

KING ALFRED'S COLLEGE OF HIGHER EDUCATION
an accredited college of the
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

**THE COUNTY COMMUNITY OF HAMPSHIRE, c. 1300 - c. 1530, WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE KNIGHTS AND ESQUIRES**

T. S. PURSER

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

School of Social Sciences
April 2001

This thesis has been completed as a requirement for a higher degree of the University
of Southampton

KING ALFRED'S COLLEGE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

an accredited college of the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Doctor of Philosophy

THE COUNTY COMMUNITY OF HAMPSHIRE, c. 1300 - c. 1530, WITH

SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE KNIGHTS AND ESQUIRES

Toby Scott Purser

This thesis has been completed as a requirement for a higher degree of the University
of Southampton

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the class of landlord pre-eminent in the localities were the knights and esquires. Much debate has occurred over whether these lords were primarily identified as a county élite or whether the county is a false construct. This thesis proposes that the knights and esquires resident and with primary interests in Hampshire formed a landed and political community within a county of communities. They were a close-knit group of some fifty families who held the major county offices sometimes for many generations and formed marriage alliances within their group.

The nature of this community was determined by the domination of the county by the Winchester Bishopric and other ecclesiastical lords who held the richest estates and had done so since before the Conquest and would continue to do so until the Dissolution of the Monasteries. There were no great estates belonging to the crown or to the nobility in Hampshire. As a result of this pattern of landholding, many landowners looked to the counties bordering Hampshire, particularly Wiltshire, and this fostered a regional, rather than purely county, outlook.

The resident knights and esquires co-existed with other communities in the county. Many landholders with knightly status had estates in Hampshire even though they were based in other counties. Most of them did not hold office in Hampshire, but nevertheless formed a permanent presence alongside those resident lords. These lords had estates from all over England, though most from neighbouring counties, reinforcing the regional, rather than county, outlook most landlords had.

This thesis covers two centuries. Continuity is a key theme. The long view illustrates how important heiresses were to the survival and dispersal of the family estate. In line with national trends, the numbers of Hampshire knights and esquires decreased; several estates suffered dispersal. The resultant parcels of land were not enough to support knightly status. Dispersal and wastage were not, however, means by which outsiders and self-made men could enter this county community. With very few exceptions, most of the families at the start of the sixteenth century owed their status to marriages based on social parity and careful accumulation. The wealthiest estate remained in the hands of the Church; buyers could not amass and maintain blocs of territory.

This ended when the Dissolution of the Monasteries opened up the land market and the nature of Hampshire landed society changed irrevocably.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables	viii
List of Figures	x
List of Maps	xi
Acknowledgements	xii
List of Abbreviations	xiii
Maps	xiv
Key to Gentry Map	xvii
CHAPTER 1: COUNTY STUDIES AND SOURCES	1
INTRODUCTORY	1
1.1: CONCEPTS, COUNTIES AND COMMUNITIES	3
The county: a false construct?	4
Wider associations: the ‘community of aim’ and the political community	8
The magnates and ‘bastard feudalism’	10
1.2: HAMPSHIRE STUDIES	13
The geography of Hampshire: boundaries, settlement and landownership	14
A regional society: ‘communities within the county’	16
Definitions of nobility, knights and esquires	19
The ‘Triple Criteria’	22
i) Landed wealth	22
ii) Office-holding	24
iii) Collective identity	26
Stratification: ‘rising’ and ‘falling’ families across the period	29
1.3: SOURCES	34
The <i>Nomina Villarum</i>	36
Fifteenth-century taxations and subsidies	38
County lists of knights and esquires	41
1.4: THE FEUDAL LEGACY	43
Hampshire and the southern region in 1316	46
Enduring patterns of landownership in Hampshire: 1086-1316	48

CONCLUSION	52
CHAPTER 2: THE BALANCE OF PROPERTY	54
INTRODUCTORY	54
2.1: THE MAGNATES IN HAMPSHIRE	56
2.2: BARONIAL FAMILIES: THE ST. JOHNS	63
2.3: THE ECCLESIASTICAL LORDS AND THEIR ESTATES	67
2.4: THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME IN 1412: COMMUNITIES IN THE COUNTY	69
The Southern Region	73
Crown and Magnates in 1412	74
Knights in 1412	77
Esquires in 1412	79
2.5: THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME IN 1436: A COMMUNITY IN THE COUNTY	81
CONCLUSION	83
CHAPTER 3: KNIGHTS AND ESQUIRES, CIRCA 1324	86
INTRODUCTORY	86
3.1: OVERLORDS, TENANCIES AND MANORIAL GEOGRAPHY	88
Age of heirs	90
The distribution of manors within the county	90
Knights and esquires with lands in other counties	92
3.2: KNIGHTS AND ESQUIRES HOLDING OF THE CROWN AND NOBILITY	94
3.3: THE BISHOPRIC AND HYDE ABBEY AND THEIR TENANTS	103
3.4: THE ST. JOHN BARONY AND ITS TENANTS	108
3.5: NON-RESIDENT FAMILIES, SHORT-TERMERS AND NEWCOMERS	114
Regional landowners	115
Wider connections	121
Short-termers	123
Newcomers	125
3.6: CONNECTIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS	126
Military service	127
Witnesses	128

Marriages	131
Rebels, lawlessness and disputes	133
CONCLUSION: A COUNTY COMMUNITY	135
CHAPTER 4: THE COMPOSITION OF THE HAMPSHIRE ÉLITE TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY	138
INTRODUCTORY	138
4.1: THE TRANSMISSION AND EXTINCTION OF HAMPSHIRE FAMILIES	140
Manorial Holdings and age of heirs	143
Means of extinction	145
4.2: SURVIVAL INTO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY THROUGH THE MALE LINE	147
Consolidation and expansion	148
Rising families?	151
Falling families?	154
Absentee landlords	156
4.3: ACCUMULATION AND WASTAGE THROUGH THE FEMALE LINE: 1) THE 1324 KNIGHTS AND ESQUIRES TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY	160
Extinction and reinvention	160
Consolidation and expansion	165
A new regional élite	169
Wastage and dispersal	172
4.4: ACCUMULATION AND WASTAGE THROUGH THE FEMALE LINE: 2) OTHER KNIGHTLY FAMILIES INTO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY	176
Consolidation and expansion	176
Wastage and dispersal	184
4.5: NEW MEN IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY	188
4.6: TRANSMISSION OF THE NON-RESIDENT, ORBITING FAMILIES	196
Incoming descendants	196
Outgoing descendants	198
4.7: CONNECTIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS	203
CONCLUSION	212
CHAPTER 5: OFFICE HOLDING AND THE COUNTY COMMUNITY	215

