

ON A SERIES OF ROLLS OF THE MANOR OF WISTON.

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SOME months ago Mr. Charles Goring, of Wiston, placed in the hands of Mr. Percy S. Godman and myself a series of Rolls relating to the Manor of Wiston, with a request that we would examine them and ascertain their value. They proved to be a series of more than average extent, and though for the most part revealing the ordinary incidents of manorial life in the middle ages, yet containing also many points of special interest worthy of permanent record.

The documents are 54 in number, and range from the close of the thirteenth century to the year 1555, thus covering the whole of the fourteenth, fifteenth and half of the sixteenth centuries.

They are of the usual three kinds:—

(a) *Extents* or *Rentals*.—Of these there are three. The earliest, a Rental and Custumal of the whole Manor, being the first and most important of all the series, is without date. It cannot be later than the very beginning of the fourteenth century. In the Roll for 1357-8 it is referred to as the "Old Custumal" (*vetus Custumale*). Several of the tenants entered in it occur in the Subsidy Roll for 1296. In the case of one of these his "widow" takes his place in the next surviving Subsidy Roll for 1327. In that Roll also are found the names of several tenants in Chilington, which are entered in a later hand in the Old Rental as having replaced the original tenants. We may therefore safely refer the *customs* of the Manor as here specified to the close of the thirteenth century.

The second is a Revised Rental of part of the Manor (for Wiston and Heene) of *c.* 1427.

The third is a short and imperfect Rental of 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, 1555.

(b) *Account Rolls*.—A large number of these have been preserved, containing the annual statement of the Reeve or Bailiff of the Manor, his receipts and expenditure, and (during the fourteenth century) a full account of all the stock which has passed through his hands during his year of office. They relate almost exclusively to the Wiston portion of the Manor. Their total number is 36. The first (for half a year only) is of the years 1345-6 and therefore before the Black Death of 1349. Its preservation and that of the earlier Rental enable us, as will be seen, to obtain a very vivid picture of the effects of that terrible catastrophe. The next is of 1356-7, followed by two for 1357-8 and 1358-9. After a short gap there begins a remarkable series of 24 Rolls (containing 25 years) between 1369-70 and 1402-3. One of about 1428 stands by itself, followed by a long gap of 56 years. When the series begins again in 1484 the old Manorial "Reeve" has given place to a more modern "Collector of Rents," of whose returns there are seven Rolls, accounting for every year from 1484 to 1500.

(c) *Court Rolls*, containing the Proceedings in the Manorial Court. Of these there are 14 Rolls. The earliest is of 1357-8. Seven others fall between 1369 and 1399. One is from 1408-10, one from 1428-30. Then there is one from 1461-7 and 1473, and three more for 1517, 1519 and 1525. Finally, there is a Court Book of Sir Richard Sherley, extending from October, 1527, to January, 1538.

Arrangement of Material.—This brief enumeration of the nature and extent of our documents is sufficient to show that we have in them materials throwing much light on the progress of English agricultural life from ancient conditions to modern, from the days of "villain" tenancies with personal services to those of farm-rents and hired labour. It is by no means an untrodden path,¹

¹ Much information relating to Sussex in this connection is given in *Victoria County Hist. of Sussex*, Vol. II., pp. 172-183, by Miss Phyllis Wragge.

yet every additional set of facts drawn from authentic sources serves to confirm or correct our previous stock of knowledge.

As the amount of material to be dealt with is very extensive, it has been decided to take some of it in this volume and reserve some for next year. In this paper, after a short account of the lordship of the Manor, the Old Rental or Custumal will be given in full, followed by an explanatory description of the practical working of the Manor, so far as regards the Tenants and their services, as illustrated by the Reeves' Accounts for Wiston. The effect of the Black Death on the relation of the lord to his tenants will also be shown from the same source.

In next year's volume Mr. Percy Godman will explain the agricultural details of the Manorial economy in the fourteenth century, and miscellaneous extracts from the Rolls will illustrate matters of varied interest.

The *Lordship* of the Manor. — The "Descent of Wiston" is the subject of a paper by Mr. Lower in *S.A.C.*, Vol. V., pp. 1-28, and it will only be necessary to slightly correct and extend his information. This has to a great extent been done in *Elwes and Robinson, Castles, &c., of Western Sussex*, p. 263.

From a family of De Wistoneston, who held the Manor after the Conquest under the De Braoses, lords of the Rape of Bramber, it passed in the latter part of the thirteenth century, by the marriage of an heiress, to Adam de Bavent, whose grandson, Roger, was lord in our first Account Roll of 1345. From the De Bavents it came to a branch of the De Braose family, by grant of King Edward III. in 1357, to Sir Peter de Braose. On the death of his son, Sir John, in 1426, the lordship remained in the hands of his widow, Margaret, for her life, and on her death in 1449² reverted to the then heir of Sir John's sister, Beatrix, who had been wife of Sir Hugh Shirley. It is said to have been their great grandson, the third of three successive Ralphs, who thus

² So Elwes. Lower says in 1466.

came into possession of Wiston. The Wiston branch adopted the spelling Sherley. In the fourth generation from this Ralph, the Manor was in the hands of Sir Thomas Sherley, the eldest of three brothers, whose adventurous travels added lustre to an already distinguished name. He ended, however, by falling into such misfortune that about 1624 he sold Wiston to Sir John Fagge, in whose family it remained till 1743, when it passed by marriage to Sir Charles Matthews Goring, in which family it still continues.

Some observations arising out of our documents may be added.

The transition of the lordship from the de Bavents to the De Braoses was supposed to have been through the marriage of the heiress of the former to a William de Braose. It was rather the result of an arrangement by which it is suggested that a Peter de Braose regained "an interest in his own county of Sussex."³ On 1st July, 1344, Roger de Bavent alienated Wiston together with other properties to the King, although he had a son, John, alive. On the following day Peter de Braose similarly granted to the King his Manor of Whiteford, in Devonshire. Our records add some useful details, showing that Roger de Bavent retained Wiston till his death in 1355, after which the proposed change in the lordship took place. The Account Roll of 1345-6 shows Roger de Bavent's servants with his horses and oxen passing from Fyfhide (Fifield Bavent, in Wiltshire) to Wiston in a way that proves that Wiston was still in his possession. They also (which is strange) bring cattle from Whiteford. In Roger's Inquisition Post Mortem he is said to have died "seised of Wiston." The Manor then passed into the King's hands. Our second Roll, in the early part of 1357, a year after Roger's death, speaks of thrashing the "lord king's" corn, and a Court Roll from Michaelmas, 1357, to November, 1358, describes the Manorial Court throughout as the "Court of the lord king." In spite of this, however, the King had on 1st

³ See Elwes, &c., pp. 263 and 278-81.

November, 1357, granted to Peter de Braose the whole Manor (as in our Rental) "which he had received of Roger de Bavent." Consequently in the Account Roll from Michaelmas, 1357, to Michaelmas, 1358, we find Peter de Braose in possession. Men are paid for going to his Manor of "Boys" (Weedon Bois in Amersham, Bucks),⁴ and horses and cattle are sent from there to Wiston.

Joan, the wife of Peter de Braose, of Wiston, died in 1369-70, as proved by the contemporary Roll, which mentions the "sepultura dominæ," apparently at Le Boys. In two succeeding years her "obit" is provided for.

Peter de Braose, the date of whose death is unrecorded, seems to have died in 1377-8. In the Account Roll for that year John de Brewes,⁵ his son, is said to have come to Wiston in the month of April, 1378, and stayed there — weeks. It is true that in the Patent Roll, on 24th October, 1378, Sir Peter is accused of having wasted lands at Fyndon and Washington during the minority of the heir. He may have died after the case was put into Court. In the following year a payment of 5d. is entered in the Roll to the lord "to be made on the anniversary of his father." As this mention of Sir John de Brewes is 48 years before his death, and he was seemingly an adult at the time, Mr. Lower's description⁶ of his decease as "premature" is hardly justified.⁷

In 1379-80 mention begins to be made of "Richard and Thomas, the lord's brothers." They are constantly at Wiston, and in some authority, for they give orders. In 1385-6 is a notice of "Johanna, the lord's sister." These must have been brothers and sister of John de Brewes, but they do not appear in the printed pedigrees

⁴ The Author of *Stemmata Shirleiana* (2nd edition, p. 234) calls it "Wedon-hill, alias Woodrow, Woodside or Woodhill in Amersham, Bucks." See also Lipscombe, *History of Bucks*, Vol. III., p. 147; *Records of Bucks*, p. 238. This Manor was included in the King's grant of 1357.

⁵ This is the local spelling of the name, which occurs here for the first time.

⁶ *S.A.C.*, Vol. V., p. 7.

⁷ Perhaps he misread a note he had taken from the *Stemmata Shirleiana*, where the same expression is used, not of the knight, but of his supposed son buried in Wiston Church.

of the family. "George de Brewes" also occurs. Extracts relating to the family will be given next year.

Mr. Lower has also fallen into an error in the interesting notice of the "hampers and baskets of charters and deeds" (of which, surely, the earlier documents here dealt with must have formed a part) shown, as he says, "when Beatrix Shirley came into possession of the estate." She never occupied it. She died in 1440, and Margaret de Brewes, the occupier, did not die till 1449. The indenture concerning these documents is given in *Stemmata Shirleiana*. Sir John de Brewes had died on 3rd December, 1426. One of our Court Rolls shows that Lady Margaret held her first court on 26th February, 1427. The indenture is dated 26th May, 1427. The documents were in the hands of Beatrix, possibly as her brother's executrix, and her attornies produced them. They were delivered to Margaret, the new tenant for life.

The devolution of the Manor to the Sherley family is rather obscure on one point. When Lady Margaret Brewes died in 1449, and the reversion passed to the heirs of Beatrix Shirley, her grandson, the second Ralph Shirley, was alive, and he lived till 1466. He married three times, his second wife being Elizabeth Blount, by whom he had a son, Ralph. The author of *Stemmata Shirleiana* (p. 234) begins the Wiston Sherleys with this third Ralph, and says: "He succeeded to the family property in Sussex and Bucks on the death of his father in 1466." Lower (*S.A.C.*, Vol. IX.) says that, "though the Shirleys had been lords of Wiston for several generations, they had not resided there till, in the partition of the property of Ralph the second in 1466, Wiston, &c., fell to Ralph the third, who then settled there." Elwes and Robinson (*Castles, &c.*, p. 264) also begin the Wiston Shirleys with Ralph the third, but assign his entry to 1449 at the death of Margaret Brewes. This fills up the gap between 1449 and 1466. But his father was then alive, and why did he not inherit? There is among our documents a Court Roll covering the years from 1461 to 1467, but the entries do not help us. No names of possessors are given. Mostly the

words "domini" or "domino" are used. But on April 6th, 1462, "per dominam" is used, and on October 6th, 1463, a tenant takes a holding "de domina." There is a court on September 12th, 1466, and on the same membrane follows immediately another court on April 4th, 1467. No hint is given of any change of lordship, yet Ralph Shirley the second had died in the interval on December 6th, 1466. In *Stemmata Shirleiana*, p. 400, is an account of the Manor of Weedon Hill, in Bucks (with some Sussex entries), belonging to a "Rauff Shirley arm.," rendered by two accountants, one having the Wiston name of Calowe. It is addressed at the end to "Dame Essabet Shirley," who must be Elizabeth Blount, mother of Ralph the third. Possibly these Manors came to her son in infancy, and she sometimes acted for him.

