

# Worcestershire Peasant Buildings, Household Goods and Farming Equip- ment in the Later Middle Ages<sup>1</sup>

*By* R. K. FIELD

IT has been assumed that little direct historical evidence exists for the peasant house in the middle ages. This assumption has meant that knowledge of these houses has depended almost entirely on archaeological evidence. However, a detailed examination of the court rolls of Worcestershire<sup>2</sup> for the later middle ages has proved this assumption to be wrong, for, although they do not concern themselves primarily with houses, they contain much information about them. In particular, light is thrown on their size and construction and on the social and economic background of the peasants who occupied them or who undertook to have them built. There are also references to the house furnishings and farming equipment of their occupiers and evidence about other peasant buildings such as barns or granges. Supplementary sources have been found in manorial account rolls and rentals. It is hoped that the results of this documentary research will not only add to knowledge of the peasant house in the west midlands, but will also show that a liaison between the historian and the archaeologist in this field could be invaluable.

The vast majority of references to Worcestershire peasant houses occur in court rolls of the second half of the 14th century and in those of the 15th century. The court-roll and other evidence shows this to be a period of great social and economic change among the Worcestershire peasantry. Of prime importance is the evidence which suggests that in the 15th century there was specialization in pasture farming by some peasants, and that the flocks and herds carried by many tenements were larger in 1500 than in 1400. This phenomenon was widespread in the county, and was probably one of the most important economic developments amongst the rural population. The main support for these conclusions comes from court-roll entries which refer to tenants of Worcestershire manors overstocking the common pastures. These show that on most manors overstocking first occurs in the 15th century; in the 14th century it is so rare as to be almost negligible. Additional evidence is provided by the declaration of the stint of the common pasture for individual manors made in the manor court. Almost all these declara-

<sup>1</sup> This article is based on part of a thesis, 'The Worcestershire peasantry in the later middle ages,' submitted in May 1962 for the degree of M.A., Birmingham University.

<sup>2</sup> The majority of Worcestershire court rolls are at three centres, Birmingham Reference Library, Worcester County Record Office and Worcester Cathedral Library. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.L.—Birmingham Reference Library; P.R.O.—Public Record Office; W.C.L.—Worcester Cathedral Library; W.R.O.—Worcester County Record Office.

tions were made for the first time in the 15th century, many of them in the latter half, whilst some were not declared until the 16th century. The fact that this overstocking and stinting were mostly confined to the 15th century suggests that there was an increasing pressure at this time on the existing pasture, which until then had proved adequate to meet the demands of the peasants, and that in fact some tenants were building up larger flocks and herds. This explains the sudden appearance of overstocking cases in the manorial courts, and also the necessity to proclaim the stints in places where they receive no previous mention.

Besides the frequent and intense overstocking of pasture, there is much other evidence which points to a concentration on pasture farming. For example in many 15th-century Worcestershire court rolls a new offence appears, namely the turning of animals on to sown common fields before the harvest was reaped. As these incidents occurred about the same time as overstocking offences, it is probable that they, too, arose from an enlargement of flocks and herds. There are also complaints that village pastures had been usurped and overstocked with animals driven into the village by tenants of other townships, whilst some villagers went so far as to receive flocks and herds from outsiders and to depasture them on village land. Such incidents further testify to the increasing profit to be gained from pasture farming at this time.

The peasants were probably encouraged to farm in this way by an increased local demand for wool. The 15th-century domestic cloth industry was expanding, and in Worcestershire, where it was already established in the principal towns, it was spreading into the country districts. There was therefore a large demand for wool, and, whilst much of this was supplied by the large graziers, there is no reason to doubt that some peasants were also entering this market and reaping the rewards to be found in it. Sheep-farming also cost less than arable cultivation. It is therefore not surprising to find Worcestershire peasants holding sizable flocks of up to 200 sheep in the 15th century.

Whilst the demand for wool was probably the main reason behind the significant swing to pasture farming, an increased demand for meat may have been another, for it is clear that some peasants were enlarging not only their flocks but also their herds. Stints were not confined to sheep; overstocking with cattle was often as common. There is also evidence that butchers were attempting to step up their supplies by increasing the amount of their own stock, an indication that the market in meat was expanding in the region in the 15th century.

Apart from specialization in pasture, there was a significant increase in the size of peasant holdings in Worcestershire villages in the later middle ages. This trend may have been accelerated by an increasing investment in wool and meat production by the middle and upper strata of peasants. However its main stimulus came from the changed condition of the land market after the plague of 1348-9. The earliest Worcestershire court rolls, those for the manor of Halesowen which start in 1270, indicate that a land market was clearly in operation at that date, and there is no reason to suppose that it did not exist before the rolls begin. For various reasons such as poverty, age and impotence, many Worcestershire villagers were selling or leasing land before the plague (either legally through the manor

court or illegally outside it) to other villagers who ranged from the wealthier tenant to the smallholder, craftsman or tradesman. The court-roll evidence demonstrates that before the Black Death this land market was restricted; the peasants' transactions mainly involved small amounts of land and the market for large tenements was weak, partly because rents and services due from whole tenements and the fines required for entry to them were prohibitive. There were therefore no marked differences in wealth among the peasants; although some tenants were clearly wealthier than others by the time of the plague, it seems likely that tenants holding more than 30 acres before that time were rare in the county. The coming of the plague, however, substantially altered the nature of the land market, and this changed market, in conjunction with other circumstances, offered many peasants increased scope for economic advancement. The main effect of the plague was to throw on the market an abundance of land on reasonable terms. Lords, faced with an economic crisis as a result of the fall in population, were obliged to make concessions in order to find tenants for vacant holdings. Entry fines to tenements were partially or totally relaxed and services were often temporarily or permanently commuted. In some Worcestershire villages opportunities in land were further enhanced after the plague by a policy of demesne leasing by manorial lords. Furthermore, a sharp and significant rise in the number of tenants who 'waived' or abandoned their holdings meant that even more land was available for purchase or lease. Therefore not only the middle and upper strata of the peasantry but also smallholders, craftsmen and wholly landless men were able to acquire land much more easily. Within a generation some Worcestershire peasants were holding accumulated lands which were far in excess of tenements held before the plague and some were in such a strong economic position that they were able to hire labour. One Cropthorne tenant who died in 1379 held a tenement of over 100 acres.

Evidence from 15th-century court rolls shows that even then the effects of the fall in population were being felt. It was still very much a buyer's market, for lords continued to give inducements to tenants to take over land which was plentiful and cheap. Opportunities for economic advancement must constantly have presented themselves to Worcestershire villagers, and the evolution of a rich peasant element continued apace. While in the first half of the century many villages in the county still bore signs of decay, such as abandoned, scrub-covered land and dilapidated houses, there were signs of prosperity, for many villagers were increasing the size of their holdings and of their flocks and finding profit from both.

#### DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR PEASANT HOUSES

The most frequent references to peasant houses are to be found in agreements between tenants and lords for their erection. These agreements, like all others affecting peasant tenements, were enacted in the manorial courts and duly enrolled in the court records. Usually they are transacted when a tenant takes over a holding, frequently in circumstances other than inheritance. In three instances at least a tenant agrees to build on land which has been in the lord's hands for

some time for lack of a tenant.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes a holding has been seized by the lord on account of some transgression by its tenant, and a new tenant is found who agrees to build.<sup>4</sup> In others the agreement to build follows an inter-tenant sale, enacted when the purchaser receives the tenement in the manorial court.<sup>5</sup> There is one instance of an inter-peasant lease of a whole tenement where the lessee agrees to build a house on the tenement within the term.<sup>6</sup>

Whilst such building agreements cover the majority of references to peasant houses, they by no means exhaust them. Some entries refer to unfulfilled agreements. A tenant 'has still not built his house', or a tenant is given a date by which to build and fails to do so.<sup>7</sup> Houses also occur in other contexts. They are burnt;<sup>8</sup> they are built illegally;<sup>9</sup> and they are moved from one tenement to another.<sup>10</sup>

It will be observed that information is given about houses yet to be built as well as about existing buildings. We have seen that some building agreements were not carried out, but there seems no reason to doubt that the majority were. The manorial officials were usually swift enough to take action if a tenant failed to fulfil his building obligations, and it is safe to conclude that the absence of any further mention of an agreement means that it was carried through. Tenants who undertook to build houses were usually given an appreciable time to complete the operation. The most common period was two years; there are eighteen agreements stipulating this term.<sup>11</sup> In eleven other cases the term was one year.<sup>12</sup> One tenant was allowed one and a quarter years<sup>13</sup> three others one and a half years<sup>14</sup> and four others three years;<sup>15</sup> one tenant had six years in which to build.<sup>16</sup> It is apparent that tenants would not require so long to complete their houses. Salzman has collected various late medieval building contracts, including some for the building of timber-framed structures, in many of which the carpenter agrees to finish the project within a term of less than a year. For example, at Gloucester in 1483, a carpenter undertook to build within three months a house measuring 47 ft. by 15 ft. with two lofts.<sup>17</sup> Most probably tenants were allowed a long period in which to build so that, if necessary, they could adjust their budgets to meet the cost of erection. The initial outlay could make heavy demands on a tenant's resources, and where a tenant fails to build it may be that the cost had proved too

<sup>3</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 1, 15, 35.

<sup>4</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 12, 43.

<sup>5</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Appendix A, Table V, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 6, 22, 27, 45.

<sup>8</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 17.

<sup>9</sup> Appendix A, Table II, 10.

<sup>10</sup> Appendix A, Table II, 4, Table III, 40.

<sup>11</sup> Appendix A, Table I, 2, Table II, 2, 9, 13, 15, Table III, 1, 2, 3, 8, 17, 23, 35, 36, 38, 42, Table IV, 5, 6, 8.

<sup>12</sup> Appendix A, Table II, 8, Table III, 4, 11, 12, 13, 19, 28, 29, 43, 47, Table IV, 1.

<sup>13</sup> Appendix A, Table II, 16.

<sup>14</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 15, 20, 34.

<sup>15</sup> Appendix A, Table II, 14, Table III, 16, 33, Table IV, 4.

<sup>16</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 39.

<sup>17</sup> L. F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540* (Oxford, 1952), p. 542. For other examples of short building times see pp. 417, 516 and 554.

heavy. It is true that sometimes building costs are partly offset by help from the lord, but this is not always so; it is often specifically stated that the tenant will build at his own cost and expense. Where aid is given, it usually takes the form of the provision of timber.<sup>18</sup> In two cases, one at Cropthorne and the other at Hallow, the lord agreed to provide timber, and in the instance of Hallow straw as well, but the tenants were to bear the carriage costs.<sup>19</sup> Sometimes, the lord made other concessions. The entry fine to a tenement was condoned or reduced when a tenant pledged himself to build.<sup>20</sup> One house-builder was promised financial aid by his lord to offset the cost of erection,<sup>21</sup> and another was given permission to pull down a grange in his tenement and to use the timber and stones from it in building a dwelling-house.<sup>22</sup>

The court-roll evidence, limited as it is, clearly points to the prevailing use of timber in Worcestershire peasant houses and to the use of the cruck method of construction. The earliest reference to cruck building which I have found is at a court held at Warley in 1312.<sup>23</sup> In building agreements houses are measured by the number of crucks and crucks are provided by the lord to offset costs. Lack of reference to other types of timber-framing does not of course mean that they were not used. The working and erection of the timber frame were probably the costliest items in building the peasant houses. A bill attached to an account roll of John Wythe, bailiff of Hampton Lovett, for the year 29 September 1477–29 September 1478,<sup>24</sup> recording payments for ‘the repair of Harry Pars’s house (Pars ys howys)’, lists the following items:

First to a carpenter	6/–
For Carrying of Timber (Tymb(er))	15d.
Rafters (Raftrys)	2/–
For yards (yerd(es))	22d.
For Costs at the rearing	4/–
For nails (naylys)	12d.
For lathes (latthys)	1/–
For ‘thakke and thakkyng’	20d.
Sum	18/9d.

A further 2/6d. was paid for two loads of rafters (raftrys) for the house (howys) of Richard Pars.<sup>25</sup> Some idea of what these costs mean may be gauged from carpenters’ wages and some corn prices for 1478; the average daily wage for carpenters was 5¾d., whilst per quarter the average price of wheat was 6/7¼d., of barley 2/9d., of oats 1/10d., of rye 4/– and of beans 4/–.<sup>26</sup> Another account roll, that of

<sup>18</sup> Appendix A, Table II, 7, 16, Table III, 4, 8, 13, 15, 16, 18, 36, 39, 48, Table IV, 8.

<sup>19</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 11, 20.

<sup>20</sup> Appendix A, Table I, 2, Table II, 8, Table III, 2, 15.

<sup>21</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 35.

<sup>22</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 9.

<sup>23</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 44.

<sup>24</sup> B.R.L. 473434.

<sup>25</sup> For Worcestershire, evidence from account rolls for peasant houses seems to be slight compared with that from court rolls. In the following paper (pp. 146 ff.), however, Dr. N. W. Alcock has used account rolls to obtain much structural information about cottages at Bishops Clyst, Devon.

<sup>26</sup> J. E. T. Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England 1259–1793* (1882), IV, 524 and 286–7.



with wattle the walls of the said house and also daubing with plaster in various places . . .'. An entry in the court rolls of the borough of Halesowen deals with the same process. In 1372<sup>31</sup> Richard Lovecoke complained that Simon Pachet owed him 3/4d. for his labour, and that he had suffered damages worth 2/-. In his defence, Pachet claimed that Lovecoke ought to have plastered and whitened certain houses in Ludley between certain dates 'without any delay'. Lovecoke replied that he was at Pachet's house in Ludley in the third week of this term to plaster and whiten the houses, but that Pachet had neither lime nor sand whereby he might advance his work. Eventually, Pachet acknowledged that he owed 6d. to Lovecoke for lime which he had bought from him, but decided to wage his law about a further 6d.

There are many indications in the Worcestershire records that straw was used for thatching peasant houses. In the 15th century dilapidated tenements are often described as having defective roofing through lack of straw,<sup>32</sup> and occasionally we find the lord providing straw for tenants who intend to build.<sup>33</sup> The final payment for the repair of Dynby's tenement at Elmley Castle is 1/6d 'to a thatcher for roofing with straw various faults in the roof, and finding the straw'; white straw was also among materials obtained for the repair of John Coke's tenement at Elmley, recorded in a later account roll of 1443-1444.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, in an account roll for the manor of Overbury<sup>35</sup> under the heading 'cost of houses' there is included a payment of 3/- to a roofer for roofing with straw the tenement which had recently been Otewell's, and a further payment of 3/- for this straw which had been brought from Teddington. As S. O. Addy has observed,<sup>36</sup> moss and turf were also commonly employed for roofing on account of their cheapness. In a court held at Stoke Prior in 1507<sup>37</sup> we find the homage presenting that John Parman, without permission, has dug 'turfs within the common of this domain for roofing his house'.

Almost certainly in the later middle ages most peasant houses in Worcestershire were open to the roof. I have found only one instance where an upper room seems to be indicated, and this is in one of the larger houses which a tenant agreed to build in the late 15th century.<sup>38</sup> The introduction of stairs and upper rooms was more of a 16th-century trend, and when 16th-century probate inventories of Worcestershire husbandmen speak of upper floors as does that of William Kynges of Bradycote in 1542,<sup>39</sup> listing his goods under the headings of 'In the Hall', 'In the Chamber above the Hall', 'In the High Chamber', 'In the Barn' and 'In the Field', the house was presumably one which had been fairly recently built, or an older one with an upper floor recently added.

<sup>31</sup> B.R.L. 346628A. Die Martis i.f. Sancti Clementi 46 Edw. III (23 November 1372).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. presentations by Insale at an Elmley Lovett court (B.R.L. 422756. 4 May 1484) and presentations at Broadway (P.R.O. SC2/210/33. ? June 1 Hen. VIII (1509)).

<sup>33</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 20.

<sup>34</sup> W.R.O. BA 989/6, ref. 899: 95, no. 108.

<sup>35</sup> W.C.L. C 726. 18-19 Hen. VI (1 September 1439-31 August 1441).

<sup>36</sup> S. O. Addy, *The Evolution of the English House* (1933), p. 136.

<sup>37</sup> W.C.L. E 259. Die Lune i.f. Sancte Anne matris Marie 22 Hen. VII (26 July 1507).

<sup>38</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 8.

<sup>39</sup> W.R.O. 008.7 1542-3/100.

Whilst admitting that there may have been local variations and also remembering that the material for structural details is inconclusive, we can nevertheless now describe the basic structural principles of the peasant houses in Worcestershire villages of the 14th and 15th centuries, as suggested by the available evidence. They were timber-framed, of cruck construction, and, mostly, open to the roof. Walls were of wattle-and-daub and probably whitewashed. Roofs were composed either of thatch or turf. But they were not all the same size and variations in size and therefore design must now be considered. Court-roll references to peasant houses frequently mention their size in bays, that is to say the space between the principal upright timbers. The Latin 'baia' is frequently used in the rolls, but a more common term, with the same meaning, is 'spacium' (space). Synonymous with these two, and peculiar to the court rolls of Worcester Cathedral priory, is 'intersticium' (interstice).<sup>40</sup> A further peculiarity of the priory rolls is that of describing houses as being composed of so many 'spac(ia) furc(arum)'.<sup>41</sup> Occasionally, a house is measured by the number of crucks and so it is easy to assess the number of bays it contains. Finally houses are occasionally described by rooms, such as 'a hall with a room' or 'a hall with a room at the lower end and an upper room'.

The simplest and humblest peasant house, which existed in some parts of the country even in the 17th century, was composed of a single room or bay.<sup>42</sup> Tax assessments for Colchester and villages near by made in 1296 and 1301 provide evidence of this. These lists show that many householdings had no more than one room, that more than half of these had no household goods at all but only the clothes they wore, whilst the possessions of the rest were meagre. Barley has stated that 'the impression given by the list that many of the dwellings were mere hovels containing nothing to which a value could be given is certainly correct'.<sup>43</sup> I have found only two references to one-bay houses in the Worcestershire court rolls (Appendix A, Table 1), but it is probable that they were of the general standard of those in the Colchester lists. This type of house had one room for all purposes.

