

Medieval farming in East Meon

Michael Blakstad, East Meon History Group, revised May 2019



Scything the hay, July in the Julius Work Calendar. © British Library.

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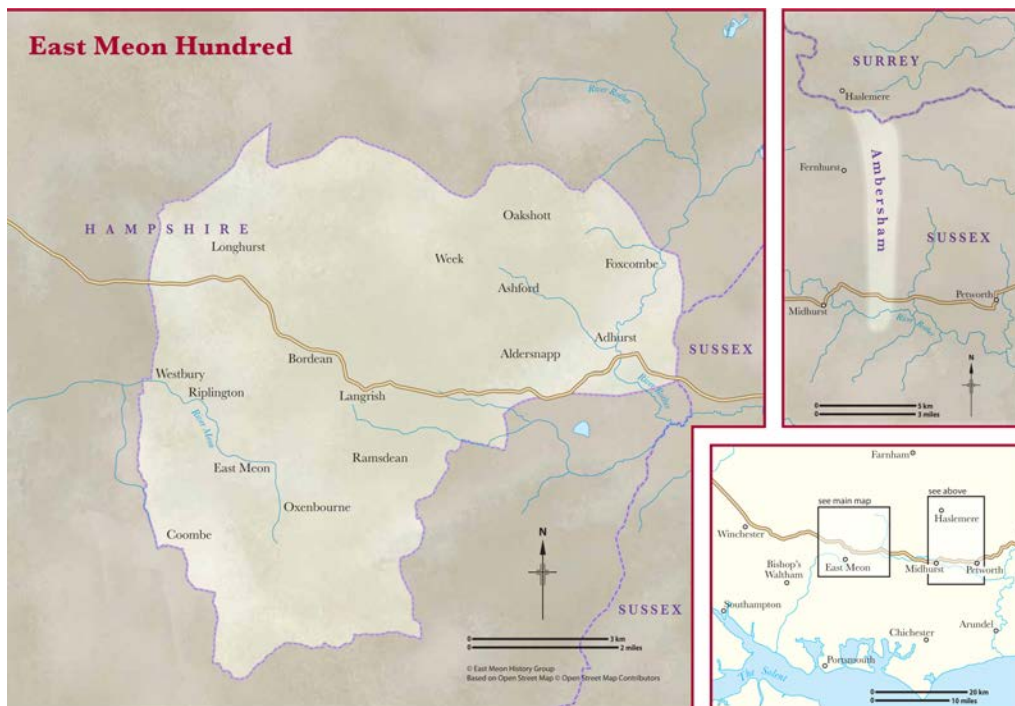
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Introduction

This is a history of farming in the Hundred of East Meon over four hundred years, from the Domesday Book in 1086 to the end of the fifteenth century. The Hundred of East Meon comprised two manors, Meon Manor and Meon Church (*Ecclesia*), which together formed the largest of the Hampshire estates of the bishops of Winchester. The Hall at East Meon's Court House was the centre of administration of more than a dozen tithings reaching to the Sussex border and beyond; All Saints was the parish church for the same area, with chapels in Frogmore, Steep, Bordean, Westbury and Fairfield. Throughout the Middle Ages, the diocese of Winchester exercised feudal rule over the peasant population and maintained detailed records of the produce, rents and taxes paid to its treasury each year; for two centuries farm productivity grew steadily and the population doubled, but the fourteenth century saw a worsening of climate and an increase in pestilence, culminating in the loss of one third of the population and social upheaval following the Black Death.



Map 1 The Hundred of East Meon, showing its medieval tithings¹

¹ Victoria County History *Hants* pp 64-75 fn 45. East Meon manor comprised the following tithings: Ambersham in what is now Sussex, Forcomb or Foxcomb, Aldersnapp, Froxfield, Longhurst, Ramsdean, Week Oakshott, Langrish, Bordean, Rothercombe, Ashford, Oxenbourn, Meon Manor, Meonchurch, Coomb, and Riplington. The names of the tithings changed, but the manor and the hundred remained substantially the same until the 19th century.

Sources

East Meon, like most agricultural communities, had few literate people and no records have survived written by villagers. The most detailed information about medieval East Meon comes from the Domesday Book of 1086, from tax lists, and from the Winchester Pipe Rolls². Domesday was a one-off survey and recorded statistics for every hundred in England; the Pipe Rolls were made annually from the thirteenth century by the Diocese of Winchester to record the produce and revenues of every estate held by the bishops. The Rolls covering 1301 – 2 and 1409 – 10 have been translated by the Hampshire Record Office and transcripts are included as Appendices, as are extracts from a talk on the Pipe Rolls given by HRO archivist David Rymill to East Meon History Group in 2011. Local historians Mark Page, Tom Beaumont James and Elizabeth Levett have studied the history of Winchester diocese and the effects of the Black Death in Hampshire and some extracts from their work are also included in the Appendices. Village resident F.G. Standfield wrote an authoritative history of East Meon and we are indebted to architectural historian Edward Roberts who has analysed East Meon's Court House and other village buildings, as well as other aspects of our medieval history. We have drawn on the works of historians of the national scene into the context of the local scene, notably the *Agrarian History of England & Wales* edited by Edward Miller and Joan Thirsk. A bibliography is attached.

The land

East Meon and its neighbouring tithings lie in a valley with meadows by the River Meon, whose source lies two miles to the south of the village. Downland and hangers surround the valley, with wide pastures and arable below the down; land described by Miller and Thirsk as sheep-corn country *par excellence*, with arable 'on the hill' as well as in the valleys, but also with 'great flocks of sheep'³.

"Woodland was the natural state of the land" and would have covered the whole area until the Iron Age, with beechwoods on the uplands, ash in the hangers, and oak, elm and other trees on the valley floor⁴. By Domesday, however, as little as 15% of England's 27 million acres were wooded, rather less than the proportion of woodland seen today in France⁵.

The Anglo-Saxon economy had been one of the richest in Europe and also the most advanced. The size of Britain, its location, its climate, its underlying geology, its fishing grounds and farmland, had made it one of the most valuable land-banks in the western world.

² Lewin S.J. ed, *The Pipe Rolls of the Bishopric of Winchester* Hampshire Record Series 1999. The Rolls for these two years have been transcribed into modern English,

³ Miller, Edward (ed) Thirsk, Joan (gen ed) *Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol III 1348 – 1500* Cambridge University Press p136

⁴ Hoskins, W.G. *The Making of the English Landscape* Pelican 1970 p86

⁵ Crane, Nicholas *The making of the British Landscape* Weidenfeld & Nicholson 2016 p287

Domesday

Domesday has two entries for 'Mene Hundred' and 'Menes Ecclesia',⁶. In 1066 the whole Hundred had been held by Stigand, who was both Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Winchester. In 1070, Stigand was deposed by William the Conqueror and he died two years later. Menes Manerium was then appropriated by 'the Lord', King William, but the smaller manor of Menes Ecclesia remained the property of the new Bishop of Winchester, Walkelin, and its income went to the monks of St Swithun's Priory⁷.

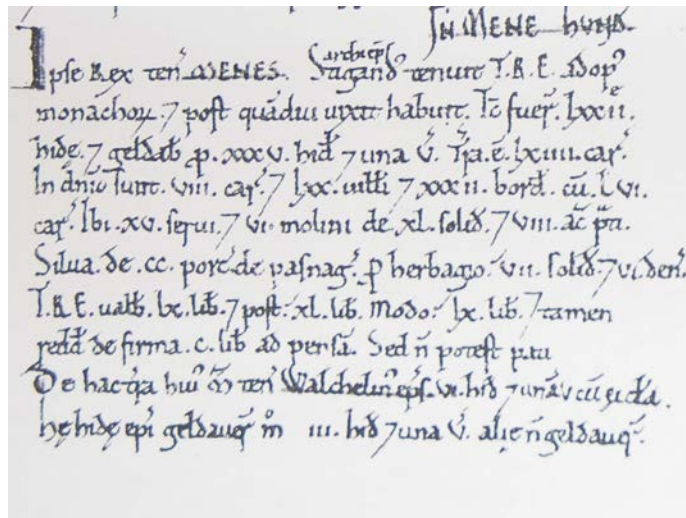


Fig 1 The Domesday entry for Meon Manor

Translation: In Mene Hundred Menes Land of the King. Archbishop Stigand held it before 1066, for the use of the monks; later he had it for his lifetime. Then there were 72 hides; it paid geld for 35 hides and 1 virgate. Land for 64 ploughs. In lordship 8 ploughs; 70 villagers and 32 small holders with 56 ploughs. 15 slaves; 6 mills at 40s; meadow, 8 acres; woodland at 200 pigs from pasture; from grazing 7s-6d. Value before 1066 £60; later £40; now £60; however, it pays £100 by weight in revenue but it cannot bear it.⁸ "Tax was paid on only 35 of the 72 hides" ...so the other half was not cultivated... "...

To decode the clerical shorthand: William's officials used the original Anglo-Saxon measurements by which a hide equals on average 120 acres, depending on the quality of the soil, and a virgate was a quarter of a hide or 30 acres. So, Meon Manor comprised seventy-two hides (8,640 acres), but it only paid tax on thirty-five hides (4,200 acres) and one virgate (30 acres); the other half was not cultivated. The Hundred had land to support sixty-four plough teams and seventy farmers, as well

⁶ "Hundreds' are first mentioned in the 'Hundred Ordinance' of 945/961. Hundreds evolved from earlier administrative units, groupings of estates, probably not from '100-hide- units as has been suggested". Yorke, Barbara, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages*

⁷ Timmins, Gordon *East Meon a Village History*, privately published, available at http://www.eastmeonhistory.org.uk/content/catalogue_item/village-history-gordon-timmins

⁸ Morris, John [ed] *Domesday Book Hampshire History from the Sources*, Phillimore, 1982 p40 c. EMHG member George Bartlett has calculated: 'if you take a hide as 120 acres, 72 x 120 = 8,640, and if you add the Bishop's 6 hides (720 acres) this gives you a total of over 9,000 acres... 'VCH gives the acreages of EM + Langrish as 11,370, Froxfield 4,909 and Steep 2,658 - a total of 19,297...

as thirty-two small holders who had land for fifty-six ploughs. Also on this land were fifteen slaves, six mills worth forty shillings, a meadow of eight acres, woodland to support two hundred pigs, and pasture earning seven shillings and sixpence from grazing. The value before 1066 had been £6, declining to £40, and by 1086 it returned to £60. However, *'the manor pays £100 but this appears too much for this manor'*.

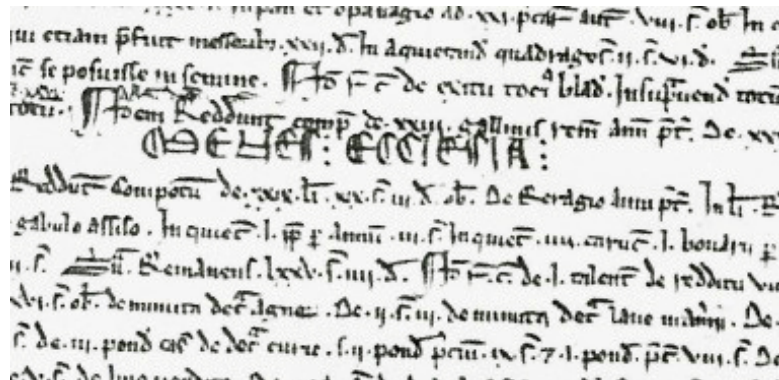


Fig 2 The Domesday Entry for Menes Ecclesia

Menes Ecclesia The bishop holds 6 hides and 1 virgate with the church in Mene. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 1½ ploughs; 11 villagers and 8 small holders with 3 ploughs. 2 slaves; 1 mill at 30d; meadow, 4 acres. Value before 1066 and later £4; now 100s.

This is a separate entry for the manor of Menes Ecclesia: Bishop Walkelin holds six hides (720 acres) and one virgate (30 acres) of the manor with a church. These hides of the Bishop paid tax on three hides (360 acres) and one virgate, the others did not pay tax. The value before 1066, and later, had been £4, and in 1086 one hundred shillings, or £5. In summary, the two manors of Menes covered an area of more than 9,000 acres and these made up Mene Hundred, which included the tithings of Froxfield and Steep, with a population of over a hundred *'villagers and slaves'*; it had 7 mills and 128½ plough-teams. (Only three of these mills were on the River Meon: South, Frogmore and Shutt mills, the others were on the River Rother. Appendix 1 has more information.)



Figs 3 & 4 East Meon was designated Hampshire's 'Domesday Village' in 1986; this model imagines the village in Norman times. The image on the left shows the predecessors of All Saints Church, foreground, and of The Court Hall, top left. On the right, dwellings, farm buildings and smallholdings typical of the time⁹. © Musee de la Tapisserie, Bayeux

⁹ Reproduced courtesy La Musee de la Tapisserie, Bayeux

In 1986, to commemorate the ninth centenary of Domesday, East Meon was chosen by the Hampshire Museum Service as the '*Domesday Village*' on the basis that it had retained more of its layout and character from the Middle Ages than any other; a model was built to reconstruct the village at the time, according to the historians, *Figs 3 & 4*, and this was displayed at the Great Hall in Winchester; it is now in the Musee de la Tapisserie in Bayeux.

In the early twelfth century, the Bishop of Winchester was Henry of Blois, the brother of King Stephen who granted East Meon manor back to the diocese in the 1140s. Henry oversaw the building of All Saints Church and donated the Tournai font (*Fig 5*)¹⁰. The manors included the tithings of Frogmore and Steep and Henry added a tithing in what is now West Sussex named Ambersham (north west of Midhurst and Petworth but described as '*part of Hampshire*' ... see *map 1* on page 2.)¹¹. East Meon hundred comprised the largest of the bishop's Hampshire estates.



Fig 5 Henry of Blois donated the Tournai Font to All Saints Church ©Dr John Crook.

On becoming king in late 1154 Henry II initially confirmed the gift of East Meon but rescinded it, and for the rest of his reign it was held '*at farm*' (i.e. rented), by his "Constables" Richard and then William du Hommet. They also had custody of Portchester, then a vital link in cross-channel communications.

After the death of Henry II in 1189, Godfrey de Lucy the then Bishop of Winchester bought back Meon Manorⁱ.

Open fields

As the Domesday model shows, most dwellings were surrounded by plots of land, '*curtilages*', on which the owner could grow vegetables and rear pigs and chickens for his family. Each East Meon tithing was a cluster of such huts and houses, surrounded by large arable open fields, meadows by the river, and downs on which sheep grazed. The farmers and their serfs set out each day to cultivate the land they rented in the open fields.

¹⁰ A Short History of All Saints Church, PDF available at http://www.eastmeonhistory.org.uk/content/catalogue_item/short-history-saints

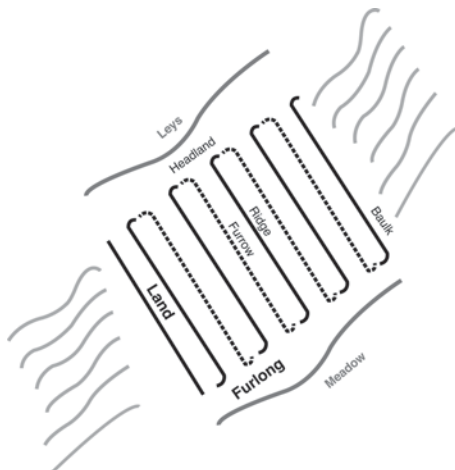
¹¹ Standfield, F.G. *A History of East Meon* Phillimore 1984 pp 16 - 17



Map 2. The probable locations of open fields in East Meon, Oxenbourne, Riplington and Langrish tithings. Lands farmed 'in demesne' by the diocese are shown in grey.

We can conjecture the location of open fields surrounding the tithing of East Meon from a combination of observations. Some field names surviving from medieval Pipe Rolls and surveys appear in the Tithe Apportionment survey in 1852, which mapped every field and property in the parish. These included 'Luckwells', 'Pepercombe' and 'Langrishe'. The name 'Estfield', listed in the 1567 Rental, suggests it occupied the gentle slopes to the south east of Oxenbourne. Contours and evidence of early cultivation suggest others. The diocese owned the Park to the north east of the village; lands farmed 'in demesne' by Court Farm lay to the west and south.

Open fields were divided into strips, called *lands* or *terrae*, which averaged 7 by 280 metres (one-third of an acre) in size. Even the smallest farmer rented three lands, and was obliged to rotate his crops between them each year, leaving one in three fallow each year. More prosperous tenants held many lands, often in more than one tithing. The standard measurement of an arable holding was a *virgate*, up to 30 acres in size, which comprised lands scattered across more than one open field, with accompanying rights to graze on the common.



Map 3. Features of a medieval open field

As the lands were ploughed, clockwise, soil was pushed in front of the plough and as the blade was lifted for turning, the soil formed a foot-high *ridge* in the centre, and two flat *furrows* on each side (Map 3). Over the years, repetitive ploughing built the soil up into heaps at the end of each land, called *headlands* or *butts*. Cultivated strips were called *ridges*, *selions* or *flatts*. *Baulks* were unploughed strips, which formed pathways between the ploughed areas.

Leys were grassland, as were *meadows*, which lay near rivers and streams. During the Middle Ages, farmers developed techniques for 'floating' or 'drowning' water meadows: artificial irrigation kept the land warm in winter time and provided early grass for sheep or cattle in the spring. A second period of floating enhanced the

summer hay croft. The moving waters also carried manures to the meadows¹². Meadows were divided by earthworks into strips, called by various names such as *rood*, *dole*, *pole* or *hide*. These were valued highly, sometimes at three or four times the rent of arable land, and were allocated annually to tenants of the manor¹³. Appendix 2 lists legal terms used to define terms for the working of Open Fields.

The farming year

The rhythm of the medieval farming year was recorded by a scribe working in the Canterbury Cathedral manuscript studio in around 1020 AD. It is now known as the Julius Work Calendar and is held at the British Library; each month is illustrated by scenes of farming activities. The year in Hampshire followed the same pattern as that in Kent.



Fig 6. January illustration in the Julius Work Calendar, showing ploughing and sowing. © British Library.

The strips were ploughed in winter by teams of two or four oxen, shared between the farmers (*fig 6*); seed was broadcast, covering a strip in a 'bout', one side in one direction and the other on the return journey. Sowing, weeding, mowing, reaping, threshing and winnowing were all done by hand (*figs 7 – 9*)¹⁴.



Fig 7. March illustration in the Julius Work Calendar, showing harrowing and digging. © British Library.

¹² Hey, David (ed) *The Oxford Companion to Local and Family History* Oxford University Press 2010 P488

¹³ Tiller, Kate *English Local History, an Introduction* Sutton, 2002 p9

¹⁴ Parker, Rowland *The Common Stream* Holt Rinehart and Winston, New York 1975



Fig 8. Scything the hay, July in the Julius Work Calendar. © British Library.



Fig 9. Harvesting, August in the Julius Work Calendar. © British Library.



Fig 10, Threshing, December in the Julius Work Calendar. © British Library.

Immediately after sowing, the land was harrowed to cover the seeds; activities were regulated, including hay cutting, gleaning, breaking up fallow land and so on¹⁵. Possession of a yardland automatically implied rights in the meadow¹⁶. Most farm workers led a cow or two each morning to the pasture meadows where joined the common herd which was tended by a 'hayward' whose job it was to prevent them from trespassing on to crops; after Lammas, when the harvest was in, animals were allowed onto both demesne lands (directly farmed by the diocese) and tenanted fields¹⁷. No separate private herd could be kept, all animals being part of the common herd during the day, and returned to the village farmsteads at night. Hay cutting, breaking up fallow land and so on were also regulated, as were the rights of gleaning¹⁸.

¹⁵ Hall, David *Medieval Fields* Shire Archaeology 1982. P22

¹⁶ Hall, David *Medieval Fields* Shire Archaeology 1982. P19

¹⁷ Lammas-tide fell at the halfway point between the summer solstice and the September Equinox, i.e. in August..

¹⁸ Hall, David *Ibid* P24

Wheat, barley, rye and occasionally oats were the chief support of the rural classes. An average crop gave about a fourfold return on the seed sown, and a quarter of this was set aside for next year's sowing. Tithes were levied on the maximum *potential* crop so that if the yield was four times the seed sown, the peasant had for his family's consumption 65% of what he had produced ... if only twice, he only had only 40%¹⁹.

A two-field system (or at least two-course rotation) was very common, especially in the downlands, but it was intermingled with a three-field system where the land would stand it²⁰. The system of open fields, along with the rights of common grazing or fallow, and the common waste, were administered by the manorial court, the central institution of medieval village life²¹.

The diocese.

The bishops of Winchester owned all the land in the two East Meon manors and were the feudal lords of the people who worked it²². Tenant farmers (villeins – see next section) paid rent, either in the form of grain, carted from the fields to 'manorial' barns, and also of milk, meat, hides and the other produce, or in 'customary labour services' - days spent working the lord's land, or demesne²³.

The Hall at the Court House

The medieval Hall at the Court House is today the best preserved of the palaces and manor houses of the bishops of Winchester. Built in 1395-97, it consists of a great hall, a service wing containing buttery and pantry, and, above these, a large chamber with an adjoining garderobe.

As noted, the bishop was lord of the manor. Apart from his occasional visits, the hall, the central point of the manor, would have been in daily use. Designed as a dining hall, it was used to house the bishop's officials and *famuli* as a general living room, for sleeping (on the rush-covered floor) and for recreation; it was also used for meetings, including those of the two courts through which the estate was administered - the manor court, or court baron, and the court leet.

The *Manorial Court* applied the law and custom of the manor. It had jurisdiction over the unfree tenants, those who were tied to the manor and were required to render days of service to the lord as well as to pay particular dues (for instance on the marriage of a daughter). It dealt with the conveyance of copyhold tenure. And it administered the open fields (p7). The *Court Leet* exercised the royal jurisdiction of the Hundred Court, which enforced the duty imposed on the men of each tithing to ensure that the peace was kept. Unlike the manor court, which met frequently, the court leet was held twice a year, nominally on Hockday (the second Tuesday after

¹⁹ N.J.G.Pounds *A History of the English Parish* Cambridge University Press 2000 p60

²⁰ Thirsk, Edwards *Agrarian History of England and Wales* p286

²¹ Hall, David *Medieval Fields* Shire Archaeology 1982 p24

²² In the 1440s, land in Oxenbourne was granted by Bishop William Waynflete to Magdalen College Oxford which he had founded, to help fund it.