INTRODUCTORY	215
Families frequently in office	216
5.1: THE SHRIEVALTY	218
Patterns of Appointment and Re-appointment, c. 1297-c. 1509	220
Hampshire sheriffs in other counties	223
Sheriffs as knights of the shire for Hampshire	223
Income of the sheriffs	226
5.2: THE ESCHEATORS	229
Income of the Escheators	231
5.3: THE KNIGHTS OF THE SHIRE	232
Re-elections	234
MPs and other seats	235
Income of the MPs	236
Composition of the Electors at County Elections	238
The Boroughs	243
5.4: JUSTICES OF THE PEACE	246
The Commissions of the Peace in the fifteenth century	248
Professional Lawyers: King's Bench Cases and the Quorum	251
Income of the JPs	256
5.5: OFFICE HOLDING AND THE WINCHESTER BISHOPRIC	259
Connections in the fourteenth century	260
Bishop Wykeham	263
Connections in the fifteenth century	266
5.6: INTERLOPERS AND OUTSIDERS	267
Richard II and the Early Lancastrians	268
Lancaster, York and Tudor	273
CONCLUSION: POLITICAL COMMUNITIES WITHIN THE COUNTY	274
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION	276
APPENDICES	282
I: LANDLORDS AND VILLS IN THE SOUTHERN COUNTIES IN 1316	282
II: HAMPSHIRE KNIGHTS AND ESQUIRES IN 1324	291
III: LORDS, KNIGHTS AND GENTRY IN 1412	293

IV: THE 1436 HAMPSHIRE TAXPAYERS	299
V: THE KING'S BOOK OF LORDS, KNIGHTS, ESQUIRES AND GENTLEMEN OF ENGLAND	301
VI: OFFICE-HOLDERS WITH THE WINCHESTER BISHOPRIC, ST. SWITHUN'S, AND OTHER CONNECTIONS	303
BIBLIOGRAPHY	310

LIST OF TABLES

1:	Numbers of Knights and Esquires in Hampshire, 1324-1501	31
2:	Distribution of Vills in Hampshire in 1316	44
3:	The Distribution of Vills across the Southern Region in 1316	47
4:	Landowners with Hampshire incomes in 1412	70
5:	Hampshire landowners with lands in the Southern Region assessed at £100 p.a. and more in 1412	73
6:	Crown and Magnates in Hampshire in 1412	75
7:	Incomes of Hampshire landlords in 1436	82
8:	Overlords and the number of their Manorial Tenants, <i>c.</i> 1324	88
9:	Fourteenth-century Knights and Esquires with lands in other counties	93
10:	Manorial Tenants of the Crown and Nobility, <i>c.</i> 1324	97
11:	Manorial Tenants of the Winchester Bishopric and Hyde Abbey, <i>c.</i> 1324	105
12:	Manorial Tenants of St. John, <i>c.</i> 1324	111
13:	Non-resident Families, Short-termers and Newcomers, <i>c.</i> 1324	120
14:	The Descent of the 1501 Knights and Esquires through the Male and Female lines from early Fourteenth-century Armigerous Families	142
15:	Survival through the Male Line into the Sixteenth century	152
16:	Accumulation and Wastage through the Female Line: i) The 1324 Knights and Esquires to the Sixteenth century	171
17:	Accumulation and Wastage through the Female Line: ii) Other Fourteenth-century Armigerous Gentry	183
18:	New Men of the Fifteenth century	193
19:	Orbiting Knights and Esquires	201
20:	Number of times Offices held, 1300-1529	217
21:	Incomes of the Hampshire Sheriffs listed in the 1412 Returns	228
22:	Incomes of the Hampshire Sheriffs listed in the 1436 Returns	229
23:	Incomes of the Hampshire Escheators listed in the 1412 Returns	231
24:	Incomes of the Hampshire Escheators listed in the 1436 Returns	232
25:	Incomes of the Hampshire MPs listed in the 1412 Returns	237
26:	Incomes of the Hampshire MPs listed in the 1436 Returns	238
27:	Number of electors and political appointments, 1422-1441	241

28: JPs in the Ancient Indictments, 1411-1420	253
29: JPs in the Ancient Indictments, 1491-1500	254
30: Incomes of the Hampshire JPs listed in the 1412 Returns	257
31: Incomes of the Hampshire JPs listed in the 1436 Returns	258

LIST OF FIGURES

1:	Distribution of Villages in Hampshire, 1066 and 1316	52
2:	Incomes from Other Counties for Hampshire 'knights' in 1412	78
3:	Incomes from Other Counties for Hampshire 'Esquires' in 1412	81
4:	Survival and Expansion: the Lisles	150
5:	Extinction and Reinvention: St. John-Philibert-Poynings-Paulet	163
6:	Old Wine in New Bottles: Brocas, Roches and Boarhunt	167
7:	The Rise of the Sandys Family	179
8:	Decline and Fall of the Pophams	185

LIST OF MAPS

- | | | |
|----|---|------|
| 1: | The Manors of the Winchester Bishopric in Hampshire | xii |
| 2: | The Manors of the Religious Houses in Hampshire | xiii |
| 3: | The Chief Manors of the Hampshire Gentry | xiv |

