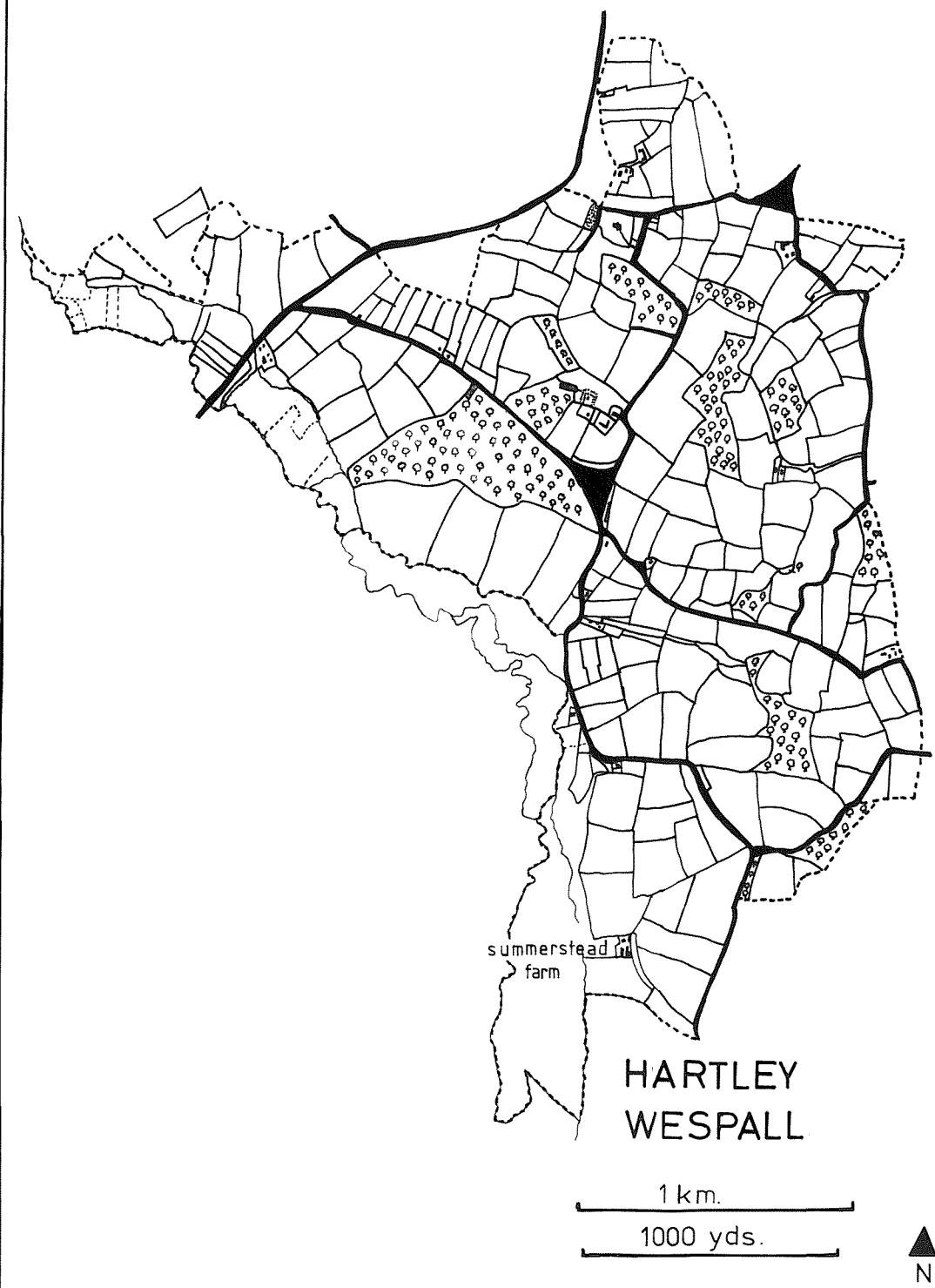


Fig. 7.14

visited Silchester<sup>43</sup> and left descriptions of the Roman town and its surroundings mention the open field or fields, although they do note the wooded aspect of the landscape, the manor and the church, and the general lie of the land. In Pamber, in 1428, le Gretefeld, part of Knovile, was leased.<sup>44</sup> This was an old assart, and, judging by the size of the rent, 14*s.* to the king for the assart and 2*s.* to the lessor, was, as its name suggests, larger than most fields in the parish. The etymology further suggests that this may have been an open field, the 'great field' of Stratfield Saye, mentioned in 1276, having already been discussed, below.

In his discussion of the woodland field systems of the west midlands Roberts comments that wide local variation is visible in the proportion of open-field land, as compared to that held in enclosed severalties.<sup>45</sup> Clearly, in addition to inbuilt, underlying, formation determinants, such as geology and soil type, estate-specific forces will be present through the influence of individual or communal decision-making. In the following discussion no attempt will be made to consider and evaluate the various models which have been proposed to account for the development of open-field farming as a preferred method of arable production, and the discussion will be confined primarily to the relationships between field-forms and settlement patterns.

In general, where multiple open fields are found in an area two, broadly opposing, processes may have been at work to produce the observed pattern. Firstly, it has in some cases been observed that an initially limited number of open fields became divided or fragmented into a larger number of smaller ones, sometimes this occurring after piecemeal enclosure of an area of open-field land. In the study area it was suggested, above, that the open fields of Basingstoke may have been extended at a relatively late date through the formal integration of Hatch Field into the system, and it was shown that in Sherborne St. John at least one of the open fields was subdivided into three only at some stage subsequent to it reaching its full spatial extent.

Alternatively, multiple open fields within a parish may be the

'original' pattern, albeit one that may have evolved gradually. These could, in due course, either be enclosed and pass into several cultivation, or else be amalgamated with other open fields to form larger units. It has already been demonstrated that multiple open-fields were present in the medieval landscape of many of the parishes in the study area, in other words that they were 'original' features.

#### Fields and Related Settlements

It can further be shown that there was a high degree of correlation between individual settlement nuclei and individual fields; in other words, there may have been several individual settlements, each with a greater or lesser area of open-field land, in each parish. These may have evolved separately, over a considerable time, and, as has been said, continued to evolve, producing in time a more integrated field system within the parish. In no case is it possible to study this process in any detail from the available, limited, evidence.

As far as can be seen, both Basing and Basingstoke were highly nucleated settlements in the medieval period, and this is reflected in their field systems, which were integrated units at least partially surrounding each settlement. In Sherborne St. John, the open fields formed an integrated block to the south of the parish, but it is possible to suggest an older association of specific fields with individual foci of settlement which, in the nineteenth century, and perhaps already in the thirteenth century, had joined to form the loosely-linked village. The foci of West End and Church End have their corresponding fields in West End Field and Church End Middle Field, with Spittle End Field lying between the two, suggesting the possibility of another focus. An early fifteenth-century charter further refers to land lying at the hylle ende of Sherborne St. John,<sup>46</sup> and the site of this can be shown to have been in the north-west of the parish, still visible in the nineteenth century as an area of cleared land bounded by, on the one hand, Beaurepaire Park, and on the other side woodland. Nothing more is known of the development of this 'end', but in the light of what is known of similar settlements in the study area, it is at least

possible that there was an area of open-field land here. This has already been proposed as being likely for Sherborne Coudray, in the north-west of the parish (above).

A similar case may be Bramley, although the evidence is slightly less clear. Burghfields and Further Burghfields, associated with the main nucleated settlement around the church, have already been mentioned. This settlement was almost certainly that referred to as Le Westende in a grant of a house there in 1352,<sup>47</sup> the name suggesting the existence of at least one other focus of settlement in the parish. One such focus was probably at, what by the post medieval period had become known as Bramley Green,<sup>48</sup> at the eastern end of the main block of open-field land. This was probably the hamlet known in the fourteenth century as Bulls Down, which was presumably attached in some way to the manor of that name to the south. A third focus was at la Lachmere, to the west of the church, situated, like Bullsdown, about a mile and a half therefrom. It figures in several grants of the thirteenth and fourteenth century of land in Bramley or Pamber,<sup>49</sup> and had developed into a 'green' by the seventeenth century. Both hamlets may have had associated open-field land. It seems likely that if this did exist at Bullsdown it was enclosed to form the seventeenth-century park there,<sup>50</sup> which seems to have lain to the west of the present farm; the field-shapes there again suggest early enclosure.

In Stratfield Saye, the church and manor were situated in the extreme east of the parish by the River Loddon, perhaps suggesting an original clearance from the river eastwards. This clearance either led to, or, more probably, was facilitated by the establishment of ~~discreet~~ hamlets. The site of the present village, known, at least by 1759, as Westend Green,<sup>51</sup> was probably one such site, and there may have been another at 'southend', the first-known mention of which occurs in 1478. This name is perpetuated by the modern Southend Farm, which lies to the south of what has been suggested, above, to have been the main area of open-field land.

References to Fairoak are known from the thirteenth century

onwards,<sup>53</sup> this hamlet lying at the western extremity of the central open field block. Clearly it was a well-established hamlet of some size, and its position indicates that its inhabitants had at least a part of their arable holdings in the open fields. Charter evidence further suggests that there was a hamlet at Widemere<sup>54</sup> (near the modern Wigmore Farm), which was possibly associated with the open field of Goseflood,<sup>55</sup> which lay to the south of this. In the fifteenth century, when the Heywood estate was sold, it included six messuages and six tofts;<sup>56</sup> there is no further evidence concerning these, and although they could have been anywhere in the area it is most likely that these lay either in the immediate area of what is now Heywood's Farm, or else in the south end hamlet.

Various blocks of open-field land in Stratfield Saye were mentioned in late twelfth and early thirteenth century grants, such as Alangethorn,<sup>57</sup> and Euerworthe<sup>58</sup> or Veworth.<sup>59</sup> The context does not make it clear whether these were discreet open fields, or, as is more probable, furlongs or shotts within the burghfields. Also unlocated is the fork of arable lying in Hyniggeswod,<sup>60</sup> and an assarted field called Little Frith, which a tithe inquisition taken in 1265<sup>61</sup> indicates was not held in severalty.

In the parish of Sherfield on Loddon the church and manor at Church End was, by the mid nineteenth century, no longer the focus of settlement in the parish, this then being at Sherfield Green, a kilometre to the north. There is a strong case for arguing that this is a case where a village moved from one site to quite a different one, in this instance the shift occurring by, or in, 1274. In this year John and Amice Wintershull were granted the custody of the manor,<sup>62</sup> and proceeded to either create, or extend, the park attached to the manor, probably to the 80-acre size at which it stood in 1332.<sup>63</sup> In exchange for land which they took from the men of Sherfield for their park the Wintershulls granted them quittance of a certain rent and common in the pastures called Sherfield and La Breche.<sup>64</sup> The situation of the modern Breech Farm, just to the east of Sherfield Green, suggests that this compensatory common land was either granted close to what had already developed into

the main focus of settlement in the parish, or alternatively, that it was onto this land that the village subsequently shifted. In other words, this may be a case of village desertion through imparkment at a very early date. Certainly, what is known of John and Amice Wintershull from their activities elsewhere in the area shows that they could be enterprising, ruthless and damaging to others' interests.<sup>65</sup> Whatever, the evidence supports the contention that by the late thirteenth century the main settlement in Sherfield was no longer at Church End but at Sherfield Green, and that at least a part of the common land at the former site had been taken into the seigneurial park.

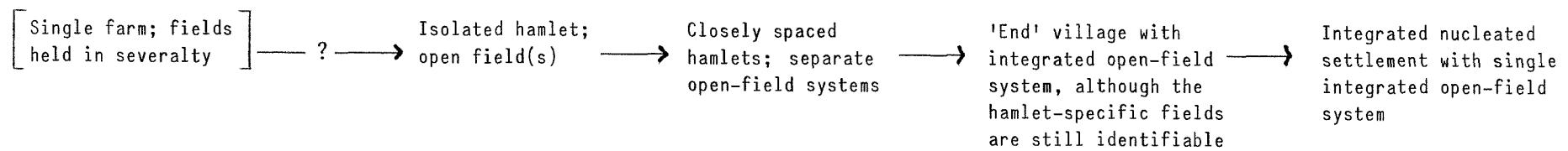
From the 25 or so charters which deal directly with land in Pamber, it is difficult to determine how much land was clear of wood in the parish, and where, and in what form, the settlement was. In the nineteenth century (fig. 7.12) the major concentration of settlement was along both sides of the main north-south road through the parish, with irregularity of croft size and spacing being everywhere apparent. However, to the east of this road, and south of the woodland, was an area of roughly rectangular blocks of land, some with a house on the road frontage, giving the appearance of oversize crofts and tofts (they average c. 250 x 50m.). There was an irregular outer edge to this area of land, and it seems likely that this represents the, or one of the, medieval clearances within the parish, with the squarer crofts further up the main road to the north representing later squatter clearances. The original medieval focus of settlement in the parish appears to have centred on the crossroads in the south of the parish, today known as Pamber End, this lying 400 metres north-east of Monk Sherborne priory, the church of which served as the parish church of Pamber.

Several late fourteenth and early fifteenth century grants of land refer to a part of Pamber known as Knovileslond<sup>66</sup> or Knovile,<sup>67</sup> which had associated with it, as discussed above, a Gretefeld, and it would seem probable that this was yet another case where a small hamlet had an associated area of open-field land. There may have been a further settlement at Le Goldoks,<sup>68</sup> from whence ran a road to Latchmere. This is not positively

located, but the latter fact suggests that it may have been the settlement known, at least since 1695, as Little London.<sup>69</sup>

In Silchester, the church and manor are situated together, in the eastern part of the interior of the Roman walled town. There is no physical or documentary evidence of a nucleated settlement here, or anywhere else in the parish, although a twelfth-century hall has recently been found nearby, within the Roman amphitheatre.<sup>70</sup> If, however, the suggestion made above is accepted, that there was an area of open-field land in the centre of the parish, this begs the question of whether there can be the one without the other, open-field land without nucleated settlement.

It is clear, therefore, that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the study area was clearly divided into two, in terms of its field, and settlement patterns. In the south were large, compact areas of open-field land, with associated nucleated settlements, particularly in Basing and Basingstoke. To the north were smaller, more dispersed settlements of the hamlet type, which generally had an area of open-field land associated with them, which was in some cases divided into more than one field. The 'end' villages in the study area suggest, though, that to characterize the Loddon area as one exhibiting two fundamentally different forms of settlement is to misunderstand the evidence, which rather indicates that what can be seen are the various stages of a single process of landscape development all present together at one time, the stage of development reached in any one case being due to the presence, and effect, both prior to and during the period under discussion, of underlying formation determinants. The various stages of development can be best illustrated by means of a flow diagram (fig.7.15); it must again be remembered that what is being presented is a generalized model of development, and hence in not every case will actual examples conform to a particular stage of the model. It is not proposed at this stage to consider these formation determinants; these will be considered after the other components of the medieval landscape have been discussed.<sup>71</sup>



THE LODDON AREA: Suggested stages in the development of settlement forms and field systems.

FIG: 7.15

Similar field systems have been noted elsewhere. Roden, in his study of Buckinghamshire, noted how, in the centre of that county, late woodland clearances could produce a pattern of small open-fields and large amounts of enclosed arable land which gave, in about 1300, "a multiplicity of common fields (some described as 'croft'), assarts, hedged closes, woodland and hamlets".<sup>72</sup> Roberts's work on the west midlands has similarly highlighted the wide variations visible in the amounts of open-field land present in adjacent parishes.<sup>73</sup> Eccleshall, in Staffordshire, is in many ways representative of this region, the main settlement, with probably two open fields attached to it, being surrounded by several hamlets each with one or more 'town fields'. Some strips survived into the nineteenth century, but most had been enclosed by 1700.<sup>74</sup> In Kent, it has been similarly concluded, that "open fields were probably mostly small but numerous, and associated as much with dispersed farmsteads and hamlets as with villages".<sup>75</sup>

#### Enclosed Severalties

Putting aside land given over to woodland, common meadow, waste and pasture, the amount of land held in enclosed severalties will vary in inverse proportion to that held in open arable fields. Only Basingstoke, in the study area, has no evidence of several enclosures in the medieval period, at the apogee of the town's open-field system's development, with the exception of a little land which had been engrossed and enclosed around the town.<sup>76</sup> A particularly good example of 'typical' woodland-zone enclosed fields can be seen in Hartley Wespall, where a kilometre-wide strip of irregularly sized fields with winding boundaries can be seen running for about two and-a-half kilometres down the eastern side of the parish. That such fields were the product of an initial clearance and division of waste or woodland, in other words that these were assart fields, is often stated. Again in Hartley Wespall, about a kilometre to the north-east of Summerstead Farm, some woodland remains in the middle of a roughly circular area of land c. 700 metres in diameter; the outer edges of the wood are indented by the heads of the

fields around it, clearly formed from the clearance of the originally much larger area of woodland.<sup>77</sup> Another good example where boundaries formed during an initial clearance-phase can be observed is in Bramley, where the curving eastern boundary of Bramley Frith wood is mirrored by a very similar boundary to the west, the nineteenth-century western boundary of the wood lying midway between the two.

The wooded nature of the medieval landscape, with closes enclosed by hedges and trees, is often revealed incidentally by charters and other documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,<sup>78</sup> especially the long series of court rolls from Basingstoke, although these only begin in the later years of the fourteenth century.<sup>79</sup> In 1412-13, for instance, Henry Barkesdale made plaint of Thomas Catelyne on a plea of trespass, claiming that Thomas had lopped down various trees in a hedge of his and taken them away.<sup>80</sup> Hedges would have been a major source of brushwood, and even managed timber, particularly in a parish like Basingstoke, where there was little or no actual woodland as such.

#### Other Grassland Resources

There was a certain amount of meadow land in the study area, and its probable extent, as indicated by the documentary sources is shown in fig.7.16. Not surprisingly, the major tracts of meadow lay along the banks of the Loddon. The largest single area was in the southern part of Sherfield on Loddon parish, on the northern bank of the river, which here forms the parish boundary. In the medieval period this area, known as 'Wildmoor', was the meadowland of Basingstoke, where there was no permanent grassland in the parish itself to support ploughbeasts. It is not known when this arrangement first developed; it was noted above, that there was already an intensive arable regime in Basingstoke by the thirteenth century, and the Domesday figure of twenty plough-teams at work<sup>81</sup> shows that if reclamation of the Roman arable had been necessary during the Saxon period the task was largely completed by the mid eleventh century. Again, the absence of Sherfield on Loddon from Domesday is to be regretted in this context as, were it

included, it may have given some indication of whether Basingstoke then had the meadow land later attached to it. Wildmoor was, as the records of Basingstoke make clear, divided into strips and closely managed,<sup>82</sup> with an appointed meadow keeper or mower. Its extent is shown on the Sherfield tithe map,<sup>83</sup> which further shows that most of the eastern half of the parish was given over to the meadow, which was probably the location of the Langebriggemedē meadow mentioned in a lease of 1463.<sup>84</sup>

In Pamber and Bramley there was meadow along the Bow Brook, some of which was incorporated into Beaurepaire Park in the latter years of the fourteenth century.<sup>85</sup> In Stratfield Saye the north bank of the Loddon was again exploited as meadowland,<sup>86</sup> and there was controlled fishery in the river there. The fifteenth century Heywood estate, for instance, included 20 acres of meadow,<sup>87</sup> and an area of meadow called Bormede features in several grants of the late thirteenth century.<sup>88</sup> The tithe map evidence for Hartley Wespall<sup>89</sup> indicates that a band of meadow lay down the western boundary of the parish. In Sherborne St. John, there was a meadow called le Moore,<sup>90</sup> apparently in the area of the fishponds immediately to the east of Morgaston Park. The site of which is marked by the modern Morgaston Wood. The foundation charter of Monk Sherborne priory includes the meadow at 'longbridge' and the mill and meadows of 'the other Sherborne' (i.e. Sherborne St. John).<sup>91</sup> Only ten acres of meadow though are listed in an extent of the priory taken in 1294,<sup>92</sup> with further evidence of the limited amount of meadow in the parish being provided by the inquisition post mortem taken in 1361 on the death of William Fifhide of Sherborne Coudray (later The Vyne).<sup>93</sup> Here the manor consisted of 326 acres of arable land (at 3d. per acre) but only fourteen acres of meadow (at 2s. per annum, or 12d. after the hay had been taken).