THE OLD CUSTUMAL.

SUSSEX.

RENTAL AND CUSTOMARY (*Custumar'*) OF THE MANOR OF
WYSTNESTON.

[Translation. The numbers are attached for convenience of reference.]

1. Robert Lucas⁸ holds half a knight's fee at Launcyng and owes suit of court and to Sheriff's Aid 10d.

2. Ralph Vesk⁹ holds half a knight's fee at little Bradewatere and owes suit of court and to Sheriff's Aid 10d.

3. Henry Saleman holds 2 acres with a croft and a messuage and renders yearly at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle (21st Dec.) 18d., and at the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist (24th June) 18d., and to Sheriff's Aid $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and owes suit of court.

4. William Ismongere¹⁰ holds one messuage and 8 fields of land in the villate of Aschurst and renders yearly at the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary 2s. and at the feast of St. Michael 2s. and owes suit of court.

The same William formerly held [*sic*] and rendered at the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist 1 rose and owes suit of court and scutage when it occurs.

⁸ Occurs in Subsidy Roll of 1296 (Sussex Record Society, Vol. X., pp. 56, 64, 74); in 1327 (*ibm.*, p. 162), "Lucia widow of Robert Lucas."

⁹ In 1296, 1327, 1332 (*ibm.*, pp. 62, 162, 276; in 1318, *S.A.C.*, Vol. XL., p. 106).

¹⁰ In 1296, 1327, 1332 (*S.R.S.*, Vol. X., pp. 66, 161, 276; *S.A.C.*, Vol. XL., p. 106).

5. The Fee of Hudegrove renders yearly at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 2s. and at the Nativity of St. John Baptist 2s. and owes suit of court and to Sheriff's Aid 2d.

6. Robert de Wystneston renders yearly at Easter 6d. viz. Fulford [now a farm in Itchingfield].

7. Thomas atte Purye¹¹ holds $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of land and renders yearly at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 5d.

8. Ralph Grym holds 1 croft and 3 roods of land and renders yearly at the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist one chaplet of roses.

9. John de la Compe¹² owes to the lord at the feast of St. Michael 1d.

10. Henry Calwe holds 1 ferling of land and gives of rent yearly at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle¹³ 8d. and at the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist 8d., and to the Sheriff's Aid 2d., and to Parksilver 1d. and he shall have thereon 1 work. And he shall carry of Gavelwod¹⁴ from Le Knapp or from the forest of St. Leonard or from anywhere else as far as Wistneston 2 wainloads of wood (*plaustr' busci*) and he shall give 5d. and have thereon 1 work. And he shall give at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 1 cock and 1 hen and at Easter 5 eggs. And he shall plough half an acre of land.

And he ought^{14a} to work from the feast of St. Michael to the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (1 Aug.) in every week 1 work, except the 3 weeks at the Nativity of the Lord and at Easter and at Pentecost. And he ought to do from the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula to the feast of St. Michael 16 works. And he ought to reap, bind and carry to the lord's grange half an acre of wheat for 1 work and half an acre of rye (*silibiginis*) for 1 work and half an acre of oats for 1 work and 3 palls (*pallas*)¹⁵ of barley for 1 work and 3 palls of beans for 1 work and 3 palls of peas or vetches for 1 work. And he ought to find half a scythe for mowing and he ought to mow gather and carry with half a wain in le Laghmedes. Also he shall find at the great boonwork in Autumn 2 men and at the lesser boonwork 1 man. Also he shall find half a wain to carry the lord's corn when reaped (*messial'*) with the 2 boonworks aforesaid to the lord's grange. And he shall find 1 man and half a wain to cart out (*extrahend'*) the lord's manure while it lasts, if it is necessary to cart it out, and when they

¹¹ In 1327 (S.R.S., Vol. X., p. 163).

¹² In 1296 (*ibm.*, p. 64); 1322 (*S.A.C.*, Vol. XL., p. 107).

¹³ By far the larger number of the manorial rents were paid on the feast of St. Thomas (21st December) and on the Nativity of St. John Baptist (24th June). To avoid constant repetition, these will be called "the 2 terms." If the feasts of the Annunciation (25th March) and St. Michael (29th September) are added they will be called "the 4 terms." The total rent payable will be given, the payments being always in equal portions.

¹⁴ For an explanation of this and other terms used in the Rental, see account of the Tenants and their services at the end, pp. 170-4.

^{14a} "Debet," he owes; "non debet," he does not owe.

¹⁵ Eridge, *Hist. of Brighton*, edition 1862, p. 46. A measure of land of one-eighth of an acre.

lay the manure upon the land [called] le Sevyacre he shall help the lord with 1 cart (*carro*).

Also he shall do carryings (*averagia*)¹⁶ as often as the lord shall wish provided that he can return to his own home at evening and if not, the lord shall find for him and his horse sustenance beyond the aforesaid day that he left home. Also he ought to make 4 bushels of malt of wheat or 4 bushels of malt of barley or 8 bushels of malt of oats as often as the lord wills and he shall have thereon 1 work. And he ought to gather apples and make cider while it is necessary and he shall have daily 10 apples at home (*domi*) while collecting the said apples. Also he ought to wash and shear the lord's sheep for half a day according to his share (*pro parte sua*) with others. Also he ought to weed the lord's corn for half a day for 1 work and to roll (*blestrare*)¹⁷ the lord's land for half a day for 1 work while it shall be necessary. Also he shall thrash on the first workable day (*die operabile*) after the harvest 4 bushels of wheat for 1 work and after that work he ought to thrash 2 bushels of wheat for 1 work, 2 bushels of rye for 1 work, 4 bushels of barley for 1 work, 8 bushels of oats for 1 work, 4 lips¹⁸ of beans for 1 work, 4 lips of vetches for 1 work. Also he ought to collect 5 hules (*hulas*)¹⁹ of straw (*straguli*) before the feast of St. Michael for 1 work and after the feast of St. Michael to the feast of All Saints (Nov. 1) 3 hules for 1 work. Also he ought on every side to dig 8 feet of a new ditch for 1 work or of an old ditch to the depth of 1 foot and [length of] 2 perches for 1 work (*et de fossato veteri de profunditate unius pedis et ij pertic*). Also he ought to throw down and cut half a wain load of thorns for 1 work. Also to cut the third part of 1 wain load of broom or heather or bracken (*caldon*) for 1 work. Also he ought to harrow for half a day for 1 work. Also he ought to dig and roll the flax land and to carry the flax to the water with the lord's cart (*curru*) and to lay it in the water, draw out, dry and bind it and make all ready (*totum promptum facere*) and keep the flax seed according to his share for delivery to the reeve. Also he ought to collect 1 horse load of sticks (*virg*) for 1 work. Also he ought to fill up the gaps in (*claudere*) the lord's hedges for half a day for 1 work. Also he ought to gather half a lip of nuts for the lord's use when there are nuts.

And all the customers shall have for the mowing of Normanmesmed 4 bushels of barley and 16d. and one cheese of the price of 4d. and for the mowing of "la Brodemed" bread sufficient for 1 repast and one "medwether" of the price of 12d.

¹⁶ "Averagia" (connected with *averia*, cattle or goods) seems to be used of pack-horse carrying to a distance rather than carrying in carts about the manor.

¹⁷ Du Cange gives "Blesta," a clod of earth. "Blestrare" should mean "to break into clods." In the later rolls the service is divided into "3 small works" — (1) to dig the land, (2) "blestrare bladum," (3) to weed the corn. Some process like rolling may be meant. See *post*, p. 174.

¹⁸ A large basket, said to contain two-thirds of a bushel (Martin, *Record Interpreter*).

¹⁹ A bundle or heap of uncertain size. In 1376-7 the Reeve accounts for 2½ bushels of seed, by estimation, of oats in 2 hules, *i.e.*, 2 bundles unthrashed in the grange.

The lord can have 2 herdwives²⁰ in Wystnoston of his tenants if he wishes. And one herdwives [*sic*] shall have 200 ewes and the other herdwik 200 ewes. And they shall have at the said 2 herdwives 10 acres of stubble (*grotene*).²¹ And if the lord has not his own ewes for the keeper of the aforesaid herdwives they shall obtain and find the aforesaid ewes at their own costs and they shall have them on their own land during the collection of the same from the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary to Hookday,²² and before the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary they shall be quit of their works for 15 days in the collection of the same. And the lord can deliver for the term to any of his customers the aforesaid herdwiks at his will and they shall have allowance of services and customs while they keep the aforesaid herdwiks. And the lord shall find at the said herdwiks 4 bushels of salt and motes (*motos*)²³ and churns (*chernes*). And the aforesaid herdwiks shall render to the lord for the said pasture 3 peys²⁴ of cheese and from Easter to the feast of St. Michael one and the other herdwyk shall give 2 dishes (*discos*) of butter of the price of 2d. every Saturday while the herdwik lasts and the bearer of that butter shall have his breakfast (*jantaine*), and thereof the tenth dish is tithed, and the lord shall have for whey (*mega*)²⁵ 2s. 6d. And they shall reap 2 acres of wheat which are called "Wehyacres," and they shall have 2 cheeses from the first pey weighed (*pis' ponderat*) to buy linen cloth for the dairy. And if the lord shall deliver to them his own ewes he shall have on the first day for 20 ewes of each [herdwik] one pey. And afterwards always for 40 ewes, up to the aforesaid number of ewes 400 whole and complete, one pey of cheese.^{25a} And the lord can deliver to each of them 20 ewes of his own and nevertheless they shall obtain others up to the said number and they shall give 3 peys for pasture as before of the ewes obtained.

And all the customers who shall yoke their plough ought with the plough so yoked to plough once a year by custom and they shall have with each plough 2d. And they shall plough one acre. And if they cannot plough during one day the aforesaid one acre they ought daily to plough until they have finished the ploughing of that acre.²⁶

[The following tenants] "hold 1 ferling of land, pay 16d. at the 2 terms and do in all things as Henry Calwe":

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| 11. Roger le Rede. | 13. William Esteton. |
| 12. William Tilie. | 14. Matilda, relict of Seriant. |

²⁰ These were gatherings of ewes for supplying the lord with cheese. They will be noticed as part of the agricultural working of the Manor.

²¹ Gratten, for stubble, is still in use.

²² Hockday, the second Tuesday after Easter.

²³ Perhaps moulds.

²⁴ A measure of 256-lbs.

²⁵ Fr. maige, Whey, *Battle Abbey Custumal* (Glossary).

^{25a} The exact meaning of these two sentences is doubtful. The amount of cheese seems very large.

²⁶ There seems to be no record in the Account Rolls of this ploughing or payment.

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| 15. Emma, relict of Stephen. | 19. Asselota, relict of Worghte. |
| 16. Agnes le Weautrer. | 20. John Purie. |
| 17. Ralph Bolewyne. | 21. Ralph Gudlak. |
| 18. Walter Edwyne. | 22. Dionysius de la Donne. |

23. William Mot, besides that he gives 4d. for pasturage of his own sheep next his land in the common (*communa*) yearly.

