

RUISLIP IN 1565

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1. THE TERRIER

During the seventh year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, the Provost and Fellows of the King's College of Our Blessed Lady and St Nicholas at Cambridge made a survey of their Manor of Ruislip. Henry VI had granted this Manor to King's College in 1451, ten years after its foundation.

The resultant Terrier¹ is a document of 51 folios written in Latin. It is headed . . . "An extent and terrier of all cottages, tenements and other buildings of both free and customary tenants . . . together with gardens, orchards and other enclosures situated within the vill of Ruislip with boundaries, roads and lanes as hereafter set down."

In the Terrier the manor is divided into three sections: Westcote, stretching from the northern boundary of what is now Copse Wood to Down Barns; Ascotte, the modern Eastcote covering the area running south from the top of Wiltshire Lane to Northolt; Norwood, lying north of the woods, the present Northwood. Each section is treated separately and is dealt with street by street. First the tenant's name is set out, then the type of dwelling and the size of croft, followed by an exact description of its position and usually by the date of the tenant's lease. The following typical entry relates to Bury Street:

"John Sanders, gentleman, holds by copyhold a messuage with an orchard and three closes of meadow and pasture adjacent, containing 8 acres and lying between the Vicarage to the north and James Osmond's cottage and New Street Lane to the south; as appears by a lease dated" 1 May, 4 Edward VI (1550).

Westcote and Eastcote both had common fields which are listed in their respective sections. The tenant of each strip is named. There were no common fields in Northwood.

At the end of the Terrier is a Rental, divided into the same three sections, in which the various holdings of each tenant are grouped together, along with the total rent he paid to King's College each year.

The boundaries of the Manor of Ruislip followed the Urban District boundaries fairly closely except for a portion west of Bury Street between the Pinn and the northern boundary of Mad Bess Wood, which was known as St Catherine's Manor but was actually part of the Manor of Harmondsworth. In 1565 it belonged to the Paget family of West Drayton.

A group of Ruislip, Northwood and Eastcote Local History Society have made a map of the Manor as it was in 1565, using the abbuttals given in the Terrier. We used a scale of 1 sq. in. : 1 acre. All enclosures, fields and shots are shown. Owners' names are written in the enclosures and the number of selions is given for each shot. Dwellings have been marked in the appropriate enclosures, but there was no means of ascertaining exactly where they stood within the enclosure, except where early 16th century buildings are still standing. We were helped with the Common Field boundaries by examining the

Enclosure Map and some 18th century Farm Maps. The shot boundaries are diagrammatic representations.

The Terrier map is now lodged at Manor Farm Library, Ruislip.

2. SETTLEMENT PATTERN

Roughly there were woodlands and wastelands to the north, meadows along the three streams, the Pinn, the Yeading and the Roxbourne, and open fields running south from Eastcote Road to Northolt and Down Barns. There were 124 dwellings scattered across this area of about 6,500 acres. They were clustered in small hamlets often around greens in the northern upland part of the manor (Fig. 1). The streets upon which several of these hamlets are situated lead in parallel lines up the hill between the open fields and the Common Wood and waste; Bury Street; Fore Street; Wiltshire Street (Wylcher); Joel Street and Giddy Street. The first four remain today highly developed with suburban housing and a handful of 16th and 17th century houses interspersed. Giddy Street has been lost. It ran parallel to Joel Street from the corner of Southill Lane. A similar settlement pattern is discernible on Roque's map of 1754, stretching across North West Middlesex, from Ruislip to Stanmore. King's End Street, New Street and High Street in Westcote and Clay Street and Cheyney Street in Eastcote surrounded dwellings and crofts in the centre of the two original settlements.

The Greens were often at the junction of two lanes. Field End Green, Westcote, was at the junction of Wood Lane and the road to London (modern West End Road); and Field End Green, Eastcote, was near the junction of Field End Road and Cheyney Street. Both these Greens are at the northern ends of their respective Common Fields. Well Green, alias Long Marsh, lay at the bottom of Joel Street along Eastcote High Road and was probably marshy because of its proximity to the Pinn. Silver Street Green is of particular interest as it lies not near a junction but in the middle of Bury Street. There were eight cottages and one messuage standing there. The closes attached to those on the east side made a bite into Park Wood which survives in the modern street pattern. St Edmund's Avenue and Keswick Gardens are built upon them. Three buildings thought to date from the 16th century are still standing (one is that well known hostelry, The Plough) set well back from the road in a semi-circle. The car park in front of the Plough and the long gardens of Woodman Farm and its neighbour are presumably the site of the Green. A fourth 16th century building stands on the west side. The Terrier is the only document known to refer to the central section of Bury Street as Silver Street.

King's End and Hale End both commemorate family names as does Cannons Bridge, though Hale was the only family with representatives mentioned in the Terrier. The others appear in a 13th century Customal². Park Hearne took its name from its position on the corner of Park Wood (O.E. 'hyrne' corner, angle) and was largely submerged when the reservoir now known as The Lido was created in 1811, to supply the Grand Junction canal.