²³ The prior of St Swithuns disputed the bishop's right to the rectorial tithes of east Meon, citing a cession made to the priory by Edward III in 1331. Roberts, Edward, *What are Tithe Barns? And a Late Medieval Dispute at East Meon* Local History p 17

Easter) and on Martinmas (the 11th of November). The bishop's steward had to move with his clerk from manor to manor to preside over courts leet throughout the county. Each tithing was dealt with in turn, with the head tithing man reporting on any misdemeanors²⁴.

Tithes

The bishop was rector of East Meon and in addition to rental income collected the 'rectorial' or 'greater' tithes, one tenth of the produce of his tenants; the grain was delivered to 'tithes' barns built in strategic locations around the parish. The vicar received the 'lesser' tithes, a miscellaneous assemblage of garden crops, animal products, poultry, timber, turf and hay; he also received fees for ceremonies 'glebe' land, which he may have farmed himself; the vicar of All Saints owned glebe land throughout the extensive parish, including Froxfield and Steep and even Ambersham, which must have been farmed by hired labour²⁵.

By the end of the thirteenth century, the diocese had developed centralised accounting systems, which can be seen in the pipe rolls. Below the steward in the hierarchy of the estate's officials were the bailiffs. The bishop's local representatives were the reeves, one for each manor. These were tenants of the bishop, who resided in the parish and submitted annual '*computus rolls*', or draft accounts, to the treasurer at the palace of Wolvesey in Winchester. While the steward managed the demesne lands, particularly ploughing and the harvest²⁶, productivity on rented land was maintained or undermined according to the ability of reeves and bailiffs to plant legumes, provide manure and marl, improve seed quality and to ensure that labour provided by both serfs and villeins was efficiently utilised²⁷.

Alongside the administration of the bishop's lands by its steward and reeves, the 'Vestry' of All Saints church (the equivalent of today's Parochial Church Council) was responsible for parish affairs including care for the poor, the maintenance of roads and bridges, dog-catching and much more; the church wardens were required to raise revenues for the maintenance of the parish. A fuller account of the role of the parish church can be found in the 'Short History of All Saints', which can be downloaded from the village's history website²⁸.

The feudal system

The farmers in East Meon were unfree tenants or 'Villeins', sub-divided into 'virgaters', 'semi-virgaters', 'ferling-men' and the 'holders of cotlands'. By the 14th century, the tradition that every peasant held a 'yardland' of 15 – 30 acres had been fragmented as his inheritance was split between heirs²⁹. Some more prosperous virgaters, in contrast, had accumulated additional land; they had probably encroached on neighbours' holdings (*terra purprestura*) or cleared woodland

²⁴ Bartlett, George: *The Court House - the name, the building and the court*. Appendix 9

²⁵ Pounds, N.J.G. *A History of the English Parish* Cambridge University Press 2000 p53. Also, p64:

²⁶ Page, Mark *The Medieval Bishops of Winchester: Estate, Archive and Administration* Hampshire Papers 2002 p8.

²⁷ Legumes: plant, such as beans, peas or vetch, which enhanced the yield of cereal crops by fixing nitrogen in the soil.

²⁸ Blakstad, Michael, http://www.eastmeonhistory.org.uk/content/catalogue_item/short-history-saints 2017

²⁹ Lake, Jeremy *Historic Farm Buildings* Blandford 1989 p80

(*assarta*) to increase their holdings. Such villeins were not poor and held positions such as church warden³⁰.

In addition to payments of cash, farm produce and labour services, villeins had to pay for permission to conduct personal activities; for instance, to '*redeem their children*', that is, pay a fine if their offspring moved away from the manor (the equivalent of buying a passport), pay a *merchet*, another fine, if a daughter married, on the basis that the lord would lose a 'unit of production', or pay a *heriot*, that is, forfeit their best animal to the lord as a death tax; these obligations defined their unfree status and were much resented. Nonetheless, villeins were able to act as a community: when they gathered together as a '*homage*' they could lease pasture and even bargain with the lord for the commutation of services; they chose the reeves in rotation from among their own number³¹.

'*Servii*', or serfs, were the lowest layer of society, in effect slaves, bound to provide labour services and cultivate the diocese's land; they were not able to rent their own. The Winchester estate directly employed a wide variety of manorial servants, or *famuli*, to manage both the tenants and the demesne³². These included beadles, carters, cowherds, dairymaids, haywards, oxherds, park-keepers, ploughmen, shepherds, smiths, swineherds and so on. Some, such as the carter and dairymaid, were hired and paid an annual cash stipend and an allowance of grain, and many lived under the lord's roof. However, by the beginning of the 14th century, less than 40% of manorial servants received stipends; most were tenants who were granted a reduction or cancellation of their rent, both cash and labour services. (Appendix 3 has an extended list of terms used to describe the medieval social structure.)

The main form of farming on the Winchester estate was arable; a proportion of the produce was consumed by the bishop's East Meon household, manorial servants and livestock, and does not appear in the accounts. In the two centuries after Domesday, the amount of land under cultivation in England had doubled, as did the population; this was partly due to a long period of benign weather³³. A two-century 'solar maximum' had brought warm climates to Europe from 1075 until 1315 and with them good growing conditions and relative health.

Markets

When the bishop's farms grew more produce than was needed for feeding the lord's household and for replacing stock and seed-corn, and when tenant farmers produced more than was needed to feed their families, they traded the surplus for cash with which to purchase essentials such as farm tools, cloth, salt for preserving meat, and to pay fines and taxes. Merchants and wholesalers had been buying wool, grain and cheese from manors since the end of the eleventh century; a fair held near the source of the River Meon offered the opportunity for farmers (including the diocese) to sell their produce.

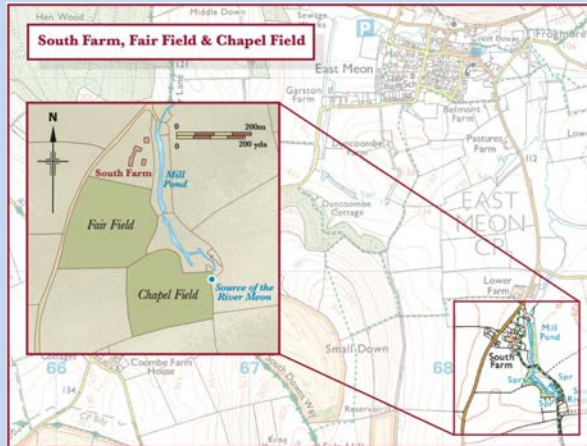
³⁰ Oxford ADLP course notes *Ibid*.

³¹ Levett A. Elizabeth '*The Effects of the Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester*' Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History Vol V, 1916c p68

³² Until the sixteenth century, living-in servants were referred to as '*familiae*' or '*famuli*'.

³³ Crane, Nicholas *Ibid* p323

Fair Field



Map 4. Fair Field and Chapel Field

East Meon held its annual fair on Lady Day (25th March) in a field belonging to the chapel of 'St Mary in the Fields', named 'Fair Field' or 'Chapel Close',¹. The event survived until the late nineteenth century, by which time it was a horse-fair held in the village itself. Trading at medieval fairs was open to all and the tolls (higher than market tolls) were collected by the diocese.

Livestock was the main commodity, but tradesmen travelled up to 25 miles to sell goods including farm equipment – carts and wheels, harness, horseshoes, nails, sawn timber, tar and fearsome chemicals to treat sheep-scab¹. Unemployed farm labourers also touted their trades.

In the 12th century, Petersfield received a charter from the Earl of Gloucester to hold a market, and this was confirmed in 1198 by John, Count of Mortain (later King John). It was a trading centre for sheep and wool, and although not as important as Winchester, was 5 miles away as opposed to 17 miles. (It is, however, recorded that six East Meon men found a cart to carry the bishop's wool for sale anywhere in the country) As we shall see, unofficial markets popped up on feast days in or around the churchyard of All Saints.

Thirteenth century

The diocese of Winchester grew immensely rich; in addition to the manors of East Meon Bishop Peter des Roches (1204 – 1236) held over fifty manors and boroughs scattered across six southern counties' their revenues meant he could enjoy luxuries appropriate to the highest nobility³⁴". The pipe roll of 1209/10 records that the reeve of Meon Manor delivered 'summa remanens £64. 0s 21d' to the Bishop's palace at Wolvesey and the reeve of Menes Ecclesia 'summa £30. 12s 8d'³⁵, in today's money, an annual net profit of nearly £200,000. Des Roches' period as Bishop of Winchester coincided with a prolonged period of good weather and high yields from his estates. He could well afford to invest in the parish and was probably responsible for the addition of the Lady Chapel at All Saints Church³⁶. He also spent conspicuously on luxuries for himself and his guests.

³⁴ Roberts, Edward *The Bishop of Winchester's Deer Parks in Hampshire 1200 – 1400: their development, function and management*. Hampshire Field Club Archeol. Soc 42 1986. P67.

³⁵ PRO Eccl. 2/22/1590B.

³⁶ The south aisle was added at the same time, and a steeple added to the bell tower; although the Bishop as rector was legally responsible only for repairs to the chancel, he may well have paid for the whole enlargement.

Fishponds

In the Middle Ages, most fish came from the sea and were salted or cured; eating fish was regarded as a penance, hence the Church's ban on eating meat on Fridays or during Lent. Fresh-water fish were a delicacy bred in handful of *vivaria*, ponds designed for keeping pike, perch, bream, roach and pike. These were owned and managed by nobility or royalty and the fish reserved for special occasions. Hampshire fishponds ranged in size, '*from no more than an acre ... up to the 100 acre Frensham Great Pond*³⁷'.

The pipe roll of 1208/9 records that des Roches built a '*new pond*' in Meon Manor to breed fresh fish but gives no indication of its location. There are several references to fishponds in East Meon, but Edward Roberts concluded that '*its position is unknown ... unlikely to have been more than a few acres since no dam remains to be seen*'. On the outskirts of the medieval settlement of Oxenbourne is a sixteenth century yeoman's house which carries the name 'Fishponds'; next to it is a pond, too small in itself to have been a *vivarium* but with sluices and an upper pond whose banks suggest that the combined ponds might have been much larger.



Fig 12 Main pond at Fishponds

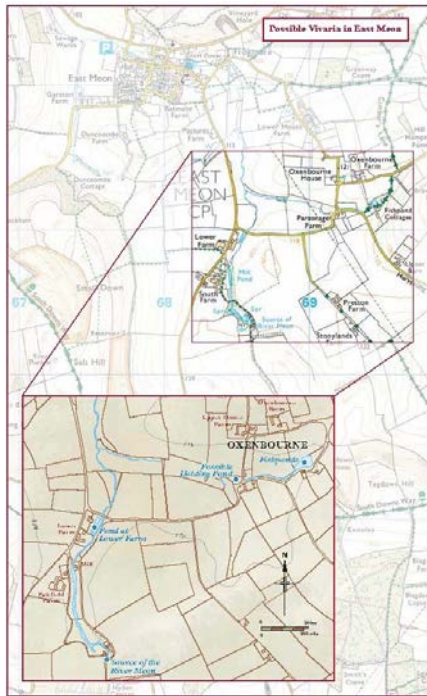


Fig 13.. Upper pond (Photo Peter Head)

'Fishponds' is the name given to the house alongside the two ponds, originally a 16th century farmhouse, which lies on the outskirts of the medieval settlement of Oxenbourne. Such names are often modern but East Meon's Tithe Apportionments survey of 1851 lists '*Fishponds Paddock*' at this location and as far back as 1567 a Rental survey records that Alice Suggatt held a *messuage and 4 acres* in Oxenbourne *vocat Fishewers* or 'fish weir'³⁸.

³⁷ Roberts, Edward *The Bishop of Winchester's Fishponds in Hampshire* *ibid.* p127

³⁸ HRO 11M59/A1/3/6 *Rental and custumal for East Meon manor 1567*. There is no indication in the OF the precise location of this property

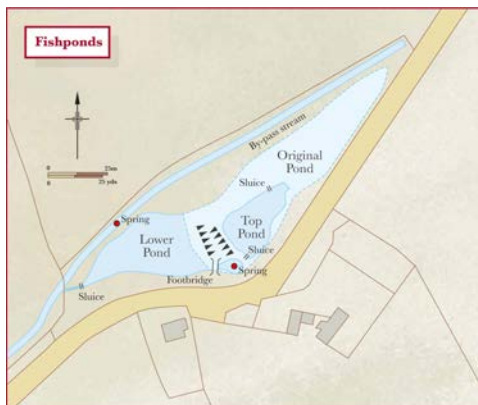


Map 5. Possible sites for vivaria in East Meon

Vivaria tended to be constructed close to the source of a river or stream, because the water is purer. Fishponds is fed directly by a spring fed by water running off the fields; its waters then form a tributary of the River Meon. The source of the Meon is nearby, and might itself have been the site of a *vivarium*, as might Lower Farm, half a mile downstream, which has evidence of earthworks to widen the stream and form a sizeable pond. Finally, there is a sizeable hollow in the field a quarter-mile downstream of Fishponds, next to Giant's Cottage, which might have held a *vivarium*. Four possibilities in all; each much smaller than the Bishop's other *vivaria* in Hampshire and there may have been more than one. Smaller ponds were often linked in a string (or 'flight') of vivaria,

and East Meon might have had two such flights, one on the River Meon and the other at Oxenbourne.

Fishponds today shows some traces of having been a *vivarium*. The two ponds were probably a single pond whose water came up to the level of today's fence. Centuries of silt have filled much of the area originally under water; we know that silting was a problem from the start; in 1231 it is recorded that the *vivarium* was 'broken'



Map 6. Probable layout of the Fishponds vivarium

'broken' (drained) and five feet of mud dug out. In 1244, ten men spent forty days carrying mud away on stretchers and twelve wheelbarrows; Master Nicholas, the Bishop's fisherman, supervised the operation³⁹. While the pond was being cleared, the fish were stored in a smaller pond, or *servatorium*, while a bypass stream diverted the water; wattle hurdles or sluices prevented the fish from escaping. The bypass stream also diverted flood water.

³⁹ Hampshire Record Office Eccl 159287/8.



Fig 14. Medieval illustration of seine-net fishing in vivarium.

When a royal visit or an important feast day approached, fishermen from the coast would often be imported to help with the catch, for which a long seine net was taken out by boat then brought back in an arc to the shore. Most episcopal ponds were within a day's journey by cart to the Bishop's palace at Wolvesey; East Meon's were 17 miles away and probably at the limit. The fish were wrapped in wet grass and carried alive in sacks so that they were fresh for the feast.

In 1240, Henry III commanded that the ponds at Alresford, Bishop's Waltham and Menes were to be fished without delay, the pike salted and others put in *pane* (paste) and sent to Westminster in time for Christmas celebrations⁴⁰. The occupant of the substantial 16th century house overlooking the Oxenbourne vivarium, now named Fishponds, was probably a yeoman farmer; his predecessors may have been responsible for minding the pond but its management lay in the hands of the Bishop's fisherman. It is unlikely that any resident of East Meon ever (legally) tasted the fresh fish bred in its *vivaria*.

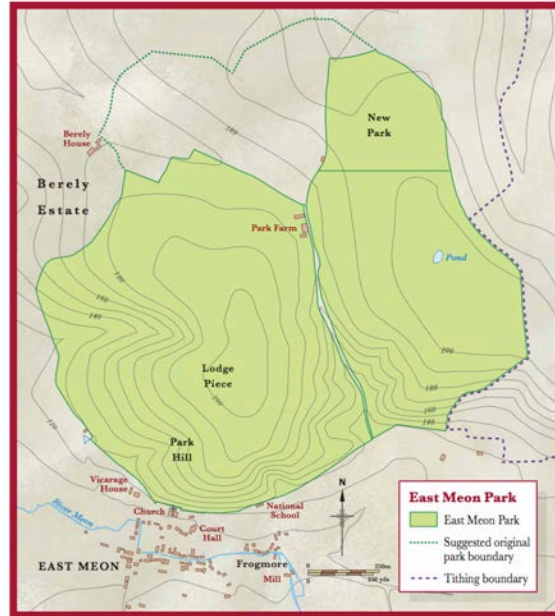
East Meon Park

Edward Roberts's description of the luxuries enjoyed by Bishop de Roches continues: "*Prominent among these were the bishop's deer parks, providing venison for great episcopal feasts and sport for royal and noble huntsmen... Medieval piety frowned on the clergy's enjoyment of hunting, but scruples were unlikely to have troubled worldly prelates like Bishop Peter des Roches*⁴¹."

⁴⁰ Cal Lib R 1240-45, 15, 31

⁴¹ Roberts, Edward *Ibid* P70

Map 7 shows the probable extent of East Meon Park, stretching across both sides of 'Park Lane'. The bishops' palace at East Meon (the predecessor of today's Court Hall) served as a hunting lodge for the bishop and his guests, for whom the deer park was a source of both pleasure and venison. On the commanding height of Lodge Piece there was probably a keeper's (or 'parker's') lodge; in 1367/8 this is listed as a simple hall house and stable; from which he could keep watch for the poachers who presented a constant threat to the bishop's deer. Entry 94 in the 1567 Rental lists a '*cot. and curt. vocat Parkers', red 1s*'⁴²



Map 7. Eastmeon Park in the 13th century (21st century buildings in red)



Fig 15. 19th century engraving of the embankment at Merdon Park

The area would have been enclosed by banks (those at another park, at Merdon, *left, fig 14*, were described as 'colossal'). At nearby Bishop's Sutton, it took twenty carts sixteen days just to fetch wood to build the fence, and a further ten to build the fence. Five carpenters took twelve weeks making park gates and deer leaps. Hunting, for the bishop and his guests, took two forms: shooting arrows at driven deer from butts, was favoured by the royal hunt in the Middle Ages ... in contrast, the chase on horseback was particularly suited to open country.

King John hunted in Hampshire in 1208 – 9; in the absence of royalty, the hunt was conducted either by professional hunt servants who, in spite of their humble rank, were probably the real experts, or by knights, mainly drawn from the bishop's own household. For two days of hunting at Marwell Park in 1246 – 7 there were three knight huntsmen (*milites venatores*) seven squires, John Steil the bishop's huntsman, twenty grooms (*garciones*), twenty three greyhounds and eighteen brachets or hunting dogs. Working alongside the bishop's huntsman were the fewterers, who had charge of the greyhounds, and the berners, who had charge of the brachet hounds⁴³. These hunt servants would also have been responsible for controlling vermin such as marten and foxes.

⁴² HRO 11M59/A1/3/6 *Ibid* 1567

⁴³ Roberts, Edward *Ibid* P72

The Park was also used for pasture: for horses at Bitterne Park in 1256 -7, cows at Bishop's Sutton Park in the same year, and for sheep in East Meon Park in 1318. Park woodland was fully exploited for charcoal, firewood and timber, while and pigs grazed on the mast (acorns and other food of the forest floor).

Rabbit warrens, or coney garths, were often situated within parks and, during the fourteenth century, rabbits seem to have become a significant part of the bishop's diet⁴⁴. Three species of deer – the red, the roe and the fallow – were recorded in the bishopric pipe rolls, and their numbers were carefully managed, by culling and, when it was necessary to cross-breed deer to improve stock, by interchange between episcopal parks. East Meon Park was re-stocked in 1332-33 using two carts with wickerwork cages. In 1357 – 8, twenty fallow deer were taken from East Meon. It is recorded that in the 16th century the 500 acre park at East Meon sustained 160 deer.

Another paper by Edward Roberts, suggests that the most common reason for the bishops of Winchester to visit East Meon was for his guests to hunt deer in the Park. *"The Court House was a pleasant rural retreat where, with a small 'riding household', the bishop could entertain chosen companions. For those bishops who enjoyed the pleasures of hawking and hunting would not have overlooked the attractions of East Meon Park and chase nearby. Mews for goshawks were made at East Meon in 1248/49 and Richard the goshawk-trainer was here in 1251/2"*⁴⁵.

⁴⁴ Roberts, Edward *Ibid* P77

⁴⁵ Roberts, Edward *'William of Wykeham's House at East Meon, Hants'* Archaeological Journal 150, 1993 p478

Wine making



Fig 32.2 Vineyard Hole



Fig 32.3. Planting vines in the Berrygarden 2006

Between The Court House and the Park is a fold in the hillside known today at Vineyard Hole, and it is assumed that grapes were grown here for the production of wine. Entries in early Pipe Rolls confirm that the Manor did produce wine in the 13th and 14th centuries:

1207-8 '4 tuns of wine - £4.2s.0d'

1305-6 Pipe Roll: 3 men paid to help the gardener dig in the garden for planting vines there ... weeding vines sometimes - 12d.

(A tun is equivalent to 252 gallons.) This would not have been for the exclusive use of the Bishop and his guests, like the fresh fish from Fishponds, but for consumption by the famuli of the manor and for sale like the rest of the farm produce. The dates of the entries, 1207 - 1306, lie within the protracted warm period in Hampshire, which ended in 1315, and no wine production was recorded after this.

Today's place names are modern inventions, and 'Vineyard Hole' a 19th century fabrication; in the Tithe

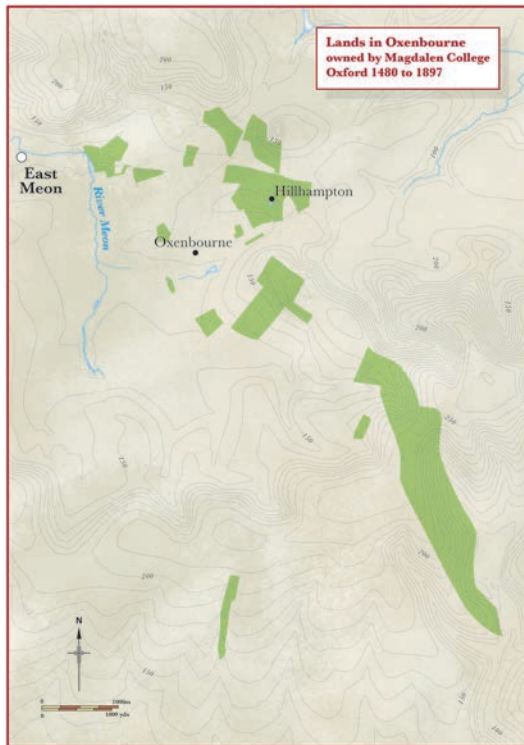
Apportionment records of 1852, the name is 'Shepherd's Hole', but in the Ordnance Survey map of 1869 'Vineyard Hole' appears for the first time.