The traditional English house composed of two bays is mentioned more frequently in the rolls. I have found sixteen examples of houses of this size drawn from fifteen different villages (Appendix A, Table 11).<sup>44</sup> All but four of these references occur in 15th-century records; one occurs in the 13th century,<sup>45</sup> two in the late 14th century<sup>46</sup> and one in the early 16th century.<sup>47</sup> Thirteen of them seem to involve agreements to build new houses,<sup>48</sup> one concerns a house which had

<sup>40</sup> Occasionally this is extended to 'intertristicia' or abbreviated to 'int'. The more common form 'intersticium' is used throughout.

<sup>41</sup> Latin 'spac. furc.', though clearly meaning 'spaces with, or of, crucks' or 'spaced crucks' is open to various possibilities of extension. 'Spacia furcarum' is suggested.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. M. W. Barley, *The English Farmhouse and Cottage* (1961), pp. 87 ff.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18 ff. See also G. Rickword in *Trans. Essex. Archaeol. Soc.*, ix (1906), 133.

<sup>44</sup> One of these, Table 11, 5, is not described by bays, but its measurements, 30 ft. by 14 ft., suggest that it may fit into the two-bay category.

<sup>45</sup> Appendix A, Table 11, 5.

<sup>46</sup> Appendix A, Table 11, 13, 16.

<sup>47</sup> Appendix A, Table 11, 7.

<sup>48</sup> Appendix A, Table 11, 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.



been newly and illegally built,<sup>49</sup> another deals with an agreement for the rebuilding of a house,<sup>50</sup> and a third involves the removal of a house from one site to another.<sup>51</sup> The word most commonly used to describe these buildings is 'domus', but in one instance this is extended to 'domus capitalis' (dwelling-house);<sup>52</sup> one is called 'aula' (hall),<sup>53</sup> another 'mansum',<sup>54</sup> another 'Insetenhouse';<sup>55</sup> two others are described as halls with rooms<sup>56</sup> and one other 'domus . . . pro aula'.<sup>57</sup> The number of references to houses of two bays, coupled with the evidence of their scattered dispersion, shows that it was a widespread 15th-century type in Worcestershire. Two of the references<sup>58</sup> indicate that some of these houses were divided into two rooms, being of the hall-and-chamber type commonly found in 16th-century Worcestershire inventories, but others might have consisted of one large room.

It is clear from the Worcestershire evidence that the three-bay house was also a common type in the later middle ages, and that even larger peasant houses were not unknown. Court-roll references to three-bay houses are far more prolific than to those of one or two bays. I have found fifty of these, and they occur in thirty-two different villages (Appendix A, Table III).<sup>59</sup> All but ten of the references occur in 15th-century records; one occurs in the early 14th century,<sup>60</sup> eight in the late 14th century<sup>61</sup> and one in the early 16th century.<sup>62</sup> Often they are simply called 'domus' or, on the estates of Worcester Cathedral priory, 'domus capitalis'. Four are termed 'Inset(en)houses',<sup>63</sup> one is called 'dom(us) aul(e)'<sup>64</sup> and another 'domus longa'.<sup>65</sup> 'Aula' is used on eight occasions.<sup>66</sup> In the majority the references occur in agreements to build or in records of failure to fulfil an agreement, but some obviously refer to houses already standing. Two of the references indicate buildings divided into three rooms,<sup>67</sup> but otherwise information about the function and number of rooms in these buildings is lacking. Some might have been divided

<sup>49</sup> Appendix A, Table II, 10.

<sup>50</sup> Appendix A, Table II, 2.

<sup>51</sup> Appendix A, Table II, 4.

<sup>52</sup> Appendix A, Table II, 12.

<sup>53</sup> Appendix A, Table II, 11.

<sup>54</sup> Appendix A, Table II, 5.

<sup>55</sup> Appendix A, Table II, 1. The meaning of 'Insetenhous(e)' or 'Insethous(e)' is obscure. Mr. M. W. Barley has suggested to me that such a house may be a building which is inserted, i.e. a building put up on a site which already contains a building of some sort. For another reference to 'Insethouse' see A. Maunder and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Worcestershire* (English Place-Name Society, IV, 1924), p. 277.

<sup>56</sup> Appendix A, Table II, 3, 9.

<sup>57</sup> Appendix A, Table II, 16.

<sup>58</sup> Appendix A, Table II, 3, 9.

<sup>59</sup> There may in fact be only forty-nine three-bay houses, since one reference (Table III, 49/50) mentions the building of two houses (domus) on one cottage tenement. It may be that one of these buildings was not a dwelling-house but some other type of building.

<sup>60</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 44.

<sup>61</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 4, 10, 12, 29, 31, 48, 49/50.

<sup>62</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 41.

<sup>63</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 1, 30, 34, 35.

<sup>64</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 48. 'Dom. aul.' is open to various possibilities of extension. It may mean 'a house with a hall'.

<sup>65</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 31.

<sup>66</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 2, 3, 16, 18, 25, 28, 43, 45.

<sup>67</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 14, 46.

into a hall of two bays and a chamber of one bay, and some were probably designed to house beasts as well as humans.

Of four-bay houses, I have found eight examples in eight villages (Appendix A, Table iv), five occurring in the last quarter of the 14th century<sup>68</sup> and the other three in the 15th century.<sup>69</sup> The majority are concerned with agreements to build, but one at least deals with repairs to an existing building. Three of these houses are called 'domus',<sup>70</sup> three 'domus capitalis',<sup>71</sup> and one 'dom(us) aul(e)'.<sup>72</sup> Another is described as 'domus capitalis' with bays at either end.<sup>73</sup> These houses may have been comparable in size with the larger buildings at Wharram Percy which were 70 ft. by 15 ft.<sup>74</sup> I have found two further references (Appendix A, Table v) which indicate even larger houses of five bays.

It becomes clear from the court rolls that some peasant houses in Worcestershire were sheltering both men and beasts, a widespread method of housing in Europe even in recent times. Some historians have tried to find a Celtic origin for this type of building, commonly known as a long-house, but it is becoming increasingly apparent that there is nothing specifically Celtic about it. The efforts of the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group have done much towards determining the nature of the medieval peasant house; J. G. Hurst, one of its founder members, has stated that 'this work suggests that the long house was common over the whole of England in medieval times . . .'.<sup>75</sup> Archaeological evidence on this subject is so far not very extensive, although it is gradually increasing. Excavation of a 13th-century building at Beere, North Tawton, Devon, revealed a well-recognized type of long-house comprising a main living-room with a central hearth, a sleeping-room at the western end and, beyond a cross passage between N. and S. doors, a byre.<sup>76</sup> Excavation at Riseholme near Lincoln exposed a peasant house measuring internally 36 ft. by 14 ft. in its final stages and divided into two rooms. There were signs that the smaller room was used as a byre.<sup>77</sup> Other excavations have produced evidence (so far unpublished) of long-houses in deserted medieval villages in several lowland counties.<sup>78</sup>

Unfortunately nothing has been done so far for Worcestershire. However the documentary evidence helps to fill this gap, for it shows that the long-house was a recognized type of dwelling in this county in the later middle ages. At a court held in 1422 at Wolverley<sup>79</sup> there is reference to a dwelling-house (*domus capitalis*) which sounds very similar in its layout to the one excavated at Beere. A second

<sup>68</sup> Appendix A, Table iv, 1, 3, 4, 6, 8.

<sup>69</sup> Appendix A, Table iv, 2, 5, 7.

<sup>70</sup> Appendix A, Table iv, 1, 3, 6.

<sup>71</sup> Appendix A, Table iv, 2, 4, 5.

<sup>72</sup> Appendix A, Table iv, 8.

<sup>73</sup> Appendix A, Table iv, 7.

<sup>74</sup> Barley, *op. cit.* in note 42, p. 13.

<sup>75</sup> Mr. Hurst made this statement in a paper to Section H of the British Association, 1960.

<sup>76</sup> E. M. Jope and R. I. Threlfall, 'Excavation of a medieval settlement at Beere, North Tawton, Devon,' *Med. Archaeol.*, II (1958), 112-40.

<sup>77</sup> F. H. Thompson, 'The deserted medieval village of Riseholme, near Lincoln,' *Med. Archaeol.* IV (1960), 95-108.

<sup>78</sup> Hurst, as in note 75.

<sup>79</sup> Appendix A, Table iv, 7.

example of this type of building, here directly referred to as a long-house, comes from a court held at Hallow in 1340.<sup>80</sup> It is stated that William de Hampton, who held from the pittance a certain cottage with a curtilage adjacent in Peachley, has died, and that 'afterwards the pittance, John le Deye, conceded the said tenement with the curtilage adjacent and a long-house (*longa domus*) to John le Webbe and Joan, William's daughter and heir. Holding to this John and Joan and their issue from the lord in bondage, for the service of six shillings annual rent, one "benryp" for one day, and lifting hay for another day. Except that the oxen of the pittance should have their stall (*stalla*) in the aforesaid long-house when he (the pittance) should think it necessary. And if the aforesaid pittance should wish to occupy the aforesaid long-house through the whole year then two shillings of the rent of six shillings ought to be relaxed to the said John. And the aforesaid John does fealty'. The term '*domus longa*' is also applied to a three-bay (*intersticia*) house mentioned at a court held at Netherton in 1389.<sup>81</sup> Finally, at a court held at Kempsey in 1408<sup>82</sup> it is recorded that John, son of Adam Byrd, received one messuage and half a virgate of land called Haleplace that William Cutte had held in Norton and which had been in the lord's hands for lack of a tenant. It is said that he will repair and maintain in this tenement '*1 domum pro aula sua et pro bovira sua et 1 grangia pro grangia sua*'. The dual function is again evident. It is probable that some of the three- and four-bay houses previously discussed (p. 113 f.) had the same double purpose, and it is also possible that some of the smaller houses held both men and animals.<sup>83</sup>

It has been shown that 14th- and 15th-century peasant houses in Worcestershire villages were not uniform in size. Examples of one-, two-, three-, four- and even five-bay houses have been produced. Unfortunately no material is available which would throw light on the comparative numbers of these various houses either in the county as a whole or in a particular village at any one time. There is however more evidence for the kind of people who built them or caused them to be built and certain conclusions about the comparative numbers can be drawn from this evidence.

Starting with the one-bay house, it is a fair assumption that the tenants who occupied them were at the bottom of the social and economic ladder. In this respect I have already cited the Colchester tax lists (p. 112), which suggest that many of the inhabitants of one-roomed houses were poverty-stricken. Moving up the scale and leaving out for the moment the two-bay house, we come to the larger houses consisting of three, four or five bays. Appendix A (pp. 125-36) contains the relative number of references to houses of different sizes which I have found, namely 2 one-bay, 16 two-bay, 50 three-bay, 8 four-bay, and 2 five-bay. This does not necessarily mean that the three-bay house was predominant in the

<sup>80</sup> W.C.L. E 1. Die Jovis i.c. Sancti Luce 14 Edw. III (19 October 1340).

<sup>81</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 31.

<sup>82</sup> W.R.O. BA 54<sup>b</sup> 705:4. Die Martis p.a.f. Sancti Nicholai Epi. 10 Hen. IV (4 December 1408).

<sup>83</sup> It is also possible that some of the larger Worcestershire peasant dwellings housed joint families. Barley, discussing the function of the larger buildings at Wharram Percy, says that 'until positive evidence is forthcoming . . . the possibility of their housing joint families seems as tenable as the alternative that they contained both a living part and a byre'. Barley, *op. cit.* in note 42, p. 13.

county in the 15th century. In the court rolls there are many references to peasant houses where the size is not given; some of these houses might well be of one or two bays. It will also be shown that many of the larger houses were being occupied or built by tenants who were economically and socially superior in their village communities; it is probable that these richer tenants were fewer in number than the poorer peasants, so that the larger houses they occupied would be less in any one village than the one- or two-bay houses. These superior tenants were often the holders of sizable tenements of a virgate or even more, they tended to be important manorial officers, such as bailiffs, reeves, jurors and affeerers, sometimes they were lessees of parts of manorial demesnes, and occasionally they were important enough to have subtenants. The evidence in Appendix A, Tables III, IV, V, giving the size of tenements on which the larger houses were being built, shows that sometimes these holdings consisted of no more than half a virgate, or even a toft, a cottage or a nook, but a further examination of court rolls and other material frequently reveals that in fact a tenant holds land other than that on which he agrees to build. On the other hand, whilst the table of two-bay houses shows that tenements on which they were built were often only of average size, there is no evidence that the tenants of these houses were important peasants or that they held additional lands. The evidence clearly suggests therefore that the houses of the Worcestershire peasantry in the later middle ages reflected the economic and social level of their occupants.

The richer peasants who occupied the large houses of three bays or more will now be examined. I have found sixty references to these houses (Appendix A, Tables III, IV, V). Of course, it would be too much to hope for additional information about all the peasants who are connected with these houses, and often we learn nothing about them at all. But in twenty-one instances it seems evident, to a lesser or greater degree, that the tenant concerned is an important figure in the village community. A Cleeve Prior rental of 1420<sup>84</sup> shows that Thomas Kyngyot<sup>85</sup> was a fairly substantial tenant holding about 45 acres for a total rent of 27/-. Of the 22 other tenants listed in this rental only six had more land than Kyngyot, whilst two others had about the same amount. A rental of the reign of Henry VI<sup>86</sup> shows that Thomas had acquired more land, including some demesne, and that part of his tenements listed in the first rental were now in the hands of Nicholas Kyngyot, who in addition had other holdings. Thomas was farming about 60 acres for a total rent of 26/4d., and Nicholas, certainly a relative and probably Thomas's son, about 45 acres for a total rent of 25/-. Of the 25 other land-holders besides Thomas and Nicholas, only four had more land than Thomas, and two of these had only a few acres more, whilst another had about the same acreage; only six had more land than Nicholas, whilst two others had a holding of

<sup>84</sup> W.C.L. C 559. 22 January 7 Hen. V (1419/20). In the calculations of the size of peasant holdings a virgate has been reckoned at 30 acres. Crofts and small pieces of land itemized as sellions or butts have had to be left out of assessments of tenants' holdings, but the small rents they demand show that they were of small extent, so that their omission does not seriously affect the general conclusions.

<sup>85</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 9.

<sup>86</sup> W.C.L. C 560. 4 May ? Hen. VI. Two tenants on this rental, Robert Personage and John Tapyhale, are paying rent for water-mills and fisheries only, so they have been excluded from calculations. Some names occur twice; I have assumed that they belong to the same tenant.

about the same size. Apart from the indications of the extensive lands of the Kyngyot family, there are other signs that Thomas and his relatives were important figures in the Cleeve community. He himself was elected to be one of four manorial reeves on at least eight occasions<sup>87</sup> and at one time was a rent-collector,<sup>88</sup> being removed from that office in October 1405. He also served as an affeerer<sup>89</sup> in the manor court and as a tithing-man.<sup>90</sup> Nicholas Kyngyot was a harvest-reeve at least twice<sup>91</sup> (once contemporaneously with Thomas Kyngyot) and he also acted as an affeerer.<sup>92</sup> In 1447 a certain John Kyngyot was one of the reeves.<sup>93</sup>

The tenants to be considered next are of Broadwas, like Cleeve a manor of Worcester Cathedral priory. At Broadwas there is evidence of one house of two bays,<sup>94</sup> four of three bays<sup>95</sup> and one of four bays.<sup>96</sup> I have been unable to discover anything of the social and economic position of the tenants connected with the two-bay, four-bay and one of the three-bay houses. In the other three cases there is ample evidence that the tenants ranked among the more important villagers. One of these three tenants was Walter Grene.<sup>97</sup> Grene served as a harvest-reeve at least twice,<sup>98</sup> as an affeerer in the manor court on no less than four occasions,<sup>99</sup> and once in the important office of rent-collector.<sup>100</sup> There are two other significant entries about him. First, in 1461<sup>101</sup> he was given permission to have a subtenant in one messuage and one nook called Badcoke during his life. It is probable that the majority of peasants who had subtenants were drawn from the richer elements of the village communities. Secondly, it is significant that the lands which Grene held at his death in 1483 comprise a lengthy list of thirteen items.<sup>102</sup> Unfortunately the total acreage is indeterminate and some of the items are merely

<sup>87</sup> W.C.L. E 39. Die Mercurii p.p.f. Petri et Pauli 22 Rich. II (3 July 1398); W.C.L. E 40. Die Mercurii p.p.f. Translationis Sancti Thome Martyris 23 Rich. II (9 July 1399); W.C.L. E 41. Die Jovis p.p.f. Translationis Sancti Thome Martyris 2 Hen. IV (14 July 1401); W.C.L. E 43. Die Mercurii p.p.f. Translationis Sancti Thome Martyris 3 Hen. IV (12 July 1402); W.C.L. E 44. Die Martis p.p.f. Translationis Sancti Thome Martyris 4 Hen. IV (10 July 1403); W.C.L. E 45. 7 October 7 Hen. IV (1405); W.C.L. E 48. i.f. Translationis Sancti Swithini 8 Hen. V (15 July 1420); W.C.L. E 54. Die Lune p.a.f. Sancti Dunstani 13 Hen. VI (16 May 1435).

<sup>88</sup> W.C.L. E 45. 7 October 7 Hen. IV (1405).

<sup>89</sup> W.C.L. E 41. Die Mercurii i.c. Conversionis Sancti Pauli 2 Hen. IV (26 January 1400/1).

<sup>90</sup> W.C.L. E 45. 26 May and 11 August 7 Hen. IV (1406).

<sup>91</sup> W.C.L. E 54. Die Lune p.a.f. Sancti Dunstani 13 Hen. VI (16 May 1435); W.C.L. E 60. Die Lune p.a.f. Sancte Margaret. Virginis 24 Hen. VI (18 July 1446).

<sup>92</sup> W.C.L. E 54. Die Jovis p.p.f. Sancti Luce Evangeliste 13 Hen. VI (21 October 1434); *ibid.* Die Lune p.a.f. Sancti Dunstani 13 Hen. VI (16 May 1435); W.C.L. E 60. Die Lune p.a.f. Sancte Margaret. Virginis 24 Hen. VI (18 July 1446).

<sup>93</sup> W.C.L. E 61. Die Mercurii p.p.f. Sancti Marci Evangeliste 25 Hen. VI (26 April 1447).

<sup>94</sup> Appendix A, Table II, 2.