24. Thomas, son of Omekyn.

25. Thomas atte Purie.

26. John le Rust.

27. Roger Wranch.

28. William Frye holds 1 ferling of land and renders yearly at the 2 terms 24d., and does in all other things as the aforesaid Henry Calwe.

29. William le Felder holds half a ferling of land and gives for carriage of gavelwod 2½d. at the feast of St. Michael and shall have thereon half a work. And he shall give for Parksilver 1d. and shall have thereon 1 work and he shall give to the Sheriff's Aid 1d., and at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 1 cock and 1 hen, and at Easter 5 eggs. And he ought to do 2 works in every week through the whole year, except the 3 weeks of the Nativity of the Lord, Easter and Pentecost. And he ought to do in all things as the aforesaid Henry Calewe, except all the carrying (*averacione*) and the making of malt, and he only renders this which is specified.

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|--------------------------------|---|
| 30. Stephen de la Pirie, | { hold half a ferling of land and
do in all things as the said
William le Felder. |
| 31. Agnes daughter of Bertram, | |

32. Albreda relict of the Smith holds half a ferling of land and gives of rent yearly at the 2 terms 17d. And she shall make yearly 2 coulteres (*cultros*) for 2 ploughs. And she shall find 1 man at the great boonwork and 1 at the lesser.

33. Richard de la Forde holds half a ferling of land and gives of rent yearly at the 4 terms 4s., and to the Sheriff's Aid 1d. And he shall find at the great boonwork in the autumn 2 men and at the lesser boonwork 1 man.

34. John Baker holds one croft containing 1 acre of land and gives of rent yearly at the 2 terms 6d. And he shall find at the great boonwork in the autumn 1 man. And he shall find for rolling the lord's land 1 man for half a day. And he shall weed for half a day. And he shall find 1 man for spreading and gathering and lifting and carrying the lord's hay in the 2 Laghmedes. And he shall find 1 man for digging the flax-land and drawing with others and to do so much as belongs to flax as the aforesaid Henry le Calewe. And if he does not dig the flax-land [he shall dig] other land for half a day where the lord wills. And he shall gather half a lip of nuts.

35. Matilda de la Hegge holds one messuage with a croft and gives of rent yearly at the 2 terms 8d. and does in all things as Richard de la Forde.

36. Dionysius de la Blindeput holds one house with a croft and does in all things as Matilda atte Hegge but does not gather nuts.

37. Geoffrey Havedman holds one messuage with half an acre of land and likewise one croft and gives of rent yearly at the two terms

2s. And does in all things as the aforesaid Matilda de la Hegge, except that he ought only to spread hay in one Laghmede. And he ought not to gather nuts.

38. Johanna le Longe holds 1 messuage with a small croft and gives of rent yearly at the 2 terms 6d. And she does in all things as the aforesaid Matilda atte Hegge, except that she only gathers apples on alternate days. And [if] she does not gather apples she shall stand at the lord's manure with one rake. And she ought to keep the sheep at the washing and shear with others, but she does not gather nuts.

39. Roger of the Mill (de Molendino) holds 1 ferling of land and gives of rent yearly at the 4 terms 6s. And he ought to reap 1 acre of wheat. And he owes to the Sheriff's Aid 2d. And he shall find half a scythe to mow in Laghmede and half a wain to carry hay with the other tenants of 1 ferling of land. And he shall find at the great boonwork in autumn 2 men and at the lesser boonwork 1 man. And he shall do in all other things as the aforesaid Richard de la Forde.

40. William the Smith holds one pasture which is called le Russhes, and renders yearly 15d. at the 2 terms.

41. Ralph Mot holds 1 ferling of land and gives of rent yearly at the 2 terms 6s. And he shall find half a wain for drawing out the lord's manure and shall do in all things as the aforesaid Roger of the Mill except that he ought not to reap 1 acre of wheat.

42. Roger Wodeman holds 1 ferling of land and gives of rent yearly at the 2 terms 6s. and he does in all other things as the aforesaid Ralph Mot for his ferling of land except that he ought not to draw out the lord's manure and he ought to make oatmeal for potage and to blanch (*dealbare*) beans and it is worth 4d.

43. John Capays holds 1 messuage with a croft and 1½ acre of land and gives of rent yearly at the 2 terms 1s. and to the Sheriff's Aid ½d. And he shall do in all things as the aforesaid Matilda atte Hegge.

44. John de la Holebrok holds 1 ferling of land and gives of rent yearly at the 4 terms 5s. and to the Sheriff's Aid 2d. And he shall carry 2 wains of hay from Laghmedes to WYSTNESTON. And he shall find 2 men at the great boonwork and 1 man at the lesser boonwork. And he shall do in all things as the aforesaid Matilda de la Hegge.

45. Henry Veautrer holds 4 acres of land of Rudlond and gives of rent yearly at the feast of St. Nicholas (6 Dec.) 20d.

Henry Veautrer holds 4 acres of land of Rudlond and gives of rent yearly at the feast of St. Nicholas 20d.²⁷

46. William Pulch holds 4 acres of land of Rudlond and gives of rent yearly at the feast of St. Nicholas 20d.

The same William holds 1 messuage and 12 acres of land of Rudlond and gives of rent yearly at the 2 terms 3s. And he shall find 1 man at the great boonwork and 1 man at the lesser boon work.

²⁷ These two entries are coupled together, and the total rent payable on St. Nicholas' Day requires the two payments.

47. Roger Wodeman holds 1 mill and gives of rent yearly at the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary 3s. and at the feast of St. Michael 3s.

48. Walter Hally holds 1 messuage and 3 acres of land for the term of his life by deed. And he gives of rent yearly at the 2 terms 2s.

[32.] Gilbert Solewyk holds the tenement which Albreda held above and does the half in all things as Henry le Calewe renders and does on the whole.

49. Elewysa relict of Rust holds 1 messuage with half an acre of land and gives of rent yearly at the 2 terms 2s. And she shall find 1 man at the great boonwork in autumn.

50. Richard Vitele holds 1 messuage with a croft and 1 acre of land and renders yearly at the 2 terms 14d. And he shall find 1 man at the great boonwork in autumn.

51. Agnes atte Stighle holds 1 messuage and gives of rent yearly at the 2 terms 6d. And she shall find 1 man at the great boon work.

52. Dionisius de la Done holds 1 croft which is called Bromecroft and renders yearly at the 2 terms 2s.

53. John Capays holds $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land and gives of rent yearly at the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary 18d. and at the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist 18d.

Sum of Rent of Term of	St. Nicholas	5	0
"	"	1	18
"	"		$2\frac{1}{2}$
"	St. Thomas the Apostle		
"	the Annunciation of the		
"	Blessed Mary	10	3
"	Easter		6
"	the Nativity of St. John		
"	Baptist	1	19
"	St. Michael		$3\frac{1}{2}$
"	St. Michael	8	10
"	Carriage of Gavelwood	8	9
"	Pasturage, viz. of William Moot		4
"	Sheriff's Aid from Manor of Wystnoston		
"	yearly	6	$1\frac{1}{2}$
"	Farm of Windmill yearly	2	0
"	all except of Sheriff's Aid and Parksilver	7	10
"			$11\frac{1}{2}$
Sum of Rent of Cocks and Hens of Wiston [sic]		44	
"	Eggs	110	
"	Nuts	10	bushels

RENTAL OF ASHHURST.

Thomas de la Wodegate holds 1 messuage and 1 acre of land for the term of his life by deed and renders yearly at Easter 6d.

Isabella de la Wodegate holds 1 messuage with a croft and gives of rent yearly at the 2 terms 8d.

Thomas Heved holds 1 croft and renders yearly at Easter $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Asselot' de la Wodegate holds 1 messuage with a croft and renders yearly at the 2 terms 6d.

Sum of Rent of Term of St. Thomas the Apostle	7d
" " " Easter	6½
" " " Nativity of St. John Baptist	7
Sum total of rent there	20½

There are owing to the Castle of Brembre to Sheriff's Aid²⁸ [from] the Manor of Wystnoston yearly 9s., viz. at the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary 4s. 6d. and at the Gule of August 4s. 6d. as is patent by memoranda existing in the said castle.

There are owing to the enclosure of the park of Kneppe from the Manor of Wystnoston yearly 2s.

[CHYLTINGTON.]

Extent of Chyltyngton made by the oath of John Underlith,²⁹ Robert de Michelborne,²⁹ William Lallingfelde,²⁹ Thomas Herblat, Eding Wodward, Adam Alwy²⁹ and William de Gardin, and other tenants of the manor who say on their oath that a messuage with 2 gardens containing 6½ acres and 2 parts of 1 rood and fruits with herbage and easement of buildings (? *ays' dom'*)³⁰ is worth 20s. yearly. Also in the same gardens are 2 groves (? *grau'*)³¹ and they contain 5 acres and the pasture is worth yearly 6d. because poor (*debilis*). Also of arable land in Stonlond 9½ acres, in Westbrech 10 acres, in the marled croft (*crofto marlato*) 7½ acres, in Estbreche 12 acres, in Esthalcroft 12 acres, in Westhalcroft 11 acres, in Pyriecroft 11½ acres, in the crofts which were of Helewys' 15 acres, and an acre is worth yearly, if it is cultivated, 4d. and if fresh (*frisca*) 2d. Also in le Chilte are 18 acres, in Firsefeld 12 acres, in Estlovecot 7 acres and an acre is worth yearly 2d. Also in Westlovecot 3 acres and an acre is worth 4d. Also in Estrod are 20 acres, in Vrodfeld 23½ acres, in Poukehol 22 acres and an acre is worth yearly 4d. if cultivated and if fresh 2d. Also in Westonfeld are 40 acres and [an acre] is worth yearly 4d. Also in the croft next to the gate 2½ acres, in Estlond 17 acres, in the croft Robet 5½ acres, in the long croft next the road (*viam*) 5 acres, in Maltelond³² next the pool (*stagnum*) 11½ acres, in Maldelond next the small pool 3½ acres and 1 rood, in the croft next the garden towards the North 4½ acres and 1 rood. Also over (*super*) le Rud are 15½ acres and 1 rood. Also in le Rud Binorthklepere 11½ acres and 1 rood and [an acre] is worth yearly, if fresh 2d. if cultivated 4d.

Sum of acres of arable land 313½ acres and they are worth 52s. 3d.

Also in the meadow of Douremed are 7 acres and an acre is worth yearly 20d. In Stonlondmed half an acre and it is worth 8d. In

²⁸ A customary payment to the Sheriff from the Hundred, made in this case to the lord of the Rape under whom the Manor was held. The De Braoses, lords of the Rape, were owners of Knepp Castle and Park. The payment of the 2s. was divided amongst the tenants under the name of Parksilver.

²⁹ All these four occur in the Subsidy of 1296 (S.R.S., Vol. X., p. 54).

³⁰ Perhaps *aisiamento domorum*.

³¹ Probably *grau'* for *grava*, a grove.

³² The "t" in this word is doubtful; it is not "d," as in the next.