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

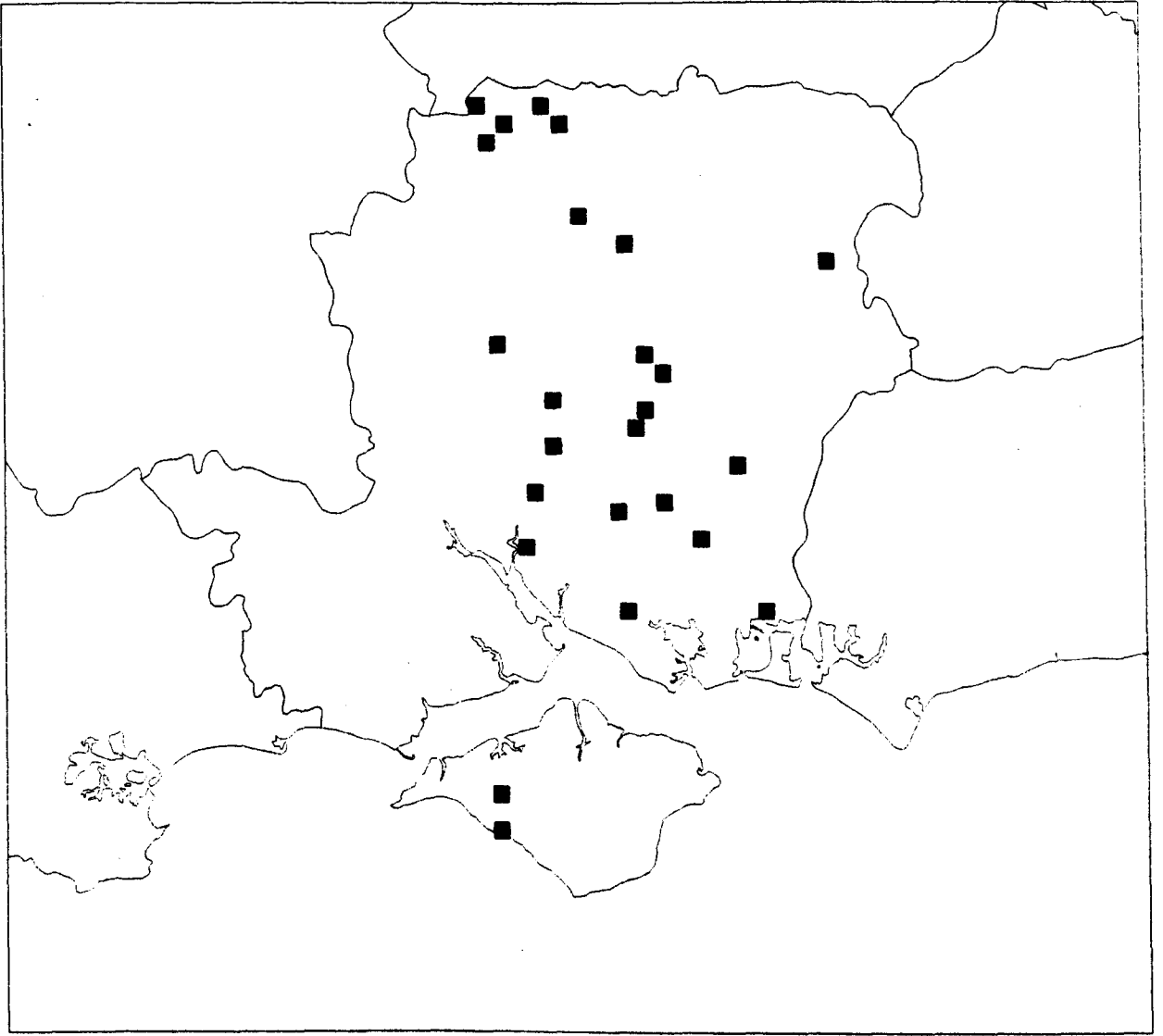
The writing of a thesis is a solitary task, but nothing is written without external influence, guidance, help and support. There are many people who have impinged upon the writing of this work. I owe much to Professor Michael Hicks, my supervisor, for the reading of many drafts and responding rapidly and helpfully. He has undertaken his role as supervisor with great dedication and seriousness. Dr. John Hare, as secondary supervisor, has contributed many valuable comments and ideas. Comments and criticisms from those in the audiences of the Research Seminars based on parts of the thesis at King Alfred's College, the Wessex Medieval Centre, Southampton University, and the Late Medieval Seminar, London University, have all played their part, as have conversations with those participants at the Fifteenth-Century Conferences held at Huddersfield, Reading and Southampton in 1997, 1998 and 1999. I must thank the History of Parliament Trust for kindly allowing me to use their work on the Justices of the Peace listed on the Quorum. The staff and resources at King Alfred's College library, the Bodleian Library, the Public Record Office, the British Library, the Hampshire Record Office and the Library of the Society of Genealogists have all been most helpful. Particular thanks are due to Mr. Nigel James of the Map Room in the Bodleian Library, for all his patience in explaining computer-mapping to me (several times).

The thesis would not have been completed without the continual support of my parents, family and friends.