The reference in the 1305 roll to the 'garden' suggests that the wine was grown within the curtilage of The Court House. In 2006, the present owners of The Court House planted 1,400 pinot noir and chardonnay vines in the 'Berrygarden', which have since produced a notable sparkling wine.

Magdalen College's property in Oxenbourne

In October 1480, William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, made over to the president and scholars of Magdalen College Oxford 350 acres of farmland in the tithing of Oxenbourne⁴⁶. Documents relating to the occupancy of these lands from the early thirteenth century are held in the college's archives; excerpts are in Appendix 4.

⁴⁶ See p30 for more detail



Map 8. Lands owned by Magdalen College Oxford after 1480

In the earliest deed, dated between 1240 and 1245, Pavia de Bere grants to John de Menes 'all her lands in Oxenburne and Ebechute'. (There is no other mention of a tithing of that name; another, 'Middlynton' is mentioned in these documents.) In 1350 we meet Will de Hullamptone; the first mention of what is today the farm of Hill Hampton, spelled variously in these early documents as Hulhampton, Helhamptons and Halamtons. This was a messuage, or farmhouse with outbuildings and land, which, unusually, stood alone in its own fields; most dwellings and farm buildings were clustered together.

The fourteenth century.

Meon Manor pipe roll, 1301/2.

In 2011, Hampshire Record Office curator David Rymill, gave a talk to East Meon History Group in which he analysed the Winchester pipe roll of 1301/2. Extracts from his talk are attached as Appendix 5, and Appendices 6 & 7 are transcripts of sections accounting for Meon Manor and Meon Ecclesia. The rolls were compiled from records prepared each year by reeves and other manorial officials: the most important of these were the *computus rolls*. The system of accounting was developed during the thirteenth-century by the monks of St Swithuns Priory and all the manors owned by the diocese used the standard format; the accounts were divided into cash receipts, cash expenses, a 'grange' account for the demesne's corn, and a livestock account. The income from the estate came from three principal sources: rents, the sale of produce, and revenues from the manor courts.

Because Meon Manor included the tithings of Froxfield, Steep and Ambersham, much of the information relates to areas outside the core tithings of Oxenbourne, Ramsdean, Langrish, Bordean, Riplington, Coombe and East Meon, on which we are concentrating. It is seldom possible to locate the fields listed, because most names did not survive to later centuries. The bailiff and the reeves started by squaring the account for the previous year, a total of £94.4s 10½d ... 'they are quit': the books balance. They then list the rents due each quarter for the current year, and 'quit rents', paid to release some tenants from service to the manor - a category which survived until 1922. Thomas de Cumbe (Coombe) and Robert Molendarius (Miller) are mentioned among tenants who are not liable to rent that year, mostly because their land has been taken into demesne, direct management by the diocese. 'One *purpersture*' - land cleared of woods or reclaimed waste - was also taken into

demesne. Annual 'recognizances' were paid, permitting named residents (including William ate Church) to leave the hundred for a given period. Some tenants paid their rent in kind; William ate Bere and Andrew de Holewey paid in cumin and William Gilbberd a pair of gloves.

'Issues of the manor' include nearly £3 from pannage, which bought the right to turn pigs out for fodder in the woods or park, with the caveat that this year there was *'no mast in the park'* for the pigs to eat. They also include fees for pasturage, on common meadows; areas are excluded from rent because they are grazed by *'the lord's' sheep, lambs or cattle'*, including parts of Hydon, Holecumbe and Garston, and *'pasturage of La Ford as far as the mill and this side of the chapel'*, last referring to the mill at what is now South Farm, and the a chapel-of-ease of St Mary in the Field. There is also a reference to the mill at Drayton: *'1s from the plot beside the Mill and Drayton below Garstonmed and Pykes sold'*.

3s 7d comes from *'pinfolding'*, i.e providing pounds for shelter, for '18 cows and 2 bullocks in winter and 26 cows in summer', and 'sheep at 1d per 5 sheep unless they have 20 sheep because they then give the twentieth sheep' ... discounts were even then an accepted part of business. Income from wool was also listed – but that year there was no cash income from coarse wool and lambs wool because it had been consumed by the bishop's staff in East Meon or sent to Wolvesey, the bishop's main palace in Winchester. Hides of horses, cattle and sheep were sold, many of them slaughtered because they were *'in murrain'* - diseased; animal illnesses were evidently rife. £6 15s came from summer cheese, 4s 3¾d from winter cheese, 9s from butter and over £2 from cider. Income from livestock was listed: 3 old and feeble plough horses were sold, and 7 oxen, 100 ewes fetched £5, and 19 pigs were sold at Michaelmas for 3s 6d each. Wheat, barley and oats brought in a total of nearly £112. *'The mill'*, presumably the one at South Farm, was let out, and brought in £1 15s

As mentioned, tenants paid *finēs* - standard sums - on inheriting property or on marrying: Nicholas, son of Nicholas de Langriss paid £2 10s for the right to succeed to his late father's property in East Meon; Peter ate Bure (Bereleigh?) paid £1 to marry Christina, widow of John Crispyn, and take on her land; Agnes Fermyn paid 1s for marrying her daughter *'outside'* (to someone outside the manor). People's surnames often tell us something of the occupations *'1s from Richard Clericus by surrender of William ate Church'*, suggests that a clerk, or secretary to the parish, was taking over property from a clergyman; *'£1.13s.4d from Thomas, son of William de Schireve'* ... is a large sum, but the son of a sheriff was probably wealthy. There were also *perquisites*, or fines in the modern sense of penalty payments. Adam Kay was fined 3s *'for having his pigs at the barn door'*, and Adam Kay the younger 6s 8d *'for keeping the plough-horses badly'*, while Alice, daughter of Richard de Naddenham, Ralph at Stupe and their fellows were fined 4s *'for many transgressions'*. Then, as now, every village had its serial mischief-makers.

Altogether the receipts from the estate came to £270 1s 1½d. The other side of the account, the expenditure, is listed with equal care: total expenses relating to ploughs amounted to over £15, ranging from ironwork at 14s 3d to 1s *'for hiring men for the ploughs when they plough after dinner'*; *'blood-letting of oxen'* cost 3d; 17s was spent

on work on the carts, and 4d on doctoring horses. £2 1s 4d. was accounted as *'cost of the dairy'*, which included buying salt, repairing buckets and utensils; in addition, 1s2d. was spent on 60 hurdles for pens, 10d on mending walls of the sheepcote of Holecumbe (Hollycombe), 1s 6d on putting in sills , on enclosing, 1s 6d, and 8d on *'cratches (cribs) made for the hogs'*.

In most years, one of the largest categories of expenditure was construction and repair of the estate's buildings. The bishop was responsible for the maintenance of barns, stables, granaries, dairies, cattle sheds, sheep-houses and pig sties. Construction work on on the Court House and the *curia*, or 'home farm', is itemised: *'Enclosing 34 perches on this side of the pinfold and elsewhere in the curia with hedges 2s 1½ d.'* *'Mending and building the walls of the barley-barn which collapsed 1s 7½d'*. The barley barn, also known as the great barn, stored the grain harvested on the land of the demesne, as opposed to the smaller tithe barn in which tithes from tenants' land was collected⁴⁷. Building work this year accounted for only 12s 4d, including 3s 10d on roofing and mending another barn *'beside the pinfold'* (sheep pen) and other buildings. Then came *'the cost of the park': 'enclosing 4 furlongs 8 perches around the park with hedges 10s 8d. Making and mending the palisade of the park 15s 8d...'* and *'the cost of the mill': 'nothing this year'*. *'Threshing'* and *'harvest-time'* costs were high, at £39 5s 7½d, even though most of the work was carried out by tenants as labour services. The estate provided a farthing's worth of bread and 2 herrings or one cheese for each man *'and for the great boonwork they had bread, meat and ale'*. Total expenses amounted to £39.5s.7½ d. Then, the final tally: *'and he [the reeve] owes £230. 16s 4d'*

After the income and expenditure, we learn about the crops produced – mainly wheat, barley and oats; here we deal in kind, not cash: quarters [8 bushells] and bushells [8 gallons]. The pipe roll reports the quantities used on the manor for animal fodder (and, like the men, the plough-horses got something extra when they ploughed after dinner); it also lists the grain used for sowing next year's crops. Under *'Wheat'* are listed *'340 qrs 7 bus from the whole issue of the grange by struck measure; 5 qrs from churchscot.'* (a tax of corn collected by the church at Martinmas). *'Sown over 608 acres as they lie in Selescumber, Stonyelond (today's Stoneyland Farm), and Pykes 67 qrs 6 bus, that is, 1 bus an acre'*. Then *'Barley': 'Sown over 95 acres as they lie in the field of la Chapele (now Chapel Field, at South Farm), 26½ qrs. Delivered to 1 carter, 3 stot-keepers [heifers] and 1 keeper of hogs and lambs for the year, 32½qrs for feeding their stock... delivered to 1 dairymaid for the year, 5 qrs 1½ bus. And 'Oats': 'Sown over 685 acres as they lie in the fields of la Chapele (at South Farm), Ponfaldesgore and Crembe, 190 qrs.'*

Then there's a detailed account of the livestock – to give one example: 35 adult pigs remained from the previous year, 28 which had been counted as hoggets in the previous year – that's pigs in their first or second year – were now redefined as pigs, 19 were sold, 4 were sick – balance 50; there had been 50 hoggets from the previous year's piglets, 10 were *in murrain* – sick - 2 had been redefined as sows and 38 as

⁴⁷ Roberts, Edward, *William of Wykeham's House at East Meon*, *Hants Archaeological Journal* 150, 1993, pp 456 – 481, and Roberts, Edward, *What are tithe barns? And a late medieval dispute at East Meon* *Local History* p17.

male pigs, so none of last year's hoggets were still hoggets. 45 piglets had been born from the sows that year, and 8 had come from the reeve of Meon Ecclesia, whose pipe roll comes next. 9 were sick, so that left 44. Then come horses, cattle, sheep, hens, and swans, and finally peacocks and peahens – 6 from the previous year, one sick, no offspring this year, balance 5.

Among a miscellany at the end come details of labour services owed by tenants, for instance: *'748 labour services (days' work) owed to the curia of East Meon by 13 workers, of whom 4 worked twice a week from Michaelmas until Lammas and 9 once a week; 51 in quittance for the 3 festival weeks (Christmas, Easter and Pentecost); 16 in landriht according to custom; 79 in default of the land which William le Fissar holds because they are commuted; 273 for carrying dung; 329 labour services sold.'* 'Manual services' added a further 308 days of labour, and 'Harvest services': *'533 owed from Lammas until Michaelmas by the above 13 workers, working every day except Saturdays and Sundays; 91 in quittance of the same for 7 feast days this year; 28 in default of the land of the beadle which William now holds for the same time; 414 for reaping binding and carrying corn',* plus 228 manual service days.

Meon Ecclesia manor pipe roll 1301/2.

The roll for the church manor (Appendix 7) follows the same pattern. Nicholas de Ychen, is again the bailiff, but a different reeve has prepared the accounts, Robert Hugh. The totals for this manor are much smaller – total receipts £104 17s. 8½d, net contribution to the diocese, £47 5s 8d. Costs of maintaining the 'home farm', the Court Hall, are listed: *'Making and mending the bench in the great hall 1s Mending the walls of the dairy and the door of the same building 5d; mending the barn-door and likewise the gate of the curia ... 10½d'*. It is not clear how the bailiff decided the division of expenses between the two manors. The land of Meon Ecclesia lies within the tithings of Oxenbourne and East Meon, and some names are recognisable: la Hyde ('The Hyde' is today the road past All Saints church), Churchemed, Pydeham (Pidham), Stonyelond (Stoneyland). Meon Church received, £40 1s – almost half its revenues - from the more distant tithings of Froxfield, Steep, Oxshott (Oakshott), 'Bukeden' and 'Yteden', presumably from lands there owned by the diocese.

Farming in the fourteenth century

The pipe roll for 1301 marks a peak in the medieval prosperity of East Meon. Nearly two thousand sheep provided manure for 473 acres of arable land and it is argued that this was their most important product. When it came to generating revenues, wool was the most important, providing two-thirds of the gross returns from sheep farming. There was also a market for lambs culled for their quality or because they were in excess of the needs of the estate; wethers, ewes and tams were culled when they were surplus to requirements. Sheep also produced a few other minor sources of income: from the sale of the fells or skins of dead stock, or of butter and cheese made from sheep's milk, and from lactage payments from those who rented the milking ewes between weaning time in early May and the beginning of August⁴⁸.

The principal crops were wheat, barley and oats, and the same was true for most of the Winchester manors. Over the period 1345 – 1433, on average, about 40% of the

⁴⁸ Miller, *Thirsk Agrarian History of England and Wales* p 296

demesne acreage sown was under wheat, 20% rising to 24% under barley and 35% falling to about 24% under oats. At East Meon wheat yields were high and only a small acreage grew legumes⁴⁹. (Mancorn - mixed wheat and rye - once popular in northerh Hampshire, continued its long term decline.) Seed usually came from the previous year's harvest, some was bought.

Much work was done between seed-time and harvest. The growing crops needed weeding and if labour services were not available, wage-labour was used. Weeding was still done by hand, as were harvesting, stacking and threshing the corn. Harvest results depended on many factors, including weather, the standards of husbandry, soil qualities and the rate of seeding. On the Winchester manors overall, mean yield ratios per seed during the century after 1349 were 3.66 – 3.88 for wheat, 3.53 – 4.14 for barley and 2.43 – 3.03 for oats⁵⁰.

Oxen were still the principal plough beasts: eight-ox teams were commonly used for ploughing on the bishop's demesne. There are also references in East Meon's pipe roll to the use of horses. There were two main ploughing seasons, before winter and spring sowing. Like most of the Winchester manors, East Meon had a dairy herd and the curia had cowsheds and a dairy. Cheese and butter was made from their milk, together with ewes' milk. In the early 14th century, calves provided replacement cows and oxen for the manor, some stores for sale or transfer to other manors, and some meat for the abbey (sales were a secondary consideration.)

By the start of the fourteenth century, the English countryside was intersected by hundreds of small market towns, each serving a radius of three to five miles; brought into existence; a great number of main roads had been created, connecting town to town, and hundreds of bridges. As noted, Petersfield was the nearest market town; its market sold livestock, including sheep, and it became noted for the production of kerseys, a form of rough textile woven from long wool. The market at Winchester fed a growing export trade through the port of Southampton. However, bad harvests in the early 14th century upset the fragile balance between land and people⁵¹. In East Meon, mortality as reflected in heriot payments rose from an annual average of 73 in the decade before 1315 to 126 in the lean years 1315-18. The bumper period was over.

Hampshire tax list 1327

In 1327 in order to raise money for the unsuccessful war against the Scots, the young king Edward III, under the governance of his mother Isabella (and her lover Roger Mortimore) set up a Great Council in September 1327, which decreed a levy of one twentieth of the '*moveables*' of every citizen in England. For countrymen, this meant 5% of all farm livestock and agricultural produce, including horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, grain of all kinds, hay and honey. Fixed capital, working capital, subsistence goods and personal effects were mostly exempt. Those with property worth less than 10 shillings were exempt. Local assessors were appointed, whose

⁴⁹ Miller, Thirsk *Ibid* pp 288 - 9

⁵⁰ Miller, Thirsk *Ibid* p 287⁵⁰

⁵¹ Miller, Thirsk *Ibid* p 139

names we do not know, and the list for the tithings of East Meon is attached as Appendix 8.

Excluding the larger, remote, 'township' of Froxfield, the tithing which paid the highest taxes individually (Mary de Langerisch – 10s) and collectively (42s 7d) is Langrish. We met Nicholas de Langrish in the pipe roll and the name appears extensively in later rentals, presumably Nicholas was now dead and Mary was a widow awaiting her son's majority. Excluding the other remote tithing of Steep, Ramsdean is next at 37s 6d and Oxenbourne third at 31s. Only Coombe, at 13 6d, comes below East Meon, at 22s 8d, but this is because the diocese and its clergy were taxed separately. Very few names from the tax list had appeared in the 1301 pipe roll, or were to appear again in the 1409 roll, and it is interesting once again to pick out the surnames of tradesmen like Philip le Bakere, Richard le Cordwanir and Robert le Cok – an agricultural community needed shopkeepers and tradesmen, most of whom would also be part-time farmers.

Builders' Merchants

Mark Page, Research Fellow of Leicester University, published in 2017 a study of trading stalls in East Meon in the early 14th century. which he describes as 'an agricultural village without commercial pretensions', not licensed to hold a market⁵². 'The village was relatively isolated in hilly countryside on the edge of the South Downs Moreover, in the years around 1300 the medieval population was at its height. 'The churchyard provided the largest and most convenient public space for gatherings of local people for whom the church had become a focal point for both religious and secular purposes. In the 12th century, unofficial markets were held on feast days, when people assembled at major churches, like All Saints, which was the mother church to a large Anglo-Saxon parochia. These churchyard markets were unpopular with the church authorities, which tried unsuccessfully to suppress them.'

'Thus the appearance of a shop in East Meon would not be entirely unexpected. In 1321 Thomas le Mason left to his wife Alice and his brother Peter two stalls next to the stile of East Meon churchyard. Four years later a third stall in the same location was surrendered by Thomas le Barrer⁵³. Stalls were movable wooden trading booths but by the 14th century many had become semi-permanent structures which could be bought, sold and inherited. Peter le Mason's property next to the stile of the churchyard was explicitly called a shop in 1339, when Peter surrendered it to Richard le Ridler, who enlarged it by acquiring additional ground on its south, east and north sides, suggesting that it bordered the churchyard on its west side.'

Page relates the surnames of the shop-owners to the constant demand for building materials in East Meon. 'If surnames are still any guide to occupations in the early 14th century, Richard le Ridler was a siever of sifter of corn, or possibly of sand and lime in making mortar, while Peter le Mason was a stoneworker.

⁵² Page, Mark. *Village shops in Medieval Hampshire: the case of East Meon* Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club 2017 Q1 p7

⁵³ Evidence from the Winchester pipe rolls entered in M. Page, 'Peasant land markets in southern England, 1260 – 1350' database deposited at ESRC data archive ref no SN 4086.

Were both these men involved in the building trade, and was the shop therefore the medieval equivalent of a builder's yard?⁵⁴ Page's full paper is included as Appendix 9

The Black Death 1348/9

So much water fell between 1315 and 1322 that crops failed year after year and famine spread, killing perhaps one-tenth of northern Europe's population. In the 1320s and '30s, the weather became dangerously unpredictable: dry and warm summers were interrupted by strong winds and storms. Summers seem to have been generally warm, but winters were cold and stormy. During the winter of 1309 – 10, *'such masses of encrusted ice were on the Thames that men took their way thereon ... poor people were oppressed by the severe frost, and bread wrapped in straw or other covering was frozen and could not be eaten unless it was warmed ...'*⁵⁵ In the decades following, the population declined and became weaker from causes which included the climate cooling, deteriorating weather, a series of bad harvests, and insufficient resources to feed the population. England was ill-equipped to face the catastrophe of the Black Death.

Then, in three horrific years, 1348 – 1350, northern Europe was devastated by the bubonic plague which killed around 25 million people – one third of all Europeans. Britain, too, lost at least a third of its population. The Black Death was no respecter of persons; it is estimated that between first outbreak of the Black Death in 1348 and its abating in 1350, 48.8% of the clergy in the diocese of Winchester died.⁵⁶

We don't know for certain where the plague first landed in England; some sources suggest that it arrived in Melcombe on the Dorset coast and others that it came to Hampshire. Tom Beaumont James quotes an Augustinian monk, Henry Knighton, writing in 1395, who recorded that *'the most lamentable plague penetrated the coast through Southampton.'* On 4th October 1348, Bishop Edington of Winchester wrote: *'we report with anguish the serious news which has come to our ears, that this cruel plague has begun a savage attack ... we are struck by terror ...'*⁵⁷ It swept through Hampshire in the following months: heriots in four diocesan manors soared to 1,205 compared with an annual average of 80 in the previous decade. 23% to 25% of rents lapsed *per pestilenciam*. King Edward III and his treasurer, the same Bishop Edington, were so alarmed at the prospect of manpower shortages and wage inflation that, in June 1349, the government issued *'an ordinance of labourers and beggars'* which legislated that, because of great mortality *'especially of workmen and servants'* in the pestilence, employers must pay no more than had been customary in 1346, two years earlier. There were also wage demands within the church and Bishop Edington had to insist that rectors should *'control the avarice of certain chaplains in demanding higher salaries because of lack of manpower through the plague'*.

⁵⁴ Page, Mark. *Village shops in Medieval Hampshire: the case of East Meon* Hampshire Field Club 2017 p8

⁵⁵ Crane, Nicholas *Ibid* p327

⁵⁶ James, *Ibid* p3

⁵⁷ James, Tom Beaumont *The Black Death in Hampshire* Hampshire Papers 1999 p2

The only evidence of the effects on East Meon comes from diocesan records showing that 72 ‘fines’ were paid in 1349 on the transfer of land in the hundred (*table, right*) on the death of the copyholders; assuming deaths of wives and children as well, the village would have suffered about 240 tenant farmers, that year and, presumably, many more deaths of poorer residents who were more vulnerable to the plague. The population of the Hundred at the time is estimated at around 840, so it is fair to assume that at least one third died here as well.