Laybrokmed 3 acres, in Hurston 1 acre, in the meadow Underlith $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre and 1 rood, and each is worth yearly 2s. Also in la Mersshe are 20 acres of pasture, in la More $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres and an acre is worth yearly 5d. Also in Erthberwe are 15 acres of poor pasture and an acre is worth yearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. Also the pasture in stubble (*stipul'*) and before fallowing (*warect*)³³ is worth yearly 13s. 4d. Also the pasture in the wood (*bosco*) of Louremed is worth yearly 4d. And the pasture in Haselwode is worth yearly 2s. Also in Louremed are 5 acres of wood, in Poukehole 2 acres of wood whereof the pannage with "hays"³⁴ when full is worth yearly 15s. Also in Haselwod are 26 acres of wood and 2 acres can be faggoted (*fagotari*) yearly and a faggoted acre is worth 2s.

Sum of acres of meadow, 13 acres 1 rood and it is worth 23s. 10d.

Sum of acres of pasture $38\frac{1}{2}$ acres and other parcels of pasture are worth 27s. $9\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Sum of acres of wood, 38, and of underwood are worth yearly 4s. and the pannage when full is worth yearly 15s.

The Windmill is worth yearly 6s. 8d.

Of Perquisites of Court 6s. 8d.

Also of Rents of Assize 4li. $21\frac{1}{2}$ d. as appears by the Rental following.

Sum of rent of cocks and hens 28. Sum of chickens 4 and they are worth 3s. 6d.

Sum of rent of eggs—worth $4\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Sum of dishes (? butter) 10 and they are worth $2\frac{1}{4}$ d.

Sum of Sheriff's Aid 13d. Sum of Park enclosure 7d.

Sum of customary works for the whole year exceeds 50s.

Sum of the extent of Chiltyngton 14li. 14s. $2\frac{3}{4}$ d.

RENTAL OF CHILTYNGTON.

1. John le Wolf³⁵ (*later, now Peter Farnefold*) holds of the lord freely 18 acres next to Adam Alwy. And he renders yearly at the 4 terms 4s. And he owes suit of court and relief.

2. William Thailour (*now Richard Chapman*) holds 1 ferling of land freely and renders yearly at the 2 terms 4s., Sheriff's Aid $\frac{3}{4}$ d., and to Parksilver $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and he owes suit of court and scutage when it happens.

3. William le Claver holds 1 ferling freely and renders yearly at the 2 terms 18d. by deed.

4. William Cosyn (*now Richard Serle*) holds half a virgate of land and gives of rent yearly at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 14d., 1 cock and 1 hen, at Easter 10 eggs, at the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist 14d. And he gives to Sheriff's Aid 1d. and to the enclosure of the park of la Kneppe yearly $\frac{1}{2}$ d. And he ought to find 1 wain for drawing out the lord's manure while it lasts for 1 work and

³³ *Warectare* is to plough land before letting it lie fallow.

³⁴ Meaning uncertain.

³⁵ S.R.S., Vol. X., p. 55 (1296); S.A.C., Vol. XL., p. 102 (1310). The names in italics have been entered in a later hand. Several are in the Subsidy of 1327.

it is worth 8½d. and he shall have pasture for his oxen in the meantime (*interim*) while he is at drawing out, and he shall have a quarter of 1 loaf as is customary while he is drawing the manure. Also he ought to collect straw (*stipulam*) for roofing the house as often as it is needful, viz., between the feast of St. Michael and the feast of All Saints 5 "hules" of straw for 1 work and the work is worth ½d., and after the feast of All Saints 3 hules for 1 work and the work is worth ½d. And he ought to plough 1½ acre at the winter sowing (*ad Ynverag*)³⁶ and it is worth 6d. and he ought to harrow it and it is worth 1½d. for the work. Also he ought to plough 1½ acre for oats and it is worth 6d. for 1 work. Also he ought to make malt when necessary, viz., 1 quarter of oats for 1 work, 4 bushels of wheat for 1 work, 4 bushels of barley for 1 work and it is worth 1d. Also he ought with the community (*cōia*) to cut down 1 tree and to have the bark by custom and to make it ready for carrying for 1 work and it is worth ½d. Also he ought with his own wain to carry 1 four-horse^{36a} waggon load (*qudrigatam*) of wood for 1 work and it is worth 2d. And he ought to mow one rood of meadow for 1 work and it is worth 1d. Also he ought to find 1 scythe for mowing the meadow which is called Douremed, by custom, and he shall have with the other customers 1 wether worth 12d. and 1 cheese worth 4d., and he ought to have bread for 2 sufficient repasts, viz., at breakfast (*jantaculum*) bread and cheese. And (?at) the said meadow he ought to lift and carry hay for 1 work. And he ought to weed for 1 day from sunrise to the 9th hour (*horam nonam* ? noon) for 1 work and it is worth ½d. Also he ought to wash and shear the lord's sheep without a work and it is worth ¾d. Also he ought to dig the flaxland and draw the flax and carry it to the water with the lord's cart (*carru*) without a work, and he shall have his breakfast once for the whole viz. bread and cheese. Also he ought to reap 8 acres of corn in the autumn for 8 works and each work is worth 3d. And he ought to find 2 men at the first boonwork in the autumn and at the other boonwork 1 man without a work and he shall have food and drink twice a day, and the boonwork is worth 3d. Also he ought to harrow for three days with 1 horse (*affro*) at the Lent sowing, for three works, and if the lord has need of more harrowing he shall harrow for 1 whole day always for 2 works. And he ought to thrash always in another (*alio*) year in the lord's grange at Chiltyngton while it shall be necessary 3 bushels of wheat and half a lip for 1 work, and it is worth 1d. and then the lord shall allow him from his rent yearly. And he ought to do a carrying (*averagium*) when ever the lord wishes, provided he can return home in the evening and if not he and his horse (*affrus*) shall have their expenses. Also he shall work yearly every week 1 work except 3 weeks viz. of the feast of the Nativity of the Lord, Easter and Pentecost. And the sum of his works is 49.

The same William Cosyn holds 1 assart which lies on the west part of Wyemed and he gives of rent at the two terms 31d.

The same William Cosyn holds 1 assart which is called Robyns Rud and gives therefor of rent at the 2 terms 30d.

³⁶ For *hibernagio*, see Martin, Rec. Int., *yvernagium*.

^{36a} Or oxen.

5. Robert⁸⁷ (*later Ralph*⁸⁸) Muchelborn holds 1 virgate of land, and gives therefor of rent at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 2s. and 2 cocks and 1 hen, and at the feast of St. John Baptist 2s. and at Easter 20 eggs. And he does in all things as the aforesaid William Cosyn.

The same Robert de Muchelborn holds 1 small assart containing 1 acre, and he gives therefor of rent at the 2 terms 4d.

6. John Underlyth holds half a virgate of land and gives therefor of rent at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 23½d., 1 cock and 1 hen and they are worth 2½d., at Easter 10 eggs and at the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist 23½d. And he shall do in all other things as the aforesaid William Cosyn.

The same John Underlith holds 2 assarts and gives of rent yearly at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 2s. 4½d.

7. Roger Alfy holds half a virgate of land and gives therefor of rent at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 18d. and when he does not thrash 4d. less, 1 cock and 1 hen, at Easter 10 eggs, at the feast of St. John Baptist 18d. And he does in all things as the aforesaid William Cosyn except that he ought to plough only 2 acres of land.

The same Roger Alfy holds 3 assarts and gives therefor of rent yearly at the 2 terms 27d.

8. John Brende (*Walter Wodeward*) holds half a virgate of land and gives therefor of rent yearly at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 18d., 1 cock and 1 hen, at Easter 10 eggs and at the feast of St. John Baptist 18d. And he does in all things as the aforesaid William Cosyn except that he ought to plough only 1 acre of land.

9. William Melksop (*Walter Hounte*)⁸⁹ holds 1 ferling of land and gives therefor of rent at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 8d., 1 cock and 1 hen, at Easter 5 eggs and at the feast of St. John Baptist 8d., to Sheriff's Aid ¾d. And he does in all things as the aforesaid William Cosyn except that he ought to plough only 1 acre of land.

10. Richard Donekyn holds 1 ferling of land and gives of rent yearly at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 6d., 1 cock and 1 hen, and at Easter 5 eggs and at the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist 6d. And he does in all other things as William Melksop, but he ought only to plough 1 acre. And he gives to Sheriff's Aid ¾d.

The same Richard Donkyn holds 2 small assarts and renders therefor yearly at the 2 terms 6d.

11. John Melksop holds 1 ferling and gives therefor of rent yearly at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 8d., 1 cock and 1 hen, at Easter 5 eggs and at the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist 8d. And he does in all other things as the aforesaid Richard Donkyn.

The same John Melksop holds 2 small assarts and gives therefor of rent yearly at 2 terms 11d.

12. Simon de Cruce holds half a ferling of land and gives therefor of rent yearly at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 4d., 1 cock in one

⁸⁷ S.R.S., Vol. X., p. 54 (1296).

⁸⁸ *Ibm.*, 153 (1327).

⁸⁹ *Ibm.*, 158, (1327).

year and 1 hen in another year, and at Easter $2\frac{1}{2}$ eggs and at the feast of St. John Baptist 4d. And he ought to do yearly 49 works as the aforesaid William Cosyn. And in another (? alternate) year he ought to thrash as the said William Cosyn and in that year he shall give no rent. Also at drawing out manure he shall find 1 man for carrying for 1 work and it is worth 1½d. And he ought to scatter lift and stack (*tassare*) hay and he ought to cut down wood as William Cosyn and not to carry. Also he ought to reap 1 acre of rye and 1 acre of oats for 2 works. Also he ought to reap 3 acres of corn for 6 works. And he does in all other things as the aforesaid William Cosyn. Also [he gives] of Sheriff's Aid $\frac{3}{4}$ d. and of Parksilver $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

The same Simon de Cruce holds 1 assart and gives of rent yearly at the 2 terms 40d.

13. John Wodward (*Eding*) holds half a ferling of land and gives of rent yearly at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 4d., 1 hen, at Easter $2\frac{1}{2}$ eggs, at the feast of St. John Baptist 4d. And he does in all other things as the aforesaid Simon de Cruce.

The same John Wodeward (*Eding*) holds 1 croft lying on the north part of his house and gives therefor of rent at the 2 terms 7d.

The same Wodeward (*Edward*) holds 1 assart lying next Dormed and gives therefor of rent at the 2 terms 14d.

14. Walter Wodeward (*Eding*) holds a cottage called Cannereslonde and gives therefor of rent at the 2 terms 16d. and 4 chickens. And he ought to do at the flax as the others aforesaid. And he ought to wash and shear sheep. And he owes 1 day with 1 man at the great boonwork in autumn.