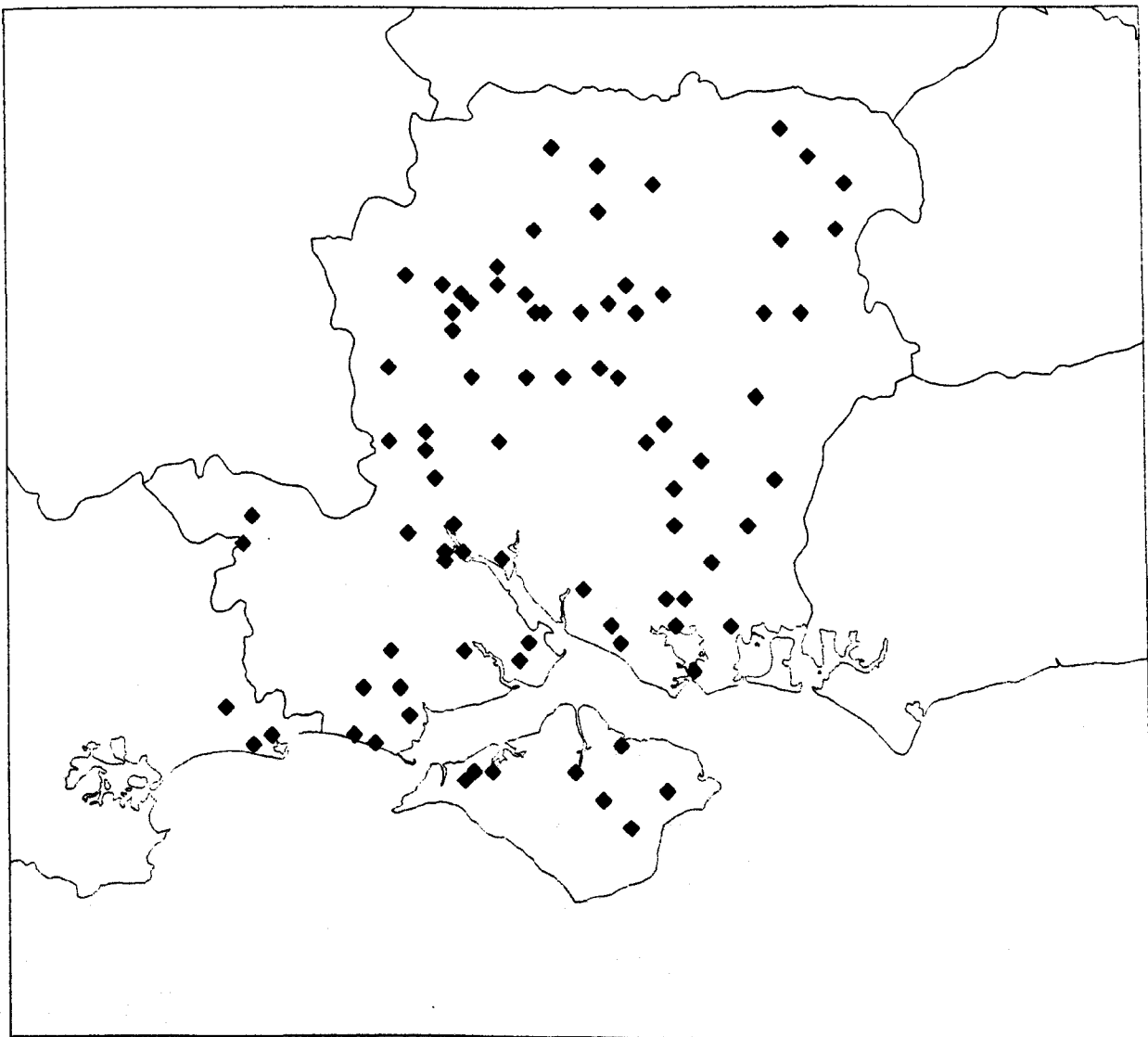
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS¹

<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>BIHR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
<i>BL</i>	British Library
<i>CIPM</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</i>
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
<i>CFR</i>	<i>Calendar of Fine Rolls</i>
<i>CCR</i>	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
<i>DB</i>	<i>Domesday Book</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>EcHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
<i>Feudal Aids</i>	<i>Inquisitions and assessments relating to feudal aids; with other analogous documents preserved in the Public Record Office, AD 1284 - 1431.</i>
<i>HFC</i>	Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club
<i>HoP</i>	<i>History of Parliament</i> , ed. Roskell, J. S. <i>et al.</i>
<i>HRO</i>	Hampshire Record Office
<i>HRS</i>	Hampshire Record Society
<i>GEC</i>	<i>The Complete Peerage</i> , ed. Cockayne, G. E.
<i>JBS</i>	<i>Journal of British Studies</i>
<i>JHG</i>	<i>Journal of Historical Geography</i>
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
<i>Moor</i>	<i>The Knights of Edward I</i> , Moor, C.
<i>Parl. Writs</i>	<i>Parliamentary Writs</i> , ed. F. Palgrave
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
<i>PRO</i>	Public Record Office
<i>Return</i>	<i>Return of the name of every member of the Lower House of Parliament, 1213-1874</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>VCH</i>	<i>Victoria County History</i> (Hampshire volume unless stated)
<i>WCM</i>	<i>Winchester College Muniments</i> , ed. Himsforth, S.

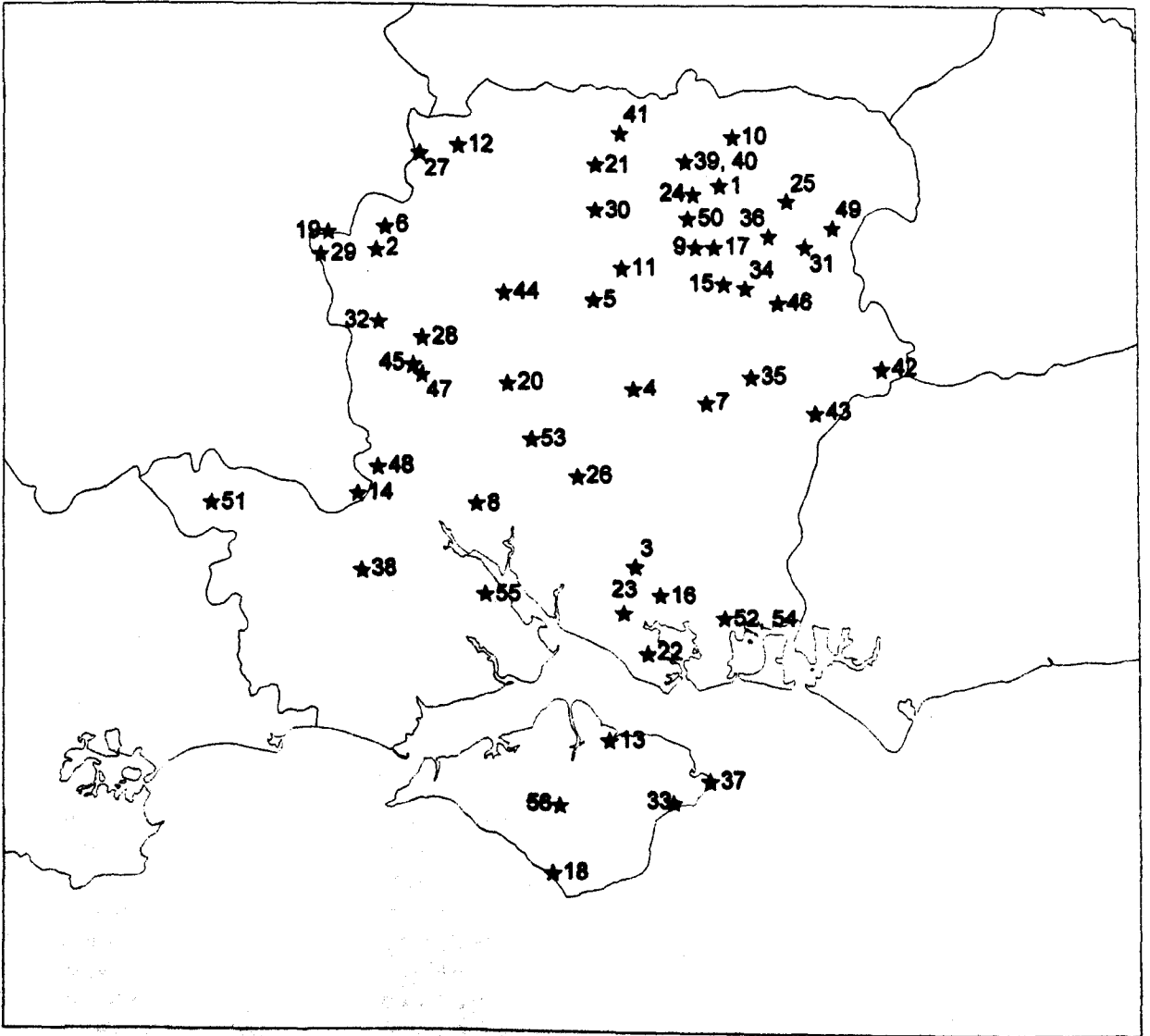
¹ See Bibliography, below, 310, for full references of publications.