<sup>95</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 4, 5, 6, 7.

<sup>96</sup> Appendix A, Table IV, 2.

<sup>97</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 7.

<sup>98</sup> W.C.L. E 59. Die Martis p.p.f. Sancti Benedicti 22 Hen. VI (24 March 1443/4); W.C.L. E 62. 4 June 32 Hen. VI (1454).

<sup>99</sup> W.C.L. E 62. 4 June 32 Hen. VI (1454); W.C.L. E 64. 17 October 37 Hen. VI (1458); W.C.L. E 65. 23 October 39 Hen. VI (1460); W.C.L. E 69. 18 April 5 Edw. IV (1465).

<sup>100</sup> W.C.L. C 541.

<sup>101</sup> W.C.L. E 65. Die Veneris p.p.f. Sancti Georgii 1 Edw. IV (24 April 1461).

<sup>102</sup> W.C.L. E 75. Die Jovis p.a.f. Nat. Beate Marie Virginis 1 Rich. III (4 September 1483). The full holding consists of 3 messuages and 3 nooks, demesne land called aldecote, Lytul (?wode)field, medul (?pole)-field and Mechellwodefield, four parcels of demesne, 1 field called Brecheffeld and 1 cottage.

pieces of land of one acre or so, but nevertheless the total may have been extensive; much of his land was demesne. Heriots taken at his death amounted to 13/4d. A second tenant at Broadwas was Thomas Broun.<sup>103</sup> Evidence about him is scantier than that for Walter Grene, but there are some indications that he was a substantial and important peasant. He acted as a harvest-reeve on at least three occasions<sup>104</sup> and once as an affeerer.<sup>105</sup> In 1393<sup>106</sup> he was capable of leasing from the lord for ten years land called Lenchesfield and land in Humelyngham at an annual rent of 20d., and a croft for the same period at 1/- per annum. In 1428<sup>107</sup> he received from the lord a parcel of meadow called pullemedewe and one parcel of land to hold 'with the other tenures he holds' at an annual rent of 5/-. The third tenant at Broadwas was John Delewyn.<sup>108</sup> The type of information which has been obtained about Delewyn differs generally from that found for Walter Grene and Thomas Broun, but leads to similar conclusions. For example Delewyn is concerned with some significant pleas in the manor court.<sup>109</sup> He complains that John Holewey owes him 4d., and also 'he seeks two shillings from him for the hiring of one ox, according as it was demised for a year, namely from Easter time in the ninth year of the present King (1431) until the same festival in the tenth year of the said King, which he owes to him and wrongfully witholds to the damage of six pence . . .'. It is probable that mostly only the more substantial tenants were in a position to hire out animals as Delewyn claimed that he did. It is also interesting that at the same court Holewey claims that on 1 August 1432 he bought two oxen from Delewyn for 19/- which he had paid to him, but that Delewyn had seized these oxen within the term which had been agreed between them so that he had suffered damages of 40/-. Delewyn denies this and is to wage his law at the next court; unfortunately, there is no record of the result of this case. However, whether Holewey's claim was true or false, at least it was feasible enough to bring before a court, suggesting that Delewyn was recognized as a person who would be quite capable of selling beasts to other tenants. There is no evidence of the extent of Delewyn's lands, although in 1428<sup>110</sup> he took over one parcel of demesne containing eight sellions, one gore and one headland to hold 'with the other tenures he holds' at an annual rent of 1/-. The available material clearly suggests that he, together with Grene and Broun, were of the upper stratum of the Broadwas peasantry.

Sometimes a tenant's importance is implicit in the building agreement itself. As part of agreements about three-bay houses at Tibberton in 1472<sup>111</sup> and at

<sup>103</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 4.

<sup>104</sup> W.C.L. E 34. Die Mercurii i.e. Sancti Petri 13 Rich. II (30 June 1389); W.C.L. E 35. Die Martis in Vigil. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli 13 Rich. II (28 June 1389), the vigil fell on a Monday; W.C.L. E 36. 4 August 17 Rich. II (1393).

<sup>105</sup> W.C.L. E 54. Die Jovis i.f. Sanctorum Nep. et Achill. 13 Hen. VI (12 May 1435).

<sup>106</sup> W.C.L. E 36. Die Lune p.p.f. Conversionis Sancti Pauli 16 Rich. II (27 January 1392/3).

<sup>107</sup> W.C.L. E 53. Die Jovis p.p.f. Ascensionis 6 Hen. VI (20 May 1428).

<sup>108</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 6.

<sup>109</sup> W.C.L. E 54. Die Martis i.f. Conversionis Sancti Pauli 13 Hen. VI (25 January 1434/5).

<sup>110</sup> W.C.L. E 53. Die Jovis p.p.f. Ascensionis 6 Hen. VI (20 May 1428).

<sup>111</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 43.

Hallow in 1498<sup>112</sup> the tenants concerned were given permission to have sub-tenants. At least one tenant<sup>113</sup> who agreed to build a three-bay house (although he failed to do so) was a bailiff of his manor, and there is evidence that another<sup>114</sup> probably came from a family which filled this office. John Gregory who undertook to build a three-bay house at Hagley in 1452<sup>115</sup> (although he also failed to do so) was the lessee of the manorial demesne. Lessees of whole demesnes were usually drawn from the substantial peasants, and the evidence suggests that the Gregorys figured among the important families at Hagley. The description of another builder of a three-bay house<sup>116</sup> suggests that he too was the demesne farmer. Evidence about the tenants concerned with eleven other agreements about the building or rebuilding of houses of three bays or more demonstrates that they were also among the more influential and substantial elements of their particular villages. They held sizable tenements or came from families which held them; they occupied manorial offices<sup>117</sup> or came from families which tended to occupy them.

In conclusion it is worth noting the description by St. Clair Baddeley of what he thinks may have been the most important house on the site of the Gloucestershire village of Hullasey<sup>118</sup> possibly abandoned in the 15th century. This house was reminiscent of a Roman courtyard villa and 'may have been that of the Reeve of the small manor of Hullasey, but there is nothing save its larger dimensions and accommodation to suggest this'.

The court rolls also provide evidence about other peasant buildings to be found in Worcestershire villages in the 14th and 15th centuries, and in particular about barns and granges. Whilst some of the great tithe barns of the middle ages still survive in the county, these smaller peasant structures have long since disappeared and our evidence for them is confined to documents.<sup>119</sup> Almost all references to them are concerned with agreements by tenants to have them built or with the failure of tenants to fulfil such agreements. As with the houses of Worcestershire peasants, these buildings were mostly, probably, timber-framed and some at least were of cruck construction. In two cases<sup>120</sup> the lord agreed to provide tenants with 'great timber' for the erection of barns, and at Elmley Castle in 1444<sup>121</sup> the lord supplied tenants with oak and ash trees for couples (copula) to repair their granges. When a tenant undertook to build a three-bay house with crucks (spac(ia) furc(arum)) in a Cleeve Prior tenement in 1416,<sup>122</sup> he was given permission to pull down a grange on this tenement and to use the timber and stones for the new

<sup>112</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 21.

<sup>113</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 22.

<sup>114</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 8.

<sup>115</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 18.

<sup>116</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 32.

<sup>117</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 11, 12, 23, 26, 33, 36, 40, Table IV, 4, 5, 8.

<sup>118</sup> W. St. Clair Baddeley, 'The manor and site of Hullasey (Glos.),' *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Archaeol. Soc.*, xxxiii (1910), 338.

<sup>119</sup> For Worcestershire tithe barns see F. B. Andrews, 'Medieval or "tithe" barns,' in *Birmingham Archaeol. Soc. Trans.*, xxvi (1900), 14 ff.

<sup>120</sup> Appendix A, Table VI, 11, 26.

<sup>121</sup> W.R.O. BA 989/1, ref. 899: 95, no. 20. 20 April 1444.

<sup>122</sup> Appendix A, Table III, 9.

structure. At Stoke Prior in the 14th century<sup>123</sup> John Hadley was given leave to 'remove one grange next to the high way and to repair another grange with the timber of the said grange'. There seems to be some uniformity in the size of these barns and granges. I have found thirty-five references to these buildings drawn from twenty-five villages (Appendix A, Table vi). All of these occur in 15th-century rolls, apart from nine which belong to the last quarter of the 14th century<sup>124</sup> and two of the early 16th century.<sup>125</sup> Twenty-eight of these cite barns or granges of three bays;<sup>126</sup> this was evidently a widespread 15th-century type in Worcestershire. At Wolverley in 1396<sup>127</sup> there were four agreements to build granges of this size on different tenements. Of the other seven references, one is to a barn of two bays,<sup>128</sup> four others are to buildings of four bays,<sup>129</sup> one is to a five-bay grange,<sup>130</sup> and another is to a six-bay barn.<sup>131</sup> As with the erection of peasant houses and probably for the same reasons, tenants were usually given a considerable time varying between one and four years to complete building. In the twenty-two instances where building-time is stipulated, six tenants are allowed one year,<sup>132</sup> eight two years<sup>133</sup>, seven three years<sup>134</sup> and another four years.<sup>135</sup> Frequently, tenants undertook to build at their own cost and expense but in some instances the lord agrees to find some of the timber<sup>136</sup> or to relax the entry fine.<sup>137</sup> In one case the lord not only provided timber but also promised financial aid.<sup>138</sup> The cost of building a new grange at Conderton in 1442 was 21/4d.<sup>139</sup>

It has been shown (p. 114 f.) that on at least some peasant tenements in Worcestershire cattle and people were housed under one roof, but it is quite clear that other animals, notably sheep and horses, were separately accommodated. The large bercaries of manorial lords in which their sheep were bedded down, such as the 100 ft. by 14 ft. sheep-house built on the Battle Abbey farm at Appledram in 1352,<sup>140</sup> had a smaller counterpart on some peasant holdings. At Wolverley in 1421<sup>141</sup> Thomas, the vicar of the church, received from the lord for a term of seven

<sup>123</sup> W.C.L. E 214. The entry is recorded on the foot of this roll, although does it not appear to belong to the court, which was held Die Mercurii p.a.f. Sancti Martini 41 Edw. III (10 November 1367).

<sup>124</sup> Appendix A, Table vi, 7, 13, 14, 20, 26, 32, 33, 34. There are references to 2 granges in Table vi, 32.

<sup>125</sup> Appendix A, Table vi, 15, 22.

<sup>126</sup> Appendix A, Table vi, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34.

<sup>127</sup> Appendix A, Table vi, 32, 33, 34.

<sup>128</sup> Appendix A, Table vi, 22.

<sup>129</sup> Appendix A, Table vi, 7, 17, 20, 21.

<sup>130</sup> Appendix A, Table vi, 26.

<sup>131</sup> Appendix A, Table vi, 10.

<sup>132</sup> Appendix A, Table vi, 3, 21, 24, 31, 32, 33.

<sup>133</sup> Appendix A, Table vi, 2, 11, 13, 15, 19, 25, 27, 30.

<sup>134</sup> Appendix A, Table vi, 5, 6, 14, 18, 29, 32, 34.

<sup>135</sup> Appendix A, Table vi, 28.

<sup>136</sup> Appendix A, Table vi, 5, 11, 26, 29.

<sup>137</sup> Appendix A, Table vi, 21, 30.

<sup>138</sup> Appendix A, Table vi, 29.

<sup>139</sup> W.C.L. E 727. Under 'cost of houses'.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. A. M. M. Melville, 'The pastoral custom and local wool trade of medieval Sussex, 1085-1485' (unpublished London M.A. thesis, 1931, in University of London library), p. 52, cited by R. Trow-Smith, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700* (1957), p. 113 f.

<sup>141</sup> W.C.L. E 49. Die Lune p.p.f. Sancti Thome Martyris 9 Hen. V (14 July 1421).



years one messuage and half a virgate of land, and it was stipulated that he would maintain one dwelling-house (*domus capitalis*) and one other house (*domus*) of three bays (*spacia*) called 'Shepcot'. At a court held at Crowle in 1462<sup>142</sup> Richard Wyse was ordered to rebuild on the tenement called Crotteswalle one building called 'barcaria' consisting of two bays (*intersticia*). Sheep-cotes are occasionally singled out in lists of ruinous tenements in 15th-century court rolls.<sup>143</sup> On some tenements individual buildings were provided for horses, for not only do stables figure in lists of dilapidated tenements, but at Harvington in 1497<sup>144</sup> Richard son of Thomas Shefflyd received from the lord a large tenement of at least 90 acres which a certain John Brydde had lately held and agreed to build there within two years one building called 'stabul'. An entry in an Overbury court of 1392<sup>145</sup> hints that pigs too were separately housed. Here Matilda Chichely surrendered to the lord one cottage and two acres of land with appurtenances which John Howlond had lately held, and Walter Howlond received them. It was agreed that he would concede to Matilda for her life 'one room (*camera*) with a solar (*solarium*) outside the door of the said cottage, with one piggery (*porcaria*) annexed to the same and one garden next to the grange, for a dwelling-place (*mansum*) . . .'. It is impossible to say where these various farm buildings were sited in relation to the dwelling-houses, but an entry in an early 16th-century court roll of Broadway<sup>146</sup> suggests that on some tenements all buildings were very near one another. At a court held there in 1509 it was presented that the hall, room, grange and stable of a certain Richard Strayne were ruinous, and that this had been caused through Richard keeping 'his fire (*ignis*) carelessly', so that these buildings '*combusti fuerunt*'.

## DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR HOUSEHOLD GOODS AND FARMING EQUIPMENT

With the accumulation of probate inventories in the 16th century there is almost an embarrassment of material giving details of houses and their contents and of farming gear. Material available for the 14th and 15th centuries is not as prolific and is less detailed. The evidence consists of lists of *principalia* or chief chattels which begin to appear in 14th-century court rolls and which have been described by Miss Levett as 'concrete evidence valuable in reconstructing the life of the tenants'.<sup>147</sup>

There has been some doubt about the legal conception of *principalia* in the middle ages,<sup>148</sup> but the court-roll entries make it plain that they belonged to the lord and that they consisted of the main household goods and farming equipment appurtenant to individual holdings. They were the goods which a tenant took over on entering a tenement and which it was his obligation to leave behind him

<sup>142</sup> W.C.L. E 66. 18 May 2 Edw. IV (1462).

<sup>143</sup> Cf. Thomas Hogges's sheep-cote. P.R.O. SC2/210/33. ? June 1 Hen. VIII (1509). At Broadway.

<sup>144</sup> W.C.L. E 83. 13 April 12 Hen. VII (1497).

<sup>145</sup> W.C.L. E 36. Die Jovis in Vigil. Jacobi Apostoli 16 Rich. II (24 July 1392).

<sup>146</sup> P.R.O. SC2/210/33. ? June 1 Hen. VIII (1509).

<sup>147</sup> A. E. Levett, *Studies in Manorial History* (Oxford, 1938), p. 190.

<sup>148</sup> Cf. F. W. Maitland and Sir F. Pollock, *History of English Law before Edward I*, II (1895), 148 ff.

either at his death or when he surrendered the holding. This is implicit in the following extracts from various courts. At Broadway in 1398<sup>149</sup> it is said that Robert Danyel, the holder of one messuage, one virgate, another virgate and one toft, has died. His widow receives the holding for her life, and then surrenders them to the lord. It is stated that 'nothing remains there for principalia because they found none . . . and for this reason she will leave nothing behind'. At Sedgeberrow in 1435<sup>150</sup> John Hyete received one messuage and one nook and also one third of a virgate with a close and cottage. It is said that 'he will leave behind no principalia at his death or withdrawal because he found none at the first entry'. Similarly at Wolverley, in 1436,<sup>151</sup> John Tyler received from the lord one messuage and half a virgate and it was stated that he would leave no principalia behind at his death or withdrawal because he found none. It is apparent that, although principalia probably constitute the bulk of a peasant's assets, excluding of course stock and corn, they do not necessarily represent a peasant's total chattels, for some tenants may have had personal effects such as earthenware pots, glazed jugs and linen-ware. Such items are singularly absent from principalia lists, but some are frequently found when medieval houses are excavated. That the two kinds of goods were clearly thought of as separate may be illustrated from an entry in a court held in 1376 at Norton, a manor of St. Albans Abbey.<sup>152</sup> Here a widow took over the wardship of her son and his lands and was obliged to find pledges that she would alienate neither the principalia of the holding nor the goods bequeathed by her husband's will. The lists of principalia occur in varying circumstances. Sometimes the goods are itemized following a tenant's death; sometimes the articles are named after a tenant's flight with them and occasionally when a tenant surrenders a tenement to another tenant or to the lord.

The four tables of Appendix B (pp. 137-45) deal respectively with the principalia of cottagers, interpreted as those tenants holding less than half a virgate, of half-virgaters, of virgaters and above, and of tenants holding an unknown acreage of land.

The household principalia held by cottagers differed little between individual tenements. It is clear that their basic household furniture and goods were confined to the simplest items (Appendix B, Table 1). In three lists<sup>153</sup> a trestle-table is included, an item commonly found in the principalia of more fortunate tenants. Such tables were still in use in the 16th century and in the 15th century had not been superseded by the joined-table, the table dormant, which slowly came into favour at that time. They were most useful at a time when the hall served as a family living-room, since as soon as a meal was finished they could be taken down and stacked against a wall.<sup>154</sup> Five cottagers<sup>155</sup> had stools. This was a handy and

<sup>149</sup> P.R.O. SC2/210/26. Die Jovis p.a.f. Sancti Luce Evangeliste 22 Rich. II (17 October 1398).

<sup>150</sup> W.C.L. E 56. Die Lune p.a.f. Sancti Luce Evangeliste 14 Hen. VI (17 October 1435).

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.* Die Lune p.a.f. Philippi et Jacobi 14 Hen. VI, (30 April 1436).

<sup>152</sup> Levett, *op. cit.* in note 147, p. 216.

<sup>153</sup> Appendix B, Table 1, 1, 2, 5.

<sup>154</sup> For a description of tables see H. S. Bennett, *The Pastons and Their England* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 88 f.