Year	Poundisford	Downton	East Meon	Waltham St Lawrence	Woodhay
1349-50	105	44	72	16	49
1350-1	59	33	26	17	10
1351-2	35	18	29	11	7
1352-3	34	22	29	11	14
1353-4	31	17	18	8	10
1354-5	26	13	16	7	?
1355-6	23	14	20	15	4
1356-7	26	23	14	3	6
1357-8	25	14	8	11	7
1358-9	31	7	9	10	9
1359-60	28	6	12	9	7
1360-1	14	10	18	19	5

Table X. Fines paid in East Meon, 1349 - 61

To make matters worse, the pestilence returned to Britain in 1361. With cruel timing, a damaging drought that year had led to a shortage of fruit and hay; a great storm in 1362 took the roofs of houses and churches; then the plague came for a third time, in 1369, and a fourth between 1374 and 1379, and it returned between 1390 and '93. From a peak of 6 million in 1300, England's population had now shrunk to around 3.4 million⁵⁸. Inevitably, wages rose and rents slumped and shortage of manpower made it harder to deliver services which had been performed communally, such as sheep-washing, carrying brushwood and building. At Meon Manor, in 1350 and 1360, the diocese had to reduce its allowances for works on vacant holdings and to manorial officials by 40%, indicating a surplus of labour services which were owed but could not be delivered⁵⁹. Offices which had rotated among the villeins, such as reeve or churchwarden, were more difficult to fill⁶⁰. Since the diocese found it difficult to find labour to work the demesne lands, it let the land instead; rents now formed the single largest source of income from the estate⁶¹. Elizabeth Levett has shown a loss to the Bishop from all Winchester manors of a little over £100 per annum, or about 5% of its income⁶². Some of her calculations for rents and incomes from East Meon after the Black Death are set out in Appendix 9. Many lands had been abandoned, or no relation of a dead tenant had come forward; those who had survived the plague found more fertile land available to them at lower rents than before the plague⁶³. The late 14th and 15th centuries have been described as a 'golden age' for the peasantry, who no longer had to await an inheritance before they could acquire land⁶⁴. The obligation of tenants to provide labour services could be converted into payment of rent in cash and a new economy emerged of sub-letting land to other villeins and inter-peasant loans.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ Crane, Nicholas *The Making of the British Landscape* Weidenfeld and Nicholson 2016 p328

⁵⁹ Thirsk, Edwards *Ibid* p142

⁶⁰ A. Elizabeth Levett 'The Effects of the Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester' Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History Vol V, 1916c p151

⁶¹ Page, Mark *The Medieval Bishops of Winchester: Estate, Archive and Administration* Hampshire Papers 2002 p16

⁶² A. Elizabeth Levett 'The Effects of the Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester' Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History Vol V, 1916c p178

⁶³ James, Tom Beaumont *The Black Death in Hampshire* Hampshire Papers 1999 p9

⁶⁴ Page, Mark *Ibid* p19

⁶⁵ Lake, Jeremy *Historic Farm Buildings* Blandford 1989 p65

With the shortage of labour came a reduction in the amount of arable land that could be cultivated, falling to a third of the area before 1349. Joan Thirsk describes how *'the monasteries began to lose interest in direct farming on a large scale, and allowed former tenant farmers to take over and divide the land into smaller units. They made butter and cheese, and their womenfolk knitted stockings from the local wool; thus they learned a livelihood in their own way making the most of their local resources'*⁶⁶. Arable farming declined and what was left of the demesne economy became more pastoral.

Landowners, including the diocese, turned from labour-intensive ploughing, planting, weeding and harvesting, to animal husbandry, leading to an increase in pasture farming and the beginning of ley farming (which alternated corn and grass), and increases in yields. Another factor was the increased purchasing power of the population: there was buoyant demand for wool and downland sheep commanded the high prices especially in the 1360s and 1370s; fleece weights were exceptionally high⁶⁷. By the mid-1370s, there were three times as many sheep on the Meon estate as in 1345⁶⁸.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century, and in particular between 1380 & 1410, cash-strapped landlords released vast amounts of land for a fixed annual rent, for a *ferme* or *farm*. As much as one-quarter of Britain's agricultural land was released from demesne; direct management gave way to more flexible, semi-independent custodians. While estates became rent-collecting operations, a new breed of tenants experimented with ways of turning their leased granges and demesnes into hard cash: the 'farmers' who took on these leases proved to be dynamic innovators.⁶⁹ To afford fixed rents, they had to be adaptable and decisive, knowing which products earned effective returns at market, how to manage land and workers and when to invest in livestock, employees, equipment and buildings. Before 1349 holdings of more than thirty acres had been rare, by 1520 they were commonplace⁷⁰.

⁶⁶ Thirsk, Joan (ed) *Rural England An illustrated History of the Landscape* OUP 2000 p16

⁶⁷ Thirsk, Edwards *Ibid* p144

⁶⁸ Page, Mark *Ibid* p16

⁶⁹ Crane, Nicholas *Ibid* p 332

⁷⁰ Lake, Jeremy *Ibid* p81

Bereleigh sub-manor

As Page wrote in his study of the effects of the plague: *'the appearance of one or two newly created manors was the result of substantial amounts of land falling into the bishop's possession on account of the mortality caused by successive outbreaks of plague'*⁷¹. This resulted in the creation of a new sub-manor at Bereleigh which had until then been part of the tithing of Bordean.



In 1369, John de Burlee and Agatha his wife *'quitclaimed (released) to William de Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, his heirs and assigns, the following tenements which they held of him as of his bishopric: 1 messuage, 1 mill, 205 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow, 60 acres of pasture, 50 acres of wood, and 40s. 6d. rent in East Meon and Drayton and the rents and services of Richard Tygenore, Richard Hethere, Reginald Tygall, John Southonore, and John Knollere for the tenements which they held of them'*⁷². The right of the bishop to these tenements was confirmed in 1382 when Clarice wife of William Fisher and sister of Agatha gave up all her claims to them. From the surname Tygall and the reference to a mill (or mills) at Drayton we can conjecture the probable extent of the holding, *Map 9, left*.

In 1390 another quitclaim was made by *John de Bereleigh and Agatha his wife of a messuage and a mill [Shutts mill at Drayton], 205 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow, 60 acres of pasture, 50 acres of wood and mill, 205 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow, 60 acres of pasture, 50 acres of wood and £2 6d of rent in East Meon, Bereleigh and Drayton*⁷³. The right of the bishop to these tenements was confirmed in 1382 when Clarice wife of William Fisher and sister of Agatha gave up all her claims to them.⁷⁴ As we shall see, Bereleigh appears in the 1409/10 pipe roll as a separate manor.



Fig 16.. 1409 – 10 pipe roll account for Bereleigh (HRO 11M59/B1/156 m.20)

A summary table showing receipts from the Meon Manors recorded in the pipe rolls of 1301/2 and 1409/10 is shown as table 1, showing the effects of the addition of Bereleigh in the 1409 roll as a separate sub-manor.

⁷¹ Mark Page *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1409 – 10*. Hampshire Record Series Vol 16 p.xviii.

⁷² *VCH Hants* iii. P71; *CCR 1381-5*, p 246; *CPR 1388-92* p256

⁷³ *VCH ibid*.

⁷⁴ *VCH ibid* p71

Medieval farming in East Meon May 2019

Table 1. Sample receipts from Meon Manors in 1301/1 and 1409/10

<i>Meon Manor</i>	<i>1301</i>	<i>1409</i>
Rents of assize	£97 6s 5½d	£103 18s 2¾d
Remaining clear	£85 11s 11½ d	£92 11s 2¼d
Issues of manor	£26 6s 9¾d	£19 14s 10½d
Sale of corn	£111 16s 4½d	£81 8s 6¾d
do corn, tithes	£38 3s 4d	£35. 9s 9 ½d
Total receipts	£270 1s 11½d	£276 14s 10½d
<i>Meon Church</i>		
Rents of assize	£5 3s ½d	£5 7s 7d
Remaining clear	£4 15s ½d	£4 19s 7½d
Issues of manor	£8.19s 2½d	£2 15s ½d
Sale of corn	£10.7s 4d	£8 16s 8 ½d
ditto corn tithes	£38 3s 4d	£35 9s 9½d
From other tithings	£40.1s	£35 13s 11d
Total receipts	£104.17s 8½d	£108 15s 11d
<i>Bereleigh</i>		
Rents of assize		£1 11s 6½d
Cash received		£1 1s
Issues of manor		£9 5s
Farm of the mill		£1 6s 8d
Total receipts		£12 3s ½d
Totals for year	<i>£374. 19s 8d</i>	<i>£397.13.10d</i>

Bearing in mind that the value of money did not change during these centuries, and that the pipe roll was separated from the Black Death by half a century, it can be seen that more was earned in rent in the fifteenth than the previous century and less in 'issues of the grange/manor', i.e. farm produce, and the sale of grain. (The difference in produce appears to be greater for Meon Church, probably distorted by lands in Bereleigh being taken from its account.)

Rebuilding The Hall at The Court House

In 1366 William of Wykeham succeeded Edington both as bishop of Winchester and Chancellor to King Edward III. Faced with reduced revenues following the Black Death, his first priority was to train new clergy and he dedicated money to establishing Winchester College and New College, Oxford. He also found money to replace those of his palaces which had fallen into disrepair and created '*houses which were sufficiently solid to stand the test of time, in a different, less ornate style*'. Between 1395 and 1397, the previous hall, chapel and accommodation of East Meon's Court House were largely replaced by new buildings supervised by master mason, William Wynford⁷⁵.



Figs 17 & 18 Exteriors of the Hall at the Court House, from east and west.

As Edward Roberts has written: '*Wykeham's creation at East Meon is remarkably plain with beams that are simply chamfered without elaborate mouldings. Even the monumental fireplace in the solar is plain despite the creation of a manor house where a luxurious but more intimate lifestyle could be enjoyed*'⁷⁶.



Fig 19, the ceiling timbers

⁷⁵ James, Tom Beaumont *The Black Death in Hampshire* Hampshire Papers 1999 p19

⁷⁶ Roberts Edward, *William of Wykeham's House at East Meon*, *Hants Archaeological Journal* 1993, 466, 478

The fifteenth century

Meon Manor pipe roll 1409 – 10

Excerpts from the pipe rolls for 1409 to 1410 are attached as Appendices 11 –& 12. The entries for both Meon Manor and Bereleigh are taken from the computus roll of William Osmound, named 'reeve' in the first and 'sergeant' in the second. Other points of note from the 1410/11 pipe roll for the main manor include a *default of rent* for 'land drawn into demesne, £1. 1s 7d for the year; the land of Ruthercumbe given to the canons of Newark Priory by Bishop Godfrey, £5 for the year; the pasture and woods of the bailiwick which belonged to Thomas le Combe, drawn into demesne...'. So the diocese was still selling off land for which it was still finding it hard to find labour. Many of the place names are familiar from the 1301/2 pipe roll, including Hyden, La Krembe, Nuttesberry, La Ford, Holeway, Pydham, Garston and Hullymede. South Mill appears to have been sold for 13s 4d, to William Tyere, baker, 'with the mill-pond and pasture on both sides of the mill-pond from the loard's demesne beside the chapel, demised to the same William by fine, which same mill was built anew at the cost of the same William'. This land stretched north and south of South Farm. The land we saw transferred to William Clericus changes hands again, as a fine of 1s was paid by 'Thomas Crous to have 1 messuage and 10 acres of villein land in East Meon which belonged to William Clerk and which came into the lord's hands as his escheat because none of the kin of the said William took steps to fine'. Beans and pulses are now grown, in addition to the traditional corn crops, and there is a lengthy entry for *cocks and hens* of which '326 remain from churchscot', with the names of those who had to pay. This year there are 708 fleeces of coarse wool 320 of lamb's wool and 37 woolskins from wethers, as well as 60 lambskins from lambs in domain.

Meon Church Manor pipe roll 1409/10

Richard Kyrnow is the reeve, and it is interesting that the sale of corn from tithes (£35.9s 9½d) and from Froxfield and Steep (over £26) far exceeds the amount from the sale of corn from the demesne (£8. 16s 8 ½ d), though such figures should be treated with caution because much of the produce would have been consumed by the bishop's household and staff. Costs are incurred in mending the chancels of churches and chapels at East Meon, Steep and Froxfield, and costs are also listed for the harvests at East Meon, Steep, Riplington, Drayton, Bereleigh, Tugehale, Iteden, Coombe, Oxenbourne, Langrish, Bykeden, Ramsdean, Froxfield, Oakshott and Bordean. Among the labour services is allowance for '1 worker for three half-days without food and 3 whole days for the lord's food to collect apples in the rector's garden' – presumably at the Court Hall.

Bereleigh sub-manor pipe roll.

Bereleigh appears as a separate sub-manor, now held by the de Burlee family, but accounting to the diocese. Bereleigh was one of seventeen manors of which, as Mark Page has described, the diocese had leased the rents for what had been its demesne but retained the issues⁷⁷. (Some of these had proved temporary, and the diocese had taken back direct management of Bishopstoke, Burghlere, Farnham, and Highclere.)

⁷⁷ Page, Mark *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1409 – 10. Hampshire Record Series Vol 16.* Introduction pxx

After the death of William of Wykeham, leasing was used as a means of raising capital to improve the remaining estate.

Thus, the '*rents of assize*' paid by Bereleigh are smaller than those of the other two manors, but income from '*issues of the manor*' is considerably higher than that from Meon Church, partly (again) because the produce of the latter was used to feed the household. The land held by the de Burlees amounted to 325 acres and the mill at Drayton, and some of the names in the pipe roll give us an indication of its spread ... '*13s 4d from William Borden for 2 crofts called Haselfeldez, leased for 7 years*' and '*£2 8s 8d from John Tygehale for 1 meadow in the enclosure, 1 garden containing 1 acre, 2 crofts called Hickycroftis, 1 meadow called Draytonemedede and 4 crofts called Rosycroft and Eldelond*' reflect today's names of Bordean, Tyghall and Drayton. A long lease on the *farm of the mill* raised '*£1 6s 8d from William Tyere baker for the water-mill of Drayton, demised for 40 years*'.

Bishop William Waynflete

By the 1450s, still fewer manors remained in demesne and relations between tenants and landlord became increasingly fractious. In August, 1461, when Edward IV went on a progress to Hampshire, the tenants of the manor of East Meon, '*in grete multitude and nombre,*' petitioned the king for relief from certain services, customs, and dues which the bishop and his agents were attempting to exact. According to one account the tenants had seized Bishop Waynflete. Edward, however, not only rescued him from the hands of those seeking his life, but arrested the ringleaders, whose case was tried in the House of Lords on 14 December, 1461, when judgement was given for the bishop¹.



Fig 20 Exemplification by the king of proceedings in the 26th year of Hen. VI against the tenants of the bp of Winchester in Estmeone for withdrawing and refusing the services due to him from their holdings in which is recited a lengthy inquisition held at Winchester in which all the various services due from the several persons are minutely specified¹.

As mentioned, on October 1st, 1480, Waynfilete made over to the president and scholars of Magdalen College Oxford '*all the lands, tenements &c in the parish of Estmene which were formerly John Tybbenham's to hold for the term of ten years.*' On November 8th 1481, '*Will, bp of Winch and his co-feoffees*' signed a release '*to the pres. & scholars of Magd. Coll. of all their right in the lands &c leased to the latter by the said feoffees*'. In November 1481, the diocese finally made over the lands and thus completed the gift which was to help finance the college Waynfilete had founded in 1458⁷⁸. The college was to hold the lands for five hundred years, finally selling them in 1897 to Samuel Brothers of Commercial Road, Portsmouth.

Conclusion

For four centuries after Domesday, the diocese of Winchester owned the lands, gathered the revenues and ruled the residents of its manors in East Meon, while churchwardens and vestry supervised local affairs. The regime of open fields and demesne farmlands continued throughout the period, alongside the bishops' recreational deer park and fish ponds. Tithings remained substantially the same, although names and boundaries changed from time to time; farmers continued to live in clusters of dwellings from which they went out to tend their fields by day.

A combination of poor weather and plague in the 14th century led to the diocese selling the leases of much of its demesne land, which led to a number of East Meon villeins increasing their holdings, often in more than one tithing; some attained sufficient wealth to rank as 'gentleman' and a sub-manor was created at Bereleigh. The stage was set for the dramatic changes which took place first with the Dissolution of the Monasteries and then the Civil War⁷⁹. Although no diaries or chronicles were written of life in East Meon, the records kept by the Diocese provide a picture of a robust society of productive farmers, oppressed serfs, and burgeoning trade - a microcosm of agricultural society in medieval Hampshire.

⁷⁸ Transcripts from a selection of the documents are attached as Appendix 1

⁷⁹ Blakstad, Michael. *Early Modern East Meon*. 2016. PDF at

<http://www.eastmeonhistory.net/farming-in-the-valley-project/reasearch/>

Appendices

Appendix 1. Notes on Royal interventions in ownership of East Meon Manor

by *Edward Blenheim*

Early in the reign (coronation being 19 Dec. 1154) Henry II (Henry son of Geoffrey count of Anjou / duke of Normandy) is going to be nice to bishop Henry. But the bishop takes as much money as he can grab and goes off to Cluny. King Henry then stops being nice guy to him. Takes what he can back in hand including Meon and Wargrave, both very profitable estates. Lets Richard du Hommet (a "new man" not tainted by the war) rent Meon and keep the profit, so long as he provides a lot of what is needed (horses etc, and maybe ships) for communications. Lets him have Portchester too from about 1159. The bishop comes back from Cluny and pays his way into the royal good books, becomes ill, and dies in 1171 (charter no.131). A new bishop is appointed. Richard du Hommet retires into his favourite abbey (Aunay-sur-Odon) late 1170s. His son William continues the arrangement re Portchester and Meon, horses and ships. King Henry dies 1189, so has the bishop died too. King Richard the Lionheart rat that he is, will promise anything to anyone who pays enough towards his crusading adventures. New bishop Godfrey promises lots of cash for getting Meon and Wargrave back. I won't go further as I think many changes came quite quickly which have little do with what I found out about Portchester etc. Suffice to say that relations with France deteriorate quite rapidly. King John comes to the throne 1199 but progressively loses Normandy etc by 1204.

Appendix 2 Mills in East Meon Hundred.

The Victoria County History has this account of the mills in East Meon Hundred: 'At the time of the Domesday Survey there were six mills worth forty shillings in 'Menes,' which was practically identical with the modern hundred of East Meon. The following mills are mentioned in a rentroll of the manor of East Meon for 1567: a mill called South Mill in the tithing of East Meon held by Nicholas Write by the rent of 1s. 3d., two mills in the tithing of Oakshott (which is now in the parish of Froxfield), viz. a fulling-mill held by John Pagelham by the annual rent of 10s., and a water-mill called Sheet Mill held by Edward Roche by the annual rent of 10s. 4d.; and a water-mill in Ramsdean held by John Tribe by the annual rent of 15s. In the Survey of the manor taken in 1647 the following mills are mentioned: 'Two corn-mills under one roof commonly called or known by the name of Shutt Mill, which mills lie west from East Meon,' a mill called South Mill held by Thomas Searle, a mill held by William Heycroft in the tithing of Meonchurch, a water-mill held by John Tribe in the tithing of Ramsdean, and two fulling-mills in Foxcombe (now forming part of the parish of Steep) held respectively by Elizabeth Colebrooke and Jane the relict of Joseph Feilder'⁸⁰.

⁸⁰ Victoria County History, *Hampshire* p66

Appendix 3. Working the open fields

These are taken from Elizabeth Levett's study of *The Black Death in the See of Winchester*⁸¹ and notes from Oxford University's ADLH online course.

Table 2 Legal terms

<i>Praepositus.</i>	The account of the reeve
<i>Arreragia</i>	The amount of the arrears from the preceding year 'by one tally'
<i>Terra purprestura, assarta</i>	Assarts, or forest-clearings
<i>Responsiio</i>	The reeve was expected to meet a fixed return from his land or stock – if he did not, he had to pay the difference.
<i>Acquietancia</i>	Remittances of rent in return for special services
<i>Venditio pasture</i>	Value attached to pasture
<i>Firme</i>	'Farm' or lease for life or for a term of years
<i>Annuales Recognitiones.</i>	Annual Recognition of 2d or 3d paid by villeins to remain away from the manor so long as the bishop chooses.
<i>Venditio operum</i>	Sale of Works; Labour Services performed, excused or sold during the year
<i>Fines et Maritagia</i>	Fines and Marriages.
<i>Relevia</i>	The reliefs paid from free lands are sometimes included among the fines
<i>Herietta</i>	Heriots. After the Black Death, in many manors it had been commuted into a money payment
<i>Ploughing</i>	Ploughing services subdivided into <i>Arrura per acram</i> and <i>Arrura de prece</i> . The former varied from 54 to 174 acres on the different manors, sold at a rate from 61/2d to 9d per acre.
<i>Hericultura</i>	Harrowing... linked with the ploughing and owed by all tenants who have horses.

Appendix 4. Medieval social structure

These definitions are taken from Oxford University ADLH course notes

Cottar: smallholder with a cottage and small amount of land.

Demesne: land kept by the lord for his own use. What we might now call the Home Farm.

Escheator: in feudal law an estate reverted ('escheated') to the lord if there was no legal heir. The escheator was a royal officer who enquired into the transfer of estates whose chief lord was the king.

Fee tail: a property which has been settled in such a way that it must descend to the owner's heirs in a specified manner, i.e. entailed.

Fine levied in court: the word 'fine' does not mean a penalty, it derives from 'final concord', i.e. agreement.

⁸¹ Levett, A. Elizabeth *The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester* Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History Vol V, 1916c

Geld: tax payable to the Crown

Hundred: unit of local government, a subdivision of a shire with its own court. The

Knight's fee: in feudal terminology, a holding which carried with it an obligation to provide an armed knight, or the equivalent in money. The modern equivalent might be a tank!

Pleas and perquisites of court: the profits from the manor court, which all tenants were obliged to attend. Hence, of course, our word 'perk'.

