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BURT FRANKLIN RESEARCH & SOURCE WORKS SERIES # 13

**THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM IN THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY**

THE
AGRARIAN PROBLEM
IN THE SIXTEENTH
CENTURY

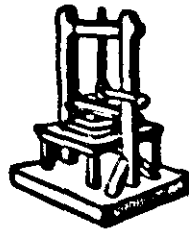
BY

R. H. TAWNEY

"And if the whole people be landlords, or hold the Lands so divided among them, that no one Man, or number of Men, within the Compass of the Few or Aristocracy, overbalances them, the Empire (without the Interposition of force) is a Commonwealth."—HARRINGTON, Oceana.

WITH 6 MAPS

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TO
WILLIAM TEMPLE AND ALBERT MANSBRIDGE
PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY
OF THE
WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

PREFACE

THIS book is an attempt to trace one strand in the economic life of England from the close of the Middle Ages to the beginning of the Civil War. As originally planned, it included an account of the relations of the State to trade and manufacturing industry, the growth of which is the most pregnant economic phenomenon of the period. But I soon found that the material was too abundant to be treated satisfactorily in a single work, and I have therefore confined myself in the following pages to a study of agrarian conditions, whose transformation created so much distress, and aroused such searchings of heart among contemporaries. The subject is one upon which much light has been thrown by the researches of eminent scholars, notably Mr. Leadam, Professor Gay, Dr. Savine, and Professor Ashley, and its mediæval background has been firmly drawn in the great works of Maitland, Seebohm, and Professor Vinogradoff. The reader will see that I have availed myself freely of the results of their investigations. But I have tried, as far as the time at my disposal allowed, to base my picture on original authorities, both printed and manuscript.

The supreme interest of economic history lies, it seems to me, in the clue which it offers to the development of those dimly conceived presuppositions as to social expediency which influence the actions not only of statesmen, but of humble individuals and classes, and influence, perhaps, most decisively those who are least conscious of any theoretical bias. On the economic ideas of the sixteenth century in their relation to agrarian conditions I have touched shortly in Part III. of the book, and I hope to treat the whole subject more fully on some future occasion. If in the present work I have given, as I am conscious that I have, undue space to the detailed illustration of particular changes,

I must plead that one cannot have the dessert without the dinner, and that a firm foundation of fact, even though as tedious to read as to arrange, is a necessary preliminary to the higher and more philosophical task of analysing economic conceptions. The reader who desires to start with a bird's-eye view of the subject is advised to turn first to the concluding chapter of Part III.

One word may be allowed in extenuation of the statistical tables, which will be found scattered at intervals through the following pages. In dealing with modern economic conditions it is increasingly recognised that analysis, to be effective, must be quantitative, and one of the disadvantages under which the student of all periods before the eighteenth century labours is that for large departments of life, such as population, foreign trade, and the occupations of the people, anything approaching satisfactory quantitative description is out of the question. The difficulty in the treatment of agrarian history is different. Certain classes of manorial documents offer material which can easily be reduced to a statistical shape. Indeed one difficulty is its very abundance. The first feeling of a person who sees a manuscript collection such as that at Holkham must be "If fifty maids with fifty mops—," and a sad consciousness that the mop which he wields is a very feeble one. But historical statistics should be regarded with more than ordinary scepticism, inasmuch as they cannot easily be checked by comparison with other sources of information, and it may reasonably be asked whether it is possible to obtain figures that are sufficiently reliable to be used with any confidence. Often, no doubt, it is not possible. The strong point of surveyors was not always arithmetic. The forms in which their information has been cast are sometimes too various to permit of it being used for the purpose of a summary or a comparison. Even when figures are both accurate and comparable the student who works over considerable masses of material will be fortunate if he does not introduce some errors of his own. The tables printed below are marred by all these defects, and I have included them only after considerable hesitation. I have tried to prevent the reader from being misled by pointing

out in an appendix what I consider to be their principal faults and ambiguities. But no doubt there are others which have escaped my notice.

It remains for me to express my gratitude to those whose kind assistance has made this work somewhat less imperfect than it would otherwise have been. I have to thank the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, the Senior Bursar of Merton College, the Clerk of the Peace for the County of Warwick, and the Earl of Leicester for permission to examine the manuscripts in their possession. The maps illustrating enclosure are taken from the beautiful maps of the All Souls estates; my thanks are due to the College for allowing me to use them, and to Mr. W. Tomlinson, of the Oxford Tutorial Class at Longton, for helping me to prepare them for reproduction. Circumstances preventing me from working in the Record Office, I was so fortunate as to secure the co-operation of Miss Niemeyer and Miss L. Drucker, who have transcribed for me a large number of surveys and rentals. How much I owe to their help will be apparent to any one who consults my footnotes and references. Among those who have aided me with advice and information I must mention Professor Vinogradoff, Professor Unwin, and Professor Powicke, the late Miss Toulmin Smith, Mr. Kenneth Leys, Mr. F. W. Kolthammer, Lieut.-Colonel Fishwick, Dr. G. H. Fowler, and the Hon. Gerard Collier. Especially great are my obligations to Mr. R. V. Lennard and Mr. H. Clay, who have read through the whole of the following pages in manuscript or in proof, and who have helped me with numberless criticisms and improvements.

In conclusion I owe two debts which are beyond acknowledgment. The first is to my wife, who has collaborated with me throughout, and without whose constant assistance this book could not have been completed. The second is to the members of the Tutorial Classes conducted by Oxford University, with whom for the last four years it has been my privilege to be a fellow-worker. The friendly smitings of weavers, potters, miners, and engineers, have taught me much about problems of political and economic science which cannot easily be learned from books.

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APPENDIX I

(I)

[LETTER FROM A BAILIFF, ILLUSTRATING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN
FARMER AND LORD, AND DIFFICULTIES WITH FREEHOLDERS]

Merton MSS., No. 4381

Good Sir lett me intreat you yf the colledge determyne to make survay this spryng of the lands at Kibworth and Barkby to send Mr. Kay or me word a month or 3 weeks before your coming that we may have Beare and other necessaries. And I desire you to gather up all evidences that may be needful for ye Lordshipp, for all testimony will be little enough, the colledge land is soo mingled with Mr. Pochin's frehold and others in our towne. There is an awarde for the keepinge in of the old wol close in our fields for [from ?] Mr. Pochin's occupation, very needefulle for the ynhabitants yf that awarde can be founde at the colledge where yt waslost.

The composition betwixt Mr. Stanford and the towne wold we very gladly see, yt is for tythe willows and partinge grasse, wee thinke that they:challenge more than of right they should have. I pray you gather upp what evidence you can for the rents due to the college out of [?], for when some of them are denied I know not where to distraine for them.

I pray you also give order that the evidences may be sought up for the lands lyinge in Barkby Thorpend alias Thurmaston in our parish and parcell of our lordship of the rent per ann. 3/4d. as alsoe the evidences of Peppers frehold rent per annum 1d. This rent is denied and not paidd this 20 yeares, and I cannot learne where I should distraine for the same, neither will he pay it unlesse he may knowe for what he payeth the same; he is towards the land [?], and his frehold lyeth in Thurmaston ut supra. And soe with remembrance of my duty desiringe you to pardon my breach of promise for the lease at last Michaelmas, and I hope before this yeare be ended to be as good as my worde, yf it will please you and the company to spare me with your favours untill

then, for God is my judge I did not breake my promise wilfully nor willingly, but necessity hath noe law. I have lost this summer 8 horses and was forced to buy in these for my carte. Day [?] groweth scant, therefore I must spare to write, only hoping and desiringe your favour at this tyme I humbly take my leave and rest as I have ever beene your wo^m at commandment. Henry Sayer.

Barkby, February 26th, 1608.

To the wth his very singular
friend Mr. Brent subwarden
at Merton College in Oxon.