15. William Lallyngfeld holds 1 ferling of land and gives of rent at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 2s. 1½d., 1 cock and 1 hen, at Easter 5 eggs, and at the feast of St. John Baptist 2s. 1½d. And he ought to help to carry manure with 1 man while it lasts. And to do the flax like the others aforesaid, and to wash and shear sheep as the others and it is worth ¾d. Also he ought to reap 2 acres of rye and oats and it is worth 6d. And he ought to find 2 men at the great boonwork in autumn and 1 man at the other, and he shall have as the aforesaid William Cosyn. And he shall find 1 man at the meadow to spread lift and stack hay when necessary, and 1 man for cutting down wood like William Cosyn and it is worth ½d. And he owes to Sheriff's Aid $\frac{3}{4}$ d. and to Parksilver $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

16. William (*Walter*) de Gardino holds 1 ferling and gives therefor of rent at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 2s., 1 cock and 1 hen, at Easter 5 eggs, at the feast of St. John Baptist 2s. And he shall find 1 cart (*carrum*) for drawing the lord's manure while it lasts, and it is worth 9d. And he does flax as the [others] aforesaid and [he ought] to wash and shear sheep as William Cosyn and to mow the meadow in Doremmed and to lift and carry as William Cosyn. And he ought to reap 2 acres of rye and oats in the autumn, price 6d. And he shall find 2 men at the first boonwork and 1 man at the second boonwork. And he ought to cut down wood as William Cosyn. And he owes for Sheriff's Aid $\frac{3}{4}$ d. and for enclosure of the park $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

17. Johanna relict of Waryn holds 1 ferling of land and gives therefor of rent at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 2s., 1 cock and 1 hen, and at the feast of St. John Baptist 2s. And she does in all things as the aforesaid William de Gardino, but does not find a wain for manure and only 1 man for carrying the lord's manure while it is needed. Also she has to do as the other mowers with 1 scythe, to spread, lift and stack hay. And she shall find 2 men at the first boonwork and 1 man at the second. And she owes for Sheriff's Aid $\frac{3}{4}$ d., to Parksilver $\frac{1}{2}$ d. And she shall do flax as the aforesaid (*supradicti*).

18. Stephen (*Robert*) le French holds 9 acres of land and gives therefor of rent at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. and 1 cock, at Easter 5 eggs, at the feast of St. John Baptist $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. And does in all other things as Widow (*relicta*) Johanna Waryn except that he does not mow the meadow, but ought to gather lift and stack and to do the flax as the aforesaid.

The same Stephen holds 1 assart of burnt wood received at the beginning of the 17th year of King Edward and owes therefor yearly 6d. at the Nativity of the Lord and the Nativity of St. John Baptist.

19. William (*Ralph*)⁴⁰ Wygar holds 1 field of land at le Brokhurst and gives therefor of rent yearly at the 2 terms 2s. Also he ought to reap 4 acres of oats and it is worth 12d. And he owes suit of court.

20. John Alvy (*William Crouchere*)⁴⁰ holds 1 assart which Richard Wolf once held and gives of rent yearly at the 2 terms 5s. And he owes 1 bedryp if the lord wills.

21. Sefrid (*William Lallyngfeld*) son of Richard holds 1 messuage and 8 acres of land and gives therefor of rent at the 2 terms 9d. And he ought to collect and carry manure while it lasts. Also he ought to spread, lift and stack hay and to dig and do at flax as the aforesaid. And he ought to wash and shear sheep as the others. Also he ought to reap in autumn 1 acre of rye and to [work] 2 days at the boonwork in the autumn with 1 man.

22. John de Crobhurst holds 1 assart and gives therefor of rent yearly at the 2 terms 12d.

23. Stephen le Turner holds 1 messuage and 7 acres of land and gives therefor of rent yearly at the 2 terms 26d. And he shall find 1 man at the great boonwork in autumn.

24. Adam Alvy holds 1 assart which before Emma relict of le Park held and renders at the 2 terms 6d.

25. Robert le Frensch holds of the lord at Haselwode 1 piece of land and gives of rent yearly at the 2 terms 30d. And he shall find 1 man at the great boonwork in autumn and have food, or he shall give 1d.

26. John Waryn holds of the lord 1 piece of land at Haselwode and gives of rent at the 2 terms 32d and 10 dishes. And he shall find 1 man at the 2 boonworks in autumn.

The same John Waryn owes for a certain cottage at the aforesaid days 2d. of increment in the 17th year of King Edward.

⁴⁰ S.R.S., Vol. X., p. 158 (1327).

27. Thomas Herblot holds 1 assart and gives therefor of rent at the 2 terms 3s. And he shall find 1 man at the boonwork in autumn.

28. William le White gives to the lord for the easement of the lane at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 3d. And he shall find 1 man for the 2 boonworks in autumn.

29. Thomas le Cony holds 1 little piece (*pessiculam*) of land and gives of rent yearly at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 1d. only (*tantum*).

PULBOROUGH.

John Chaper holds there next the ferry (*passag'*) 2 cottages, 1 garden and half an acre of meadow which William Penesy formerly held, rendering therefor yearly at the 4 terms 44d.

RENTAL OF HYEN.

1. John Noel⁴¹ holds 3 acres for the term of his life by deed and gives of rent yearly at the 4 terms 9s.

2. William Tesselin⁴¹ holds 2 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow and renders therefor at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 2s.

3. John Mareschal, of Sompting, holds 1 acre of land and renders yearly at the 2 terms 4d. and owes suit of court.

4. Ralph de Wistneston holds 1 acre of land and renders at the 2 terms 3s.

5. Simon atte Chete⁴¹ holds 1 acre of land which Voxeslef held with a messuage and gives of rent at the 4 terms 5s.

6. Geoffrey Foghel⁴¹ holds 1 acre of land with a messuage and gives of rent yearly at the 2 terms 3s. And he ought to reap half an acre of wheat in autumn and it is worth 2d. And he ought to gather the lord's hay with the others and it is worth 1d. And he ought to dig and roll the flax land and to draw the flax and make all ready up to the delivery to the reeve and it is worth $\frac{1}{2}$ d. And he ought to find 1 man at the 2 boonworks in autumn, whereof 1 shall be at Wystneston if the lord wishes. But he says he only owes 1 day of boonwork.

7. Walter le Feldare holds 1 acre of land with a messuage and does in all things as the aforesaid Geoffrey Foghel.

8. Cristina atte Medeu holds 1 acre with a messuage and gives of rent at the 4 terms 18d. And she does in all things as the aforesaid Geoffrey Foghel.

9. John le Child⁴² holds half a virgate of land, to wit, 7 acres, and gives of rent at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., 1 cock and 1 hen and at Easter 10 eggs. And to Sheriff's Aid 3d. and to the park half a lip of barley. And he ought to reap 2 acres of wheat which are called Cavelacres [*sic*] and he shall have therefor 2 works. And he shall find at the great boonwork 2 men. And he ought to stack (*tassare*) the lord's corn if he wishes it and reap 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres of corn and he shall

⁴¹ *Ibm.*, 63 (1296).

⁴² *S.A.C.*, Vol. XL., p. 100 (1290).

find 1 man for mowing and gathering the lord's meadow so long as it is being mown, and the lord ought to carry in his own carts (*curr'*) the said hay. And the said (*ipse*) John shall find one man for stacking hay. And he ought with others to draw out one third part of the lord's manure by estimation according to the proportion of his land. And he ought to do carryings (*averag'*) as often as he is ordered so that he can return home by the evening of the day he went out, and he shall have a summons the evening before. And he shall make malt as often as the lord wills, to wit, each time 4 bushels of wheat and barley-malt and 8 bushels of oats. And he shall do works yearly, in one week 3 works and in another week 2 works. And he shall not have any week free from his works. And he ought to reap half an acre of every kind of corn for 1 work and to thrash 2 bushels of wheat for 1 work, 2 bushels of rye, 4 bushels of barley, 4 bushels of beans, 4 bushels of peas, 4 bushels of vetches and 8 bushels of oats for 1 work. And he ought to spread 20 heaps (*moncell'*⁴³) of marl for 1 work. And he ought to spread 1 row (*reng'*) of manure of the length of 1 furlong (*quarenterie*) for 1 work and to roll for the whole day for 1 work and shall roll 1 acre for 1 work if the lord wills, and weed for the whole day for 1 work. And he ought to dig and roll the flax land and put the flax in the water, draw it out and dry and bind it and make it all ready and to clean the flax seed according to his share and keep it until it is delivered to the reeve. And all the customers shall have for mowing the meadow 4 bushels of wheat and 1 cheese of the price of 4d. And he ought to harrow 1 acre of wheat, or 1 acre of beans or 1 acre of peas or 1 acre of vetch or $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of barley for 1 work. And he ought to collect 1 rood of straw for 1 work. And he shall find a winnowing-sheet (*lintheamentum ad ventiland'*) over (*super*) the lord's corn and a sieve for winnowing the corn.

10. Robert Foghel holds 1 ferling of land and does the half in all things as John Child.

11. Thomas atte Hamme

13. Thomas of the Church

12. Adam in le Hale

14. Adam Theny

(hold and do the like).

15. Roger in le Hurne holds a messuage with a croft and 1 acre of land and he ought to stack the corn and reap $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of corn. And he ought to work every week 1 work, to wit, to reap half an acre of every sort of corn for 1 work. And he does in all things his share according to the quantity of his land as the aforesaid John Child.

16. Adam le lipar [basket maker] holds 1 messuage with a croft and 1 acre of land and does in all things as Roger in le Hurne.

17. Johanna Tony holds 1 messuage with a croft and 1 acre of land and does in all things as Roger in le Hurne.

18. Roger in le Hale holds half a virgate of land which William Haket held rendering therefor yearly half a mark, viz. at the feast of the Nativity of the Lord 40d. and at the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist 40d. and to Sheriff's Aid 3d. And he ought to reap 1

⁴³ ? Monticellos.

acre of wheat. And he shall find 1 man for the boonwork. And he ought to gather the lord's hay. And he ought to do at the lord's flax as the said John, except that he ought not to clean the flax seed.

19. Agnes daughter of Thomas atte Cherche⁴⁴ holds 1 acre of land called Tabord and renders at the 4 terms of the year 15d.

RENTAL OF LAUNCYNG.

1. Godfrey Alayn⁴⁵ holds half a virgate of land freely and renders therefor yearly at the 2 terms 30d. And to Sheriff's Aid $\frac{3}{4}$ d. and to Parksilver $\frac{1}{4}$ d. And he renders each year at the feast of St. Martin (11 Nov.) 20 loads (*summas*) of salt. And he owes suit of court.

2. Richard Sligh holds half a virgate of land in villainage and gives of rent at the feast of St. Martin 12 loads of salt, and at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 12d., to Sheriff's Aid 4d. and to Parksilver $\frac{1}{2}$ d. And he ought to reap 1 acre of wheat at Hyen and to find 1 man at the lord's boonwork in autumn at Hyen.

3. John Buddyng holds half a virgate of land and gives of rent at the feast of St. Martin 3 loads of salt. And at the 2 terms 8s. And to Sheriff's Aid 4d. and to Parksilver $\frac{1}{2}$ d. And he ought to reap at Hyen 1 acre of wheat in autumn. And he shall find 1 man at the lord's boonwork in autumn.

4. Oliva daughter of Roger Hod holds half a virgate of land and gives of rent yearly at the 2 terms 3s. And she does in all things as the aforesaid John Buddyng, except that she does not render salt.

5. John Buddyng holds a messuage and 7 acres of land and renders at the 2 terms 5s. 3d.

6. William Sprot holds as much and does as the same John.

RENTAL OF IRYNGHAM.

1. Nicholas Frode⁴⁶ and Geoffrey Donyng⁴⁶ hold that virgate of land in villainage which Robert Post once held freely, doing and rendering in all things as James Frode below.

2. James Frode holds a virgate of land in villainage and gives of rent yearly at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 2s. 6d. and 1 hen and at the feast of St. John Baptist 5d. And he ought to plough 4 acres of land and owes for the ploughing of each acre 6d. at the will of the lord. And he has to do from the feast of St. Michael to the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (1st August) 96 works. And he ought to thrash 1 bushel of wheat for 1 work or 1 bushel of rye or 1 bushel of beans or 1 bushel of peas or 1 bushel of vetch or 2 bushels of barley or 2 bushels of oats for 1 work. And he ought to roll half an acre for 1 work and weed half an acre of corn for 1 work. And he owes from St. Peter ad Vincula to the feast of St. Michael 35 works. And he ought to reap 1 rood of corn for 1 work and give 1d. at the will of the lord. And he shall find at the great boonwork 2 men and

⁴⁴ *S.A.C.*, Vol. XL., p. 109 (1324).

⁴⁵ *S.R.S.*, Vol. X., p. 62 (1296).

⁴⁶ *Ibm.*, 58 (1296).

at the lesser 1 man and he shall have his expense (*dispendium*) by the day. And he ought to make malt and gather straw when necessary. And he shall help to do the lord's manure with half a wain and 2 oxen while it lasts for drawing out, and the lord shall find 1 wain to do the same for the said time. Also he ought to wash and shear the lord's sheep for 1 work. And he ought to carry and store the lord's corn when necessary. And he ought to carry (*portare*) and remove (*removere*) the lord's corn wherever the lord wills on his demesne.

3. Godfrey Donyng⁴⁶ holds 1 virgate of land called Eyneslond, and does in all things as the said Nicholas.

4. Ralph Donyng holds 1 virgate of land and does in all things as James Frode.

The same Ralph holds 1 small piece of land on the north side of his house and renders therefor yearly 3d., to wit, at the said 2 terms.

The same Ralph holds 1 good rood of land and renders yearly at the 2 terms 8d.

5. Simon Frode holds half a virgate of land and gives of rent yearly and does in all other services the half of 1 virgate of land, according to the quantity of his land, as James Frode.

The same Simon⁴⁶ Frode holds 1 acre of land with 1 messuage and gives of rent at the 2 terms 12d.

6. John Norman holds 1 croft and gives of rent at the 2 terms 9d.

The same John Norman holds 1 croft and half an acre of land and gives of rent at the 2 terms 6½d.

7. Ralph Shipee holds 1 cottage and half an acre of land and gives of rent yearly at the 2 terms 9d.

8. Richard Herblot holds 2 half acres of land and gives of rent at the feast of St. John Baptist 12d. for all his services.

THE MANOR AND ITS MEMBERS.

The Manor, as we find it "extended" or surveyed in the above Rental, contained from the days of the De Bavents downwards the parish of Wiston, always spelt Wystnoston, with 53 tenants. With this, under the same management, went a portion of the adjoining parish of Ashurst, in which only four small holdings are mentioned under that head. The fourth tenant, however, in Wiston, William Ismongere (iron merchant), held "eight fields in Ashurst," a large holding of uncertain size. He only paid 4s. rent, but when, probably at his death, it reverted to the lord, "the land of Ashurst" (no doubt the same land) was leased, as recorded in Reeves' Accounts, for

40s. yearly. In West Chiltington was an estate with nine tenants under a separate reeve. There was one small holding at Pulborough. In Hyen (Heene by Worthing) were 20 tenants with their own reeve. In Lancyng were six tenants. Finally, at Iryngham (Eringham Braose, in Old Shoreham), were eight tenants. This member of the Manor sometimes had the same reeve as Wiston.

THE TENANTS: THEIR STATUS AND SERVICES.

Beginning with *Wiston* itself, the Rental does not distinguish the tenants by any titles, but more than half the list is plainly entered on a classified plan.

Freeholders.—The first nine tenants evidently hold freely, and their successors in the Revised Rental of 1427 are called freeholders. They belong to the whole Manor, not to Wiston only. Five of them owe attendance at the lord's court, a special duty of freehold tenants. The first two held half a knight's fee each. According to the *Battle Abbey Custumal* (pp. xiii., 100), a knight's fee was a measure, if not of land, at least of services attaching to land. It was equivalent to four hides, and a hide was equal to four virgates, or in Sussex terminology, "wistas." As the Manor of Wiston was held under the lords of Bramber on the service of four knight's fees,⁴⁷ probably these two tenants were bound to relieve the lord, between them, of one-fourth of scutage, or any other obligation laid upon the holders of knight's fees by the King. By the above computation four knight's fees should have been equal to 16 hides. The Manor was rated in *Domesday Book* at 12 hides. The Fee of Hudegrove (No. 5) has not at present been identified. In the Reeve's Account for 43-44 Edward III. and elsewhere its rent is said to be not obtainable because it was "in the hands of the Earl of Arundel, in exchange for other land on the north side of the park of Wystnoston, lately imparked."

Customary Tenants.—The tenants numbered from 10 to 32 were those who were bound to the "week-works,"

⁴⁷ *S.A.C.*, Vol. V., p. 3.

which marked the full status of villainage. Nineteen of them, from 10 to 28, hold a ferling of land each, pay a rent of 16d. yearly, and are subject, with very small differences, to all the personal services described at length under Henry Calwe, the first on the list. All alike are burdened with the service of one work a week from Michaelmas to 1st August, reckoned as 44 weeks, and from that day to Michaelmas with two works a week for eight weeks, making 60 works in all. From these three are deducted for the weeks of Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide, leaving 57 works for each yearly. Then follow three holders of half a ferling each (29-31). They pay no rent, and are quit from pack-horse service and making malt, but they have to do two works a week all the year round, except the three holiday weeks. No. 32 in the Rental is also a half-ferling holder, and evidently had held the village smithy, being "Albreda, the smith's widow." She paid a rent of 17d., and had to make two plough coulthers and find a man at harvest time. We must suppose that while the Rental was being compiled she died, or for some other reason the holding ceased to be the smithy, for further down in the list we find, still in the same handwriting, after No. 48, "Gilbert Solewyk holds the tenement which Albreda held above." He does not, however, do as the other three half-ferling holders, but "does the half in all things as Henry Calwe (the typical ferling holder) renders and does on the whole." When we come to the annual Reeve's Accounts we find these 23 thus described. The 19 from whom the 57 works were demanded are called the "19 Customers." From the "tenement of Gilbert Solewyk" $28\frac{1}{2}$ works are accounted for, making the number " $19\frac{1}{2}$ Customers" of the ferling-tenement class. The three half-ferling holders are always spoken of as the "3 Thrashers," possibly owing to some re-arrangement of duties in the interval between the Custumal and the earliest Account Rolls. No. 33 is also the holder of half a ferling, but pays rent instead of service. From 34 to 44 the tenants so numbered (except 40), with various holdings (four having a ferling), though not burdened with week-works,

are liable to numerous occasional services. No. 40, perhaps the new smith, only pays rent. The remaining tenants only pay rent and find a man at boonworks. Two of them, 45 and 46, hold 24 acres of land called Rudland, the meaning of which is uncertain. It was held in parcels of four acres each.

It seems possible that the list originally ended with No. 46. Roger Wodeman (47) may have succeeded No. 39 at the mill. No. 48, who held a tenement "for the term of his life by deed," must have been a new freeholder, and he is followed by Gilbert Solewyk, the successor of the smith.

Chiltington.—After Wiston and Ashurst (of which no more need be said), the old Rental comes to Chiltington, of which not only a Rental is given, but also an Extent, or complete survey of the Manorial Demesne, with a summary of the items which made up its annual value of £14. 14s. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

There are 29 tenants, of whom the first three are *Freeholders*. One holds a large tenement of 18 acres, but the other two only one ferling each. Then follows (4), a typical *Customer*, whose obligations are stated at length. He has to do 49 week-works, not being burdened with two works a week during August and September. He holds half a virgate of land. Thirteen others follow who have to render the same services with some modifications. These 14 were no doubt the Customary Tenants, but having no Account Rolls of Chiltington we cannot so clearly identify them as at Wiston. One of the 13 holds one virgate, three half a virgate each, one has nine acres, six hold a ferling and two half a ferling. No 14, though not said to follow a typical tenant, does much service, as also No. 21. No. 19, holding one field of land and having to reap four acres of oats or pay 12d., has to pay suit of court as if a freeholder. The remaining tenants do little more than pay rent.

A feature of Chiltington under this Manor is that no less than eight of the 14 thought to be Customary Tenants, in addition to their common land, hold pieces

of "assart,"⁴⁸ for which they pay rent. The reference under Nos. 18 and 26 to the 17th year of King Edward (1288-9) is interesting, as dating the Rental after that time, but apparently while the tenants then holding were still in occupation.

The *Pulborough* tenant needs no further mention.

The Rental next takes us to *Hyen* (Heene), where the first five tenants were clearly freeholders. No. 6 is a typical tenant, liable to occasional services. He only holds one acre and is followed by two others, each holding an acre and doing as he does. No. 9 begins the Customary Tenants, who are of special interest in estimating the size of the holdings in the whole Manor. John Child, the typical tenant, holds "half a virgate of land, to wit, 7 acres." He not only has similar burdens with the Wiston customers, but has to do three works in one week and two the next throughout the year, not excepting the three holiday weeks. The amount reaches 130 works in the year. He is followed by five others, who hold one ferling each and do "the half in all things as John Child." Then come three more holding a messuage with a croft and one acre of land, and doing as John Child "according to the quantity of their land." No. 18, holding half a virgate of land, does as John Child in some things, but apparently has relieved himself of the week-works by paying a rent of 6s. 8d., instead of 7½d., which John Child and his group paid. No. 19 only pays rent.

From the above statement we see that at Heene one virgate was equal to 14 acres, half a virgate to seven acres, and that a ferling was half that again or one quarter of a virgate, containing 3½ acres.

The tenants at *Launcyng* were only six in number. They all hold practically the same amount of land, four of them half a virgate, the other two seven acres. The first holds freely and does "suit of court." He has to render 20 loads of salt at the feast of St. Martin (11th November). The next two also render salt and do slight

⁴⁸ A piece of land cleared from the waste and held separately under the lord.

services. Number 4 does the services, but renders no salt. The two last tenants only pay rent.

The valuable "salinæ" or salt pits at Lancing are mentioned in *Domesday Book*. The render of salt in November was for salting meat for the winter.

The Rental closes with a list of eight tenants at *Iryngam*. The first holding, having previously been held freely, was now held by two tenants conjointly in villainage on services stated under the next tenant. These were as heavy as those at Heene, including 96 works from Michaelmas to August and 35 from August to Michaelmas, 131 in all. Four tenants holding one virgate each, were charged with this burden, and one more with half a virgate did half the services. The three remaining tenants, with small holdings, paid small rents.

Services and Holdings.—The foregoing review of the tenants and their status bears distinct evidence that there had been a time when almost every tenant was charged with certain services corresponding with the size of his holding in respect of arable land. The unit, as was usual, had been the virgate, the other holdings being fractions of a virgate. In many parts of the country a virgate was held to contain 30 acres, but in parts of Sussex a much smaller virgate was in use, probably because as a rule in Domesday times and later, the manors were comparatively small, the arable land limited in extent and fertile for culture. Still, we are somewhat surprised to find how very small the average holding of a customary tenant was throughout the Manor of Wiston, and especially at Wiston itself. A virgate, or even a half-virgate, holding is infrequent, whereas that of a ferling is very common (19 occurring at Wiston), and that of half a ferling not uncommon. This common occurrence of a *ferling* is of much interest, for it is not usually met with. In *Domesday Book* it is found in the form "ferdinc" (*Sussex Domesday*, Rotherfield, xiv. b. 44). It is the same word as "farthing," and means the fourth part of a virgate. Such holdings are spoken of as "farthing lands." Now if we follow

the Heene statement, a virgate in this part of Sussex was only 14 acres. A "ferling" therefore would be $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and half that land $1\frac{3}{4}$ acres. While, however, it is hardly possible to dispute the definite statement at Heene, there is evidence that the whole system as to the co-relation of holdings and services had become greatly modified, and though names continued they connoted different values in local and individual cases. There are, as we see, in this Rental many instances of tenants with equal holdings and yet altogether differing in rent and services. So it must have been also in the local size of similarly called holdings, and there is good reason to think that the Wiston "ferlings" were at least seven acres in extent. In the later Rolls there is no little confusion of nomenclature. In the Court Roll of 1380 Nicholas Bush surrenders "half a *ferling* of land" to the use of William Schorye. William receives a grant of "the said half *virgate*" for the term of his own, his wife's and his son's lives. In the Revised Rental of c. 1427 the tenants commonly hold "1 virgate," or sometimes "7 acres." Ferlings are not mentioned. In a Court held in 1378 a large number of tenants are admitted, and nearly all their holdings are of "7 acres" each. Though they cannot be all identified, most of them were the old customary holdings. On the whole therefore we seem justified in setting down the Wiston holdings as seven acres, though still called by the old name of "ferling."

The Customary Services.—If in course of time the old technical descriptions of holdings had ceased in many cases to be a correct representation of actual local facts, still more had the relation between holdings and services been modified. Even at Wiston, where 19 holders of a ferling are still practically all subject to similar burdens, four other ferling-holders have escaped the obligation of the week-works. At Chiltington two ferling-holders are freeholders. In this Manor this class of holders owe 49 week-works, at Wiston they owe 57, at Heene 65. At Eringham an old customary holding of a virgate had been granted to a tenant as a free holding, but on the

next vacancy was reduced once more to its former burdens. Favourable conditions of tenancy were often granted, even permanently, in return for special services rendered to the lord. But a still more potent element of differentiation in the customers and their services is disclosed in the Custumal, and illustrated by the Reeves' Accounts. It is often taken for granted that the obligation to do one work a week, or sometimes two or three, meant literally so many days' work regularly in consecutive weeks. Whatever the original practice had been, it is plain that by the thirteenth century the "week-works" were, at least in many places, not regular, but largely occasional. They were, so to speak, kept in stock by the reeve, and demanded when and in what form was most needful, a strict account of them being rendered at the end of the year. The statements appended in the Custumal to a typical tenant contain all the various methods by which he and his fellows might be called upon to work out their quota of labours. Sometimes a sum was specified at which they might commute a particular service.

We will take the typical works of the Wiston customers, as stated under Henry Calwe.

One work was allowed him for *reaping*, binding and carrying half an acre of corn, rye or oats, or three palls (pallas) of barley, beans, peas or vetch. Also for making four bushels of *malt* of wheat or barley, or eight bushels of oats. For *weeding* half a day; for *rolling* half a day. In *thrashing* he must do for one work four bushels of wheat on the first workable day after the harvest. After that day two bushels of wheat, or eight of oats, or eight "lips" of beans, or four "lips" of peas or vetch. If he was set to *gather straw* he had to do for one work before Michaelmas five hules (hulas), or three from then till All Saints' day (1st November). In *digging ditches* he must do for one work eight feet of a new ditch or two perches of an old one. In *clearing*, he might be set to do half a wain load of thorns, or one-third of a load of broom, heather or bracken. Half a day's *harrowing* counted for one work, or collecting one horse-load of *sticks* (virgas,

? for firewood),^{48a} or filling up gaps in the lord's *hedges*, or gathering half a lip of nuts. Two other obligations counted for one work; the payment of 1d. for Parksilver, and the carriage of two wain-loads of wood from la Knappe, or St. Leonard's Forest or elsewhere. This last was called carriage of "Gavelwod," *i.e.*, wood carried for rent or payment. A payment of 5d. was made by custom in lieu of this service.

There remains one service which, as it seems, was not connected with the regular works, but yet, like the Gavelwod, counted amongst them. Each of the 19 customary tenants had to "plough $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of land." Manifestly this would not go far towards ploughing the lord's land.⁴⁹ It was more in the nature of a rent, and must be what the Reeves call the service of "Gavelerth,"⁵⁰ *i.e.*, rent-ploughing. A commutation charge of 4d. (8d. per acre) was taken in its stead, and the tenant was then allowed to reckon it as one work.

The labour services were divided into two main classes: 1, winter (sometimes called winter and summer) works, lasting from Michaelmas to the following 1st August; 2, autumn works, from 1st August to Michaelmas. The latter were chiefly associated with harvest operations, and gathered in most of the labour that could be demanded.

Their practical working may be best understood by reference to a Reeve's Account.

The earlier accounts are either not complete or defective in preservation. We will take that from Michaelmas, 47 Edward III. (1373) to Michaelmas 48 Edward III. (1374). At the close of the dorse of the roll is this statement:—

Works of Ploughing. And (he accounts) for $19\frac{1}{2}$ works of ploughing coming from $19\frac{1}{2}$ customers of whom each shall plough $\frac{1}{2}$ acre.

Of which in allowance of the works for tenements in the lord's hands, 12. And in works sold, as within, $7\frac{1}{2}$. And he is quit.

^{48a} Or perhaps withies for thatching or hurdles.

⁴⁹ The size of the demesne at Wiston is not given. About 140 acres were ploughed yearly.

⁵⁰ From the Old English word "ear," to plough.

In the account for 19 Edward III. (1346) all these services had been rendered or paid for under the name of Gavelerth. Now, for reasons which will be explained, 12 of the holdings had lost their "villain" tenants and were let to farm, the services being lost to the lord. The remaining tenants, one of whom owed a half-service, had paid to be released from them according to a fixed scale, returned inside the roll as "Sale of works."

A similar statement is made of

Carrying of wood, $19\frac{1}{2}$ works; 12 in lord's hands, $7\frac{1}{2}$ sold.
 Carrying of manure, $19\frac{1}{2}$; the same.
 Carrying of hay, 19 works; 12 as above, 7 sold.
 Carrying of corn, $19\frac{1}{2}$ works; 12 as above, $7\frac{1}{2}$ sold.

WINTER AND SUMMER WORKS.

	Works.
From 19 Customers from Mich: to 1st August for 44 weeks at 1 work per week	836
From 3 Thrashers for time of account at 2 works per week..	264
From tenement of Gilbert Solewyk at 1 work per fortnight..	22
From 7 "Gabulmanni," each doing 3 works ⁵¹	21
Total	1143

ALLOWANCES.

For works of 12 tenements of Customers in lord's hands ..	528
For do. of 3 Thrashers in lord's hands	264
For works of 7 Customers in 3 holyday weeks	31 ⁵²
The same for Gavelerthe	7
The same for Carriage of Wood	7
The same for money paid for enclosure of Knapp	7
For tenements of 4 "Gabulmanni" in lord's hand and at farm	12
In Digging land in the garden for sowing flax	9
In Weeding lord's corn	167 $\frac{1}{2}$
In $6\frac{1}{2}$ customers thrashing 3 qrs. 2 bushels of corn on first workable day after Michaelmas, at 4 bush: for 1 work .	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
In Thrashing 8 qrs. of wheat, at 2 bush: for 1 work	32
In Works sold, as within	41
In Thrashing 7 qrs. 6 lbs. of wheat, as above	31
Total	1143

⁵¹ These workers are not so described in the Custumal. The three works were: To dig the land, one work; to roll (*blestrare*) the lord's corn, one work; to weed the corn, one work.

⁵² This must be an error for 21.

AUTUMN WORKS.

	Works.
From 19 Customers from 1 Aug: to Mich: for 8 weeks at 2 works per week	304
From 3 Thrashers the same	48
From tenement of Gilbert Solwyk	8
	<hr/> 360

ALLOWANCES.

For works of 12 Customers, as above	192
For works of 3 Thrashers, as above.....	48
In Reaping and binding 1 acre of wheat and oats	2
In Reaping and binding 31 acres of barley, beans, vetch and oats, at 3 acres for 8 works	83
In Reaping by boonwork 38 acres of wheat, peas and vetch and 5 of oats and mowing 12 acres of vetch, and 22 acres by the task	—
Works sold as within, viz., of Will: Prat	16
In Reaping and binding 9 acres of wheat and oats, at 2 works an acre	19
	<hr/> 360

It may be said that the above statement is rather of works not forthcoming than of works rendered. This is so, but it illustrates the method by which the Reeve had, in former times, demanded and obtained the various obligations to which the Customary Tenants were bound by the Custumal. In the earliest account, for 19 Edward III. (1346), the Reeve charges himself with 637½ works between Michaelmas and Lady Day, 25 weeks. Only one tenement was in the lord's hands. He accounts for 385 works duly rendered or excused, leaving 252½ in hand, besides those accruing during the summer. This seems to prove that the works were not always demanded weekly.

Household Servants (Regular Servants on the Demesne).

—The daily economic routine of the Wiston portion of the Manor was evidently carried on by the staff called "Famuli." Of course this statement, as well as that concerning the "occasional" character of much of the "customary" service, must be joined with a needful modification. The whole Manor of Wiston consisted, as we have seen in the Old Rental, of several portions or

members. The "famuli" were chiefly at Wiston. Hence, perhaps, the more numerous works required from the customary tenants in other portions where there were no "famuli." Some, however, are mentioned at Iryngham.

These regular servants are not specified as tenants in the Rental, and held no land. They must have found accommodation in the buildings attached to the hall and the demesne enclosure. The head of all was the Steward (*seneschallus*), who was over all the various parts of the Manor, and possibly the possessions of the De Bavents and De Braoses elsewhere. The Wiston "famuli" occur twice in each Reeve's account, for they were paid partly in money and partly in kind.

In 1345, under the money payments, we find the following:—

STIPENDS OF FAMULI.

In stipends of 4 famuli and 1 shepherd of wethers (*multones*) at Wystnoston and 1 famulus at Ashurst for the said time [Mich: to Lady Day] 8s., of whom each has taken 8d. for a term.⁵³ In stipend of 1 harrowman for the said time 12d. In stipend of 1 shepherd of ewes for the said time 16d. In stipend of 1 swine-herd (*porcarius*) for the said time 12d. In stipend of the Day (dairy-woman) for the said time 8d. In margin 12s.