Ploughland: also known as a carucate or a hide. A unit of land, by this date primarily for taxation purposes, but with a real, though variable acreage. In this area, c.100 -120a.

Seised: to be in possession.

Villeins: tenants who were personally unfree, owing services to the lord of the manor..

Yardland: also known as a virgate. A quarter of a ploughland, i.e. c.25a. -c.30a.

Appendix 5 Documents held at Magdalen College relating to land in Oxenbourne

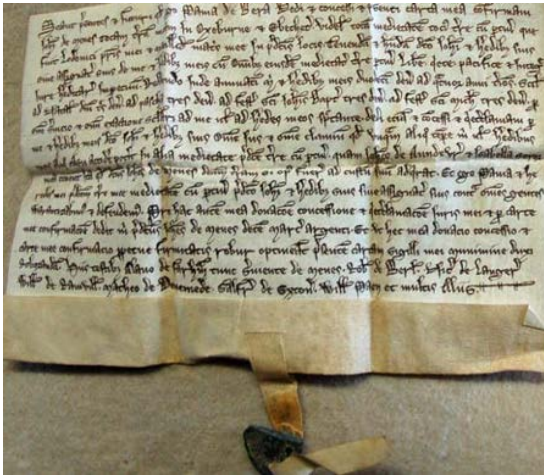


Fig 2. Pavia de Bere grants to John de Mene her lands in Oxenbourne, 1240 - 1245⁸²

In the earliest deed, dated between 1240 and 1245, Pavia de Bere (Fig 2) grants to John de Menes, for ten marks, all her land 'in Oxenbourne and Ebechute, vis all her moiety of the whole land which belonged to her father Lewis and her mother Maud'. In a second, her husband Adam grants to John de Menes 'all his moiety of all the land in Oxenbourne and Ebechute' and they 'guarantee also to him the other moiety which the said Pavia, before her marriage to the said Adam' and 'quitclaim their right in both the properties'.

'Menes' is today's East Meon and John de Menes is described as a 'clerk', one of the few literate members of a medieval community who performed a number of secretarial and clerical roles on behalf of the parish. John de Menes appears only this once; de Bere (or 'atte Bere') appears frequently, though it is a common name and sharing surnames does not guarantee a relationship.

[This table lists people named Bere, or variants, taken from 13th and 14th century records of East Meon manor, including the Winchester Pipe Rolls of 1301/2 and land tax returns of 1327.]

Table 3 East Meon residents named de Bere (or variants) 1250 - 1352

⁸² Madgalen College, Hilhampton records, Docs 13 & 18

Medieval farming in East Meon May 2019

Pipe Roll 1301	Magdalen 1250 - 1409	Hants Tax list 1327	Notes
	John le Beel		1350, fine asserting his right to land in Oxenburne, Rammesdone, Langrish &c
	Alice de la Bere		1352 'of Homwode', held tenement in Rammesdone
		Nicholas atte Bere	1327 Coombe tax 3s
	David de la Bere		1270, Witness
	Pavia de Bere		1240 Grant for all her land in Oxenbourne and Ebechute
	Lewis de Bere		1240 Father of Pavia & Isabella de Bere
	Adam de la Bere		1250 Husband of Pavia, grants his share of land to John de Menes
William atte Bere			1301 Paid in cumin
	John de Berle		1315 Release of land to Richard le Midlington

There is no record of John de Menes disposing of Hill Hampton, but in 1270, Richard Gulteppe grants to '*Nicholas de Oxeneburne, for the sum of one mark, two acres of land in the manor of Estmynes in the village of Oxeneburne, of which one lies above Stroddone between the land of Rich Pamstrong and that of Thos Bruning, and the other above Mushulle between the demesne land of the bishop and that of Will. D Yllestone.*' The surname 'de Oxeneburne' does not appear again in our lists, but Nicholas may have lived in the main settlement which today includes Oxenbourne Farm and Oxenbourne House.

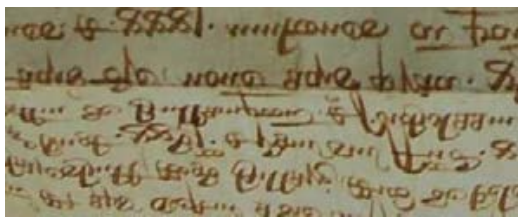
On July 22nd 1315 we meet Richard de Midlington; he and his wife Joan receive from '*master Richard de Tangele ... all his right in all the lands and tenements which were formerly Nicholas de Oxenburne's, viz in Oxenburne, Rammesdone and Elbechute, which the said Rich de Tangele claimed to hold for his life by the gift of Alice daughter of the said Nicholas.*'⁸³ On the same day, John de Berle also releases his claim to the lands to the Midlingtons. This was evidently a prosperous family; in the land tax list of 1327. Richard de Middlynton is listed as the largest contributor in Oxenbourne, paying 5s, although this does not necessarily mean he lived there - a tithing by the name of Midlyngtone is mentioned in the next document.

By 1350 and 1352 *Richard de Midlyngtone and his wife Mary* have died and we meet *Will. de Hullamptone and Nicholas his wife* [sic] acknowledging substantial holdings, including 4 messuages (*Fig 3*). A 'messuage' is a farmhouse, outbuildings and land, and one of these four is likely to have been at Hill Hampton.

⁸³ Magdalen *Ibid* Doc 20



Fig 3. (Left) 1350 fine signed by 'Will. De Hulhamptone and Nicholas his wife' acknowledging '4 messuages, 5½ virgates 10 acres of land, 3 acres of meadow, 40 acres of pasture, 34 acres of wood, 50/- of rent, the third part of one dovecote & of one mill, & pasture for 4 oxen and 31 'multones' in Oxenburne, Rammesdone, Langrishe, Midlyngtone, Soburstone, Hulle, Lammere and Preshaghe' to be the right of John le Meel, chaplain, and John, son of Richard de Midlyngtone⁸⁴



detail: 'hulhamptone'

A second deed records a grant from *John de la Stroude to William Hulhampton and Nicholas his wife of a piece of a garden and part of a croft adjacent, which piece contains in length ten perches and in width two perches, of the inheritance of Rich. Atte Stroude, the grantor's uncle, lying in the village of Rammesdone.* A William atte Strode, possibly a relative, also pays the substantial tax of 5s in 1327, in the adjacent tithing of Ramsdean.

In the early 15th century, the estate changed hands several times. In 1401, John Campflour, or Champfloure, of Estisted (East Tisted) had received the 'lands and tenements' from John Gartone (perhaps Garston, a farm on the southern rim of East Meon vill) and now passed it on to Sir William Sturmyn and Sir John Pelham and others, probably officials of the diocese; in 1410, they convey substantial lands, including 'one croft called Hillymede containing 4½ acres', and 'one messuage & 10 acres of land which Richard Couse held in Oxenborne', as well as lands in Hyden and Ramsdean, to John Tybenham, squire to Henry Beaufort the bishop of Winchester.⁸⁵ In December 1448, Fig 4, John Irlond, a gentleman of Liss, signs a bond undertaking to prove his claim to Hill Hampton (see fig 4). In May 1450, the heir to William Tibbenham makes over to a group of clerks of the Diocese 'all the lands and tenements &c which lately belonged to the said John Tibbenham' (Fig 5). In 1458, the new bishop William Waynflete founded his college in Oxford and seems to embarks on a campaign to take Hill Hampton back into his own hands so that he can donate it to Magdalen.

⁸⁴ Magdalen *Ibid* Doc 22

⁸⁵ Magdalen *Ibid* Docs 11, 6, 40

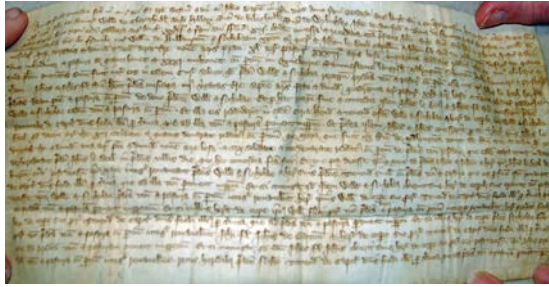
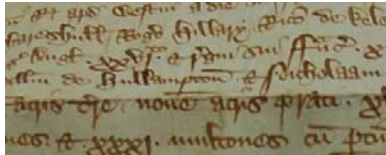


Fig 4. Bond from John Irlond of Lysse, gentleman, to bp Wayneflete in £100 that he and his wife will by the f. of all SS prove his title to the lands and tenements called Helhamptons in Oxenburne, or failing to do so, will give up possession and all claims to them to the said bishop, and pay over all the profits received from 4 Sept⁸⁶.



Left 'Helhamptons'

Relations between the bishop and his tenants were becoming increasingly fractious. In August 1461, when the new king Edward IV journeyed in Hampshire, the tenants of the manor of East Meon, '*in grete multitude and nombre,*' petitioned the king for relief from certain services, customs, and dues which the bishop and his agents were attempting to exact. According to one account the tenants had seized Bishop Waynflete. Edward, however, not only rescued him from the hands of those seeking his life, but arrested the ringleaders, whose case was tried in the House of Lords on 14 December, 1461, when judgement was given for the bishop⁸⁷.

Robert Irlond, servant to the earl of Arundel, petitioned the Bishop, claiming that *his uncle John Irlond, gentleman, sometime dwelling in the parish of Lisse winche, Hants, made to him an estate of all his lands and tenements in the said county and of the place of Halamtons in the township of Oxynborne & parish of Eastemene, which the bishop now possesses by an estate made to him of them that had no right thereto; wherefore he prays for restoration.* Although he showed copies of deeds including '*Evidencie ad improbandum titulum predictum*', '*Titulus pretensus at den in Oxenborne*' and '*Evidencie ad impobandum titulum predictum*', his efforts were in vain. In 1479 a final conveyance from one Thomas Welle made over to '*bp Wynflete ...*' and eight of his household '*all the lands, tenements, & c within the demesne or parish of Eastmean, which were formerly John Tibbenham's, & which the said Thomas lately had conjointly with Thos. Uvedale, John Rogers, Rich Waller, Rich. Holte, Hugh Pakenham, Thos Pounce, John Bisshop, Will. Brigge and Will Pece, deceased, by the grant of Rich. Claville and Elizabeth his wife, da. and heir of Will Tibbenham & cousin and heir of Margery, the late wife of William Diar, alias Inlar, da. & heir of John Tibbenham, late of Lis, brother of the said Will. Tibbenham*⁸⁸'.

⁸⁶ Magdalen *Ibid* Doc 23

⁸⁷ VCH Hants iii. P71; CCR 1381-5, p 246; CPR 1388-92 p256

⁸⁸ Magdalen *Ibid* Doc 34

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Fig 7 Lease from bp Waynflete, David Husbond, Will. Gifford, John Baker, Stephen Tyler, John Neele, clerks, Thos Danvers, Rich Burton and John Leghe, to the pres and scholars or Magd. Coll. of all the lands, tenements &c in the parish of Estmene which were formerly John Tybhenham's to hold for the term of ten years

Appendix 6. The Winchester Pipe Rolls 1301 – 2

The sections in italics are taken from a talk given to East Meon History Group in 2011 by David Rymill, archivist at the Hampshire Record Office



Fig 15, Winchester Pipe Roll. The Latin 'pipus', reflects the shape of the manuscripts when rolled and stored in a cylindrical case.

'In the autumn of 1302, Nicholas de Ychen, the bailiff of Meon Manor, or possibly Richard Pokepole or Adam de Cumbe, one of the reeves or overseers, picked up a quill and dipped it in an ink which he had perhaps mixed himself, using oak galls and ferrous sulphate bound together with gum

Arabic. On a piece of parchment – the stretched skin of a sheep, possibly from the manor he began to compile the accounts of the manor for the previous twelve months – possibly using data recorded since the previous Michaelmas on tally-sticks or a similar device⁸⁹'

The day-to-day running of each manor was entrusted to one of the local people, known as the reeve. Manors were grouped together into bailiwicks, each run by a bailiff. The chief administrative officer was the steward, who for most of the medieval period was based at Wolvesey, the Bishop's palace in Winchester. As well as overseeing the accounts, he would have been responsible for instructing officials on each manor in any particular crops that were to be grown for use elsewhere on the estate (for instance, barley which could be sent to the malt-house in Bishops Sutton and then to the brewhouse at Wolvesey to be made into ale). The reeve for each manor submitted his annual accounts, perhaps with the help of the bailiff, and these would then be checked by auditors. Occasionally the preliminary accounts – known as compotus rolls – do survive, showing the changes made by the auditors.

The accounts for each manor are generally divided into four main sections:

- cash receipts*
- cash expenditure, including construction and maintenance of buildings, agricultural expenses, food for workers, and hospitality for guests*
- the grain account, recording for each crop the balance from the previous year, the latest yields, and how it had been disposed of (provisions, seed, fodder, sold and in hand)*
- the stock account, recording the balance for each type of animal, and the numbers born or bought, and slaughtered, sold or transferred.*

⁸⁹ Rymill, David, from a talk given to East Meon History Group in October 2011

Medieval tenants were required to perform labour-services on the bishop's land, as well as cultivating their own lands. The rolls don't actually set out what these services were, but they do often allude to them, either because the tenants had paid to be excused the services or because the manor had to buy-in additional labour. Tenants of the manors were liable to pay 'fines' (fixed charges – not penalties in the modern sense of the word fine) when they took over land, or when their daughters married..

The bailiff and the reeves started by squaring the account for the previous year, a total of £94.4s 10½d ... 'they are quit': the books balance. They then list the rents due each quarter for the current year, and 'quit rents', paid to release some tenants from service to the manor - a category which survived until 1922. Thomas de Cumbe and Robert Molendarius (miller) are mentioned among tenants who are not liable to rent that year, mostly because their land has been taken into demesne, direct management by the diocese. 'One purpersture' – land cleared of woods or reclaimed waste – was also taken into demesne. Annual 'recognizances' were paid, permitting named residents (including William ate Church) to leave the hundred for a given period. Some tenants paid their rent in kind; William ate Bere and Andrew de Holewey paid in cumin and William Gilbberd a pair of gloves.

'Issues of the manor' include nearly £3 from pannage, which bought the right to turn pigs out for fodder in the woods or park, with the caveat that this year there was 'no mast in the park' for the pigs to eat. They also include fees for pasturage, on common meadows; areas are excluded from rent because they are grazed by 'the lord's' sheep, lambs or cattle', including parts of Hydon, Holecumbe and Garston, and 'pasturage of La Ford as far as the mill and this side of the chapel', the last referring to what is now South Farm, where there was a chapel-of-ease and a mill. There is also a reference to the mill at Drayton: '1s from the plot beside the Mill and Drayton below Garstonmed and Pykes sold'.

3s 7d comes from 'pinfolding', i.e providing a pounds for shelter, for '18 cows and 2 bullocks in winter and 26 cows in summer', and 'sheep at 1d per 5 sheep unless they have 20 sheep because they then give the twentieth sheep' ... discounts were even then an accepted part of business. Income from wool was also listed – but that year there was no cash income from coarse wool and lambs wool because it had been sent to Wolvesey, the bishop's main palace in Winchester, either because it was wanted in the bishop's household or was to be marketed in Winchester. Hides of horses, cattle and sheep were sold, many of them slaughtered because they were 'in murrain' - diseased; animal illnesses were evidently rife. £6 15s came from summer cheese, 4s 3¾d from winter cheese, 9s from butter and over £2 from cider.

Income from livestock was listed: 3 old and feeble plough horses were sold, and 7 oxen, 100 ewes fetched £5, and 19 pigs were sold at Michaelmas for 3s 6d each. Wheat, barley and oats brought in a total of nearly £112. 'The mill', presumably the one at South Farm, was let out, and brought in £1 15s

As mentioned, tenants paid fines - standard sums - on inheriting property or on marrying: Nicholas, son of Nicholas de Langriss paid £2 10s for the right to succeed

to his late father's property in East Meon; Peter ate Bure paid £1 to marry Christina, widow of John Crispyn, and take on her land; Agnes Fermyn paid 1s for marrying her daughter 'outside' (to someone outside the manor). People's surnames often tell us something of the occupations '1s from Richard Clericus by surrender of William ate Church', suggests that a clerk, or secretary to the parish, was taking over property from a clergyman; '£1.13s.4d from Thomas, son of William de Schireve' ... is a large sum, but the son of a sheriff was probably wealthy.

There were also perquisites, or fines in the modern sense of penalty payments. Adam Kay was fined 3s 'for having his pigs at the barn door', and Adam Kay the younger 6s 8d 'for keeping the plough-horses badly', while Alice, daughter of Richard de Naddenham, Ralph at Stupe and their fellows were fined 4s 'for many transgressions'. Then, as now, every village had its serial mischief-makers.

Altogether the receipts from the estate came to £270 1s 1½d. The other side of the account, the expenditure, is listed with equal care: total expenses relating to ploughs amounted to over £15, ranging from ironwork at 14s 3d to 1s 'for hiring men for the ploughs when they plough after dinner'; 'blood-letting of oxen' cost 3d; 17s was spent on work on the carts, and 4d on doctoring horses. £2 1s 4d. was accounted as 'cost of the dairy', which included buying salt, repairing buckets and utensils; in addition, 1s2d. was spent on 60 hurdles for pens, 10d on mending walls of the shepcote of Holecumbe, 1s 6d on putting in sills, on enclosing, 1s 6d, and 8d on 'cratches (cribs)made for the hoggs'.

In most years, one of the largest categories of exenditure was construction and repair of the estate's buildings. The bishop was responsible for the maintenance of barns, stables, granaries, dairies, cattle sheds, sheep-houses and pig sties. Construction work on on the Court House and the curia, or 'home farm', is itemised: 'Enclosing 34 perches on this side of the pinfold and elsewhere in the curia with hedges 2s 1½ d.' 'Mending and building the walls of the barley-barn which collapsed 1s 7½d'. The barley barn, also known as the great barn, stored the grain harvested on the land of the demesne, as opposed to the smaller tithe barn in which tithes from tenants' land was collected⁹⁰. Building work this year accounted for only 12s 4d, including 3s 10d on roofing and mending another barn 'beside the pinfold' (sheep pen) and other buildings. Then came 'the cost of the park': 'enclosing 4 furlongs 8 perches around the park with hedges 10s 8d. Making and mending the palisade of the park 15s 8d...' and 'the cost of the mill': 'nothing this year'.

'Threshing' and 'harvest-time' costs were high, at £39 5s 7½d, even though most of the work was carried out by tenants as labour services. The estate provided a farthing's worth of bread and 2 herrings or one cheese for each man 'and for the great boonwork they had bread, meat and ale'. Total expenses amounted to £39.5s.7½ d. Then, the final tally: 'and he [the reeve] owes £230. 16s 4d'

⁹⁰ Roberts, Edward, *William of Wykeham's House at East Meon*, *Hants Archaeological Journal* 150, 1993, pp 456 – 481, and Roberts, Edward, *What are tithe barns? And a late medieval dispute at East Meon Local History* p17.

After the income and expenditure, we learn about the crops produced – mainly wheat, barley and oats; here we deal in kind, not cash: quarters [8 bushells] and bushells [8 gallons]. The pipe roll reports the quantities used on the manor for animal fodder (and, like the men, the plough-horses got something extra when they ploughed after dinner); it also lists the grain used for sowing next year's crops. Under 'Wheat' are listed '340 qrs 7 bus from the whole issue of the grange by struck measure; 5 qrs from churchscot.' (a tax of corn collected by the church at Martinmas). 'Sown over 608 acres as they lie in Selescumber, Stonyelond (today's Stoneylond Farm), and Pykes 67 qrs 6 bus, that is, 1 bus an acre'. Then 'Barley': 'Sown over 95 acres as they lie in the field of la Chapele (now Chapel field, at South Farm), 26½ qrs. Delivered to 1 carter, 3 stot-keepers [heifers] and 1 keeper of hoggs and lambs for the year, 32½qrs for feeding their stock... delivered to 1 dairymaid for the year, 5 qrs 1½ bus. And 'Oats': 'Sown over 685 acres as they lie in the fields of la Chapele (at South Farm), Ponfaldesgore and Crembe, 190 qrs.'

Then there's a detailed account of the livestock – to give one example: 35 adult pigs remained from the previous year, 28 which had been counted as hoggets in the previous year – that's pigs in their first or second year – were now redefined as pigs, 19 were sold, 4 were sick – balance 50; there had been 50 hoggets from the previous year's piglets, 10 were in murrain – sick - 2 had been redefined as sows and 38 as male pigs, so none of last year's hoggets were still hoggets. 45 piglets had been born from the sows that year, and 8 had come from the reeve of Meon Ecclesia, whose pipe roll comes next. 9 were sick, so that left 44. Then come horses, cattle, sheep, hens, and swans, and finally peacocks and peahens – 6 from the previous year, one sick, no offspring this year, balance 5.

Among a miscellany at the end come details of labour services owed by tenants, for instance: '748 labour services (days' work) owed to the curia of East Meon by 13 workers, of whom 4 worked twice a week from Michaelmas until Lammas and 9 once a week; 51 in quittance for the 3 festival weeks (Christmas, Easter and Pentecost); 16 in landriht according to custom; 79 in default of the land which William le Fissar holds because they are commuted; 273 for carrying dung; 329 labour services sold.' 'Manua' services' added a further 308 days of labour, and 'Harvest services': '533 owed from Lammas until Michaelmas by the above 13 workers, working every day except Saturdays and Sundays; 91 in quittance of the same for 7 feast days this year; 28 in default of the land of the beadle which William now holds for the same time; 414 for reaping binding and carrying corn', plus 228 manual service days.

Appendix 7, Text of 1301 Meon Manor Pipe Roll

Arrears

Nicholas de Ychen, bailiff, and Richard Pokepole and Adam de Cumbe, reeves, render account for £94.4s.10½d Delivered to Sir Geoffrey, treasurer of Wolvesey. 'They are quit'.

Rents of assize

£23 2s 8½d Christmas, the same at Easter and St John Baptist, £27 18s 4d at Michaelmas. Total £97 6s 5½d. (plus ½d 'from John Miles for increment of rent

of a certain purpresture which before he encroached upon without licence of the lord'.

Quittances

In quittance of 1 reeve for the year, 5s; 8 ploughmen, 3 shepherds and 1 swineherd for the year £1 10s or 2s 6d each; 3 ploughmen for the year who replaced 3 drovers who were at liberty. Total £2.2s 6d.

Default of rent

In default of the land drawn into demesne, £1. 1s 7d for the year; the land of Rethercumbe given to the canons of Newark Priory by Bishop Godfrey, £5 for the year; the pasture and woods of Balluns which belonged to Thomas de Cumbe, drawn into demesne, £2 for the year; the mill which Robert Molendinarius sometimes held drawn into demesne, £1 for the year; 8 acres of land which Deodatus le Hayward sometimes had drawn into demesne, 3s; the land which the Abbot of Durford held, taken into demesne, for the year; the land of Barlych drawn into the park, 3s 2d for the year; 1 purpresture which belonged to William Gibbe drawn into demesne, 6d for the year; 1 plot beside the marl pit of Wetham which H. de Borden held, 4d., because it was a nuisance to the neighbourhood. Total £9.12s.1/2d.

Total of quittances and defaults of rent, £11.14s 6 1/2d. Total rents remaining £85.11s 11 1/2d

Cumin

1/2 lb from the rent of William atte Bere; 1lb of cumin from Andrew de Hoeweys for annual recognizance. Total 1 1/2lbs.

Gloves

1 pair of gloves from the rent of William Gilberd; all delivered to Wolvesey.

Annual recognizance

3d from John le Espicir for annual recognizance, 6d from Henry de Afford so that he may come and go within the undred and pay suit of court for the tithing at the 2 hundred-courts; 6d from William de Stomore for the same; 3d from Robert Judde for ann rec, so that he need not pay suit of court for the tithing, 3d from Robert Faber for ann rec, 3d from Henry at Thorn plus William ate Church

Issues of the manor

£2.19s.10 1/2d from pannage of pigs within the hundred, nothing from foreign pannage of in the park for want of mast⁹¹. Nothing from pannage in stubble; 7s 4d from winter pasturage in Hydon called Blakedon, on the west side of Astederod, which is the common land of East Meon, because the other part is enclosed for the lord's profit. Nothing from the pasturage of the meadow below Smaldon this year on account of the lord's stock, 3s from the pasturage of the meadow below Godeshull sold in winter, nothing from the pasturage of Innom this yer because it was mown; £1.2s8d from summer pasturage sold in Hydon by

⁹¹ Fruit of beech, for pig food

agistment by the head; 7s from the pasturage beside the sheepcote of Holecumbe sold in summer; 4s from the pasturage in la Garston, nothing from the pasturage of Wodeueslynch for the lord's lambs; nothing from the pasturage of Bekes on account of the lord's sheep, nothing from the pasturage of 1 plot of Hardescumbe ... lord's lambs; 8s from the pasturage of Lokewell & Hullyden; 7s from the pasturage of Brodemed sold after mowing; nothing from the pasturage of the park ... lord's stock; nothing from the pasturage of Oldefiswer as far as Selecumbe and Sabwe ... 2s from the pasturage of the heath beside Hydon; 8d from the pasturage beside the sheepcote of Westcrembe, nothing from the pasturage of the garden because it was mown, 3s 6d from the pasturage of 1 parcel of Selescumbe because the rest was sown; nothing from the pasturage of Wodeslynch, nothing from pasturage on this side of Northebrok, fallow; nothing from the pasturage of Litlecumbe on account of the lord's stock, 2s from the pasturage of La Ford as far as the mill and this side of the chapel, 2s from the pasturage of the Mill as far as Holeway and this side of the fishpond; 2s from the pasturage from the mill as far as Lymput sold; nothing from the pasturage as far as of the quarry as far as Masecomb, nothing from the pasturage of the way to Hullemed from Pydeham and Wapseburw... fallow; 1s from the pplot beside the Mill and Drayton below Garstonmed and Pykes sold; 2s from pasturage of 1 plot below Notesburgh called Ynnom sold; 3s from pasturage of Godeshullemed sold after mowing; nothing from thickets in Holsecumbe, cablish in la Bornett and he park and from thickets in Hydon;

3s7d from pinfolding 18 cows and 2 bullocks in winter and 26 cows in summer...; 8s 5d from pinfolding sheep at 1d per 5 sheep unless they have 20 sheep because they then give the twentieth sheep.

2s 2d from customary tenants because th land of William le Fissar is commuted, each of whom plought for 'landriht' and everyone is bound to thresh separately 3 bushels of wheat for sowing over 1 acre in winter or give 1d at the lord's will for the threshing; £3 4s 9d from 448 labour services by the perch sold this year, and 2d each for 329 and 1d each for 119; nothing from Avice de Quorteslod separagely because she worked with the others; 1s from William Ramwyle for release from labour services for the year, nothing from John de Halewell because he worked with the others ...

Nothing from coarse wool and lamb's wool here because it has been sent to Wolvesey; 18s 11/2d from 2 cloves 5lb of wool locks sold at 10 1/2d a clove; £1.3s10d from 286 hens from churchscot sold; 6s from the hides sold of 9 plough horses in murrain; 6s from the hides sold of 3 oxen in murrain⁹²; 1d from the hide sold of 1 calf in murrain; £1.2s.5d from the skins sold of 43 wethers, 28 ewes and 30 hoggs in murrain before shearing, at 3d a skin of wehters, 2 1/2 d a skin of ewes and 1 1/2d a skin of hoggs; 3s from the skins of 26 wethers and 10 ewes in murrain after shearing' 9s.93/4d from the skins of 134 lambs in murrain before weaning and 13 after weaning, and 23 after weaning and before shearing ... 4s 3/4d from 13 cloves of winter cheese sold... £6.15s from 15 weys of summer cheese sold, at 33/4d a clove; £6.15s from 15 weys of summer cheese

⁹² A cow's disease, plague, OED

Medieval farming in East Meon May 2019

sold at 9s a wey; 9s from 1 wey of butter sold; nothing from honey this year; £2.2s 8d from 3 casks of cider sold, 1 of them with the wood for 16s and 2 without the wood at 13s 4d each;

1s from the heriot of Gilbert ate Brok because he did not have 1 beast; 1s from the heriot of William Aylwyn for the same; 5d from the tails and feathers of 2 peacocks, 2s 13/4d from dairy produce sold at the audit. Total £26.6s.93/4d.

Sale of stock

10s from 3 old and feeble plough horses sold, because nearly dead; £4 2s from 7 oxen sold; 8s from 1 cow sold at Martinmas (11 Nov), 8s from 8 late-born calves sold; £1.4s 6d from 21 wethers sold at Martinmas; £5 from 100 ewes sold at the saem feast; 4s 6 from 9 feeble hoggs sold; £36s6d from 19 pigs sold at Martinmas. Total £15 3s 6d

Sale of corn

£75 10s 5 from 274 qrs 2 bus of wheat sold at 4s a qr &c; £2 6s 8d from 18 qrs of curall sold ... £5 10s 10 1/2d from 28qrs 5 bus of barley sold ... £28 8s 4 1/2d from 275 qrs 3 bus of oats sold ... Total of all corn sold £111 16s 4 1/2d.

Farm of the mill

£1 15s from the mill let at farm this year. Total £1 15s.

Entry and marriage fines with tithingpenny

The same render account for £3 6s 8d from all the tithings of the hundred for tithingpenny at the hundred-court of Martinmas; £3.. 6s 8d for the same tithings at the hundred-court at Hockday; £2 10s from Nicholas, son and heir of Nicholas de Langriss, for fine to have all the lands and tenements which belonged to his father at the manor of East Meon; 13s 4d from Cecilia, relict of Gilbert ate Brok, to retain messuage and ½ virgate of land which belonged to her husband; 4s from William de Radesole to have 1½ acres of land by surrender of Richard ate Burgh, and the aforesaid William will relieve the said Ricahrd of 5½ d of annual rent; 1s from Richard Clericus by surrender of William ate Church, and he will relieve the said William of 1s annual rent; 3s from Reginald Boll to have 1 acre of land by surrender of John Tribald ... relieve said John of 6d of annual rent; £1.13s.4d from Thomas, son of William de Schireve, to have one message and 1 virgate⁹³ which belonged to his father; 6s 8d from Richard Corps to have 3½ acres of land by surrender of William ate Wod; 13s 4d from John Corps to have one virgate of land of Martin Waterlyde; 1s from Joan Quirteflod to retain 1 acre of land which belonged to Richard Schireve, her husband; 2s from Geoffrey ate Garston to have 1 house and 2 day-works of land by surrender of Andrew de Borden; 2s from Henry Keppying to have 1 day-work of land by surrender of John Herberd, relieve John of 4d annual rent; 1s from John Miles to retain a certain purpesture, 12 feet long and 4 ft wide at one end and 1½ ft at the other, which before he encroached upon without license; ; £2 from William Coleville to have 1 messuage and 1 cotland which belonged to his father ...; £1 from Cecilia relict of

⁹³ 'Up to 30 acres, scattered among the open fields of the manor, with accompanying rights on the common'. *Oxford Companion to Family and Local History*

Nicholas ate Ock (do) to retain the lands and tenements which belonged to said Nicholas ...; £1 6s 8d from Henry de Pipercombe to have one messuage and ½ virgate of land an a purpresture which belonged to Gilbert his father; 6s 8d from John, son of Walter le Whyte to have the aforesaid ½ virgate of land by surrender of the said Walter and Matilda; 13s 4d from Peter ate Bure to have Christina, who was wife of John Crispyn with her land; 13s4d from walter Schireve to have Cecilia, relict of Gilbert ate Brok with ½ virgate of her land; 1s from Joan de Quirtefeld to have 1 curtilage which is called Westpark by surrender of Avice de Quirteflod...; 1s from Agnes Fermyn for marrying her daughter outside; £1 from William, son of Walter le Swhyte, to have 1 virgate of land by suffender of Walter his father and Matilda. Total £23 7s

Perquisites

1s from William Cuteprist for withholding a debt; 8s 6d from Alice Tapecut and her fellows for trespass of pasture and default of labour service and other transgressions; 4s 6d from Nicholas ate Pyth for transgression against his neighbours and trespass of pasture; 4s from Alice, daughter of Richard of Naddeham, Ralphe ate Stupe and their fellows for many transgressions; 5s 6d from Richard Crespyn, Robert Parker and others for transgression against their neighbours, trespass of wood, and other... ; 1s 9d from Matilda le Tayllur, John de Halywll for transgressions against their neighbours and trespass of wood and pasture; 6d from Alice de Chutsecombe for transgression against her neighbour; 6s 8d from Adam Kay the younger for keeping the plough horses badly; 1s 6d from Thomas ate Church, John le Kay and their fellows for transgression against their neighbours and false complaint; 2s from Henry le Er for trespase of multure of part of the corn at the lord's mill; 3s from Adam Kay for having his pigs at the barn door; 2s from John Kynho for trespass of herbage in the lord's meadow; 2s from William Fynamur and his sons for transgressions against Walter Sweyn; various transgressions from the 2 courts held after the tourn of Hockday. Total £5 9s 4d

Cost of ploughs

Cost of ironwork, 5 ox-ploughs and 3 horse-ploughs, 14s 3d this year on account of excessive drought. In stipend of the smith forging the ironwork ... 8s ... In 5 ploughshares bought 3s 9d. 2 coulter mended, 4d. I 7 plough feet bought 2s 11d ... new plough made and others mended for the year 7s 4d (so much because the worker was not at the bailiff's table); Fitting the ploughs with iron tyres 6d 6 pairs of wheels for the ploughs 2s. Shoeing 18 plough-horses 1s 6d; fastening them, 4d. In stipend of 1 harrower at both sowings 2s2d; 16 halters made from the horses own hair 4d. 1 seed basket bought 1½d. 3 drovers for the year 9s. 2 cowherd for the year 10s. 1 hayward for the year 3s. Ploughing boon works in winter or lent, nothing this year, that is, they are bound to plough 26 acres for landriht in winter and 26 acres in Lent, because the land which William le Fissar holds is commuted and those who plough for landriht in wnter are bound to thresh seed for 1 acre or give 1d for the threshing at the lord's will. Blood-letting of oxen 3d; Hiring men for the ploughs when they plough after dinner, 1s. 11 plough horses bought for the ploughs, £5 6s 1½d ... 10 oxen bought for the ploughs £6. 7s ¼d Total £15 6s 11½d.

Cost of carts

1 pair of wheels made from the lord's timber 10d; old binding fitted to the said wheels, with clamps and large and small nails, and with the stipend of the smith, 4s 2½d. Hooping the hubs of the cart with iron 2d. 2s 10d this year for fitting the cart with axles for the year, for carrying timber to the chapel. White leather for mending harnesses 6d. Pair of traces 7d. Collar 6½d. Halters bought 2d. 1 cart body and 1 cart rail made a new 8d. In mending the old cart at various times 8d. Doctoring horses 4d. Shoeing 2 cart-horses for the year 2s. Stipend of 1 carter 3s. Total 17s.

Cost of the dairy

1 qr 1 bus of salt 2s 3d/ 5 bus of salt for the pottage of the manorial servants 1s 3d. Press bought 6d. Linen and woollen cloth 1s. Mending buckets and utensils of the dairy 6d. Earthenware pots and pans 6d. Grease copperas and vinegar for greasing sheep 18s 6d. 28s 6d for 28 ells of canvas for packing wool ... Packing the wool and making sachs with thread 1s2d. 60 hurdles for pens 10d. Mending walls of the sheepcote of Holecumbe, putting in sills and enclosing 1s 6d. In cratches made for the hoggs 8d. Roofing and mending sheepcotes 8d. Castrating and spaying pigs 4d. total £2 1s 4d.

Cost of buildings

Roofing and mending the barn beside the pinfold 3s 10d. Rebuilding the walls of the plough-horses shed which collapsed and making and mending the great fodder rack with nails 2s 9d. Mending the gate of the byre with nails 4d. Mending and building the walls of the barley-barn which collapsed 1s 7½d. Mending and fitting with iron 3 shovels and 1 spade 6d. Enclosing 34 perches on this side of the pinfold and elsewhere in the curia with hedges 2s 1½ d. Hooping and mending 2 cider-casks and making and hooping 2 tubs 6d. Making 2 casks of cider 8d. Total 12 4d.

Cost of the park

Enclosing 4 furlongs 8 perches around the park with hedges 10s 8d. Making and mending the palisade of the park 15s 8d

Cost of the mill

Nothing this year.

Threshing

Threshing and winnowing 354 qres 7 bus of wheat and curall by piece-work £2.19s. Threshing and winnowing 101 qurs 1 bus of barley by piecework 10s 1½d. Threshing and winnowing 572 qurs 7 bus of oats by piecework £1 18s 2½d. Total £5 7s 5½d.

Harvest-time

All costs for the great boon-work with 17 other boonworks, together with 1 boonwork of 160 men without food, £6 12s 4½d and each had ¼d of bread and 2 herrings or 1 cheese worth ¼d and for the great boonwork they had bread, meat and ale. In mowing and tossing the meadow of Munnonce 1s. In mowing and tossing the garden 1s 4d. Total 36 14s 8½d.

Expenses of the Steward

Expenses of the steward at the 2 hundred courts by 1 tally 11s 8½d. In fur for the summer livery of the same 3s. Total £7 10s 2½d..

Total of all expenses £39 5s 7½d

And he owes £230 16s 4d

Issues of the grange

Wheat (yield: 6-fold plus 13qrs 5 bus)

14 qrs of wheat remaining in granary from previous year; 340 qrs 7 bus from the whole issue of the grange by struck measure; 5 qes from churchscot. Total 357qrs 7 bus.

Sown over 608 acres as they lie in Selescumber, Stonyelond, and Pykes 67 qres 6 bus, that is, 1 bus an acre.

In provision of the steward for his visits by 1 tally, 7bus. In provision of the bailiff for the year, 10qrs because he takes toe rest from East Meon Church. Delivered to the vicar for his carrying-service, 5 qrs. Sold, 274 qrs 2 bus.

Curall

14 qrs from the whole issue of curall from the same wheat

Barley (yield: three-and-a-half-fold less 3 qrs 7 bus)

14 qrs of barley remaining from the previous year in the granary; 101 qrs 1 bus rom te whole issue. *Total 115qrs 1 bus.*

Sown over 95 acres as they lie in the field of la Chapele, 26½ qrs. Delivered to 1 carter, 3 stot-keepers and 1 keeper of hoggs and lambs for the year, 32½ qrs... to 2 oxherds for the year, because 3 customary tenants were drovers for the whole year to the advantage of the lord, 10 qrs 3 bus... Delivered to 1 dairymaid for the year, 5 qrs 1½ bus ... to 1 cowherd for the year, 4 qrs 2½ bus ... 3 keepers of lambs ... 4 qrs 5 bus... In provision of the bailiff's attendant, 3 qrs. Sold 28 qrs 5 bus.

Oats (yield: two-fold less 40 qrs 1 bus)

572 qrs 7 bus from the whole issue ...42 qrs by estimation in sheaves. Total, 614 qrs 7 bus.

Sown over 685 acres as they lie in the fields of la Chapele, Ponfaldesgore and Crembe, 190 qrs. In fodder of two cart horses for the year 18 qrs ... do 18 plough horsesfor 140 nights, 52½ qrs. In foddeer of the same when they ploughed after dinner, 5 qrs. In fodder of oxen by estimation in sheaves, 42 qrs. In customary payment to 8 ploughmen, 3 shepherds and 3 customary tenants who relaced 3 drovers who were accustomed to be at liberty, 1½ qrs. In fodder of the bailiff's horses for the year, 10 ars. Sold 275 qrs 3 bus.

Stock

Cart-horses 2 remain from previous year.

Plough-horses 18 remain from previous year, 22 bought, total 29. 3 sold, 9 in murrain. 17 remain.

Young colts: 1 remains from previous year aged 1½ yrs. 1 remains now aged 2½ yrs.

Foals 2 remain from previous year aged ½ year; 1 in murrain; 1 female remains now aged 1½ yrs. No offspring this year.

Oxen 57 remain from the previous year; 3 from the heriots of William Shireve, Robert de Borden the elder, Gilbert de Pipercombe; 8 additions, 10 bought, total 78. 5 in murrain. 7 sold at Martinmas. Total 12. 66 remain.

Bulls. 1 remains from previous year. 1 remains.

Cows. 18 remain from previous year; 4 added from steers; 1 from the heriot of Nicholas ate Ock before calving; total 23, 1 sold before calving, 22 remain.

Steers. 11 remain from previous year's bullocks; 1 from the heriot of William ate Pleystouwe. Total 12. 8 added to oxen, 4 to cows, none remain.

Bullocks 9 remain from previous year's yearlings, 9 remain, 6 of them male.

[Yearlings] 6 remain from previous year's calves, 6 remain, 4 male.

Calves. 22 from offspring of the said cows. [1 in murrain.] 8 sold, total 9. 13 remain.

[Wethers] 450 remain from previous year; 129 added from hoggs after shearing. Total 579. 21 sold at Martinmas; 43 in murrain before shearing, 26 after shearing; 3 in customary payment after payment for the mowing of the meadow. Total 93. 486 remain.

[Ewes] 797 remain from previous year., 184 added from hoggs after shearing, 6 from the pinfold after lambing and before shearing. Total 987. 100 sold at Martinmas; 9 in customary payment to 2 reeves, 3 shepherds and 11 ploughmen at Martinmas; 12 in murrain before lambing, 26 after shearing. Total 156. 831 remain.

[Hoggs] 402 remain from previous year's lambs; 30 in murrain before shearing; 9 sold at Martinmas; 129 added to wethers, 184 to ewes; 50 delivered to the reeve of East Meon church. 0 remain.

[Lambs] 555 from the offspring of the said ewes this year because 117 were sterile and 4 aborted; 9 from the offspring of strays; 29 from the reeve of East Meon Church. Total, 593. 134 in murrain before weaning, 23 after weaning and before shearing, and 9 after shearing; 3 in customary payment to 1 reeve and 2 shepherds before shearing. Total 169. 424 remain.

[Sows] 2 remain from previous year

[Pigs] 35 remain from previous years, 28 added from hoggets. Total 73. 19 sold at Martinmas; 4 in murrain. Total 23. 50 remain,

[Hoggets] 45 from the offspring of said sows; 8 from the reeve of East Meon Church. 9 in murrain. 44 remain.

[Hens] 325 from churchscot this year, 5 in default of Henry Cocus, Josceline at Ligh, William Bouebrok, Robert Kay and Robert de Halsted because dead; 22 in default of Richard Curton, Elias de Bykedon, Richard Fermyn, Godfrey de Eosmund, Seyld Heryng, Adam Archebold, Emma Joldwyn, William Herberd, Adam ate Bur, William de Langhurst, John Purhegg, Henry de Hoggeneslad, Amice de Quirteflod and Alice de Strethend, because widowers or widows; 7 in default of Alan Nel for 2 lands, Robert Spurar, the relict of Blakeman, William

Coleville, William Judde and Nicholas de Fraximo, 2 in default of the land of Godesmere, 2 in default of the land of the beadle which William Fissar holds freely of the lord by charter; 2 in default of the land of John de Halywll at Coombe because he has no wife.

Swans 3 remain from the previous year' 2 offspring' 1 in murrain; 4 remain.

Peacocks: 6 remain from the previous year; no offspring; 1 in murrain; 5 peacocks and peahens remain.

Coarse wool [yield of fleece 3d plus 2½d in all]

486 fleeces from wethers, 656 from ewes and 363 from hogs produced at the shearing this year. Total 1,405; all sent to Wolvesey, which made 6 weys 22 cloves.

Lamb's-wool [yield 1½d plus 4s 11d in all]

433 fleeces produced at the shearing this year, all delivered to Wolvesey which made 1 wey.

Wool locks: 20 cloves 5 lb all sold

Hides: 9 from plough horses, 2 from colts, 5 from oxen and 1 from a calf in murrain; all sold

Bare skins 26 from wethers and 10 from ewes in murrain after shearing, all sold.

Lambskins: 133 from lambs in murrain before weaning, 23 after weaning and before shearing, and 9 after shearing. Total 166; all sold.

Winter cheese 37 made, all sold, which made 13 cloves.

Summer cheese [yield of cow 3s. and sheep 2d with 3 cheeses in customary payment valued at 2s 6d] 176 cheeses made between 8 April and Michaelmas, both days included; 2 in customary payment to 1 reeve and dairymaid; 1 in provision of the great boonwork; 173 sold which made 15 weys.

Butter: 1 wey from the issue of the dairy this year, all sold

Cider: 3 casks remain from the previous year, 2 made this year. Total 5' 3 sold, 2 remain.

Utensils: 1 cart with iron tyres remains from the previous year; 1 renewed this year; 1 worn out; 1 remains. 4 casks remain from the previous year; 1 worn out and 1 sold with cider; 2 remain. 2 brass pots, 1 posnet, 3 pans, 1 lead vessel, 1 measure of flax, 1 tripod; 1 tine; 3 padlocks on various doors in the curia, 1 mortar, 1 basin, 2 ewers, all this remains.

Labour services: 748 labour services owed to the curia of East Meon by 13 workers, of whom 4 worked twice a week from Michaelmas until Lammas and 9 once a week; 51 in quittance for the 3 festival weeks (Christmas, Easter and Pentecost); 16 in landriht according to custom; 79 in default of the land which William le Fissar holds because they are commuted; 273 for carrying dung; 329 labour services sold.

Manual labour service: 308 owed to the manor by 7 workers; 10½ released for the 3 festival weeks; 7 in landriht according to custom; 119 for collecting dung; 52½ for spreading dung; 119 sold.

Harvest labour service: 533 owed from Lammas until Michaelmas by the above 13 workers, working every day except Saturdays and Sundays; 91 in quittance of the same for 7 feast days this year; 28 in default of the land of the beadle which William now holds for the same time; 414 for reaping binding and carrying corn.

Manual labour service: 228 owed by the ebove-mentioned 7 workers, of whom 5 worked every day except Saturdays and feast days , and 2 for a second day; all for reaping, binding and collecting corn.

Appendix 8. Text of 1301 Meon Church pipe roll

Arrears

Nicholas de Ychen, bailiff, and Robert Hugh, reeve, render account for £81 6s 8½d of arrears from the previous year, delivered to Sir Geoffrey, treasurer of Wolvesey.

Rents of Assize

... render account for £1 5s for all rents of assize at Christmas (& Easter. St John the Baptist, Michaelmas). Total £5 3s ½d'

Quittances

Of 1 reeve for the year 3s; 1 ploughman for the year 2s 6d; one shepherd for the year 2s 6d. Total 8s.

Total of rents remaining £4 15s ½d.

Cumin

Render account for 1 lb of cumin from Geoffrey Kynhow for annual recognizance .. delivered to Wolvesey.

Recognizance

The same render account from Henry Burrith ... total 3d

Issues

The same render account for 14s 5½d from the small tithes of lambs, 14s 3½d from the small tithes of milk, wool foals and calves this year; nothing from coarse wool from the demesne or tithes here because it is sent to Wolvesey; 2s 3d from 2 cloves 4lb of wool locks sold at 10 ½ d a clove; 18s 7 ½d from 2 weys 2 loves of cheese sold at 9s a wey; 18s 7 ½d from 2 weys 2 cloves of cheese from tithes sold at 9s a wey; 2s from 2 branches of wood sold; 6s 8d from pigeons sold; 6s 6d from 26 geese from tithes sold; 1s from the pasturage on this side of the field of la Hyde sold, because it was all sown with wheat; 3s from the pasturage of Otland sold this year, nothing from the pasturage of Schortebond because it was fallow; 1s from the pasturage of Wodebrech sold this year; 1s from the nettles on this side of Bishop's field and the dovecote sold; nothing from the herbage of the garden on account of the calves and other livestock of the lord; 2s from the pasturage of the meadow of Cherchemed sold after mowing; ... pair of wheels with iron tyres sold; old plough horse sold, 5 wethers, lambs from tithes sold before shearing at 4d & 5d each ... nothing from piglets because delivered to the reeve of the manor; 5s from skins of 20 wethers sold in murain after shearing; nothing from forage because corn of Steep, Oxshete, Froxfield, Yteden and Bukeden was sold wholesale; £2 5s from 3 casks of cider, 2s 11d from 35 hens of churchscot; 8d from abandoned timber sold from old buildings at Froxefeld. Total £8 29s 2¾d.

Medieval farming in East Meon May 2019

Sale of corn from the demesne

£7 4s 5½ d from 25 qrs 1 bus of wheat, &c, £2 12s 10½d from 14 qrs 7 bus of bere sold ... barley ...oats Total £10 7 4d

Sale of corn from tithes

£20 3s 7½d from 65 qrs 7 bus of wheat from tithes ... bere, barley, oats, beans, peas, vetches ... Total £38 3s 4d.

Froxfield, Steep, Oxeshete, Bukeden and Yteden

£40 1s

Entry and marriage fines

4s from the tithing for tithingpenny at the hundred-court at Hockday; £1 from Alice, relict of William Cocus de Pydeham to retain 1 messuage and 1 irgate of land which belonged to her husband. Total £1 8s

Perquisites

£2. 11s 6d

All receipts: £104.17s 8½d .

Cost of ploughs

... £1. 2s 9d

Cost of carts

... £1 17s 1d

Sheepfold & Sheepcote

7s 9d

Cost of buildings

Re-roofing the bailiff's stable and the carhorses' stable ... 2s; repairing the mangers of the said stables 8d . re-roofing and mending the unroofed building of the press 2s. re-roofing and mending the granary 6d. Building anew 1 building for stabling the cart-horses and carts £1 1s 5d ... Making and mending the bench in the great hall 1s Mending the walls of the dairy and the door of the same building 5d; mending the barn-door and likewise the gate of the curia ... 10½d ... casks, hooping and mending tubs and barrows, casks of cider, tallow and soap for the press, sieve for straining cider ... Total £2 17s 2d

Threshing

Threshing and winnowing 38 qres 5 bus of wheat from the demesne and 65 qrs 7 bus from tithes by piece work ... threshing and winnowing 26 qrs of ere and 21 qrs 6 bus of barley from the demesne ... bere ... barley peas and vetches ... from tithes 11s ½d 10 struck busnes ... 12 qrs 1 bus of beans by piecework ... 65qrs 2 bus of oats from the demesne and 64 qrs of oaats from tithes 8s 7½d Total £1 19s 1d

Harvest-time

Medieval farming in East Meon May 2019

Bread and herrings and cheese for a want of herrings, for 17 boon-works and 7 carrying-services of 615 customary tenants who reaped, bound and carried all the corn £1 1s 5d. Stipend of 1 hayward 2s. Total £1 3s 5d.

Also harvest-time

3 riders, of whom 1 stayed for 35 days, 1 for 40 and 1 for 45 ... expenses 16s. Shoeing horses 9d; expenses 9s of the bishop's servants and 2 stackers £1 15s 6d. In stipend of same 18s 4d ... 1 servant fewer this year because corn of Yteden and Bykeden was sold wholesale. 3 pairs of wheels for carrying the corn from tithes, 1s 6d. Fitting with axles 6d, 4 collars ... clouts, mails and grease 1s 10d. Shoeing plough horses hauling the carts 2s 6d ... treating carts before harvest 1s ... carters to help carry the orn 2s 4d ... 4 qrs of oats for fodder of riders horses £5s 4d ... Total £5 4s 9d

All expenses £14 12s ½d

Owes £90 5s 8d

Delivered to Sir Geoffrey , treasurer of Wolvesey by 1 tally £43

And thus he owes clear £47 5s 8d

Issues of the grange

Wheat from the grange [six-fold less 1 qr 7bus]

38 qrs 5 bus from the demesne, sown over 129 acres as they lie in Lahyd and Wodebroke, 9½ qrs. In provision of the bailiff 4 qrs because he takes the rest of from the manor. Sold 25qrs 1 bus.

Bere

26 qrs 1 bus from the whole issue. Sown over 41 acres as they lie in Watcombe, 7qrs 2 bus/ Sold 18 qrs 7 bus

Barley [three-and-a-half-fold plus 6 bus]

21 qrs 6 bus from whole issue of demesne ... Sown over 17 acres as they lie in Prusteslad, 6 qrs 2 bus... delivered to 1 carter and 1 stot keeper, 13 qrs. Sold 2½ qrs.

Oats [threefold plus 3 bus]

65 qrs 1 bus from the whole issue of oats. Sown over 105 acres as they lie in Prustehull, Soneyelond and Wattedconbe 26½qr ... in fodder of 6 plough-horses 17½bus for 140 nights; fodder of same when they ploughed after dinner, ½qr. Payment to ploughman and shepherd 1½qr .

Wheat from tithes 65 qrs 7 bus

Bere 14½ qrs 3 bus

Barley 38 qrs 3 bus

Oats 64 qrs

Beans 12 qrs

Peas 2 qrs

Vetches 7qrs

Nothing from corn of chapels of Oxschete, Steep and Froxfield, and from tithings of Yteden and Bykeden, because all sold holesale.

Stock

Cart-horses 2 remain

Plough-horses 7 remain

Oxen 1 from the heriot of William of Pydeham

Wethers 209 remain

Lambs 150 from tithes,

Wool from the demesne, wool from tithes 180 fleexes from e=weathers, which made 3 weys 11 cloves with the wool from tithes

Cheese from tithes 2 weys, 2 cloves

Piglets 9 from tithes, 8 delivered to the reeve of the manor

Hens 38 from churchscot (in default of Isabel ate Stupe because a widow, Othyn le Zenghe because he has no wife, John Mile ditto

Pigeons 10 dozen from the issue of the dovecote

Geese 26 from tithes this year (geese from Steep &c sold with the corn)

Cider 12 casks remain

Utensils 2 carts with iron tyres, 12 casks, 3 tubs, 1 tine, 3 coffers

Appendix 9. Hampshire Tax List 1327⁹⁴

The townships of East Meon Hundred

Taxpayer	Amount
East Meon (<i>Estmunes</i>) township	
Adam le Parkir	2s
Adam le White	18d
Simon Colevill	2s
William le Parkir	15d
William le Gaunt	2s
John le Bigedene	15d
John Bissshop	21d
Mark de Ponte	3s
Robert le Bunde	15d
Thomas Odin	18d
John Maystre	15d
Philip le Bakere	14d
John le Stut	18d
Henry le Eir	15d
Total	22s 8d
Coombe (<i>Coumbe</i>) township	
Nicholas atte Bere	3s
Bartholomew de Coumbe	18d
Roger de Coumbe	2s
Roger Raynold	15d
Joan la Naing	2s
William Rolf	15d
John Michel	2s 6d
Total	13s 6d
Oxenbourne (<i>Oxenebourn</i>) township	
Richard de Middlynton	5s
Robert le Yheston	2s
Robert Doyng	18d
Robert Hugh	3s
Odino de Yonge	5s
John de Bigedene	3s
Thomas le Fratre	15d
John le Palmere	2s
John Miles	4s
John le Freke	2s
Thomas Keteman	2s 6d
Total	31s 3d
Riplington (<i>Rypplynton</i>) township	
Gosselino Baldot	4s
John de Oure	2s
William Herebird	3s
William atte Watere	2s
John le Weghelere	4s
John in the Lane	2s
Walter de Overton	4s

⁹⁴ Mitchell Fox, Patrick, and Page, Mark (ed). Hampshire Record Series, Volume XX 2014 pp 6 & 7

Medieval farming in East Meon May 2019

Total	23s
Bordean (<i>Bordene</i>) township	
John le Tygehale	5s
Thomas Corps	4s
Henry de Pipercoumbe	2s
Robert de Fugescoumbe	2s 6d
Richard atte Hasele	2s
William ate Wode	2s 3d
Richard le Cordwanir	18d
William de Drayton	2s
William Baldot	18d
Total	22s 9d
Ramsdean (<i>Ramesdon</i>) township	
William atte Strode	5s
John atte Hacche	4s
James de Holewey	5s
Richard ate Lithe	3s
Henry atte Hacch	5s
William Blakewyne	18d
Robert de Netherstret	18d
Thomas Etebred	3s
Robert le Cok	18d
Nicholas le Bole	18s
Robert le White	2s
William le White	18d
John le White	3s
Total	37s 6d
Langrish (<i>Langerisch</i>) township	
Mary de Langerisch	10s
Richard le Blays	2s
Henry de Budel	8s
William atte Plestowe	3s
Stephen de Cruce	5s
Robert le Bilde	2s 1d
Andrew Fynamour	2s
Geoffrey de Raumville	8s
Alice de Oveton	2s 6d
Total	42s 7d
Other tithings:	
Froxfield (<i>Froxefelde</i>) township	48s 3d
Steep (<i>Stuppe</i>) township	39s 6d
Ambersham (<i>Ambresham</i>) township	£15 10s 6d
Total of the whole hundred	£15 10s 6d
Some names from other tithings	
William atte Lithe (Steep)	
Thomas de Burlye (Ambersham)	

Appendix 10. The Court House – the name, the building and the court, by George Bartlett

The name The Court House connotes no more than that the house was the mediaeval manor house and that the manor court was held there. Every manor had its court (the domestic manor court, and often in addition a Court Leet – see below), and in most cases this was held in the lord's house. The Court House is just one of the names for such a house. It could equally have been called the Manor House (as at Bramdean), East Meon Manor (cf Sutton Manor) or East Meon Court (cf Crawley Court), other typical names that are to be found in this part of Hampshire and elsewhere.

It seems likely that reference to the great hall of The Court House as the Court Hall is relatively recent in origin and founded on the misconception that the hall was designed and built as a grand court room.

The building

In common with all large mediaeval houses the principal room was the hall, or great hall as it was often called. The hall had been the principal, sometimes the only, living room in castles and other ancient houses, and it formed the essential component both of large houses and smaller houses of the period. From the early middle ages a chamber was sometimes added to provide extra accommodation and privacy. The present surviving mediaeval building was constructed in 1395-7 as a replacement for the then existing hall and to provide additional accommodation. The old hall, which was stone built, probably dated from the late 11th century, and it had a single chamber attached to it on the south side. This was the Bishop's chamber, available for his use during his, infrequent, visits. Adjoining it was a small chapel, the two rooms forming the first floor of the south wing. While the old hall was demolished, the south wing was retained. The new building was constructed so as to abut it, and a staircase contained in an oriel provided access to it through a door from the hall.

The new building reflected contemporary trends in including a second chamber at the northern end, as the first floor of a wing that had on its ground floor a buttery and a pantry. There was a further small wing on the north side containing on the first floor a garderobe, accessed from the chamber, with a latrine below. All the components of the 1395-7 building survive with the exception of the oriel and its staircase. The south wing was rebuilt in about 1435 and was then demolished in the early 17th century.

The layout of the building was conventional. The service wing containing buttery and pantry were at the north end of the hall, and at that end also there was a wooden screen with openings in it creating a passage-way from the large outside doors. There would have been an external kitchen. At the south end a dais provided a slightly elevated floor for the high. There was an open fire in the middle of the hall, and its smoke drifted upwards, escaping through the tiles, and possibly, louvres in the roof. There were trestle tables along the east and west walls. The design and layout of the hall were dictated by its function as a dining hall. An impression of what it would have looked like when in use for this purpose can be derived from the visual reconstruction of the hall of its near contemporary,

the (much grander) hall of Bishop's Waltham Palace: see <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/bishops-waltham-palace/history/>.

The hall was the central point of the manor, and in addition to its use for dining it served as a living room and could be used for sleeping (on the rush-covered floor), for recreation and entertainments, and for meetings – including in particular the manor court.

The court

As on many manors, there were two courts. The first was the lord of the manor's private court, the customary court, which applied the law and customs of the manor in relation to the unfree tenants – those tied to the manor and required to render labour and particular feudal incidents to the lord. A tenant would have been required to work for a number of days on the lord's land, while being free to cultivate his own land at other times. The open field system required organisation, and the arrangements made needed to be enforced. Feudal incidents included the payment of money on the marriage of a tenant's daughter and churchettes, an annual duty of hens payable to the lord. Property was held on copyhold tenure, with conveyances effected by surrender and admittance in the court. The court, presided over by the lord's steward, would probably have met quite frequently.

The second court was the Court Leet, which administered on behalf of the King the jurisdiction of the former Hundred Court. From Saxon times each county had been divided into hundreds and each hundred was composed of a number of tithings. Under what was known as the view of frankpledge the adult male population of each tithing were given the responsibility of ensuring that the peace was kept, and for this they were answerable to the Hundred Court. Where a manor was coincident in area with the hundred (as in the case of the dual East Meon manors) the royal jurisdiction of the Hundred Court was commonly let to the lord of the manor to be exercised by him on behalf of the King.

The Court Leet was held twice a year. On the Bishop's manors, as often elsewhere, it was held by the lord's steward nominally on Hockday (the second Tuesday after Easter) and Martinmas (the 11th of November) – nominally, because the steward had to move with his clerk from manor to manor to carry out the function. At the court each tithing would be dealt with in turn, with the tithing men being called forward and the head tithing man reporting on their behalf any misdemeanours that had been committed. Any miscreants would be sentenced by the court or, if there were none, the head tithing man would report: "All is well." Major crimes would have been dealt with in the King's shire court.

When holding the Court Leet the steward would no doubt also have dealt with customary court matters, and the Martinmas court would have provided the opportunity for the formal approval of the manorial accounts, which were prepared up to Michaelmas each year.

With the end of feudalism the customary manor court was left with no functions other than the conveyance of copyhold property. This jurisdiction continued until copyhold tenure was abolished by the Law of Property Act 1925, when all

copyholds were converted into freeholds. The petty criminal jurisdiction of the Court Leet had passed to the justices of the peace in the late fifteenth century.

Appendix 11 Village shops in Medieval East Meon, by Mark Page⁹⁵

'In the 13th and 14th centuries East Meon was a largely agricultural village without commercial pretensions. It did not possess a licensed weekly market, and its inhabitants were within a day's journey (reckoned at about 6 miles) of the market town of Petersfield. The village was, however, relatively isolated in hilly countryside on the edge of the South Downs, and it was the focus of a large parish containing numerous hamlets and farmsteads. Moreover, in the years around 1300 the medieval population was at its height. Thus the appearance of a shop in East Meon would not be entirely unexpected. In 1321 Thomas le Mason left to his wife Alice and his brother Peter two stalls next to the stile of East Meon churchyard. Four years later a third stall in the same location was surrendered by Thomas le Barrer⁹⁶.

A stall may originally have referred to a movable wooden trading booth for temporary use at different places, but by the 14th centuries many stalls had become semi-permanent structures which could be bought, sold and inherited like other types of property. The development of a temporary stall into a permanent shop was certainly suggested at East Meon where Peter le Mason's property next to the stile of the churchyard was explicitly called a shop in 1339. In that year, Peter surrendered it to Richard le Ridler, who also planned to enlarge it by acquiring an additional 5ft of ground on its south side, 4ft on its east side, and 3ft on its north side. The shop's encroachment of ground on [*these*] sides suggests that it bordered the churchyard on its west side, and a building fitting that description is shown on late 19th century O/S maps.

The shop's location on the edge of the village is potentially significant. In the 12th century and probably before, unofficial markets were sometimes held when large numbers of people assembled at major churches to celebrate feast days and other significant occasions. These churchyard markets were unpopular with the church authorities, which tried to suppress them, but in many villages the churchyard provided the largest and most convenient public space for gatherings of local people for whom the church had become a focal point for both religious and secular purposes. East Meon was the mother church to a large Anglo-Saxon parochia, and even in the 14th century the church still served a wide area; in 1327 the parish included places including Bordean, Coombe, Lanrgish, Oxenbourne, Riplington and Ramsdean⁹⁷. Long before Peter le Mason's shop existed, the village churchyard must have been the site for regular comings and goings of people from a wide area, offering plentiful opportunity for the exchange of news, gossip, goods and services.

⁹⁵ Page, Mark. *Village shops in Medieval Hampshire: the case of East Meon* Hampshire Field Club 2017 pp 7 & 8

⁹⁶ Evidence from the Winchester pipe rolls entered in M. Page, '*Peasant land markets in southern England, 1260 – 1350*' database deposited at ESRC data archive ref no SN 4086.

⁹⁷ P.Mitchell-Fox and M Page (eds) *The Hampshire Tax List of 1327* 2014 pp 6 - 7

While medieval records demonstrate the existence of village shops, and tell us something about their size, location and ownership, they reveal little about their day to day use. What was bought and sold in the shop on the edge of East Meon churchyard? Did it offer a range of different goods and services, or was it more specialised? Was it open full-time or only part-time, perhaps when parishioners gathered at the church for specific religious events? Was it run by a professional shopkeeper, or by an agricultural tenant for whom it offered by-employment during slack times in the farming year? Were shops more often run by men or women, who might therefore supplement their household's main income from agriculture. If surnames are still any guide to occupations in the early 14th century, Richard le Ridler was a siever of sifter of corn, or possibly of sand and lime in making mortar, while Peter le Mason was a stonemworker. Were both these men involved in the building trade, and was the shop therefore the medieval equivalent of a builder's yard? Certainly there was a demand from the bishops of Winchester for builders to construct and maintain the episcopal residence and farm buildings at East Meon, and repairs to the barley barn and other structures were made in 1302⁹⁸. Whatever the shop was used for – and sadly we will probably never know for sure – it reminds us that commerce and exchange extended deep into the medieval Hampshire countryside.

Appendix 12. Elizabeth Levett's analysis of income from East Meon manors

Elizabeth Levett analysed changes in income from Winchester estates following the Black Death, including the Meon manors:

Table 5 Net balance of Manors during and after Black Death⁹⁹

Manor	1347-8	1348-9	1349-50	1351-2
Meon Manor*	206.5.33/4	278.5.53/4	207.3.7	237.10.01/2
Meon Church*	88.18.3	50.12.9	89.0.03/4	103.16.11/2

She has also calculated the value and size of holdings in Meon after the Black Death by analysing fines paid on transfer of land in the two manors in 1376 – 7:

Table 6 1376 – 7 Fines¹⁰⁰

Manor and Amount of Land	Description	Occasion	Fine
Meon: 10 acres	Villein	Lease for life from his son	1s 8d
Meon (manor)	£8.0s.0d.	1 mes. 1virg. villein land, 1water mill	
	£3.3s.4d	1 mes 1virg	
Meon (ecclesia)	£1.11s.0d	1 mes ½ virg	

'In 1375-6 virgates at Meon were estimated at 80 acres and 60 acres each, while others contained 34 and 24 acres. A normal holding of one messuage and one

⁹⁸ Roberts, Edward 'William of Wykeham's house at East Meon, Hants' Archaeological Journal 150 (1993)

⁹⁹ Wool was sent separately to Wolvesey and therefore not included in the cash account

¹⁰⁰ A. Elizabeth Levett 'The Effects of the Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester' Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History Vol V, 1916c p46

virgate of villein land, is perhaps most frequently rated at 13s 4d for an ordinary fine, while a half-virgate will often pay 6s 8d or 10s. But even in the same manor, the fine may commonly run up to £3 or £4 ... While elsewhere £6 - £8 is not unusual for a virgate'.

Appendix 13 1409 Meon Manor pipe roll

These are extracts from the HCC transcript of the Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester. It was compiled by William Osmond, reeve.

Arrears

£4 3s 4d

Rents of assize

£24, 13s 10³/₄d (per quarter day) Total £103. 18s 2³/₄d

Quittances

£1. 15s

Default of rent

In default of the land drawn into demesne, £1. 1s 7d for the year; the land of Ruthercumbe given to the canons of Newark Priory by Bishop Godfrey, £5 for the year; the pasture and woods of the bailiwick which belonged to Thomas le Combe, drawn into demesne, £2 for the year; &c, *very similar to the 1301 Pipe Roll*. Total of quittances and defaults of rent £11 7s ½d.

Total rents remaining clear £92 11s 2¹/₄d

Cumin

1 lb from the rent of William atte Bere.

1 pair of gloves from the rent of William Gilberd; which Robert Mayhew held.

Annual recognizance

8d for the annual recognizance of William Godwyne, the lord's villein, so that he may dwell outside the lord's liberty ... Thomas Vymayn, John Ferour and Henry Atte Hacch, Thomas Pokepoul ((recognizance ... withdrew entirely and unable to be found), Robert Cous, the lord's villein

Issues of the manor

Hyden (park, agistment of pigs), Bernet (sale of old wood), Robert Tygehale (release of services), William Fysshere (land commuted) William Legard (issue of land and tenement) Thomas Whyte (lease of rents) John Toucock (issue of land and tenement)

Total £19 14s 10¹/₂d

Sale of labour services

£15 for 1,200 carting labour services charged...

Sale of pasture

6s 8d from pasturage in Hyden, 4s from winter pasturage of Ryggewey, nothing from pasturage of Smaldon... 2s from pasturage in Godishullemede ... nothing from pasturage in Holcombe for the lord's cattle ... nothing from the pasturage of Ihnommede ditto ... nothing from the pasturage of Garston lies fallow ... nothing from Wodedoumyslynch and Beket for the lord's lambs ... Lockwell & Horgorston let for a fixed rent, Hullymede sold, Brodemed lord's cattle, Oldfysshwere as far a Seliscombe and Saltwey, Seliscombe (pasturage, fixed rent) and Saltwey, La Krembe (pasturage, around the sheepcote ... and roadways leading to the same), Garden (herbage for the lord's cattle), nothing from the pasturage of Nuttesbery, lies at fallow, ditto nothing of the pasturage of la Stede as far as Lyputtez or for the pasturage by the mill on the west side of the fishpond and around the chapel because it is demised as made clear below with the farm of the south mill; nothing from the pasturage of La Forde as far as Holewey because it lies in common this year; nothing from the pasturage of Chalvecroft for the lord's calves; 2s from the pasturage of the way leading to Mascombe sold; 1s from the pasturage of the mill of Drayton beow Garstonmede and Pikez sold, nothing from pasturage of the way leading to Hullymede, Pydham and Wapsburth, The way leading to Hullymede, Pydham and Wapsburth (pasture, let for fixed rent), Inhommede and Garstonmede (pasture, for the lord's cattle;) nothing from the pasturage of Asshestederode (lord's sheep); Wodedoune (lord's lambs) 2s 8d Inhomme (pasture, sold). Total 15s 8d.

Sale of corn

£71 15s 5¼d from 163qrs 3 pecks of wheat sold, (including 102 qrs 1 bus sold to the lord's household and 3 pecks per mutuum at 10s a qr) &c ...; £1 3s 7½d from 3 qrs 7½ bus barley sold at 6s a qr ... ; £2 6s 8d from 7 rs of beans sold ...£5 12s 10d from 44qrs of oats sold ... Total of all corn sold £111 16s 41/2d. Total £81 8s 6¾d

Sale of stock

1s from 1 blind and inexplicably murrained plough-horse sold; £1 8s from 2 oxen sold; £1 7s from 4 cows sold to the lord's household, £1 5 s from 13born calves sold; £3.12s from 58 kebb wethers sold after shearing (also, some sold before for coarse wool); £2 10s from 40 kebb ewes sold after shearing to the lord's household ... of which 1—of th ebetter ones were chosen and sold to the reeves of Fareham and Meo Church ...; £2 8s 8d from 73 lambs removed and sold before shearing £4 10s 4e from 30 pigs sold, 1 to the lord's household; Total £26 1s 2d

Farm of the mill

13s 4d from William Tyere, baker, for 1 water-mill with the mill-pond and pasture on both sides of the mill-pond from the loard's demesne beside the chapel, demised to the same William by fine, which same mill was built anew at the cost of the same William, Total 13s 4d.

Entry and marriage fines

£3s d from the whole hundred for tithingpenny at Martinmas, ditto Hockday. £2 from Edith, wife of William ate Sole, to retain 1 messuage 1 virgate of villein land, 1 tof, 1 virgate of villein land, 1 mill-site and one moor containing 2 acres of

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villein land in Steep. £2 6s 8d from John atte Slade – messuage, virgate, 52 acres, toft and croft in Froxfield at le Slade; 5s from Thomas atte Watere – messuage and curtilage of purpresture in Froxfield; £1 from William Clerk, to have 1 cottage with a curtilage of purpresture in East Meon by surrender of Thomas Mossell chaplain, 1s from Thomas Crous to have 1 messuage and 10 acres of villein land in East Meon which belonged to William Clerk and which came into the lord's hands as his escheat because none of the kin of the said William took steps to fine ... £1 from John Soutere to have 1 messuage and 10 acres in Esshforde by surrendere of Walter Blakeman; 3s 3d Agnes, wife of John atte Hurst, 1 messuage 1 virgate of villein land from husband John, to retain messuage and virgate of land in Froxfield by surrender of William atte Wode... examined about this in court...; £1 William son of John Fugescombe, 1 messuage and 1 virgate of villein land in Bordean ... which Christine, wife of father John, took a husband against the custom of the manor; 3s 4d from Simon, son of John Nadrych the younger, 1 messuage 10 acres of villein land and 1 toft 10 acres of villein land in East Meon, abandoned by father John through poverty and destitution; 2s from John Toucok the younger, 1 messuage with curtilage and 6 acres of villein land called Budellond in East Meon ... forfeited because he withdrew from the demesne and was unwilling to serve the lord on condition that he resides on his land at Michaelmas next. Total £17 10s 8d

Heriots in cash

1s from heriot of Mary Fermyn; 1s Thomas Mosell, chaplain, 1s John atte Hurst.

Perquisites of court

Total 39 1s 1d

Sales at the audit

£6 8s 7s

Total of all receipts with arrears £276 14s 10½d

Cost of ploughs

£4 5s

Cost of carts

£1 7s 4d

Purchase of stock

4 cows, 2 calves. £2

Cost of the dairy and the sheepcots

In the pasture called le Stubbynge bought for the lord's lambes ... thread and indigo bought to mark and stitch sarpliers 1 thatcher and 2 mates for 30 days to roof the defects on the sheepcotes of Krembe and Holcombe ... enclosing with new hedge 30 perches around the barton of la Krembe ... Total £5 7s 7d

Cost of buildings and necessaries

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Enclosing with new hedge 3 furlongs and 20 perches around le Stubbynge... 2 men for 5 days removing brambles in meadow of Holcombe; cleaning out 27 perches of new ditch at southern end of meadow of Hullymede; hiring the demesne carts to carry dung a far as Nuttesbury and Garston. Total £2 2s 7½d

Cost of the park

Wages of John Bybbysworth for carting there for the year, £3 8s taking 2d a day.
Total £4 7s 4d

Threshing & winnowing

Total £4 16s 4¾d

Cost of the harvest.

... great boonwork, that is of 373½ acres who reaped &c 93½ acres for various kinds of the lord's corn, apart from beans and pulses £1 18s 10½d... Mowing, spreading, turning and making the hay from the meadow of Holcombe 6s ... Total £5 14s

Wages of the bailiff

John Tybenham, Total 5s

Expenses of the Steward

Richard Wyot for tourns of Martinmas and Hockday 14s 2d

Total of all expenses £35. 14s 5¼d

And he owes £241. 5 1/4s

Issues of the manor

Wheat

200 qrs 3 bus of wheat from the issue of the grange ...

Sown over 160 acres of land of land in the fields of Lakebrygge, Pykez, Hardyscombisden and Wodedoune

Total 216 qrs 5 bus.

Curall

No curall this year

Barley

95 qrs 2 bus of barley from the issue of the grange ... 4-fold yield. Sown over 40 acres of land by the perch in the fields of Krembe, Teneacr and Nundflorlong ...

Total 100 qrs

Beans

6½ acres in the field of la Gorys.

Total 15 qrs 6 bus

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Pulses

Total 5 qrs of pulses 10 qrs in husks

Oats

Sown over 105 acres in the fields of Pundforl, Gorys, around the chapel and Spelthul

In fodder of the horses of Richard Wyot, steward.

Total 153 qrs 6 bus

Liveries of the manorial servants.

Received above for the mixed corn of the manorial servants 72 qr 3 bus 1 peck 14 qr ... 1 overseer, 1 carter, 1 stot keeper, 2 oxherds, 2 keepers of wethers, 2 keepers of ewes, 1 keeper of hoggs. 1 dairymaid 3 attendants helping the shepherd of ewes at lambing time, 1 cowherd for the year.

Horses 4 remain

Plough-horses 18 remain 1 from the heriot of John Mey

Oxen 42 remain

Bulls 2 remain

Steers 11 remain

Bullocks 10 remain

Yearlings 12 remain

Calves 25 total

Wethers 746 remain

Rams 19 remain

Ewes 538 remain

Hoggs 320 remain

Lambs 318 remain

Boards 2 remain

Sows 3 remain

Pigs 49 remain

Hoggetts 45 remain (5 in murrain, 40 added to the pigs)

Piglets 45 remain

Cows 27 remain, 1 from the heriot of William atte Sole

Cocks and hens 326 remain from churchscot ... Agnes atte Hurst, Alice Chaldeote, Alice Chepman, Thomas Parker (2 tenements), Edith Cokez, Alice Sire, Matilda Compton (2 tenements), John Coppe (2 tenements), Christine Tredde, Robert atte Burh, Richard Chepman, Agnes Pokepoul, Alice Burnard (2 tenements), John French, Nicholas Knollere (3 tenements), Walter atte Ok, Margere Atte Stupe, Joan Martyn, Joan atte Church, Thomas Balhorn John Herere the younger, Alice atte hulmette, Joan Cous, John Cous, John Patrych (3 tenements), John Blakeman (2 tenements) John Reynold the younger, Thomas Whyte, John Sparsholte, John Dudlyng (2 tenements), Agnes Reynold, Thomas Rolf, Christine Fugescombe, John Ferour (holds freeely by charter of bishop)

Geese, capons, chickens, eggs 200 **coarse wool** 708 fleeces **lamb's wool** 320 fleeces **hides, woolskins** 37 from wethers **bare skins lambskins** 60 from lambs in murrain **rotted skins, shorn skins,**

Appendix 14. 1409 Meon Church pipe roll

Richard Kyrnow, reeve

Rents of Assize

£5 7s 7½d

Quittances of rent

Of 1 reeve, 1 ploughman, 1 tenant. Remaining clear: £4 19s 7½d

Issues of the manor

3s 4½d from small tithes of lambs, nothing from other small tithes. Pasturage of Otland sown with oats ... pasturage of Schortland, fallow ... pasturage of Presthull, sold ... pasturage of la Hyde, sown with wheat ... pasturage of Churchmede, mown after Lammas ... apples from the tithes at East Meon, Oxenbourne, Ramsdean, Langrish, Coombe and Riplington ... *Total £2 15s ½d*

Sale of demesne corn

£8 16 8½d

Sale of corn from tithes

Total £35 9s 9½d

Froxfield, Steep

£26 +

Sale of stock

32 6d

Perquisites of the tourns

11s 9d

Sales at the audit

£2.7s 3d

Total of all receipts with arrears £108 15s 11d

Cost of ploughs

... 15s ½d

Cost of carts

... 8s 8d

Cost or buildings

... in plashing and enclosing with new hedge 2 furlongs and 20 perches around the lord's corn in the field of la Hyde ... ditto 20 perches on the south side of the garden ... to dig anew and clear out a certain ditch from the ford to the meadow

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of Thomas le Nonge on the west side of the lords' land of Schortlond ... clearing out and scouring a certain ditch between the strea and the fish-weir to have water for the dairy ... Total £5 19s 6½d

Cost of the chancel of East Meon

Plumber for 6 days to roof and mend the chancel .. 7s

Cost of the chancel of Steep

7s

Cost of the chancel of Froxfield

3s 9d

Threshing and winnowing

... in wages of John Bybbysworth tallying at the tithe barn of East Meon £1 .10s 5d, taking 1d a day. Total £4 8s 9½d

Cost of demesne harvest

9s 8d

Cost of the harvest from tithes

From East Meon, Steep, Riplington, Drayton, Bereleigh, Tugehale, Iteden, Coombe, Oxenbourne, Langrish, Bykeden, Ramsdean, Froxfield, Oakshott and Bordean. 1 rider riding around to protect and preserve the corn from tithes at EM, Riplington &c, 6s 8d. 1 stacker in East Meon at harvest time ... hiring the demesne carts... hiring 1 carter... shoeing 6 plough horses. Total of all expenses £5 17s 7d.

Allowancs without and by writ

£2 10s 10¾d and £24 9s 7d (delivered to John Reede, treasurer of the lord's household)

Cash deliveries

To John Arnold, receiver of Wolvesey, £60 13s 6d

Wheat

Sown over 25 acres of land by the perch in the field of la Hyde, 7qrs. Delivered to the vicar of East Meon for his corrody, 5qrs ... total 26 qrs. And for 55 qrs 5 bus from the issue of the tithe barn, threshed by piece work, tally against John Bibbysworth ...

Barley

Sown over 8½ acres of land by the perch in the field of Stonylond, 4 qrs 2 bus. And for 36 qrs 1 bus from the issue of the tithe barn, threshed by piece work, tally John ...

Oats

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Sown over 20 acres of land in Stonyland Prestlade and Otlond,.10 bus. And for 33qrs 1 bus from the issue of the tithe barn, threshed by piece work, tally against John Bibbysworth ...

Beans

And for 5 qrs 2 ½ bus from the issue of the tithe barn, threshed by piece work, tally against John Bibbysworth ...

Horses 1 remains **Plough-horses** 6 remain, **Wethers** 206 remain **Hoggs** 27 bought added to the wethers **Lambs** 240 from tithes, **Coarse wool** 197 fleeces **Wool from tithes** 896 fleeces **Skins** 6

Cocks and Hens 38 from churchscot Robert Freke, John Othyn, Matilda atte Stupe, Nicholas Knollere, Richard Chepman, Agnes Bukeden and Thomas Knollere, because they are widowers and widows and are not married.

Utensils,

Ploughing services of customary tenants, 18 acres are ploughed by 9 virgaters, each of whom will plough, seek seed at the granary and sow acre of landright at the winter sowing and 1 acre at the Lenten sowing, whether thy have a plough or not, and will receive nothing of the lord.

Harrowing 9 acres of land are ploughed by the aforesaid 9 virgaters, each of whom will harrow 1 acre at the winter sowing which had previously been made good at the winter ploughing; 33 harrowing services from 11 virgaters ... 19½ labour services from 13 customary tenants, each of whom will harrow every other dat at the oats until all the services are performed

Washing and shearing sheep. 50 labour services from the aboesid 11 virgaters and 13 smallholders each of whom will find 1 worker to wash and shear the lord's sheep.

Mowing, spreading and making the hay. 11 labour services for mowing from 11 virgaters, each of whom will find 1 worker to mow the meadow at Churchemeade

Felling, sawing and carrying wood. 11 labour services from the aforesaid 11 virgaters, each of whom will carry 1 cart-load to the rector in time for Christmas, 14 labour services for sawing wood from the aforesaid 14 smallholders ...

Weeding. 125 labour services for weeding from 25 virgaters and small holders, each of whom will find 1 worker to weed the lord's corn until it is weeded (estimated at 5 days each)

Harvest boon-works. 315 boon-works from the aforesaid 10 virgaters ... 2 workers each, 14 smallholders & 1 virgater, 1 worker each

Carrying and stacking corn. 66 carrying services from 11 virgaters, 6 days each...84 stacking labour services from 14 smallholders, 1 worker each, 6 days.

Carrying services 11 carrying services from 11 virgaters, each carry 1 qr 4 bus each wherever they should be assigned within the demesne ..

Collecting apples 48 labour services for collecting apples from 11 virgaters and 5 smallholders, 1 worker for three half-days without food and 3 whole days for the lord's food to collect apples in the rector's garden.

Appendix 15 1409 Bereleigh sources

In 1390 a quitclaim made by John de Bereleigh and Agatha his wife of a messuage and a mill, 205 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow, 60 acres of pasture, 50 acres of wood and mill, 205 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow, 60 acres of pasture, 50 acres of wood and 32 6d of rent in East Meon, Bereleigh and Drayton, was confirmed by Wykeham as being in compensation for the alienation of the advowsons.¹⁰¹ Bereleigh had initially been accounted for as part of Bordean... the possibility cannot be discounted that the appearance of one or two of these newly created manors was at least partly the result of substantial amounts of land falling into the bishop's possession on account of the mortality caused by successive outbreaks of plague.

Table.7 Demesne leases and lessees 1409 – 10.

<i>Manor</i>	<i>Farmer</i>	<i>Term</i>	<i>Let in 1415</i>	<i>Annual Farm</i>
<i>Bereleigh</i>	<i>Various tenants</i>	<i>various</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>£9.5s</i>

p. xx. The amount of land sown had repercussions for the amount of corn reaped with the consequence that sales of grain, so important to the bishop's finances in the early fourteenth century, had become relatively insignificant by the early fifteenth century. In 1302, nearly £1,900 derived from this source. In 1410, just £915.8s.11d was collected.

From the Victoria County History:

<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/hants/vol3/pp64-75>

BERELEIGH (Burley xiv cent.; Bereley xvi and xvii cent). The manor of Bereleigh was a sub-manor dependent upon the manor of East Meon, and in early times was held by a family called 'de Burlee.' In 1369 John de Burlee and Agatha his wife quitclaimed to William de Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, his heirs and assigns, the following tenements which they held of him as of his bishopric: 1 messuage, 1 mill, 205 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow, 60 acres of pasture, 50 acres of wood, and 40s. 6d. rent in East Meon and Drayton and the rents and services of Richard Tygenore, Richard Hethere, Reginald Tygall, John Southonore, and John Knollere for the tenements which they held of them. (fn. 133) The right of the bishop to these tenements was confirmed in 1382 when Clarice wife of William Fisher and sister of Agatha gave up all her claims to them. (fn. 133)

¹⁰¹ *VCH Hants* iii. P71; *CCR 1381-5*, p 246; *CPR 1388-92* p256

Appendix 16. 1409 Bereleigh pipe roll

The account of William Osmound, sergeant there....

Rents of assize

15s 9½d for all rents of assize of the tenants of Bereleigh at the annunciation;
15s 9¼d at Michaelmas. Total £1 11s 6½d.

Cumin

1 lb of cumin for the rent of Matilda Tygenore at Michaelmas

Issues of the manor

£2 8s 8d from John Tygehale for 1 meadow in the enclosure, 1 garden containing 1 acre, 2 crofts called Hickycroftis, 1 meadow called Draytonemede and 4 crofts called Rosyecroft and Eldelond, leased to the aforesaid John for 12 years; 1 croft called Stubbyng, leased for the lord's lambs; 10s from Richard Hether for 1 croft called Mulleland and 1 acre of land called Mariottyslond, leased for 5 years...; £1 10s from Richard Kynow for 28 acres of the lord's land in East Meon leased for 5 years; 13s 4d from William Borden for 2 crofts called Haselfeldez, leased for 7 years; £1 8s from Thomas Herberd for 1 garden and 3 crofts of land called Leyefeld, leased for 20 years; 18s from Matilda atte Burgh and Robert her son for 3 crofts of land called Northefeld, Benecroft and Hundeshersgardyn leased for 2-years.

Farm of the mill

£1 6s 8d from William Tyere baker for the water-mill of Drayton, demised for 40 years

Total of all receipts £12 3s 2½d

Cash deliveries

Delivered to John Arnold, receiver of Wolvesey, £10 18s 10½d

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Tables

Table 1 Sample receipts from Meon Manors in 1301/1 and 1409/10

Table 2 Legal terms from pipe rolls, from Elizabeth Levett's study of *The Black Death in the See of Winchester*

Table 3 East Meon residents with name de Bere, or variants

Table 4 The townships of East Meon Hundred in the 1327 Tax List

Table 5 Net balance of East Meon Manors after Black Death

Table 6 1376 – 7 East Meon Fines

Table 7 Demesne leases and lessees Bereleigh 1409 – 10.

ⁱ Edward Beaumont studied the history of Portchester Castle and provided the information on which this paragraph is based.