<sup>155</sup> Appendix B, Table 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9.

inexpensive form of seating at a time when chairs were still a great luxury. One tenant<sup>156</sup> even had a chair, but this was probably a rough variety, for only the rich could afford costly ones. It will be observed that no eating utensils are included in the lists. Either these were so insignificant as to be ignored or tenants themselves were responsible for providing them and they constituted part of their personal belongings. There is no mention of beds either in the cottagers' principalia or in the principalia of more prosperous tenants. Five cottagers,<sup>157</sup> however, had a 'tignum', as did others in a different economic category. This can be defined as a 'beam of wood' or a 'log of timber'<sup>158</sup> and may be a rough bed. If this is so it clearly illustrates the poor bedding standards of the period. If 'tignum' means something else, it may be that, as with eating utensils, tenants were responsible for providing their own beds.

It is evident from the principalia lists of five half-virgaters (Appendix B, Table II) and the virgaters<sup>159</sup> that their basic household goods differed little or not at all from those of the cottagers. As I have observed (p. 122), each list may not account for a peasant's total goods. Some differences in standards may have arisen from the purchase of goods of their own by wealthier tenants, whilst less fortunate tenants had to make do with the items received on entering their tenements. Indeed there is evidence that even the principalia of those tenants who were endowed with very large amounts of land, that is with much more than a virgate, constituted a more extensive range of goods than those of lesser men.<sup>160</sup>

It is probable, however, that even though individuals may have obtained goods of their own, the majority of Worcestershire peasants in the later middle ages lived in houses which contained only the barest and roughest of furniture with few, if any, luxuries, and it is apparent from the principalia lists that differences in the goods of peasants at various economic levels lay not so much in their household stuff as in their farming equipment and gear. W. G. Hoskins has commented that 'the whole subject of farm-gear and implements, and the technical changes and improvements therein, requires further detailed study as a part of agrarian history'.<sup>161</sup> It is clear that cottagers held little or no farming equipment and gear. In five out of nine lists of cottagers' principalia there is none at all, and in the other four it is confined to the simplest equipment (Appendix B, Table I). It will be noticed that only one of these tenants<sup>162</sup> had a cart and that none had a plough. W. G. Hoskins found these deficiencies in the farming equipment of poorer husbandmen in 16th-century Leicestershire and suggests that they may have obtained carts, ploughs and harrows from larger men in return for help on their farms; some Leicestershire villages had a town-plough for general use.<sup>163</sup> Worcester-

<sup>156</sup> Appendix B, Table I, 3.

<sup>157</sup> Appendix B, Table I, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. There are variations of 'tignum' in the principalia lists—'tigna', 'tygna', 'tyngum'.

<sup>158</sup> See definition in Cassell's New Latin Dictionary.

<sup>159</sup> Appendix B, Table III, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

<sup>160</sup> Appendix B, Table III, 6, 7.

<sup>161</sup> W. G. Hoskins, *Essays in Leicestershire History* (1950), p. 150.

<sup>162</sup> Appendix B, Table I, 2.

<sup>163</sup> Hoskins, *op. cit.* in note 161, p. 149.

shire cottagers in the earlier period may also have received ploughs in this way, but their equipment suggests that some may merely have dug and hoed rather than ploughed their holdings.

The equipment of the tenant holding half a virgate or more is quite different from that of the cottager; the most significant difference is that generally these peasants had a plough and a cart. All the half-virgaters whose principalia are given in court rolls have a plough (Appendix B, Table II),<sup>164</sup> as do all virgaters and greater tenants, with one exception (Appendix B, Table III),<sup>165</sup> and even in this case it may be that the list is incomplete. All but one of the half-virgaters have a cart,<sup>166</sup> and even with the exception the implication is that the tenant in fact had one since his other goods include a cart-horse with a saddle and collar. Likewise all virgaters have a cart<sup>167</sup> and one prosperous tenant has two wagons.<sup>168</sup> In addition to this basic and most important equipment, these tenants usually hold some of the following items: harrows, scythes, sickles, spades or shovels, forks of various kinds (three-pronged forks, forks for dung and forks for sheaves), hoes, hatchets, gimlets, mattocks, seed-lips and flails.

Carts are sometimes described as 'bare', but at other times as 'iron-bound'. The practice of putting iron-strakes on the wooden wheels of carts, as W. G. Hoskins has commented,<sup>169</sup> goes back to the 13th century and perhaps a little earlier, and represents an improvement in farming gear. There is a good deal of evidence however which suggests that only the minority of peasants could afford the extra cost involved. Gaydon, on examining the local assessment rolls of taxation for some Bedfordshire hundreds and townships in 1297, found that only two peasants were assessed for having carts.<sup>170</sup> Both of these were iron-bound, and both peasant holders were wealthy. Hoskins, in examining inventories for Wigston earlier than 1603, found that they mentioned 23 'bare' carts, but only five iron-bound.<sup>171</sup> The Worcestershire evidence similarly suggests that only the wealthier peasantry were capable of maintaining iron-bound carts and shows that this type was worth considerably more than carts which only had wooden wheels. At Teddington in 1443<sup>172</sup> it was ordered that certain goods should be delivered to Thomas Fynche who held a tenement which a certain William Wattes had allowed to fall into decay; the total value of these goods was 33/- and included 'one cart with iron-bound wheels . . . worth eighteen shillings'. This tenement consisted of one messuage and one virgate. John Colyns of Harvington, whose principalia were named when he surrendered to the lord his sizable tenement consisting of two messuages, two virgates, one cottage and a fishery, had amongst them 'one cart with iron-bound wheels worth thirteen shillings and four pence'.<sup>173</sup> The farming

<sup>164</sup> In one incomplete list, only the ploughshare and coulter are itemized (Table II, 5).

<sup>165</sup> The exception is Hechecoke's tenement (Table III, 5).

<sup>166</sup> The exception is Thomas Mody (Table II, 3).

<sup>167</sup> Appendix B, Table III, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

<sup>168</sup> Appendix B, Table III, 6.

<sup>169</sup> Hoskins, *op. cit.* in note 161, p. 149 f.

<sup>170</sup> A. T. Gaydon, 'The taxation of 1297,' in *Bedfordshire Hist. Rec. Soc. Publ.*, xxxix (1959), xxxii.

<sup>171</sup> Hoskins, *op. cit.* in note 161, p. 150.

<sup>172</sup> Appendix B, Table III, 4.

<sup>173</sup> Appendix B, Table III, 1.

equipment of another prosperous tenant<sup>174</sup> included 'one iron-bound wagon for sheaves worth sixteen shillings' and 'one iron-bound wagon for dung worth ten shillings'. All his household goods, farming equipment and gear were said to be worth 72/6d.; his two wagons therefore comprised over one third of the total value of all his principalia. In an Overbury court of 1419<sup>175</sup> it was presented that William Shone had sold to John Kyngges for 20/- one long cart with iron-bound wheels from the principalia of Palfrey's tenement. This holding probably consisted of one messuage and one virgate.<sup>176</sup> All these carts or wagons are linked with large tenements and are of considerable worth. The values of other carts, not described as iron-bound, are much smaller by comparison and amount to only a few pence.<sup>177</sup> Sometimes a wagon's function is given; they appear to have been used for carrying dung, corn and wood.<sup>178</sup>

It is interesting to find that harrows held by Worcestershire peasants are usually said to have iron teeth, the number of which are sometimes specified. In Leicestershire Hoskins found that 16th-century inventories indicate that harrows were made completely of wood.<sup>179</sup> This may represent some slight advantage in farming technique in Worcestershire or it may reflect the difference in soil conditions from those in Leicestershire.

## APPENDIX A

## REFERENCES TO WORCESTERSHIRE PEASANT HOUSES ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THEIR SIZE, AND TO PEASANT BARNs AND GRANGES

TABLE I. ONE-BAY HOUSES

Location and reference	Details of reference
1. <i>Kings Norton</i> W.R.O. BA 821/53 <sup>b</sup> 879.3. Die Jovis in Sept. Pent. 15 Edw. IV (18 May 1475)	It is presented that William Lyndon has built a house (domus) of 1 bay (baia) on the lord's soil.
2. <i>Norton</i> W.R.O. BA 54 <sup>b</sup> 705:4. Court held at Kempsey 16 October 2 Edw. IV (1462)	Richard Rondon surrenders 1 messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate and John Wareyn receives them. John and Joan his wife will build on the site of the messuage within 2 years a 1-bay (spacium) house (domus) at their own cost and expense. No fine because of this undertaking.

TABLE II. TWO-BAY HOUSES

Location and reference	Details of reference
1. <i>Bredon</i> W.R.O. BA 2636/158, ref. 009:1, no. 92013 $\frac{3}{4}$ (compotus roll). (29 September 1421-29 September 1422)	This roll records that William Hoper holds a water-mill for life, and that he will build at his own cost at this mill 1 Insetenhouse of 2 bays (spacia).
2. <i>Broadwas</i> W.C.L. E 62. 9 October 32 Hen. VI (1453)	John Haddeley surrenders 1 cottage with a croft, 2 sellions and 1 held of land, another cottage with a croft, 2 parcels of land, 1 acre and 1 croft with appurtenances, and John More receives them. Within 2 years he will rebuild 1 house (domus) of 2 bays (intersticia).

<sup>174</sup> Appendix B, Table III, 6.

<sup>175</sup> W.C.L. E 48. 6 October 7 Hen. V (1419).

<sup>176</sup> In 1399 William Palfrey's death is recorded in an Overbury court (W.C.L. E 40. Die Martis p.a.f. Conversionis Sancti Pauli 22 Rich. II, 21 January 1398/9). His holding consists of one messuage and one virgate.

<sup>177</sup> Appendix B, Table II, 2, 5, Table IV, 1.

<sup>178</sup> Appendix B, Table III, 6, Table IV, 3, 7, 8.

<sup>179</sup> Hoskins, *op. cit.* in note 161, p. 150.

3. *Elmley Castle*  
W.R.O. BA 989/2, ref. 899: 95, no. 26.  
26 March 32 Hen. VI (1454)  
  
Thomas Hunte and William Hamond pay 4d. for the enrolment of an agreement between them about 1 messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate of customary land now in Thomas's tenure, but which is to revert to William on Thomas's death. Part of this agreement is that William will build 1 hall (aula) with 1 room (camera) 20 ft. long, at his own cost and expense, except that Thomas will roof the building and will make the walls at his own expense.
4. *Elmley Lovett*  
B.R.L. 422735. 1 May 2 Hen. V (1414)  
  
Hugo Payn, who held 2 tenements called Benetysplace and Grymplace according to the custom of the manor, pays a fine of 2/- to the lord for permission to remove 1 worn (debilis) house (domus) of 2 bays (spacia) from Benetysplace for building on Grymplace.
5. *Halesowen*  
B.R.L. 346212. Die Apostolorum Simonis et Jude 9 Edw. (28 October 1281)  
  
As part of a wider agreement between Thomas Brid and his mother Agnes, Thomas agrees to build a house (mansum) for her. This is to be 30 ft. long and 14 ft. wide within the walls. It will have 3 doors and 2 windows.
6. *Hallow*  
W.C.L. E 54. Die Lune p.a.f. Sancti Luce Evangeliste 13 Hen. VI (11 October 1434)  
  
Thomas Boteler is to build 1 house (domus) of 2 bays (spacia) in his tenure by Easter, under penalty of 20/-.
7. *Hampton Lovett*  
B.R.L. 473110. 28 May 20 Hen. VII (1505)  
  
Richard Tyler receives from the lord 1 messuage and 3 nooks with appurtenances. He will repair 1 hall (aula) and 2 barns, and will build on the messuage a house (domus) of 2 bays (spacia), at his own cost and expense, except that the lord will provide timber. Fine 2 capons.
8. *Hanbury*  
W.R.O. BA 2636/168, ref. 009:1, no. 92328. In Claus. Pasche 3 Edw. IV (17 April 1463)  
  
Henry Pugge receives from the lord 1 toft with a croft and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres called Colmans, and another parcel of land. He will build 1 house (domus) of 2 bays (spacia) there within 1 year at his own cost and expense. The fine is condoned for this reason.
9. *Kempsey*  
W.R.O. BA 54<sup>b</sup> 705:4. Die Sabbati p.p.f. Purificationis Beate Marie 25 Hen. VI (4 February 1446/7)  
  
John Pynven receives from the lord 1 messuage with 6 acres of land in Baynhall. Within 2 years he will build there 1 hall (aula) and 1 room (camera) of 2 bays (bayae). Fine 1/-.
10. *Kings Norton*  
W.R.O. BA 821/53<sup>b</sup> 879:3. Presented by Hedley Velde at Court held at Kings Norton Die Jovis in Sept. Pent. 15 Edw. IV (18 May 1475)  
  
William Fylde of Gorshawe is said to have built 1 house (domus) of 2 bays (baiae) on the lord's soil. He is to remove it by Michaelmas under penalty of 20/-.
11. *Leigh*  
P.R.O. SC2/210/55. 9 October 1 Hen. VI (1422)  
  
Richard Gorewey receives a cottage called Wymondes with all lands and appurtenances, surrendered to the lord by Thomas Chetborne. It is said that as a result of this seizure he ought to build a grange on Lelyes tenement, but instead the lord gives him permission to build in its place 1 hall (aula) of 2 bays (spacia) upon Wymondes cottage.
12. *Newnham*  
W.C.L. E 80. 13 April 6 Hen. VII (1491)  
  
This entry is faded and partly illegible, but it seems clear that a certain William Jenys, carpenter, agrees to build on his tenure a dwelling-house (domus capitalis) of 2 bays (spacia).
13. *Pershore*  
P.R.O. SC2/210/72. Die Sabbati p.p.f. Pasche 16 Rich. II (12 April 1393)  
  
Margaret Befford, who held 1 toft with a garden and appurtenances, is dead. John Tailor, son of Thomas Sheperd, receives the tenement to hold for his life and the lives of his wife and son. Within 2 years they will build on the toft 1 house (domus) of 2 bays (spacia) under penalty of forfeiture.
14. *Pershore*  
P.R.O. SC2/210/74. 4 October 7 Hen. VI (1428)  
  
John Heynes receives from the lord 1 messuage with a garden. Within 3 years he will build 1 house (domus) of 2 bays (spacia).

15. *Putmaston*  
W.R.O. BA 2636/175, ref. 009:1, no. 92482. Court held at Bishops Wick 10 October 22 Edw. IV (1482)
16. *Woollashill*  
W.R.O. BA 950/1, ref. 705:85, no. 9. i.f. Translationis Sancti Thome Martyris 18 Rich. II (7 July 1394)

Roger Harper is to build 1 house (domus) of 2 bays (spacia) on the site of his messuage within 2 years under penalty of forfeiting 20/- and his tenure.

Richard Dene receives from the lord 1 messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate surrendered by Joan Jankyns to hold to him and his wife for their lives. Within 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  years he will build 1 house (domus) of 2 bays (spacia), 'videlicet pro aula', at his own cost, except that the lord will provide timber.

TABLE III. THREE-BAY HOUSES

Location and reference	Details of reference
1. <i>Astwood (Claines)</i> W.R.O. BA 2636/175, ref. 009:1, no. 92474. Court held at Whitstones Die Veneris p.a.f. Purificationis Beate Marie 23 Hen. VI (29 January 1444/5)	William Grene receives from the lord 1 messuage and 1 nook with appurtenances lying in decay, to hold according to custom. He agrees to build there within 2 years 1 Insethous of 3 bays (spacia).
2. <i>Astwood (Claines)</i> W.R.O. BA 2636/175, ref. 009:1, no. 92474. Court held at Whitstones Die Martis p. in Vigil. Sancti Pauli 36 Hen. VI (24 January 1457/8)	Thomas Harecote receives from the lord 1 toft with 1 nook of customary land in Haweford for building within 2 years 1 hall (aula) of 3 bays (baiae). No fine because of this undertaking.
3. <i>Astwood (Claines)</i> W.R.O. BA 2636/175, ref. 009:1, no. 92482. Court held at Whitstones Die Jovis i.f. Sancti Oswaldi 1 Edw. IV (5 August 1462)	Richard Mewe junior surrenders to the use of John Cowper 1 messuage and 1 toft with $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate of land to hold according to custom. John agrees to build within 2 years 1 hall (aula) of 3 bays (baiae). Fine 3/4d.
4. <i>Broadwas</i> W.C.L. E 34. Die Mercurii i.c. Sancti Petri 13 Rich. II (30 June 1389)	Thomas Broun receives from the lord a toft and 2 nooks which form part of a tenement abandoned by John Love. He agrees to build on the toft 1 house (domus) of 3 bays (intersticia) within 1 year. He will bear the costs but the lord agrees to provide him with 4 crucks (furcae) from his old sheep-fold.
5. <i>Broadwas</i> W.C.L. E 51. Die Jovis p.a.f. Sancti Luce Evangeliste 2 Hen. VI (14 October 1423)	John Child is given a date by which he has to build 1 house (domus) of 3 bays (spacia) of Holewey tenement, and to build upon Badkoke tenement under penalty of 20/-.
6. <i>Broadwas</i> W.C.L. E 54. Die Martis i.f. Conversionis Sancti Pauli 13 Hen. VI (25 January 1434/5)	'Still a day is given to John Delewyn to build one dwelling-house (domus capitalis) of three bays (spacia) . . . under penalty of 3/4d.'
7. <i>Broadwas</i> W.C.L. E 58. Die Jovis p.p.f. Sancti Martini 21 Hen. VI (15 November 1442)	Walter Grene receives from the lord 1 messuage and 1 nook and 1 cottage. He is to be responsible for the repair of no buildings except 1 dwelling-house (domus capitalis) of 3 bays (intersticia).
8. <i>Bromsgrove</i> W.R.O. BA 821/53 <sup>b</sup> 879.3. Court held at the Lickey Die Lunep.a.f. Sancti Nicholai Epi. ?15 Edw. IV (?4 December 1474)	Henry Pachet junior, son of Henry Pachet senior, receives from the lord lands and tenements in Kyngestotenhill and — (text faded) that recently were Henry Wassell's and John Haye's; also he receives 1 acre in Edenhill. He promises to construct on the land and tenement 1 house (domus) of 3 bays (baiae) in which there will be a solar (solarium). He will construct it with timber, providing the necessary stairs (steyres), doors and windows, within 2 years. The lord will provide great timber. (The name of one of the bailiffs of the manor a few years earlier was also Henry Pachet. <sup>180</sup> This official may have been Pachet junior's father.)