MAP 1: THE MANORS OF THE WINCHESTER BISHOPRIC IN HAMPSHIRE



MAP 2: THE MANORS OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF HAMPSHIRE



MAP 3: THE CHIEF MANORS OF THE HAMPSHIRE GENTRY

Key to Gentry Map

1	St. John-Poynings-Paulet	Basing
2	Cormeilles	Thruyton
3	Scures-Uvedale	Wickham
4	Tichborne	Tichborne
5	Stratton	West Stratton
6	Brayboeuf	Appleshaw
7	Tistede	West Tisted
8	Peverel	Chilworth
9	Sifrewast	Ellisfield
10	Warblington-Puttenham	Sherfield-on-Lodden
11	Popham	Popham
12	Punchardon	Facombe
13	Lisle	Wootton
14	Grimstead	Plaitford
15	D'Abernon	Lasham
16	Boarhunt	Boarhunt
17	Coudray	Herriard
18	Langford	Chale
19	Dun	Tidworth
20	Pershete	Sparsholt
21	Launcelvey	Hannington
22	Brune	Rowner
23	Des Roches	North Fareham
24	Basing	Basing Byfleet
25	Burgh	Stapeley
26	Woodlock	Marwell
27	Romsey	Vernham's Dean
28	Bookland	Nether Wallop
29	Berengar	Shipton Berengar
30	Randolf	Ashe
31	Byfleet	Well
32	Wallop	Wallop
33	Russell	Yaverland
34	Kendal	Shalden
35	Norton	East Tisted
36	Pedwardyn & White	South Warnborough
37	D'Evercy	Bembridge
38	Berkeley	Minstead
39	Sandys	The Vyne (Sherborne St. John)
40	Brocas	Beaurepaire (Sherborne St. John)
41	Dingley	Wolverton
42	Bramshott	Bramshott
43	Hall	Burgate
44	Ringborne	Barton Stacy
45	Kirkby	Stanbridge
46	Banbury	Holybourne
47	Roger	Houghton
48	Ringwood-Engleys	Sherfield English
49	Giffard	Itchell
50	Fachell	Cliddesden
51	Payn	Rockbourne
52	Woodlock	Drayton
53	Philpott	Compton
54	Pound-Holt	Drayton
55	Waller-Dibden	Dibden
56	Lisle	Gatcombe

CHAPTER I: COUNTY STUDIES AND SOURCES

INTRODUCTORY

This thesis examines the concept of the Hampshire County Community from c. 1300-c. 1530. This introductory chapter firstly revisits the researches into the English localities made in recent decades; secondly, it places the present author's work into that context; thirdly, an examination is made of the sources used and fourthly, the impact of the earlier medieval distribution of estates on Hampshire landed society at the start of the fourteenth century is considered.

The first section of this chapter discusses how the county played a central role in the interpretation of how later medieval societies functioned. Historians have studied different areas of the country, using both government records and familial records more specific to the chosen locality. All agree that land formed the basis of wealth and power in medieval England. Two main schools of thought have emerged as a result of these studies. The county school seeks to demonstrate that provincial societies - in particular the armigerous gentry, the knights and esquires - formed a political and social community based in the county, and that land, lineage and office-holding were increasingly allied to the county across the period 1300 - 1500; the county was thus the means by which local society established a *modus vivendi*. Alongside this school of thought is the interpretation that the county was a false construct imposed upon the locality by earlier central governments and subsequently misunderstood by modern historians. Lands, marriages and office-holding took place over a wider area than a single county. The mental sphere of the landed élites was regional, if not national; they formed a community of the mind which was greater than any administrative or geographical border. Indeed, each county consisted of many communities overlapping one another and neighbouring counties, so that the result was not so much a 'county community' but a 'county of communities.'

The second section looks specifically at the county of Hampshire and presents the case for the county of communities. The thesis shall look in particular at one community within Hampshire and its associations with neighbouring counties. This community

discussed consists of the knights and esquires. They were chiefly a regional community with overlapping associations within and without Hampshire that will be demonstrated throughout this thesis. The knights and esquires were the armigerous gentry, the level below the peerage but above the yeomanry. They are defined by landed income, the holding of office and collective identity, such as marriage alliances and witnessing deeds. As the fourteenth century progressed, increasing social stratification occurred. An apparently new level emerged below the knights and esquires, that of the gentlemen. But as no great secular estates emerged in Hampshire, there were none to be broken up and bought up by rising families. The manorial land market was fairly static until the Dissolution. Most Hampshire armigerous families remained within the armigerous ranks of the knights and esquires throughout the period 1300-1500. New families were armigerous families marrying into the county usually from the southern region. Wastage did occur; where co-heiresses divided the estate, the resultant parcels did not usually qualify the new holder armigerous status within the county. Problems of definition which historians have encountered and solutions are outlined in this section, with the strategies and rules to be followed throughout the thesis.

