

# SOME EXTENTS AND SURVEYS OF HENDON.

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## PART II.

BETWEEN the first and second Manorial Surveys of Hendon there elapsed two centuries and a half, full of incidents and developments which helped to change every aspect of English life. Into these centuries were crowded the Black Death and the Peasants' Revolt; the Hundred Years War with France and the Civil Wars of the Roses; the deposition, either temporary or permanent, of four kings and the murder of four; the fall of several dynasties and the peace of the Tudors; the first period of Enclosures, the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the Reformation and part of the Renaissance. When the first survey of 1321 was made, the Manor of Hendon had not long returned into the possession of its original holders, the Abbot and Convent of Westminster. When the second survey of 1574-76 was completed, the Manor had been for 25 years in the hands of the family of the Herberts, Earls of Pembroke, where it was destined to stay, with varied changes of fortune, for two centuries.

The Black Death had a far-reaching effect on the manorial and ecclesiastical organisation of the time and must have influenced development in Hendon, though probably not so much as in more typical manors elsewhere.

The statistics with regard to the Black Death have recently been examined with very great care.<sup>1</sup> Previously, haphazard guesses of contemporary writers were accepted

even when they were given under stress of anxiety and emotion produced by the ravages of the plague, and with the remarkable inaccuracy which characterises most mediaeval estimates. Severe analysis of several episcopal registers by G. G. Coulton shows that 44 per cent. of the parochial clergy in the dioceses thus examined died of the plague, but it is difficult to feel sure that this proportion can be accepted for the whole country and for all classes. Possibly we may assume that in Hendon between a third and a half of the population died, though, with its streams and natural drainage, its hills and valleys, and its population scattered in seven or eight hamlets, its health conditions were probably better than the average manor. Simon de Burcheston, Abbot of Westminster, in vain took refuge with 26 of his monks in the Manor House of Hampstead; and we may imagine that the new parsonage at Hendon, with its wealth of rooms, as we learn from an inventory of 1540, was filled with refugees from the Abbey. We have no exact figures for the ravages of the plague in Hendon, but the disappearance of certain families after 1350 side by side with the persistence of others and the rapid changes of officials at that time are possible indications of the mortality caused by the plague.

Further examination of episcopal statistics confirms the notion of an ineffective parochial clergy, and the registers of John de Drokenesford, a Hendon landowner who was Bishop of Bath and Wells, show that, even in normal times, in many parishes there was no one qualified "to celebrate Mass, to rehearse the Marriage Service or to administer the last rites to a dying man." During the plague permission was sometimes given to confess to a layman or even to a woman, and the sacraments could be administered by a deacon. "The calamity," writes G. G. Coulton, "did as much to break down the old mediaeval parish as the mediaeval manor; the divine right of the priest and the divine right of the landlord were equally shaken." But Hendon was not typical as



a parish or manor, and there was not the same apathy on the part of the clergy there as elsewhere. There are records of rectors and vicars from the twelfth century, and the parsonage was a country seat for the rector; while the priest, mentioned in Domesday, handed on his virgate adjoining the present vicarage undiminished to his successors, who seem to have been regularly resident in the parish.

This plague, so new and therefore so baffling and deadly, crashed into a world that was already changing and produced a severe moral and economic crisis, and contributed to "that impulse of independent research which we call the Renaissance, and that religious revolution closely akin to it which we call the Reformation." But in many manors there was comparatively little change, and Hendon seems to have been one of them. The late Professor A. E. Levett, who had studied the manorial system of the fourteenth century in very great detail, thought that "the Black Death did not in any strictly economic sense cause the Peasants' Revolt or the breakdown of villeinage, but it gave birth, in many cases, to a smouldering feeling of discontent, an articulate desire for change, which found its outlet in the rising of 1381."

The immediate effect was certainly a great scarcity of labour in nearly all manors, and men's wages rose by 50 per cent. and women's by 100 per cent. The freeholder was able to buy land cheaply and work it by his own labour and that of his family. The customary tenants found it more difficult to commute their services for cash and were discontented to find the labourers more prosperous than they were. Many of them left their holdings and went into the towns where prospects were better.

The proximity of Hendon to London would always have presented this temptation, and the fact that many London families like the Basings, Bidyks and others held land in Hendon may well have made the escape of

Hendon villeins to London a comparatively easy matter (cp. the case of Walter de Hendon in 1298).<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the organisation of the fourteenth century manor opinions have somewhat changed. Flete and Henley among the ancients and Cunningham and Vinogradoff among the moderns all state somewhat emphatically that in every manor there were two persons of authority, the Bailiff or Bedell, appointed by the Lord, and the Reeve, chosen by the peasants.

Sir William Ashley is more cautious, and expresses the opinion that the practice varied considerably from time to time, and from manor to manor.<sup>3</sup> It seems that the Reeve's accounts are frequently, if not generally, presented according to pattern, which suggests that an official came round from year to year from the higher authority, in the case of Hendon from the Abbey of Westminster. The records of Westminster, like others, give the Cellarer as auditor on many occasions. Where the form of account is normal, it starts with the name of the manor, the year and the name and office of the official rendering the account.<sup>4</sup> Next follow the arrears from last year; rents of assizes, mills, etc.; sales of corn and of stock; perquisites of court, fines and heriot; details of expenditure, a balance and an inventory of produce and livestock. The auditor scrutinises the accounts with great care, adds on money due to the Lord and any omitted dayworks, checking these from some official extent or terrier, in the case of Hendon from the Black Survey of 1321. The Reeve then settles the amount of his debt, arranges for the payment of any arrears, and sometimes provides pledges for their repayment by instalments.

After the Black Death conditions varied from manor to manor. In some the landlord tried the plan of letting out considerable holdings to villein tenants, instead of trying to till the demesne with villein or hired labour; in some he turned the demesne and the vacant crofts of extinct families of villeins into sheep farms; while in

others, of which Hendon is an example, some experiments were made, and a farmer was appointed to manage the whole of the demesne, and was provided with animals, implements and plant.

It is possible to reconstruct some of the farming methods employed in the Manors of Westminster Abbey from the lists of manorial officials and the farming accounts of Hendon from 1318 to 1502 contained in the Abbey muniments.<sup>5</sup> Several specimens of the annual return given by the Reeve or Bailiff are given in an Appendix, and have been transcribed and extended by Miss Lilian J. Redstone, of Woodbridge.

Until the Black Death there was alternatively a *Praepositus* (Reeve) and a *Serviens* (Bailiff). The Reeve sometimes held his traditionally unpopular office for six years, and the bailiff or serjeant was usually one of the customary tenants. It will be as well to summarise the Westminster Records from 1318.

In Hendon, as probably in other Middlesex manors belonging to Westminster Abbey, the *Praepositus* or the *Serviens* rendered his account as a rule at Michaelmas; and when, as in the case of Saiger de Brokeshead (1318-23), who succeeded Alexander le Feurel (1316-7), the *Serviens* had a long tenure, he gave delivery of his dead and live stock to his successor, Stephen de Strafford. This may well have been an annual proceeding. One of the Abbey documents is a list of the debts which Strafford received from the debtors of Brokeshead, and another the moneys received by Strafford from his predecessor's payments (*W.A. Doc.* 32532-32541).