<sup>180</sup> As bailiff Pachet impanelled a jury at a court held at the Lickey (Die Lune p.p.f. Sancti Dunstani 10 Edw. IV, 21 May 1470) and was ordered to summon a jury to decide a case at issue at a court held there (Die Lune p.a.f. Sancti Nicholai 10 Edw. IV, 3 December 1470). W.R.O. BA 821/52<sup>b</sup> 879.3.

9. *Cleeve*  
W.C.L. E 47. i.f. Apostolorum Philipi et Jacobi 4 Hen. V (1 May 1416)
10. *Crophthorne*  
W.C.L. E 39. 3 October 21 Rich. II (1397)
11. *Crophthorne*  
W.C.L. E 60. Die Lune p.a.f. Sancte Margaret. Virginis 24 Hen. VI (18 July 1446)
12. *Crowle*  
W.C.L. E 38. 15 October 19 Rich. II (1395)
13. *Elmley Castle*  
W.R.O. BA 989/1, ref. 899:95, no. 18. 1 May 17 Hen. VI (1439)
14. *Elmley Castle*  
W.R.O. BA 989/2, ref. 899:95, no. 36. 2 April 22 Edw. IV (1482)
15. *Elmley Lovett*  
B.R.L. 422738. 24 October 9 Hen. VI (1430)
16. *Great Comberton*  
W.R.O. BA 950/3, ref. 705:85, no. 66. 7 October 2 Edw. IV (1462)

Thomas Kyngyot receives from the lord 1 messuage, 1 toft with  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate of land and 2 acres, to hold according to custom. He agrees to build anew 1 dwelling-house (domus capitalis) of 3 bays (spac(ia) furc(arum)) and to maintain 1 room (camera) annexed to this house, and also 1 sheep-fold. He is given permission to pull down a grange in the tenement and to use the timbers and stones. John Base agrees to build by Michaelmas 1 dwelling-house (domus capitalis) of 3 bays (intersticia).

John Blake and Margaret his daughter receive from the lord 1 messuage and 1 virgate to hold according to custom, on condition that within 1 year John will build 1 dwelling-house (domus capitalis) of 3 bays (intersticia) at his own cost and expense. The lord will provide timber but John will bear the carriage costs. (No further information has been found about Blake but it will be observed that this house was to be built on a substantial tenement.)

Richard Burgelonn receives 1 toft and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate which had been seized by the lord because the former tenant had made waste in it. He agrees to build within 1 year 1 dwelling-house (domus capitalis) of 3 bays (intersticia) under penalty of 40/- . Fine 6/8d. (Burgelonn held other lands besides this, although the rental which lists them<sup>181</sup> is too faded to give them with certainty, and in 1416 he received from the lord an acre of demesne.<sup>182</sup> In addition he was an affeerer at least three times<sup>183</sup> and once he was elected to be an inspector of meat.<sup>184</sup>)

The lord concedes to Thomas Case the reversion of 4 cottage tofts in the Overende of Elmley, after the death of Roger Turner, to hold according to custom. It is said that because 1 hall (aula) has decayed, he ought to build on there 1 house (domus) of 3 bays (spacia) within 1 year. The lord agrees to provide the large timber. Fine 2/-.

Thomas Martyn comes to court and undertakes to build on his tenement, lately in the tenure of Thomas Corvess, 1 house (domus) of 3 bays (bayes) otherwise called rooms (romys); 2 of these bays are to be built by the festival of St. John and the third by the following festival of St. John the Baptist, under penalty of forfeiture of the tenure. At his death recorded on 16 February 1481/2 Corvess held 1 messuage and a close.

It is said that 2 cottages with 2 crofts adjacent, called Owcredys and Bensons, have been in the lord's hands for 12 years. Richard Taylor, villein, comes and receives them, to hold in villeinage according to custom for 2/- per annum, a rent reduction of 2/- . He agrees to build on Owcredys within 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  years 1 house (domus) of 3 bays (spacia) under penalty of 20/- . He will receive timber from the lord when necessary. No fine.

It is agreed that John Wolashill will receive the reversion of 1 messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate after the death or withdrawal of Edward Wolashill his father. These two will build 1 hall (aula) of 3 bays (spacia) and 1 grange of the same size upon the site of this messuage, at their own cost and expense. One of these buildings is to be built within 3 years, and the lord agrees to find and deliver four couples (couples) of timber for this building.

<sup>181</sup> W.C.L. C 597.

<sup>182</sup> W.C.L. E 47. 22 January 3 Hen. V (1415/6).

<sup>183</sup> W.C.L. E 39. Die Veneris i.c. Translationis Sancti Benedicti Abbati 22 Rich. II (12 July 1398); W.C.L. E 41. Die Lune p.a.f. Purificationis Beate Marie 2 Hen. IV (31 January 1400/1); W.C.L. E 43. Die Veneris i.c. Deposit. Sancti Wulstani 3 Hen. IV (20 January 1401/2).

<sup>184</sup> W.C.L. E 46. 4 October 14 Hen. IV (1412).



17. *Grimley*  
W.C.L. E 61. 13 — (text stained) 25  
Hen. VI (1446/7)  
Richard Ferthey is ordered to rebuild within 2 years 1 new dwelling-house (*domus capitalis*) of 3 bays (*intersticia*) which through his negligence has been completely burnt down. (A William Ferthey and John Ferthey were reeves and affeerers at Grimley in the first part of the 15th century,<sup>185</sup> and Richard himself was an affeerer once.<sup>186</sup>)
18. *Hagley*  
B.R.L. 347002. Die Sabbati p.p.f. Ascensionis Domini 30 Hen. VI (20 May 1452)  
John Dancer surrenders to the lord 1 messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate and John Gregory then receives them. He and his wife will build 1 hall (*aula*) of 3 bays (*bayes*) at their own cost, except that the lord will find the great timber. (Gregory did not build this house, for in 1455 he surrendered the tenement to the lord and William Holbawgh(er) then took it over. It was agreed that he would build a hall (*aula*) of 3 bays (*bayes*).<sup>187</sup> In 1445 Gregory and his son John had taken on lease for 20 years the 'whole manor with the buildings built upon it, and with all the meadows, lands, "pascuis et pasturis", and appurtenances' for an annual rent of 63/4d., agreeing to maintain the buildings at their own cost.<sup>188</sup>)
19. *Hallow*  
W.C.L. E 58. Die Jovis p.a.f. Cathedra Sancti Petri 21 Hen. VI (21 February 1442/3)  
The lord concedes to Richard Barnarde 1 parcel of demesne containing 5 sellions. It is stipulated that within 1 year he will build 1 dwelling-house (*domus capitalis*) of 3 bays (*intersticia*), under penalty of forfeiting the land.
20. *Hallow*  
*Ibid.*  
William Kynges receives 1 parcel of land containing 8 sellions, lately Richard Whelare's, and lying in Smethesfield. He will build within 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  years 1 dwelling-house (*domus capitalis*) of 3 bays (*intersticia*). The lord will find in the first year timber and straw for the roofing but William will bear the carriage costs.
21. *Hallow*  
W.C.L. E 84. 10 May 13 Hen. VII (1498)  
William Perkus, Juliana his wife and John their son receive 1 messuage and 1 nook and vynchefield with appurtenances, lately held by Hugo Evot, all of which William lately held and forfeited. They will repair and maintain 1 dwelling-house (*domus capitalis*) of 3 bays (*spacia*) and one grange of the same size, now upon this tenure. He receives permission to have a subtenant in the messuage and land. Fine 66/8d.
22. *Hanbury*  
W.R.O. BA 2636/169, ref. 009:1, no. 92356. 8 October 22 Edw. IV (1482)  
William Naysshe receives from the lord 1 toft and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate with appurtenances lying in Moreweyesende, lately held by Giles Lombard, to hold for 90 years. He is excused from building 1 house (*domus*) of 3 bays (*spacia*) which Richard Hedley should have built, as the court rolls of the 8th year of the present king (4 March 1468-3 March 1469) show. (Richard Hedley had been bailiff of the manor in the year 1459-60.<sup>189</sup>)
23. *Harvington*  
W.C.L. E 51. Die Mercurii p.p.f. Sancti Wolstani Epi. 2 Hen. VI (25 January 1423/4)  
Thomas Roberdes surrenders to the lord 1 messuage and 1 virgate. William Clerk receives them, to hold in villeinage according to custom. Within 2 years he will build 1 new house (*domus*) of 3 bays (*spacia*). (Clerk was elected to be a reeve at least twice<sup>190</sup> and an affeerer once.<sup>191</sup>)

<sup>185</sup> W.C.L. E 39. Die Martis p.p.f. Translationis Sancti Benedicti Abbat. 22 Rich. II (16 July 1398), at Hallow; W.C.L. E 41. Die Mercurii p.p.f. Sancti Kenelmi Reg. et Mart. 2 Hen. IV (20 July 1401), at Hallow; W.C.L. E 46. Die Lune p.p.f. Sancti Thome Martyris 14 Hen. VI (2 January 1435/6); W.C.L. E 54. Die Jovis p.p.f. Nep. et Achill. 13 Hen. VI (19 May 1435).

<sup>186</sup> W.C.L. E 62. 9 October 32 Hen. VI (1453).

<sup>187</sup> B.R.L. 347008. Die Lune p.p.f. Inventionis Sancte Crucis 33 Hen. VI (5 May 1455).

<sup>188</sup> B.R.L. 346991. Die Martis p.p.f. Epiph. Domini 23 Hen. VI (12 January 1444/5).

<sup>189</sup> Cf. W.R.O. BA 2636/168, ref. 009:1, no. 92325 (account roll).

<sup>190</sup> W.C.L. E 52. Die Martis p.a.f. Sancti Kenelmi 5 Hen. VI (15 July 1427); W.C.L. E 53. Die Jovis p.p.f. Translationis Sancti Thome Martyris 6 Hen. VI (8 July 1428).

<sup>191</sup> W.C.L. E 52. Die Mercurii p.a.f. Purificationis Beate Marie 5 Hen. VI (29 January 1426/7).

24. *Hatfield*  
W.R.O. BA 54<sup>b</sup> 705:4. Court held at Kempsey Die Veneris p.p.f. Decollat. Sancti Petri 11 Hen. VI. (It is probable that the scribe meant to write 'the decollation of St. Paul'. This would give the date of the court as 1 July 1433.)
25. *Hatfield*  
W.R.O. BA 54<sup>b</sup> 705:4. Court held at Kempsey In Claus. Pasche 3 Edw. IV (17 April 1463)
26. *Himbleton and Phepson*  
W.C.L. E 56. Die Lune p.p.f. Nat. Beate Marie 15 Hen. VI (10 September 1436)
27. *Kempsey*  
W.R.O. BA 54<sup>b</sup> 705:4. Die Lune p.a.f. Apostolorum Simonis et Jude 26 Hen. VI (23 October 1447)
28. *Leigh*  
P.R.O. SC2/210/55, i.c. Sancti Michaelis Arch. 6 Hen. VI (30 September 1427)
29. *Leigh*  
P.R.O. SC2/210/71. On slip attached to records of court held at Pershore. Wording of entry shows that Shelton's agreement was made in court held Die Mercurii p.p.f. Sancti Michaelis 15 Rich. II (4 October 1391)
30. *Moor*  
W.C.L. E 46. Court held at Newnham 6 February 14 Hen. IV (1412/3)
31. *Netherton*  
W.C.L. E 34. Die Jovis i.c. Sancti Hillarii 12 Rich. II (14 January 1388/9)

It is presented that 6 years ago John Rook senior received from the lord 1 messuage and 6 acres for his son's use, and that he agreed with the steward to build 1 house (domus) of 3 bays (spacia). He has not done so, and he is ordered to build.

Walter Rogers receives from the lord 1 messuage and 6 acres called Hillplace, and the land called Penylande, lately held by Thomas Goolde, to hold until John his son is 21 years old. Within this period he will build 1 hall (aula) of 3 bays (spacia) and 1 grange of the same size at his own cost and expense; he will also repair and maintain 1 bakehouse (pistrinum) annexed to this messuage.

William Heort is given until Michaelmas to make 1 dwelling-house (domus capitalis) of 3 bays (spacia) under penalty of 20/-. (Heort seems to have belonged to a family with quite extensive lands, which fell on bad times in the 15th century. A John Heort senior had served as reeve and affeerer at Himbleton in 1398,<sup>192</sup> and on another occasion a John Heort was an affeerer.<sup>193</sup> When Agnes Heort died in 1420,<sup>194</sup> she held sizable holdings amounting to some 45 acres, and consisting of 1 messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate in Himbleton called Manncelles, and 1 messuage and 1 virgate in Phepson called Heortes. Manncelles was taken over by Henry Heort 'by copy previously made' and Heortes by William Heort, also 'by copy previously made'. This last tenement included the above-mentioned dwelling-house, for William Heort's holding was said repeatedly to be ruinous. Henry Heort's tenement was eventually seized by the lord because it was so dilapidated.<sup>195</sup>)

John Huller has still not built 1 house (domus) of 3 bays (bayae) upon his tenure as he had agreed with the lord. He is to do so by Michaelmas under penalty of 20/-.

John Herle surrenders to the lord 1 cottage with a curtilage, a croft and 4 acres. Richard Clube receives them and agrees to build by Michaelmas next 1 hall (aula) of 3 bays (spacia) on the cottage, under penalty of surrender.

Richard Shelton receives from the lord 1 toft with a garden and 1 acre with appurtenances. He will build within 1 year 1 house (domus) of 3 bays (spacia).

William Heynes will build an Insetenhouse of 3 bays (spac(ia) furc(arum)) upon Heynes tenement by Michaelmas under penalty of 40/-.

It is stated that William Netherton who held 1 cottage and a croft demised them to John Bakon without permission. It is also presented that John Netherton, the former tenant, had agreed with the lord to build 1 long-house (domus longa) of 3 bays (intersticia) on the cottage,

<sup>192</sup> W.C.L. E 39. Die Veneris i.c. Translationis Sancti Benedicti Abbat. 22 Rich. II (12 July 1398).

<sup>193</sup> W.C.L. E 40. Die Jovis i.f. Sancti Kenelmi Reg. et Mart. 23 Rich. II (17 July 1399).

<sup>194</sup> W.C.L. E 48. 11 February 7 Hen. V (1419/20).

<sup>195</sup> W.C.L. E 58. 14 May 21 Hen. VI (1443), at Phepson. Subsequently the tenement was taken over by a new tenant, Thomas Elvyne (W.C.L. E 59. Die Veneris p.p.f. Sancti Georgii Martyris 22 Hen. VI, 24 April 1444, at Phepson).

32. *Netherwick*  
W.R.O. BA 2636/176, ref. 009:1, no. 92491. Court held at St. John's Green In Claus. Pasche 14 Edw. IV (17 April 1474)

33. *Newnham*  
W.C.L. E 66. 6 June 2 Edw. IV (1462)

34. *Norton*  
W.R.O. BA 54<sup>b</sup> 705:4. Court held at Kempsey Die Mercurii p.p.f. Nat. Sancti Johannis Bapt. 31 Hen. VI (27 June 1453)

35. *Norton*  
W.R.O. BA 54<sup>b</sup> 705:4. Court held at Kempsey Die Mercurii p.p.f. Sancti Hillarii 37 Hen. VI (17 January 1458/9)

36. *Overbury*  
W.C.L. E 44. Die Veneris p.a.f. Translationis Sancti Thome Martyris 4 Hen. IV (6 July 1403)

37. *Overbury*  
W.C.L. E 75. i.f. Apostolorum Simonis et Jude 22 Edw. IV (28 October 1482)

38. *Romsley*  
B.R.L. 346845. Die Veneris p.p.f. Annunciationis Beate Marie Virginis 16 Edw. IV (29 March 1476). (Entry is crossed through and 'vacat' is in margin.)

<sup>196</sup> W.C.L. E 72. 1 October 11 Edw. IV (1471).

<sup>197</sup> W.C.L. E 65. 20 April 2 Edw. IV (1462).

<sup>198</sup> W.C.L. E 38. Die Lune p.a.f. Translationis Sancti Thome Martyris 20 Rich. II (3 July 1396); W.C.L. E 39. Die Veneris p.a.f. Translationis Sancti Thome Martyris 22 Rich. II (5 July 1398).

<sup>199</sup> W.C.L. E 40. 21 April 22 Rich. II (1399).

<sup>200</sup> W.C.L. E 41. 2 July 2 Hen. IV (1401); W.C.L. E 43. Die Veneris i.f. Translationis Sancti Thome Martyris 3 Hen. IV (7 July 1402).

<sup>201</sup> W.C.L. E 39. Die Veneris p.a.f. Translationis Sancti Thome Martyris 22 Rich. II (5 July 1398); W.C.L. E 41. 16 October 2 Hen. IV (1400).

<sup>202</sup> W.C.L. E 40. 21 April 22 Rich. II (1399).

and now William Nethernton is ordered to build it by a certain date under penalty of 40/-.

Richard Smith, farmer, is given to the following Easter in which to build 1 house (domus) of 3 bays (spacia) on the site of 1 cottage called Daselles, under penalty of 20/-.

John Penson surrenders to the lord 1 messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate formerly Simon Calow's and lately Alice Stockyng's, 1 messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate formerly Hill's and lately Richard Schepard's, 1 acre of land at Stonylydyate and 1 fishery in Cornebroke. Subsequently the lord regrants these to him and his wife, on condition that both or one of them will build on the first tenure a dwelling-house (domus capitalis) of 3 bays (intersticia) within 3 years. The fine is reduced because of this. (Penson held other land besides the 30 acres or so mentioned here, for at the same court he also surrenders to the lord a pasture called Prattenhale. Some years later<sup>196</sup> the lord regrants it to him and his wife and son for their lives for an annual rent of 13/4d. The lord also concedes to them, or to one of them, the profits of the tithe corn of this pasture during the term. A few years earlier<sup>197</sup> John Penson had received from John Preston, chaplain of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Mary, Worcester, a parcel of land called Pyncroft for life, for an annual rent of 1/- . These entries show that Penson's holdings were large.)

John Beke receives from the lord 1 toft and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate with appurtenances in Norton. He will build at his own cost within 1  $\frac{1}{2}$  years an Insethous of 3 bays (spacia). Fine 1/-.

Richard Rondon receives 1 toft with  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate of land and appurtenances in Norton which has been in the lord's hands for a long while for lack of a tenant. He will build on this tenure within 2 years an Insethous of 3 bays (spacia) at his own cost and expense, except that the lord will give him 8/-.

William Walker receives from the lord 1 cottage with a curtilage and 1 parcel of land. He will build within 2 years 1 house (domus) of 3 bays (intersticia) on this cottage. The lord will provide the crucks. (Walker served as a harvest reeve at least twice,<sup>198</sup> and also as a tithing-man.<sup>199</sup> A certain Walter Walker, perhaps a relative of William, had served as a reeve,<sup>200</sup> an affeerer<sup>201</sup> and a tithing-man.<sup>202</sup>)

William Stoyke, vicar, ought to rebuild a 3-bay (spacia) house (domus) on the cottage called Hopers. The bailiff is to distrain his goods and chattels for repairs.

John Boere receives 1 messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate to hold for 99 years. He will build within 2 years at his own cost and expense 1 house (domus) of 3 bays (baiae).

39. *Romsley*  
B.R.L. 347181A, extracts from Court Rolls p. 59<sup>v</sup>. Court held 22 Edw. IV (4 March 1482-3 March 1483)
40. *Stoke Prior*  
W.C.L. E 227. Die Martis p.a.f. Sancti Andrei Apostoli 7 Hen. V (28 November 1419)
41. *Teddington*  
W.C.L. E 88. 24 October 19 Hen. VII (1503)
42. *Tibberton*  
W.C.L. E 47. Court held at Himbleton 14 May 4 Hen. V (1416)
43. *Tibberton*  
W.C.L. E 72. 10 April 12 Edw. IV (1472)
44. *Warley*  
B.R.L. 346884. Die Martis i.c. Sancti Valentini 5 Edw. II (15 February 1311/2)
45. *Wichenford*  
W.R.O. BA 2636/175, ref. 009:1, no. 92476. Court held at St. John's Green 12 April 28 Hen. VI (1450)
46. *Wolverley*  
W.C.L. E 54. Die Mercurii i.f. Sancte Fidis Virginis 13 Hen. VI (6 October 1434)
47. *Wolverley*  
W.C.L. E 64. 10 October 37 Hen. VI (1458)
48. *Woollashill*  
W.R.O. BA 950/1, ref. 705:85, no. 9. i.f. Translationis Sancti Thome Martyris 18 Rich. II (7 July 1394)

Thomas Covall receives Kyngestement in Romsley and a pasture to hold for 39 years. He or his assignees will build within the first 6 years 1 house (domus) of 3 bays (baiae). The lord will provide timber for the building and for maintenance.

It is presented that John Heort carried away (abstraxit) 1 new house (domus) of 3 bays (spacia) from the land formerly Hugo Bradeley's, which he exchanged with Thomas Drew, to the land formerly Richard Bradeley's. He is to put matters right or to pay a fine, under penalty of 40/-. (It is impossible to say whether this house had been built by Bradeley or Heort or someone else. However Bradeley was a substantial tenant who probably would have been quite capable of undertaking such a project. A rental of 1397 reveals that he was then holding some 30 acres or more.<sup>203</sup> The same is true of Heort, for he came from a family with large holdings. A rental of 1424 shows that John Heort junior was in possession of 2 messuages, some 30 acres of land and also some demesne land called Grenecroft.<sup>204</sup> Both Heorts, senior and junior, frequently figure as jurors in the manorial courts held in the reign of Henry VI.<sup>205</sup>)

Richard Coolet is to build 1 house (domus) of 3 bays (spacia) by Michaelmas under penalty of 10/-.

It is presented that Richard Wode, who held 1 messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate and 1 cottage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate of demesne, is dead. John Onwyn takes them over to hold in villeinage and he guarantees to build 1 house (domus) of 3 bays (spacia) furc(arum) upon the cottage within 2 years.

Nicholas Byrche, alias Clerke, receives 1 messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate, forfeited by Richard Alott, to hold according to custom. He will build within 1 year on the tenure 1 hall (aula) of 3 bays (spacia) at his own cost and expense . . . He receives permission to have a subtenant in the tenement for his life.

Thomas of Tocceleye, villein of the lord, finds pledges that he will make a residence upon his tenement, together with the help of Roger le Per, according as this Roger had an agreement with the lord to make 1 house (domus) of 4 crucks (furcae) within a term . . .

It is presented that John Sevarne has allowed his buildings to decay and also that he has not made 3 bays (bayes) of his hall (aula) as he agreed to do within 3 years after the View of Hockday held there in 26 Hen. VI (1448).

It is said that — (text stained) Bolmere has still not repaired 1 house (domus) containing 3 rooms (romes) upon Whyte tenement in Upton.

Nicholas Bothe receives from the lord 1 parcel of enclosed pasture and land called le More to hold according to custom, on condition that within 1 year he will build 1 dwelling-house (domus capitalis) of 3 bays (intersticia).

Richard Wodeward receives from the lord 1 cottage which Agnes Herbard surrendered to the lord, to hold for the lives of him and his wife. He will build 1 ?house with a hall (dom(us) aul(e)) of 3 bays (spacia) at his own cost, except that the lord will provide timber.

<sup>203</sup> W.C.L. C 789c.

<sup>204</sup> W.C.L. C 789d.

<sup>205</sup> See jurors' lists in courts at Stoke recorded on the following rolls: W.C.L. E 236-8, 240.

49/50. *Woollashill*  
*Ibid.*

It is said that John Marteyn has still not built 2 houses (domus) each of 3 bays (spacia) upon a cottage called Symonettesplace as he agreed to do at a court held in 15 Rich. II (22 June 1391-21 June 1392). He is to build by Christmas under penalty of 20/-.

TABLE IV. FOUR-BAY HOUSES

Location and reference	Details of reference
1. <i>Astwood (Claines)</i> W.R.O. BA 2636/173, ref. 009:1, no. 92447. Court held at Whitstones 14 May 9 Rich. II (1386)	Richard Reed receives from the lord 1 toft and 1 nook of villein land. Within 1 year he will build in the toft 1 house (domus) of 4 bays (spacia). Fine 1/-.
2. <i>Broadwas</i> W.C.L. E 54. Die Jovis p.a.f. Sancti Luce Evangeliste 13 Hen. VI (14 October 1434)	John Donyle is to build a dwelling-house (domus capitalis) of 4 bays (spacia) by the festival of the Invention of the Holy Cross (3 May) under penalty of 20/-.
3. <i>Hanbury</i> W.R.O. BA 2636/166, ref. 009:1, no. 92255. 6 October 13 Rich. II (1389)	It is said that Hugo Braas has not repaired 1 house (domus) of 4 bays (spacia) upon a tenement as he was ordered. He is to do so under penalty of 13/4d.
4. <i>Moor</i> W.C.L. E 39. 6 November 21 Rich II (1397)	William Werald receives from the lord 1 messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate in Erdeston(e). He is to build 1 dwelling-house (domus capitalis) of 4 bays (intersticia) and a grange of 3 bays within 3 years, under penalty of 100/- . (The evidence indicates that the Werald family, with William at its head, were wealthy, for in the records of a court held at Moor in 1436 <sup>206</sup> they were holding 2 water-mills. It is stated that '... William Werald, John Werald junior and John Werald senior surrender to the lord two water-mills in Moor and two cottages called Alvords and Hoods in Moor, of which one is called Medeweymill and the other Cuttemill, with appurtenances, to the use of Thomas Huggelford of Stanford'. The lord was receiving an annual rent of 30/- for these. There are also other important references to the family. A John Werald acted as affeerer in the manor court at least once; <sup>207</sup> in 1453 a John Werald, together with Richard Coldenhale, received a fishery from the lord. <sup>208</sup> In 1467 Thomas Werald was filling the office of rent-collector at Moor. <sup>209</sup> )
5. <i>Stoke Prior</i> W.C.L. E 227. Die Martis p.a.f. Sancti Andrei Apostoli 7 Hen. V (28 November 1419)	It is presented that Thomas Lylye has 2 houses (domus) ruinous in Sannfayle tenement. The lord concedes that he may build within 2 years a new dwelling-house (domus capitalis) of 4 bays (spacia) and may be excused from further building. (There are some signs that the Lylye family was of high social and economic standing at Stoke. Members of the family regularly served as jurors in the manorial courts, especially in the reign of Henry VI. Thomas Lylye, Thomas Lylye junior, William Lylye and Richard Lylye served in this capacity, some of them on several occasions. <sup>210</sup> Although details of the extent of Thomas Lylye's tenements are unfortunately lacking, at least one member of the Lylye family was endowed with considerable lands, for at his death in 1452 William Lylye held 3 messuages, 4 half-virgates, a toft, 5 sellions and a close, part of which reverted to Thomas Lylye junior and part to Walter Lylye. <sup>211</sup> )

<sup>206</sup> W.C.L. E 56. Die Mercurii p.p.f. Philippi et Jacobi 14 Hen. VI (2 May 1436).

<sup>207</sup> W.C.L. E 62. 1 October 32 Hen. VI (1453).

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>209</sup> W.C.L. E 71. 6 October 7 Edw. IV (1467).

<sup>210</sup> See jurors' lists in courts at Stoke recorded on the following rolls: W.C.L. E 236 and 240. The family's name appears in various other forms—'Lyley', 'Lyly', 'Lyly'.

<sup>211</sup> W.C.L. E 241. Die Jovis p.p.f. Inventionis Sancte Crucis 30 Hen. VI (4 May 1452). Thomas Lylye received the reversion of part of William Lylye's tenement in the following court (W.C.L. E 240. Die Martis i.f. Sancti Dunstani 28 Hen. VI, 19 May 1450).

6. *Tapenhale*  
W.R.O. BA 2636/173, ref. 009:1, no. 92448. Court held at Whitstones 25 April 22 Rich. II (1399)
7. *Wolverley*  
W.C.L. E 49. Die Lune p.p.f. Sancti Thome Martyris 9 Hen. V (5 January 1421/2)
8. *Woollashill*  
W.R.O. BA 950/1, ref. 705: 85, no. 9. i. f. Translationis Sancti Thome Martyris 18 Rich. II (7 July 1394)

TABLE V. FIVE-BAY HOUSES

Location and reference	
1. <i>Moor</i>	W.C.L. E 37. Die Lune p.p.f. Sancti Jacobi Apostoli 18 Rich. II (27 July 1394)
2. <i>Oldbury</i>	B.R.L. 346242. Die Mercurii p.p.f. Sancti Andrei 15 Edw. II (2 December 1321)

TABLE VI. BARNs AND GRANGES

Location and reference	
1. <i>Charlton</i>	W.C.L. E 72. Court held at Cropthorne 16 October 11 Edw. IV (1471)
2. <i>Clethale</i>	B.R.L. 473128. 8 October 1 Edw. IV (1461)
3. <i>Crowle</i>	W.C.L. E 54. Die Mercurii p.a.f. Sancti Luce Evangeliste 13 Hen. VI (13 October 1434)
4. <i>Elmley Castle</i>	W.R.O. BA 989/2, ref. 899:95, no. 37. View of Frankpledge with small court held 9 October 1 Rich. III (1483)
5. <i>Great Comberton</i>	W.R.O. BA 950/3, ref. 705:85, no. 66. 7 October 2 Edw. IV (1462)
6. <i>Grimley</i>	W.C.L. E 70. Die Martis in Vigil. Circum. Domini 5 Edw. IV (31 December 1465)

The lord seizes 1 toft and 1 nook that Richard Edrigge held, and Richard, son of Thomas atte — (text faded), receives the tenement. Within 2 years at his own cost and expense he will build on the toft 1 house (domus) of 4 bays (spacia).

William Parsones brings a pledge that by the following Easter, under penalty of £10, he will repair and build in the tenement called Bolverdeleye 1 dwelling-house (domus capitalis) of 2 bays (spacia) with 1 byre (boveria) of 1 bay (spacium) at one end, and with a 1-bay (spacium) room (camera) at the upper part of the house. He will also inhabit it by Easter under penalty of an obligation made to the lord prior and of forfeiture.

John Page receives 1 toft and ½ virgate and 1 cottage with the appurtenant land, surrendered to the lord by John Farman. He will build within 2 years 1 ? house with a hall (dom(us) aul(e)) of 4 bays (spacia) at his own cost, except that the lord will provide all the principal timber, that is all timber except rafters (rafte(r)s) and studs (studes). (There are very few extant court rolls for Woollashill and it is significant that John Page is an affeerer in three courts.<sup>212</sup>)

#### Details of reference

It is said that John Rond has still not built 1 house (domus) of 6 crucks (furcae). He is to do repairs by the next court under penalty of forfeiture.

Thomas le Fysshre grants to Roger, son of Ralph of Oldbury, his whole tenement for a term of 20 years. It is agreed that Roger will build in the tenement a house (domus) of 6 crucks (furcae). At the end of the term Thomas will compensate him for this by the view of approvers and if he does not then Roger will hold the tenement until he does.

#### Details of reference

William Galy is to rebuild 1 barn of 3 bays (spacia) by the next court under penalty of 13/4d.

William Mullward receives from the lord 1 messuage and a virgate with appurtenances for a term of 50 years. Within 2 years he will build a barn of 3 bays (spacia). Philip Carpuntur is ordered to rebuild a 3-bay (spacia) grange within 1 year.

This entry is stained and partly illegible, but it begins 'Richard Mountford who held from the lord one messuage with appurtenances called Benesplace undertook to build one barn of three bays (b(aiae))'.

It is agreed that John Wolashill will receive the reversion of 1 messuage and ½ virgate when his father withdraws or dies. He and his father will build a hall (aula) of 3 bays (spacia) and a grange of the same size on the site of the messuage. One of these will be built within 3 years for which the lord will provide 4 couples (couples) of timber. William Cordewen receives from the lord 1 cottage and a curtilage, 2 parcels, 3 acres, 1 diet and demesne land, all forfeited by Richard Robyns. Within 3 years he will build 1 grange of 3 bays (intersticia) on the tenure, under penalty of forfeiture.

<sup>212</sup> He held this position in the same court as that in which his building agreement was made. The other two courts are in the same roll.

7. *Hallow*  
W.C.L. E 38. 11 October 19 Rich. II (1395)
  8. *Hallow*  
W.C.L. E 58. Die Jovis p.a.f. Cathedra Sancti Petri 21 Hen. VI (21 February 1442/3)
  9. *Hallow*  
W.C.L. E 84. 10 May 13 Hen. VII (1498)
  10. *Hampton Lovett*  
B.R.L. 473104. 6 November 4 Hen. VII (1488)
  11. *Hanbury*  
W.R.O. BA 2636/168, ref. 009:1, no. 92315. Die Martis p.p.f. Sancte Fidis 34 Hen. VI (7 October 1455)
  12. *Hatfield*  
W.R.O. BA 54<sup>b</sup> 705:4. Court held at Kempsey In Claus. Pasche 3 Edw. IV (17 April 1463)
  13. *Moor*  
W.C.L. E 31. Die Lune p.a.f. Conversionis Sancti Pauli 8 Rich II (23 January 1384/5)
  14. *Moor*  
W.C.L. E 39. 6 November 21 Rich. II (1397)
  15. *Moor*  
W.C.L. E 91. 7 October 23 Hen. VII (1507)
  16. *Neunham*  
W.C.L. E 49. Die Jovis p.p.f. Nat. Sancti Johannis Baptiste 9 Hen. V (26 June 1421)
  17. *Neunham*  
W.C.L. E 41. Die Lune i.c. Apostolorum Jacobi et Philippi 2 Hen. IV (2 May 1401). E 45. 13 October 7 Hen. IV (1405)
  18. *Neunham*  
W.C.L. E 61. Die Martis p.a.f. Sancti Georgii Martyris 25 Hen. VI (18 April 1447)
  19. *Norton*  
W.R.O. BA 54<sup>b</sup> 705:4. Court held at Kempsey 9 February 10 Edw. IV (1470/1)
  20. *Overbury*  
W.C.L. E 31. Die Veneris i.f. Sancti Thome Martyris 8 Rich. II. (The feast of St. Thomas, 29 December, fell on a Thursday in this year, 1384.)
  21. *Overbury*  
W.C.L. E 54. Die Jovis p.p.f. Omnium Sanctorum 13 Hen. VI (4 November 1434)
  22. *Overbury*  
W.C.L. E 91. 25 October 23 Hen. VII (1507)
- John Tasker is to build a grange of 4 bays (spacia) by Michaelmas under penalty of 40/-.
- Roger Miston is to build 1 grange of 3 bays (intersticia) by Michaelmas under penalty of 10/-.
- William Perkus and his wife and son receive from the lord 1 messuage and 1 nook and vynchefield which he had forfeited. They will repair 1 dwelling-house (domus capitalis) of 3 bays (spacia) and 1 grange of the same size, now upon the tenure.  
'John Pase has six bays (baiae) in one barn, and one bake-house, ruinous.'
- John Walter receives 1 toft and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate called Carpenters to hold according to custom. Within 2 years he will build 1 barn of 3 bays (spacia). The lord will provide great timber.
- Walter Rogers receives from the lord 1 messuage and 6 acres of land called Hill place, and also Penyland, lately Thomas Goolde's, to hold until his son is 21 years old. At his own cost and expense he will build a 3-bay (spacia) hall (aula), and a grange of the same size.
- Richard Heyne receives 1 toft and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate and is to build 1 grange of 3 bays (intersticia) within 2 years under penalty of 40/-.
- William Werald receives 1 messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate in Erdeston(e). Within 3 years he will build a 4-bay house (domus capitalis) and a 3-bay (intersticia) grange, under penalty of 100/-.
- Thomas Nott is ordered to rebuild 1 barn of 3 bays (intersticia) within 2 years, under penalty of 20/-.
- Thomas Hill is to build 1 grange of 3 bays (spacia) in the tenure lately Richard Tailor's by Michaelmas, under penalty of 20/-.
- Richard Comber has still not built 1 grange of 4 bays (intersticia) as he agreed.
- In 1405 he pays 10/- to the lord to be excused from building.
- Simon Benet receives permission to pull down 1 old house on condition that within 3 years he will build at his own cost and expense 1 grange of 3 bays (intersticia).
- Within 2 years John Wylkes is to build 1 grange of 3 bays (spacia) under penalty of 40/-.
- A day is given to John Smyth and William Walker by which to build 1 grange of 4 bays (intersticia) on lone (or love) tenement.
- John Bedford receives from the lord 1 messuage and 1 virgate called lone (or love) . . . on condition that within 1 year he will build 1 grange of 4 bays (spacia). No fine for this reason.
- William Leycester is ordered to rebuild 2 bays (intersticia) of 1 barn by Michaelmas, under penalty of 13/4d.

23. *Overwick*  
W.R.O. BA 2636/175, ref. 009:1, no. 92482. Court held at Bishop Wick i.f. Sancti Oswaldi 1 Edw. IV (5 August 1461)
24. *Pershore*  
P.R.O. SC2/210/73. Die Sabbati in Sept. Pasche ? Hen. V (21 March 1413-31 August 1422)
25. *Stoke Prior*  
W.C.L. E 227. Die Martis p.a.f. Sancti Andrei Apostoli 7 Hen. VI (25 November 1428)
26. *Teddington*  
W.C.L. E 40. 21 April 22 Rich. II (1399)
27. *Teddington*  
W.C.L. E 80. 3 November 6 Hen. VII (1490)
28. *Tibberton*  
W.C.L. E 72. 10 April 12 Edw. IV (1472)
29. *Warley*  
B.R.L. 346950. Die Sabbati p.a.f. Sancte Petronille Virginis 2 Hen. VII (26 May 1487)
- Ibid.* Court held at Bishops Wick 11 January 14 Edw. IV (1474/5)
30. *Wichenford*  
W.R.O. BA 2636/175, ref. 009:1, no. 92482. Court held at Bishops Wick 5 February 6 Edw. IV (1466/7)
31. *Wichenford*  
W.R.O. BA 2636/175, ref. 009:1, no. 92482. Court held at Bishops Wick 6 July 13 Edw. IV (1473)
32. *Wolverley*  
W.C.L. E 38. Die Jovis p.p.f. Sancti Petri in Cathedra 19 Rich. II (23 February 1395/6)
33. *Wolverley*  
*Ibid.*
34. *Wolverley*  
*Ibid.*

Thomas ? Ibulle receives from the lord 1 messuage with 1 arkeland, lately William Ware's who had fled. By the festival of St. John the Baptist he will build 1 barn of 3 bays (spacia).

John Frennshe receives 1 tenement in Hedstrete. Within 1 year he will build 1 grange of 3 bays (spacia) on the tenement.

It is said that John Hill allowed his grange to decay, and Simon his son who receives the reversion finds two pledges for building within 2 years 1 grange of 3 bays (spacia).

William Wylles receives from the lord 1 messuage, 1 virgate, 9 acres . . . and another acre. He agrees to build 1 grange of 5 bays (intersticia). The lord will find the great timber.

Thomas Hontebache undertakes to build in his tenure within 2 years 1 barn of 3 bays (spacia) under penalty of 20/-.

Nicholas Byrche, alias Clerk, receives from the lord 1 messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate forfeited by Richard Alott, agreeing to build a 3-bay hall (aula) within 1 year and 1 grange of 3 bays (spacia) within 4 years at his own cost and expense.

John Russhton and his wife receive from the lord Kembursley tenement with 3 crofts and a pound appurtenant to this tenement, 2 other crofts and 8 diets of land. All these are to be held on lease for 99 years. Within 3 years they will build a grange of 3 bays (baiae). The lord will provide timber. Also, John and his wife and his heirs and assignees will receive from the lord £3 12s. for this new building and for the repair of the existing buildings. They have already received 12/- of this sum, and they will pay no rent for the lands and tenements, nor for a tenement called Palmers, until the other £3 have been paid.

John Sherman senior surrenders 1 messuage and a nook with appurtenances and his son John receives them. Within 2 years he will build 1 grange of 3 bays (spacia). No fine for this reason.

William Boys, villein, who held 1 messuage and 1 nook and also 2 'swynlands', 1 toft and 1 cotland, has withdrawn without permission. Percival Bedyll of Whitborn receives them, agreeing to build at his own cost within 1 year 1 barn with a sheep-fold of 4 bays (spacia) on the site of the messuage.

By September he is dead and Richard Wody receives the tenements, agreeing to build at his own cost within 1 year 1 barn of 3 bays (spacia) and 1 bakehouse (pistrinum) of 1 bay, on the site of the messuage.

John Sawyare surrenders 1 messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate and John ? Sugh(e) receives them. Within 1 year he will build 1 grange of 3 bays (intersticia) under penalty of 40/- . At the same court ? Sugh(e) receives 1 messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate which John Cook has forfeited to the lord. Within 3 years he will build in the tenement 1 grange of 3 bays (intersticia) under penalty of 40/-.

John Taillor of Uptone receives 1 messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate which John Campyon held. Within 1 year he will build 1 3-bay (intersticia) grange.

John Taillor of Byrytone receives from the lord 1 messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate which Adam Ocleye forfeited. Within 3 years he will build 1 grange of 3 bays (intersticia) under penalty of 40/-.



## APPENDIX B

## PRINCIPALIA

 LATIN EQUIVALENTS OF PRINCIPALIA ITEMS<sup>213</sup>

axe or hatchet	securis (L.S.)	harrow	harpica/hercia (W.L.)
basin	pelvis (C.)	hoe	ligo (C.)/marra (C.)
bench	formula (W.L.)	horse-collar	collarium/colerium (W.L.)
blanket	chalo (W.L.)	leadен vessel or vat	plumbum
brass pan	patella (L.S.) enea	measures	modius (liquid measure, W.L.)/bussellus (bushel measure, W.L.)
brass pot	olla (L.S.) enea		
bucket	hastrum	oven or furnace	fornax (L.S.)
bush-hook	falcastrum (L.S.)	plough	aratrum (C.)/car(r)uca (W.L.)
cart	carecta (W.L.)		
chain	catena (L.S.)	ploughshare	vomer (L.S.)
chest	cista (C.)	sack	saccus (R.I.)
cloth	mappa	saddle or seat	sella (L.S.)/cella (R.I.)
cord	corda (W.L.)	shears	forfex (L.S.)
coulter	culter (L.S.)	sheet	linthiamen (R.I.)
crate or wattle	cratis (R.I.)	shovel or spade	vanga (W.L.)
cresset or small lamp	mortariolum/mortarium (W.L.)	sickle or scythe	falx (L.S.)
{ cup	cupa (W.L.)	{ small sickle, bill	falcula (L.S.)
{ little cup	cuvella (Du Cange)	hook or pruning hook	
cupboard	almoriolum (W.L.)		
ewer	lavacrum (W.L.)	sieve	crebrum (W.L.)
flail	tribula (This may also be interpreted as three-pronged fork (W.L.). However, the presence of 'trifurca', a three-pronged fork (L.S.), in lists which also contain 'tribula' suggests that flail is the correct interpretation here. <sup>214</sup> )	spoon	cochlear (L.S.)
		stool	tripos (W.L.)
fork	furca	table	tabula (W.L.)
three-pronged fork	trifurca (L.S.—trifurcus)	towel or handwipe	manutergium (R.I.)
gimlet	terebellum (W.L.)	traces	tracea and variations (W.L.)
goblet	scala (R.I.)	trestle-table	tabula mensalis (W.L.)
gridiron	craticula (L.S.)	trough	algea and variations (W.L.)/alveus (C.)
		vat or tub	cuva (W.L.)
		vessel	vas (C.)
		wagon	plastrum (R.I.)
		yoke	jugum (L.S.)

TABLE I. COTTAGERS (TENANTS WITH LESS THAN ½ VIRGATE)

Location and date	Tenant and tenure	Household goods	Farming equipment and gear
1. <i>Sedgeberrow</i> W.C.L. E 35. Die Jovis p.p.f. Claus. Pasche 14 Rich. II (6 April 1391). Complete	Agnes atte Mulle. It is presented that this tenant has withdrawn from the domain, carry- ing off various princi- palia which are listed. She holds 1 cottage. The principalia she left behind are also listed.	1 1-gal. brass pot 1 brass pan worth 6d. 2 chests without locks with tops 1 chest without bottom and top 1 trestle-table with feet	None

<sup>213</sup> Dictionaries and abbreviations used: C. T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (L.S.); D. P. Simpson, *Cassell's New Latin-English, English-Latin Dictionary* (C.); Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*; J. H. Baxter and C. Johnson, *Medieval Latin Word-list* (W.L.); C. Trice Martin, *The Record Interpreter* (R.I.); Sir James Murray (ed.), *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (N.E.D.); J. Wright (ed.), *The English Dialect Dictionary* (E.D.D.).

<sup>214</sup> Miss Levett has interpreted 'tribula' as flail or three-pronged fork, *op. cit.* in note 147, p. 191.

2. *Sedgeberrow*  
W.C.L. E 43. Die  
Jovis p.a.f. Translationis Sancti Thome  
Martyris 3 Hen. IV  
(13 July 1402) and  
E 43. 13 April 3 Hen.  
IV (1402). Complete
- William Grene.  
The tithing-men list all  
principalia pertaining to  
Mulle tenement which  
this tenant received  
when he first entered it.  
They also say that  
Grene has carried off  
some of these and he is  
ordered to return them.  
A previous court entry  
when Mulle tenement is  
taken over by Henry  
Smith indicates that it  
consisted of 1 messuage  
and  $\frac{1}{4}$  virgate.
- 1 4-gal. brass pot  
1 brass pan  
1 vat  
1 dish or platter ('skele'  
N.E.D.)  
1 stool  
1 stand ('stonde')  
1 chest  
1 trestle-table
- 1 cart with bare wheels  
1 harrow with iron teeth
3. *Stoke Prior*  
W.C.L. E 224. Die  
Lune p.a.f. Sancti Luce  
Evangeliste 11 Hen.  
IV (14 October 1409).  
Complete
- Thomas atte Frythe.  
The principalia remain-  
ing in the house of this  
tenant after his death  
are listed. The tenement  
consists of 1 cottage and  
a toft with 1 parcel of  
land called Nemyng and  
another parcel called  
Copenersland, with  
appurtenances in  
Woderewe.
- 1 brass pot  
1 brass pan  
1 mashing vat  
(‘meschfat’, see N.E.D.  
under ‘mash’)  
1 barrel (‘bare’) for ale  
1 barrel (‘bare’) for  
verjuice (‘vergys’—‘the  
acid juice of green or  
unripe grapes, crab-  
apples or other sour  
fruit, expressed and  
formed into a liquor:  
formerly much used in  
cooking, as a condiment,  
or for medicinal  
purposes’ N.E.D.)  
1 board cloth  
(‘borclouth’)  
1 chair (‘chayere’)  
1 ? spinning-wheel (‘torne’,  
see ‘turn’ E.D.D.)  
1 chest or coffer  
(‘whoche’, variant of  
‘whitch’ N.E.D.)  
1 ‘brendart’ (variant of  
‘brandart’. See under  
‘brandreth’ E.D.D. ‘An  
iron framework placed  
over or before the fire, on  
which to rest utensils in  
cooking’)  
1 2-gal. brass pot  
1 brass pan worth 5/-  
1 stool  
1 stand (‘stonde’)  
1 pail (‘payle’)  
1 ‘tignum’
- 1 shovel or spade  
1 axe or hatchet  
1 ? trowel (‘trow’. W.L.  
however suggests spoon  
or stirrer.)  
1 harrow  
1 ‘riplycomp’ (‘an  
implement toothed like a  
comb, used in cleaning  
hemp or flax from the  
seeds’ N.E.D.)  
1 ‘hegyl’ (variant of  
‘heckle’. ‘A kind of comb  
with steel teeth used for  
dressing flax and hemp’  
E.D.D.)
4. *Netherton*  
W.C.L. E 48. 17  
January 7 Hen. V  
(1419/20). Complete
- John Hacker.  
It is presented that this  
tenant died in October.  
He held 1 cottage and 3  
acres formerly Hacker’s,  
1 cottage and 2 acres  
called Kamesland  
formerly Durant’s, and 3  
other parcels of land. The  
principalia of Hacker’s  
tenement are listed, and  
it is said that William  
Hunt has carried them off.
- 1 2-gal. brass pot  
1 brass pan worth 5/-  
1 stool  
1 stand (‘stonde’)  
1 pail (‘payle’)  
1 ‘tignum’
- 1 shovel or spade  
1 flail  
1 mattock (‘mattok’)
5. *Sedgeberrow*  
W.C.L. E 51. Die  
Jovis p.p.f. Sancti  
Michaelis 2 Hen. VI  
(30 September 1423).  
Complete
- Thomas Palmer receives  
1 cottage and 6 acres of  
villein land formerly  
Hope’s and lately  
William Taillor’s, with  
1 acre of demesne lately
- 1 1-gal. brass pot  
1 2-gal. brass pan  
1 vat (‘vate’)  
1 dish or platter (‘skele’  
N.E.D.)  
1 stand (‘stonde’)
- None

	this William's. It is presented that the bailiff has principalia of Taillor's tenement.	1 'tignum' 1 stool 1 trestle-table	
6. <i>Sedgeberrow</i> W.C.L. E 45. 8 October 7 Hen. IV (1405). Complete	Joan Sprout surrenders 1 cottage formerly Otewy and 4 acres of demesne that John Sprout formerly held. Robert Grene receives them. The principalia in the tenement are listed.	1 1-gal. brass pot worth 40d. 1 brass pan worth 6d. 1 vat worth 8d. 1 stand ('stonde') worth 4d. 1 'tignum' worth 6d. 1 chest worth 1/-	None
7. <i>Teddington</i> W.C.L. E 54. Die Jovis p.p.f. Omnium Sanctorum 13 Hen. VI (4 November 1434). Complete	William Meton. The tithing-men present that Meton has withdrawn from the domain. He held 1 messuage and 8 acres formerly William Campyon's, and 13 acres of demesne with 1 headland and 3 butts. The land remains with the lord. The tenement has suffered damages worth 4/-, and the principalia of the messuage are listed.	1 1½-gal. brass pot 1 chest with top 1 vat holding 8 bushels 1 stand ('stonde') for storing ale 1 very worn dish or platter ('skele' N.E.D.) 1 'tignum' 1 worn table	None
8. <i>Sedgeberrow</i> W.C.L. E 33. Die Jovis p.p.f. Depos. Sancti Wolstani 10 Rich. II (24 January 1386/7). Complete	John Wade. It is presented that this tenant has withdrawn from the domain without reasonable cause, with all his goods and chattels. These are listed. He held 1 cottage and 4 acres of demesne.	1 pan worth 16d. 1 'tygna' worth 6d. 1 stand ('stonde') worth 5d. 1 stool worth 1d.	None
9. <i>Dodderhill</i> W.C.L. E 30. Die Martis p.p.f. Sancti Johannis ante portam latinam 3 Rich. II (8 May 1380). Complete	Christine Shirene. It is presented that this tenant is dead. She held in villeinage 1 messuage and 1 croft with a curtilage formerly Shirene. 1 ox has fallen as heriot and there follows a list of goods 'in the name of principalia'.	1 4-gal. brass pot 1 2-gal. brass pan 1 stool 1 vat for storing ale 1 table-cloth 1 towel	1 mattock ('mattok') 1 shovel or spade 1 flail

TABLE II. HALF-VIRGATERS

Location and date	Tenant and tenure	Household goods	Farming equipment and gear
1. <i>Wolverley</i> W.C.L. E 45. 14 October 7 Hen. IV (1405). Complete	Roger Beodul. The tithing-men present that this tenant has died. He held 1 messuage and ½ virgate. 1 horse and 1 ox fall to the lord as heriots, 'and no more . . . because he had no more cattle'. The principalia remaining there are listed.	1 2-gal. brass pot 1 worn brass pan 1 chest 1 trough for pastry 1 vat 1 'tignum' 1 stand ('stonde') 1 round trestle-table 1 iron-bound measure	1 plough 1 ploughshare 1 coulter worth 1/- 1 cart with bare wheels 1 harrow with iron teeth 1 cart cord 1 sickle or scythe 1 shovel or spade 1 ? seed-lip made of boards ('scial. de tabul.') 1 fork for sheaves 1 flail

2. *Himbleton*  
W.C.L. E 25. Die Lune p.a.f. Sancti Petri ad vincula 48 Edw. III (31 July 1374) and E 25. Die Lune p.p.f. Hillarii 47 Edw. III (16 January 1373/4). Complete
- John Baker.  
Three men say on oath that this tenant held at his death certain principalia which are listed. At the previous court there is an indication that his tenement consisted of 1 messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate, for here Richard Folcot took over a holding of this size 'formerly Baker's'.
- 1 pan worth 6d.  
1 trough worth 6d.  
1 chest worth 1/-  
1 measure worth 6d.  
1 cup worth 8d. ('scyff.'  
W.L. gives 'scyphus' in various forms with this meaning), and 'cownol' ('tub or similar vessel for water' N.E.D.)
- 1 harrow with iron teeth worth 2/-  
1 sickle or scythe worth 1/-  
1 axe or hatchet worth 7d.  
1 plough worth 6d.  
1 ploughshare with a coultter worth 3/-  
1 chain worth 6d.  
1 bush-hook worth 8d.  
1 cart worth 26d.  
1 good shovel or spade and 1 good flail  
1 pitchfork  
1 cord made of hemp worth 10d.  
2 good horse-collars, 1 cart-saddle with 2 'hames' and 1 pair of traces, worth 16d.  
'hame' or 'home'—each of two curved pieces of wood or metal placed over, fastened to, or forming, the collar of a draught horse' N.E.D.)  
1 fork 'pro garbis sublevandis'  
1 pair of shears worth 6d.  
1 sack made of hemp worth 10d.
3. *Warley*  
B.R.L. 346917. Die Sabbati p.p.f. Sancti Marci Evangeliste 36 Edw. III (30 April 1362) and *ibid.* Die Sabbati p.a.f. Sancti Georgii Martyris 37 Edw. III (22 April 1363). Complete
- Thomas Mody.  
Thomas Mody's death is recorded. He held 1 messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate in villeinage. No heriot fell to the lord because Thomas had nothing. At the next court but one William atte Haden gives the lord 6d. to have an inquest to inquire what principalia pertain to him by right of his wife Juliana Mody following Thomas Mody's death. The inquest lists the items.
- 1 chest  
1 stand ('stonde')  
1 cupboard  
1 bucket  
1 vat  
1 cup  
1 wattle  
1 measure  
1 trough  
1 ? 'ovoform(m)'
4. *Cleeve*  
W.C.L. E 36. Die Mercurii p.p.f. Translationis Sancti Thome Martyris 17 Rich. II (9 July 1393). Incomplete
- Joan Taillor.  
This tenant defaults. She holds according to custom 1 messuage with  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate, 1 messuage with  $\frac{1}{4}$  of Rectory land and 9 acres of demesne, and she has married William Taillor of Stratford without permission, removing principalia which are listed. We are also told what principalia remain there now. The bailiff is to seize her land and to distrain her to answer the
- 1 leaden vessel  
1 5-gal. brass pot  
1 brass pan
- 1 harrow with iron teeth  
1 plough with all apparatus  
1 3-pronged fork for manure  
1 iron flail  
1 mattock ('mattok') 'and other various principalia'  
There remains now 1 cart with bare wheels and 1 iron chain.

- lord about the principalia  
and about 2 heriots  
which she owes to him.
5. *Crowle*  
W.C.L. E 48. 14 July  
8 Hen. V (1420) and  
*ibid.* 16 April 8 Hen.  
V (1420). Incomplete
- It is presented that certain principalia of the tenure which was lately John Smith's remain there. A surrender at the previous court suggests that this holding consisted of 1 messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate.
- 1 brass pot worth 3/4d.  
1 brass pan worth 4d.  
1 chest worth 4d.
- 1 cart worth 20d.  
1 harrow with 7 iron teeth worth 4d.  
1 ploughshare and 1 coulter, worth 6d.

TABLE III. VIRGATERS AND ABOVE

Location and date	Tenant and tenure	Household goods	Farming equipment and gear
1. <i>Harvington</i> W.C.L. E 31. Die Mercurii p.p.f. Sancti Michaelis Arch. 8 Rich. II (5 October 1384). Complete	John Colyns. This tenant comes to court and surrenders 1 messuage and 1 virgate of villen land and also 1 virgate of land with a messuage formerly Steward's and 1 cottage and a fishery . . . (text faded) above the mill. They remain in the lord's hands. It is said that John will leave behind certain things 'on account of principalia of the said messuage'.	1 3-gal. brass pot worth 3/4d. 1 4-gal. brass pan worth 3/4d. 1 small leaden vessel 1 chest with top, holding 5 bushels 1 trough for pastry 1 stool worth 8d.	1 cart with iron-bound wheels worth 13/4d. 1 plough 1 ploughshare 1 coulter 1 foot chain of iron 1 yoke 1 harrow with iron teeth 1 flail 1 iron shovel or spade 1 iron 3-pronged fork 1 cart-cord made of hemp 1 cart-saddle 1 horse-collar with apparatus 1 ? seed-lip ('seiale.')
2. <i>Teddington</i> W.C.L. E 36. Die Veneris p.p.f. Sancti Michaelis Arch. 16 Rich. II (4 October 1392). Complete	John Ondrow. This tenant, who holds 1 messuage and 1 virgate called ondrowes, and 2 acres and 1 rood of meadow in sengelmede surrenders them to the lord. A list is given of the principalia he leaves behind.	1 6-gal. brass pot 1 6-gal. brass pan 1 leaden vat for brewing 1 worn stool 1 chest 1 stand ('stonde') 1 trestle-table with feet 1 'tigna'	1 plough with all apparatus for a plough and 1 yoke 1 scythe ('sithe') 1 sickle ('sikel') 1 harrow with iron teeth 1 iron flail 1 bare cart 1 cart-saddle 1 horse-collar with pair of 'homes' 1 bushel-measure bound with iron 1 ? seat 1 fork 1 cart-cord of — (text faded) 1 sack
3. <i>Teddington</i> <i>Ibid.</i> Complete	Agnes Geffrey. 1 messuage and 1 virgate of land that Agnes Geffrey held are amongst lands and tenements in the lord's hands.	1 1-gal. brass pot 1 4-gal. brass pan 1 worn leaden vat for brewing 1 chest 1 vat holding three quarters 1 dish or platter ('skele' N.E.D.)	1 worn bare cart 1 cart-cord 1 worn cart-saddle 1 worn horse-collar 1 fork 1 sack 1 iron flail 1 sickle or scythe 1 small sickle 1 plough 1 ploughshare 1 coulter 1 iron chain 1 harrow with iron teeth 1 3-pronged fork

4. *Teddington*  
W.C.L. E 58. 9 May  
21 Hen. VI (1443) and  
E 41. 15 October 2  
Hen. IV (1400).  
Doubtful
- The homage present  
that the tenement which  
William Wattes lately  
held has suffered  
damages worth 7/-  
through this William. It  
is ordered that this be  
delivered to the present  
tenant, Thomas Fynche,  
for the repair of the  
tenure, and also that  
certain goods should be  
delivered to this Thomas.  
(The scribe has  
erroneously written  
'John'.) These are listed.  
An earlier court entry  
indicates that the tenement  
consisted of 1 messuage  
and 1 virgate, for in 1400  
Thomas Wattes inherited  
1 messuage and 1 virgate,  
'formerly Wattes', from  
his father, John Wattes,  
besides 7 acres.
- 1 brass pot worth 2/-  
1 brass pan worth 5/-  
1 vessel for storing ale  
with 1 ? 'skyle' worth 1/-  
1 stool worth 8d.  
1 measure worth 4d.
- 1 cart with iron-bound  
wheels worth 18/-  
1 harrow worth 18d.  
1 coulter, 1 ploughshare  
with 'toves' and iron  
chains, and a plough,  
worth 2/6d.  
1 cart-cord worth 6d.  
1 manure fork  
1 cart-collar with  
'volar.' worth 18d.
5. *Tibberton*  
W.C.L. E 47. Die  
Lune p.p.f. Sancti  
Jacobi 4 Hen. V (27  
July 1416). Doubtful
- At this court the lord  
grants to John Haukes  
1 messuage and 1  
virgate with 1 cottage  
which Joan, widow of  
William Hechecokes,  
lately held and forfeited.  
It is also presented that  
Joan carried off from  
this tenement certain  
principalia which are  
listed, and that other  
principalia of the tenure,  
which are also listed,  
remain in the custody of  
John Frensch.
- 1 brass pot worth 40d.  
1 brass pan worth 6d.  
1 stool  
1 trestle-table  
1 little bench  
1 trough for pastry  
1 chest  
1 dish or platter ('skele'  
N.E.D.)  
1 'tignum'  
1 ? 'ciliciu(m) pro  
thoral' worth 2/-  
1 ? spinning-wheel  
( 'towne', see 'turn'  
E.D.D.)
- 1 worn cart  
1 pair of traces  
1 manure fork  
1 hatchet
6. *Leigh*  
P.R.O. SC2/210/54.  
Die Jovis i.f. Sancti  
Barnabi Apostoli 17  
Rich. II (11 June  
1394). Complete
- John atte Wall.  
The death of this villen  
is recorded. He held 1  
messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate  
with appurtenances  
(Walleplace) for 12/- per  
annum, 1 messuage and  
1 nook with  
appurtenances  
(Cokesattewall) for  
6/- per annum, 1 toft  
and 1 nook without  
certain meadow land for  
6d. per annum, 1 toft  
and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate without  
certain meadow land  
for 10d. per annum,  
another toft and  $\frac{1}{2}$   
virgate with  
appurtenances less  
meadow land for 10d.  
per annum, and another  
toft and  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate with  
appurtenances and the  
meadow adjacent for  
22d. per annum. 6 oxen
- 1 trestle-table worth 4d.  
1 cloth with towel worth  
20d. ('mappa cum  
manutergio')  
1 basin with ewer worth  
1/- ('pelvis cum lavacro')  
1 silver spoon worth 6d.  
1 2-gal. brass pot  
worth 40d.  
1 4-gal. brass pan worth  
2/6d.  
1 stool worth 1/-  
1 goblet worth 2d.  
1 coverlet ('coverlyt'), 1  
blanket, 1 pair of sheets,  
and 1 mattress ('matras'),  
worth 10/-  
1 chest worth 4d.  
1 coffer ('cofre') worth  
20d.  
1 trough worth 2d.  
1 vat worth 6/8d.  
1 dish or platter ('skele'  
N.E.D.) worth 6d.  
1 'tignum' worth 6d.  
1 measure worth 6d.
- 1 iron-bound wagon for  
sheaves worth 16/-  
1 cord for same worth 2d.  
1 iron-bound wagon for  
dung worth 10/-  
1 plough with coulter,  
ploughshare, 1 iron  
chain and 1 yoke,  
worth 2/-  
1 horse-harrow with iron  
teeth worth 1/-  
1 shovel or spade  
worth 1d.  
1 fork for dung worth 2d.  
1 fork for sheaves  
worth 1d.  
1 mattock ('mattok')  
worth 1d.  
1 flail worth 1d.  
1 axe or hatchet worth  
3d.  
1 sieve and 1 riddle  
( 'ryddel') worth 2d.  
1 sack worth 4d.  
1 seed-lip worth 1d.  
( 'sedlep(e) '—'a hopper or

	worth 9/- each and 1 mare worth 8d. fall to the lord as heriots. The principalia remaining are listed.	1 ? portable leaden vessel worth 8/- ('plumbum cariabil') 1 small lamp or cresset worth 1d. 1 ? oven or kiln worth 40d. 1 ? 'nang(um)' worth 1d.	basket used to hold seed when sowing' E.D.D.)
7. <i>Broadway</i> P.R.O. SC2/210/25. Die Mercurii p.p.f. Sancti Andrei Apostoli 16 Rich. II (4 December 1392). Complete	John More. It is said at this court that this villein, lately the tenant of 1 messuage and 5 virgates, <sup>215</sup> left in the messuage on his death certain principalia. These are listed.	1 4-gal. brass pot worth 8/- 1 10-gal. brass pan worth 6/8d. 1 basin with ewer worth 2/6d. ('pelvis cum lavacro') 1 stool worth 4d. 1 trestle-table worth — (text faded) 1 chest worth 6/8d. 1 coffer ('wycche', variant of 'whitch' meaning chest or coffer N.E.D.) worth 1/- 1 vat worth 2/6d. 1 'tignum' worth 8d. 1 stand ('stonde') worth 6d. 1 dish or platter ('skele' N.E.D.) worth 1/- 1 ? 'nang(um)' worth 4d. 1 measure worth 4d. 1 — (text faded) of ? pewter worth 2/- 2 further items, worth 6d. and 3d. respectively, recorded but too faded to translate	1 cart with a saddle, 'homes', collar, cord, and fork for sheaves, worth 6/- 1 plough with ploughshare, coulter, yoke and iron chain, worth — (text torn) 1 sickle or scythe worth 20d. 1 small sickle worth 4d. 1 flail worth 4d. 1 shovel or spade worth 3d. 1 axe or hatchet worth 8d. 1 riddle ('rydd(el)') and 1 sieve, worth 4d. 1 sack worth — (text faded) — (text faded) with iron teeth worth 2/-

TABLE IV. MISCELLANEOUS

Location and date	Tenant and tenure	Household goods	Farming equipment and gear
1. <i>Wolverley</i> W.C.L. E 15. Die Lune p. Apostolorum Simonis et Jude 20 Edw. III (30 October 1346). Complete	Roger de Blakesole. Principalia remaining in his tenement on the day he died are listed. I can find no evidence of the size of this tenement, but the presence of a cart and a plough in the principalia suggests that it was at least $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate.	1 vat worth 20d. 1 little cup worth 6d. 1 stand ('stonde') worth 6d. 1 brass pot worth 2/6d. 1 pan worth 1/- 1 table worth 1d. 1 cloth worth 2d. 1 chest worth 4d. 1 trough worth 5d. 1 small vat worth 8d. 1 gridiron worth 1d. 1 iron stool worth 1½d. 1 measure worth 2d. 1 'tigna' worth 1d.	1 cart worth 7d. 1 plough with coulter and ploughshare worth 4d. 1 harrow worth 4d. 1 sickle or scythe worth 2d. 2 axes or hatchets worth 4d. 1 shovel or spade with a flail worth 1½d. 1 mattock ('mattok') worth 1d. 1 fork for sheaves worth ½d. 1 bush-hook worth 1d. 1 gimlet worth 1d. 1 sack made of hemp worth 1d. 1 hopper ('hopere') worth ½d.

<sup>215</sup> This part of the entry is faded, but I am reasonably sure that it reads 5 virgates.

2. *Cleeve*  
W.C.L. E 48. 4  
October 7 Hen. V  
(1419). Complete
- Thomas Pype.  
The tenants present that Pype carried off principalia of his tenement. These are listed. I have been unable to find the extent of Pype's tenement, but the presence of a cart and plough in the principalia indicates that it was  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate or more.
- 1 3-gal. brass pot  
1 12-gal. brass pan  
1 stool  
1 trestle-table  
1 table-cloth  
1 'tignum'  
1 pail ('payle')  
1 stand ('stonde')
- 1 plough  
1 coulter  
1 ploughshare  
1 yoke hooked and ringed with iron  
1 harrow with iron teeth  
1 ? seed-lip made of twigs ('seiale, de virgis')  
1 long cart with bare wheels  
1 cart-saddle  
1 cord made of hemp  
1 horse-collar  
1 pair of 'homes'  
1 fork for sheaves  
1 three-pronged fork  
1 shovel or spade  
1 gimlet  
1 sieve  
1 riddle ('redell(us)' or 'redell(e)')
3. *Hallow*  
W.C.L. E 36. Die Veneris p.p.f. Sancti Vincentii 16 Rich. II (24 January 1392/3). Incomplete
- Thomas Grainger.  
It is presented that Grainger carried off various principalia from his tenement. These are listed and he is told to return them. At the same court he and his wife surrender all the right which they have in 1 messuage and 1 nook but, judging from the principalia, it seems unlikely that this was their complete holding.
- 1 2-gal. brass pot  
1 3-gal. brass pan  
1 stool  
1 trough  
1 vat  
1 trestle-table  
1 dish or platter ('skele' N.E.D.)
- 1 bare wagon  
1 wagon for dung  
1 plough  
1 harrow with iron teeth  
1 shovel or spade  
1 iron flail and 1 shovel or spade 'not iron', 'and other things'
4. *Overbury*  
W.C.L. E 41. Die Sabbati p.p.f. Conversionis Sancti Pauli 2 Hen. IV (29 January 1400/1) and *ibid.* 16 October 2 Hen. IV (1400). Complete
- The principalia of Benteleye and Hugge tenements are presented. At the same court Agnes Benteleye's death is recorded; she held 1 cottage and 6 acres of land,  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate of demesne, 1 acre of meadow and some pasture. At the previous court Walter Benteleye's death is recorded; he held 1 messuage and 1 virgate formerly Hill's and Hugge's. The principalia of Benteleye and Hugge tenements are grouped together, so it is uncertain what belongs to each, but it is probable that the major farming equipment, the plough and the cart, pertain to the larger tenement, i.e. the messuage and virgate that Walter Benteleye held.
- 2 vats ('vates')  
2 'tigna'  
1 stand ('stonde')  
2 brass pots  
2 brass pans  
2 chests
- 1 cart with iron-bound wheels  
1 plough with all apparatus  
1 iron chain  
1 yoke  
1 harrow with iron teeth  
1 cart-saddle  
2 horse-collars  
1 pair of traces  
2 3-pronged forks for manure  
2 iron flails



5. *Hallow*  
W.C.L. E 18. Die  
Lune i.f. Sancti  
Gregorii 32 Edw. III  
(12 March 1358).  
Doubtful

It is presented that the  
principalia of Hulle  
tenement remain in the  
hands of Joan de Hulle.  
She is to answer about  
them.

1 brass pot  
1 brass pan  
1 stool  
1 vat  
1 table-cloth with towel  
(‘mappa mensalis cum  
manutergio’)

1 plough with plough-  
share (‘ferramentum’)  
1 iron harrow  
1 shovel or spade and  
1 flail  
1 axe or hatchet  
1 hoe
6. *Grimley*  
W.C.L. E 48. 15 April  
8 Hen. V (1420).  
Complete

Nicholas atte Wall.  
It is presented that Wall  
left behind in the  
tenement which he  
forfeited at the last  
court certain principalia  
which are listed. He has  
left the domain, leaving  
his buildings ruinous.  
There is no evidence of  
the size of his tenement,  
but the presence of carts  
and a plough in the  
principalia suggests that  
it was at least  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate.

1 small vat  
1 chest with locked top  
1 coffer (‘cofr’) with  
locked top  
1 3-gal. brass pot  
1 worn brass pan  
1 stool  
1 iron-bound measure  
2 troughs for pastry

1 worn long wagon with  
bare wheels  
1 worn wagon without  
wheels  
1 worn plough  
1 ploughshare with 1  
coultter and 1 yoke  
1 harrow with 19 iron  
teeth  
1 3-pronged fork for  
manure
7. *Hallow*  
W.C.L. E 5. Die  
Veneris p.p.f. Pent.  
28 Edw. III (6 June  
1354). Doubtful

The tithing-men of  
Hallow present that  
Thomas Gorewy has in  
his custody certain  
goods from the  
tenement formerly  
Phelippe’s. These are  
listed. The only clue to  
the size of this tenement  
is that the principalia  
include a plough and  
2 wagons.

1 brass pot  
1 brass pan  
1 basin  
1 table-cloth

2 wagons, one for  
carrying corn, the other  
for carrying manure  
1 plough with all  
apparatus  
1 harrow  
1 flail and 1 shovel or  
spade  
1 mattock (‘mattok’)  
1 axe or hatchet
8. *Grimley*  
*Ibid.* Doubtful

The tithing-men of  
Grimley present the  
whereabouts of various  
principalia of John de  
Northynton’s tenement.  
The presence of a plough  
and a wagon in the list  
suggests that the holding  
was at least  $\frac{1}{2}$  virgate.

1 brass pot  
1 vat  
1 great stool  
1 ‘tyngum’

1 plough  
1 iron harrow  
1 wagon for carrying  
corn and wood  
1 shovel or spade with  
1 flail  
1 ? ‘messcomb’