Certain areas of common pasture can also be identified. 'The Down', in the south-west of Basingstoke parish, has already been mentioned, this covering 636 acres in 1786.<sup>94</sup> In 1535 the freeholders and farmers of the town could keep two sheep there for every acre of arable that they held, with five sheep allowed

for two acre holdings, 600 being the maximum number of sheep that holders of 300 acres or more could pasture.<sup>95</sup> In 1541 this was amended to one-and-a-half sheep for every acre sown,<sup>96</sup> presumably as the earlier allowances led to over-grazing. The number of sheep allowed to be pastured there in the medieval period is not known, but it is likely to have been roughly in the same order of magnitude. To the south of West End Field in Sherborne St. John lay an area of common pasture called Rook's Down, and the 1294 extent of Monk Sherborne Priory indicates that there was common pasture in Monk Sherborne as well, albeit perhaps a restricted amount, the priory's portion being worth only 6s.8d.<sup>97</sup>

In general, though, both common pasture and waste are difficult to identify in the medieval landscape, as they rarely appear in contemporary documents, not being subject to sale or transfer, and not being so closely scrutinized by the community for cases of abuse against them as were the arable or meadow lands. No case is known from the medieval period in the study area where encroachment onto this type of land led to either litigation, or common protest, as occurred at Holbury in the New Forest,<sup>98</sup> although at Sherfield on Loddon the villagers were granted some replacement land after the Wintershulls had enclosed some of the village commons in their park.<sup>99</sup> Large areas of common were shown on the tithe maps to the north of Pamber and to the north-west of Silchester parish, the latter common being mentioned in a description of a visit of Elizabeth I in 1601.<sup>100</sup> It is likely, but unproven, that these commons were already in existence in the medieval period, and that they were the result of woodland clearance, which left the 'Lord's Wood' of Silchester isolated in the middle of the common there.

There would have been less need for, and pressure on, common pasture in the Loddon area than in many others, as the presence of small several closes would allow for individual provision of pasture according to demand, the hedges and trees surrounding the closes themselves providing extra forage. Right of common may also have been enjoyed by people living in parishes near the demesne woods of Pamber forest. This right was often held by people living in the proximity of a forest, whether by charter

or 'immemorial custom',<sup>101</sup> but it is not known if such rights were held in Pamber specifically. If there were such rights, the amount of common grazing available in the forest would have declined from the thirteenth century onwards, as more and more of the forest was released into private management through grants of imparkment or assart. There were also changes in forest law at various times, which make it even more difficult to assess the probable role of the forest in this aspect of the local economy.

### Parks

The dates of parks' appearance within the landscape of the study area has already been considered.<sup>102</sup> When their spatial distribution is examined (fig.7.16) it is apparent that most lie well apart from nucleated settlements and their associated open fields. Basing Old Park, however, enclosed the fortified manor there, close to the presumed early medieval village centre around the church, and was partly surrounded by the village's open fields. Later, in the second half of the fourteenth century, Beaurepaire park came to impinge on the village of Bramley, the modern Park Gate Farm perpetuating the site of one of the entrances to the park. At Sherfield on Loddon, it was argued above that the creation of the park may have led to the displacement of the village. Rarely was such action necessary though. Both seigneurial recognition of the undesirability of park and village being juxtaposed, and the nature of the land being enclosed, naturally led to parks lying away from intensively used land.

This was because at least as important as parks' role as hunting and stock preserves was that of woodland enclosures. Whilst knowledge of the extent of medieval woodland in the study area is biased, coming largely from sources concerned with the royal forest, or private park creations, such incidental references which do occur confirm that it was here that the major concentrations of medieval woodland were to be found, those surviving into the nineteenth century, to be depicted on the tithe maps. The creation of a park was a means by which a medieval landowner sought to give increased recognition and

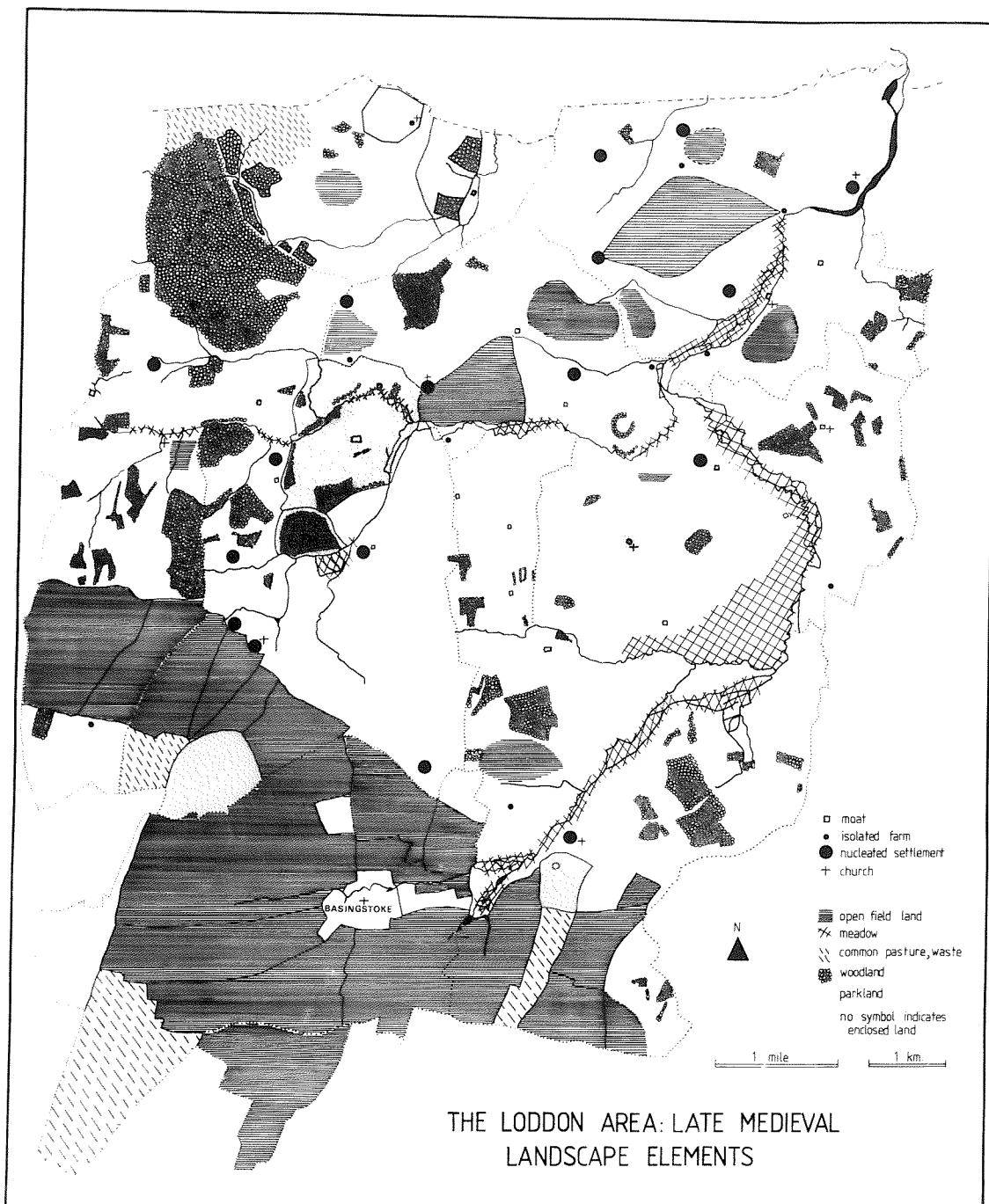


Fig. 7.16

protection to such limited woodland resources as survived. Not unnaturally, these tended to be on areas of poorer soil, some distance from settlements, and hence relatively well protected from depredations, deliberate or otherwise, through over-exploitation.

#### The Domesday and Later-Medieval Landscapes Compared

It would, arguably, be instructive to compare the numbers of ploughs at work in the component parts of the study area in 1086 with the arable acreages worked in succeeding centuries. The number of unknown variables present, however, not least of these being the amount of arable land exploited at any one time in several of the parishes in the later medieval period, makes any attempt at quantification pointless, and potentially misleading. Nevertheless, as has been shown, sufficient is known of the later medieval landscape to allow comparisons to be made and general conclusions drawn with some confidence. In the study area there is a close correlation visible between the vills with the larger numbers of plough-teams at work in Domesday and the major concentrations of open-field arable known from later sources, that is in the four southern parishes, and Bramley and Stratfield Saye. It is also likely that it was in these parishes that there was the closest regulation of the agricultural regime, reflecting the degree to which common exploitation led to communal interdependence. Whilst only Basingstoke's court rolls survive, to [incidentally] reveal the town's agricultural by-laws in the medieval period, there is no reason to think other than that these laws were representative of those enforced by the surrounding vills. Conversely, Stratfield Turgis, Hartley Wespall, and to a lesser extent Silchester remained relatively devoid of large-scale, or at least communally or seigneurially organized, arable exploitation in both 1086 and the later-medieval period.

Assarting in the area has already been discussed, and it has been shown that a considerable extension of the cultivated area took place, at least partly at the expense of woodland. Similarly noted have been the possibly archaic nature of the Domesday swine renders, and the limited number of sources which are

likely to mention woodland surviving from the medieval period. Even with these latter reservations it is clear that it was the vills with the main recorded tracts of woodland in 1086 that remained relatively well wooded in the fourteenth century, by when the woodland was under close seigneurial control.

Therefore, there is a general, and apparently fairly close, correlation between the relative amounts of arable and woodland visible across the study area in 1086 and in the mid fourteenth century, although overall the latter may have declined a little, the former almost certainly increasing considerably. What can be seen, both from what is known of this area, and from what similar studies have shown elsewhere, is that economic resources of all kinds came to be much better defined spatially, more carefully and rigorously exploited, and to have greater proprietorial rights attached to them, whether individual or communal, as the medieval period progressed.

#### Moats in the Loddon Landscape

In no case is there a contemporary documentary reference to the construction of a moat in the Loddon area, and overall the moats of the area are rarely mentioned before the early modern period. In some cases though a likely terminus post quem can be suggested for the construction of a moat around a property of the seigneurial class. The Silchester moat, if it is accepted that it surrounded a park lodge, which is likely because of its position within a park and its small size, should date from the time of, or after the grant to impark in 1204.<sup>103</sup> Similarly, the moated lodge within Beaurepaire park is unlikely to date from before the initial imparkment of 1369, although it is possible that in the case of these late imparkments abandoned assart homesteads could be adapted. The moat around Beaurepaire house may have already been in existence at the time of the Peches; certainly it was unlikely to have been added after the apparently major refurbishment undertaken by the Brocas family in the middle of the fourteenth century. If the moat was dug at the time of the estate's improvement, when its park was created, this would mirror the example of Sherfield on Loddon, where it is likely that this occurred c. 1274. It has already been argued that the integrated

nature of the moat and fishponds at Hartley Wespall makes it likely that the former was present when the latter were poached in 1318.

The isolated position and non-manorial status of other moats makes it likely that they were freehold assart farms, which generally seem to have been established before the mid fourteenth century. Occasionally these farms are incidentally referred to in contemporary documents but invariably the only details recorded were tenurial, not structural. The area of Sherfield known as la Breche was being exploited by 1274 by the newly, or recently migrated village, making the establishment of further freehold estates like that centred on the moated Breach Farm unlikely. This in turn suggests that Breach Farm itself was established before this date. Lancelevy Farm, in the same parish and also moated, was perhaps established by 1248, when William Launcelevelie appeared, and Moulshay Farm, again in Sherfield, was noted in 1263. In Bramley, Bullsdown Farm was noted in 1313.

#### The Physical Determinants

The preceding sections have shown that the medieval landscape of the Loddon area was the result of a long, gradual process of development, and have demonstrated that the broad divisions of the landscape into arable, pasture, wood and meadowland were longstanding. Consistency of land-use can be argued from at least the Iron Age to the late medieval period, inviting speculation about continuity in its various guises.

Leaving aside such speculation, the evidence suggests that the most important determining factors behind the fourteenth-century landscape were ultimately environmental, with the single most effective one being the underlying geology. Comparison of figs. 5.1 and 7.16 will show the extremely close correlation between the extent of the chalklands and that of the main southern block of open field land, this being the most obvious example of this determinism. Across the area underlain by the London Clay the settlement patterns were more diffuse, the less anciently worked soils apparently still being in some cases in the process of

initial exploitation, with there being overall little evidence of more than very local pressure on land and the subsequent development of integrated open-field systems and highly nucleated settlements. To the north-east lay the main surviving expanse of ancient woodland, Pamber forest, on the Plateau and Valley Gravels and the sands of the Bagshot Beds, and it is here that agrarian expansion and the establishment of settlements was least advanced by the mid fourteenth century.

That, to a certain extent, this was due to the enforcement of forest law over this latter area is true. It is more correct though to recognize that the forest was established on what was already recognized as the poorest land of that region. This reflects the case of parks, where after their establishment there was greater control over the enclosed land than there had previously been, generally preventing non-seigneurial agrarian development. Again, though, the land that became so controlled was that least under demand, as it had least conventional potential.

### Notes and References

1. Cal.P.R. 1367-88, pp.188, 436.
2. The term 'estate' is used in order to include those, sometimes extensive, freehold farms, as well as traditional manors with courts. The types or degrees of manorialization are discussed in E.A.Kosminsky, Studies in the Agrarian History of England in the Thirteenth Century (1956), esp. pp. 68-151 and 256-82.
3. One of the most striking examples of landscape re-organization revealed in recent years is that of the northern villages, studied by J.A.Sheppard and M.Harvey (see bibliography in T.Rowley (ed.), The Origins of Open-Field Agriculture (1981) for references to their major works). These have shown how some villages and their associated field-systems were completely replanned on new, formalized lines in a single campaign. Even here, however, whilst there was still a new agrarian landscape there may have been no fundamental change in land-use, the emphasis being on arable cultivation both before, and after, the re-planning.
4. B.K.Roberts, 'The Historical Geography of Moated Homesteads: The Forest of Arden, Warw.' Trans.Birmingham and Warw. Archaeol. Soc. 88 (1978) [for 1976-7], pp.61-70. In the following discussion, and for the base maps of parishes which accompany it, boundaries were taken from the tithe maps of the 1830's and '40's, which provide the first detailed representations of the whole area. Essentially these were the medieval boundaries, prior to such re-organization of parishes as there was in the middle decades of the nineteenth century under divided parishes acts and the like. However, the maps in this study do not in general treat detached portions of parishes as such, and rather include them in the parish in which they were physically situated, generally the parish to which they were generally assigned. Hence Woodgarston, a detached tithing of Monk Sherborne, and Beech Hill, a detached tithing of Stratfield Saye were not included within the study as they lay outside the study area. Chineham, another detached tithing of Monk Sherborne, lying north of Basingstoke was,

and was retained as a separate unit as it was such in the medieval period with its own manor and field system.

5. As is now usual, this is preferred as a general term to 'common-field land', as it does not imply any specific mode of exploitation, being merely a description of the physical appearance of the land.
6. H.R.O. 21 M 72.
7. F.J.Baigent and J.E.Millard, A History of the Ancient Town and Manor of Basingstoke (1889), pp.204-12 (terrier of 1543, now Winchester College Muniments no. 4172).
8. Ibid., pp.200-3.
9. Ibid., pp.192-9.
10. Ibid., p. 315.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., pp.204-12.
13. See documents printed in ibid.; the extensive collection of Basingstoke documents in the Winchester College Muniments (catalogue in Cope Collection, Southampton University Library); W.D.Macray (ed.), Calendar and Documents Relating to the Possessions of Selborne and its Priory, Preserved in the Muniment Room of Magdalen College, Oxford (1894), esp. pp. 2 - 9.
14. Above, chapter 5.
15. H.R.O. 10 M 57/4, Basingstoke enclosure map 1788; H.R.O. 10 M 57/10, Basing enclosure map 1796.
16. Macray, op.cit., pp.2-9.
17. Queens College Archives, i, 55, 56, 57.
18. Macray, op.cit., pp. 7-8.
19. Gray's 'Midland System': H.L.Gray, English Field Systems (1915).
20. M.Burrows, The Family of Brocas of Beaurepaire and Roche Court (1886), document 219.
21. H.R.O., Monk Sherborne tithe map and apportionment.

22. Deserted Medieval Village Research Group Annual Report for 1969 (1970), p.15, notes that possible house platforms were destroyed at SU 644 541, immediately north-west of Chineham House and Farm, the site of Chineham Manor.
23. C.W.Chute, A History of the Vyne in Hampshire (1888), pp.13-14.
24. H.R.O. 31 M 57 1211.
25. H.R.O. 31 M 57 1212.
26. There was possibly the same number in West End Field, but the evidence is less certain.
27. H.R.O. 31 M 57/42
28. Queen's College Archives, i, 236.
29. An Act for Dividing, Allotting and Inclosing the Open and Common Fields and Waste Land within the Common Fields Only, in the Parish of Monk Sherborne, in the County of Southampton (1792), copy in Cope Collection, Southampton University Library.
30. In 1241 land at la Hulle was mentioned: Queen's 179,181. An extent of Monk Sherborne Priory taken in 1294 includes 20 acres 'on the hill': V.C.H.Hants. ii, p.237.
31. H.R.O., Bramley tithe map.
32. Burrows, op.cit., document 149.
33. Probably because most are associated with the Beaurepaire estate, which lay largely in the south-east of the parish. They are transcribed in Burrows, op.cit.
34. Eton College Records, i, 1, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19.
35. H.R.O., Stratfield Saye tithe map and apportionment.
36. Eton College Records, i, 29.
37. Ibid., 27.
38. Ibid.
39. Queen's College Archives, i, 249.
40. V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.64.
41. P.R.O. E 179/242.

42. H.R.O., Silchester tithe map.
43. The two most important being Evelyn and Aubrey.
44. Burrows, op.cit., document 308.
45. B.K.Roberts, 'Field Systems of the West Midlands', pp.188-231 in A.R.H.Baker and R.A.Butlin (eds.), Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles (1973), pp.210-11.
46. Queen's College Archives, i, 236.
47. Burrows, op.cit., document 155.
48. H.R.O., Bramley tithe map and apportionment.
49. H.R.O. 148 M 71 7/4/1.
50. V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.143.
51. J.E.Glover, Hampshire Place Names (typescript, Cope Collection, Southampton University Library), p.123.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid., p.122; Queen's College Archives, i, 34.
54. Eton College Records, i, 11, 34; Gover, op.cit., p.122.
55. Eton College Records, i, 13, 27, 30, 34.
56. V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.60.
57. Eton College Records, i, 1.
58. Ibid., 14.
59. Ibid., 1.
60. Ibid., 30.
61. Ibid., 26.
62. Cal.Close R. 1272-9, pp.81, 167.
63. P.R.O. C135/72.
64. Placitorum in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensis Asservatorum Abbreviatio (Rec.Comm., 1811), 186.
65. In 1281, for instance, Peter de Coudray leased the manor of Sherborne Coudray (Sherborne St. John parish), including the park licensed in 1268, to John and Amice Wintershull. Within two years the Wintershulls had felled 80 oaks in the park, and consequentially had to pay substantial

compensation: V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.160.

66. Burrows, op.cit., document 291.

67. Ibid., document 308.

68. H.R.O. M 71 7/4/1.

69. Morden's map of Hampshire in the 1695 edition of W.Camden's Britannia.

70. M.Fulford, 'Silchester' Current Archaeol. 82 (May 1982), pp. 326-31.

71. A similar model has been proposed for Holderness: M.Harvey, 'Irregular Villages in Holderness, Yorkshire: Some Thoughts on their Origin' Y.A.J. 54 (1982), pp.63-71. This was published too late to be considered in detail here.

72. D.Roden, 'Field Systems in the Chiltern Hills and their Environs', pp.325-76 in Baker and Butlin, op.cit.

73. Roberts, op.cit.

74. Ibid., p.219.

75. A.R.H.Baker, 'Field Systems of Southeast England', pp.377-429 in Baker and Butlin, op.cit., p.403.

76. Above.

77. Modern name Cooper's Copse, SU 704 572. Since the 1839 tithe map (copy at H.R.O.) was drawn several intermediate boundaries have been grubbed out.

78. e.g. Burrows, op.cit., document 145.

79. Baigent and Millard, op.cit., pp.247-356. The town's muniments may have been largely destroyed in the serious town fire of 1392: ibid., p.173.

80. Ibid., p.256.

81. V.C.H.Hants. i, p.456.

82. e.g. Winchester College Muniments 4171. There was, furthermore, a royal fishery at Ywode la Wyldemore: Baigent and Millard, op.cit., p.175.

83. H.R.O., Sherfield on Loddon tithe map and apportionment

84. Queen's College Archives, i, 208.

85. Burrows, op.cit., documents 159, 310.
86. V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.60.
87. Ibid.
88. Queen's College Archives, i, 246, 249.
89. H.R.O., Hartley Wespall tithe map and apportionment.
90. H.R.O. 31 M 57 / 4, 9, 23.
91. V.C.H.Hants. ii, p.226.
92. Ibid., iv, p.61.
93. H.R.O. 31 M 57 / 42.
94. Act for Dividing, Alloting and Inclosing the Open and Commonable Fields ... and other Commonable Places within the Parish of Basingstoke (1786), copy in Cope Collection, Southampton University Library.
95. Baigent and Millard, op.cit., pp.325-6.
96. Ibid., p.322.
97. V.C.H.Hants. ii, p.227.
98. Above, chapter 4.
99. Above.
100. V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.51.
101. C.R.Young, The Royal Forests of Medieval England (1978), pp. 46, 84, 111.
102. Above, chapter 6, esp. fig. 6.6.
103. For details of the licences to impark see fig.6.5.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This thesis began as an examination of the distribution, chronology and associations of moated sites in Hampshire, in the hope that this might allow the function of the moats themselves to be better understood. The research revealed that not only were the county's moated sites mostly taxonomically simple, but also that there were few site-specific documents. Therefore, more general geographical, archaeological and historical sources and methods assumed prominence, as an attempt was made not only to establish the chronology of economic development within the county but also the spatial distribution and development of certain facets of the contemporary landscape, and, specifically, the place of moats therein. It is ironic, that whilst the medieval rural landscape of the county has remained virtually unexamined, Southampton and Winchester have been the centres of major research programmes.

Chapter Two sought to establish a basic chronology of economic growth in Hampshire between Domesday and the mid fourteenth century, and examined whether regional differences in this chronology could be seen within the county. The number of new town foundations and market grants suggests that in Hampshire, as elsewhere, there was a rapid growth in the number of places with at least some urban functions between at least the later twelfth century and the mid-late thirteenth century, when firstly the number of town foundations declined and then the number of market foundations. Spatially, the centre and particularly the south-east of the county saw the greatest development. Analysis of agrarian production on the manors of the bishops of Winchester suggested that urban growth largely reflected rural agricultural production: the amount of land under cultivation apparently reached a peak in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, although growth may have continued into the last quarter in the south-east of Hampshire. In general, however, land began to go out of regular arable cultivation in the mid-century, and in the following one hundred years a third of the

bishop's lands that had been regularly tilled ceased to be so. The greatest decline occurred south of the Chalk, suggesting that there had been artificially buoyant development in this area by producers and entrepreneurs.

In Chapter Three the distribution of the wealth accruing from this activity was considered using the evidence of lay subsidies and the Nonarum Inquisitiones. These sources again showed the concentration of wealth on the south-eastern coastal plain and up the Test and Itchen valleys, and, surprisingly, that there was as much wealth in the woodlands to the north of the county as there was on the chalklands in its centre and up the Avon valley west of the New Forest. Population, too, grew most at this time in the south-east of the county, with substantial increases also evidenced to the west of Southampton Water and around Crondall.

Examination by fieldwork of a provisional list of c. 120 moated sites produced 36 'accepted' sites, almost all small and basically rectangular. A well-defined concentration of sites was found to lie around the River Loddon on the northern boundary of the county in the Hampshire woodlands, on the clays and gravels of the edge of the London Basin. The other sites had a scattered distribution, though apparently invariably associated with local deposits of clay and water sources. Moated sites of manorial status lay both within and apart from nucleated settlements, whilst all moated freehold or assart farms were apparently isolated. On great estates no factors could be isolated to suggest why certain manors were moated but not others. Furthermore, no differences could be seen between moated and unmoated sites in either the type, number or arrangement of buildings present.

Within the Loddon area, much of which was within Pamber forest from at least the mid twelfth century, it was perhaps only in the later thirteenth and fourteenth century that the claylands north of the Chalk came to be extensively, and in some cases intensively, exploited. The extent to which settlement was affected by geology can be seen nowhere more clearly than in the case of field systems, extensive and interlinked open fields

ending abruptly on the northern boundary of the Chalk where they were replaced by occasional open fields within a predominance of enclosed severalties. The quite major changes in landscape exploitation that apparently took place in the later thirteenth and fourteenth century were probably precipitated by the end of the Crown's interest in directly using Pamber forest and its products and the subsequent release of land from the forest for private exploitation. The Crown's action was itself an implicit, probably even unrecognized, acceptance that it could no longer control the release of land from the forest, a control that had for long anyway merely taken the form of drawing revenue from assarts licenced after they were created.

### Future Research

The list of basic medieval landscape history themes that remain unresearched in Hampshire is a long one, containing many large and seminal subjects – field systems; village morphology and settlement patterns; parochial and ecclesiastical development; the links between urban centres and their rural hinterlands; the use of sea and rivers – to name but a few. This is, of course, in addition to those general problems currently preoccupying landscape historians, most of which are chronologically centred on the Saxon period. In every case Hampshire offers the chance to construct sample areas for study which include several different geophysical areas. It must also be noted that the Pipe Rolls of the bishopric of Winchester remain largely unexploited: again, research based on these could be problem-orientated and be based on a sampling policy. The results in Chapter Two, above, suggests that this source offers a good opportunity to investigate various topics, including that of regional variation.

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I

## THE MOATED SITES OF HAMPSHIRE

## EXPLANATION

The survey of moated sites was undertaken initially in conjunction with M.F.Hughes, archaeologist in the Planning Department, Hampshire County Council, who was preparing a survey of sites in order to select examples for preservation. Accordingly, 'condition grades' were allocated, and are here given.

- I      Complete or almost complete moat with medieval buildings associated. Generally good condition.
- II     Partially surviving moat with medieval buildings, or complete moat without buildings.
- III    Partially surviving moat.
- IV    Slight traces of moat, or a substantially altered one.
- V     Destroyed site.

Listed first (numbers 1-30) are those sites classed as 'definite', where there are either surviving traces of the moat or what was considered unequivocal evidence that one had existed until modern times. Secondly (numbers 31-6) are those sites where the documentary sources suggest that a moat, since destroyed, once existed.

The site plans were prepared by the Planning Department, Hampshire County Council.

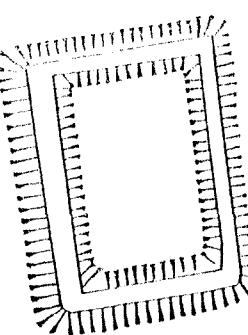
## LIST OF SITES

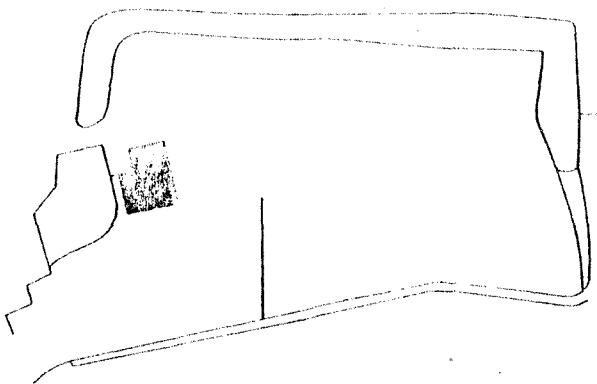
Definite Sites

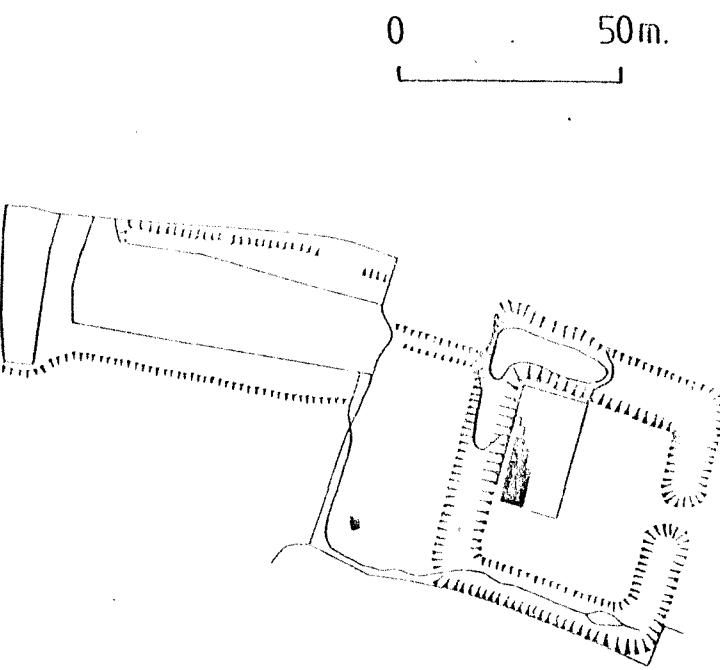
1. Basing, Cufaud Manor
2. Basing, Four Lanes Farm
3. Hartley Wespall, Hartley Court
4. Kingsclere, Frobury Farm
5. Pamber, Wyford Farm
6. Pamber, Pamber Farm
7. Sherborne St. John, Beaurepaire
8. Sherborne St. John, Sherborne Coudray
9. Sherfield on Loddon, Lancelevy Farm
10. Sherfield on Loddon, Sherfield Court
11. Sherfield on Loddon, Breach Farm
12. Silchester, Clappers Farm
13. Stratfield Turgis, Turgis Court
14. Monk Sherborne, Priory
15. Selborne, Blackmoor
16. Heckfield, Holdshott Farm
17. Breamore, South Charford Farm
18. Fawley, Holbury Manor
19. Fordingbridge, Parsonage Farm
20. Lymington, Milton Manor
21. Plaistford, Manor Farm
22. Otterborne, Manor
23. Owlesbury, Marwell Manor
24. Wickham, Wickham Glebe
25. Wonston, Cranbourne Farm
26. Chilworth, Manor
27. Aldershot, ?Manor
28. Romsey, Moorcourt
29. Havant, Warblington Castle
30. Bishops Waltham, Palace

Sites Suggested by Documentary Evidence

31. Basing, Upper Cufaud's Farm
32. Bramley, Bulls Down Farm
33. Bramley, Beaurepaire Park Lodge
34. Bramley, 'Moat Meadow'
35. Sherborne St. John, 'Moat Pightle'
36. Stratfield Turgis, Broadford House

Name: Cufaude Farm	District: Basingstoke	Parish: Basing	NGR.: SU 649 574	Scheduled Mon.: -	Condition Grade: III	Site no.: 1
<b>MOAT</b>						
Morphology: Square	Geology: London Clay	Water Supply: Spring				
Moat Size: c. 10-15m. wide	Area Enclosed: c. 35m. x 48m.					
Excavations/Surface Finds:	None					
Site Description:	Small, square, regular moated site. Interior level with surrounding ground. Moat water-filled. Interior used as orchard. Ground rises steeply by 4m. immediately W of site. Eighteenth-century farm immediately adjacent to the W.					
Associated Features:	None					
<p style="text-align: center;">0                    50m.</p> 						
<b>BUILDINGS</b> Description: None  <b>TOPOGRAPHY AND ASSOCIATED SETTLEMENT</b> : At northern extremity of Basing parish, immediately adjacent to western boundary. Flat wooded landscape.						
<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b>  The estate, 'Cufauds', was held by a family of this name of the royal manor of Basingstoke, apparently from at least as early as 1167 until the mid eighteenth century. The tithe map shows the field E of the site to be called 'moat pightle'. (1)						

Name: Four Lanes Farm	District: Basingstoke	Parish: Basing	N.G.R.: SU 661 554	Scheduled Mon.: No. 519	Condition Grade: III	Site no.: 2
<b>MOAT</b> Morphology: Rectangular (sub divided)	Geology: London Clay	Water Supply: Petty's Brook		<b>BUILDINGS</b> Description: L - shaped brick farmhouse of 2 stages within moated area. Outbuildings to E of moat.		
Moat Size: c. 10m. wide	Area Enclosed: c. 95m. x 75m.			Date: Seventeenth and nineteenth century	Condition: Derelict	
Excavations/Surface Finds: None				<b>Topography and Associated Settlement:</b> Originally isolated site, in low lying area which was heavily wooded until 1930's. Now surrounded by housing estates erected c. 1980.		
Site Description: Three arms of original moat still visible, partly water and partly rubbish filled. Width and depth of N arm may suggest use as fishpond. 'Mound' on inside of NW corner. Southern arm now only survives as field drainage ditch.	Associated Features: ? pond on W arm of moat with brick-built revetment wall in front of house. Internal area appears to be sub-divided by a shallow N-S ditch.			<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b> No known medieval documentary references are known to this farm, which was not of manorial status. The tithe map shows an adjoining field to be called 'moat pighitle'. (2)		
						

Name: Hartley Court	District: Basingstoke	Parish: Hartley Wespall	N.G.R.: SU 697 584	Scheduled Mon.: -	Condition Grade: III	Site no: 3
<b>MOAT</b>						
Morphology: Square	Geology: London Clay	Water Supply: Channel or seepage		BUILDINGS		
Moat Size: c. 10m. wide	Area Enclosed: c. 37m. x 40m.			Description: Small 2-bay cottage		
Excavations/Surface Finds: None				Date: Seventeenth century and later	Generally good, Condition: some subsidence	
Site Description: Small square moated site, with associated fish ponds and possible enclosure. Superior platform level, W side raised above surrounding ground level. At present site used as a garden of lawn and shrubs. Moat partly filled in on W. Water in E arm.				Topography and Associated Settlement: Low lying, wet, wooded area. Immediately W of Hartley Wespall church; some modern farm buildings to SE.		
Associated Features: One well-preserved fish pond and one smaller one, possible a breeder tank. Wood banks? and vague evidence of another enclosure between moat and fishponds.				DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE		
				<p>By the late twelfth century the Waspails were in possession of a one and-a-half hide estate. By the early fourteenth century John Droxford, bishop of Bath and Wells, was holding the estate, probably on lease from the Waspails. In 1318 a commission of oyer and terminer was issued, subsequent to a complaint by the bishop that certain men from Stratfield Turgis and Bramley had trespassed on his property, fished in his stews, and carried away fish and other goods. (3). As the moat and fishponds are integral it is likely the moat was in existence by this date.</p>		

Name: Frobury Farm	District: Basingstoke	Parish: Kingsclere	N.G.R.: SU 513 594	Scheduled Mon.: -	Condition Grade: IV	Site no.: 4	
<b>MOAT</b>				<b>BUILDINGS</b>			
Morphology: Unknown	Geology: London Clay	Water Supply: Unknown		Description: Sixteenth century timber-framed brick building of 2 storeys, consisting of a main E-W block with a N-S range at the W end. Recent additions. (Listed: Grade 2).			
Moat Size: c. 11m. wide		Area Enclosed: Unknown		Date: 16th century onwards	Condition: Good		
Excavations/Surface Finds: None				<b>Topography and Associated Settlement:</b> Isolated site at the foot of N scarp of Chalk downs in low lying, open position.			
Site Description: A fragment of moat survives as a slight depression in garden to W of house.				<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b> Although it cannot be proven, it is likely that the estate was already in existence by 1066. Throughout the medieval period it was held of the king in chief, from 1249, for about two centuries, by the Wintershull family. (4). In 1269 William de Wintershull obtained licence to impark his wood of Frobury, which contained ten acres by the forest perch, the site of this being marked by the modern Frobury Park copse. (5). Sometime between 1282 and 1304 his widow Beatrice presented to the chapel of St. Thomas there, the remains of which survived until the 1930's, lying to the E of the house. In his <u>Marches of the Royal Army</u> Capt. Symonds noted "Monday, 21 October his majesty lay at King Cleer (at Mr Tower's) at Frobury, a maoted house." (7).			
Associated Features: None							



Name: Pamber Farm	District: Basingstoke	Parish: Pamber	N.G.R.: SU 622 586	Scheduled Mon.: -	Condition Grade: IV	Site no.: 6
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MOAT

Morphology: ? rectangular Geology: London Clay Water Supply: Unknown

Moat Size: Unknown Area Enclosed: Unknown

Excavations/Surface Finds:

None

Site Description:

Pond, c. 50m. x c. 20m., along one edge of a square farmyard, suggests the possible presence of a moat.

Associated Features:

None

BUILDINGS

Description: Modern farm buildings

Date: Nineteenth/Twentieth century

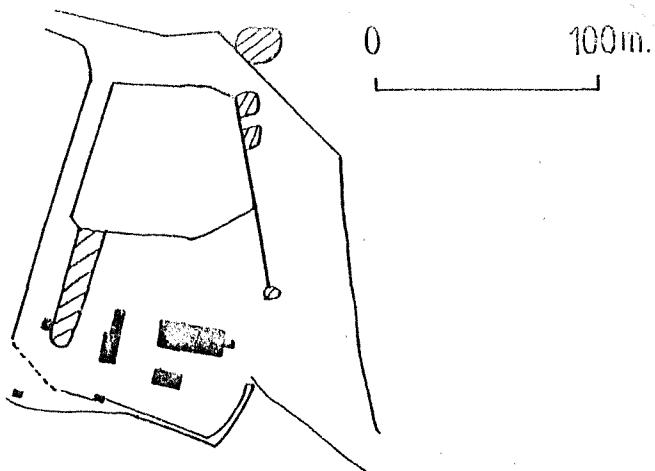
Condition: Good

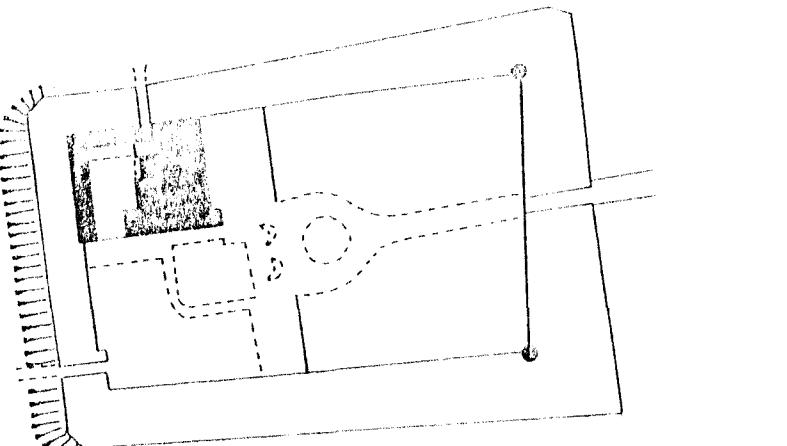
Topography and Associated Settlement:

An isolated site south of the medieval forest of Pamber. The number of moats in the immediate area increases the likelihood that this site was originally that of a moated assart farm.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

None known.



Name: Beaurepaire	District: Basingstoke	Parish: Sherborne St. John	NGR: SU 635 582	Scheduled Mon.: -	Condition Grade: III	Site no: 7
<b>MOAT</b> Morphology: Rectangular Geology: London Clay Original source Water Supply: unknown				<b>BUILDINGS</b> Description: Remains of 3-storey service wing with some additions. Brick. (Listed: Grade 2).		
Moat Size: c. 20m. wide	Area Enclosed: c. 100m. x 55m.					
<b>Excavations/Surface Finds:</b> None				Date: Early nineteenth century and 1964	Condition: Good	
<b>Site Description:</b> Large rectangular moated site, much landscaped and 'improved' in eighteenth century. Brick-lined revetment walls. Water-filled moat, 20m. wide at main eastern approach.				<b>Topography and Associated Settlement:</b> Low lying, isolated woodland site in corner of 3 parishes.		
<b>Associated Features:</b> Fishponds (at least 2) to S.Park, first recorded in 1369-70.				<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b> <p>This holding was alienated from the manor of Sherborne St. John to Bartholomew Peche early in the reign of Henry III (1216-72). The family held it until 1353 when it was sold to Bernard Brocas, who settled it on his nephew, Sir Bernard Brocas, two years later. (9) Account rolls suggest the manor was dilapidated at the time of its sale, and the chapel (with glass window), hall, chambers and grange were repaired. (10) In 1363 grant of free warren, and in 1369 licence to impark were obtained; the park was probably enlarged in 1370 (11), certainly in 1388 (12). The moated house and its surrounding park are shown on a fine pictorial map of 1613. (13).</p>		
						



Name: Lancelevy Farm	District: Basingstoke	Parish: Sherfield on Loddon	N.G.R.: SU 692 572	Scheduled Mon.: -	Condition Grade: III	Site no.: 9
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MOAT

Morphology: Square      Geology: London Clay      Water Supply: Channels

Moat Size: c. 7m. wide      Area Enclosed: c. 35m. x 35m.

Excavations/Surface Finds:

None

**Site Description:** Fairly deep moat, partly rubbish filled. Internal enclosure used as garden. Access to interior is now by a footbridge at middle of SW arm. Inner face of moat revetted with Tudor-type bricks - not known whether original.

Associated Features:

One, possibly two, fishponds to SE.