Whereas the word "street" seems to indicate a road with dwellings on it, the appellation "lane" is given to roads which led from points within the manor to places elsewhere. Wood Lane and Cleares Lane (western section of Ickenham Road) led to Ickenham and Clack Lane led across the Pinn to the hamlet of Tile Kilns in St Catherines and thence to Harefield. In the 13th century there was a mill pond called Sitteclack in that area from which Clack Lane probably derived its name. Clack Lane was clearly more

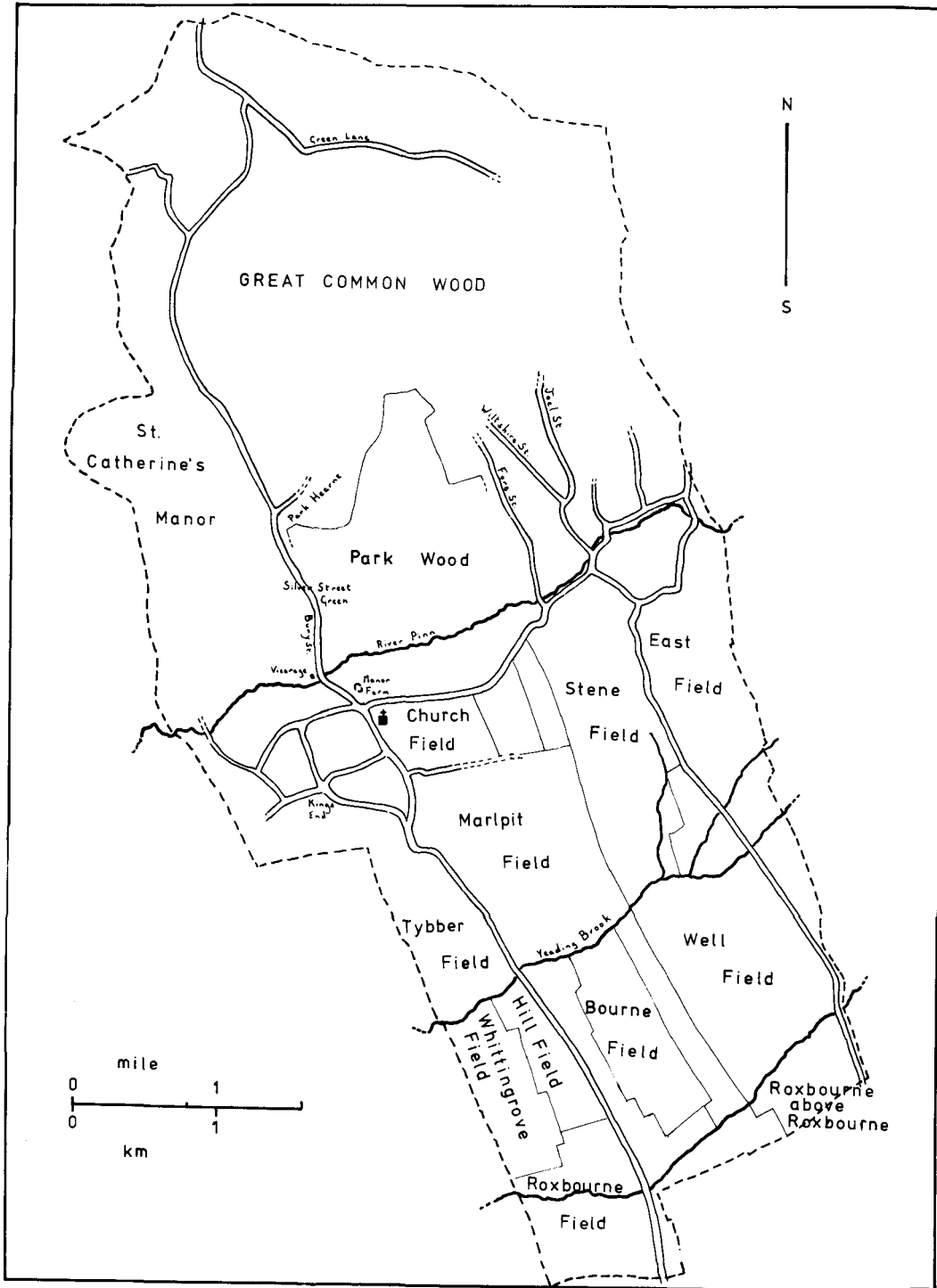


Fig. 1 Map of Manor of Ruislip.

important then. It is now a wide muddy track running through Ruislip Golf Course, degenerating into a footpath. As a further insult the name board at the Ickenham Road end now proclaims "Hills Lane" though some street maps retain the old name. Spratts Lane (now Jackets Lane) in Northwood led to Harefield and has become a footpath, but Green Lane is now Northwood's main shopping centre.

3. THE HIGH STREET

The main settlement of the manor was in the High Street leading south from the Manor Farm and St Martin's Parish Church. It had nine cottages and a shop. Richard Robins, Smith, held a cottage standing by the gate to Manor Farm, in a position where a building is marked "Smith's Shop" on John Doharty's map of 1750. It was the long established site for a Smithy. A rental of 1420/1³ speaks of a Smithy near the Manor House gate.

John Sanders held a cottage and a shop by the church gate. The same 1420/1 rental mentions a shop by the churchyard. There is no reference to any type of shop or Ale House anywhere else in the Terrier.

There was one other cottage on the east side of High Street, belonging to John Barringer, lying against the churchyard. Eight listed buildings standing on the east side of High Street today are dated 16th century. Nos. 9-15 look as though they may have originally been a single building of the hall and solar type. Nos. 1 and 3, which later became the Old Bell, might have been John Sanders' cottage and shop. Unless Nos. 5 and 7 were joined and were the cottage belonging to John Barringer we still seem to have more buildings of the right date than are mentioned in the Terrier.

West of the High Street John Walleston held five cottages "in one of which he lives" and William Walleston held a cottage there too. These were probably the row of cottages starting at the Old George and ending with Gooderson's shop (which stood on the corner of The Oaks and was demolished in the 1930s). The Old George was demolished in 1939. Three cottages, now The Swan and Nos. 4 and 6 still stand. John Walleston was a considerable landowner with a freehold tenement and a cottage in Eastcote as well as High Street property. It is interesting that he chose to live in the High Street, at the centre of things. Another cottage was described as "newly built" and there was one ruined messuage also in the High Street.

4. THE TENANTS

129 tenants are named in the Terrier of which only two, John and William Walleston, held land freely. That is they paid for their lands but were free of the obligatory services originally exacted from copyhold tenants.

Copyhold tenants held their lands by virtue of an entry in the court rolls of the manor of which they held a "copy". By the 16th century these tenants too were to all intents and purposes free, but their forbears had held their lands on condition that they perform such services as reaping, ploughing, hedging, and ditching, sheep-shearing and carting goods for the Lord of the Manor. A vivid picture of these duties is contained in the mid 13th century customal referred to above. The services gradually disappeared during the 14th and 15th century as higher rents were paid in lieu of them.

Copyholders had a secure hold on their land and their rents fixed by ancient custom were small, but when an heir took seisin of his lands he had to pay a fine which, not being fixed by custom, was variable. When Robert Christmas became lessee of the Courts and Profits of courts in 1566, he extorted such large fines that the Ruislip tenants entered

upon a lengthy legal dispute with the College seeking a fixed fine. The equivalent of one year's rent was agreed upon in 1579, though some of the rents were doubled at the same time. This agreement was finally ratified by an Act of Parliament of 1605⁴.

Tenants usually held a croft of enclosed pasture, sometimes an orchard, especially in the Bury Street-King's End area and occasionally a garden adjacent to their house. In addition arable land was held in the form of strips (known as selions) in the Common Fields.

4i. Families

The 129 tenants represent 72 families, the most prolific being Fernes and Nicholas (9 each), Winchester (7), and Redinge (6). Four of the Fernes were called John and were differentiated as: John Ferne, Miller; John Ferne, Minor; John Ferne of Rickmansworth; and John Ferne of Wylchers. Incidentally there were thirty men called John followed in order of popularity by 19 Williams, 15 Richards and eight Thomases.

Redinges, Nicholases and Fernes appear in the 1547 Terrier⁵ of Harrow, Pinner section. Seven other names, Birde, Edlyn, Gate, Marshe, Prest, Smith and Winter are also common to both Terriers.

Comparison with the names listed in the c. 1245 Customal⁶ shows that only six surnames were still current in Ruislip in 1565; Flye, Milwarde, Parker, Prest, Robins and White. It must of course be remembered that surnames were in their infancy in the mid 13th century and therefore not fixed. The population appears to have been slightly smaller in 1565 as there are 123 named tenants in the Customal (and L. E. Morris assumed that another 25 names had been lost in damaged portions of the Customal) and 129 in the Terrier. If we assume five people to each household we arrive at an estimated population of about 750 in c. 1245 and 650 in 1565. We have no knowledge of events in Ruislip during the time of the Black Death but it is possible that an expanding population (assumed from the number of augmented holdings mentioned in the Customal) was struck by the scourge and had taken 200 years to recover.

4ii. Women

Seventeen women appear holding property. Most of them are described as widows. Whereas the men are said to hold their property to themselves and their heirs, the women are mostly said to hold property to themselves during their lifetime and then to a named son and his heirs.

"Elena Childe holds one cottage with an orchard and close called Sinbotes . . . to herself during her lifetime and then to Henry Childe her son . . ."

It appears that when a widow remarried her second husband acquired rights over any property she had inherited from her first husband during her lifetime.

"John Stockden holds a cottage and orchard . . . at Cannons Bridge . . . during the lifetime of his wife Joanna, formerly the wife of Richard Redinge, then to rest with Henry Redinge her son and his heirs . . ."

Property was left to women. Agnes Winchester alias Mower held 6 acres of land in Westcote Fields "during the minority of her daughter Isabel Winchester" and two cottages, orchards and meadows "during the minority of her daughter Joanna".

4iii. Type and Condition of Tenants

John Walleston, John Sanders, Ralph Hawtreay, George Ashby, James Parker and

Roger Arnolde are described as Gentlemen. George Ashby had a Tile House in Northwood and James Parker held four acres of the Common Wood. The others were substantial landowners.

Four men are from other parishes, Stanwell, Northolt, Perivale and Rickmansworth, but as their place of origin appears to have been tacked onto their names only to distinguish between them and other members of the same families, this gives no real idea of population movement in Tudor Middlesex.

The only tradesmen named as such are a Smith and Miller. Again the description is to distinguish between men of the same surnames. John Ferne was the Miller but no mill appears in the Terrier. Since his messuage was in Gyddy Street in Eastcote it is possible that he worked a mill outside the manor of Ruislip.

71 of the tenants possessed only one dwelling (63 cottages, 8 messuages) 19 held more than one dwelling, but not usually in quantity. Only James Ferne with six cottages and John Walleston with seven cottages, one messuage and a freehold tenement, were in a position to derive a substantial income from property letting. The extra houses were probably inhabited by the 23 Westcote and 18 Eastcote tenants who had no dwelling at all but held common field land. 29 Westcote tenants and 14 Eastcote tenants had no common field land, only enclosed land adjacent to their dwellings. Only one of these tenants had more than four acres. 19 had one acre or less. These men must have been employed elsewhere, either by the larger landholders or in the woods. A number of these landless tenants had cottages at Parke Hearne, Cannons Bridge and in Bury Street, all in close proximity to Park Wood. Thomas Wetherlye had a Brick Place in Eastcote and may have employed a small number of labourers.

4iv. The Wallestons – Free Tenants

J. T. Cattle in "Ruislip, its history and architecture" suggested that the Wallestons were London merchants who invested in land in Ruislip. Winnifred Walleston married Ralph Hawtrey of Chequers in Bucks., about 1525. It has been assumed that through her Ralph Hawtrey acquired the cottage called Hopkyttes, which belonged to him in 1565 and which subsequently developed into Eastcote House (demolished 1964), the great house of the neighbourhood. Hopkyttes had been in the hands of a John Walleston in 1507⁷. The Wallestons, very important landowners in 1565, disappear from Ruislip records at the end of the 16th century. The Hawtreys and their descendants, the Deanes, became the leading family of the neighbourhood, lessees of the Rectory and Manor, J.P.s, M.P.s, Lords Lieutenants for Middlesex, until the end of the 19th century and retained ownership of their land, though no longer living in Eastcote, until the suburban development of the 20th century.

John Walleston held freely one tenement "Petridge" with three closes, 20½ acres of meadow and pasture adjacent and 80 selions in three fields of Eastcote, for which he paid 15s 4d p.a. by a lease dated 1540. He also held freely "by services unknown" a ruined messuage in Cheyney street, and five selions in East Field, for which he paid 8d p.a. by a lease dated 1500. William Walleston held only four selions in Westcote Fields freely, for which he paid 4d p.a. by a lease of 1467. Both held copyhold land as well. John held as follows:

1. Cottage "Forrers" High Street. Meadow "Foster's Mead". Four acres.
2. Cottage, garden and close, King's End. Six acres.

3. Ruined cottage and close "Barrengers" King's End.
4. Meadow "The Neat" King's End. Five acres.
5. Ruined messuage, 20 acres, King's End.
6. Four cottages "in one of which he lives", two closes and orchards. One acre. Seven acres High Street.
7. Cottage "Hawe Denes" Popes End, 20 acres closes, 23 acres Eastcote Fields, 12 acres Windmill Field, four acres Buttes Mead.
8. $\frac{1}{2}$ acre Cheyney Street by Field End, 24 acres Eastcote Fields.
9. Messuage 40 acres. 15 acres Northwood.

Since the rental makes clear that John Walleston's selions are equivalent to acres (most selions are less than one acre) it is possible to total his land at 287 acres, making him the largest landowner in the Manor.

5. THE OPEN FIELDS

5i. Common Fields "Communes campi"

Fields described as "common" in the Westcote side of the Manor were: Tybber Field, Hill Field, Whittingrove Field, Roxbourne Field and Marlpit Field. Those in Eastcote were East Field, Well Field and Stene (Stone) Field. There were no common fields in Northwood, an upland region where most of the land was leased as pasture.

A glance at the relief map of the area shows the common fields to be situated in the southern lowland part of the Manor of Ruislip marked on the geological map as mainly London clay. Marlpit Field, Stene Field and a portion of East Field are on Reading clay and a band of Reading sand runs across the N.E. corner of Marlpit Field.

Marlpit Field was large, 348 acres, of which 237 acres were Demesne land. Church Field and Great Windmill Field immediately north of Marlpit Field and Bourne and Priors Field south of it, not described as common, had been consolidated into a broad, central stretch of Demesne by 1565.

These twelve fields were the arable lands of the manor. Sand, loam and chalk spread on the heavy clay to make it workable were commonly called "marl" in Ruislip records. Marlward appears as a surname in the 13th century Customal mentioned above and Marlpit Field was already so named in 1436. The Terrier names Brian Atkinson as tenant of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres Marlpit. It may well have been the old, extensive sand pit revealed in 1957 when foundations were being dug for Woolworths and other new shops by Ruislip Manor Station.

Manorial tenants had common grazing rights over the open fields after harvest. From time to time Demesne Farmers tried to convert part of the common fields to enclosed pasture, extinguishing common rights. At an inquiry held at Uxbridge, 1519-1521, sixteen people testified on oath that there had been common pasture for cattle, pigs and geese, on Windmill Field, Bourne Field and Bourne Wyck "time out of mind" until disturbed by James Edlyn, farmer, about eighteen years previously and by John Walleston three years earlier. Land for six ploughs was said to have been enclosed making 30 people vagrant.⁸ The tenants' rights were upheld in 1521, but trouble arose again in 1544 when Ruislip tenants petitioned the Lord Chancellor, complaining that Guy Wade, demesne farmer, had prevented common grazing over the same three fields, "when they lye fresshe and fallow and not sown with graynes".⁹ The final outcome is not clear but

these three fields are not described as “common” in the Terrier for Agnes Est held one close of meadow and pasture called Bourn Wycke containing three acres and Bourne and Windmill Field are part of the Demesne.

5ii. The Names

The three Eastcote Fields with their simple names are probably the original fields of the vill. The Westcote field names have less obvious meanings. Tybber may be a personal name. That field is called ‘Alderton’ on 18th century farm maps and on the 1806 Enclosure map and later Anderson Field, which is certainly a personal name. “Hill” and “Whittingrove” Fields lying side by side on the slight hill which rises from the Yeading Brook towards the south could have been a single field divided at an earlier period, as Hill Field is very small and appears to be a “bite” from a larger field. “Roxbourne”, “Bourne”, and “Roxbourne Above Roxbourne” along the southern edge of the manor are all crossed by the Roxbourne Brook. Ekwall “Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names” suggests that Roxeth which adjoins the Manor of Ruislip on the South East means “Hroc’s pit, well or lake”. Presumably Roxbourne is “Hroc’s stream”.

“Marlpit Field” is named from its marl pit and Church Field from its proximity to the church. Great and Little Windmill Fields retain memory of the Windmill mentioned in an Extent of the Manor taken in 1294. An empty piece of land marked on Doharty’s 1750 map, between Great and Little Windmill Fields on the crest of the modern Windmill Hill, probably marks the site.

5iii. Hedges

Certain names, Snake Hedges, Rawedge, and Fullers Hedge suggest that the fields were hedged. The northern hedge of Marlpit Field of layered hawthorn is still detectable in the gardens of houses and bungalows built in Brickwall Lane (formerly Hook Lane) in the 1920s.

5iv. Shots – “Stadia”

The very large fields were subdivided into Shots separated from each other by trackways. Hill Field had the least number of shots, only four, and East Field had the greatest, 32. 109 shots are named, some after natural features such as water courses (Waterfurrows, Brook Mead), others referring to the type of soil (Light Acre, Small Stone Acre, and Redland). Some shots are named after trees and plants, probably reflecting those growing in them (Elm Mead, Aldershearne, Rush Shot, and King Withy Shot). A few shots bear the name of families who appear in earlier Ruislip records, but had disappeared by 1565 (Hammonds, Hodgekins Horse Pool Shot). Fox Holes, Goose Acre, and Rooke Acre name animals and birds.

The shots were divided into pieces “peciae” the largest, Down Barns Shot in Roxbourne had 66 pieces and the smallest in Whittingrove Field, unimaginatively called Small Shot had only three.

5v. Selions

A typical entry in the Terrier referring to the Common Fields runs as follows:

“There is another Shotte called Brook Mead Shot containing 26 pieces whose heads lie South upon the Brook and West to East by the parish of Ickenham. Richard Cogges holds the 1st and 2nd pieces containing 2 half selions. Vicar holds the 3rd piece containing 1 selion. John Nelham holds the 4th piece containing 1 selion . . .”

The expression “containing 1 selion” suggests that a selion was a measure of land of standard size, but the one thing that clearly emerges about measurements given in the Terrier is that the selion was variable in size. In some cases the land which is given as selions in the main portion of the Terrier is given as acres in the Rental, making it possible for a comparison to be made and a size given to the selions. For example John Hale in the Rental has a messuage at Hale End with 30 acres in the Common Fields of Eastcote and a further 6 selions in Eastcote Fields. In the main part of the Terrier he is credited with 36 pieces in the fields, 28 selions and eight half selions. From this it appears that 26 selions = 30 acres. Therefore the mean selion area is 1.1 acres. However, John Nelham in Westcote has 38½ selions which are referred to in the Rental as 24.5 acres. Working from the Terrier, comparing selions in the fields with acreage in the rental, wherever this was possible (22 times) the average size of selion was 0.81 acres. (Range 0.63-1.27.)

One other word must be said about measurements. In Ruislip the Wood pole of 18ft. was normally used rather than the customary pole of 16½ft., making a Wood acre of 5760 sq. yd. A footnote to the Terrier dated 8th June, 1719, explains this point: “. . . a Gentleman assured me that by the custom of that manor a Pole or Rood is eighteen feet long which makes a great difference in the quantity of an acre of the land . . .”

5vi. Open Field Meadowlands

There was a certain amount of meadow interspersed among the arable in the common fields, along the watercourses. Meadow pieces are let out in acres rather than selions. Whether it refers to a fixed measure of land is uncertain. There were 11¼ acres of meadow in the fields of Westcote and 56½ acres in Eastcote. One Rood lying in “Well Mead alias Well Hooke” in “Well Field” was called “Lot Mead” suggesting that it was let out by lot to various tenants. It belonged to the Lord of the Manor. “Well Field” was crossed by several watercourses and consequently had a larger amount of meadow than the other fields, 30 acres.

There were seven other separate meadows, “Prior’s Field”, Westcote, 36 acres; “Prior’s Field”, Eastcote, 31 acres; “Bourn Wyck”, 3 acres; “Bourne Grove”, 5 acres; “Dickett’s Mead”, 11 acres; “Roxbourne Mead”, 12 acres; and “Fuller’s Hedge”, 8½ acres; all lying at the southern edge of the manor along the Roxbourne Brook and its tributaries.

5vii. Crops

There is no clue in the Terrier to the crops grown in the common fields, or to the system of rotation in use in Tudor times, but wheat was probably the main crop with peas, beans, oats or barley in some type of rotation, for these were the crops grown in the 13th and 18th centuries.

Minister’s Accounts for 1288-89¹⁰ show the Manor of Ruislip to be producing large amounts of corn (961 quarters), and oats (912 quarters), some peas and beans (190 quarters), a small amount of barley (6 quarters 4 bushels), and rye (3 quarters). During the early 19th century (before Enclosure) wheat and beans were the main crops with small amounts of barley, oats, peas and potatoes.

John Middleton’s report on Middlesex to the Board of Agriculture in 1796 says:

“On the strong land between Harrow and Uxbridge, the former rotation was wheat, beans broadcast then fallow . . .”

“The fallow is very properly exploded in all the parishes except Riselip and Alscot . . .”

“. . . there was only one field in Riselip and another in Alscot in fallow . . .”

Middleton is bewailing the backwardness of Ruislip agriculturalists, but he gives evidence that the fields of Westcote (Ruislip) and the fields of Eastcote (Alscot) were treated as separate units in the 18th century and included a fallow year in their rotation; presumably an ancient custom. The rotation may well have been based on three fields. There are frequent references in the rental to selions held by tenants in only three fields of Westcote or three fields of Eastcote, but checking through the Terrier each field and shot shows that the tenant has in fact selions in all five Westcote common fields. This may suggest that originally Hill and Whittingrove Fields were one and that Marlpit Field which was mainly demesne land was not always regarded as a common field. The Terrier is the earliest document to refer to Whittingrove and Hill Fields, although there was a meadow called Whittingrove as early as 1394.

5viii. Distribution of Tenant Holdings in the Common Fields

Many of the selions in the common fields were associated with particular dwellings and may represent the original medieval distribution of common field land.

Table I – Distribution of Dwellings

WESTCOTE	EASTCOTE	NORTHWOOD
12 messuages (inc. 4 in ruins)	20 messuages (inc. 5 in ruins)	5 messuages (inc. 1 in ruins)
44 cottages	35 cottages	5 cottages
1 Vicarage	1 Free Tenement	
1 Mansion House (Manor Farm)		

A message means a dwelling house with its outbuildings and the land assigned to its use. A cottage is simply a small dwelling. However in Ruislip the difference between the two types of dwelling in 1565 is not at all clear. Four of the Westcote messuages had Common Field land attached to them, but so had 9 of the cottages. In Eastcote 16 messuages and 15 cottages had Common Field land. All other dwellings had adjacent enclosures.

The mean size of message holding in Common Fields was:

36a in Westcote (range 2a-87a)

26.5a in Eastcote (range 5a-80a)

The mean size of cottage holding in Common Fields was:

18a in Westcote (range 1a-46a)

13.4a in Eastcote (range 1a-26a)

There were no common fields in Northwood but all the messuages and three of the cottages have substantial amounts of meadow and pasture attached, the mean being 22.6 acres (range 0.5a-108.5a).

D. F. A. K. Kiddle, in an unpublished thesis “The Changing Landscape of North-West Middlesex”, suggests that the one Freehold tenement “Petridge” with its 80 selions said to contain 80 acres may be an ancient tenement with a hyde of land attached.

Table II – Distribution of selions among shots by field

	Tybber Field (9 shots)		Hill Field (4 shots)		Whittingrove Field (16 shots)		Roxbourne Field (15 shots)		Marlpit Field (9 shots)	
	selions	shots	selions	shots	selions	shots	selions	shots	selions	shots
John Sanders	14½	8	8	4	19	11	45	12	10½	7
John Nelham	12½	7	3	2	5	3	12	9	6	5
John Cogges	9	8	2	2	12	8	12½	9	3	3
Richard Robins of Field End	6	4	8	3	18	10	18	8	6	5

John Sanders in Westcote had 87½ selions attached to “Lopsoms”. There were two villagers with a hyde of land at the time of the Domesday Survey. Five messuages and one cottage with approximately 40 selions may represent half hyde holdings. The two messuages and eleven cottages with approximately 20 selions could be Virgate holdings. In a relatively fertile part of the country it would be reasonable to assume that the hyde would be nearer to 80 acres than its upper limit of 120 acres. The distribution of size of holding is shown in Figure 2.

Close study of the four message common field holdings in Westcote shows that in each case selions were held in all five common fields and were distributed across a large number of shots in each field as is shown in Table II.

A random sample of Westcote cottage holdings reveals a similar spread. For example, William Walleston with his cottage in the High Street has:

10 selions in 5 shots of Tybber Field

One selion in Hill Field

8 selions in 7 shots in Whittingrove Field

11 selions in 5 shots in Roxbourne Field

5 selions in 4 shots in Marlpit Field.

A similar pattern emerges in Eastcote. For example, John Nicholas with his message near Well Green has:

24 selions in 12 out of 17 shots in Well Field

13½ selions in seven out of 14 shots in Stene Field

21 selions in 12 out of 22 shots in East Field.

John Lyon with his cottage in Joel Street held selions as:

6 selions in 5 shots of Stene Field

5 selions in 2 shots of Well Field

9 selions in 7 shots of East Field.

23 Westcote and 18 Eastcote tenants had no dwellings at all but held land in the Common Fields. One, Matthew Harte had selions in both Westcote and Eastcote. 18 of them were members of prominent families and may have held land originally belonging to another family dwelling. At least one of them, Roger Est, is named as the heir of John Martin, holder of a cottage with no attached Common Field land. Perhaps Roger Est had already taken possession of the land. Most of these holdings were small, between ½ and six selions.

The selions are nearly always held singly. It is exceptional to find one man with two or more adjacent strips, unless they are two half selions. Why selions should be divided in two, presumably lengthways, is not clear, unless the practice originated in the division of one holding between two heirs. John Sanders, who had $87\frac{1}{2}$ selions in Westcote Fields (attached to a ruined messuage "Lopsoms" in King's End) had more consolidated groups of selions than anyone else: one group of three selions in Tybberfield, one group of three selions in Whittingrove Field, one group of three selions in Roxbourne, and one group of five selions in Roxbourne. Matthew Harte and Richard Nelham also had groups of five selions in Roxbourne. John Walleston had a group of six selions in Stene Field.

These findings show little evidence of serious attempts at consolidation of selions by individual tenants. The lands of each tenant, even of the large and presumably more powerful land owners, are scattered across the fields of their respective vills. However, all the selions were in the hands of only 71 tenants, leaving 58 without arable land. Although selions had not been consolidated, the mention of 10 ruined messuages suggests earlier attempts at aggrandisement. John Ferne of Wylchers had three of the ruined messuages and John Sanders had two. John Walleston in Eastcote and John Sanders in Westcote, with 80 selions and $87\frac{1}{2}$ selions respectively, emerge as easily the largest owners of common field land. Richard Nelham approaches nearest to them with only 46 selions. (See Figure 2.)

6. ENCLOSED LAND NEAR DWELLINGS

Every dwelling had some type of enclosure around it, ranging from a pightle (unspecified, but small) to several closes of 20 acres of pasture. There were ten gardens and ten orchards in Westcote, and two gardens and seven orchards in Eastcote. Northwood had no gardens but seven orchards. The mean size of enclosure in Westcote (range $\frac{1}{2}$ a-14a) was $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres; in Eastcote (range $\frac{1}{2}$ a-20a) $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres; in Northwood (range $\frac{1}{2}$ a-108 $\frac{1}{2}$ a) 22.6 acres.

Northwood was quite different from the other portions of the manor in having no Common Fields. There was a great deal of meadow and pasture land there. 68 acres held as six enclosures were called Poor's Field. There were 21 acres of underwood. Northwood had 10 houses scattered across the whole area and which were built between the 14th and 16th centuries on land assarted from the wooded waste which once spread across north-west Middlesex. While making the map it was discovered that c. 95 acres within Northwood were unaccounted for in the Terrier. These were outlying lands of the Manor of the More (Moor Park).

7. TILES

Two cottages and one messuage in Northwood had Tile Yards attached to them. The Reading clay was suitable for making tiles, but three tile houses in so small a community appears excessive unless a ready market could be found beyond its borders. Tiles were made at Northwood in the early 15th century and were being sent to Brentford in 1442/3.¹¹ London must always have provided an outlet. Probably the best route for the transport of goods to London was via the Thames at Brentford.

8. BRICKS

Thomas Wetherlye had a Brick Place in Eastcote, probably at the house now called Park Farm in Field End Road. Nearly all the 16th century and 17th century houses still

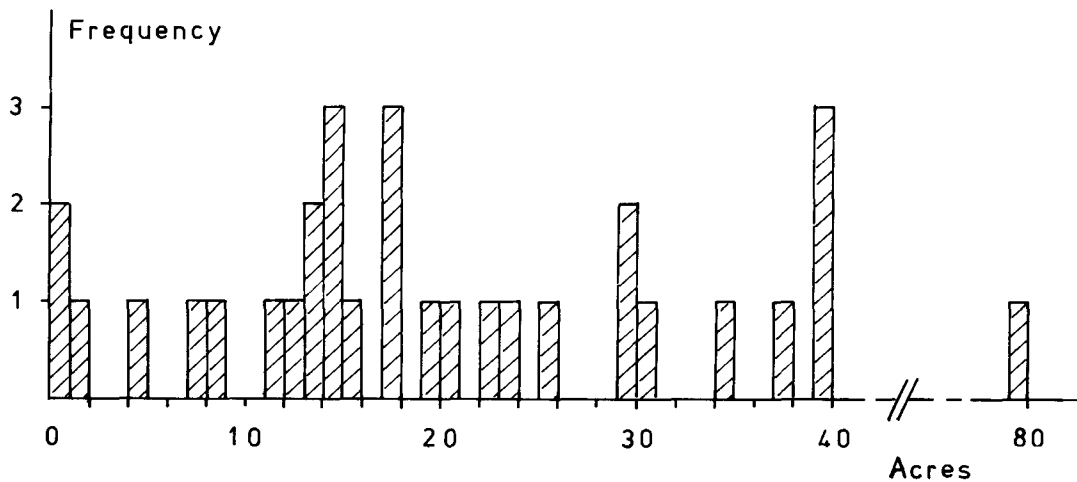


Fig. 2 Distribution of message and cottage common field holdings in acres.

standing are timber frame structures with brick nogging infill and tiled roofs, though many of the poor men's cottages must have been constructed from wattle and daub.

9. RENTS

The smallest rent was $\frac{1}{2}$ d per annum paid by Ralph Barnett for a cottage at Park Hearne and the highest was 46s owed by Roger Arnold for a cottage in Northwood called North House (believed to be the house now called Northwood Grange) and $109\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land in fifteen closes and another cottage. Rents are roughly related to size of holdings, though with several exceptions. Cottages with an acre or less cost from $\frac{1}{2}$ d to 5d per annum.

In Northwood a message with 30 acres cost 9s per annum, and one with 40 acres was only 8s 6d per annum. The cheaper message was held by a lease dated 1509, while the lease of the dearer message was dated 1554, which is probably an indication that rents rose during the course of the 16th century, which was a period of inflation. The following table shows all the Northwood rents, the various holdings and rents of each tenant having been added together. It will be noted that William Winchester had to pay 2000 tiles a year as part of his rent, although the other two owners of Tile yards only paid money. James Parker's rent for 4 acres of Ruislip Wood was 4s or four capons.

Table III – Northwood Rents

TENANT	HOLDING	RENT	DATE OF LEASE
Roger Arnolde	2 cottages 108½a 1a	46s 4d	1541 and 1539
Wm. Winchester	cottage Kiln 66a	31s and 2000 tiles	1563
Elena Childe	cottage orchard 26½a 20a Tile Yard	13s 6d 6s	1558 and 1565

TENANT	HOLDING	RENT	DATE OF LEASE
Robert Nicholas	Messuage 36a	10s 8d	1548
George Ashby	Messuage Kiln 22a	9s 8d	1558
John Living	Messuage 30a	9s	1554
John Walleston	Messuage 40a 15a	8s 6d 14d	1509 and 1564
William Licton	18a	8s	1562
William Nicholas	20a	7s 4d	1562
James Haydon	18a and one ruined messuage	6s 4d	1557
James Parker	4a Ruislip Wood	4s or four capons	1565
John Winchester	5a	2s 4d	1563
William Wheler	8a	2s	1561
Edmunde Birde	5a	18d	1559
John Ferne	5a	18d	1558
Thomas Osborne	3½a	12d	1558
Hugo Fisher	cottage Pightel	5d	1559

One wonders why William Licton had to pay 8s for 18 acres and William Nicholas was allowed 20 acres for only 7s 4d when both leases were dated 1562. Perhaps William Licton's land was better.

Westcote had the highest percentage of tenants paying low rents. Northwood had the highest percentage paying very high rents. The various percentages may be seen in Table IV.

Table IV – Percentage distribution of rents

	< 12d	1s-5s 11d	6s-10s 11d	11s-15s 11d	16s-20s 11d	21s-25s	> 25s
Westcote	37.7%	31.9%	15.9%	8.7%	2.9%	1.4%	1.4%
Eastcote	17.5%	46%	17.5%	12.7%	—	3.2%	3.2%
Northwood	6.5%	37.5%	37.5%	—	6.25%	—	12.5%

The high number of rents under 12d in Westcote is accounted for by a number of cottages with only a garden or a very small close attached. Although there was clearly no set sum per acre or per house payable to King's College some men seem to have paid consistent amounts per acre in all their closes: John Hale in Westcote paid 3d per acre throughout six enclosures and, breaking the pattern, 4d for three acres of pasture. The other closes for which he paid 3d per acre included some meadow and arable.

Assessed on the total amount of rent they paid the chief tenants in each section were: John Walleston in Westcote paying 39s 1d; John Redinge of Field End in Eastcote paying 28s 4d; Roger Arnold in Northwood paying 46s 4d. When the lands of individuals in the three districts is totalled, John Walleston with land in all three paid the most, 75s 9d, followed by Roger Arnold with 46s 4d in Northwood only, and William Winchester with 31s also in Northwood only. John Sanders who held the most common field land, 87 acres in Westcote, lies fifth in the overall rents table.

Ralph Hawtrey whose descendants later played so important a part in Ruislip affairs paid a total of 16s 6d rent. From 1532 he leased the Rectory from St George's Chapel, Windsor, and in that capacity had a barn and 1½ acres adjoining the Vicarage, no doubt for storing the Great Tithes which he was entitled to collect.

10. THE VICAR'S GLEBE

The Vicarage changed hands during 1565, Thomas Smith taking over from George Whitehouse. The Vicar's glebe consisted of 36½ selions in Westcote fields, three selions in Eastcote and two acres in Northwood. The Vicarage in Bury Street had 2½ acres in closes around it. The Vicar held all this property freely and does not appear in the Rental. His selions, like those of the other tenants, were scattered throughout most of the shots in five fields of Westcote. If the Ruislip hyde was 80 selions as suggested in section 5viii the Vicar's 39½ selions in 1565 is very similar to the half hyde said to be held by a priest in the Domesday Book.

11. THE DEMESNE

The Demesne of 1952 acres covered nearly ⅓ of the total area and was concentrated in a central band of the Manor, both north and south of the manor house, now Manor Farm. It consisted of:

Woodland	Ruislip Common Wood, 860 acres Ruislip Park, 357 acres
Meadowland	170 acres along the Pinn. The present fields along the Pinn are the remnant of the demesne meadows.
Arable Land	Church Field, 73 acres Great Windmill Field, 42 acres Marlpit Field, 236 acres Bourne Field, 168 acres
Enclosed pasture	Harry's Croft, 12 acres Withy Crofts, 19 acres Bates Field, 15 acres

Demesne Farmer

Being an absentee landlord King's College split up the demesne and let various parts out on lease. The woods were let to separate lessees. Robert Christmas held the Common Wood and James Owlde held Ruislip Park. The rest of the demesne, meadow, pasture and arable were let out to a man referred to as the Demesne Farmer. His land included Manor Farm. An entry reads:

"The Demesne Farmer holds the mansion house of the manor of Ruislip with barns, stables, dovecotes, gardens and orchard and with the courtyard . . ."

King's College, a body with a fixed income, was short of ready cash during the 16th

century. To raise it the College appears to have sold leases well in advance of the expiration of the existing leases, because the purchaser paid a fine as purchase price of his lease.

1549 Thomas Street of Ruislip was granted the lease of the manor for 20 years from Michaelmas 1549.¹²

1561 John Smith of Ruislip bought the lease for 20 years from 1569.¹³

1566 Robert Christmas of Lavenham in Suffolk purchased the lease for 20 years from 1589, that is 23 years in advance, which suggests that the leases were inheritable.¹⁴

The Bursar's Accounts of King's College for Michaelmas 1565 give Mr Smith as being in residence at Ruislip. He had probably purchased the interest under the lease of 1549.

Robert Christmas seems to have been investing in Ruislip. He purchased four leases, on the Common Wood, the Manor, the Courts and Profits of Courts and the wood growing in Ruislip Park, in 1565 and 1566. The tenants of these leases appear at the end of the Northwood rental, but the entries are incomplete and do not give the amount payable.

CONCLUSION

The Terrier shows that in Elizabethan times the people of Ruislip held their arable land in a scattered pattern, with lands in all the common fields of their respective vill. The basic measure of common field land was the selion which averaged 0.81 acres in Ruislip with a variation from 0.63 to 1.27 acres. Lands belonging to a particular messuage or cottage lay in one vill only, although some tenants had dwellings and land in more than one vill.

Six of the 72 surnames mentioned in the Terrier had survived in Ruislip for at least 300 years and seven more were of families found in Pinner in 1547.

The largest single holding was the 735 acres of the Demesne Farmer (similar to the 700 acres of Manor Farm mentioned in the 1851 Census). 781 acres equivalent to 17.2% of the total manor was held by the 5.4% of the tenants who paid more than 20s per annum rent. 35% of the tenants held less than five acres in small closes by their houses and had no common field land.

The family with most land, the Wallestons had been in Ruislip since at least 1467, as shown by the date of one of their leases, and may have been London Merchants investing in Ruislip. There is no evidence to suggest that Londoners were attempting large scale investment so far out in rural Middlesex.

The size of common field holding was smaller in Eastcote than in Westcote but enclosures around houses there totalled 257 acres, almost twice as large as the 135 acres of Westcote.

The task of making the map to go with the Terrier presented many difficulties. The compilers of the Terrier from time to time failed to give precise measurements, making strict accuracy impossible. The abbuttals given for one shot sometimes conflicted with those given for another, making for peculiarly shaped shots. The work was worthwhile as it identified some hitherto uncharted place names and is the only map to show the whole of the common fields as they were before Enclosure.

I should like to acknowledge my indebtedness to Madge Beer, Chris and Jean Brown, John and Joan Sweasey, and Ralph and Rosemary Publicover, all of Ruislip, Northwood and Eastcote Local History Society, for their work in piecing together and drawing the Terrier map.

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