The third section in this chapter describes and explains the sources and the problems inherent in those sources and the difficulties encountered in making comparisons over a two hundred year period. Government records were incomplete and inaccurate, each with their own agenda; private sources for Hampshire are severely limited but that actually facilitates and validates the long two-hundred year perspective. Detailed familial sources would simply not permit such a long time-span for this type of project and would limit the research to a single or small group of families, rather than the fifty or so families discussed here.

In the fourth section, this chapter also examines the important legacy of the earlier medieval landed settlement and thus establishes the character of the Hampshire landed élite at the beginning of the fourteenth century. This shows Hampshire to be somewhat different to some other medieval localities, owing to the predominance of the Winchester Bishopric and other ancient ecclesiastical foundations dating back to the Norman Conquest and earlier. Most of the fertile lands in the county were taken by

these religious houses; secular landlords were pushed out to the borders of the county with small estates. This encouraged an outward looking gentry and precluded the establishment of a resident peer holding a single bloc of territory. The only resident Hampshire baron, the St. Johns, had estates in Sussex and Kent and were essentially a regional family. The monopoly of large and fertile estates by the religious houses in Hampshire continued into the sixteenth century.

Finally, it should be noted that this thesis covers over two hundred years of late medieval history. Most county studies have covered one century or a régime or just one generation. The danger of such relatively short timespans is that the changes detected may prove not to be structural and permanent, but rather short-lived, ephemeral, or even cyclical. Families assumed to be 'new' to the county might actually, on further genealogical investigation, be found to have origins generations old. Estates apparently acquired by new individuals might in fact be reverting to an overlord or distant cousin after as long as a century. Perceived communities may have only survived for one generation, before evolving into another community within the county. Such studies may have over-emphasised short-term changes or fluctuations at the expense of long-term continuities. The longer time-span highlights aspects of continuity and change otherwise undetectable in the space of only a few decades. Continuity is a key theme in this thesis. The work put in to achieve this long view has inevitably meant that fewer themes than usual have been studied. In particular nothing specific to military service, law and lawlessness, piety and income has been covered. Most particularly this thesis deliberately avoids the chronological account of county politics that so often dominates county studies.

1.1: CONCEPTS, COUNTIES AND COMMUNITIES

In 1944 K. B. McFarlane looked forward to a time when the lives and achievements of the country gentry were more familiar, so that the main outlines of local and national

politics emerged more clearly.¹ Historical writing on provincial England had not hitherto been concerned with the county, but with the unit which sustained lordship; the great estate. McFarlane showed that great lords of the 1450s could not rely on supporters without local roots getting to parliament. Half a century later, many detailed studies of the later medieval gentry have been completed; most of these were the product of postgraduate research degrees. Together they have vastly enriched the late medieval socio-political scene.² They represent a shift from the earlier biographies of magnates.³ Whilst each study necessarily concentrated upon its particular locality, the conclusions built upon national studies and sought in turn to influence the national pattern. Such studies have been cause for healthy debate, for county studies have not always been comparable with one another, and have generated differing interpretations of the late medieval gentry, and therefore of late medieval England.

The county: a false construct?

¹ K. B. McFarlane, 'Parliament and "Bastard Feudalism"' first published in the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th Series, xxvi (1944), 53-79, reprinted in *England in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1981), 1-21, from where this and following quotations are taken; 20-21.

² To name some of the prominent published and unpublished county studies: K. S. Naughton, 'The Gentry of Bedfordshire in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,' *Leicester University Press, Department of English Local History Occasional Papers*, 3rd Series, No. 2 (1976); G. G. Astill, 'The Medieval Gentry: A Study in Leicestershire Society, 1350-99' (University of Birmingham Ph.D Thesis, 1977); N. E. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981); M. J. Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1983); S. M. Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century* (Derbyshire Record Society, viii, 1983); S. J. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: the Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991); M. C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: a Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992); E. Acheson, *A Gentry Community - Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century, c.1422-1485* (Cambridge, 1992). Many of the findings in these pieces of research are summarised in C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages: the Fourteenth-Century Political Community* (first published London, 1987; paperback edition, London, 1996).

³ For example, J. R. L. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322* (Oxford, 1970); J. R. S. Phillips, *Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, 1307-1324* (Oxford, 1972); M. A. Hicks, *False, Fleeting, Perjur'd Clarence: George, Duke of Clarence, 1449-78* (Gloucester, 1980, revised edition, Bangor, 1992).

All the studies mentioned above - including this one - concentrate upon a particular county, and have made the county gentry their focus of attention. It should be remembered, however, that earlier in the same article, McFarlane noted that ‘...it is advisable to include the adjacent districts in the reckoning, since a county boundary was itself no barrier to the exercise of territorial influence; only great distances were.’⁴ McFarlane talked of the country, rather than the county gentry, and in a recent article, Dr. M. C. Carpenter has argued for an experiential rather than geographical notion of gentry county communities.⁵ Carpenter noted that the seventeenth century was the historiographical starting point for county studies, citing the works of Everitt, Morrill and Fletcher, and that the debate was moved back to the thirteenth century with Professor P. R. Coss’s work on Coventry.⁶ The later medieval county studies of Professor Saul, Dr. Bennett, Dr. Payling, Dr. Acheson and Dr. Wright all subscribe to the county community as a vehicle.⁷ Astill, though, in his study of fourteenth century Leicestershire, underlines the need to look at the way the distribution of landed property rather than administrative boundaries created smaller groups within the county; witness-lists reflect localism rather than county-wide interests and the evidence for marriages is fragmentary.⁸

Dr. Carpenter points out that it is convenient for local studies to organise the documentary evidence by county, and useful for the broader portrayal of English history, where the county gentry acquired a sense of county identity and were ultimately able to challenge the Crown and Parliament in the seventeenth century. Carpenter too, based her own work on a single county: Warwickshire. The reason for

⁴ McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, 13-14.

⁵ M. C. Carpenter, ‘Gentry and Community in Medieval England,’ *JBS*, 33 (1994), 340-380.

⁶ Carpenter, ‘Gentry and Community,’ citing: A. M. Everitt, *The County Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion* (Leicester, 1966), J. S. Morrill, *Cheshire, 1630 - 1660: County Government and Society during the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1974) and A. J. Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex, 1600 - 1660* (London and New York, 1975); P. R. Coss, ‘The Langley Family and its Cartulary: A Study in Late Medieval ‘Gentry’*’ Dugdale Society Occasional Papers*, 22 (1974).