On the dorse of the Roll, in the account of grains, is:—

PAYMENTS (*liberaciones*) OF FAMULI.

And he [accounts for] 25 qrs. 1 peck of barley received above for payment of famuli.

Thereof in payment of 4 famuli and 1 shepherd at Wystnoston and 1 famulus at Ashurst from the feast of St. Michael to the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary for 25 weeks, of whom each has taken 1 qr. for 10 weeks—15 qrs. In payment of 1 harrowman for the said time, who has taken $\frac{1}{2}$ bushel per week—1 qr. $4\frac{1}{2}$ bs. In payment to the shepherd of ewes for the said time, who has taken 1 qr. for 10 weeks—2 qrs. 4 bs. In payment of 1 Daye keeping the court (? the farmyard) and small stock (*minut' Staur'*) and making the potage of the famuli for the said time, taking 1 bushel for 3 weeks—1 qr. 1 peck. In payment of 1 swineherd for the said time, who has taken $\frac{1}{2}$ bushel per week—1 qr. $4\frac{1}{2}$ bs. In payment of another boy (*garcionis*) helping to keep the pigs in the time of pannage for 5

⁵³ One of the four quarters of the year.

weeks—2 bs. In payment of 1 parker for the said time—3 qrs. 1bs.
—taking 1 bushel per week. Total, as before (25 qrs. 1 p.).

In 30-31 Edward III. (1356-7) the "4 famuli" seem to be described as "2 plough-servants" and "2 driver-servants" (famuli fugatores). And in the following year "1 oxherd" (bovarius) occurs with the drivers, while 1 "master-servant" seems to be the other ploughman. These four no doubt had charge of the ploughing—two ploughmen and two drivers of oxen or teamsmen. The harrowman would work in with them as required. The parker would be attached to the deer park, and perhaps the garden. A "gardener" occurs in 1358. The sheep and the pigs were provided for under their respective attendants, and the "small stock" which the daye (dairy-woman) had in charge must have included all the poultry. Various men and boys are mentioned as paid for limited periods, which indicates that there must have been unattached men capable of taking occasional labour. Almost all the tenants were bound to find one or sometimes two men at harvest and other times. They would be the sons of tenants and cottagers whose services were light.

Avermanni. — We observed in speaking of three half-ferling holders in the Rental that in the Reeves' accounts they are described as "thrashers," as though in the interval that work had been specially assigned to them. Similarly, although in the Custumal the duty of "averacio," or pack-horse carrying, was laid on all the Customers when demanded, yet in the Account Rolls after the middle of the fourteenth century we find some special men of the Customers evidently set apart for this work and called *avermanni*, or pack-horse men. It may be taken for granted that this feature of the manorial arrangements assumed an unusual importance from the fact of both the De Bavents and the De Braoses having other household establishments at a great distance—the former at Fifield beyond Salisbury, the latter at Le Bois in Amersham beyond London. Both also may have had households in London itself.

The earliest Account Roll, for 1345-6, has the following entries under *Foreign Expenses, i.e.*, outside the manor:—

Paid to 2 men customers of the homage with their 2 horses leading to London 2 carcasses of salted venison, 1 qr. of ox-meat and 4 hams at the feast of St. Leonard (Nov. 6) by precept of Willm. Keynes (steward)—8d. In wages of 2 men driving there 6 pigs at the Nativity of the Lord, by precept &c.—6d. In expenses of the said pigs in going there—1d. Also paid to a man, a customer of the homage, leading there 1 slain boar at the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary by precept &c.—4d. Also paid to a man of the homage with 1 horse of his leading there salted venison, capons and hens after the feast of the Epiphany—4d. Also paid to a man . . . leading there 2 hams and 3 hens on the feast of St. Mathias—4d. In expenses of 1 man with 1 horse (*equo*) of the lord Roger de Bavent staying at Arundel for 2 days by precept &c.—7½d. Also paid to a certain man carrying a letter to the said William to Shipbourn,⁵⁴ which [letter] came from Wyltes—3d. Also paid to a man leading a horse of the lord Roger de Bavent to Shipbourn—3d. Also to a boy of the said Will. for his expenses carrying a letter there—2d. Also to Thomas servant (*famulo*) of the said Will: for his expenses towards Wiltes by view of Roger atte Forde, parker, by precept &c.—4d. Also for 1 pair of shoes (*sotular'*) for the same—4d.—by precept &c. Also in expenses of 2 oxen going from Wiltes towards Wytneston and for expenses of 2 men for driving them—17d.—by precept &c. To a man afterwards going to Wiltes—3d.—by precept &c.

In account of stock—

Afri (working horses). Also received 3 horses, of which 1 male, 2 female coming from Fyfhide in the month of April, by 1 tally. *Colts* (pullani). Received 1 colt, male of age of 2 years coming from Fyfhide with the horses &c. *Oxen*. Received 9 oxen coming from Fyfhide in the beginning of Lent. *Bull*. Received 1 bull coming from Fyfhide with the oxen &c.

Similar statements occur throughout the Rolls in the time of the De Braoses. The following entries are from a schedule attached to the Account Roll for 45 Edward III. (1371-2):—

Paid to Walter atte Purie "averman" going to London as well for himself as for his father for fetching (*querend*) and carrying victuals there 8 times this year 4s. To the same going to le Boys during the same time once 10d. To William Skypard averman going to London 6 times 3s. To the same going to le Boys once 10d. To John Skypard averman going to London 6 times 3s. To the same going to le Boys with victuals once 10d. To Ralph Skypard averman going to

⁵⁴ A Manor of the De Bavents, in Kent, near Sevenoaks (Harris *Hist. Kent*, p. 282).

London 4 times 2s. To the same going with victuals to le Boys once 10d. To John Lyndefelde averman to London once 6d. To the same going to le Boys with victuals once 10d.

These journeys to and fro are of regular occurrence. From some later accounts, as in 1383-4, we learn that on these occasions the old requirement of the Custumal as to one day's service was adhered to:—

In wages of 4 avermen going "in averagio domini" to le Boys, London and elsewhere for 3 days and 3 nights and 1 averman for 4 days —5s. 6d.—each at 6d. a day by the Custumal, deducting the first day on which they go at their own costs.

It is remarkable that except on one occasion, when a mare died on the road, there is no report of any damage or loss of any of the goods or animals thus conveyed for these long distances, mostly it would seem in the winter season.

The *Black Death* and its effects.—Though no actual reference to the Black Death and the other pestilences of the fourteenth century is made in our Rolls, it is impossible not to ascribe to them the marked changes which are disclosed in the tenure of the Manorial holdings during that period. To appreciate the significance of our information, we will set down the list of the 23 Customary Tenants at Wiston, as given in the early Rental:—

19 Customers each holding 1 ferling and paying 1s. 4d. rent.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Hen: Calwe | 11. John Purie |
| 2. Roger le Rede | 12. Ralph Gudlak |
| 3. Will: Tilie | 13. Dion: de la Doune |
| 4. Will: Esteton | 14. Will: Mot |
| 5. Matilda relict of Seriant | 15. Thos: son of Omekyn |
| 6. Emma relict of Stephen | 16. Thos: atte Purie |
| 7. Agnes le Veautrer | 17. John le Rust |
| 8. Ralph Bolewyn | 18. Roger Wrench |
| 9. Walter Edwyne | 19. Will: Frye |
| 10. Asselota relict of Worghte | |

4 Holders of $\frac{1}{2}$ ferling, called afterwards the 3 Thrashers and 1 Half-Customer.

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 20. Will: le Felder | 22. Agnes daughter of Bertram |
| 21. Steph: de la Pirie | 23. Gilbert Solewyk |

In the earliest surviving Account Roll, for 1345-6, the Reeve, Edward Alwy, accounts for the rents and services of 18 of the 19 Customers, including his own, which were excused during his office. The nineteenth tenement, that of John Emme (perhaps No. 15 in the list above), was at the time untenanted and in the lord's hands. He also accounts for all the services of the three Thrashers and the "Tenement Solewyk."

In the year 1349 occurred the pestilence known in history as the Black Death, which devastated Europe to such an extent that it is thought that in many places nearly one half of the working population was swept away. Not many years afterwards we come to our next Account Roll, of 30-31 Edward III. (1356-7). Here, in accounting for the Autumn works (the other works are not entered), the Reeve claims allowance for those of eight Customers and one Thrasher, whose tenements are in the lord's hands and their works not forthcoming.

In the following year (1357-8) is an interesting Schedule attached to the Reeve's Account and headed "Wystnoston—Defaults of Rents there in the 32nd year." Among them come the following references to the holdings as given in the old Rental:—

In default of rent of 1 Ferling of land formerly of (1) Henry Calwe because it is in the lord's hands and at farm yearly—16d.

In default &c. . . . 1 Ferling formerly of (2) Roger Red because &c.—16d.

The same of the Ferlings and Rents formerly of (9) Walter Edwyne, (10) Asselota Worghte, (11) John Puryere, (12) Goudlak, (17) Rust, (18) Wrench. Also of the half-ferling of (20) Will: Feldere, which paid no rent.

The numbers refer to the list just given from the Rental. From these nine out of the 23 customary holdings the lord's works could not be obtained. They were let to farm. Besides these nine holdings, which were formerly of most advantage to the lord, the above list of defaults records six others on the Manor (all on the old list) as similarly situated. Two others had been granted to the gardener. Two the lord had taken

into his own demesne. A mill, formerly of Roger Wodeman, was too dilapidated to be used.

On the back of this schedule are "Defaults at Iryngham." Here matters were still worse. Out of eight holdings in the Old Rental six are "in the lord's hands."

Thus, out of about 52 holdings in these two places (excluding the Wiston Freeholders), 26 had ceased to be occupied by the class of tenants whose services had been rendered just before the Black Death. The tenants were either all dead, or the survivors had fled elsewhere to avoid obligations which they were not able to perform. In the case of some of the other holdings there were doubtless many deaths, but the survivors were able to keep their homes together.

In 1361 and 1369 there were two severe recurrences of the plagues. Possibly, for this reason, we find the further development of defaulting tenants which we saw disclosed in the Reeve's Account for 1373-4 (see pp. 173-4). In that year 12 of the 19 holdings of Customers and those of the three Thrashers are in the lord's hands, leaving only seven holders of a ferling and one of a half-ferling to render the services.

The expression "in the lord's hands" did not mean that the holdings were empty. It was a technical assertion of lordship with its right to services which might some day be recovered. The number of customary holdings "in the lord's hands" varied. Apparently a tenant might sometimes be found to take a holding on the old terms. Sometimes the "farm" is said to be excused for the year because the tenant is doing his *antiqua servicia*, perhaps for lack of ability to pay the rent. As a rule, however, a voluntary tenant was put in at a farm or rent for a term of years, and the customary services could not be enforced. All the Reeve could do was to go on year by year enumerating the various "works" due according to the Custumal, and explain why they were not forthcoming. This practice continued into the fifteenth century, when there were

still four of the customary tenants seemingly rendering services. The Revised Rental of *c.* 1427 scarcely mentions any service at all. A large number of the tenants are then holding a virgate of land, and seem to be the successors of the ferling-holders of the early Rental. They pay various rents, from 5s. to 7s., or even 10s.