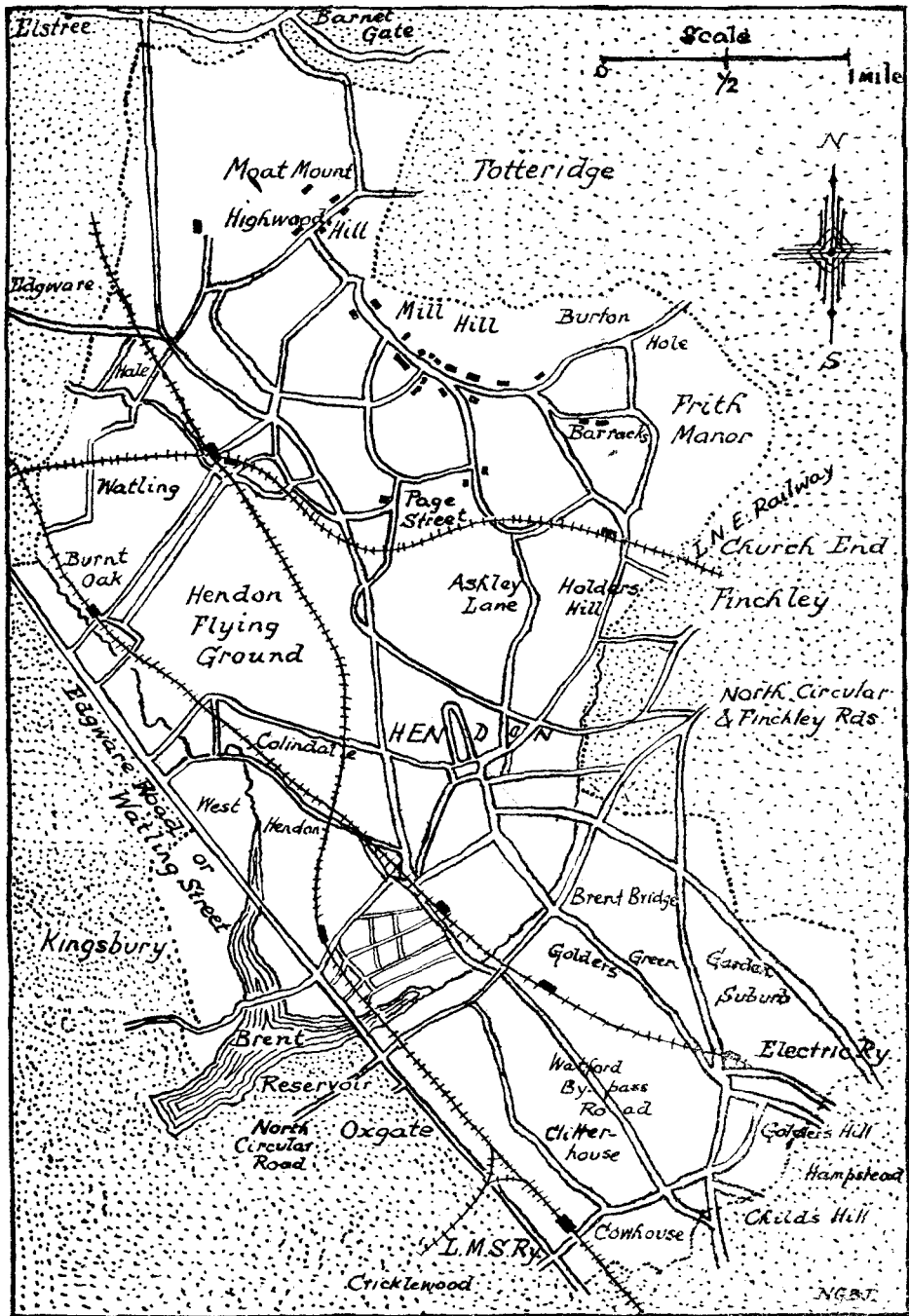
The accounts were perhaps not always rendered at Michaelmas, nor did they always cover an exact year. For instance, in 1325 there is an acquittance of William de Merton for 14 days, of Thomas de Mudelynton (? Middleton) for 8 weeks and for William de Cotes for 3 weeks, for Hendon Rectory, and the period covered is from July to Michaelmas. On 6th September of the same year Thomas de Warde of Muddlynton delivered

the farm stock to William de Cotes, *Serviens* in Hendon Rectory after him. Richarde de Chalkhille was *Praepositus* from 1327 to 1330, beginning on 20th March and continuing until Michaelmas of 4 Edward III, being *Serviens* for the last year.

Richard Saundre was *Praepositus* from 1328 to 1331 and Richard Riche from 1331 to 1334. Richard Rolf was *Praepositus* for more than ten years until 1345, and was succeeded by Henry le White as *Serviens* until 1348. William Houchons was Reeve for a few months only from 2nd December, 1348, to 12th August, 1349, and then came John Bonde. These three rapid changes were probably caused by the Black Death. Bonde remained Reeve for over twelve years and, as has already been said, may well have acquired enough land and prestige through his long official life to compare in importance with the Reeve of Chaucer's Prologue.

Hugh Stodlee was Reeve for seven years and John Goodhywe for four. Then in 1372 an important change was made and Frater John Lakyngheth became Bailiff, with William Thebaud or Thebold as Reeve and John Goodyer or Goodzer as Bedell. It is difficult to explain the reason for this change, which made one of the monks in charge of the demesne farm, apparently for the first time in Hendon, and lasted only two years.

In 1372 John Goodhywe delivered the dead stock to his successor, William Thebaud, the new Reeve under Lakyngheth (*W.A.* 32587), and there are two accounts of William, one for 1372-3, Michaelmas to Michaelmas, and one for 1373, Michaelmas to 15th November (*W.A.* 32588-9). The experiment now came to an end, and, though Lakyngheth was still alive in 1380-1 and appears in the Westminster returns for the Poll-tax, he does not again figure in the list of officials of the Manor. In 1373-4 John Swan was Bailiff, with John Goodyer as Bedell and Rent-collector, and there are accounts rendered by Swan for the remainder of his year 1373-4, rather elaborate reckonings for 1374-5, dealing with



SKETCH MAP OF HENDON.



repayments from William Thebold, debts due to Swan on his final account and the accounts of the rent-collector (*W.A.* 32590-1).

In 1375-6 there was a fresh arrangement and John was Bailiff, with John at Hegge, a customary tenant and son or grandson of the tenant of 1321, acting as Bedell and Farmer of the Demesne. Clearly experiments were being made in the management of the Manor, and the success of this latest device seems to be proved; for in 1379 John at Hegge was again given the post of Farmer of the Demesne, and later Collector of Rents and farms and Courts, and he succeeded in holding the post through the troublous times of the Peasants' Revolt, vacating his post, possibly by death, only in 1409, after more than 30 years' tenure.

Probably he is the John of Hendon recorded in the Middlesex Poll-tax list discovered in the Record Office by Dr. S. J. Madge.<sup>6</sup> During the early years of his tenure, from 1380-82, that is, the period of the "Hurling Times," Thomas Nicoll, probably grandson of Stephen Nicoll of the Black Survey, whose descendants still survive in Hendon after 600 years, was associated with him as Woodward (*W.A.* 32591B-32618).

The great revolt of 1381 was short and sharp, and in the single month of June it seemed as if the "old order of things was about to crash down in red ruin, and that complete anarchy would supervene."<sup>7</sup> The poll-tax, which precipitated this terrific conflagration, like the murder at Serajevo in 1914, was the occasion of the outburst, but only the smallest of its causes. Irritation at the gradual loss of French possessions, the growing annoyance at the incompetence and possible treachery of the King's Ministers, the deplorable ending of the reign of Edward III and the natural inability of his young grandson to control his uncles, all made life difficult and disappointing, but would not have been sufficient to produce the revolt.

There was seething discontent both in towns and

villages, and in the thirty and more years since the Black Death this had been growing to a head. It will be of interest to try and discover the connection between these two staggering events, and to trace their influence on the economic development of the Manor of Hendon.

Thorold Rogers and Dr. Cunningham attributed much of the discontent directly to the depopulation caused by the plague and to a consequent widespread, if not general, attempt on the part of landowners to rescind the agreement by which villeins had commuted their customary labour on the Lord's demesne for money payment. Like most general statements, this probably needs considerable modification. In many manors commutation had not taken place, though it had done so in Hendon to a very considerable extent. In the Black Survey of Hendon, which was compiled for the Convent of Westminster in 1321, there are 51 free tenants and 75 customary tenants, and the average holding of the latter is 14 acres or nearly half a virgate.

These 75 customary tenants had an average of only eight days' work to do on the demesne land, less than half the average number on the adjacent manor of Hampstead, which had only five free tenants out of a total of 51. A comparison shows that in two centuries the condition of the customary tenants had vastly improved in the Westminster manors, as compared with figures given for those of Peterborough, and Hendon had progressed at least as well as most.

Still, it is true to say of a number of manors, as Sir Charles Oman has pointed out in *The Great Revolt of 1381* (1906), that, far from the lords having tried to rescind old bargains, the reverse is true. Many lords, after the Black Death, actually introduced the custom of commuting service for rent, because they could not get hands of any sort to till their demesne lands.

In Hendon and Hampstead there was a good deal of work done on the land by the customary tenants with the help of day labourers, and the tenants of Hendon

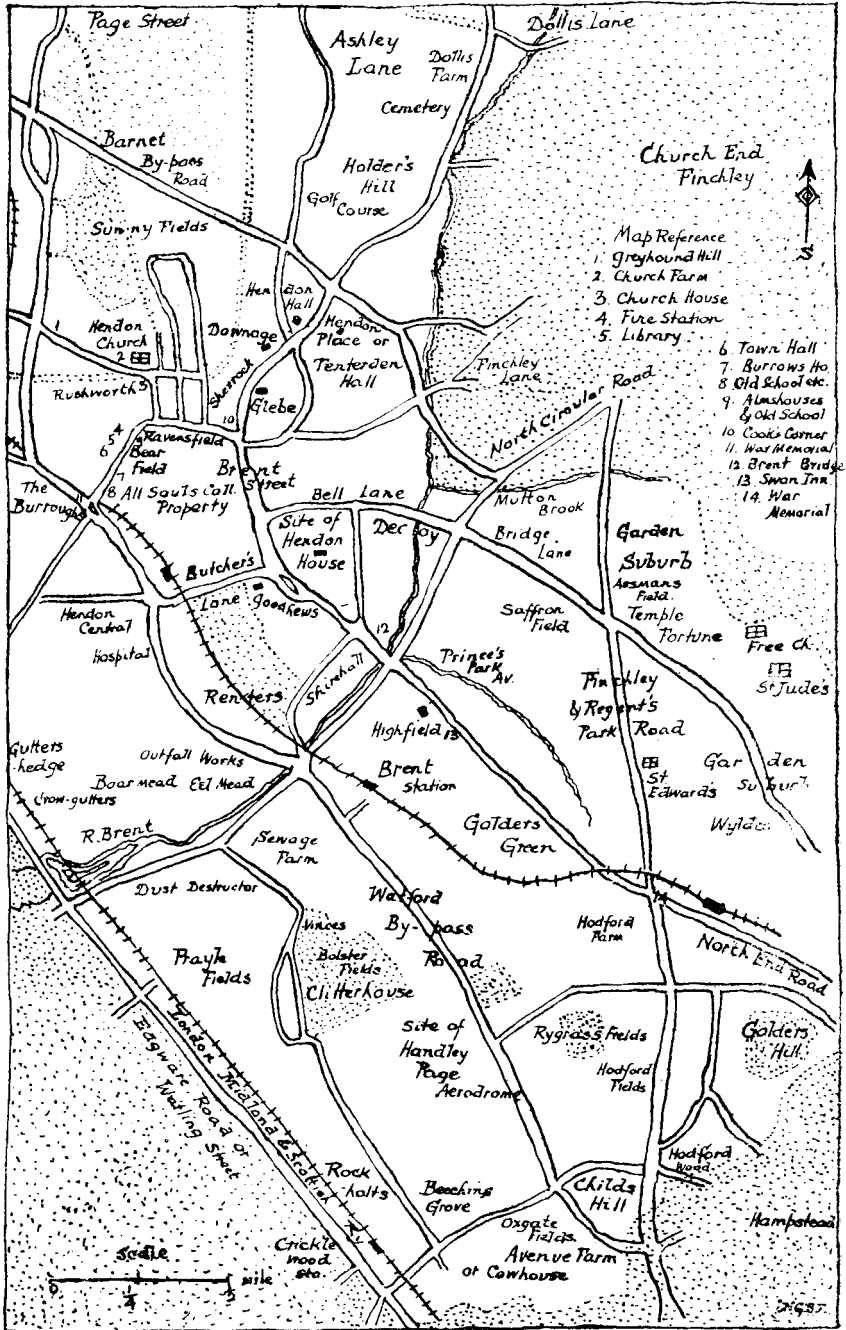
had to find men to work for their lord for 272 days each year. This might well be difficult to arrange after the Black Death.

In the half century or more before the Black Death and perhaps still more in the thirty years after it, there had grown up a marked difference between the two types of workers; the villeins with their customary dues, and the landless man who in addition to his farm work had a craft such as that of smith, thatcher, tiler, carpenter, mason, sawyer. It will be remembered that Chaucer's Reeve had been trained in his youth as a carpenter, and doubtless he found his skill an additional means of livelihood. Several of these craftsmen occur in the Black Survey of Hendon, and no doubt their number would tend to increase rather than diminish.

Where there was a manor of the old type, and it seems clear that Hendon was not one of these, the Lord wanted to exact from the customary tenants as much as he possibly could in the way of dues, fines and work. From the landless labourer he wished to buy cheap service at the price laid down in the Statute of Labourers.

The customary tenants and the labourers wanted to make the best bargain possible and to secure the cancelling of some of the worst injustices that still existed. Branding with hot irons and outlawry were among the punishments which could be inflicted, and, though this was seldom done, the fact that such things were possible caused great discontent. During these thirty years of strife, from the Statute of Labourers to the Peasants' Revolt, the landless labourer fared better on the whole than the customary tenant; but in Hendon, seeing that the average number of days demanded from each of the latter was only eight, there would not be so much to choose between them, and in any case we do not know what proportion of the landless labourers existed in Hendon.

Langland, in his *Piers Plowman*, after giving a pathetic description of a hard worked family attached



HENDON: SOUTHERN SECTION.

to the soil, gives a vivid picture of the prosperity of the free labourers. "Labourers that have no land to live on, but work with their hands, do not deign to dine on yesterday's stale vegetables; no penny-ale will pay them, nor a piece of bacon, but it must be fresh flesh or fish, fried or baked, and that hot and hotter (*chaud* and *plus chaud*) for chilling of their maw. He must be highly paid, else he will chide and bewail the time that he was wrought a workman. . . . Then he curseth the King and all the King's Justices for such laws as grieve the labourer."

The customary tenants were restive, and in some cases they left their scanty acres; in others they demanded the commutation of work days and dues for a fixed rent of 4d. per acre; in others "they confederated themselves in conventicles, and took an oath to resist lord and bailiff, and refuse their due customs and service." The Hendon farm accounts which are preserved at Westminster do not give any indication of such serious disaffection in this manor. But probably in Hendon the same changes took place as in the adjoining Manor of Hampstead, and, where the Convent could not get villein labour to cultivate the demesne, it was leased, first for five years, but later for ten or twenty years.

In some manors the customary tenants raised constitutional points against their lords, evidently with the aid of lawyers, and in the first parliament of Richard II it was thought necessary to pass a special statute to deal with them. It ran as follows: "In many lordships and parts of the realm of England the villeins and holders of lands in villeinage refuse their customs and services due to their lords, under colour of certain exemplifications made from Domesday Book concerning the manor in which they dwell; and by virtue of the said exemplifications, and their bad interpretations of them, they affirm that they are quit and utterly discharged from all manner of serfdom due whether of their bodies or of their tenures, and will not suffer distresses to be levied

on them, or justice done on them, but menace the servants of their lords in life or members, and, what is more, they draw together in great bands, and bind themselves by confederation that each shall aid the others to constrain their lords by the strong hand." (*Statutes of the Realm*, ii, 2 & 3.)

Not only customary days of service, but incidents such as heriot, merchet and the dues demanded on the sale of beasts were much disliked by the peasants. But in Hendon the average of days each year demanded from the customary tenants was only eight, and they did not pay heriot at all.

The monopoly of the mill was frequently a grievance, but in Hendon there seem to have been, in addition to the mill mentioned in the Black Survey, which was probably near the church, others near the parsonage, on Watling Street and at Mill Hill, so that there would be greater freedom in grinding corn and not such long journeys to take in reaching the mill. One can imagine that the journeys to Westminster carrying corn would be a particularly annoying piece of service.

John Ball had aroused discontent by twenty years of itinerant preaching, and craftsmen, pedlars, vagrants, outlaws and out-of-work soldiers had spread the knowledge of what was happening from one manor to another.

The Statute of Labourers of 1351<sup>8</sup> and its renewal in 1360 caused great discontent. All labourers, including carters, ploughmen, shepherds, swineherds and all other servants, were to work for the rate of wages current in 1346 before the *Black Death*. The penalty for accepting higher wages or refusing the lower ones was branding with the letter F, or outlawry. No craftsman or labourer was to leave his hundred without sanction, the penalty being the stocks.

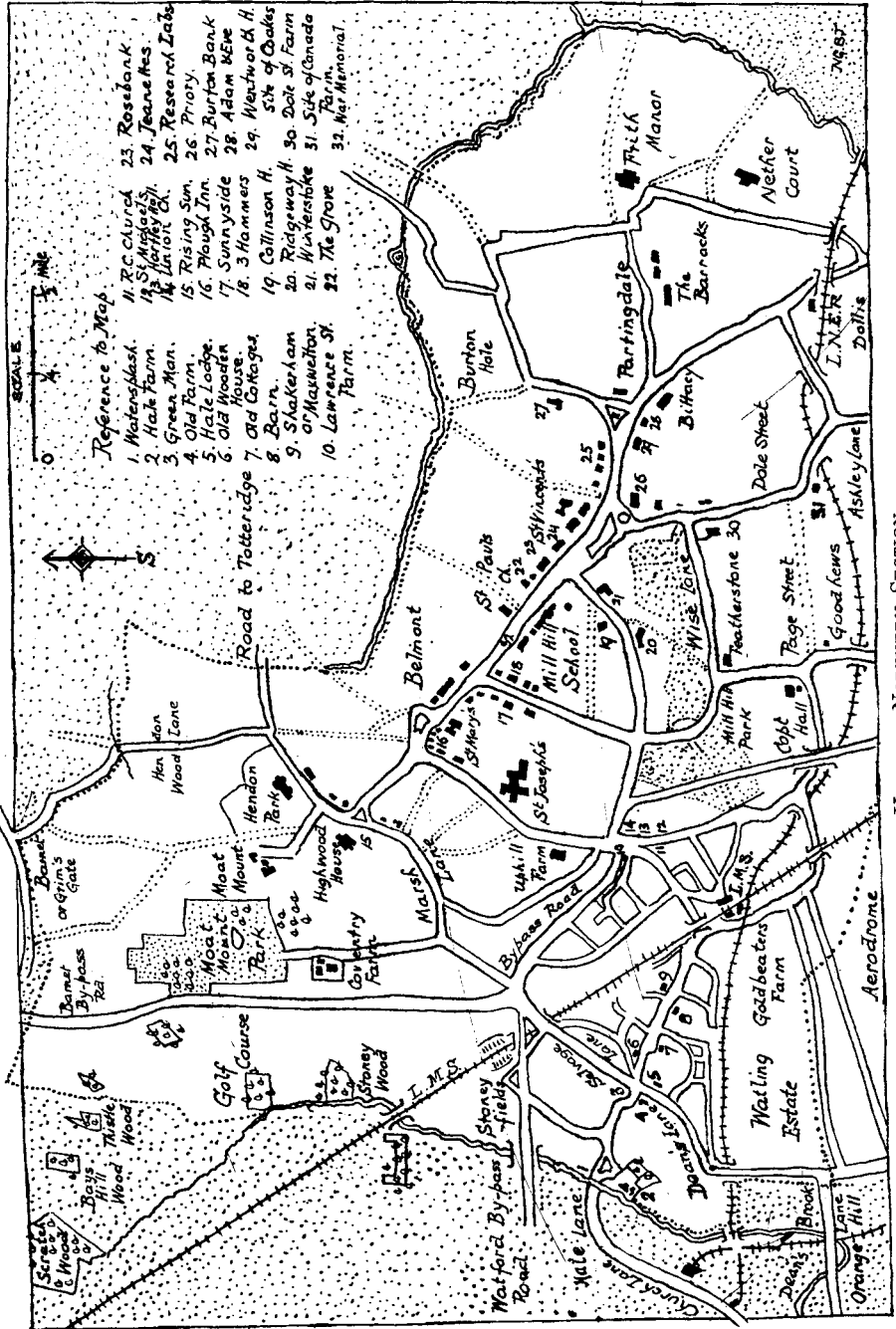
The Act was renewed in 1368 and republished with additions in 1388. All craftsmen could be compelled to work on the land, and any child who had worked on the land before the age of 12 was not allowed to undertake

any other occupation. These laws were a piece of class legislation of a particularly selfish type, which was increased by the rule that all wages were to be fixed by the local Justices, who were drawn from the ranks of the landowner.

The difficulty of collecting money for the war with France, in spite of an impoverished exchequer, led to the two Poll-taxes; the first in 1377 of a groat on all persons over the age of 14, and the second two years later levied on a principle of graduation. Reasonable though it was, it produced "great grudging and many a bitter curse," and yet very little money came in. The third tax of three groats on every person above the age of 15 was immensely unpopular, and proved to be one of the sparks that set light to material already inflammable.

The sum demanded was far beyond the resources of the average villager, and in a poor village, where there were no moneyed residents to pay more than their share, every tenant had to pay the full shilling. In the Manor of Hendon there had been for at least sixty years a large proportion of fairly well-to-do folk, as is proved by the 45 freeholders of the Black Survey, several of whom were important City merchants, and one or two Knights of the Shire. In such a community the assessment would certainly be easier and probably more equitable. An easy remedy for this very unfair poll-tax was provided by a system of false returns, which happened in almost every village in England. The numbers over 15 years of age would naturally be less than those over 14; but in most parts of the country the numbers were down by a third. In Middlesex the drop was from 11,243 to 9,937, a drop of only 12 per cent. In most parts of the country the villagers had "suppressed the existence of their unmarried female dependents . . . in a wholesale fashion," and most villages show "an incredible predominance of males."

An incomplete Poll-tax return for Middlesex gives us



Reference to Map.

- |                  |                    |                    |
|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Watlingdash.  | 11. R.C. Church    | 23. Rosebank       |
| 2. Halk Farm.    | 12. St. Margaret's | 24. Jeaneakes      |
| 3. Green Man.    | 13. Linton Ch.     | 25. Reservoir Lake |
| 4. Old Farm.     | 14. Linton Ch.     | 26. Priory         |
| 5. Hale Lodge    | 15. Rising Sun.    | 27. Burton Bank    |
| 6. Old Woodin    | 16. Plough Inn.    | 28. Adam Bene      |
| 7. Old Cottage   | 17. Sunnyside      | 29. Westwor Ch. H. |
| 8. Barn.         | 18. 3 Hammers      | 30. Side of Oakes  |
| 9. Shakerham     | 19. Collinson H.   | 31. Side of Canada |
| 10. Maswellton   | 20. Ridgeway H.    | 32. The Grove      |
| 10. Lawrence St. | 21. Mynersbake     | 33. War Memorial   |
|                  | 22. The Grove      |                    |

HENDON: NORTHERN SECTION.



very slender information about Hendon, and the only names mentioned are Thomas de Eure, Rector from 1372-1389, and John de Hendon, evidently the Farmer of the Demesne.<sup>9</sup>

The suddenness of the Revolt surprised everyone, and showed that there had been much sympathetic discussion of grievances and possible planning of concerted action. Many groups of villagers headed by their parish priests marched to London after burning local manor rolls. Those of Hendon would perhaps have been kept at the Abbey, where they would be safe from destruction, but apart from a few isolated years, the Manor Rolls do not start till far later, so that there may have been some destruction during this time. But the Extents and Annual Farm Accounts were, in their way, just as important and informative as to the duties of tenants, and would give the monks of Westminster authoritative details as to the amount of service and rent which they could claim. There was serious trouble at Barnet and Harrow, and the march of the discontented townsfolk of St. Albans under Grindcobbe may well have been through Hendon. The dislike of the Hospitallers, which led to the complete destruction of the Priory of St. John's at Clerkenwell, may have extended to Hendon, where they had a considerable holding near Temple Fortune and a larger one in the adjacent Manor of Hampstead. The Anominal Chronicle of St. Mary's, York, discovered by Professor G. M. Trevelyan, and translated by Sir Charles Oman, speaks of the mob damaging "all the rented houses and tenements of the Hospital of St. John," which may include the Hendon and Hampstead properties. Certain inhabitants of Hendon did become involved in the Rebellion, and, when after all danger was over a general pardon was granted, two Hendon men were exempted from the amnesty.<sup>10</sup> These were John Knot de Childeshill and John in the Hale, who was also associated with Ruislip, an indication of the breaking up of the Manorial

System, with one tenant holding land in two manors. The topographical surnames "in the Hale" and "Childs-hill" both occur in the 1321 Survey, so that these two rebels were evidently members of families who had considerable free-holdings. We know nothing further locally about John Knott, but the celebrated Thomas Faringdon, who was a leader of the Londoners in the Revolt, was "captus et prisonae deliberatus quo tempore idem Thomas fuit circa prostationem tenementi Johannis Knott in Stayning Lane." It may be that these two John Knotts are one and the same, and if so it shows that there was definite association between the business life of London and the rural economy of Hendon. These two Hendonians were amongst the 287 exempted from pardon, not a very great number, perhaps, considering the seriousness of the outbreak. Most were set free after a time of imprisonment or a fine, and the two Hendonians were finally acquitted by a Jury in January, 1386.

Thorold Rogers and Stubbs were not perhaps correct when they claimed that the Peasants' Revolt meant the extinction of villeinage and the substitution of money payments for labour. This had largely happened in Hendon some time earlier, and the various intelligent experiments that had been made then to solve economic problems perhaps account for the small number of Hendonians implicated in the Revolt. In most manors there was a decline and in some a disappearance of servile tenures, and by the time of the Wars of the Roses there were few manors where copyholders and rent-paying yeomen were not in the majority. The "Hurling Times," in which a few Hendonians took part, must have done something to bring to an end the agelong custom of villeinage.

One of the effects of the Black Death and of the dearth of labourers to work in the fields was a long succession of enclosures. Some wealthy landowners, seeing that land would in the long run increase in value, bought up

freeholds where they could and let them on lease and did the same with the demesne.

We have seen that this was done in Hendon, and from the time of the Peasants' Revolt until 1409 John atte Hegge combined the duties of Bedell, Farmer and Rent Collector for the Convent of Westminster. A chronicler describing the condition in Gloucestershire, which may well be typical, speaks of the changes that occurred "much occasioned by the insurrection of Wat Tyler," and mentions a lord who "instead of manuring his demesne in each manor with his servants' oxen, kine, sheep, poultry and the like, under the oversight of the Reeves of the Manor . . . began to joyst and tack in other men's cattle into his pasture grounds by the week, month and quarter; and to sell his meadow lands by the acre. And after, in the time of Henry IV, let out by the year still more and more by the acre, as he found chapmen and price to his liking."<sup>11</sup>

Some lords let their demesne to tenants without much capital and allowed the tenant to rent the stock as well as the land. This encouraged skilful farmers who were not well enough off to purchase their farms.

In some cases sheep farms were substituted for ploughland, and as these could be worked with fewer hands there was considerable outcry on the part of the ousted peasants, whose grievances are later to be voiced by Ket and Sir Thomas More. Enclosures were not to start with an evil in every case. In some cases they showed progress on the part of the yeoman farmer, who was improving his position by enlarging and consolidating his holding. It does not seem that Hendon was ever run on the three-field basis or that the average villein in Hendon held his thirty-acre strips not lying side by side, but scattered all over the Manor. As has already been noted, as early as 1321 there were at least six consolidated holdings and probably a good many more which cannot exactly be identified.

The improved means and status of many villeins

reflect the prosperity of the early fifteenth century. Wages had been increased and labour rents had been commuted, and many thrifty farmers had saved money and thus purchased strips adjoining their own. By purchase and exchange more farms became compact. Some enterprising copyholders were found with three virgates instead of the old virgate or half-virgate of an earlier economy.

In Hendon, as elsewhere, the demesne was leased or a farmer was appointed to farm it perhaps for the benefit of the Convent. From 1409 to 1422 there is no mention of a farmer of the demesne, but in 1422 there is a Westminster document (4746) recording the lease of the Manor, while in 1445 and 1446 John Breynte is Farmer and Collector of the Rents and Courts (32619). Thomas Breynte is Collector in 1451-2, and then, perhaps due to the civil strife, there are no records till the reign of Edward IV, when John Thurston is Steward and Richard Ogull is Steward's Clerk (*W.A.* 17023). Here again is a tiresome gap, but in 1487, 4 April 2 Henry VII, the tithe of corn and hay, glebe and outhouses of Hendon parsonage were leased by John Esteney, Abbot, for five years at a yearly rental of £22 to John Lamb, of Frith, one of the sub-manors of Hendon (*W.A.* 4748). Amongst his duties he had to give the holy loaf for the Easter Communion, and on the anniversary of the Church dedication he found "competent meat and drink" for the whole of the parishioners (4748). To assist him in the cooking of the feast, he was allowed six loads of fire-bote, that is, fallen wood. We cannot be sure how long he retained the farm, probably for ten years, as in 1497 Constance Foster is Farmer and John Nicoll, another member of the most noted Hendon family, is Collector.

In 1501 Thomas Nicoll of Dawes was Collector and John Edmund, Farmer of the demesne, and in the same year there is a change, and Constance (Custance) Foster becomes Farmer again and John Ferrers Keeper. This

went on for a short time only, because, owing to unsatisfactory conduct on the part of the farmer in tilling the land and in rendering the accounts, the Abbot dismissed Foster, who in the same year brought an action against the Abbot for wrongful dismissal. John Islip, the Abbot, put in an answer to the charge, which was complicated by the fact that Custance Foster was now married to Christopher Roper, who was a servant to the Duke of York, who was to become King Henry VIII. Roper complained to the Duke's Council, who ordained that Sir John Risley, Sir Marmaduke Constable and John Rudyng, the Duke's Treasurer, should enquire into the matter at Westminster, 17 November, 1501. (*West. Abbey Doc.* 32623.)

The charge against Roper and his wife was that of non-payment of two years' rent to the Abbey. John Ferrer had been put into the Manor in place of the defaulter, and ultimately Roper had to find sureties for payment of £48 arrears of rent, in default of which payment he was to be committed to prison.

In 1505 there was granted a lease from John, Abbot and the Convent of Westminster to John Edward (Edmunds), of London, Co. Middlesex, yeoman, of their Manor of Hendon for 20 years at a yearly rent of £22 and of 12 qrs. of (char)coals and the carriage thereof to the house of mercy of the said Abbey. (*West. Abbey Doc.* 4744, dated in their Chapter House, 21 July, 1505.)

This type of enclosure, of which this policy in Hendon perhaps affords an instance, does not admit of much complaint, for it was in the main merely an improvement of distribution and method. The fields produced better crops, more cattle could be reared, and there does not seem to have been any decrease in the number of men employed. Moreover, the yeoman farmers and these demesne farmers were of a more substantial, sturdy and independent type than the villein or customary tenant of earlier days.

Another method of enclosure was the cultivation of the waste or common land, and this proved a very serious hardship for the tenant. If the lord started growing crops on the waste, it was no longer possible for a farmer to turn out his cattle, sheep and pigs in the spring and summer. The milk, butter, cheese, wool and bacon formerly insured to the farmer had been more than useful in assisting his family housekeeping or for selling, and without this addition to his income he found it extremely difficult to live.

Another type of enclosure was the most harmful kind, and it was mainly due to the policy of the later Plantagenets of encouraging the woollen industry by bringing Flemings over to East Anglia to start the manufacture of cloth.<sup>12</sup> A number of these settled in London, and it will be remembered that some of the fury of the Peasants' Revolt was vented on a number of unfortunate Flemings. It was a great temptation during the demand for wool for the landlord to increase his income by turning his demesne and also the waste into enormous sheep runs, and this policy was strongly condemned by More and Latimer, and was at least in part the cause of Ket's rebellion.

A fourth kind of enclosure was the taking over of parts of the waste for arable farming, and this new method was productive of such excellent crops that it earned the approval both of *Tusser* and *Fitzherbert*, who commended it in their treatises on husbandry. As Hendon was near to London and the growth of London began to be acute in Tudor times, it seems probable that there was an increase of corn-growing here for the benefit of the metropolis. There is little doubt that prices were tending to rise about the beginning of the sixteenth century, due perhaps to the discovery of silver mines in Mexico, and partly to the debasement of the coinage.

There are sufficient factors in the events here summarised to produce something of an economic and monetary crisis. It may here be noted that between the

rebellions of Tyler and Ket, a period of 170 years, there were few real improvements in methods of farming. Ploughing was done by cattle, (though not in Hendon), and was only a scratching of the surface of the soil. Clover, artificial grasses and turnips were unknown, and the common pastures were so poor that oxen could not get adequate food.<sup>13</sup>

The cultivation of the garden with "such herbes, fruites and rootes as grow yearlie out of the ground of seed" was neglected, and between Walter of Henley and Fitzherbert there was no substantial book on husbandry written. The effect of the Black Death appears to have been a very real deterioration, both in estate management and in the production of crops, and there was no improvement till the days after the Dissolution of the Monasteries.

In Fitzherbert's *Book of Surveying* there was a definite proposal to enclose on a large scale, with the suggestion that the land should be distributed into compact holdings, a policy which had been in vogue as least as early as 1321 in Hendon. He also proposed an immense number of small closes, that is the separate fields with circumambient hedges, such as we know to-day. For yeomen farmers this scheme would have many advantages, while for labourers it would not spell ruin, for, though there might be less employment for herdsmen, there would be more for hedgers and ditchers. But though Fitzherbert promised greater prosperity through this type of enclosure, little was done to further it save in Essex and Suffolk.

A very big economic change was culminating, and men were found owing service to two lords of manors, while others for whom their lord could find no work were ordered to leave the manor of their birth and seek service elsewhere; a third kind was found with no land and no trade, and these unfortunates and returned soldiers began to supply the sturdy beggars of a later period.

The Wars of the Roses had their part in bringing about the decay of husbandry, and another direct cause of stagnation was the very definite, though perhaps unnoticed, decline of the monasteries.

The survey of those monastic communities which were in the South of England taken by order of Cardinal Morton in the reign of Henry VII points to lethargy and incompetence in the methods of farming employed by the monks, and provides a great contrast to their pristine vigour and resourcefulness.

During the reigns of Edward IV and Henry VII all these factors were in action; and the Government and serious writers of the time were alike alarmed. Starkey, the Royal Chaplain, wrote that "where there hath been many churches and houses to the honour of God, now you shall find nothing but sheep cotes and stables to the ruin of men, and that not in one place or two, but generally throughout this realm." Like all generalised statements based on inadequate investigation, this needs much modification, and subsequent statistics prove that sheep farming was by no means universal. As we shall see later, there was little ground for complaint in Hendon. But that there was a serious movement resulting in depopulation is confirmed by the indignant words of Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia*, where he bids us sympathise with "the husbandmen thrust out of their own, or else by covin and fraud or by violent oppression put beside it, or by wrongs and injuries so wearied that they sell all"; and he denounces "the noblemen and gentlemen, yea, and certain abbots, that lease no ground for tillage, that enclose all into pasture and throw down houses, that pluck down towns or leave nothing standing, but only the Church to be made into a sheep house."

The records in Westminster Abbey relating to the farming in Hendon during this period seem to make it quite clear that its Abbot was not one of those whose policy is deplored by Sir Thomas More.



Henry VII and his advisers were impressed more with the weakening of the realm for defence by the evicting of the sturdy yeoman farmer than with the social and economic grievances which these widespread enclosures were producing.

Accordingly in 1514 the King issued a proclamation against the engrossers of farms, forbidding them to hold more farms than one, and ordering that all the houses of husbandry decayed since the beginning of Henry VII's reign should be once more "put in tillage and inhabited and dwelt in by husbandmen and labourers, according as it was before the engrossing of the said houses." A further step was an Act of Parliament in the next year, 1514, embodying the same policy, and as this was not adequately obeyed, there was additional legislation in 1516 authorising penalties for disobedience.

In 1517 a Commission of Enquiry was issued to the counties to obtain exact information as to the names of those defying the Acts and the extent of their enclosures. In the returns to this enquiry we read occasionally of hamlets destroyed and their inhabitants driven out, but in the main the enclosures are of areas of 30, 40, 60, 80 and even in a few instances of 100 acres.<sup>14</sup>

W. J. Corbett, in *Social England* (Vol. III, pp. 150-155), suggests that it is probably the somewhat defenceless customary tenants who were being absorbed, either with their own consent or by eviction. The returns do not tell us what we really want to know, that is, how far the actual commons were being enclosed. It was this kind of enclosure which would tend to drive out the less well-to-do tenant, and amplify the process already mentioned by transforming him into the sturdy beggar and vagrant, whose numbers were tending to increase even before the dissolution of the Monasteries.

Sir William Ashley, in his *Economic History and Theory*, emphasises the effect which enclosures had upon the customary tenants especially between 1450 and 1550, when "enclosure meant to a large extent the actual

dispossession of the customary tenants by their manorial lords. This took place either in the violent ousting of the sitting tenant, or of a refusal on the death of one tenant to admit the son who in earlier centuries would have been treated as his natural successor." He points out that the disappearance of the customary tenants was helped by the substitution of leases for copyhold. This does not seem to have occurred to any great extent in Hendon, because in the Survey of 1574 we find that there are 84 copyhold tenants and 31 holding in free socage. As a matter of fact, Ashley has clearly shown that Middlesex was hardly affected at all by the enclosures of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is of interest, however, to note that the total amount of land held by freeholders and customary tenants in 1321 was 2400 acres among 130 tenants, while in 1574 the copyhold tenants and those in free socage, 115 in all, had only 1700 acres. It must be mentioned in this connection that the survey does not include Clitterhouse, Cowhouse, Hodford and Frith, nor the considerable holding of All Souls College.

In 1518 Wolsey, as a Chancery Judge, decreed that all enclosures were to be pulled down within 40 days, and the condition of things is summed up in the preamble to a statute on the subject a few years later.

"Forasmuch as divers persons to whom God in His goodness hath disposed great plenty, now of late have daily studied and invented ways how they might accumulate into few hands, as well great multitude of farms as great plenty of cattle, and in especial sheep, putting such land to pasture and not tillage; whereby they have not only pulled down churches and towns, and enhanced the rents and fines of land so that no poor man may meddle with it, but also have raised the prices of all manner of agricultural commodities almost double above the prices which hath been accustomed, by reason whereof a marvellous number of the people of this realm be not able to provide for themselves, their wives and

children, but be so encouraged with misery and poverty that they fall daily to theft and robbery, or pitifully die for hunger and cold, be it therefore enacted, etc."

Latimer's sermons at a slightly later date are full of similar denunciations, and show that the problem was not solved by one or several Acts of Parliament.

The Records of Enclosures in Henry VIII's reign, as demanded from the various counties, have been published in detail by the Royal Historical Society, under the editorship of L. S. Leadam. As in the case of the returns of the Poll-tax, Middlesex records seemed to have perished. But here again subsequent research has done something to fill the gap, and a document has been discovered in the Public Record Office (*Chanc. Misc.* 7, No. 2/2), which gives some of the Depopulation Returns for Middlesex, as reported by the Inclosure Commissioners in 1517.<sup>15</sup>

This document, which is somewhat imperfect, is entitled "*Inquisitio indentata et prima capta apud Hendon in Com. Mid. die Lune 28 die Septembris anno 9 Hen. VIII.*"

The Commissioners for Middlesex were John (Islip), Abbot of Westminster, Sir Thomas Lovell, Sir Thomas Nevell and John Heron, servant with the King's Grace. It is a matter of great concern for those interested in Hendon to note that the first meeting of the Commissioners was held at Hendon. This must have been at the Abbot's Grange, Hendon Place, now Tenterden Hall, probably out of courtesy to the Abbot as Chairman. Juries for the various towns and villages were appointed and the meeting was then adjourned to Westminster. Here sworn returns for about two dozen places were presented and the jurors for Hendon reported that the only enclosure of which complaint was made was a Deer Park of 20 acres, that no *Aratra* had been destroyed and no person had been dispossessed.

Further documents at Westminster carry on the story of the farming of the demesne and collecting of rents.

In 1520 there is an acquittance from William Myddelton, servant of John Islip, Abbot, to John Nycolls, Collector of Hendon, for £10 in part payment of his collection, 7th August. This Myddelton was Farmer in other manors belonging to the Abbey (30490).

In 1524 there is a great deal of material available. The first items deal with the clearing up of arrears. On 29th March, Thomas Joy, Treasurer of Westminster, gave acquittance to the Collector of rent at Fryth and Newhall for 40s. due at Michaelmas, 1523 (30533); and on 10th May, Robert Notherell, clerk of the Treasurer of Westminster, to John Edwards, Deputy of William Middleton, Farmer of Hendon Manor, for 100s., viz., from his arrears of the preceding year 51s. 5d., and from issues of his farm this year 48s. 7d. (30543). On 22nd October there is an acquittance from Dominus John Fulwell, Monk of Westminster, to Richard Lambe for 26s. 8d. for a pension pertaining to a sexton's office out of Fryth Manor in Hendon for one year ending at last Michaelmas (30568). A week later (29th October) occurs a further acquittance from Thomas Jay, Treasurer of Westminster, both Monk and Cellarer, to Richard Lambe, farmer of Frythe and Newhall, Hendon, for 45s. 10d. in part payment of his charge for the year ended at last Michaelmas (36573). On 31st October the Treasurer gave acquittance to Thomas Lynford, deputy of Christiana Nores, collector of rent at Hendon Manor, for £13 6s. 8d. in part payment of his account for the last year (30574); and on 19th November he gave acquittance to Richard Lambe for 60s. in full payment of his arrears, pending the close of his account for the year (30580).

There is a very substantial sum mentioned in an acquittance from William Middleton, farmer of Hendon, and *serviens* of John Islip Abbot, to Dom. Thomas Jay, Treasurer, for £98 16s. 8d. in full payment of £165 10s., formerly paid by the said William to Robert Callow, Cook of the said Abbey from 1st November to last Michaelmas. This is dated 1st December, 1524 (30591).

On 5th December there is an acquittance from the Treasurer to John Edwards, deputy of William Myddleton, Farmer of Hendon, for £4 10s. 7d. on the close of his account for the year (30595).

For 1527 and 1528 Richarde Lambe was Farmer, and he was succeeded in 1529 by William Middleton, who had held the post before. He continued until 1535, when John Cokman held the post for a year, and then Middleton resumed until 1539. During these later years there are some ominous signs of coming trouble in two letters written from Hendon to Thomas Cromwell.<sup>16</sup> One is from William, Abbot of Westminster, who on 30th December, 1535, was staying at Hendon Place, to say "Pardon me and your servant, John Carleton, whom I have detained two days in consequence of the disease of Goddes Sonde. I beg you will license him to come again, till I see how God will work with me. I will send for some of your ale which did me great pleasure. I right heartily thank you." The other is from John Weste, curate of Kingsbury, and William Balford, curate of Hyndon, to tell him that on the 16th September, 30 Henry VIII, 1538, the writers were assembled in the parish of Whyztchurch with Sir Richard Davy, curate of Whyztchurch, sometime a monk of the Charterhouse of Mount Grace in Yorkshire, Richard Hennesse of Hedge-ware, John Hussey, Clarke, of Kyngesbury. Amongst whom the said Sir Richard Davy said he would not hold with their new doctrine nor with the suppressing of images. Were greatly offended and think that Davy should be called to reformation.

The Dissolution of the Monastery of Westminster occurred in 1539, and in January, 1540, Abbot Benson, a hireling shepherd, as Loftie calls him, and 17 monks resigned and the King created a bishopric with Middlesex as its diocese and the lands of the suppressed monastery for its endowment.<sup>17</sup>

Thomas Thirby became Bishop, and the Manor of Hendon was part of the endowment granted by letters

patent in 1542—"our Lordship and Manor of Hendon, Hampstead, etc., in the County of Middlesex, and our Rectory of the Church of Hendon, with all houses, lands, glebes, tithes, oblations, obversions and emoluments to the same Rectory of Hendon pertaining, and the advowson or right of patronage of the Rectory, Church and Vicarage of Hendon, Frith and Newhall with view of frank pledge and other liberties in the lands so granted, with reservations of the lands, etc., called Hodford and Cowes."<sup>18</sup>

In the Rentals and Surveys (Roll 848) there is an account of the value of the manors belonging to the Bishopric of Westminster, and Hendon with the Rectory is valued at £105 14s. 9½d., while Hampstead with its chapel has a net value of £30 5s. 3¼d.

In 1549 it is recorded of Hendon that "The Bishop of Westminster is parson there . . . and Sir Richard Shether is vicar there, which is worth by the year £10, and that no priest is found by the parson or vicar, but a curate by the Vicar's farmer."<sup>19</sup> Bishop Thirlby gradually alienated nearly the whole of the property of his bishopric, and it was reduced to a deanery, Hendon being in 1550 surrendered to the Crown. It was re-granted by King Edward VI to Sir William Herbert.<sup>20</sup>

"The King, in consideration of the good and faithful services of Sir William Herbert Knight, of the venerable order of the Garter . . . granted . . . all that our Lordship and Manor of Hendon, and all that our Rectory and Church of Hendon and the advowson gift and free disposition and right of patronage of the Parish Church of Hendon with all and singular its rights members jurisdictions and appurtenances in our County of Middlesex, late parcel of the possessions and revenues of the Bishopric of Westminster . . . and all those our woods lands and hereditaments known by the name of Hendon Woods otherwise called Hendon Parke and Downage . . . and all messuages orchards apple-orchards gardens lands tenements meadows etc. Also the

Court leet and view of frankpledge, chattels waived, etc., and other our commodities emoluments and hereditaments whatsoever with appurtenances situate lying and being in Hendon in our County of Middlesex. To hold of us, our heirs and successors in chief by a service of a fortieth part of one Knights fee for all services and demands."

Witness the King at Greenwich the 9th day of April, 1550.

On the occasion of the marriage of Edward Herbert, second son of the Earl of Pembroke, to Mary, daughter and heiress of Thomas Stanley, of Standen, Herts., Master of the Mint, the Manor and Rectory of Hendon were settled on them.

Their marriage seems to have taken place in 1569, and their eldest son was born in 1572. On 19th October, 1574, certain customary tenants of the Manor were instructed to draw up a Survey of the ancient customs and bounds of the Manor and a list of the various tenants and their holdings. At Easter, 1576, before the survey was finished, the Sheriff of Middlesex was commanded to distrain William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, to do fealty to the Queen for the Manor and Lordship of Hendon. Sir Edward Herbert and Mary his wife said that, by an indenture of 4th December, 11 Elizabeth, the Manor of Hendon was assured after their marriage to "the said Sir Edward and his wife, as jointure for the said wife and the heirs of their bodies lawfully begotten, and in default to the right heirs of the said Sir Edward for ever."

In virtue of this conveyance "the said Sir Edward and his wife were then seized of the Manor and Rectory of Hendon, etc., that is to say: of the capital messuage or mansion house, with its appurtenances at Hendon and all the aforesaid lands in the County of Middlesex extended to the clear annual value of £100 beyond all reprises."

There seems to be no connection between this lawsuit

and the Survey ordered in 1574, but on 1st October, a few months after the suit, the tenants presented their report, which is here printed for the first time. There are two versions, differing only slightly; one, rather damaged on the first page, where the list of the jury occurs, belonging to Sir Audley Neeld, Bart. (whose ancestors were for many years Stewards of the Manor), and a second, in perfect condition, but copied as late as 1694, which is in the author's possession, and will now be deposited in the Hendon Public Library.

## NOTES ON THE INTRODUCTION.

1. G. G. Coulton, *The Black Death*. A. E. Levett, *The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester*, 1916 (Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History). E. Robe, "The Black Death in the Hundred of Farnham," *English Historical Review*, Vol. XLIV.

2. Walter de Hendon was nominated in 1286 as Attorney for one year by Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, on going beyond seas with Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln (*Lord of the Manor of Edgware*). (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Ed. I to 1291, p. 457.) In 1293 Walter de Hendon was again nominated Attorney (*op. cit.*, Ed. I, 1292-1301, pp. 22 and 27). In 1298, Walter de Hendon, clerk, ordered all his houses and rents in the City of London to be sold for the maintenance of Chantries in the Churches of St. John Sakary and St. Andrew of Holeburn for the good of the Soul of Gilbert de Clare, late Earl of Gloucester and others. Gilbert had died three years earlier. Robert le Rus (Rous) Knight, said that Walter de Hendon was a villein of one Richard (le Rous). Richard and Robert did not appear. Twenty years later Stephen Pancrych gave the reversion of lands charged with the maintenance of a chantry in St. Andrew's Holborn for the souls of the Earl of Gloucester, Sir Elis de Forde and Walter de Hendon. Walter de Hendon had evidently prospered, probably through his association with such powerful patrons as Henry de Lacy and Gilbert de Clare. He may quite easily have been a villein of Richard le Rous and have won his freedom by residing in the walled City of London for a year and a day. (A. H. Thomas, *Calendar of Select Deeds in the Court of Hustings*, p. 139.)

3. Sir William J. Ashley, *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*. W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*. Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*.

4. A. E. Levett, "Financial Organization of the Manor," *Economic History Review*, Vol. I, No. 1. F. W. Maitland, "History of a Cambridge-shire Manor," *English Historical Review*, Vol. IX. K. Feiling, "An Essex Manor of the Fourteenth Century," *English Historical Review*, Vol. XXVI. H. L. Gray, "Commutation of Villein Services," *English Historical Review*, Vol. XXIX. H. S. Bennett, "Reeve and Manor in the Fourteenth Century," *English Historical Review*, Vol. XLI. R. M. Lennard, "What is a Manorial Extent," *English Historical Review*, Vol. XLIV.

When in 1894 F. W. Maitland wrote on the Manor of Wilburton, he deprecated dogmatism on any aspect of Manorial history. It is not very much easier or safer to be dogmatic to-day even after almost forty years



of research by H. L. Gray, K. Feiling, A. E. Levett and H. Neilson. Maitland's conclusions are a valuable criterion for Hendon figures. He thinks that before 1350 there was little money rent and that the demesne was cultivated by works of the customary tenants. There were usually more work days than were needed and these were sold. In Wilburton the Bishop made bigger demands in 1277 than in 1221.

In the reigns of Edward II and Richard II, with nearly three quarters of a century between, the number of work days varied hardly at all; being about 2900 winter and summer works valued at  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. each, and rather over 800 autumn works at 1d. each.

From 1350 to 1410 there was no permanent commutation of work for rent, but tenants often ran away to improve their position. Many tenants were still unfree and some works were sold because superfluous, but in order to get the land tilled leases were granted with money rents.

From 1410 there was much commutation of rent, at first high, then reduced, and later in the century copyholders acquired valuable rights in their holdings largely due to the fall in value of money produced by the discovery of mines in America.

5. The Westminster Abbey Records were calendared with infinite pains by Dr. Edward Scott, for many years Keeper of the Abbey Muniments. To his memory a small tablet has been placed in the renovated Muniment Room, whose usefulness has been so greatly increased by a splendid contribution from the Pilgrim Trust. Dr. Scott's work was continued by Canon H. F. Westlake, F.S.A., and now by Mr. L. E. Tanner, M.V.O., F.S.A. The numbers given for documents refer to those used in Dr. Scott's Calendar.

6. *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, N.S., Vol. IV, Part IV. Paper by Dr. S. J. Madge.

7. Sir Charles Oman, *The Great Rebellion of 1381* (1906); *Victoria County History, Middlesex*, Vol. II, re Peasants' Revolt. Andre Réville, *Le Soulèvement des Travailleurs d'Angleterre en 1381* (1898). Edgar Powell, *The Rising of 1381 in East Anglia* (1896). G. M. Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe* (1899).

8. B. H. Putnam, *The Enforcement of the Statutes of Labourers, 1349-59*. T. W. Page, *The End of Villeinage in England*. N. Neilson, *Customary Rents, 1910* (Oxford Studies).

9. Dr. S. J. Madge, *op. cit.*

10. A. Réville, *op. cit.*

11. Quoted in C. M. Waters, *An Economic History of England* (1925).

12. R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* (1912).

13. *Social England*.

14. I. S. Leadam, *The Domesday of Enclosures* (1897). Inquests of Depopulation in 1517, *Trans. Royal Hist. Society*, N.S., No. 6.

15. See *V.C.H., Middlesex*, Vol. II.

16. *Calendar of Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, Vol. IX, 1535, No. 1041; *L. & P.*, Vol. 13 (2), No. 361.

17. There is an inventory of Hendon parsonage in 1540 in the Land Revenue Records, Bundle 442, and it was published by William Page in *Middlesex and Herts Notes and Queries*, 1895, Vol. I.

18. *Memoranda Roll*, 25; 33 Henry VIII. *L. & P.*, Vol. XVI, Grant 503, No. 33.

19. *L. & P.*, Vol. IX, 914 (29).

20. *Originalia Roll*, 4 Ed. VI, Parts 3 and 15. *Memoranda Roll*, Easter 18 Eliz. and 44 A.D. 1576.