⁷ Carpenter, ‘Gentry and Community,’ 340.

⁸ Astill, ‘The Medieval Gentry,’ 72-85.

such county-based studies may be because the documentary evidence is so often arranged by counties, and this finds its earliest, and most detailed, expression, in Domesday Book. So many major sources, such as taxation records, subsidies, legal records, lists of landed élites and office-holders, and knights fees are all based upon counties rather than individuals or fiefs; nevertheless, it might be a mistake to presume that society on a local level was based around the county. Noel Denholm-Young, when discussing gentry status, warned us to make a distinction between the terminology of the court and that of the shires; a similar warning could be made concerning feudal and taxation records organised by county for the convenience of those at the Chancery in Westminster.⁹ The county was an administrative unit, albeit an ancient one, whose main function was fiscal and legal. County boundaries often bear no relation to the geography and geology of the region, and often no relation either to the distribution of landed estates; as reflected in the scattered estates of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy, like their Anglo-Saxon *antecessores*, and which McFarlane noted half a century ago for the later medieval period.

Rather than the internal, organic development outwards of a county community, it could be suggested that the county concept was in fact imposed onto the locality. From 1066 onwards, the shire was used by the Crown to enforce its will; office-holding in the fourteenth century dealt with the practicalities of calling local officers to account as their responsibilities grew under the weight of foreign war and the need for peacekeeping at home.¹⁰ In the wars and taxations of the period 1295 - 1337, the Crown was more interested in the value of the community and not the individual.¹¹ It was an evolving relationship, in which the county was not the only source of cohesion.¹² In this sense, the county is a bureaucrat's construct, and the case for a

⁹ N. Denholm-Young, *The Country Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1969), 24.

¹⁰ Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community,' 376.

¹¹ J. R. L. Maddicott, 'The English Peasantry and the Demands of the Crown, 1294-1341,' *P&P Supplement*, i, (1975), 50.

¹² P. R. Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised,' *P&P*, 125 (1989), 38.

county community in late medieval England based on the local élite, argues Carpenter, is not yet proven.¹³

It is easy to show the existence of a 'county community' once one has excluded all landowners with major interests elsewhere. Carpenter defines inclusion as at least some fragment of manorial lordship in Warwickshire and some part in the affairs of the county,¹⁴ stating that 'only by refusing to confine the discussion to purely local figures can we establish the degree of localism.'¹⁵ Carpenter attacks the Leicester school's structural-fundamentalists' cozy parochialism, in which the county was akin to a large village.¹⁶ How do we define the limits of the mental world of the gentry? The greater the family, argued Carpenter, the wider its connection; most marriages took place outside the county and office-holding was not tied to the county community until the fifteenth century.¹⁷ Studies such as those of Wright, Saul, Acheson have ignored many external duties and influences, choosing in a somewhat arbitrary manner the 'county' élite; it is better to think of a *regional* rather than *county* élite. Dr Payling's Nottinghamshire 'greater gentry' dominated the county, but Carpenter asserts that Payling is unable to say whether that dominance was self-perpetuating or impermeable.¹⁸ Geography and local economy defined the local groups and these cross-county boundaries, Carpenter argues; the single family approach is also dangerous, as it perpetuates localism.¹⁹

¹³ Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community,' 352. The seventeenth century models of county communities were questioned by C. Holmes, 'The County Community in Stuart Historiography,' *JBS*, 29 (1980), 54 - 73 and A. L Hughes, 'Warwickshire on the Eve of the Civil War: A County Community?' *Midland History*, 7 (1982), 42-72; the influences of these essays are clearly seen in Carpenter's 'Gentry and Community,' particularly Hughes, who saw the county of Warwickshire in the seventeenth century as an administrative unit with far from homogenous economic and social components, 43.

¹⁴ Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, 37.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹⁶ Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community,' 346.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 348.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 349.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 354.

Dr. Moreton argued that the county approach can exaggerate the exclusivity of the upper gentry. Most counties were amalgams of geographical regions as well as tenurial and bastard feudal structures; we should perhaps be talking of a 'county of communities' rather than a 'county community'.²⁰ Indeed, a county study could include a variety of communities: the administrative secular communities of the hundreds, the courts and the shire; the ecclesiastical communities of the parishes and the diocese and the urban communities of the towns, boroughs and the vills. Overlaying those communities were communities of the mind; the business contacts of the merchants, the legal circuits and activities of the lawyers, the piety of those wealthy enough to endow chantries and chapels, the parochial concerns of gentlemen, yeomen and husbandmen, the world of accounting systems of the bishops' reeves, and so on. There are many communities one could choose to study and the 'county' could be chosen as a vehicle for any of them.

Wider associations: the 'community of aim' and the political community

How did the gentry see themselves, and how did others see them? A tie with another family or a distant part of England could be immensely important even if dormant for years.²¹ The Stonor circle in the fifteenth century was not a county network, but covered the three Thames Valley counties of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, and from Buckinghamshire further connections were formed into Bedfordshire and into Wiltshire from Berkshire; the Stonors were 'by no stretch of the imagination' a county élite.²² The family lay at the heart of the gentry world; this led to a network of connections covering a wide area. The upper gentry constantly had to recruit from below to survive. Intermarriage between different social ranks was common. Friends acted as feoffees, reflecting trust; executors and testators were part

²⁰ C. Moreton, 'A Social Gulf? The Upper and Lesser Gentry of Later Medieval England,' *JMH*, 17 (1991), 255-262.

²¹ Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community,' 376.

²² M. C. Carpenter, 'The Stonor Circle in the Fifteenth Century,' in R. Archer and S. Walker (eds.), *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England: Essays Presented to Gerald Harriss* (London, 1995), 180.

of an extended 'family' and wills reveal the 'enormous importance of trustworthy friends in fifteenth century gentry society.'²³

These individuals did not necessarily see themselves as being of one particular county. The Langfords, for example, were a gentry family that Denholm-Young saw as 'the Langfords of Hampshire', included Nicholas, commissioner for array for Derbyshire, 1333 and knight of the shire for Derbyshire, 1324, John Langford, constable of Carisbrooke castle and keeper of the Isle of Wight, c.1333, and William Langford, knight of the shire for Middlesex in 1344.²⁴ Though John appears on the 1324 Muster list for Hampshire, neither Nicholas nor William do so; John appears on the *Nomina Villarum* as lord of Chale, West Medina Hundred (Isle of Wight) and has land listed in Hampshire on his death in 1344.²⁵ Should John be seen more as a royal official in Hampshire than as a local lord? The Langfords continued to hold Chale for two hundred years, but never held county office in Hampshire, though they were qualified to do so.