BUILDINGS

Description: None

Date:

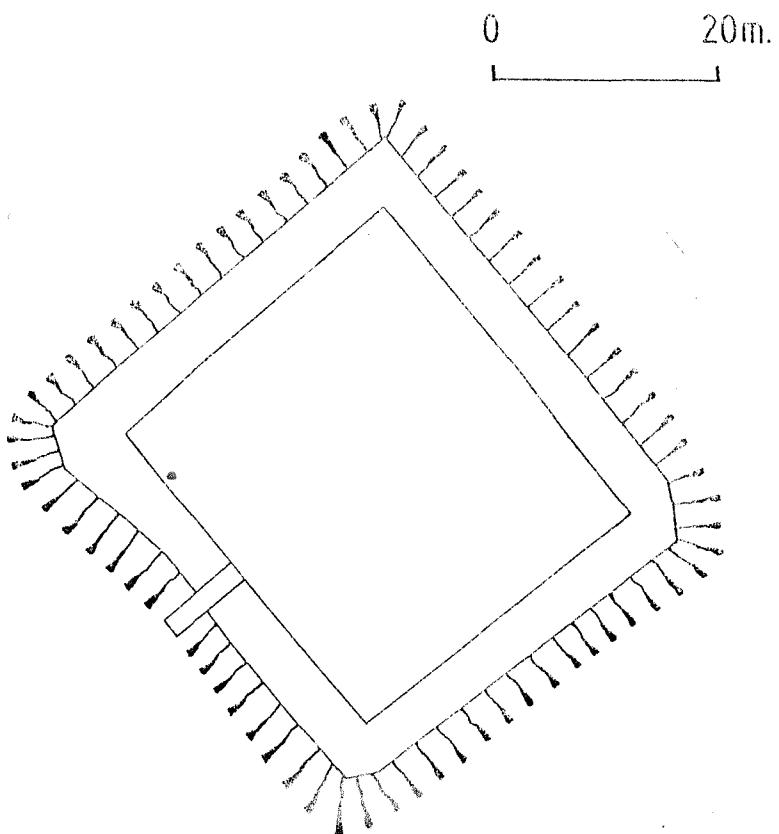
Condition:

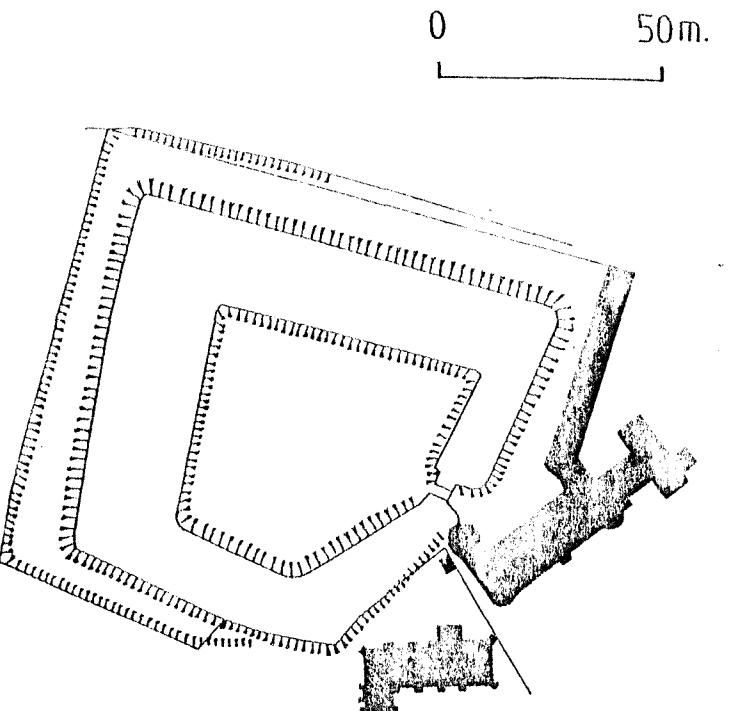
Topography and Associated Settlement:

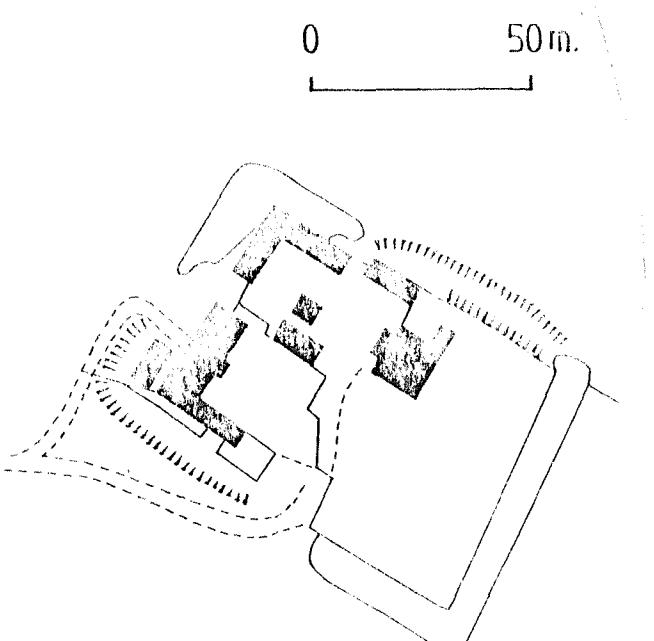
Low lying wetlands. Isolated parish-edge site close to River Loddon. Eighteenth century farmhouse and ancillary buildings to SE.

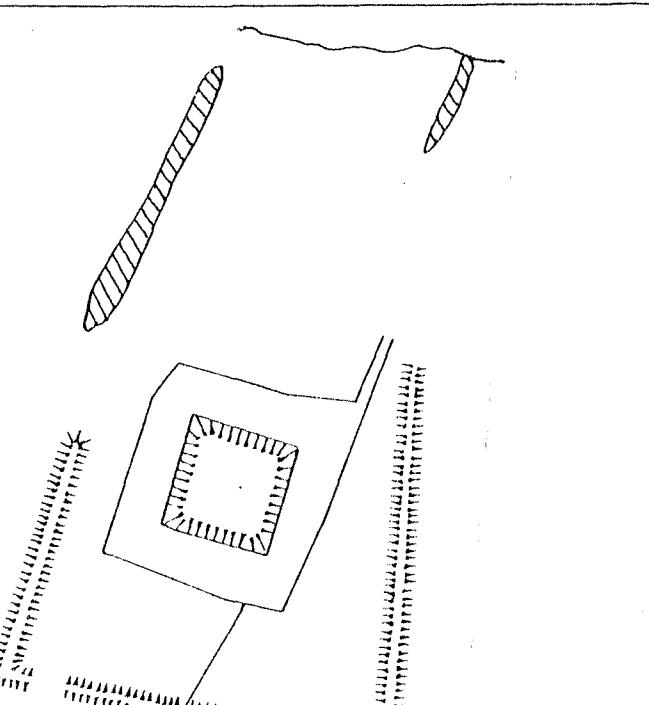
DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

The holding is first documented in the late fifteenth century, although it is likely that it had its origins as a medieval freehold estate.



Name: Sherfield Court	District: Basingstoke	Parish: Sherfield on Loddon	N.G.R.: SU 672 568	Scheduled Mon.: -	Condition Grade: III	Site no.: 10		
<u>MOAT</u>				<u>BUILDINGS</u>				
Morphology: Sub-square      Geology: London Clay      Water Supply: Unknown				Description: None				
Moat Size: c. 20m. wide (in parts)      Area Enclosed: 60m. x 50m.				Date:	Condition:			
Excavations/Surface Finds: None				<u>Topography and Associated Settlement:</u>				
Site Description: Heavily landscaped moated site. Waterfilled and used as ornamental pond. Interior used as lawn. Access by bridge at centre of SE arm.				On a low gravel ridge adjacent to parish church (St. Leonards) which has surviving fourteenth century features. Sherfield Court built in early eighteenth century.				
Associated Features: None				<u>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</u>				
				<p>At the time of Domesday the manor was a part of the royal manor of Odiham. It was alienated by Henry II prior to 1168. About 1274 it was granted to John de Wintershull. (21) He and his wife were apparently responsible for the creation of a park there which incorporated village common land, the men of Sherfield being compensated by pastures called 'Sherfield' and 'La Breche'. (22) An inquisition <i>post mortem</i> of 1332 stated that the park was of 80 acres; (23) this is approximately the same size as the square enclosure around Sherfield Court and the adjacent church. La Breche, judging by the position of Breach Farm (11) was close to Sherfield Green, the present village, and it appears possible that the action of the Wintershulls either instigated by force, or gave impetus to, a change in the site of the village from around the church (the area today called 'Church End') to its present site as Sherfield Green, one kilometre to the north-east.</p>				

Name: Breach Farm	District: Basingstoke	Parish: Sherfield on Loddon	NGR.: SU 683 578	Scheduled Mon.: -	Condition Grade: IV	Site no.: 11		
<b>MOAT</b>				<b>BUILDINGS</b>				
Morphology: Rectangular      Geology: London Clay      Water Supply: Channels				Description: ?Seventeenth century and later farmhouse and ?fifteenth century 5-bay cruck barn. (Listed: Grade 2).				
Moat Size: c. 10m. wide      Area Enclosed: 50m. x 75m.				Date: -	Condition: Poor			
Excavations/Surface Finds: None				<b>Topography and Associated Settlement:</b> Parish edge site, close to River Loddon. Now close to the village of Sherfield, but this may be the result of late thirteenth century shift in village site.				
Associated Features: Infilled? fishpond to SW				<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b> The area of the parish where this site lies was known as 'La Breche' at least as early as c. 1274, (see Sherfield Court, site 10) but there is no known mention of this specific site in medieval records. (24)				
								

Name: Clappers Farm	District: Basingstoke	Parish: Silchester	N.G.R.: SU 651 614	Scheduled Mon.: -	Condition Grade: II	Site no.: 12
<b>MOAT</b> Morphology: Square      Geology: London Clay      Water Supply: Channel Moat Size: c. 12m. wide      Area Enclosed: c. 25m. x 25m.				<b>BUILDINGS</b> Description: None  Date: -      Condition: -		
<b>Excavations/Surface Finds:</b> None				<b>Topography and Associated Settlement:</b> Low lying, shallow, valley bottom site. Located towards eastern edge of parish. Inside medieval/post-medieval park.		
<b>Site Description:</b> Waterfilled and well preserved moat with mature trees on interior. Surrounding area under pasture.				<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b> The manor, divided at Domesday, as its overlordship was to be for most of the medieval period, was actually held by the Bluets and then the Cusances between 1086 and the later fourteenth century. (25) In 1204 permission was given for a park to be inclosed, it subsequently being mentioned in an <i>inquisition post mortem</i> of 1348. (26) Presumably it is the same park shown on a map of 1653, which clearly shows the moat lying in its SE corner. No buildings are shown within the moat. (27) The enclosed area of the moat is rather small, and this would favour the possibility that this was the site of a park lodge. However, as the manor was at times divided it is possible that the moat was the site of a seigneurial residence, the main manorial site being within the Roman walled town. 'Clappers' is the name of the modern farm close to the site. Its antiquity is not known. In 1358 lands called 'la mote' or 'le veil Vy(nes?)' were noted in Silchester. (28).		
<b>Associated Features:</b> Ditched and banked enclosure to S. Ditched enclosure to N.						

Name: Turgis Court	District: Basingstoke	Parish: Stratfield Turgis	N.G.R.: SU 690 601	Scheduled Mon.: -	Condition Grade: III	Site no.: 13
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MOAT  
orphology: Rectangular      Geology: London Clay      Water Supply: Stream

Moat Size: c. 10m. wide      Area Enclosed: c. 38m. x 35m.

Excavations/Surface Finds:  
None

Site Description:  
E arm formed by artificial watercourse diverted from River Loddon.  
Remainder of moat marshy and largely infilled. Two brick piers of bridge  
on W arm.

Associated Features:  
None

#### BUILDINGS

Description: Eighteenth century farmhouse. (Listed: Grade 2).

Date: Eighteenth century

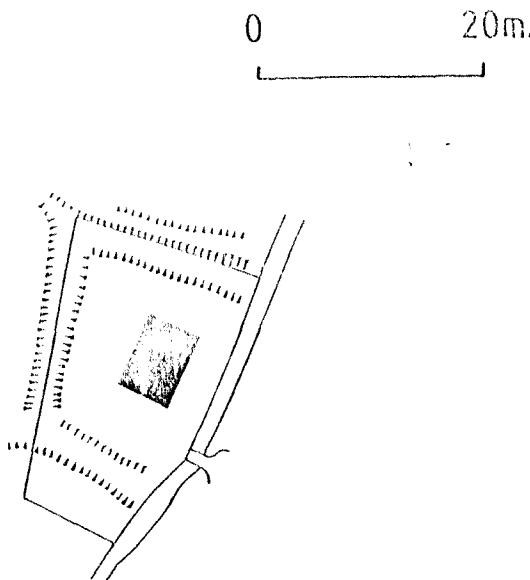
Condition: Good

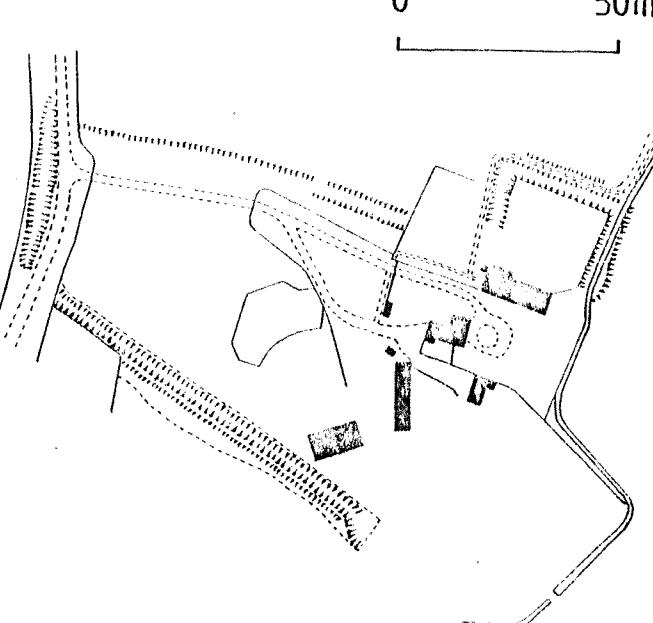
#### Topography and Associated Settlement:

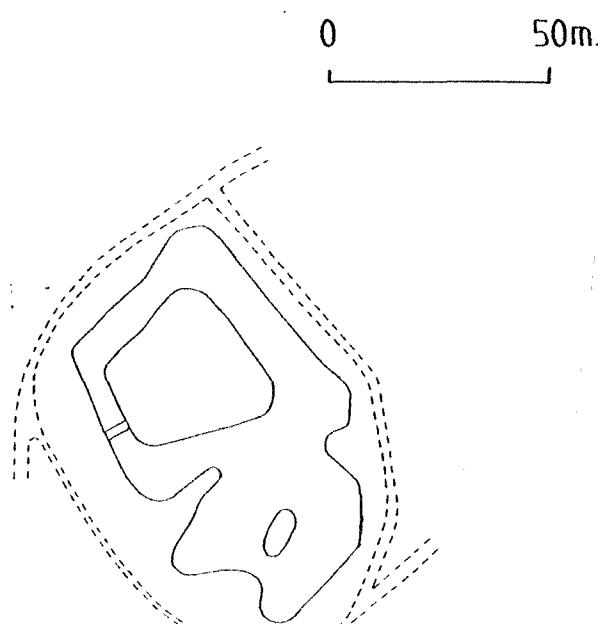
Low lying marshy area of meadows, 100m. from River Loddon. Adjacent  
to church (All Sains, thirteenth century), now redundant.

#### DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

The manor was held by the Turgis family of the Ports and St. Johns. (29)  
Nothing is known about its physical form.



Name: Monk Sherborne Priory	District: Basingstoke	Parish: Monk Sherborne	N.G.R.: SU 609 581	Scheduled Mon.: -	Condition Grade: II	Site no.: 14
<b>MOAT</b> Morphology: Square	Geology: London Clay	Water Supply: Channels or a stream	<b>BUILDINGS</b> Description: Twelfth century alien priory church of St. Mary and St. John.			
Moat Size: c. 7m. wide	Area Enclosed: 20m. x 20m.		Date: Mainly twelfth century	Condition: Good		
Excavations/Surface Finds: In 1975 rescue excavation prior to surface water drainage scheme around church revealed no evidence as to function or date of moated area. (30)			Topography and Associated Settlement:			
Site Description:  At present moated area surrounds part of churchyard to N of church, and is heavily overgrown. The eastern arm is formed from N-S stream bed.			Low lying isolated situation, surrounded by open farmland. To S of church lies 18th century farmhouse and farm buildings.			
Associated Features: An area exists to the W of the site bounded by 3 linear ditches, a possible fish pond also exists to W of farm building.			<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b>  The manor was granted to the newly-founded alien priory of Sherborne (St. Vigor de Cerisy) by Henry de Port, the church being consecrated between 1107 and 1129. A certain amount can be reconstructed about its holdings and prosperity, but little can be added to what can be adduced from a study of the standing fabric about its buildings. The twelfth-century building seems to have been cruciform, and aisleless, with a central tower. The E end was lengthened c. 1220. To the S lay the cloister. In 1462 the priory was indirectly granted to Queens College, Oxford, and the priory buildings, with the exception of the portion remaining today, were demolished. The church continued to serve as the parish church of Pamber. (31)			
						

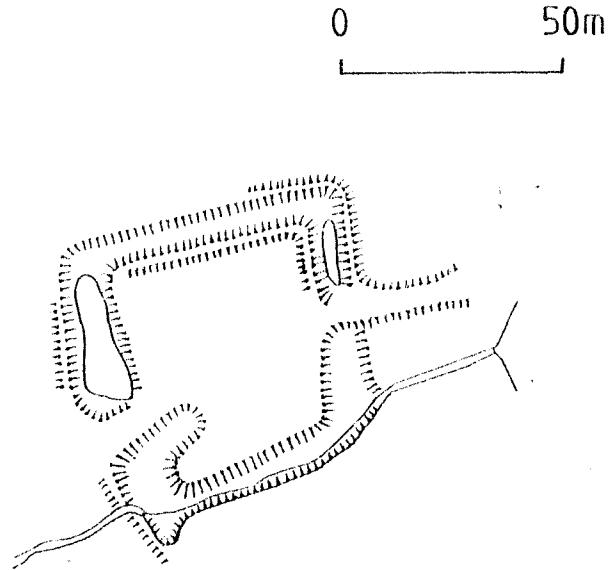
Name:	Blackmoor House	District:	East Hampshire	Parish:	Selborne	N.G.R.:	SU 779 328	Scheduled Mon.:	-	Condition Grade:	IV	Site no.:	15
<b>MOAT</b>													
Morphology:	Square	Geology:	Gault	Water Supply:	Spring			<b>BUILDINGS</b>					
Moat Size:	c. 10m. wide	Area Enclosed:	c. 30m. x 30m.			Description:	None						
Excavations/Surface Finds:	In the mid nineteenth century, when the present Blackmoor House was built replacing an old farmhouse, quantities of Roman and later material were found, including some on the island of, and in, the moat. (32)					Date:		Condition:					
Site Description:	Internal enclosure, now completely overgrown with rhododendrons, surrounded by a water filled moat, probably enlarged to S. Moat evidently modified to serve as a landscape feature, possibly in nineteenth century.					<b>Topography and Associated Settlement:</b> Flat marshy land, isolated and wooded, on W edge of Woolmer Forest. Blackmoor House (nineteenth century) lies 100m. to NE.							
Associated Features:	None												
								<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b>					
								The manor of Blackmoor was originally part of the ancient demesne of the crown, pertaining to Woolmer Forest, in 1240 Henry III granting the Templars six acres of land on the periphery of the manor. In the thirteenth century there is some evidence to suggest that the manor was held by Laurence de Heyes (or Heighes), probably in custody for the king, and members of apparently the same family appear as holders of the manor at various times until the seventeenth century. (33)					
								It is possible that the site was originally a royal hunting lodge.					

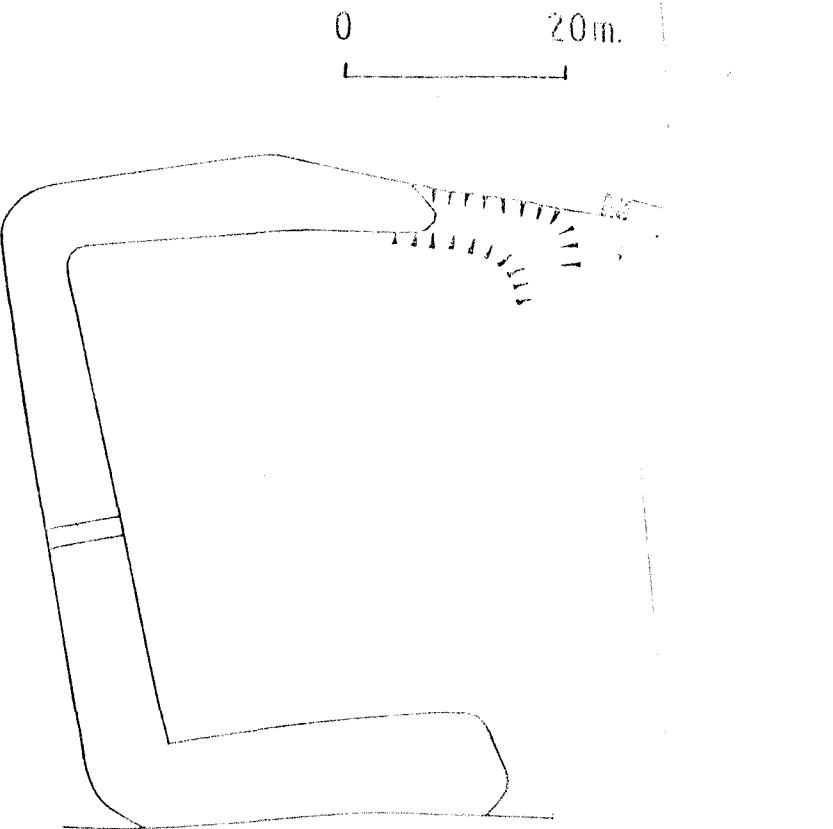


Name: South Charford Farm	District: New Forest	Parish: Breamore	N.G.R.: SU 169 182	Scheduled Mon.: -	Condition Grade: IV	Site no.: 17
<b>MOAT</b> Morphology: ? Square	Geology: Valley Gravels	Channels from Water Supply: River Avon	<b>BUILDINGS</b> Description: Post-medieval building called Nos. 1 and 2 Dairy Cottages. (Listed: Grade 2)			
Moat Size: c. 15m. wide	Area Enclosed: c. 60m. x 50m.		Date: Unknown	Condition: Good		
Excavations/Surface Finds: None						
Site Description:  Water filled. W arm partly survives, whilst S is almost obliterated. A faint depression on E side may be original moat edge.			<b>Topography and Associated Settlement:</b>  Low lying site in valley of Avon. Parish edge site. Farmhouse and ancillary buildings to N of moat. Site of manorial chapel 75m. NW of moat.			
Associated Features: None			<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b>  The manor was part of the Port, later St. John overlordship, and was held of it throughout most of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the Chernet family. By 1305, however, Oliver de la Zouche was tenant and was the recipient of a grant of free warren for South Charford and 'La Hyde'.  The chapel which stood to the N of the present farm was reputedly built by Sir John Popham with the consent of the prior of Breamore being dedicated by Nicholas, bishop of Bath and Wells (Nicholas Bubwith, 1407-24), during a vacancy in the See of Winchester. By the late eighteenth century the chapel was ruinous, and the 'old material' was granted for the enlargement and rebuilding of Hale church. (35)			
	0	50m.				

Name: Holbury Manor	District: New Forest	Parish: Fawley	N.G.R.: SU 428 036	Scheduled Mon.: No. 476	Condition Grade:	Site no.: 18
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<b>MOAT</b> Morphology: Square Geology: Plateau Gravel Water Supply: Channels	<b>BUILDINGS</b> Description: None
Moat Size: c. 10m. wide Area Enclosed: c. 45m. x 45m.	Date: - Condition: -
Excavations/Surface Finds: Medieval pottery and tiles suggests possible presence of buildings on interior of site.	<b>Topography and Associated Settlement:</b> Roman road close by with associated settlement. The moated site is low lying in a shallow valley; within a well wooded area. Holbury Manor House 150m. to E (gutted by fire in 1976) was of sixteenth-century and later date.
Site Description: Well preserved, partly water-filled moat with ? entrances on W and E arm. Area now an open space under the care of the parish council.	<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b>
Associated Features: Nearby low earthworks whose function and date are unknown. Possible one or two fish ponds to N or site.	<p>This is the site of one of the granges of the Cistercian abbey of Beaulieu, which lay three miles to the W. It first appears, as an established concern, in the Account Book of 1269-70, with attached labour of two <u>conversi</u>, six <u>famuli</u>, two <u>garciones</u>, three ploughmen and one carpenter.</p> <p>Whilst conclusions based on a single year's accounts are dangerous, it is worth noting that, of the granges of the Great Close, the labour figures indicate that at this time Holbury was about the same size as Sowley, these being smaller than the other establishments. Holbury is unusual in not having pastoral keepers (e.g. herdsmen) noted. This impression of comparative size is reflected in the accounts of corn, wheat, oats and associated crops produced.</p> <p>In terms of livestock the grange was slightly unusual in that it held more mares than horses, and had only one foal. It was the only grange of the Great Close which did not supply butter and cheese to the abbey, it lacking, as noted before, a paid cowman. Overall, the number of cattle, 37, at Holbury is low, Sowley having 63, the other 3 granges having two to three hundred beasts. Neither Holbury nor Sowley had a bull. Other income came from two leads for making salt. Overall, the impression is that at this stage Holbury was not a large grange, but one which played an important part in supplying the monastic house at Beaulieu. At least in this rôle there is a hint of a bias towards cereal production with few animals being kept. (37)</p> <p>There is evidence of a period of expansion in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. In 1229, for instance, 60 acres of waste at 'Nutleys' were added to the grange, to provide high altar furnishings. The expansion of Holbury and the adjoining manor of Otterwood was sufficiently extensive to lead local commoners to destroy assart boundaries in 1324. (38)</p> <p>By 1409 the grange, like several others, was impoverished. Before the Dissolution it was leased to John and Alice Pace, who were related to the abbot. (39) Apparently they resided within the abbey precinct rather than at the grange, although apparently carrying out building works at Holbury. John Pace's will of 1559 refers to "my new house at Holbury", and gives details of the rooms there, and it is likely that this was the recently destroyed Holbury Manor House, which had been built as direct replacement for the moated grange. (40)</p>



Name:	Parsonage Farm	District:	New Forest	Parish:	Fordingbridge	N.G.R.:	SU 144 146	Scheduled Mon.:	No. 549	Condition Grade:	IV	Site no.:	19
<b>MOAT</b>													
Morphology:	Rectangular	Geology:	Alluvium	Water Supply:	Channel from Sweatford Water								
Moat Size:	c. 7.5m. wide	Area Enclosed:	c. 45m. x 35m.										
Excavations/Surface Finds:	None												
Site Description:	Partly well preserved moat, especially water-filled W arm. Interior grassed and used as a garden												
Associated Features:													
													
<b>BUILDINGS</b>													
Description:	None												
Date:													
Condition:													
<b>Topography and Associated Settlement:</b> On N edge of Fordingbridge at base of short, steep slope to W; low lying marshy ground to S; Parsonage Farm (c. 1700) to E.													
<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b> None known													

Name: Milton Manor	District: New Milton	Parish: Lymington	N.G.R.: SZ 238 941	Scheduled Mon.: -	Condition Grade: V	Site no: 20
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MOAT

Morphology: Square      Geology: Brickearth      Water Supply: Channel to N corner

Moat Size: c. 4m. wide and 1.2m. deep      Area Enclosed: c. 27m. x 27m.

Excavations/Surface Finds:

Rescue excavations undertaken during 1956. (42)

Site Description: Now part of housing estate. Site totally destroyed. Excavations revealed three periods of late Saxon and early medieval occupation sealed by c. 60 - 110cm. of material deriving from the construction of the moat in the fourteenth century. Tile spreads may indicate the alignment of buildings. An outer bank ran outside the moat. The latest finds were fifteenth century, indicating a reasonably short period of occupation for the actual moated site.

Associated Features:  
None

BUILDINGS

Description: None

Date:

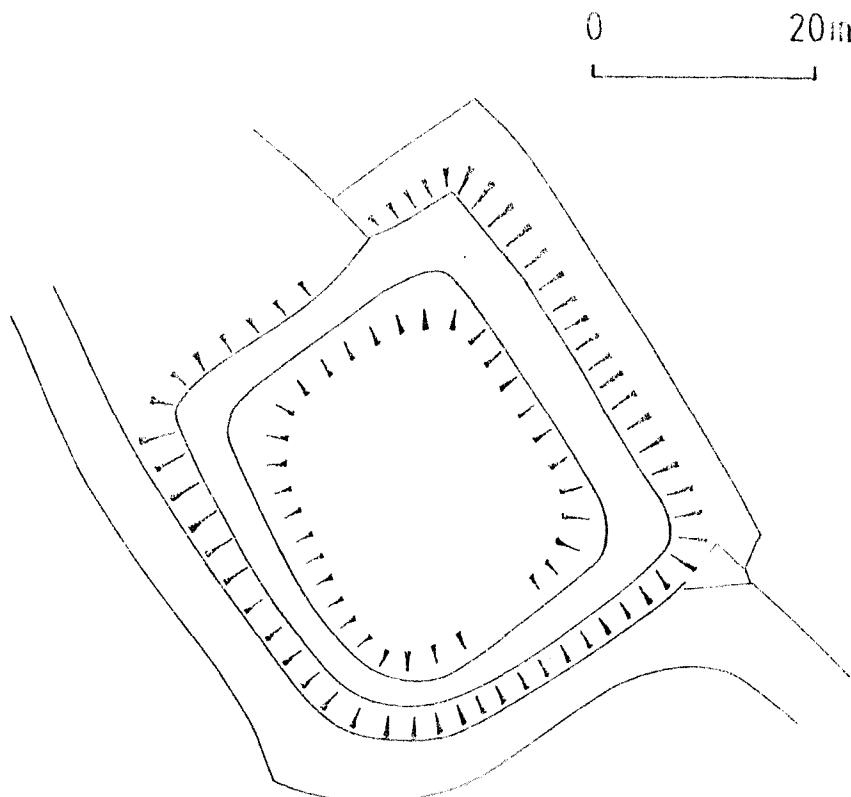
Condition:

TOPOGRAPHY AND ASSOCIATED SETTLEMENT:

Low lying coastal site, now near town centre. Manor Farm lay 125m. to W of moated site, both c. 150m. S of Milton Green and village.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

The overlordship of the manor was held by the Ports and their successors the St. Johns, with the Chernet family holding the manor from them until the late fourteenth century. However, this was apparently only an intermediate lordship, as several immediate holders are known from the thirteenth century. (43) In 1304 one of these holders, Thomas Chalcombe, received grants of free warren, of a weekly Tuesday market and of an annual fair for Milton. (44)



Name: Manor Farm	District: Test Valley	Parish: Melchet Park and Plaitford	N.G.R.: SU 275 203	Scheduled Mon.: -	Condition Grade: IV	Site no.: 21
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MOAT

Morphology: Sub-rectangular Geology: Valley Gravel Water Supply: Channel

Moat Size: c. 7.0m. wide

Area Enclosed: c. 50m. x 60m.

Excavations/Surface Finds:

None

Site Description:

Water filled, partially infilled moat. Interior area has a number of small trees and shrubs; not cultivated and used by domesticated ducks.

BUILDINGS

Description: None

Date:

Condition:

Topography and Associated Settlement:

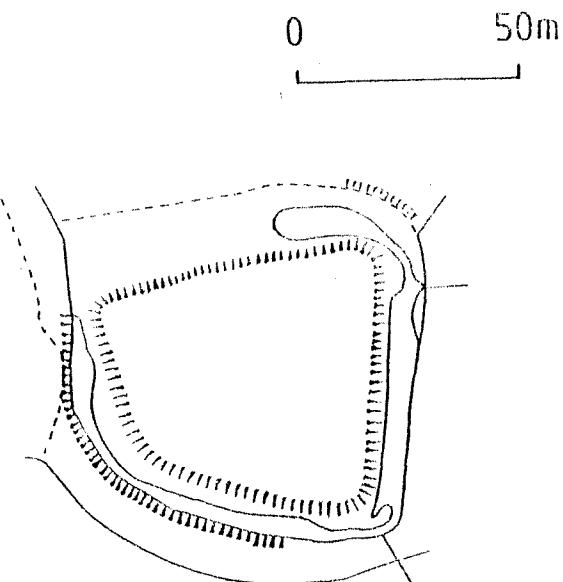
Low lying, wetland site on a gentle slope to S. Surrounded by meadows. The modern Manor Farm, an eighteenth-century building, lies to N of site.

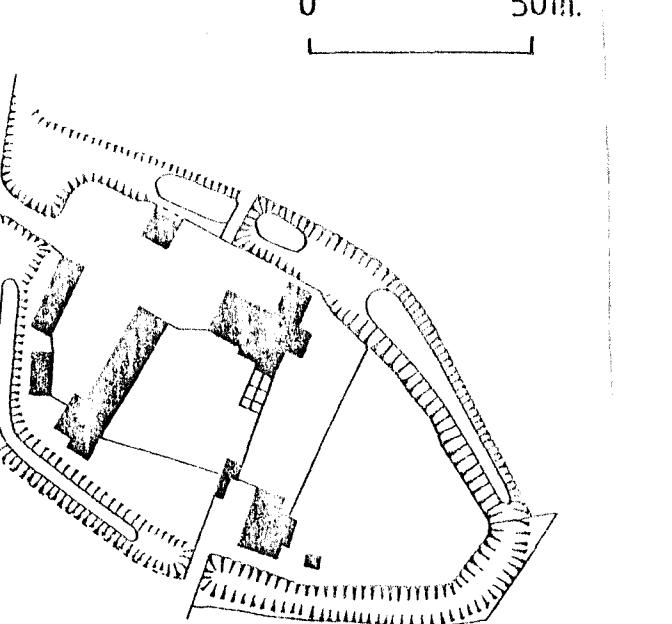
Associated Features:

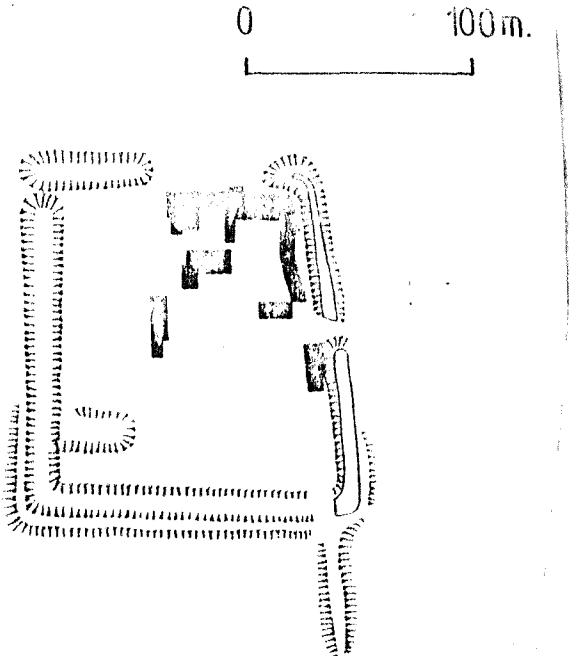
None

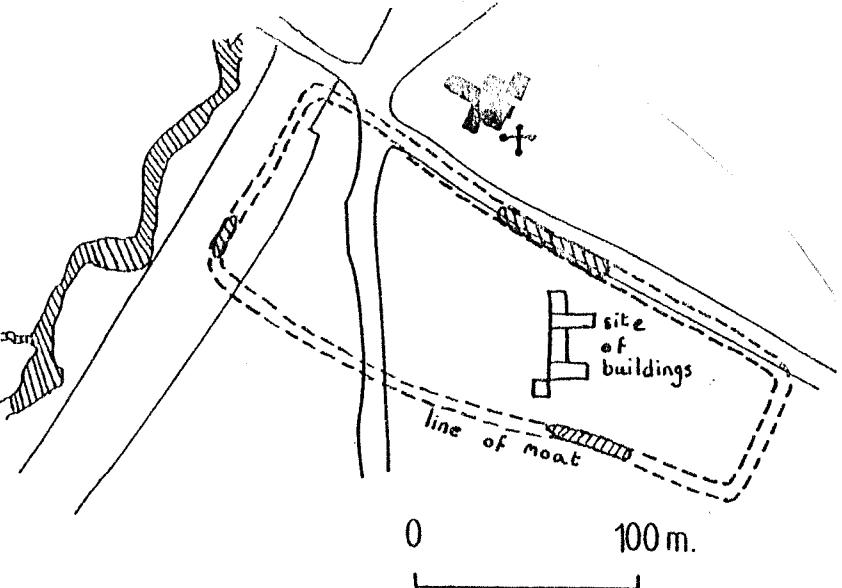
DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

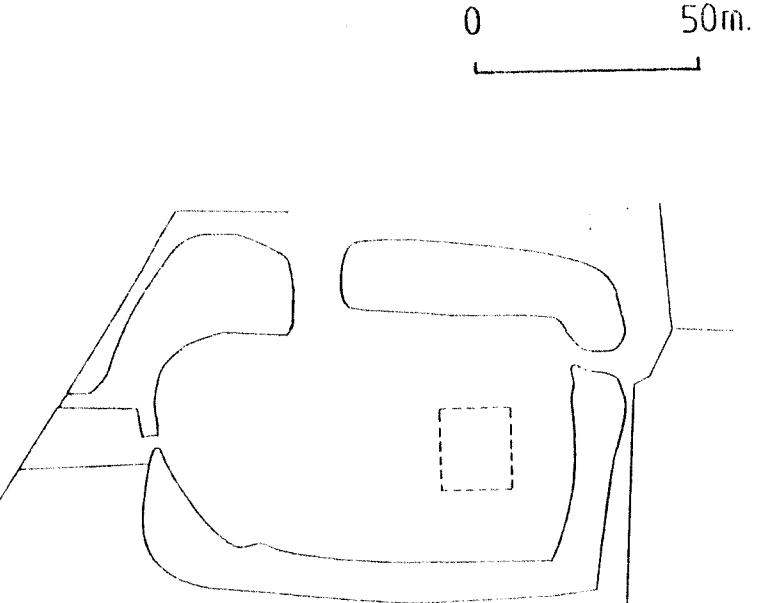
The manor was held of the king-in-chief for the service of keeping the park of Melchet. The medieval holders are known, but nothing of the manorial buildings. (45)

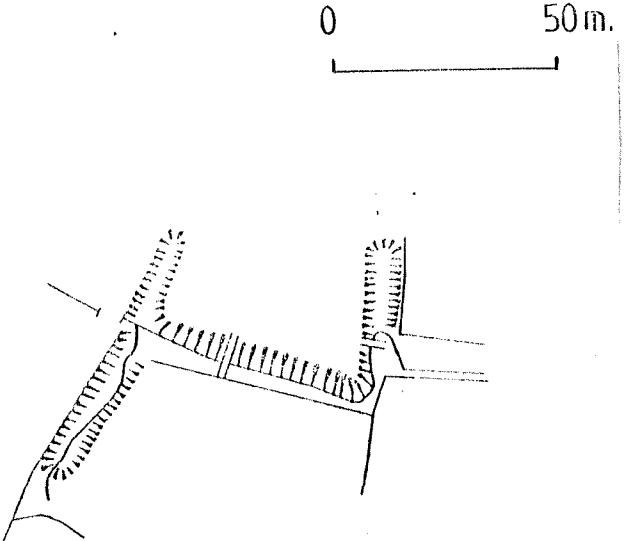


Name: The Manor House	District: Winchester	Parish: Otterbourne	NGR.: SU 464 224	Scheduled Mon.: No. 170	Condition Grade: II	Site no.: 22
<b>MOAT</b> Morphology: Oval Geology: Valley Gravel Water Supply: Channels from River Itchen				<b>BUILDINGS</b> Description: The Manor House is seventeenth century, possibly incorporating an older building. (Listed: Grade 2)		
Moat Size: c. 12m. wide		Area Enclosed: c. 115m. x 60m.		Date: 1629 date stone		Condition: Good
<b>Excavations/Surface Finds:</b> None				<b>Topography and Associated Settlement:</b> Low lying wetland site in valley of River Itchen. N of moat lies site of medieval church, graveyard and settlement (moved c. eighteenth century when new road to Winchester built).		
<b>Associated Features:</b> None				<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b> The estate was granted to the church at Winchester c. 978, and was already alienated at the time of Domesday. The holders are varied and the descent somewhat confused, and it appears that the manor was at times divided. In 1253 Bartholomew de Capella, who was holding the manor, had licence to inclose his wood of Otterborne called <u>Parc</u> , within the royal forest of Ashley. In the mid fifteenth century the manor was granted to Magdalen College, Oxford. (46)		
						

Name: Marwell Manor	District: Winchester	Parish: Owlesbury	N.G.R.: SU 500 207	Scheduled Mon.: No. 172	Condition Grade: III	Site no.: 23
<b>MOAT</b>						
Morphology: Rectangular	Geology: Reading Beds	Water Supply: Channels				
Moat Size: c. 15m. wide	Area Enclosed: c. 130m. x 110m.					
Excavations/Surface Finds: Investigations by previous owners have revealed Roman and medieval occupation evidence. (47)						
Site Description: Well preserved, partly wet moat, although landscaped in parts. Overgrown and somewhat infilled on E. Possible site of entrance on N arm						
Associated Features: Six fishponds and park boundary						
				<b>BUILDINGS</b> <b>Description:</b> Marwell Manor Farm consists of buildings of varying dates. Main house has date stone of 1575 and earlier features, although mainly of a later date. (Listed: Grade 2)		
				Date:	Condition:	Good
				<b>Topography and Associated Settlement:</b> Low-lying meadowland. Isolated site lying within its park.		
				<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b> <p>This was a major rural manor of the bishops of Winchester from the mid tenth to the late sixteenth century. It had an associated park from at least 1279 until the seventeenth century. (48)</p> <p>The first extant Pipe Roll of the Bishopric, for 1208-9, records considerable building activity at Marwell. Subsequent to a fire, the apparent scale of which may indicate that the twelfth-century buildings were mainly of timber, work is noted on a chamber with a stone chimney near the chapel, which may have been part of the college of secular priests founded there by Bishop Henry de Blois (1129-71), also on a hall and adjoining passage, and on a high chamber whose roof was raised. (49) In 1210-11 the very large sum of 40s. was spent on paintings for the chamber with the chimney, which suggests that it was the bishop's own residence.</p> <p>In 1210-11 major work was done on the kitchen and on new private chambers. (50) In 1213 a barn, sheep houses, oxhouse, dairy, ciderpress and orchard were mentioned; it is possible that some, or all, of the farm buildings lay inside the moat, forming a separate court from the episcopal accommodation.</p> <p>In 1251 a grannary and piggeries were mentioned, and a room in which falcons were kept. In subsequent years a new stone wardrobe was built, and various chambers are named in the accounts, allowing their form and function to be suggested. (51) Evidently the rebuilding in the first half of the thirteenth century was largely in stone, but the manor still consisted of a collection of detached lodgings, halls and offices, linked by pentices. (52)</p> <p>In the post-Dissolution period, after the transfer of the estate to the laity, the demolition of the medieval buildings, and the use of the site as a convenient source of stone, can be seen. (53)</p>		

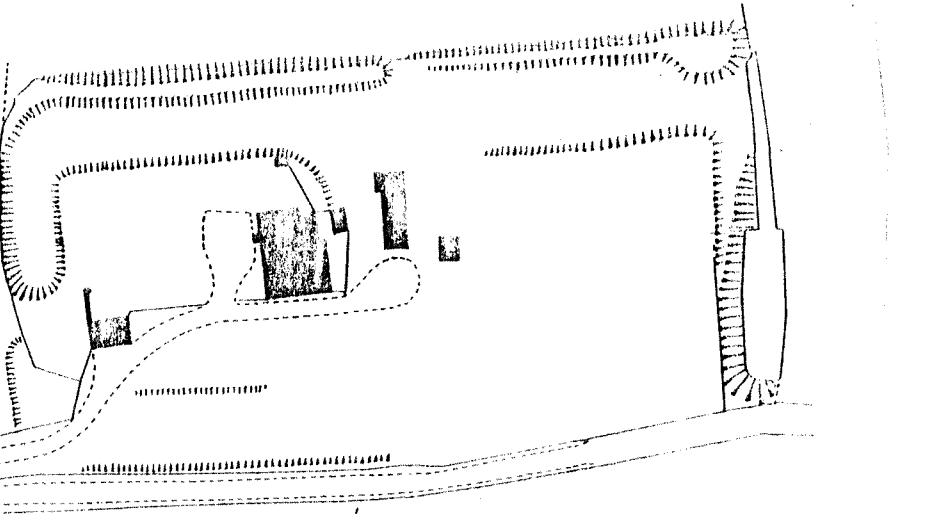
Name: Wickham Glebe	District: Havant	Parish: Wickham	N.G.R.: SU 575 115	Scheduled Mon.: -	Condition Grade: IV	Site no.: 24
<b>MOAT</b> Morphology: Rectangular      Geology: ?London Clay      Water Supply: Channel from River Meon				<b>BUILDINGS</b> Description: Site impinged on by modern houses.		
Moat Size: c. 8m. wide, 2m. deep	Area Enclosed: c. 235m. x c.90m.			Date: Twentieth century	Condition: Good	
Excavations/Surface Finds:  See below, chapter 4, for summary of excavations undertaken 1975-80.				Topography and Associated Settlement:  To N lies the church of St. Nicholas, the parish church of Wickham, a small town which lies to the W of the site.		
Site Description:  Nothing remains visible above ground of this site, on which excavations were undertaken in advance of threatened road development.				DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE		
Associated Features:  3 fishponds.				The manor was held in the mid thirteenth century by Roger de Scures of the Port family. Despite the size of the site and its probable importance virtually no useful documentary sources have been found which deal with the site. (54)		
						

Name: Cranbourne	District: Winchester	Parish: Wonston	N.G.R.: SU 479 407	Scheduled Mon.: -	Condition Grade: III	Site no.: 25
<b>MOAT</b>						
Morphology: Rectangular	Geology: Alluvium	Water Supply: Spring	<b>BUILDINGS</b>	Description: None		
Moat Size: c. 10m. wide	Area Enclosed: c. 90m. x 45m.		Date:	Condition:		
Excavations/Surface Finds: Building material evident in E of interior			<b>Topography and Associated Settlement:</b> Low lying Itchen-valley site on spring line at bottom of chalk down. Modern houses close to N of site.			
Site Description: Waterfilled moat on 3 sides - reasonably well preserved. W arm being used as a small watercress bed. Although much infilled N arm is traceable. Internal enclosure used as small plantation and game rearing area.			<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b> Between the twelfth and the mid fourteenth century the manor of Cranborne was held by the Brayboefs. Cranbourne Farm moat is likely to represent the site of the capital messuage of this estate. (55)			
Associated Features: None						
						

Name: Chilworth Manor Farm	District: Test Valley	Parish: Chilworth	N.G.R.: SU 402 187	Scheduled Mon.: -	Condition Grade: IV	Site no.: 26		
<b>MOAT</b>				<b>BUILDINGS</b>				
Morphology: Rectangular      Geology: London Clay      Water Supply: Channels				Description: None				
Moat Size: c. 9-12m. wide, 2m. deep      Area Enclosed: c. 88m. x 27m.								
Excavations/Surface Finds: None				Date:	Condition:			
Site Description: Originally a rectangular moat, one side has been filled in. About two-thirds of the moat is still extant, including an extended W arm. In a good state of preservation. Interior now grassed over and used as a garden. Moat dry.				Topography and Associated Settlement:				
Associated Features: None				Sited on gentle E-W slope adjacent to Chilworth Manor Farm. This lies c. 300m. W of Chilworth village, the church lying on the eastern fringe thereof.				
				<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b>				
				Prior to the mid thirteenth century the overlordship of the manor passed from the Crown to the Bohun family. It then either passed to the Hanvites, or these became intermediate lords. The actual holders were the Peverels, at least from 1230 until 1365, in which year the manor was sold. Nothing is known of the manorial buildings. (56)				

Name: Aldershot Place	District: Rushmoor	Parish: Aldershot	N.G.R.: SU 875 492	Scheduled Mon.: -	Condition Grade: V	Site no.: 27	
<b>MOAT</b>							
Morphology: Rectangular	Geology: London Clay	Water Supply: Spring?		<b>BUILDINGS</b>			
Moat Size: Unknown	Area Enclosed: Unknown			Description: None			
Excavations/Surface Finds: None				Date:	Condition:		
Site Description:  Site destroyed by 1956. (58)				<b>Topography and Associated Settlement:</b>  Low lying site. In mid nineteenth century Aldershot Place lay immediately to S of site.			
Associated Features:  Fishpond to E. (57)				<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b>  The tithe map shows a water filled moat with 3 sides surviving. Adjacent is shown ground called 'stews', wherein lies a fishpond. In 1732 the occupier of Aldershot Park required 40 fish "to stock the moat". (59)  Aldershot was a part of the Crondall estate in the medieval period, and nothing is known of the origins of Aldershot manor, which emerged in the post-medieval period, or of Aldershot Place. (60)			
not available							

Name: Moorcourt (Bushey Lease)	District: Test Valley	Parish: Romsey	N.G.R.: SU 345 170	Scheduled Mon.: No. 536	Condition Grade: 1	Site no.: 28
<b>MOAT</b> Morphology: Rectangular	Valley Gravels Geology: and Alluvium	Water Supply: Stream	<b>BUILDINGS</b> Description: None			
Moat Size: c. 10m. wide	Area Enclosed: c. 70m. x 40m.		Date:	Condition:		
Excavations/Surface Finds: None						
Site Description: Well preserved moated site. Interior enclosure slightly raised above surrounding ground level. S arm formed by stream bed. Site under permanent pasture.			<b>Topography and Associated Settlement:</b> Low-lying isolated site, on flood plain of River Blackwater. Bushey Lease Farm is the nearest settlement, being just to NW of site, while on the other side of the road lies Moorcourt, an eighteenth-century house, which has evidence of timber framing of earlier date. Parish edge site.			
Associated Features: Two fishponds			<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b> There were originally two manors in the area of this site, More Malwyn and More Abbess, (or 'Mora Magna' and 'Mora Parva'), whose names suggest that there had always been an intimate relationship between the two. For a time, in the first half of the fourteenth century, at least the former was held by laymen, prior to being united with More Abbess later in the century. Both manors belonged to Romsey Abbey and it seems likely that the moated site represents the capital messuage of one of these manors. In view of its size, speculation would favour the suggestion that this was More Abbess, with the moat and fishponds constructed on monastic initiative.			
	0	50m.	At the Dissolution the manors passed to Richard Dowce, whose family constructed a resident at Moorcourt in the sixteenth century, presumably replacing the moated site or the other capital messuage, if one existed, or both. (61)			

Name: Warblington Castle	District: Havant	Parish: Havant	N.G.R.: SU 730 056	Scheduled Mon.: No. 98	Condition Grade: IV	Site no.: 29		
<b>MOAT</b>								
Morphology: Rectangular	Geology: Brickearth	Water Supply: Stream						
Moat Size: c. 20m. wide	Area Enclosed: c. 140m. x 50m.							
Excavations/Surface Finds:	None							
Site Description:	Earlier moat largely obliterated by sixteenth-century alterations. Later castle was itself moated, probably for landscape purposes as much as defence.							
Associated Features:	None surviving.							
<p style="text-align: center;">0                    50m.</p> 								
<b>BUILDINGS</b>								
<p>Description: Remains of ?fourteenth century buildings surviving as footings of Warblington Castle, built 1514-26. Of this an octagonal brick and Caen stone gate turret together with other parts of the gate house survive. A ?seventeenth century farm house now stands on the castle site. (Listed: Farm house - Grade 2)</p>								
<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 30%;">Date:</td> <td style="width: 70%;">Condition:</td> </tr> </table>							Date:	Condition:
Date:	Condition:							
<p>Topography and Associated Settlement:</p> <p>Low-lying coastal site. Adjacent to Warblington Church (St. Thomas Becket, with late Saxon features) and site of shrunken village.</p>								
<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b>								
<p>An estate existed here in 1066, and its subsequent holders are known. (62) In 1231 a grant of free warren was obtained by Matthew Lord of Emsworth, (63) which may mark the foundation of the park, which was often mentioned in the late fifteenth century, (64) and formed part of the grant of the manor to Richard Cotton in 1551. Fourteenth-century inquisitions <u>post mortem</u> do not elaborate upon the fact that a house and garden were present. (62)</p>								
<p>It is likely that the site would have been moated, if it was not already, by Robert le Ewer, who was granted the manor in 1309. (65) Ewer, a leading retainer in the royal household, figures in several military actions and domestic quarrels, and received a licence to crenellate the dwelling place of his Hampshire manor of Westbury in 1322. (66)</p>								
<p>Fragments of accounts survive for the building of Warblington castle proper. (67) In 1518 11 tons of Caen stone and 210,000 bricks, produced in 3 kilns, were used by 7 main masons. In 1633, the year prior to the castle's virtual destruction in the civil war by the Parliamentarians, it was surveyed by William Luffe, surveyor to Richard Cotton. The survey describes:</p>								
<p style="padding-left: 20px;">"... a very fair place, well moated about, built all with bricks and stones...built square...in length two hundred feet, and in breadth two hundred feet, with a fair green court within, and buildings round the said court; with a fair gallery and chambers of great court, and four towers covered with lead, with a very great and spacious hall, parlour and great chamber with a very fair chapel within the said house, and the place all covered with tiles and stones, and there is a fair green court before the gate of the said house, containing two acres of land, and there is a very spacious garden with pleasant walks adjoining containing two acres of land; two orchards with two little meadow platts, containing eight acres; and a fair fishpond near the said place, with a gate for wood, and two barns, one of five bays, the other of four bays, with stables and other out-houses". (68)</p>								
<p>By 1817 part of one of these barns survived either just inside or just outside the S arm of the moat, and is shown on a contemporary engraving. (69)</p>								

Name: Bishops Waltham Palace	District: Winchester	Parish: Bishops Waltham	N.G.R.: SU 552 173	Scheduled Mon.: No. 99	Condition Grade: 11	Site no.: 30
<b>MOAT</b> Morphology: Rectangular	Geology: Reading Beds	Water Supply: River of the Lord'	The bishop's mill-stream called 'The	<b>BUILDINGS</b> Description: Extensive remains of bishop of Winchester's palace.		
Moat Size: c. 15m. wide	Area Enclosed: c. 110m. x 75m.					
Excavations/Surface Finds: A series of excavations took place within the site in the 1960's, and outside, near the perimeter wall, in 1967. None are published though a late Saxon origin for the site is possible				Date: Twelfth to fifteenth century.	DoE Guardianship site.	Condition: Open to the public.
Site Description:  A well-preserved moated site.					Topography and Associated Settlement: In Hamble valley at foot of the spring line between the chalkland and the gravels and clays of the Hampshire Basin. Market town of Bishops Waltham adjacent to site.	
Associated Features:  Fishpond, millpond, and fifteenth-century precinct brick wall.					<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b>  This was one of a series of substantial twelfth century residences built by Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester 1129-71, possibly on the site of an earlier residence recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in 1001. What remains of the phase (probably 1135-8) appears to be portions of the curtain wall, surviving as the inner walls of the <u>camera</u> to the S, and the hall to the W. There was a three-celled gatehouse in their inner angle, and an apsidal chapel is also probably of this phase.  Following its seizure by Henry II in 1155, it was dismantled, and subsequently rebuilt on a larger scale, the work apparently being complete by 1208, as it does not appear on the first surviving Pipe Roll of the Bishopric, of that date. As at Wolvesey (Winchester) the ranges were built outside the old curtain walls, and, as the moat follows the outside of these buildings, it is likely to be contemporary with, or later than this phase. To the W is the great first-floor hall, and to the N kitchens. To the S of the hall is the substantial three-storey solar tower. The other ranges, and the N court, are less well understood. Alterations and extensions to the palace are recorded or indicated under bishops Wykeham, 1366-1404 (probably), Beaufort, 1404-47, certainly and most extensively, Langton, 1493-1501, in the 1490's.  The palace was fought over and subsequently partly demolished in the Civil War. (70)	
			0 100m.			

Name: Upper Cufaud's Farm	District: Basingstoke	Parish: Basing	N.G.R.: SU 656 751	Scheduled Mon.:	Condition Grade:	Site no.: 31
<b>MOAT</b> Morphology: Unknown	Geology:	Water Supply:	<b>BUILDINGS</b> Description:			
Moat Size:	Area Enclosed:		Date:	Condition:		
Excavations/Surface Finds:			Topography and Associated Settlement:			
Site Description:  One arm of possible moat survives to W of modern farm.			<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b>			
Associated Features:			'Moat pightle' field name noted on mid-nineteenth century tithe apportionment and map. (71)			

Name: Bulls Down Farm	District: Basingstoke	Parish: Bramley	N.G.R.: SU 664 586	Scheduled Mon.:	Condition Grade:	Site no.: 32
<b>MOAT</b> Morphology: Unknown      Geology:      Water Supply:				<b>BUILDINGS</b> Description:  Date:      Condition:		
Moat Size: Area Enclosed:  Excavations/Surface Finds:						
Site Description:  No evidence in 1979 of moat.				Topography and Associated Settlement:		
Associated Features:				<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b>  Tithe map shows possible square moat to W of farm. 'Moat pightle' field name recorded to S of farm on mid-nineteenth century tithe map as well as possible moat to W of farm. (72)		

Name: ?Beaurepaire Park Lodge	District: Basingstoke	Parish: Bramley	N.G.R.: SU 638 589	Scheduled Mon.:	Condition Grade:	Site no.: 33
MOAT Probably square Morphology: (see below)	Geology:	Water Supply:		<u>BUILDINGS</u> Description:		
Moat Size:	Area Enclosed:					
Excavations/Surface Finds:				Date:	Condition:	
Site Description:  No evidence seen 1979				Topography and Associated Settlement:		
Associated Features:				<u>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</u>		
				A building called 'the lodge' is shown in a small square enclosure on a 1613 map of Beaurepaire parish and grounds. (73). The mid-nineteenth century tithe map and apportionment show a possible square moat on the same site as the 1613 lodge, the field in which it partly lay being called 'moat pightle'. (74)		

Name:	District: Basingstoke	Parish: Bramley	N.G.R.: SU 656 597	Scheduled Mon.:	Condition Grade:	Site no.: 34
<b>MOAT</b> Morphology: Unknown      Geology:      Water Supply:				<b>BUILDINGS</b> Description:		
Moat Size:      Area Enclosed:				Date:      Condition:		
Excavations/Surface Finds:				Topography and Associated Settlement:		
Site Description: No evidence seen in 1979.				<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b> The mid-nineteenth century tithe map and apportionment record two fields called 'moat close' and 'moat meadow' adjoining each other in centre of parish. (75)		
Associated Features:						

Name:	District: Basingstoke	Parish: Sherborne St. John	N.G.R.: SU 625 577	Scheduled Mon.:	Condition Grade:	Site no.: 35
<b>MOAT</b> Morphology: Unknown      Geology:      Water Supply:				<b>BUILDINGS</b> Description:		
Moat Size:      Area Enclosed:				Date:      Condition:		
Excavations/Surface Finds:				Topography and Associated Settlement:		
Site Description:  No evidence in 1979				<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b>  Tithe map and apportionment of the mid-nineteenth century record a 'moat pightle' field name, to W of medieval boundary of Beaurepaire park, between it and the site of a possible medieval settlement at Hill End. (76)		
Associated Features:						

Name: Broadford House	District: Basingstoke	Parish: Stratfield Turgis	N.G.R.: SU 696 604	Scheduled Mon.:	Condition Grade:	Site no.: 36
<b>MOAT</b> Morphology: Probably Square      Geology:      Water Supply:				<b>BUILDINGS</b> Description:		
Moat Size: Area Enclosed:				Date:      Condition:		
Excavations/Surface Finds:				Topography and Associated Settlement:		
Site Description:  No evidence in 1979.				<b>DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE</b>  Tithe map of the mid nineteenth century shows what appears to be a rectangular moat around what was then the vicarage. Site is today occupied by Broadford House. (77)		
Associated Features:						

Notes and References

1. V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.122; H.R.O., Basing tithe map and apportionment.
2. H.R.O., Basing tithe map and apportionment.
3. V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.42; Cal.P.R. 1317-21, p.297.
4. V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.254.
5. Cal.P.R. 1266-72, p.367.
6. V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.255; O.S. Record Card SU 55 NW5.
7. G.N.Godwin, The Civil War in Hampshire (1642-5) and the Story of Basing House (Rev. edn., 1904), p.274.
8. V.C.H.Hants. iv, pp.219-20.
9. Ibid., p.165; M.Burrows, The Family of Brocas of Beaurepaire and Roche Court (1886), passim.
10. British Library Additional Charters 26,559: Steward's account of the estate of Sir Bernard Brocas for the nine months between Christmas 1357 and Michaelmas 1358 (translated in Burrows, op.cit., pp.401-5); H.R.O. 40 M 51, account of John of Freston 1356-7; H.R.O. 48 M 50/2, account of Nicholas of Feldyat 1359-60.
11. Cal.Chart R. 1341-1417, p.178; Cal.P.R.1367-70, p.188; ibid., p.436. This may be a duplication of the latter part of the grant of 1369 dealing with the section of the park within the Pamber forest, although there is a slight difference in the figures given.
12. Cal.P.R. 1385-9, p.517.
13. H.R.O. 20 M 76 Z 41. This is a copy of the original, the whereabouts of which is unknown. The copy is reproduced in Burrows, op.cit., opposite p.211.
14. V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.160.
15. Cal.Chart R. 1257-1300, p.33.
16. V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.160.
17. H.R.O. 31 M 57/43.

18. L.T. Smith (ed.), The Itinerary of John Leland In or About the Years 1535-1543, Parts IV and V (1908), p.8.
19. H.R.O. 31 M 57, passim.
20. V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.104.
21. Ibid., p.105.
22. Placitorum in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriens Asservatorum (Rec.Comm., 1811), p.263.
23. Cal.Inq.p.m. 8, p.337.
24. Placitorum in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriens Asservatorum (Rec.Comm., 1811), p.263.
25. V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.53.
26. Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londinensi Asservati (Rec.Comm., 1835), p.221; Cal.Inq.p.m. 9, p.91.
27. H.R.O. 6 M 63/1
28. British Library, Additional Charters 54, 173.
29. V.C.H.Hants. iv, pp.63-4.
30. Inf. from M.F.Hughes.
31. V.C.H.Hants. i, p.486; ibid., iv, pp.231-8; F.Davidson, 'A History of the Benedictine Priory of Monk Sherborne' Proc.Hants.Field Club and Archaeol.Soc. 7 (1914), pp.101-9.
32. G.White, The Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne (1875 edn.), p.462 (appendix by Lord Selborne).
33. V.C.H.Hants. iii, p.10.
34. Ibid., iv, p.46; Ordnance Survey Record Card SU 76 SW 9 quoting British Museum, Cottonian MS.Cleop.C.viii; tithe map and apportionment, copy at H.R.O.
35. V.C.H.Hants. iv, pp.561-3.
36. Ordnance Survey Record Card SU 40 SW 24.
37. S.F.Hockey (ed.), The Account Book of Beaulieu Abbey (1975).
38. S.F.Hockey (ed.), The Beaulieu Cartulary (1974), no.93; Cal.P.R. 1293-1301, pp.457, 479.

39. S.F.Hockey, Beaulieu: King John's Abbey: A History of Beaulieu Abbey Hampshire 1204-1538 (1976), pp.75-6, 116.

40. A.Bartlett, unpub. typescript research, Beaulieu Abbey muniment room: A Commission on Historical Manuscripts Report on the Family and Estate Papers of the Douglas-Scott-Montagu Family, Barons Montagu of Beaulieu 15th-20th century (1980), A/C 10, grants and indentures 1479-1542; P.R.O. E 315/239, Augmentation Office Misc. Books, Beaulieu, f.79.

41. H.R.O., Fordingbridge tithe map.

42. D.G. and J.G.Hurst, 'Excavation of Two Moated Sites: Milton, Hampshire and Ashwell, Hertfordshire' J.Brit. Archaeol.Ass. 3rd ser. 30 (1967), pp.48-86.

43. V.C.H.Hants. v, pp. 124-5.

44. Cal.Chart R. 1300-26, p.40.

45. V.C.H.Hants. iv, p.542.

46. Ibid. iii, p.441.

47. W.H.Jackson, 'Marwell Manor: A Brief Sketch: Early History and Excavations' (typescript, Cope Collection, Southampton University).

48. V.C.H.Hants. iii, pp.333-4; Cal.P.R. 1272-81, p.349.

49. H.Hall (ed.), The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1208-9 (1903); V.C.H.Hants. ii, p.211-2.

50. N.R.Holt (ed.), The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1210-11 (1964).

51. I am indebted to Mrs.H.E.J. Le Patourel for the preceeding references.

52. Cf. the layout of Clarendon Palace at this time: R.A.Brown, H.M.Colvin and A.J.Taylor, The History of the King's Works ii, (1963), pp.910-18.

53. Jackson, op.cit.

54. R.Whinney, "All that capital messuage called Wickham Place" [1980].

55. V.C.H. Hants. iii, pp.454-5, 458-9.

56. Ibid., p.468.

57. H.R.O., Aldershot tithe map.

58. Ordnance Survey Record Card SU 84 NE 5.

59. Ibid., no source given.

60. V.C.H.Hants. iv, pp.2-3.

61. Ibid., pp.455-6.

62. Ibid., iii, p.135.

63. Cal.Chart.R. 1226-57, p.133.

64. Cal.P.R. 1476-85, pp.117, 495.

65. V.C.H.Hants., iii, p.135.

66. Cal.P.R. 1321-4, p.52.

67. L.F.Salzman, Building in England Down to 1540: A Documentary History (1952), pp.122,136,143,331 citing P.R.O. E 490 12 and E 490 13.

68. T.Butler[?] Topographical Account of the Hundred of Bosmere, in Hampshire, Comprising the Parishes of Havant, Warblington and Hayling (1817), pp.76-7.

69. Ibid., frontispiece.

70. S.E.Rigold, 'Bishops Waltham Palace' Archaeol.J. 123 (1966), p.217; D.F.Renn, Norman Castles in Britain (1968), p.111.

71. H.R.O., Basing tithe map and apportionment.

72. H.R.O., Bramley tithe map and apportionment.

73. H.R.O., 20 M76 Z41.

74. H.R.O., Bramley tithe map and apportionment.

75. Ibid.

76. H.R.O., Sherborne St. John tithe map and apportionment.

77. H.R.O., Stratfield Turgis tithe map and apportionment.

## APPENDIX II

LICENCES TO CRENELLATE: HAMPSHIRE AND ISLE OF WIGHT

SITE	DATE	N.G.R.
(i) <u>Hampshire</u>		
Ashley or Stockbridge	1 1200	? SU 385 309
Basing	2 1261	SU 663 526
Westbury (East Meon)	3 1322	SU 657 239
Basing	4 1531	see above
Titchfield	5 1542	SU 542 066
Netley	6 1547	SU 452 088
(ii) <u>Isle of Wight</u>		
Freshwater	7 1342	SZ 34 87
Quarr abbey etc.	8 1365	SZ 56 92

1. T.D.Hardy (ed.), Rotuli Chartorum in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1199-1216 (1837), p.70. William Brewere was granted permission to build three castles including one in Hampshire at either of the two stated locations. It is likely that Gains castle at Ashley, close to the Roman road from Salisbury to Winchester, was the resulting castle: D.F.Renn, Norman Castles in Britain (1968), pp. 94-6.
2. Cal.P.R. 1258-66, p.172. Robert de St. John given licence to strengthen his dwelling with a stockade. Renn, op.cit., pp.102-3.
3. Cal.P.R. 1321-4, p.52. Robert Lewer (or le Ewer) granted permission to crenellate his dwelling place there: M.F.Hughes, 'Settlement and landscape in medieval Hampshire, pp.66-77 in S.J.Shennan and R.T.Shadla-Hall (eds.), The Archaeology of Hampshire (1981), pp.69,72.
4. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, v, p.37. Sir William Pawlet given permission to build walls and towers within and around, and fortify, Basing, and also to impark 320a.
5. Ibid., xvii, p.61. Licence for Sir Thomas Wrothesley to build walls and towers around and within the former Premonstratensian abbey and to embattle and fortify its walls.
6. Cal.P.R. 1547-8, pp.66-8. Retrospective licence for the stone tower with two barbicans built by Sir William Panlet on the sea coast at the request of Henry VII.
7. Ibid. 1340-3, p.396. Giles de Bello Campo given licence to crenellate his dwelling place: See ibid., p.328 and ibid. 1343-5, p.165 for the context in which the licence was granted.
8. Ibid. 1364-7, p.168. Abbot and monks given permission 'to enclose with a wall and crenellate such plots of land or such precinct as they please of their own soil ... and to make fortalius at the place called Fishehous ... and

elsewhere': D.F.Renn, 'The earliest gunports in Britain?' Archaeol J. 125 (1968), pp.301-3.

## APPENDIX III

THE LAY SUBSIDY OF 1327: HAMPSHIRE

The information tabulated below is extracted from the 1334 lay subsidy county roll for Hampshire (see R.E.Glasscock (ed.) The Lay Subsidy of 1334 (1975), pp. xxxiv-xxxv for the different records kept of the tax collection process). A standard method of tabulation has been adopted, the first column of figures representing the total paid by the settlement, the second the number of taxpayers enrolled, and the latter column the range of sums paid, firstly the smallest amount paid by any one or more persons, secondly the uppermost figure.

For the purposes of place identification Glasscock's The Lay Subsidy of 1334 should be consulted, although in not all cases did places appear in the same hundred in 1327 as they were to in 1334. Abbreviations used are [v], which indicates the place was indicated to be a villa or villata, [h] hamelettus and [B], burgus. In Hampshire there is no real consistency apparent between the designation afforded to places in 1327 and in 1334, and it is apparently again evidence of information from the local rolls finding its way onto the county rolls. It should not be taken to imply a particular type of settlement morphology.

## APPENDIX III

## The Hampshire Lay Subsidy of 1327 (P.R.O. E 179 173/4)

## Buddlesgate Hundred

Millbrook	1	0	0	23	7 <u>d.</u> - 2 <u>s.</u>
Nursling	1	10	6	24	7 <u>d.</u> - 9 <u>s.</u>
Michelmersh	2	4	11	30	7 <u>d.</u> - 3 <u>s.</u> 6 <u>d.</u>
Houghton		10	5	14	7 <u>d.</u> - 13 <u>d.</u>
Hursley	6	1	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	83	7 <u>d.</u> - 8 <u>s.</u>
Compton	2	5	2	19	7 <u>d.</u> - 6 <u>s.</u>
Sparkford	1	11	2	8	7 <u>d.</u> - 13 <u>s.</u> 2 <u>d.</u>
Otterbourne		13	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	7 <u>d.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Crawley	3	4	8	28	8 <u>d.</u> - 30 <u>s.</u>
Chilbolton	1	4	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	22	8 <u>d.</u> - 2 <u>s.</u>
Wonston		19	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	15	8 <u>d.</u> - 2 <u>s.</u> 3 <u>d.</u>
Sparsholt	2	15	4	20	8 <u>d.</u> - 20 <u>s.</u>
Weeke		10	1	5	10 <u>d.</u> - 3 <u>s.</u> 3 <u>d.</u>
Fulflight		10	7	5	8 <u>d.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Cliddesden	2	14	6	16	7 <u>d.</u> - 15 <u>s.</u> 2 <u>d.</u>
Hunton		19	1	11	8 <u>d.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Littleton		7	3	7	8 <u>d.</u> - 2 <u>s.</u>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	29	2	2	363	<hr/>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	

## East Meon Hundred

East Meon	1	2	8	14	15 <u>d.</u> - 3 <u>s.</u>
Coombe		13	6	7	15 <u>d.</u> - 3 <u>s.</u>
Oxenbourne	1	11	3	11	15 <u>d.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Riplington	1	3	0	8	2 <u>s.</u> - 4 <u>s.</u>
Bordean	1	2	9	9	18 <u>d.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Froxfield	2	8	3	13	15 <u>d.</u> - 10 <u>s.</u>
Steep	1	19	6	12	18 <u>d.</u> - 6 <u>s.</u>
Ramsdean	1	17	6	13	18 <u>d.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Langrish	2	2	7	9	2 <u>s.</u> - 10 <u>s.</u>
Ambersham	1	19	6	10	12 <u>d.</u> - 6 <u>s.</u>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	15	10	6	106	<hr/>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	

## Alton Foreign Hundred

Alton Eastbrook	1	2	10	11	7d. - 5s.
Anstey	1	1	3	7	7d. - 10s.
Holybourne		19	6	9	9d. - 10s.
Hartley Mauditt		18	1	9	7d. - 10s.
West Worldham	1	2	4	3	2s.3d. - 13s.4d.
East Worldham	1	0	4	7	9d. - 7s.9d.
Broxhead		16	1	11	7d. - 2s.6d.
Ludshott		10	2	7	7d. - 3s.4d.
Bramshott		9	2	8	7d. - 2s.
Chitlee		10	4	6	7d. - 4s.
Greatham		11	2	9	7d. - 2s.
Oakhanger		14	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	7d. - 5s.1d.
Chawton	1	6	7	6	7d. - 10s.
Will Hall		6	2	3	7d. - 5s.
Froyle	2	19	6	19	8d. - 8s.9d.
	14	7	10	122	
	<u>14</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>122</u>	<u>  </u>

## Evingar Hundred

Hurstbourne Priors	1	10	6	20	9d. - 3s.3d.
St. Mary Bourne	1	7	6	18	9d. - 3s.3d.
Swampton		6	6	6	9d. - 18d.
Stoke	1	1	10	11	9d. - 5s.3d.
Wyke		17	4	15	7d. - 2s.3d.
Egbury		15	6	11	12d. - 2s.1d.
Binley		9	8	7	12d. - 1s.9d.
Cole Henley		15	6	7	9d. - 5s.3d.
Whitchurch	1	6	5	19	7d. - 2s.9d.
Freefolk		19	5	12	7d. - 4s.
Baughurst		9	5	10	7d. - 1s.10d.
Ashmansworth		9	9	8	9d. - 1s.10d.
East Woodhay	1	5	1	20	7d. - 4s.3d.
Burghclere	1	13	10	23	8d. - 3s.4d.
Ecchinswell	1	6	9	18	8d. - 3s.4d.
Newtown		10	0	11	9d. - 14d.
	15	5	0	216	
	<u>15</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>216</u>	<u>  </u>

## Finchdean Hundred

Chalton	1	17	6	15	8d. - 13s.4d.
Idsworth	2	1	7	14	7d. - 14s.
Buriton		15	7	9	7d. - 3s.6d.
Nursted	1	9	11	8	7d. - 20s.
Blendworth	3	14	2	23	8d. - 18s.
Sheet	1	2	2	12	8d. - 5s.
Weston		11	9	10	8d. - 3s.6d.
Hinton	2	11	4	11	7d. - 20s.
Clanfield	1	4	2	14	8d. - 3s.
Catherington	2	14	1	19	12d. - 8s.
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	18	2	3	135	<hr/>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	

## Barton Stacey Hundred

Barton Stacey	3	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	26	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. - 9s.
Newton Stacey	1	6	7	16	8d. - 6s.
Sutton Scotney	1	3	1	10	9d. - 10s.
<u>Nortone</u>	1	10	8	8	8d. - 20s.
Inhurst and Ham		7	6	5	16d. - 2s.2d.
Pamber		8	4	3	2s.3d. - 3s.1d.
Colemore and Prior's Dean		19	7	6	7d. - 9s.
Kings Worthy	1	1	5	7	8d. - 14s.
Headbourne Worthy		17	9	9	7d. - 4s.6d.
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	10	14	11	90	<hr/>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	

## Odiham Hundred

Liss	2	1	1	13	12d. - 22s.
Weston	1	10	7	12	12d. - 6s.
Lasham	1	5	6	11	12d. - 5s.
Bintworth	2	2	11	12	16d. - 19s.
Dogmersfield	3	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	30	8d. - 6s.
Shalden	1	10	3	10	7d. - 13s.4d.
Winchfield		16	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	11d. - 3s.
Murrell Green		16	9	11	8d. - 3s.
Sherfield on Loddon	1	16	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	19	7d. - 4s.
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	15	3	0	130	<hr/>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	

## Selborne Hundred

Selborne	12	1	9	7d. - 5s.
Farringdon	1	0	9	7d. - 3s.4d.
Norton	15	11	12	7d. - 6s.8d.
Sotherton	1	3	1	7d. - 5s.
Hawkley	1	7	4	7d. - 3s.6d.
Newton Valence	16	2	8	7d. - 8s.
Empshott	11	1	9	7d. - 5s.
East Tisted	1	9	7	7d. - 14s.4d.
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	7	16	0	112
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

## Bountisborough Hundred

Itchen Abbas	2	7	1	26	7d. - 6s.3d.
Itchen Stoke	1	12	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	24	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. - 5s.9d.
Riplington		14	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. - 4s.
Swarraton	1	3	4	15	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. - 4s.
Abbotstone	1	17	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	18	6 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. - 10s.
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	7	14	0	91	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

## Mainsbridge Hundred

Chilworth	1	5	6	12	7d. - 16s.
Eastleigh	1	7	9	15	7d. - 16s.
Boyatt		12	0	7	7d. - 3s.
Stoneham	3	1	8	61	7d. - 6s.
Allington	1	14	6	26	7d. - 5s.6d.
Townhill	1	4	1	21	7d. - 5s.
Shirley	2	4	2	26	7d. - 3s.6d.
Barton		13	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	7d. - 6s.
Botley	2	9	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	31	7d. - 6s.
Netley	1	16	7	51	7d. - 3s.
Baddesley		12	10	11	7d. - 5s.
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	17	2	9	274	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

## Holdshot Hundred

Holdshott and Mattingley	3	10	6	28	12d. - 14s.
Heckfield	2	10	11	25	12d. - 7s.
Hartley Wespall	1	5	5	9	12d. - 12s.
Stratfield Turgis		19	10	10	12d. - 5s.
Bramshill		14	2	6	12d. - 6s.8d.
Stratfield Saye	3	4	11	31	8d. - 12s.
Silchester	1	1	3	15	8d. - 2s.
Eversley	1	8	0	15	7d. - 6s.
Stratfield Mortimer		18	6	15	7d. - 2s.6d.
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	15	11	8	153	<hr/>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	

## Basingstoke Hundred

Sherborne St. John	2	1	0	14	12d. - 8s.6d.
Basing	2	15	11	31	7d. - 7s.6d.
The Vyne		13	0	8	7d. - 6s.8d.
Bramley	2	5	8	24	7d. - 6s.8d.
Chineham		15	7	11	8d. - 4s.
Eastrop with Lychpit		14	0	6	8d. - 6s.8d.
Tunworth		14	11	9	7d. - 3s.6d.
Winslade		14	3	7	12d. - 3s.
Kempshott	3	5		3	12d. - 15d.
Cliddesden	15	4		10	7d. - 3s.
Hatch Warren	7	9		6	7d. - 2s.
Steventon	9	8		7	12d. - 2s.
Newnham	9	8		6	8d. - 3s.
Nately Scures	10	6		8	12d. - 2s.
Somershill		10		1	
Up Nately	11	10		8	12d. - 2s.6d.
Mapeldurwell	11	7		8	7d. - 4s.
Woodgarston	9	6		10	7d. - 2s.7d.
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	22	4	5	177	<hr/>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	

## New Forest Liberty

Lyndhurst	13	5	13	8d. - 18d.
Brookley and Brockenhurst	1	16	0	15
Hardley	1	10	9	12
Ipley and Buttash	1	12	6	7
Holebury and Langley	17	9	8	9d. - 10s.
Exbury and Lepe	1	16	9	12
South Baddesley	1	15	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	16
Warborne and Pilley	1	11	7	10
Battramsley <del>and</del> Wootton	1	4	2	9
Burley	1	12	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	11
Linwood and Codshill	19	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	7	9d. - 10s.
Frytham and Canterbury	1	6	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
Minstead and Bartley Regis	1	5	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	15
	18	2	2	144

## Redbridge Hundred

Stone	14	0	7	12d. - 3s.
? Badminstone	1	5	9	12d. - 20s.
Dibden	1	19	3	25
? <u>Burches</u>	12	4	7	12d. - 3s.4d.
Langley	1	2	3	8
Marchwood	1	11	0	21
Eling	16	4	9	9d. - 3s.4d.
? Newton Bury	19	0	5	12d. - 10s.
Rum Bridge	1	19	0	14
Ower	1	18	8	7
Totton	1	13	6	16
Testwood	1	14	7	11
Winsor, Bartley, Netley Marsh and Tatchbury	1	16	3	16
	18	1	11	151

## Bishops Sutton Hundred

Bishop's Sutton	1	6	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	21	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. - 4s.
Bighton	1	10	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	20	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. - 7s.
Bramdean	1	4	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	11	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. - 5s.
West Tisted	1	5	7	7	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. - 11d.
Headley	2	7	3	29	7d. - 6s.8d.
Ropley	2	16	4	33	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. - 7s.
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	10	9	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	121	<hr/>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

## Hambledon Hundred

Hambledon		16	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	8	17 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. - 3s.1d.
Chidden	1	6	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	7	17d. - 5s.10d.
Gludden		15	6	7	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. - 3s.3d.
Denmead	1	14	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	11	12 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. - 12s.10d.
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	4	12	6	33	<hr/>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

## Chuteley Hundred

Oakley	1	11	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	14	12d. - 6s.7d.
Wotton St. Lawrence		19	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	12	12d. - 2s.3d.
Worting		10	0	8	8d. - 3s.
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	3	1	5	34	<hr/>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

## Mainsborough Hundred

Brown Candover	1	3	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	14	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. - 7s.
Woodmancott		11	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. - 3s.
Chilton Candover		15	1	8	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. - 7s.3d.
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2	9	11	29	<hr/>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

Portchester (foreign)	1	11	10	22	7d. - 4s.
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

## King's Somborne Hundred

<u>Wobbury</u>	17	6	11	8d. - 2s.10d.
<u>Ashfoble with Haltreworth</u>	1	16	7	13
Lee	1	9	5	12
Wells		19	8	8
<u>Mora with Rygge</u>	1	14	3	8
Cuperham		18	11	10
Romsey Extra	1	5	9	15
Pauncefoot and Sparsholt	1	4	1	10
Stanbridge	1	3	9	13
Timsbury	1	5	7	18
Compton and Eldon		19	1	16
Farley Chamberlaine	11	7	7	7d. - 2s.
Ashley	1	13	1	18
Little Somborne	1	8	6	11
Upper Somborne		18	2	12
Houghton	1	6	2	11
Longstock	3	13	2	33
<u>Foghelerton</u>	1	0	1	11
Leckford	5	6	1	38
Street		19	8	10
King's Somborne	2	11	7	20
	33	2	7	305
Romsey	6	14	0	55

## Crondall Hundred

Yateley	2	10	2	28	10 <u>d.</u> - 6 <u>s.</u> 8 <u>d.</u>
Southwood	1	7	1	15	7 <u>d.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Farnborough		13	5	9	7 <u>d.</u> - 3 <u>s.</u>
Cove	1	14	9	16	7 <u>d.</u> - 4 <u>s.</u>
Aldershot	1	15	2	24	7 <u>d.</u> - 4 <u>s.</u>
Crookham Village	2	3	0	31	7 <u>d.</u> - 4 <u>s.</u>
Swanthorpe	1	3	4	16	9 <u>d.</u> - 3 <u>s.</u> 4 <u>d.</u>
Dippenhall	1	2	5	13	7 <u>d.</u> - 7 <u>s.</u> 6 <u>d.</u>
Crondall		9	3	10	7 <u>d.</u> - 2 <u>s.</u>
Itchel	1	15	4	21	7 <u>d.</u> - 10 <u>s.</u>
Long Sutton	2	5	3	30	7 <u>d.</u> - 6 <u>s.</u> 8 <u>d.</u>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	16	19	2	213	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	

## Overton Hundred

Laverstoke	1	1	0	8	12 <u>d.</u> - 7 <u>s.</u>
Southington	1	15	2	11	12 <u>d.</u> - 4 <u>s.</u> 6 <u>d.</u>
Northington	1	18	5	13	9 <u>d.</u> - 4 <u>s.</u>
Polhampton	1	11	5	8	9 <u>d.</u> - 6 <u>s.</u>
Quidhampton		12	9	7	9 <u>d.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Ashe		18	0	1	
Tadley		8	0	5	10 <u>d.</u> - 3 <u>s.</u>
East Oakley and Highclere		16	6	9	7 <u>d.</u> - 7 <u>s.</u>
Bradley		9	1	6	9 <u>d.</u> - 2 <u>s.</u>
N. Waltham	1	10	1	10	7 <u>d.</u> - 6 <u>s.</u>
Deane		8	0	8	7 <u>d.</u> - 2 <u>s.</u>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	11	8	5	86	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	

## Kingsclere Hundred

Kingsclere	2	14	8	37	7d. - 3s.6d.
Litchfield (h)	2	8	6	14	7d. - 6s.8d.
Sydmonton	1	17	3	26	7d. - 3s.6d.
North Oakley and Tidgrove (h)		10	1	6	7d. - 3s.
Finley		3	8	3	8d. - 2s.
Hannington (h)		12	1	8	7d. - 5s.
Ewhurst and <u>Putte</u> (h)		9	7	4	7d. - 7s.
Sandford	2	15	10	17	8d. - 13s.4d.
Clere Woodcott (h)		6	10	4	12d. - 2s.6d.
Earlstone (h)	1	0	2	10	8d. - 6s.
Wolverton (h)		17	9	15	7d. - 5s.
Edmundsthorpe (h)		13	4	9	7d. - 4s.4d.
Frobury (h)		12	0	10	7d. - 5s.
	<hr/>	15	1	9	<hr/>
				163	
	<hr/>			<hr/>	

## Thorngate Hundred

South Tidworth		5	1	1	
Shipton Bellinger	2	10	0	12	12d. - 16s.
Snoddington	1	8	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	7	15 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. - 6s.10d.
Over Wallop	8	2	1	45	8d. - 18s.
Nether Wallop	8	1	9	66	8d. - 6s.3d.
Broughton	4	10	10	29	12d. - 15s.
Bossington		13	8	3	2s.6d. - 6s.8d.
Pittleworth		16	0	4	illegible
Bentley		6	0	2	2s. - 4s.
Mottisfont	1	4	5	11	8d. - 5s.
East Tytherley	2	7	11	12	13d. - 12s.
West Tytherley	1	14	1	11	15d. - 6s.8d.
West Dean		3	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	3	12 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. - 18d.
East Dean	1	18	0	12	12d. - 8s.6d.
Lockerley	1	15	0	14	10d. - 8s.
East Wellow		16	2	9	16d. - 2s.3d.
Sherfield English	1	12	3	13	15d. - 5s.
Hyde		8	6	5	18d. - 2s.
Wigley	2	13	5	22	9d. - 4s.6d.
	<hr/>	12	7	8	<hr/>
				281	
	<hr/>			<hr/>	

## Micheldever Hundred

Micheldever	2	15	4	38	7d. - 4s.
Northbrook	1	4	10	13	7d. - 6s.8d.
Weston Colley	1	14	4	19	7d. - 3s.
Slackstead	1	10	10	12	8d. - 6s.
Abbots Worthy	1	4	2	18	7d. - 4s.
Abbots Barton		1	2	2	7d. - 7d.
East Stratton	2	0	1	22	8d. - 5s.
West Stratton	1	4	8	12	7d. - 4s.
Popham	1	6	10	18	7d. - 4s.
Woodmancott		6	0	6	7d. - 21d.
<u>Nonhampton</u>		2	8	2	8d. - 2s.
<u>Northampton</u>		14	6	13	7d. - 3s.
Swarraton		7	6	7	8d. - 2s.
Drayton		11	6	11	7d. - 3s.4d.
Cranbourne		18	9	14	7d. - 3s.4d.
	16	3	2	207	
					=====

## Bermondspit Hundred

South Warnborough	3	19	10	26	13d. - 12s.11d.
Hoddington	1	1	11	8	12d. - 5s.
Upton Grey	1	0	8	8	12d. - 6s.
Weston Corbett		16	3	6	13d. - 5s.8d.
Herriard		16	11	7	18d. - 4s.11d.
Ellisfield	1	0	8	9	12d. - 5s.
Farleigh Wallop	1	7	1	7	12d. - 11s.
Dummer	2	1	11	11	12d. - 7s.
Nutley		14	1	6	13d. - 4s.6d.
Preston Candover	3	2	0	21	7d. - 11s.
	16	1	4	109	
					=====

## Fawley Hundred

Havant	3	1	0	35	7d. - 10s.
Hayling		11	8	8	8d. - 2s.
Gosport		10	9	9	9d. - 2s.
Bursledon		4	4	6	7d. - 12d.
Exton		17	7	16	7d. - 2s.
Alverstoke	1	12	6	21	8d. - 6s.
West Meon	1	11	11	19	8d. - 3s.
Kilmeston	1	10	3	15	8d. - 6s.
Hinton Ampner		17	0	11	7d. - 4s.
Beauworth		11	3	7	12d. - 2s.
Old Alresford	1	4	6	16	8d. - 3s.6d.
Medstead		12	6	5	12d. - 5s.
Wield		13	2	5	1s.6d. - 6s.8d.
Chilcomb		5	2	4	12d. - 20d.
Cheriton	1	3	11	17	7d. - 3s.
Tichborne		11	5	10	9d. - 1s.6d.
Ovington		5	8	7	8d. - 12d.
Morestead		4	5	6	7d. - 1s.6d.
Avington		9	7	9	7d. - 1s.6d.
Martyr Worthy		5	8	6	7d. - 1s.6d.
Easton		8	7	10	7d. - 1s.6d.
Winnall		5	0	7	7d. - 12d.
Twyford		15	1	13	9d. - 3s.
Horton Heath	1	10	3	32	7d. - 2s.
Owlesbury		18	1	21	7d. - 2s.5d.
	21	1	3	315	
					=====

## Christchurch Hundred

New Lymington	3	3	3	32	9d. - 10s.
Old Lymington	3	13	0	36	9d. - 10s.
Boldre	1	0	9	12	9d. - 4s.
Sway	1	1	4	18	9d. - 3s.
Arnewood		15	9	16	7d. - 4s.
Efford	1	16	5	26	7d. - 5s.

Keyhaven	10	6	12	7 <u>d.</u> - 1 <u>s.</u> 6 <u>d.</u>
Milford-on-Sea	1	2	9	9 <u>d.</u> - 2 <u>s.</u>
Hordle	1	12	1	9 <u>d.</u> - 4 <u>s.</u>
Ashley	2	3	6	9 <u>d.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Chewton	2	19	6	12 <u>d.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Hinton	2	11	0	12 <u>d.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Avon	3	1	0	12 <u>d.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Sopley		15	6	12 <u>d.</u> - 2 <u>s.</u>
Winkton	1	6	0	12 <u>d.</u> - 3 <u>s.</u>
Bure	1	19	3	9 <u>d.</u> - 3 <u>s.</u>
Street		14	9	9 <u>d.</u> - 2 <u>s.</u>
Hurn	2	0	6	12 <u>d.</u> - 10 <u>s.</u>
North Ashley	1	15	6	7 <u>d.</u> - 6 <u>s.</u>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	34	2	4	372
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	

		Bishops	Waltham	Hundred	
Bishops	Waltham	1	16	9	23
Upham		1	3	6	26
Ashton		1	1	8	14
Durley		2	9	6	23
Curdridge		1	16	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	23
Bursledon			13	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	16
Fawley		1	10	8	16
Bitterne			18	4	18
Swanmore			13	6	13
Droxford		1	13	1	16
Shedfield		1	6	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	12
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	15	1	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	200	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	

## Fordingbridge Hundred

Fordingbridge	1	3	9	12	9d. - 4s.
Hale and Charford	1	12	1	11	12d. - 10s.
Midgham	1	6	6	8	12d. - 7s.
Breamore	2	14	0	22	9d. - 10s.
Bickton	1	16	10	11	7d. - 5s.
Ibsley	1	7	3	13	9d. - 5s.6d.
Rockbourne	5	15	9	41	12d. - 13s.
Ellingham	2	3	3	14	12d. - 10s.
Burgate	3	12	2	33	7d. - 5s.3d.
	<hr/> 21	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 7	<hr/> 165	<hr/>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

## Wherwell Hundred

Wherwell	1	1	1	10	7d. - 10s.
Clatford (lower)	1	11	9	13	9d. - 4s.
Goodworth Clatford and Little Ann		6	3	8	7d. - 12d.
Middleton and Forton		18	11	18	7d. - 3s.
East Aston	2	6	1	25	7d. - 4s.
Bullington and Tufton	1	15	3	25	7d. - 5s.9d.
<u>Asshes</u>	2	8	5	24	7d. - 13s.4d.
	<hr/> 10	<hr/> 7	<hr/> 9	<hr/> 123	<hr/>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

## Titchfield Hundred

Titchfield	6	2	6	46	15d. - 6s.
Swanwick	1	8	1	12	18d. - 4s.6d.
Pallingworth		13	4	6	1s.3d. - 3s.1d.
Bonewood		6	8	4	1s.6d. - 2s.
Funtley		15	9	3	4s.3d. - 6s.6d.
Hook	1	6	6	13	15d. - 4s.
Crofton	1	13	0	16	1s.3d. - 5s.
Stubbington	1	0	1	9	1s.6d. - 3s.1d.
Rowner	2	14	6	14	1s.6d. - 10s.
<u>Lye</u>		13	3	5	1s.3d. - 5s.

Charke	10	6	5	1 <u>s.</u> 6 <u>d.</u> - 3 <u>s.</u>
Wickham	3	19	3	7 <u>d.</u> - 10 <u>s.</u>
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
	20	13	5	164
	<hr/>		<hr/>	

## Pastrow Hundred

Vernham Dean	3	11	7	15	2 <u>s.</u> - 12 <u>s.</u> 2 <u>d.</u>
Tangleys (h)	1	5	4	12	9 <u>d.</u> - 4 <u>s.</u> 3 <u>d.</u>
Hurstbourne Tarrant	2	6	0	20	12 <u>d.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Linkenholt		12	5	8	15 <u>d.</u> - 2 <u>s.</u> 5 <u>d.</u>
Combe	1	5	10	10	12 <u>d.</u> - 4 <u>s.</u>
Conholt (h)		10	9	5	15 <u>d.</u> - 3 <u>s.</u>
Facombe	1	12	3	13	7 <u>d.</u> - 6 <u>s.</u> 8 <u>d.</u>
Crux Easton		16	11	7	9 <u>d.</u> - 4 <u>s.</u> 3 <u>d.</u>
Woodcott (h)		19	5	8	1 <u>s.</u> 1 <u>d.</u> - 6 <u>s.</u> 6 <u>d.</u>
	<hr/>		<hr/>		
	13	0	6	98	
	<hr/>		<hr/>		

## Portsdown Hundred

Bedhampton	2	1	8	21	7 <u>d.</u> - 10 <u>s.</u>
Farlington	1	3	0	9	8 <u>d.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Drayton	1	0	10	10	8 <u>d.</u> - 4 <u>s.</u>
Wellsworth		17	7	12	7 <u>d.</u> - 2 <u>s.</u> 8 <u>d.</u>
Widley		9	0	4	8 <u>d.</u> - 6 <u>s.</u> 8 <u>d.</u>
Wymering and Hilsea	3	3	4	34	8 <u>d.</u> - 12 <u>s.</u>
Portsea	1	5	4	8	8 <u>d.</u> - 13 <u>s.</u> 4 <u>d.</u>
Southwick	1	17	3	25	8 <u>d.</u> - 4 <u>s.</u>
West Boarhunt	2	1	6	24	8 <u>d.</u> - 6 <u>s.</u> 8 <u>d.</u>
East Boarhunt		15	7	6	7 <u>d.</u> - 10 <u>s.</u>
Boarhunt Herbelyn		19	0	10	8 <u>d.</u> - 2 <u>s.</u>
Fratton	1	19	8	17	12 <u>d.</u> - 10 <u>s.</u>
Milton	1	6	1	12	7 <u>d.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Eastney	1	5	6	14	7 <u>d.</u> - 8 <u>s.</u>
	<hr/>		<hr/>		
	20	5	4	206	
	<hr/>		<hr/>		

## Fareham Hundred

Crockerhill	10	10	6	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. - 2s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.
North Fareham	19	4	7	12 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. - 6s.
Wallington	1	8	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	12 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. - 10s.
Catisfield	1	8	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	10d. - 10s.
Cams	19	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	1s. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. - 5s.
Fareham	2	2	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	12d. - 3s.
Brownwich	7	7	7	8d. - 2s.
	7	15	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	66
Bentley Liberty	1	11	7	22

## Meonstoke Hundred

Meonstoke	1	19	6	14	7d. - 6s.
Flexland	1	0	4	10	7d. - 5s.
Soberton	1	13	2	15	7d. - 8s.
Cornhampton	1	2	3	7	9d. - 10s.
Lomer	1	8	4	7	12d. - 13s. 4d.
Westbury		3	1	1	
Burwell		10	2	9	7d. - 3s.
Easthoe		11	2	9	7d. - 2s.
Warnford	3	3	6	21	7d. - 15s.
Liss Abbas		11	10	13	7d. - 2s.
	12	3	3	106	
Petersfield	1	6	2	16	7d. - 4s.

## Bosmere Hundred

North Hayling	2	0	7	15	7 <u>d.</u> - 6 <u>s.</u> 6 <u>d.</u>
Stoke	1	6	7	8	2 <u>s.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Eastoke		10	10	4	7 <u>d.</u> - 4 <u>s.</u> 9 <u>d.</u>
Mengham	1	11	0	11	14 <u>d.</u> - 7 <u>s.</u>
South Hayling	1	5	6	11	7 <u>d.</u> - 6 <u>s.</u>
West Town	1	19	10	18	7 <u>d.</u> - 10 <u>s.</u>
Wade	2	8	8	9	8 <u>d.</u> - 15 <u>s.</u>
Emsworth	3	6	8	26	8 <u>d.</u> - 6 <u>s.</u>
Warblington	1	1	3	16	7 <u>d.</u> - 3 <u>s.</u> 8 <u>d.</u>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	15	12	0	118	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

## Andover Hundred

Upper Clatford	1	4	4	11	7 <u>d.</u> - 6 <u>s.</u> 9 <u>d.</u>
Abbotts Ann	4	18	2	42	7 <u>d.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Monxton	1	3	6	14	1 <u>s.</u> 6 <u>d.</u> - 2 <u>s.</u> 6 <u>d.</u>
Sarson		17	5	12	7 <u>d.</u> - 3 <u>s.</u>
Amport	1	0	8	14	7 <u>d.</u> - 8 <u>s.</u>
Grateley	1	15	1	19	7 <u>d.</u> - 8 <u>s.</u>
Quarley	1	0	3	15	7 <u>d.</u> - 2 <u>s.</u>
South Tidworth	1	15	7	18	7 <u>d.</u> - 18 <u>s.</u> 4 <u>d.</u>
Kimpson and Littleton	1	16	7	34	7 <u>d.</u> - 3 <u>s.</u>
Fyfield		19	3	17	7 <u>d.</u> - 2 <u>s.</u>
Cholderton	1	16	0	19	12 <u>d.</u> - 6 <u>s.</u>
Thruxtion	1	15	9	28	7 <u>d.</u> - 6 <u>s.</u>
Penton Grafton	2	4	6	24	12 <u>d.</u> - 4 <u>s.</u>
Penton Mewsey	1	0	0	18	7 <u>d.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Foxcotte	1	1	3	19	7 <u>d.</u> - 3 <u>s.</u>
Knights Enham		9	10	12	7 <u>d.</u> - 3 <u>s.</u>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	24	18	2	316	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

Winchester	26	12	10	198
Andover	13	3	1	74

## Christchurch Hundred

Christchurch (v)	15	10	17	9d. - 1s.6d.
Westover (v)	14	7	15	7d. - 1s.6d.
Burton and Coneketon	11	2	13	7d. - 12d.
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	2	1	6	45
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	

Portchester [Within]	2	11	7	29	7d. - 3s.
Southampton (B)	26	7	0	132	
Portsmouth (B)	7	2	0	61	
Soke of Winchester (B)	5	12	8	61	
New Alresford (B)	3	1	6	34	
Basingstoke	6	6	7	66	

## Alton

Alton (v)	2	6	4	22	12d. - 6s.7d.
Holybourne		10	10	8	7d. - 2s.
South Hay		10	3	8	9d. - 2s.
Wyck		10	5	8	7d. - 2s.
West Court		6	7	3	9d. - 5s.
Isington		17	3	11	7d. - 4s.2d.
Wheatley		7	8	6	11d. - 21d.
Binsted	1	11	10	21	7d. - 4s.8d.
Kingsley	1	9	3	17	9d. - 7s.
Thedden		5	7	2	7d. - 5s.
Holtham		10	0	2	2s. - 8s.
Rotherfield		6	7	5	9d. - 3s.4d.
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	9	12	7	113	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	

## Odiham

Odiham	1	18	9	27	7d. - 2s.8d.
Greywell	1	17	0	19	12d. - 3s.4d.
North Warnborough	1	11	0	14	12d. - 5s.4d.
Hertleye		8	10	9	7d. - 2s.
Elvetham		11	7	9	7d. - 2s.
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	6	7	2	78	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	

## Ringwood

Ringwood	9	2	6	77	12 <u>d.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Harbridge	1	16	0	19	12 <u>d.</u> - 5 <u>s.</u>
Pennington	1	17	0	13	12 <u>d.</u> - 10 <u>s.</u>
Bisterne	2	7	6	23	12 <u>d.</u> - 6 <u>s.</u>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	15	3	0	132	<hr/>
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

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