(11)

[IN ILLUSTRATION OF MANORIAL CUSTOMS, *cf.* pp. 124-131 and
297-301.]

*Manor of Aldesburgh, R.O., Misc. Bks., Treas. of Receipt,
Vol. 163, Henry VIII.*

The said Manor has one lets by the year . . . and hath also the Court from 3 weeks to 3 weeks called the 3 weeks Court.

- Item.—Every tenant payeth for a cottage ground not buylded if it conteyn 80 ft. every way . . . 1d.
- Item.—Every tenant payeth for half a cottage which is 40 ft. every way . . . ½d.
- Item.—For every curtilage containing 40 ft. or under . . . ½d.
- Item.—For every fyne of every cotage buylded . . . 2/-
- Item.—For every fyne of every cotage ground unbuilded . . . 1/-
- Item.—Every tenant that taketh any cotage ground to build upon if he build not within three years he forfeiteth the ground by him taken.
- Item.—Every tenant having a cotage or parcel of a cotage wherein any tenant dwelleth and keepeth a fire, they owe to pay for the same a Rusche hen or else 3d. which is for the rushes that they gather upon the lord's common there.
- Item.—If 2 tenants dwell in one house having 2 severall rooms in the same they to pay yearlie 2 rush hennes or 4d. for them.
- Item.—Every freeholder having by copy any arable land or pasture ground in the field payeth yearly for the same at termes accustomed the rent of

old time due at [Michaelmas & Easter] by even porcions; and for all fines cessed upon the tenants for land in the fields is at the will of the lord, as well at the alienations made as at the death of any tenant.

- Item.—The tenants and copyholders shall do no waste upon the lord's common ne otherwise upon pain of forfeiture of their tenements.
- Item.—All the freeholders shall [pay] double their rent at every death or alienation made, as relief.
- Item.—Certain freeholders and copyholders pay heriot after the death of any tenant.
- Item.—Neither the freeholders nor copyholders shall not surcharge the lord's comon but to keep after the rate of his tenure. If he otherwise do he shall be amerced.
- Item.—No man shall encroche on lord's lands on pain of forfeiture of his tenure.
- Item.—Every boat going to the sea on fishing and having 4 men therein payeth yearly to the lord 8d., and 6 men 12d., and so after the rate, for each man 2d., which is by a late composition.
- Item.—There is a service paid by certain tenants there called Oryell, which is for the liberty of the common that tenants have in the said lordship.
- Item.—The lords of Aldeburgh have the moietie of all wreck of the sea being cast on land or found near the shore within the limits of the same lordship, and the finder thereof hath the other half.

(III)

[IN ILLUSTRATION OF THE PEASANTS' GRIEVANCES]

Holkham MSS., Fulmorleston MSS., Bdle. 6

To the Right Honble. Sir Edward Cooke, Knight, Attorney-Generall unto the King's Ma^{ty}

Humble sheweth unto your good lord yo' poore and dayley orators Thomas Ffawcett, Thomas Humphry, and Nicolas Farnes [?] yo' worshippes tenants of the Manor of Ffulmordeston cum Croxton in the Duchie of Lancaster and the moste parte of the tenants of the same Manor that whereas yo' said orators in the

Hillary Term laste commenced suite in the Duchie Courte against Thomas Odbert and Roger Salisbury, Gent., who have enclosed their grounds contrary to the custom of the Manor, whereby your wor. loseth your shack due out of those grounds, common lane or way for passengers is stopped up, and your worshippes poore orators lose their accustomed shack in those grounds, and the said Roger Salisbury taketh also the whole benefit of their comons from them, keepinge there his sheepe in grasinge and debarringe them of their libertie there which for comon right belongeth unto them:—

Which suite and controversie, forasmuch as the same manor is nowe come unto your lordshippe's hands by his most excellent Ma^{ty} gracious disposinge thereof, youre poore oratours thought it their duty to impart and lay open unto your wor^{ty}, and doe most humblie pray and beseech your wor^{ty} that they may have your lawfull favour herein for the furtherance of their proceedings in this their suite of lawe, so that the greatness of the said parties adversant unto them, on which they much relie, may not be the more strengthened by your worship's favour, whereby your poore orators may have and enjoy their former liberties in peace, and be the better able to maintaine themselves in their callings rights and duties which unto your wor. is belonging and due upon their Tenures in the saide Mannor.

And according to their bounden duty your sayde poore orators shall dayly pray to God for your wor. in all encrease of prosperitie and worshippe long to continew.

21 Aug. 1604.

I have considered of this petition, and seeinge I am lord of the manor I will do my best endeavour upon hearing of both parties to end the controversie and the defend^{ts} need not appeare nor the cause to proceed in the duchy.

EDW. COKE.

(IV)

[IN ILLUSTRATION OF THE PEASANTS' GRIEVANCES]

S. P. DOM. Charles I. Vol. 151, No. 38.

To the Kings most Excellent Ma^{ty}.

The humble peticoed of yo^r Ma^{ty} poore and distressed Tennants

of yo^r Mannor of North Wheatley in the Countie of Nottingham belonging to yo^r Ma^{ties} Duchie of Lancaster.

Most humbly shewing. That yo^r poore Subjects have tyme out of mynd byn Coppieholders of lands of inheritauce to them and their heires for ever of the Mannor aforesaid, and paid for every Ofgang of land xvj^s viij^d rent, and paid heretofore vpon every Alienacofⁿ xij^d for every Ofgang, but nowe of late, about 4^o Jacobi by an order of the Duchie Court they paie ij^s vj^d vpon euery Alienacofⁿ for every acre, w^{ch} amounteth nowe to 45^s an Ofgang.

And whereas some of yo^r Tennants of the said Mannor have heretofore held and doe nowe hold certayne Oxfanges of lands belonging to the said Manor by Coppie from xxj yeres to xxj yeares, and have paid for the same vpon e^{vy} Cobby ij^s, and for every Ofgang xvj^s viij^d p Anⁿ; they nowe of late by an order in the Duchie Court hold the same by lease vnder the Duchie Seale, and paie vj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d for a Fyne vpon every lease and xvj^s viij^d rent w^{ch} an increase of vj^s viij^d more towards yo^r Ma^{ties} prouision.

And whereas in 11^o Edw: 4^o yo^r peticoⁿers did by Copy of Court Roll hold the demeanes of the said Mannor for tearme of .yeres att ix^{li} vj^s viij^d p anⁿ, they afterwards in 6^o Eliz: held the same demeanes by lease vnder the seale of the duchie for xxj yeares, att the like rent; and Tenne yeres before their lease was expired, they ymployed one M^r Markham in trust to gett their lease renewed, whoe procured a newe lease of the demeanes in his owne name for xxj yeres att the old rent, and afterwards contrary to the trust Comitted to him increased and raised the rent thereof vpon the Tenants to his owne privat benefitt to 56^{li} p ann^{li}.

And whereas the woods belonging to the said Mannor hath within the memory of Man byn the only Co^mon belonging to the said Towne, paying yerelie for the herbage and pannage thereof vj^s viij^d, they nowe alsoe hold the same vnder the Duchie Seale att xvj^{li} xvj^s ij^d p ann^{li}.

And whereas the Court Rolls and Records of the said Mannor, have alwaies heretofore byn kept vnder severall Locks and Keys, whereof yo^r Ma^{ties} Stewards have kepte one key and yo^r Ma^{ties} Tenant (in regard it Concerned their pticular inheritances) have kept an other keye. But nowe they are att the pleasure of the Stewards and Officers transported from place to place, and the nowe purchasers doe demandaund the Custody of them, w^{ch} may be most preiudiciall to yo^r Ma^{ties} poore Tennants.

Now for asmuch as yo' Matie: hath byn pleased to sell the said Mannor vnto the Cittie of London, whoe have sold the same vnto M^r John Cartwright and M^r Tho: Brudnell gent: And for that yo' peticoñers and Tennants there (beinge in number Two hundred poore men, and there being xj of yo' Ma^{ty} Tennants there that beare Armes for the defence of yo' Ma^{ty} Realme, and xij that paie yo' Ma^{ty} Subsidies fifteens and Loanes) are all nowe like to be vtterlie vndon, in Case the said M^r Cartwright and M^r Brudnell should (as they saie they will) take awaie from yo' Tennants the said demeanes and woods after thepiracoff of their leases, and that yo' poore Tennants should be left to the wills of the purchasers for their Fynes, or that the Records and Court rowles should not be kept as in former tymes in some private place, where the purchasers and Tennants maie both have the custody and viewe of them as occasion shall serve.

Maie it therefore please yo' Sacred Maj^{ty} That such order may be taken in the premisses for the reliefe of yo' poore Tennants of the Mannor aforessaid That they maie not be dispossessed of the demeanes and leases, and that they may knowe the Certayntie of their Fynes for the Coppieholds demeanes and leases and maie have the Court Rolls & Records safely kepte as formerly they have byn. And that yo' Ma^{ty} wilbe further pleased to referr the Consideracoff hearing, ordering and determynacoff of the premisses vnto such Noble men, or other 4 gent: of esteeme in the Country whome yo' Ma^{ty} shalbe pleased to appoint, that are neighbours vnto yo' Ten^{ants}, and doe best knowe their estate & greevances. That they or any two or three of them may take such order, and see Cettell the busynes betweene the purchasers & yo' poore Tennants, as they in their wisdoms and discrecons shall judge to be reasonable and fitting, or to Certifie yo' Ma^{ty} howe they fynd the same, and in whose default it is they cannot determyn thereof. And yo' poore Ten^{ants} as in all humble dutie bound will daieleie pray for yo' Ma^{ty}.

Whitehall this 10 of Novemb^r 1629.

His Ma^{ty} is graciously pleased to referre the consideration of this request to the Comission^{ers} for sale of his lands, that vpon the report vnto his Ma^{ty} of their opinion and advise his Ma^{ty} may give further order therein.

DOACHERRE.

[Endorsed.] Divers Tenants of his Ma^{ty} mañor of North Wheatley in the Countie of Nottingham.

(V)

[PAPER ON THE EVILS OF ENCLOSURE, BY AN APPLICANT FOR
GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT]*S. P. Dom. Charles I. Vol. 206, No. 70*Right Ho^l^e

Upon the ixth of July and also the 23^d of Septemb^r I deliv^d petitions vnto yo^r Lo^{pp} desireinge to shew y^e great hurt y^e ys done to his Ma^{tie} & y^e land by inclosiers w^{ch} decay tillage, & depopulate townes in ye best naturall corne countryes, w^{ch} affore supplied the wants of others every way beinge in y^e middle of y^e land, for yt their is dearths vppon any vnseasonable seedes tyme or springe, and is a great cause of decayinge of trades and vndoeinge many thousands w^{ch} before lived well & now for want of Employment & dearth of corne, y^{er} is multitudes of poor & vagrants complayninge of their miseryes; and are dangerous to y^e peacable state of y^e land, by y^{er} desire of troubles to revenge them selves. Ye know what lamentable broyles & bloodshedinges were betwixt ye gileadites & ephramites & Israelites & benjamites for ye levits wife & Abia & Jeroboam & Ahay & Peka where was slaine above 700,000 men of warr & many of other sorts, w^{ch} was more crewell then by any foraigne enymyes, & wee have incrochinge enemyes y^e would take y^{er} advantage vppon such oportunytyes as y^e did when y^e leaguers in France made warrs against theire Kinge . . . for many are of oppinyon that ye Kinges Ma^{tie} nor ye lordes doe not truly vnderstand ye secret mischiefes w^{ch} is done by covetous men by ye cuninge misterie of depopulation nor ye oppressions and causes of dearthes and poverty nor know y^e readiest waye for remedyes, y^e beinge as unacquainted in tyllage & husbandrye as in other arts: as appeared by y^e booke of orders y^e last yere w^{ch} shewed that his Ma^{tie} and the lordes had a good desire to remedy the dearth but y^e corn masters & malsters &c. used such close dealinges y^e y^e dearth was worse as y^e like in former tymes: see that no orders will ease dearthes but by causinge more tyllage & y^e would make plenty & then every man will sell willinglye. . . .

Also many are much deceived by inclosier because there are countries are enclosed & be rich, but these were inclosed when there were but few people & these maintain tyllage husbandry & hospitallyty & sett people on work & have tenements for labourers, these are lyable to musters & all services requirable for ye Kinge & country & taxes & charitable collections but y^e depopulators

in ye champion countryes destroy all meanes of doeing help or service for ye Kinge & country what neede soever come.

And although this was the fruitfulest somer that was in many yeares, yet corne holds almost duple price to that which most men expected, because rich men will sell but litle corne before they see the strength of May past & if corne does not prosper then they will keep it expecting a dearth the next yere. Another cause is that all men see how tyllag is yearly decayed in the best champion countryes & people & drucknes increased & no hope of remedy because of y^e iniquity of y^e tyme & gentlemen & other have great friends & favour & may doe what they list. And maltsters & ingrossers buy corn as fast as they can, & doe use wayes to have it brought home what lawes or orders to the contrary expectinge a dearth if ye next spring prove not very fruitfull. And if his Ma^{ty} & ye lords doe not take some speedy course to cause more tyllage there beinge good ground enough before wete seeds tymes come, then will dearth ensue. And y^e ye poore hungry people may cry . . . where ys corne; And y^e it will be too late to remedy dearths by any lawes or orders. And now it might be done there beinge aboundance of old resty fatt ground in y^e champion countryes which if it were plowed & sowne wth corne, no wett seeds tyme could hurt it soe that they would yield corne to supply all wants beinge in y^e midle of y^e land my lord if you please to give me leave I will give you y^e names of many decayed townes in ye countie of Leic^e & Northampt, &c., and who decayed them & now the Lord hath swept away y^e inclosiers & their posterity out of all & strangers have their houses & pastures. And my desire is y^e yo^r Lord might be acquainted with y^e country disorders & the remydes to reforme y^e evils and then ye may better judge of them & acquaint his Ma^{ty} & y^e lords, that by his & their good directions, we shall have plenty and bring much more to his ma^{ty} treasures & the whole land. . . .

Also I doe humbly intreate yo^r Lord favor to let me shew how there may be ymploym^t for people & wealth to ye Kinge & ye Kingdome & plenty & cheapnes & have ingrossers frustrated of their game & have lesse wast of corne in ale & beer & less sinninge: & lesse dangers & soe ye lorde keepe you: wth my humble sute, to accept of my poore desires for ye deede, with my attendance vpon your Lop^e pleasure.

Your Lop^e to Com^{mand}

[Endorsed :—]

RICHARD SANDER.

Sander touching Indigence.

(VI)

[IN ILLUSTRATION OF ACTION AGAINST ENCLOSURES BY JUSTICES]

*S. P. Dom. Charles I. Vol. 185, No. 86*Most Honor^{ble}

Wee have caused a view to bee made according to yo^r Lo^{ps} Late Lr^{es} of all *Inclosures and convsions of Arrable Land to meadow and pasture*, w^{ch} are now in hand or haue benee made wthin two yeares Last past, And wee haue signified yo^r Lo^{ps} direc^{cons} vnto such p^{sons} as are causers of any such Inclosures & Con^{ds}ions and have given them notice that they ought not to p^{ceede} wth hedgeing or dytching in of any such grounds but to Let them so rest vntill wee shall have furdre orders from yo^r: hon^{rs}: And wee further conceaue that if depopula^{cons} may bee reformed it will bring a great good to the whole King^{dm}: for where houses are pulled downe the People are forced to seeke new habitations. . In other townes & cuntries by meanes whereof those Townes where they get a setling are pestered so as they are hardly able to live one by an other, and it is likewise the cause of erecting new Cottages vppon the wasts and other places who are not able to releive themselves nor any such townes able to sustaine or set them on worke w^{ch} Causes Rogues & vagabonds to encrease. Moreover it doth appeare that in those townes w^{ch} are depopulated the People being expelled There are few or none Left to serve the King when Souldjours are to bee lodged to appeare at Musters for his Ma^{te} seruice w^{ch} is also a cause that poore Townes where many people are, are put to greater charg in setting forth of souldjours & depopulated Townes are much eased and the Subsidie decayed. All w^{ch} wee humbly submit to yo^r Lo^{ps} great wisdome. And will e^d rest.

At yo^r hon^{ble} service

humbly to bee comaunded

Fran: Thornhagh Ro: Sutton vic.

Matth Palmer

W. Cooper Gervas Fevery

Tym: Pilsy Gilbt Millington

Witt Coke Will Moseley

Jo: Woods

Wee doe herewthpsent vnto yo^rHon^{rs} the names of

all such as have

made any Inclosures

or convsions wth in two

yeares Last past or that

were in hand to make the same.

[Addressed:] To the right hon^{ble} the Lords
of his Mat^{ty} hon^{ble} Privy
Counsell humbly present these.

[Endorsed:] Feb. 1630. From the County of
Nottingham touching Inclosures.
The inconveniencies of Depopulation.

[No Enclosures]

[This letter is printed by Miss Leonard, *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, New Series, vol. xix. She refers it to Norfolk, which is apparently a mistake.]

(VII)

[IN ILLUSTRATION OF ACTION AGAINST ENCLOSURES BY JUSTICES]

S. P. Dom. Charles I. Vol. 206, No. 71

Lincoln

An abstract of such depopulators as have bene hetherto dealt
withall in Lincolnshyre, & receyued their pardon.

The persons in number	9
The soñe of their fynes	300 ^l
The number of houses by bond to bee erected .	33
The tyme for the ereccoff within one yere.	
The number of farmes to be contynued that are now standing	22

The fynes are already payd.

Sir Charles Hussey Kn^t Fyne, 80^l. Bond of 200 *shkes*, wth Condicoff
to sett up in Homington 8 farmhouses wth Barnes &c. and
to lay to e^{ch} house 30 acres of land, and to keepe 10 acres
thereof yearlye in tyllage.

S^r Henry Ayscough Knt. Fyne, 20^l.

Bond 200 *shkes*. To sett vp 8 farmhouses in Blibroughe
wth 30 acres to e^{ch} farme, and 12 thereof to be kept
yearlie in tyllage.

S^r Hamond Whichcote Knt. Fyne, 40^l.

Bond 200 *shkes*. To set up 8 farmhouses &c. in Harpe-
well, wth 40 acres to e^{ch} house; and 16 thereof in
tyllage.

S^r Edward Carre Kt. Fyne, 30^l.

Bond 100^l. To sett vp 2 Farmhouses in Branswell, and
1 in Aswarby wth 40 acres to e^{ch} house, 16 in tyllage.

S^r Willm^d Wraye, Kn^t Fyne, 30*l*.

Bond 100*l*. To sett up in Graynesby 2 farmhouses wth 2 acres at least to either, 10 in tyllage & to contynue 2 farmes more in Grainsby & 3 in Newbell & Longworth, wth the same quantity, as is now used them, a third pte in tylthe.

S^r Edmund Bussye K^t Fyne, 10*l*.

Bond 100*l*. To set vp one farmhouse in Thorpe wth 40 acres, 14 thereof in tyllage, And to contynue 14 farmes in Hedor, Oseby, Aseby, & Thorpe, as they now are, wth a third pte in tyllage.

Richard Roseto^r Esq^r Fyne, 10*l*.

Bond 50*l*. To set vp one farme in Lymber wth 40 acres, 16 in tyllage, and to continewe 1 farme in Limber, and 2 in Sereby, vt sup^a

Robert Tirwhilt Esq^r Fyne, 10*l*. Bond 50*l*.

To set vp one farme in Camtrington wth 40 acres. 16 in tyllage.

John Fredway gent. Fyne, 10*l*. Bond 40*l*.

To set up one farme in Gelson wth 30 acres, 10 thereof in tyllage.

[Endorsed:] Lincoln^d Depopulato^r Fyned & pardoned and the reformacons to bee made.

[No date]

(VIII)

[COMPLAINTS CONCERNING THE PROCEDURE OF ARCHBISHOP
LAUD IN DEALING WITH ENCLOSURES]

S. P. Dom. Charles I. Vol. 499, No. 10

That vpon the Commission of enquiry after depopulacoⁿ The Lord Archbishopp of Can^t and other the Commissioners at the solicitacoⁿ of Tho: Hussey gent. did direct a lef in nature of a Cofmission to certain persons wth in the County of Wilts to certifie what number of Acres in South Marston in the pish of Highworth were converted from arable to pasture and what number of ploughes were laid downe &c.

Wherevpon the Archdeacon with two others did retourne Certificate, to the Lord Archbishopp &c.

Upon this Certificate, M^r Anth: Hungerford, M^r Southby with 15 others were convented before his Grace and the other Com-

missioners at the Councill Board, where being charged with Conversion

M^r Anth: Hungerford & M^r Southby with some others did averre that they had made noe conversion, other then they had when they came to be owners thereof.

His Grace said that they were to looke noe further then to the owners, And Certificate was returned that soe many Acres were converted and soe many ploughes let downe.

They alladged that this Certificate was false & made without their privity, and therefore M^r Hungerford in the behalfe of the rest did desire that they might not be iudged upon that Certificate. But that they might haue the like favour as M^r Hussey had, to have Oefs of the same nature directed to other Commissioners, or a Commission if it might be granted to examine vpon oath whereby the truth might better appeare.

His Grace replied to M^r Hungerford since you desire it & are soe earnest for it you shall not have it.

They did offer to make prove that since the conversion there were more habitacoffs of men of ability & fewer poore And that whereas the King had before 4 or 5 souldiers of the Trayned Band he had nowe 9 there. That the Impropriacoff was much better to be lett.

His Grace said to the rest of the Lords, wee must deale with these gen^l as with those of Tedbury to take 150^l fine, and to lay open the inclosures.

Which they refusing to doe they were there threatned with an informacoff to be brought ag^t them in the Starrocham^b And accordingly were within a shorte tyme after by the said M^r Hussey served with sub penas at M^r Attorney his suite in the Starr chamber: And this as M^r Hussey told M^r Hung^r was done by my Lo: Archbp his command.

[Endored:] Depopulation—M^r Hungerford & M^r Southby [1641].

APPENDIX II

TABLE I (p. 25)

This table is based on documents relating to the following manors:—

1. Northumberland.

Acklington (1567, *Northumberland County History*, vol. v. pp. 367-8); Buston (1567, *ibid.*, vol. v. p. 209); Thirston (1567, *ibid.*, vol. vii. pp. 305-6); Birling (1567, *ibid.*, vol. v. pp. 200-1); Amble (1608, *ibid.*, vol. v. p. 281); Hexham (1608, *ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 86-104).

2. Lancashire.

Warton (Hen. VIII., R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 19, No. 7, ff. 79-87); Whyttington (Hen. VIII., R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 19, No. 7, ff. 47-9); Ashton (Hen. VIII., R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Portf. 19, No. 7, ff. 69-72); Overton (4 Eliz. R. O. Duchy of Lanc., Special Commission, No. 67); Widnes (10 Eliz. R. O. Duchy of Lanc., Special Commission, No. 181); Cartmel (Hen. VIII. (?) R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 22, No. 75); Rochdale (1626, from information kindly supplied by Lieut.-Colonel Fishwick of Rochdale, from a Survey in the Chetham Library, Manchester), Lands of Cockersand Abbey (1501, *Chetham Miscellanies*, vol. iii.).

3. Staffordshire.

Barton (Ph. and M. (?) R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 14, No. 70); Burton Bondand (1597, R. O. Land Rev. Misc. Bks., vol. 185, ff. 70-74); Drayton Bassett (1579, R. O. Land Rev. Misc. Bks., vol. 185, ff. 54-68); Wotton in Elishall (1 Ed. VI., R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 14, No. 83); Agarsley (1611, R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Duchy of Lancs., Bdle 8, No. 29).

4. Leicestershire.

Ulvercroft Priory (31 Hen. VIII., R. O. Land Rev. Misc. Bks., vol. 182, f. 35); Broughton Astley (Eliz. R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Bds. 10, No. 4); Barkby (Hen. VIII., R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Roll 382); Stapleford (10 Eliz., R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Duchy of Lanc., Portf. 6, No. 15); Priory of Launde (31 Hen. VIII., R. O. Land Rev. Misc. Bks. 182, f. 1); College of St. Mary, Leicester (1595, R. O. Rentals, Duchy of Lanc. 6/12); Garradon Abbey (Hen. VIII., R. O. Augm. Off., Misc. Bks. 403, f. 123); Kibworth Beauchamp (1 & 2 Ph. and M., R. O. Land Rev. Misc. Bks. 182, f. 284); Kibworth Harcourt (1636, Merton MSS., Book labelled Kibworth and Barkby, 1636).

5. Northamptonshire.

Duston (3 Eliz., R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Portf. 13, No. 23); Yelvertoft (11 Eliz., R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Portf. 13, No. 52); Warmington and Eaglethorpe (30 Eliz., R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Portf. 13, No. 21); Brigstock (4 James I., R. O. Land Rev. Misc. Bks., vol. 221, f. 1); Higham Ferrers (8 James I., R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Portf. 13, No. 34); Paulspurie, *alias* West pury (32 Hen. VIII., R. O. Rentals and Surveys, vol. 419, f. 3).

6. Norfolk.

Ormesby (7 Hen. VIII., R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 22, No. 18); Barney (29 Hen. VIII., R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 26, No. 57); Great Walsingham (29 Hen. VIII., *ibid.*); Gunthorpe (29 Hen. VIII., *ibid.*); Skerning (Ed. VI., R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 3, No. 23); Metherwolde (1575, R. O. Duchy of Lanc., Rentals and Surveys, Bds. 7, No. 29a); Brisingham (31 Eliz., R. O. Misc. Bks., Land Rev., vol. 220, f. 220); Aylsham (James I., R. O. Misc. Bks., Augm. Off., vol. 360, f. 1); Scratbye Bardolphes (date uncertain, R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 12, No. 52); Burghe Vaux (1620, R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 12, No. 52); Castons (c. 1620 (?), R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 12, No. 52 p. 10d); Massingham (Hen. VIII. (?), R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 30, No. 25); Northendall (date uncertain, R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Roll 478, m. 3); Drayton Hall (date uncertain, R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 20, No. 53); East Dereham (1649, R. O. Parliamentary Surveys, Norfolk, No. 10); West Lexham (1595,

Holkham MSS., West Lexham MSS., No. 87); Longham Hall and Gunton (1611, Holkham MSS., Tittleshall Bks., No. 62); Longham and Watlington (1611, Holkham MSS., Tittleshall Bks., No. 62); Watlington and Priors (1611, Holkham MSS., Tittleshall Bks., No. 62); Billingford (1565, Holkham MSS., Billingford and Bintry MSS., Bdle. No. 9); Foxley (1568, Holkham MSS., Billingford and Bintry MSS., Bdle. No. 9); Peakhall (1578, Holkham MSS., Tittleshall Bks., No. 12); Wellingham (1611, Holkham MSS., Tittleshall Bks., No. 62); Tittleshall Newhall (Holkham MSS., Tittleshall Bks., No. 62). I have included one manor (R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 3, No. 21), of which I have mislaid the name.

7. Suffolk.

Snappe (Hen. VIII., R. O. Misc. Bks., Treas. of Receipt, vol. 163, f. 187); Ashfield (Hen. VIII., R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 14, No. 85); Otley (Hen. VIII., R. O. Misc. Bks., Treas. of Receipt, vol. 163, f. 145); Rodstrete and Brimdishe (Ed. VI., R. O. Misc. Bks., Augm. Off., vol. 414, f. 19-22); Dennington (Ed. VI., R. O. Misc. Bks., vol. 414, f. 22b); Harrolds in Creetingham (Ed. VI., R. O. Aug. Off., vol. 414, f. 25b); Stratford juxta Higham (17 James I., R. O. Duchy of Lanc., Rentals and Surveys, 9/13); Denham (date uncertain, R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 27, No. 32); Dunstall (date uncertain, R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 27, No. 32); Dalham (date uncertain, R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 27, No. 32); Kentford (date uncertain, R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 27, No. 32); Nedham (date uncertain, R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 27, No. 32); Desnage Talmaye, and Cressness[?] in Gaseleye (date uncertain, R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 27, No. 32); Higham (date uncertain, R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 27, No. 32).

8. Wiltshire, Somerset, and Devon.

All are contained in the *Surveys of the Lands of William, Earl of Pembroke*, published by the Roxburgh Club, and edited by Straton, 1565-1573. There are twenty-seven manors in Wiltshire, four in Somersetshire, and one in Devonshire.

9. Hampshire.

Cronchal, and Sutton Warblington (*Cronchal Records, Part I., Baigent*).

10. Ten other manors in the South of England.†

Castle Combe (Wilts, 1454, Scrope, *History of Castle Combe*); Ibtone (Bucks, 1483, Merton MSS., No. 5902); Cuxham (Oxford, 1483, Merton MSS., No. 5902); Malden (Surrey, 1496, Merton MSS., Survey of Malden); Aspley Guise (Bedford, 1542, from information kindly supplied by Mr. G. H. Fowler, of Aspley Guise); Ewerne (Dorset, 1568, *Topographer and Genealogist*, vol. i.); Edgeware (Middlesex, 1597, All Souls Estate Maps); Kingsbury (Middlesex, 1597, All Souls Estate Maps); Gamlingay Merton (Cambridge, 1601, Merton Estate Maps); Gamlingay Avenells (Cambridge, 1601, Merton Estate Maps).

The chief criticisms which may be made upon this table are:—

(i) Some of the documents from which the figures are taken are separated from each other by a very long interval of time, so that they do not all represent approximately the same stage of agrarian development. This is a disadvantage. It is possible, for example, that, if the manor of Rochdale could be examined in 1526 instead of in 1626, it would be found that the proportion of copyholders to leaseholders was higher than it is at the later date. This defect, however, is perhaps not so great as to outweigh the value of the general picture of the relative proportion of different classes given by the table. A great majority of the documents from which it is compiled belong to the sixteenth century, and are dated as follows: Those of 10 manors are of an uncertain date, those of 3 fall between 1450 and 1485, of 2 in the reign of Henry VII., of 19 in that of Henry VIII., of 5 in that of Edward VI., of 3 in that of Philip and Mary, of 60 in that of Elizabeth, of 13 in that of James I., of 2 in that of Charles I., of 1 in 1649.

(ii) The lists of tenants given by the surveyors may sometimes not be exhaustive. I am not sure, for example, that all the freeholders on the manor of Crondal, or all the leaseholders at Gamlingay Merton and Gamlingay Avenells, are recorded.

(iii) It is sometimes not clear under what category a tenant should be entered. When there is no clue at all I have entered such tenants as "uncertain." In some cases, however, though there is no entry by the surveyor, there are indications that the tenants are freeholders, customary tenants, or leaseholders, and, when that is so, I have grouped them in the table according to the probabilities of the case. But I do not doubt that I have made some mistakes.

(iv) A special word must be said about Norfolk and Suffolk. In these counties it is quite common to find the same tenant holding both by free and by customary tenure. When this is so, I have entered him both under "freeholders" and under "customary tenants" in the table. This means, of course, that the numbers entered for these two counties in the table exceed the number of individual landholders. As, however, my object was to ascertain the distribution of different classes of tenures, this course, though not satisfactory, seemed the best one to follow. In other counties a similar difficulty hardly ever occurs, a fact which is of some interest as showing the relatively advanced agrarian conditions of Norfolk and Suffolk. In the few cases in which it does occur I have followed the same plan as I have for those two counties.

TABLE II. (pp. 32 and 33)

This table is based on documents relating to the undermentioned manors. The sources from which the information is taken are given in the explanation of Table I., and I therefore do not repeat them.

1. Norfolk.

Metherwolde, Northendall, Brisingham, Massingham, Skerning
Billingford.

2. Suffolk.

Ashfield, Stratford juxta Higham, Kentford, Dunstall.

3. Staffordshire.

Drayton Bassett, Barton, Burton Bondend.

4. Lancashire.

Warton, Overton, Widnes.

5. Northamptonshire.

Paulspurrie, Brigstock, Higham Ferrers, Duston.

6. Wiltshire.

South Newton.

7. Leicestershire.

Barkby.

I have thought it worth while to insert this table, but I am not satisfied with it. (i) I am inclined to think that, as stated

in the text, fuller information would show that medium-sized holdings of between 20 and 60 acres were more common than it suggests. It is plain that surveyors often could not locate the properties of freeholders, and the larger the property the harder their task. (ii) Even where the holding is set out by the surveyor, one cannot always form an accurate judgment of its size. For example, rights of common, though often expressed in acres, are often expressed in some other way, *e.g.* in the terms of the number of beasts which the tenant may graze; and, again, a man is sometimes said to hold so many acres "cum pertinentiis." What I have done is simply to enter the acreage as given in the surveys. In some cases, therefore, the size of the holding is certainly underestimated.

TABLE III. (p. 48)

The figures in this table are an analysis of the figures given under the heading of "Customary Tenants" in Table I., and the source from which they are taken will be found by looking at the explanation of that table given above. As I have pointed out in the text, it is probable that not all the "Tenants at Will" should have been entered as "Customary Tenants" in that table. I hope that any error which may have arisen through their inclusion under that heading there may be neutralized by setting them out here. It will be seen that they are not numerous.

TABLE IV. (pp. 64 and 65)

This table is based on documents relating to the undermentioned manors. The sources from which the information is taken are given, with a few exceptions (see below), in the explanation of Table I.

1. Wiltshire and Somerset.

South Newton, Byshopston, Washerne, Knyghton, Donnington, Estoverton and Phiphald, Wynterbourne Bassot (all in Wilts), South Brent and Huish (Somerset).

2. Suffolk.

Stratford juxta Higham, Ashfield, Snape, Desnage Talmaye, Chaterham Hall (the last Hen. VIII. R. O. Misc. Bks., Treas. of Receipt, vol. 163, ff. 109-114).

3. Norfolk.

Barney, Great Walsingham, Gunthorpe, Brisingham, Aylsham, Ormesby, Northendall, and one manor, the name of which I have mislaid (see explanation of Table I.).

4. Staffordshire.

Barton, Wotton in Elishall, Agarsley.

5. Lancashire.

Ashton, Whytyngton, Warton, Widnes.

6. Northamptonshire.

Higham Ferrers, Brigstock.

7. Leicestershire.

Launde Priory, Barkby, Kibworth.

8. Northumberland.

High Buston, Acklington, Birling, Thirston, Preston, East Chirton, Middle Chirton, Whitney, Monkseaton, Eardon (the last six all 1539, *Northumberland County History*, vol. viii. p. 230, ff.).

9. Nine manors elsewhere in South of England.

Crondal, Sutton Warblington, Edgeware, Kingsbury, Aspley Guise, Gamlingay Merton, Gamlingay Avenells, Salford, Weedon Weston (two last from surveys on back of All Souls Maps).

In this table are included a few landholders as to whose tenure I am not certain. It has the defect stated in connection with Table I., that in a considerable number of instances the holdings of tenants are not fully expressed in terms of acres, and that therefore it probably somewhat underestimates their area. On the other hand, the holdings of the customary tenants are usually set out by the surveyors much more fully than those of the freeholders.

TABLE V. (p. 107)

1. Northumberland and Lancashire.

Acklington, Birling, High Buston, Thirston, Whytyngton.

2: Wiltshire and Dorsetshire.

South Newton, Estoverton and Phipheld, Winterbourne Bassett, Washerne, Donyngton, Byshopeston, Knyghton, Ewerne (the last in Dorsetshire, *Topographer and Genealogist*, vol. i. There are only

three customary tenants on this manor, and only one is represented in the table, as the use made by the others of their land is not ascertainable).

3. Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Staffordshire, Leicestershire.

Salford, Weedon Weston, Wotton in Elishall, Kibworth Harcourt.

In connection with this table the following points should be noticed :—

(i) I am not certain that all the tenants represented in it are customary tenants. But with one or two exceptions the holdings of all are not larger than those of the customary tenants on other manors, so that there is no reason to suppose that their agricultural economy differed from that usually followed by the latter.

(ii) More serious, the figures are not completely accurate. I have entered under each denomination, "arable," "meadow," or "pasture," land so entered by the surveyor. In some cases, however, the character of the land is not specified. *E.g.* it is described simply as a "close," or a tenant is said to hold so many acres of arable "with appurtenances." Further, tenants frequently possess rights of pasture which are not expressed in terms of acres, but are either measured by the number of beasts which they may graze, or are not measured at all (*e.g.* "catalla sine extento"). In the latter case, which does not affect any except the Wiltshire manors, I have not attempted to form any estimate, but have simply taken their holdings as stated by the surveyor. When there is no clue to the character of the land, I have omitted it. When it is plain that the land falls under a special denomination, though this is not specified in the survey, I have placed it under that denomination in my table. *E.g.* at Donyngton nearly every tenant holds "unum clausum noviter extractum de communia," and together they hold in such "closes" 132 acres. I have entered these as "pasture."

TABLE VI. (pp. 115-117)

1. Ingoldmells, Lincolnshire: Massingbeard, Ingoldmells Court Rolls, Preface, p. vii. I quote the words of the editor, "In 1086 the annual value of the manor of Ingoldmells was £10 . . . In 1293 the rents of the free and bondage tenants were £51, 17s. 1d. . . . In 1347 the same rents were £61, 9s. 4d., and in 1421 they were £71, 10s. 3d. . . . But in 1485 £3, 7s. 4d. had to be deducted

for lost rents . . . from a total of £72, 6s. 8d. . . . When the manor was sold in 1628 by Charles I., the reserved rent . . . was only £73, 17s. 2d. . . . It is therefore clear that at Ingoldmells the tenants appropriated virtually the whole of the increase in the value of the land."

2. Crondall, Hampshire: Baigent, *Crondal Records*, Part I., pp. 135 and 383.

3. Sutton Warblington, Hampshire: *ibid.*, pp. 141 and 383. At the later date Sutton Warblington appears to have been treated as part of the manor of Crondal, though still itself called a manor.

4. Birling, Northumberland: *Northumberland County History*, vol. v.

5. Acklington, Northumberland: *ibid.*, vol. v.

6. High Buston, Northumberland: *ibid.*, vol. v. (Tenants at will and copyholders only).

7. Amble, Northumberland: *ibid.*, vol. v.

8. Aspley Guise, Bedfordshire. These figures were kindly supplied me by Dr. G. H. Fowler of Aspley Guise as the result of his researches in the Record Office into the history of the manor.

9. South Newton, Wiltshire: Roxburghe Club, *Surveys of Lands of William, first Earl of Pembroke*, edited by Straton. Note (a) The manor of South Newton included the parishes of Childhampton, Stoford, Little Wishford, and North Ugford. I have dealt here only with the Parish of South Newton. (b) The figures relate only to the customary tenants, and do not include the payments of freeholders and *convencionarii*. I have obtained the figure of £8, 3s. 11½d. by adding together the tenants' money payments and the value of their works, which are set down in terms of money. But I am not sure that it is correct. I have omitted the payments of fowls (made at both dates) and the small payments for church shot and maltsilver.

10. Cuxham, Oxfordshire: Merton MSS., Nos. 5902 and 5905.

11. Ibstone, Buckinghamshire: *ibid.*, Nos. 5902 and 5209. (In the earlier rental freeholders as well as customary tenants, and in the later possibly leaseholders as well, are included.)

12. Malden, Surrey: Merton MSS. MSS. both headed "Maldon, Thorncroft, and Farleigh 1841," and giving extracts from early court rolls and rentals.

13. Kibworth, Leicestershire: Merton MSS., Nos. 6375 (Rental), 6362, and 6356 (ministers' accounts). The earliest entry is the

payments of the copyholders only : the two later entries are "rents of assize."

14. Ständen, Hertfordshire : R. O. Mina. Accta., Gen. Ser., Bdle. 868, No. 17 ; Bdle. 869, No. 8 ; Bdle. 869, No. 15 ; Bdle. 870, No. 4. The earliest entry is "Rents assized £18, 17s. 3d. Lands let at will of lord 60s." The second, third, and fourth give the total income.

15. Feering, Essex : R. O. Mina. Accta., Gen. Ser., Bdle. 841, No. 5 ; Bdle. 841, No. 23 ; Mina. Accta., Hen. VIII., No. 951. The first two entries are totals of quarterly rents paid at Christmas, Easter, Birth of St. John the Baptist, and Michaelmas. The last is "assized rent." It is possible, therefore, that the apparent diminution is due to the earlier rentals having included payments not given in the last.

16. Appledrum, Sussex : R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Rolls 643, 644, and Mina. Accta., Gen. Ser., Bdle. 1019, No. 15.

17. Minchinhampton : R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Rolls 237 and 241. In the earlier documents the "total rent yearly" is given as £41, 14s. 4d., and the "sum total of works" as £4, 15s.

18. Langley Marish, Berkshire : R. O. Mina. Accta., Gen. Ser., Bdle. 761, No. 4, and Bdle. 762, No. 5 ; Land Rev. Misc. Bks., vol. 188, f. 196ff. The first entry is the sum total of rents paid quarterly, together with 7s. 4d. of a custom called "vaccage," and 13s. 4d. of common fine at view of frank pledge. (Exactly the same items are entered in the following year.) The second entry is "profits and issues of the manor," and is headed "account of the manor for 83 days," but the similarity of the figure with that of the earlier date makes it hard to believe that the "profits" relate to less than one quarter of the year. The third entry is made up of rents of free and customary tenants, demesne lands held by copy, and customary rents called "Hedage" and "Duply," producing 23s. 3½d.

19. Lewisham, Kent : R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Roll 361 ; Misc. Bks., Treas. of Receipt, vol. 174, f. 1-34 ; Misc. Bks., Aug. Off., vol. 414, f. 33-4. The first entry is "Rent of the tenants of the manor of Lewisham," the second "Rental of the lordship of Lewisham." The third "Rent of free tenants £17, 12s. 10½d., Rent of tenants *per dimissionem* £72, 9s. 8½d., Rents of tenants at will 9d."

20. Cuddington, Surrey : R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Rolls 669 and 624, Aug. Off., Misc. Bks., vol. 414, f. 3-16. The first entry is "Rents belonging to the manor at the terms of Easter and

Michaelmas," i.e. it is for half a year only, and therefore I have ventured to double it. The second and third entries consist of the annual rent of all classes of tenants.

21. Isleworth, Middlesex: R. O. Mins. Accts., Gen. Ser., Bdle. 916, Nos. 11, 21, and 25. The figures at each date refer to the assized rent. At the two earlier dates the assized rent is given for all four quarters of the year. At the last date it is given only for the Michaelmas quarter. In order to make comparison possible, I have given the rents for the Michaelmas quarter throughout. The full entries for the two earlier dates are: 1314-15, £15, 5s. 6d. at Christmas, £17, 1s. 9½d. at Easter, £15, 5s. 6d. at June 24, £21, 16s. 10d. at Michaelmas, works sold 22s. 1½d; 1386-7, £14, 13s. at Christmas, £16, 19s. 7d. at Easter, £13, 13s. at June 24, £23, 3s. 10½d. at Michaelmas, works sold 106s. 10d.

22. Wootton, Oxfordshire: R. O. Misc. Accts., Bdle. 962, No. 20; Bdle. 963, No. 14; Aug. Off., Misc. Bks., vol. 414, f. 38b. At the two earlier dates the figures given are the assized rents of free and bond tenants and *cotarii*, at the last date they are the rents of free and customary tenants. At that time there was also a rent of 30s. 8½d. from assarts, and a rent of £13, 0s. 11d. from tenants by demission. I have omitted the last two items as there is nothing comparable to them in the earlier entries.

23. Speen, Berkshire: R. O. Mins. Accts., Gen. Ser., Bdle. 750, No. 22; Misc. Bks. Land Revenue, vol. 187, f. 97-101. At the earlier date the figures refer to the assized rents, at the later date to the rents of free tenants, customary tenants, and "firms."

24. Schitlington, Bedfordshire: R. O. Mins. Accts., Gen. Ser., Bdle. 741, Nos. 16, 19, and 27. At the first date the figures refer to the assized rent, and include "Tallage of the vill £10." At the second date they cover the same entries as at the first. At the last date they refer to the rent as it appears in the Rental. At this time there are certain additional entries, viz., "Firm of land £8, 5s. 0½d., Firm of the manor £4, 15s. 4d., Increase of Rent [of a mill (?)] 13s. 4d., Increase of Rent of 1 messuage, 1 virgate with croft and meadow 13s. 7½d." These I have omitted.

25. Cranfield, Bedfordshire: R. O. Mins. Accts., Gen. Ser., Bdle. 740, Nos. 18, and 25; Mins. Accts., Hen. VIII., No. 4. At the first two dates the figures include rents of free and native tenants and ferm of lands. At the last date the entry is "Rent of the vill, as by the rental, £72, 2s. 1½d."

26. Holywell, Huntingdonshire: R. O. Mins. Accts., Gen. Ser., Bdle. 877, No. 17, Bdle. 878, No. 1. At the first date the entries

include rents assized, and certain miscellaneous items such as "Hewesilver," "Heringsilver," Brensilver"; at the later date "Rents assized of free and villein tenants £4, 19s. 8d., customary rent lately in works and in new rent £15, 6s. for 17 virgates paying 18s. each, £6, 15s., for 25 cotmen paying 9s. each, 6s. 8d. increment of rent."

The suggestion that it might be of interest to try to discover how far rents were stationary over long periods came to me from reading the article by Maitland on "The History of a Cambridgeshire Manor" in *E. H. R.*, vol. ix., where he points out that copyholders must have enjoyed a considerable unearned increment. The table of rents explained above is unsatisfactory, because of the difficulty of finding a basis for the comparison of payments at different periods. Thus at the earlier dates there are the tenants' works, and (occasionally) tallages to be considered; at the later the rent obtained from leasing the demense. The variety of the sources of manorial revenue makes it impossible to discover a common form to which the payments on all manors can be reduced. The ideal would be to take the villeins' payments and works in (say) the fourteenth century, and to compare them with the payments of the copyhold tenants in the sixteenth century. But since the commonest entry is simply "rents of assize," which included the rents of freeholders as well as of customary tenants, this simple procedure is often impossible.

While the table given on pages 115-117 is certainly not what could be desired, I am inclined to think its inaccuracies do not lie in the direction of exaggerating the fixity of rents, but rather, if anything, in underestimating it, because (i) when a total rent is given for the fifteenth or sixteenth century, without further particulars, it probably often included the rent paid by the farmer of the demense, which at the earlier period was non-existent, (ii) at the later period the total rent often included payments made for new encroachments in the wasta. When this is evidently the case, as at Wootton, and the amount of the new payments is stated, I have omitted them, my object being to compare, when possible, the rents paid by customary tenants at different periods. But often it is not possible to make such an allowance, and therefore I am disposed to think that the figures for the later dates are more likely to be weighted with irrelevant items than are the figures for the earlier dates. This makes the comparatively slow increase in the rents of some manors all the more worthy of notice.

TABLE VIII (p. 212)

1. Norfolk.

Massingham Priory (two farms, Hen. VIII., R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 24, No. 4, f. 46); Wymondham (Hen. VIII., R. O. Augm. Off., Misc. Bks. 408, f. 25); Marshams (Marham (?), Hen. VIII., Augm. Off., Misc. Bks. 408, f. 19); Thetford (Hen. VIII., Augm. Off., Misc. Bks. 408, f. 22); Bockenham (Hen. VIII., R. O. Augm. Off., Misc. Bks. 408, f. 9-10); Langley (Hen. VIII., R. O. Augm. Off., Misc. Bks. 399, f. 228-9); Walsingham (Hen. VIII., R. O. Augm. Off., Misc. Bks. 399, f. 201); Brisingham (31 Eliz., R. O. Misc. Bks. 220, f. 236); Farfield (31 Eliz., *ibid.*); Wighton (17 Eliz., R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Duchy of Lanc., Bdle. 7, No. 34); Peakhall (1575, Holkham MSS., Tittleshall Bks., No. 12); West Lexham (1575, Holkham MSS., West Lexham MSS., No. 87); Foxley (1568, Holkham MSS., Billingford and Bintry MSS., Bdle. No. 9); Sparham (1590, Holkham MSS., Sparham MSS., Bdle. No. 5); Billingford (between 1564 and 1606, Holkham MSS., Billingford and Bintry MSS., Bdle. No. 9); Fulmordeston (1614, Holkham MSS., Map No. 59).

2. Wiltshire.

South Newton, Estoverton, Wynterbourne Basset, Byshopeston, Donnington, Knyghton, Domerham, Burdonsball, Foughlestone, Brudecomb, Westoverton, Sutton Maundeville, Stockton, Albedeston, Chalke, Bulbridge, Dichampton, Patney, Wyley, Berwick St. John, Remesbury, Staunton, Chilmerke (all 1565-73, Roxburgh Club, *Surveys of Lands of William, First Earl of Pembroke*).

3. Manors in other counties.

Ashton (Lancs., Hen. VIII., R. O. Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., Portf. 19, No. 7, ff. 69-72); Prestwood (Staffs., R. O. Misc. Bks. Land Rev., vol. 185, ff. 155b-7); Gamlingay Merton (Cambridgeshire, 1601, Merton Estate Maps); Gamlingay Avenells (*ibid.*); Salford (Bedfordshire, 1595, All Souls Estate Maps); Weedon Weston (Northants, c. 1595, *ibid.*); Edgeware (Middlesex, 1597, All Souls Estate Maps); Kingsbury (Middlesex, 1597, *ibid.*); Greenham (Bucks, 1595, *ibid.*); Crendon (Bucks, c. 1595, *ibid.*); Harlesden Farm (Middlesex, 1599, *ibid.*); Land in the Parish of Hendon (Middlesex, c. 1599, *ibid.*); Whadborough (Leicestershire, 1620, *ibid.*).

The fact that this table is compiled from documents of different dates makes it impossible to use it as an index of the size of the large leasehold farms at any one period in the sixteenth century. Nor can I hope to have escaped errors of calculation. I hope, however, it may be of some use in illustrating the considerable scale on which some farms were conducted.

TABLES IX, X, and XI (pp. 218, 225-226 and 227)

The farms from which these tables are compiled are included in the list given in explanation of Table VIII. (with one exception, Ewarne in Dorsetshire, *Topographer and Genealogist*, vol. i.), and it is therefore unnecessary to set them out in detail here. The figures as to arable, pasture, and meadow on the demesne of 41 monasteries are taken from Savine, "English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution," *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, vol. i. p. 172.

TABLE XIII (p. 300)

This table is compiled from documents relating to the under-mentioned manors. When the reference has already been given I do not repeat it here:—23 manors in Wilts, Somerset, and Devon, Roxburghe Club, *Surveys of Lands of William, First Earl of Pembroke*. West Lexham (Norfolk), Sparham (Norfolk), East Dereham (Norfolk), Wighton (Norfolk), Stockton Soodon (Norfolk, 1649, R. O. Parly. Surveys, Norf. No. 14); Aldeburgh (Suffolk, Hen. VIII., R. O. Misc. Bks., Treas. of Receipt, vol. 163); St. Edmund (Suffolk, 1650, R. O. Parly. Surveys, Suff. No. 14); Dodnash (Suffolk, Hen. VIII., R. O. Misc. Bks., Treas. of Receipt, vol. 163, f. 79); Chatesham, Suffolk (Hen. VIII., R. O. Misc. Bks., Treas. of Receipt, vol. 163, f. 91); Falkenham (Suffolk, Hen. VIII., R. O. Treas. of Receipt, vol. 163, f. 181); Stratford juxta Higham (Suffolk), Mettingham (Suffolk, *Victoria County History*, chapter on Social and Economic History); Mark Soham (Suffolk, *ibid.*); Bushey (Herts, 7 Eliz., from Court Rolls lent me by the late Miss Toulmin Smith); Ewarne (Dorset, 1567, *Topographer and Genealogist*, vol. i.); Corton (Somerset, *ibid.*); Rolleston (Staffs, *ibid.*); Hewlington (Denbighshire, 4 Eliz., Wrexham Library, Ancient Local Records, vol. ii.); Holt (Denbighshire, *ibid.*); Wotton in Elishall (Staffs.); Barton Bondend

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(Staffs.); Agarsley (Staffs.); High Furness (Lancs., 28 Eliz., R.O. Duchy of Lancs., Special Commissions, No. 398); Crondal (Hants); Edgeware (Middlesex); Kingsbury (Middlesex); Malden (Surrey, Merton MSS., book labelled Malden, Thorncroft, and Farleigh); Thorncroft (Surrey, *ibid.*); Farleigh (Surrey, *ibid.*); 14 manors in Northumberland (*Northumberland County History*, vol. viii., p. 238); Bradford (Somerset, Selden Society, vol. xii., Leadam, Select Cases in the Court of Requests); Shepton Mallet, Somerset (Calendar of Proceedings in Chancery, *temp.* Eliz. H.h. i. 27); Newton Tracey (Devon, *ibid.*, H.h. 23, 17); Chudlye (Devon, *ibid.*, L.l. 8, 31); Powlton (Wilts, *ibid.*, M.m. 13); Kibworth Harcourt (Leicestershire, Merton MSS., book containing extracts from Merton Court Rolls); Barkby (Leicestershire, *ibid.*).

NOTE.—(i) The names of the manors from which Dr. Savine takes his figures are not given. Consequently his information and mine may sometimes overlap. (ii) The MSS. book from which the customs of Farleigh, Thorncroft, and Malden are taken is dated 1841, but it purports to give customs based on ancient court rolls. The same applies to the information as to Kibworth Harcourt and Barkby.

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