If the distribution of land was a major factor in the concept of a county community, then the holding of offices was another. The county was certainly a fundamental administrative unit in medieval England, but was it thereby a meaningful political unit? The concept of the political community of the shire - magnate-dominated or otherwise - still commands support. Dr. J. R. L. Maddicott argues that the shire was a politically-minded community in the fourteenth century.²⁶ The shire was not necessarily run by the tenants-in-chief; their influence decreased as the shire court fell into the hands of the stewards and the squirearchy. The seignorial administration of the shire was largely a matter of the separate administration of each manor by a resident tenant; public administration fell to them rather than to the overlords.²⁷ The county court was at the

²³ P. Maddern, 'Friend of the Dead: Executors, Wills and Family Strategy in Fifteenth Century Norfolk,' in *Rulers and Ruled*, 174.

²⁴ Denholm-Young, *The Country Gentry*, 46 - 47.

²⁵ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 322; *CIPM*, viii, 283 - 284, (17 Edward III).

²⁶ J. R. L. Maddicott, 'The County Community and the Making of Public Opinion in Fourteenth-century England,' *TRHS*, 5th series, xxviii (1978), 35.

²⁷ Denholm-Young, *The Country Gentry*, 47.

hub of the shire's business, dominated by magnates, stewards and knights; the court was the mouthpiece of national government; market day was the largest audience; parliament was at the end of a long process in the shaping and transmitting of public opinion; only taxation stemmed directly from parliament. The increasing political, judicial and administrative responsibilities thrust upon and assumed by these leaders of local society tended to enhance the local particularism of the shire communities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and promote a sense of regional unity. By the late fourteenth century, the local gentry had gained a large measure of influence over the institutions of the shire; the county court, judicial bench, local crown offices.

For Astill, the judicial bench was the chief power, and Maddicott agrees that by second half of the fourteenth century, the justices' sessions were taking over the role of the county courts. From the 1360s, they gained the power to determine cases of felony and trespass and administration of the labour laws introduced after the Black Death and by the fifteenth century the benches were staffed almost exclusively by the county gentry. The remaining shire offices were in the hands of local gentry by the second half of the fourteenth century.²⁸

Professor Bennett's Cheshire was such a political community, cemented by marriage and kinship ties, communal involvement in local politics through officeholding and a common consciousness of 'gentle' status exemplified by landholding.²⁹ The patronage of Richard II (as king and earl of Chester) and Henry IV and Henry V (kings and dukes of Lancaster) gave the gentry of the region a sense of direction; the Stanleys of Lathom built upon this in the early fifteenth century and wielded the region into a single patronage system.

The magnates and 'bastard feudalism'

²⁸ Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, 79.

²⁹ Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism*.

It was for their local weight that magnates retained members of the gentry; the county gentry were, Professor Given-Wilson suggests, the 'natural allies of the peerage.'³⁰ The importance of retaining members of the gentry is a reflection of their enhanced role in local politics. There was a clear territorial logic to the retaining policies of most magnates; those with reasonably concentrated estates, such as the Beauchamps in Warwickshire and Worcestershire, or the Courtenays in Devon, could devote the majority of their resources to one region; for those with less compact landed interests, such as the Mowbrays, their support was more widespread and came from Lincolnshire, East Anglia, Sussex and the Midlands, where their principal holdings were situated. Dr. Cherry argued that the influence of the earl of Devon welded the county into a single lineage system and dominated the political life of the shire; a territorial power-block based on a widespread network of estates and on a classic noble affinity.³¹ The situation was similar for the Crown, which retained a greater number of men from Cheshire under Richard II, and Yorkshire and Lancashire under Henry IV and Henry V.

The balance between magnate-held and gentry-held land could also be significant; the presence of a great magnate could have an effect on the political geography of the shire. Armigerous families in Bedfordshire had nearly all their estates in the north of the county because the Greys of Ruthin were in the centre and south.³² In Derbyshire, most of the leading gentry families were based in the south, because the duchy of Lancaster was in the north.³³ On Warwickshire, it has been said, where there were heavy concentrations of magnate lands, there were fewer county gentry families, and where magnate estates were fewer, the gentry were correspondingly both wealthier and more politically assertive.³⁴

³⁰ Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, 80.

³¹ M. Cherry, 'The Courtenay Earls of Devon: The Formation and Disintegration of a Late Medieval Aristocratic Affinity,' *Southern History*, i (1979), 71-97.

³² Naughton, 'The Gentry of Bedfordshire,' 40.

³³ Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry*, 25.

³⁴ Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, 28, 89-90.

The wealth and power of the peerage was not spread evenly. The collective income of the peerage was overshadowed by that of the gentry in 1436. Arguably, super-magnates such as John of Gaunt and Warwick the Kingmaker were over-extended, and, in Dr. G. L. Harriss's words, only the 'very greatest magnate could hope to encompass the whole shire with his influence and thereby control its officers and administrators.' Bastard feudal affinities only scraped the surface of political society, functioning in a 'sporadic and imperfect fashion.'³⁵

There were variations from region to region; in some counties magnates dominated local affairs; in others a more or less independent gentry operated as a county-wide community; in others social and political communities worked at a more localised level. Marriage, witnessses, commissions, and so on may have occurred under the influence of the earls who were resident, but would such activity have gone on anyway? The greatest lords in the north-west, the earls of Chester and dukes of Lancaster, were absentee-landlords.

In Warwickshire, the gentry formed their own groups but the earl of Warwick drew these groups together and created a sense of the shire; the Beauchamp affinity was a source of strength and cohesion for shire society. But this cohesion was temporary and collapsed after Beauchamp's death in 1439.³⁶ The community of the shire, as opposed to the sense of unity given by the Beauchamp affinity did not exist. For the most part, