

SOME NEW LIGHT ON CALDECOTE AND THE ANCIENT ENDOWMENT OF AYLESBURY MINSTER

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Evidence given in a lawsuit commencing in 1232 concerning lands in the 'lost village' of Caldecote reveals that it belonged to the prebend of Aylesbury and also names three, hitherto unlisted, prebendaries. The early endowment of the former minster church and its partial evolution into the two separate estates of the prebends of Aylesbury and of Heydour-cum-Walton is examined, first by comparing Domesday Book with William II's confirmation of his father's grant to Lincoln cathedral and then from the vantage point of the c. 1650 Parliamentary surveys. It is suggested that Domesday, which fails to mention Walton, also omits the compact area adjacent to the church known as the Church fee and later as the Prebendal, or Rectory, manor. Reference is also made to the sub-manor of Bawd's fee in Walton. An attempt is made to identify the 'hamlet of Caldecote' more precisely, with the help of field names and other evidence. The possible significance of this and other settlement names in relation to Aylesbury minster is briefly considered.

In 1232 an action upon the writ of Utrum was held before the king's justices at Wycombe to decide whether 88 acres of land in Aylesbury pertaining to the church of Aylesbury was free alms or lay fee. Utrum is first found in statute law in the constitutions of Clarendon of 1164 and was originally a preliminary form of action to determine whether (*utrum* in Latin) the ecclesiastical or the secular court should have jurisdiction. By the early thirteenth century there had been a loss of jurisdiction by the ecclesiastical courts and the application of the writ itself had altered sufficiently to make individual cases of interest to the legal historian. It so happens that this particular case also contains information of interest both for Church and local history.¹

The parties to the dispute were William, described as the parson of the church of Aylesbury, but in a memorandum at the end of the entry as 'the dean', and a certain Nigel de Caldecote, who is probably the same Nigel de Caldecote to whom Pain de Pichecote and his wife quitclaimed 30 acres of land in Caldecote for five marks of silver in 1199.² Nigel appears in right of himself and of his three adult children John, William and Agnes, of whom Nigel and John each held 29 acres of the land at issue and William and Agnes each 15 acres.

Nigel first argues that, since his father had held the disputed land for 80 years and he himself had held it for the same length of time, the combined space of 160 years exceeded that required by the writ of right and so he ought not to answer for it. This preposterous claim was evidently only a legal fiction, for Nigel goes on to say that his father Walensis had been enfeoffed of the land in question and he produced in support of this statement a charter of Robert, bishop of Lincoln, and the chapter of St Mary, Lincoln, confirming that the bishop and chapter had given to Walensis, described as the 'man' (*homo*), a word which in context implies a feudal relationship as vassal or tenant, of William, archdeacon of Northampton, 'all the land of Caldecotes' that pertains (*que pertinet*) to the church of Aylesbury, to hold by hereditary right to him and his heirs in the manner that his lord, William the archdeacon, gave it to him, for a 'pension' (*pensionem*) of 10s.

In reply, William the plaintiff argues that the charter produced by Nigel ought not to prejudice his case because the original charter, which it purposed to confirm, had not been shown. He also appears to question the authenticity of the charter on the grounds that it did not bear the name and seal of the dean, which by custom was always

applied to all charters made by the chapter, whether the dean was present or not. He also points out that the king had given the said church [of Aylesbury] to the church of Lincoln, yet Nigel says nothing about the king and his ancestors. Finally, he notes that Nigel's charter states that the land is held by a pension of 10s., yet Nigel actually pays 40s. a year.

Nigel's rejoinder is : first, that it was not necessary for the dean's name to be explicitly mentioned in the charter since he was part of the chapter; second, that Archdeacon William's feoffment, along with many others, had been destroyed when Nigel's house burned down; and thirdly, that rightfully he does not owe more than 10s. for the land in question, but that 'in the time when Archdeacon Herbert held the church of Aylesbury' Herbert himself came and seized him and took him to Winchester and imprisoned him there until he agreed to pay 40s. a year.

The case was then adjourned and the parties were warned to appear at Westminster for judgement at Martinmas following. In Michaelmas term 1233 the parties were again given a date for judgement in the following Easter term. It appears, however, from the record of a later – clearly related – action that the parties must have agreed to settle out of court. The parties to this later action, which took place in Easter term 1242, were Roger, dean of Lincoln, identifiable as Roger de Weseham, dean, c. 1240 to 1245, and John de Burton (i.e. of Bierton), presumably Nigel's son John or a close relation. In this action Roger was seeking to compel John to honour the agreement made between John and William de Tornay, formerly dean of Lincoln, and Roger's predecessor, concerning land, now described as 12 acres and two and a half virgates (i. e. 87 acres, assuming a virgate of 30 acres) and this time said to lie 'in Aylesbury, Bierton and Stok' [Stoke Mandeville], etc.' John failed to appear and was ordered to be attached. He again failed to appear and this time was ordered to be distrained upon his lands by the sheriff. The final outcome is not known.³

As far as concerns Church history, the value of this case lies in the information it supplies about the early prebendaries of Aylesbury in the cathedral chapter of Lincoln (who were technically the parsons), information which extends and modifies the revised modern version of Le Neve's *Fasti* for Lincoln diocese, the standard work of reference for ecclesiastical office holders.⁴

In fact the record of this case identifies no fewer than three prebendaries of Aylesbury (all of whom held other appointments at Lincoln) who were not previously certainly known to have held that office. William the original plaintiff is William de Tournai (de Thornaco), who is known to have been dean from c.1223 to 1239/40; William, archdeacon of Northampton, who allegedly enfeoffed Walensis, is William, called 'of St Clere', who was archdeacon of Northampton by c.1133 and died in 1168/9; and 'Archdeacon Herbert' is Herbert Poore, archdeacon of Northampton in 1174–75 and later bishop of Salisbury. The two latter are the earliest prebendaries of Aylesbury to be identified following the confirmation of the prebend by the pope in 1146. Herbert Poore was the son of Richard of Ilchester, who was bishop of Winchester from 1174 to 1188, a fact that lends some credence to Nigel's allegation about the strong-arm tactics employed against him by Herbert⁵

From the standpoint of local history, the case is of particular interest for the light it throws on the ancient endowment of the former minster church of Aylesbury and more particularly, on its association with the 'lost' village of Caldecote, about which little is known beyond that it was located on the eastern fringe of Aylesbury. The Victoria County History for Buckinghamshire, referring to the two hamlets called Caldecote in Newport Pagnell and Bow Brickhill, adds 'There appears to have been another Caldecote in Buckinghamshire, the name of which has entirely disappeared' and suggests that it was probably located either in Bedgrove (a hamlet in the parish of Weston Turville) or in the neighbouring parish of Bierton, citing a fine dated 24 Edward I (1295/96) which refers to land in 'Caldecote beside (*juxta*) Bibbegrove'.⁶

Recent archaeological and documentary investigations, briefly summarised by Keith Bailey in a recent number of the *Records*⁷, have placed the foundation of Aylesbury's minster fairly securely in the mid-seventh century and associated it with the initiative of Wulfhere, king of Mercia (657–675), whose sister Edith (Eadgyth), aunt to St Osyth (Osgyth), Aylesbury's patron, is said to have been its first abbess. The new minster was sited within a re-cut Iron Age hill fort, whose circuit included the whole core of the historic town, an area of some eight to ten hectares. Initially it would have served a wide area of the surrounding countryside covering a radius of ten to fifteen miles around Ayles-

bury, a situation reflected in its unusually large and ancient cemetery, portions of which have been excavated in recent years.⁸ As a minster it would also have been endowed with at least a hide of land for its upkeep.⁹ The new minster thus became the focus for an entirely new (and possibly partially dispersed) settlement, since the ancient fort had been deserted within a century or so after its creation. Meanwhile from the fifth century, as we know from extensive excavations, there had been settlement of the early Saxon period on high ground at Walton, less than a mile to the south of Aylesbury.¹⁰

As Keith Bailey remarks, the subsequent history of almost all minster churches in southern Middle Anglia is even more obscure than their foundation in the late seventh and early eighth centuries.¹¹ By 971 Aylesbury (and presumably its minster) had come into royal hands under the will of Aelfheah, Ealdorman of Hampshire and Wiltshire, who bequeathed it to King Edgar. How Aelfheah acquired it does not appear, but under royal control it acquired a mint, indicating a developing urban status.¹² Subsequently Edward the Confessor conferred the 'well-endowed' churches of Aylesbury, Leighton Buzzard and Buckingham on Wulfwig, whom he had appointed bishop of Dorchester on Thames in 1053. Their endowments were added to the estates of the bishopric and thus can be considered to have effectively passed out of direct local control (assuming they had not done so earlier). Since alienation of church lands was forbidden by canon law, they were commonly leased for three lives, though in practice such leased lands could be difficult to recover.¹³

William I, in his writ of 1072 transferring the see of Dorchester to Lincoln, includes Aylesbury among the churches which were given to the new bishop of Lincoln. The transfer was confirmed in 1090 by a writ of William II which specifies 'the church of Aylesbury with lands and tithes, namely Stoke [Mandeville], Walton and Buckland.' There can be little doubt that these 'lands and tithes' represent the ancient endowment of Aylesbury's minster church.¹⁴

The importance of the church of Aylesbury is attested in the Domesday Book by the well-known passage, under Stoke [Mandeville] recording the renders of corn owed by free men (sokemen) from 'the eight hundreds which lie in the circuit of Aylesbury'. Domesday also confirms that

Remigius, bishop of Lincoln, held the manor of Stoke with its church, previously held by Bishop Wulfwig, and that 'it lies with the [lands of] the church of Aylesbury.' Otherwise it has relatively little to say about the Aylesbury church lands. Under Aylesbury itself (which at this time appears to have included much of Bierton), it is simply noted that 'The bishop of Lincoln holds the church of this manor'; Buckland is stated to be held by Walter from Bishop Remigius and had previously been held by Godric, brother of Bishop Wulfwig, who, however, could not sell without the bishop's permission; Walton is altogether omitted.¹⁵

Any further information about the former endowment of Aylesbury church thus has to be gleaned from later records. Surprisingly perhaps, in view of the Domesday entry, the manor of Stoke Mandeville, which included a detached enclave of 193 acres in the Chilterns known, by the twelfth century, as Prestwood,¹⁶ became, and remained, part of the temporalities of the bishop of Lincoln, as did the manor of Buckland, which unlike Stoke, lies at a short distance from Aylesbury. The churches of both parishes, however, retained their links with the church of Aylesbury.

In 1139 the church of Aylesbury was confirmed by the pope to the canons of Lincoln cathedral and by 1146 had become a prebend assigned for the support of a single canon, or prebendary. Walton followed precisely the same path before becoming a separate prebend in 1146. After various permutations it was linked with Heydour (Lincs), by 1291, to form the prebend of Heydour-cum-Walton. The Aylesbury prebend also included the chapels of Bierton, Buckland, Quarrendon and Stoke Mandeville, about all of which little is known prior to 1266, when they were divided from the prebend by the bishop and granted to the common fund. The four chapels were formed into a vicarage in 1294.¹⁷ Quarrendon's connection with the church of Aylesbury is partly explained by a charter of Robert de Tenchebrai, which has been dated between 1135 and 1147, addressed to the bishop of Lincoln; this grants 'to God and the church of blessed Mary of Aylesbury' half a hide of land in Quarrendon in free alms in return for the right to have a cemetery there. This half hide may well have accompanied the chapel in 1266.¹⁸

In 1274 Aylesbury's church was appropriated to the common fund and a permanent vicarage ordained. The vicar received a share of the tithes of

the whole parish of Aylesbury which were, or became, the Aylesbury prebend's most valuable asset. The vicar's glebe land would doubtless also have been subtracted from the prebendal estate. The vicarage was augmented in 1290.¹⁹ In the ecclesiastical tax of 1291 Aylesbury with its prebends was, with Buckingham, one of the two highest value churches in Buckinghamshire.²⁰

A convenient starting point for a broader review of the landed endowment of the two prebends is the so-called parliamentary surveys made on their (as things turned out, temporary) abolition *c.* 1650. Looking first at the survey of the prebend of Aylesbury, it tells us that the estate then consisted of a 'prebend house' with two barns and a close of pasture of two acres adjoining and a parcel of land of twelve acres called Parsonage Piece lying in Windmill Hill field in Aylesbury, valued together at £7 6s. 8d., together with the great tithes of Aylesbury and Walton, valued at £200.²¹ The annual rent is not stated but it is known from other sources (see below) that the estate, including the tithes, was customarily let on lease for three (concurrent) lives.

What the survey also fails to tell us is that the landed property, modest though it was, represented the surviving demesne of a miniscule manor known latterly as the Prebendal, or Rectory, manor and commemorated by the street name Parsons Fee, for which several court rolls exist from 1623 and which was still functioning as late as the nineteenth century.²² An early nineteenth-century perambulation of the bounds of the manor shows that it comprised a compact area surrounding the church on all sides bounded by Kingsbury on the south, Ardenham Lane on the north and part of Buckingham Street on the east. Many of the boundary points mentioned cannot now be precisely identified but it seems clear that the manorial precinct was situated within the re-cut boundary of the Iron Age fort as indicated by excavation, with some overlapping notably on the west side where it is stated to take in all Cat (Castle) Street 'on both sides'.²³

A small number of surviving local deeds of title confirm that the Prebendal manor, or Church fee, as it is usually called in this period, was in existence as a distinct precinct within the town as early as the first half of the thirteenth century.²⁴ Considering that the hamlet of Walton was omitted from Domesday Book, it is at least plausible to suggest that the Church fee, which was presumably Anglo-

Saxon in origin was similarly passed over, subsumed in the curt statement that 'The bishop of Lincoln holds the church of this manor.'

Thanks to Nigel de Caldecote's action, we now know that the prebendary of Aylesbury also claimed rights to lands in Caldecote and the Victoria County History for Buckinghamshire tells us that his prebendal manor had at one time extended into Walton. The same source lists many of the post-1500 lessees of both prebendal manors in whose names courts were held and indicates that, before this, courts were held in the name of the prebendary of Aylesbury himself as late as 1507.²⁵ There is also a surviving fragment of a court roll of 12 Hen. IV (1410–11), held in the name of John Lincoln, prebendary from 1395 to 1415. Unfortunately, this fragment contains no place names, but it shows that the manor had its own constable and that it was the recipient of royal writs.²⁶

The prebendal estate in Walton, which, as noted above, formed part of the prebend of Heydourcum-Walton, constituted the principal manor there and encompassed the greater part of the hamlet. In 1650, in sharp contrast to the Aylesbury prebend, the manorial demesne amounted to a total of some 227 acres, including 63 acres of enclosed pasture and meadow, valued at £45 6s. 8d. and seven large parcels or closes in the open fields, valued at £41 8s. The manor house, which was on the site of the later Walton Court was said to have been pulled down in the 'late wars'. There were about forty manorial tenancies, all of them held freely, the assized (fixed) rents of which came to £11 5s. 8d. The whole estate was let on a 90-year lease, the annual rent paid to the prebendary being £20, which was over £100 less than the true value of the property.²⁷

Held of the manor of Walton was the manor known as Bawd's fee, the history of which is obscure. This manor apparently owes its name to Geoffrey le Baud²⁸, son of Robert de Walton who, in a deed which can be dated to the early thirteenth century, made a grant of the services due from specified lands in Walton to William son of Simon of Aylesbury, reserving to the chief lord of the fee (not named) an annual fixed rent of 10 shillings. A (half-yearly?) rent of 5s. was being paid, by John Baldwyn, for Bawd's fee in the late fifteenth century, when the manor of Walton was apparently leased to the lord of Aylesbury. The deed states that Geoffrey had already made the grant to William 'in

the chief court of the fee of Walton with knife and stick'. No reference is made to the prebendary as such. Here we appear to have an example of a sub-enfeoffment of Church land, such as that claimed by Nigel, only this time there is no doubt that it passed by enfeoffment. The grant lists eleven tenants holding a total of some 90–100 acres of land, besides meadow not quantified, six messuages and two dwelling houses. A feature of the grant is that a proportion of the land is expressed in quarter virgates (five and a half of them in all) and there is also a reference to the meadow belonging to a quarter virgate. The existence of these very small units of tenure could be significant insofar as they may reflect a much earlier tenurial arrangement (see below).²⁹

Returning once again to Caldecote, it is now clear that the prebendary of Aylesbury's interest there must have had been eroded over the centuries and the case of Nigel de Caldecote itself illustrates one of the ways in which this might have come about. Here again, property records of various kinds can be of assistance, both in determining approximately how and when this happened and in locating Caldecote itself more precisely.

The eastern and south-eastern edges of the parish of Aylesbury are distinguished from the rest by having rather fewer natural boundaries, those with Bierton (proper) and Stoke Mandeville consisting largely of the indented sort commonly taken to mark contiguous open field systems. They are also notable for the presence of a plethora of small hamlets or settlements, the boundaries of which are more or less indeterminate and appear in some cases to overlap. They comprise Walton, Broughton, Bedgrove, Burcott and – a little further to the east – Hulcott; to which, as it now appears, should be added Caldecote. Two of these hamlets, Broughton (in the parish of Bierton – or, more correctly, Bierton with Broughton) – and Bedgrove (in Weston Turville) have separate entries in Domesday, and Bedgrove, although it comprised only a few hundred acres at most, had its own field system until 1659.³⁰ Burcott, still shown on nineteenth-century maps, is now part of Bierton village (see Fig. 1).

Broughton, which directly adjoined Walton on the other side of the stream now known as the Bear Brook, has a complex manorial history. In the twelfth century William, count of Boulogne, the second son of King Stephen, granted lands there to Missenden Abbey and as a result the manor was

divided into two parts, known thereafter as Broughton Magna, otherwise Broughton Abbots (the abbey's portion) and Broughton Parva, the latter being also successively known, from the names of later owners, as Broughton Holand, Lovel and Stavely.³¹ The double-moated site of the manor house of the Lovels (which was actually situated just within the boundary of Weston Turville parish) is still to be seen, lying within a stone's throw of Manor Farm, with its medieval aisled barn and ruined chapel, which belonged to Missenden abbey. In addition to its original endowment, Missenden abbey received gifts of land in the area from many sources but only one of those recorded in its published cartulary refers to Caldecote. This is a grant, c. 1220–29, of a meadow in Caldecote lying between the watercourse (*quod iacet inter ductum aque*) coming from Broughton to Caldecote. Since the donor had it in part exchange for 22 acres of meadow in Aylesbury, it is likely to have been quite small in area. The wording suggests an island site created by the Bear Brook dividing into two streams.³²

There is evidence to show that by the early fourteenth century Caldecote had become associated with the manor of Broughton Parva. In 1321 the inquisition post mortem of Robert de Holand certifies that he held, jointly with his wife, the manor of Broughton [Parva] and 'the hamlet of Caldecote' of the gift of Thomas, late earl of Lancaster. Later, Thomas, late earl of Kent, who died in 1361 is said to have held the manor of Broughton Parva, together with 131 acres of land and seven acres of meadow in Caldecote. The land in Caldecote is stated to be held of the prebend of Aylesbury by the service of four marks (£2 13s. 4d.).³³ There is no way of knowing whether this land included the 88 acres which had been held by Nigel de Caldecote, but it is at least clear that Caldecote was a considerably larger area than that comprised by Nigel's holding there and that Nigel's was not the only land in the wider parish of Aylesbury which was held of the prebendary of Aylesbury. Also holding some land in Caldecote and vicinity from the Holands in 1325 was John de Stonor.³⁴

It seems likely that the Holand lands in Caldecote were acquired piecemeal, for in 1294 and again in 1296 'Edmund, the king's brother', i.e. Edmund, earl of Lancaster (1245–96), second son of Henry III, who had received a grant of Broughton Parva after it had escheated to the

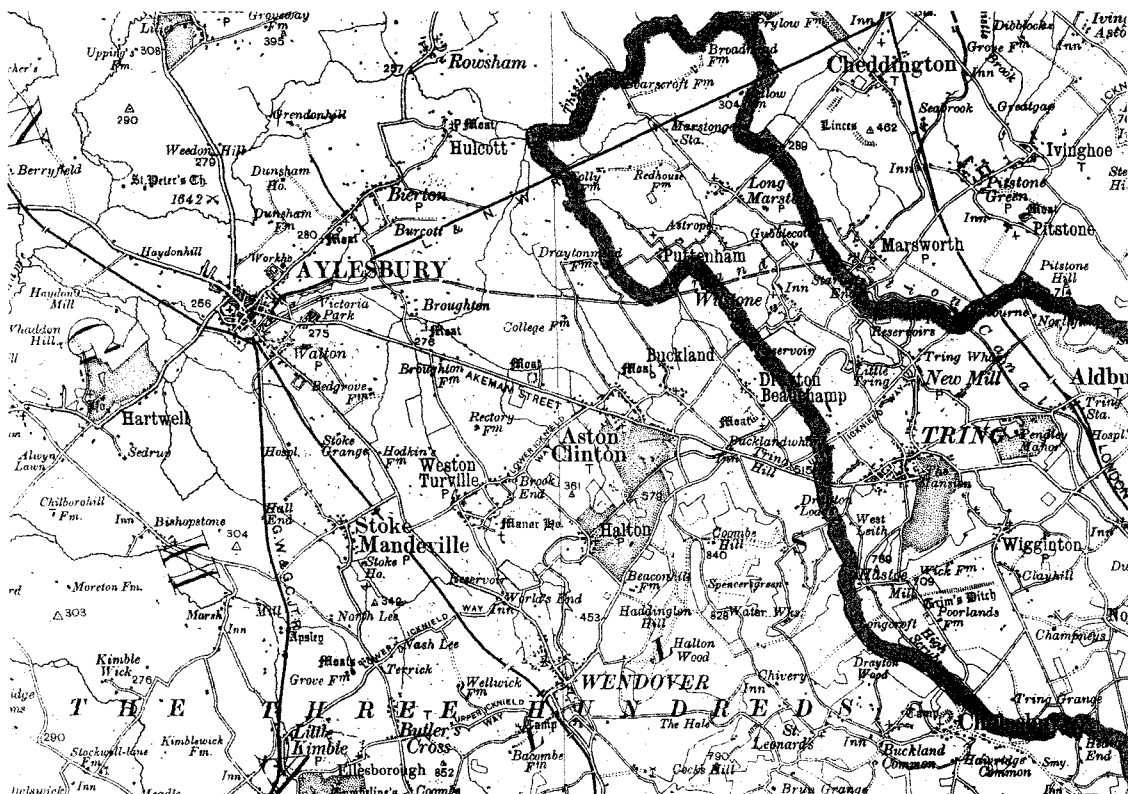


FIGURE 1 Aylesbury and its hinterland to the south and east (from Mawer and Stenton 1927).

crow, is recorded as having acquired lands in Caldecote from John Manygod of Aylesbury and Ellis his wife, the first purchase being of six and a half acres and the second of 56 acres.³⁵

The inquisition post mortem of John de Stonor, a local landowner, taken in 28 Edward III (1354/55), states that he had lands in 'the hamlet of Caldecote', held of Thomas Holand, as well as lands and tenements in Walton held of the prebendary of Walton. This is the latest example noted of the explicit use of 'hamlet' in relation to Caldecote, a fact that may indicate that the settlement was a casualty of the overall decline in the level of population resulting from the Black Death and its aftermath.

Later references to Caldecote, as well as being scarce, tend to be unhelpful or confusing in regard to location. In 1388 Robert Bealknap, 'convicted', held the manor of Berton and appurtenances in Aylesbury, Walton and Caldecote, including lands 'in the fields of Bedgrove and Caldecote' during the

minority of the heir of Edmund Stonere. A quitclaim of 1420 in the Hampton MSS refers to a tenement in the vill of Walton, 5 acres of arable land in the field of Broughton in a furlong called Caldecote field and 1 rood of meadow in Caldecote, and a later deed of 1461 conveys five acres and one rood of land in the field of Caldecote, of which 2 acres are said to lie together in a furlong called Northlong.³⁶

Almost a century later, in 1557, Thomas Harding of Berton conveyed his lands in the fields of Caldecote, Broughton Holand and Weston Turville to Sir Thomas Pakington and in 1566 a bond from Henry Webbe of Bedgrove to Pakington refers to lands in Broughton Holands, Bedgrove (Bebgrove), Weston Turville and in 'Caldecote field in the parish of Aylesbury'.³⁷ Sir Thomas Pakington was a considerable landlord with seats at Aylesbury and at Westwood in Worcestershire. His Buckinghamshire estate included the two Broughton manors, both of which had been acquired by his predecessor and

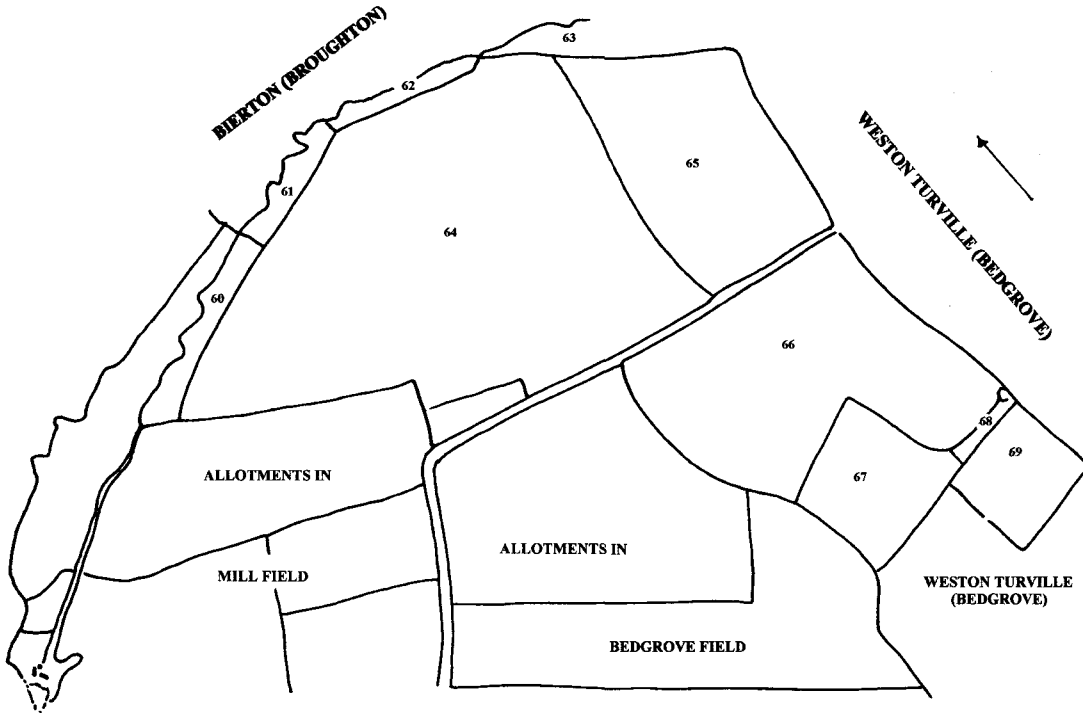


FIGURE 2 Location of the former Gaucott/Calcott/Caldecote field, based on Walton Enclosure Map.

Key to Reference Numbers to Old Enclosures Shown (areas are given in acres, roods and perches):

<i>Sir John Packington, Bar't</i>				<i>Marquis of Buckingham</i>	
60 Diggy Moor	3 1 30	65 Part of Great Ground	27 2 34	61 Part of meadow	2 1 33
62 Part of Long Meadow	1 2 23	66 Munday's Ground	38 0 6		
63 " " "	1 3 22	67 Little Ground	10 3 5	<i>John Newman Esq.</i>	
64 Broughton Pastures	78 3 35	68 The Pightle	2 28	69 Plow'd Piece	7 1 14
			(Total 163 0 23)		

kinsman Sir John Baldwin, Broughton Magna by royal grant in 1541 following the dissolution of Misesenden Abbey and Broughton Parva, by purchase from John Stavely and others in 1544 in the name of his daughter Alice, the last abbess of Burnham.³⁸

In January 1580 John Pakington, (knighted in 1587) who had succeeded his father in the estate, leased the manor of Broughton Holand, together with the site of the manor house and other lands, to John Fountain of Walton, who promptly leased back the manor and some of the lands to Pakington, retaining *inter alia* a 'close or field' called Calcott field (the name is assumed to be a variant of Caldecote) and a little parcel of ground called Diggen More thereto adjoining.³⁹ There is evidence that enclosure had taken place at Broughton in this period in a Privy Council letter of 1593 about dis-

turbances at Broughton Abbots and its vicinity concerning grounds said to have been enclosed peaceably 'these 20 years and above' in which John Fountain is named as the aggrieved party.⁴⁰

Calcott field reappears in a series of rentals of Pakington estates in Aylesbury and Broughton Holands covering the period 1660 to 1709 which shows it being let in combination with other pieces of land, including Diggens Moor (sic) and Coneygree (i. e. rabbit warren), to a succession of tenants at an annual rent, which from 1689 stood at £100.⁴¹ In a much more summary rental of 1723 these particular properties are replaced by 'Broughton Pastures' (not previously mentioned) at a rent of £103.⁴² The new name was evidently used on this occasion as a shorthand description (possibly indicating that these were all 'improved' pastures, as

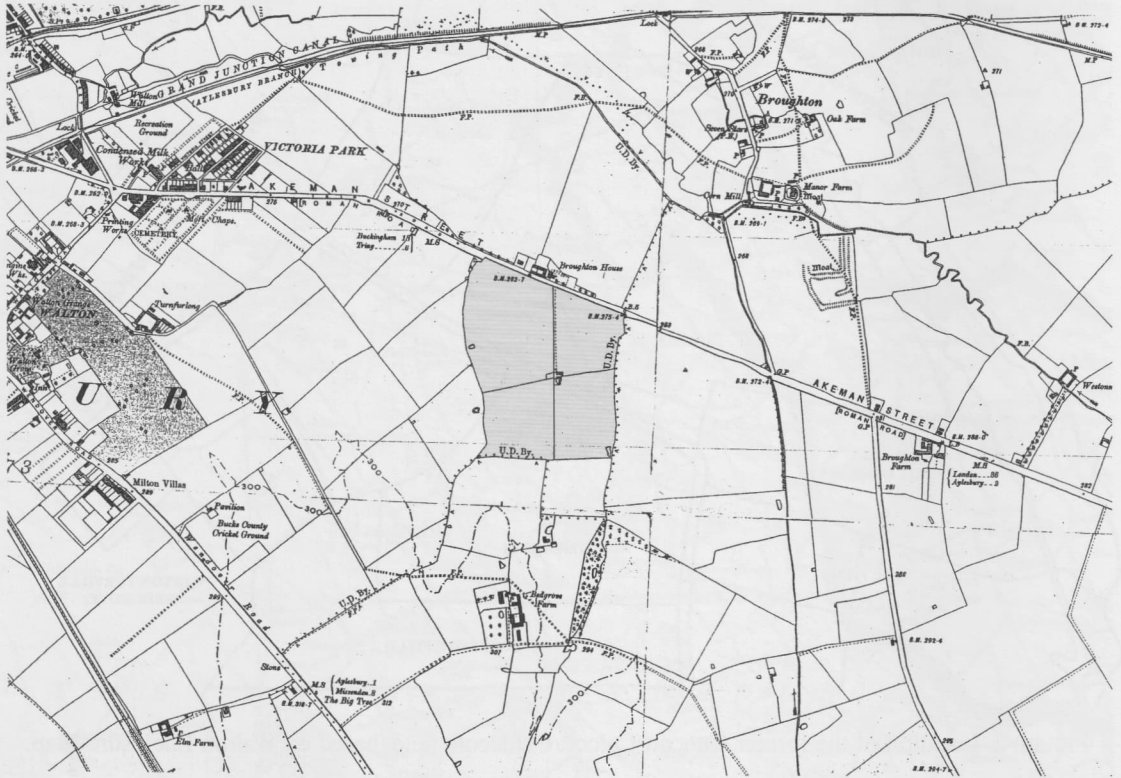


FIGURE 3 Second edition 6-inch O.S. map showing location of the former Gaucott Field in 1900.

distinct from rough grazing), for it is not found in a valuation of the whole Pakington estate made by a local jury in 1743 in connection with proceedings for debt. The valuation does, however, refer separately to Colcott (sic) Field in the parish of Aylesbury, stated to comprise 60 acres or thereabouts.⁴³

Following the Aylesbury parish enclosure of 1771 (which did not affect Walton) a detailed rental of the Pakington estate was drawn up in 1774 which includes reference numbers to a, now missing, estate map.⁴⁴ In this the holding tenanted by Samuel Wells is described as 'Broughton Pastures and Farm' comprising 210 acres 3r. 7p. in Aylesbury, Bierton (18a. 3r. 19p.) and Weston Turville (23a. 1r. 11p.). Included are fields called Diggamore (3a. 3r. 4p.), Broughton Pastures (73a. 3r. 30p.) 'Part of Coney Geer' (27a. 1r. 21p.), Gaucott (sic) Field (44a. 0r. 37p.) and Further Gaucott Field (5a. 1r. 18p.), all in Aylesbury parish, while property in Bierton is largely confined to the 'Residue of West Meadow' (14a. 1r. 37p.) and Home Meadow (4a. 1r.

11p.) and in Weston Turville parish consists solely of the 'Residue of Coney Geer' (23a. 1r. 11p.).

Of these field names only two, Diggamore (Diggy Moor) and Broughton Pastures, survive on the Walton enclosure map of 1800.⁴⁵ However, by comparing the acreages, it is clear that the two Gaucott fields of 1774 are now represented by Mundays Ground (38a. 0r. 6p.), Little Ground (10a. 3r. 5p.) and The Pightle (2r. 28p.) (see Fig 2). What is also clear from the enclosure map and from other evidence is that the whole of the Pakington property in Walton, Bierton and Weston Turville formed a single compact enclosed farm unit, and with three other 'old enclosures' in other occupation, occupied the entire northern edge of the hamlet, an area of some 180 acres, bounded on the north and east by Bierton/Broughton and Weston Turville/Bedgrove and on the south by two of the former open fields of Walton, one called Mill Field and the other (confusingly) Bedgrove Field. The former Gaucott alias Colcott alias Caldecote (numbers 66–68 on the Walton

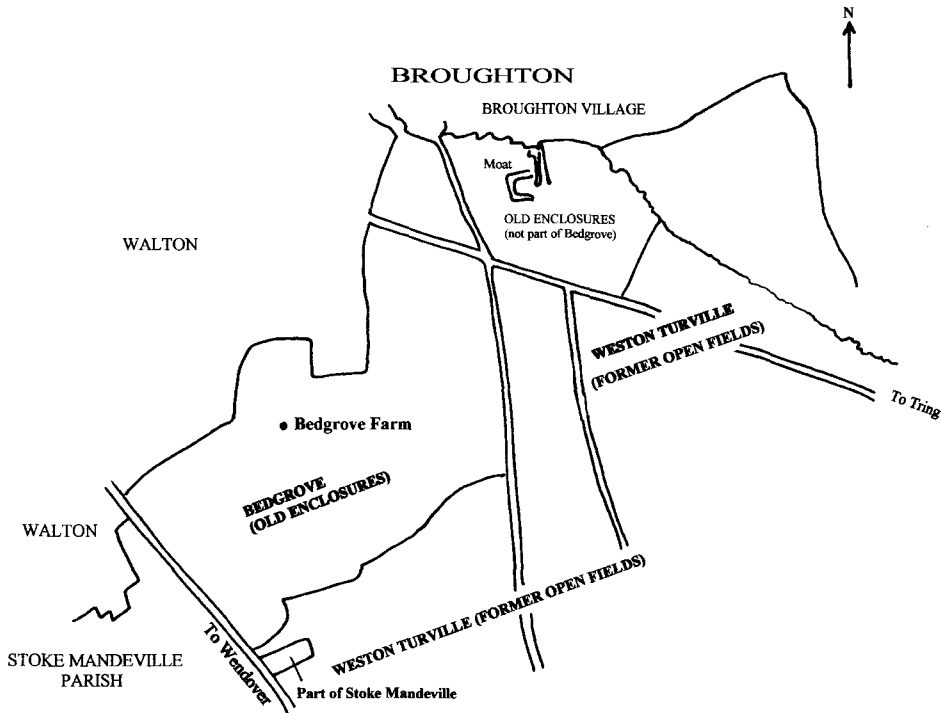


FIGURE 4 Map based on enclosure maps of Weston Turville (1798) and Walton (1799) showing inter-linking boundaries of the hamlets of Walton, Bedgrove and Broughton. Also shown are the location of Bedgrove Farm and of the small area of Stoke Mandeville that projects into Weston Turville. (Refs CBS IR20A, IR/8, D/BMT 146)

enclosure map) is bounded by Weston Turville/Bedgrove east and south, the former Bedgrove open field in Walton west and the Akeman Street (Tring Road) north. This area, is now occupied by Limes Avenue and adjacent streets (see Fig. 3).

As we have seen, earlier evidence indicates that the original hamlet of Caldecote was at least 138 acres in extent, much larger than the 49 acres identified above as Gaucott. From the reference in the Missenden Abbey cartulary previously cited it would appear that in the early thirteenth century Caldecote had extended north as far as the Bear Brook, a tributary of the river Thames, which for part of its length formed the boundary of Broughton, a hamlet which takes its name (OE *broc tun*) from it. Other references place it partly in Weston Turville/Bedgrove and one (the court proceedings of 1242) places it partly in Stoke Mandeville. The latter reference would seem to imply that Caldecote had at one time extended west of the

Wendover road, but the first edition of the OS 25-inch map shows that there was also a small projecting portion of Stoke Mandeville parish within Weston Turville adjacent to Bedgrove (see Fig. 4).

There remains to be considered the possible significance of the place names that can be associated with Aylesbury minster. In this connection Bailey has drawn attention to Stoke (OE *stoc*), which generally signifies 'secondary settlement', 'outlying farmstead', but with possible religious overtones. He also refers to Buckland (OE *bocland*), 'land granted by charter', in the light of its connection with the bishopric of Dorchester, but, as suggested above, its original connection is more likely to have been with Aylesbury's minster.⁴⁶

As for Caldecote (OE *cold/cheerless cottage*), Christopher Dyer has pointed out that a noticeable minority of places containing the common place-name element *cot*, referring to a cottage or cottages, are found close to towns, reflecting the link

between towns and smallholdings commonly found in Domesday Book. Instances cited by him include Caldecote near Newport Pagnell and Gawcott and Foscott near Buckingham. Professor Dyer acknowledges that twelve of his twenty one examples are not recorded until the twelfth, thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, but argues that:

Many of these small places were not mentioned earlier than the twelfth century merely because they tended not to be the chief settlement of a manor and so would not appear in early charters or Domesday, and it is likely that all of them originated before the Conquest. Indeed they may be much earlier because, although it was once believed that the formation of these names came in the late Saxon period, it is now thought that some *cots* could belong to the period before 850. This means that the settlements, and the distinctive social structure which gave rise to their names, might belong to the formative stages of the boroughs near which they lay.

According to Professor Dyer cottars and bordars, low-status tenants both urban and suburban, had holdings of arable land too small to feed themselves and their families so must have had to engage in wage-earning, crafts and petty trading to be able to pay the proportionally high rents which some of them are known to have paid. They were thus a vital element in the early urban economy.⁴⁷

In regard to Walton (OE *walh tun*), Margaret Gelling considers that this place name dates from a period when *walh* had come to mean not Briton but 'serf', suggesting once again a low-status settlement. Citing Gelling, Rosamund Faith observes that some Waltons and Walcots do seem to have been places with distinctively low-status populations and that they are often found near minsters, instancing Charlbury (Oxon) and Tewkesbury among others.⁴⁸ It is worth reminding ourselves that the Domesday Book entry for Aylesbury lists fourteen bordars, who with twenty villeins have ten ploughs and there are two slaves. These, with one freeman, make up the total recorded population, a number that seems unrealistically small in relation to the size and valuation of the manor, not to mention the reference to market tolls.

(I am grateful to Michael Farely for assistance with the figures.)

APPENDIX

Revised Sequence of Early Prebendaries of Aylesbury

(Compiled by Diana Greenway. It updates the list in *Fasti III*, 48–49)

1. William 'of St Clere'; canon by ? c. 1132 (? already Aylesbury preb.); archdeacon of Northants by ? c. 1133; died 1168/9.
2. Herbert Poore; archdeacon of Northants 1174–5; archdeacon of Canterbury 1175–94; bishop of Salisbury 1194–1217; still canon of Lincoln c. 1187 (? still Aylesbury preb.)
3. M. Roger de Rolleston, dean from shortly after March 1195; died 28 Jan. 1223. May not have held it as archdeacon of Leicester as indicated in *Fasti III* 33.
4. M. William of Tournai, dean by 12 March 1223; resigned 1239/40. Did not hold it as archdeacon of Stow and Lincoln.
5. M. Roger de Weseham, dean by 21 Aug. 1240. Probably did not hold it as archdeacon of Oxford as indicated in *Fasti III* 36.
6. Robert de Mariscis. See *Fasti III*. He was collated to this prebend on the resignation of Roger de Weseham from the deanery in 1245, combining it with the office of bishop's official. The revised sequence shows that the prebend had been held by the dean since 1195. This (previously unknown) long connection with the deanery explains why Matthew Paris, *Chron. Maj.* IV 425, describing this appointment under the year 1245, says that bishop Grosseteste had long wanted to get the church of Aylesbury away from the deanery because its wealth made the dean self-confident and disobedient, but that giving it to Robert de Mariscis seemed to many to be very prejudicial and injurious to the church, which had belonged to the deanery from time immemorial. Robert eventually became dean, probably in 1258–59. I am grateful to Dr Greenway for this information.

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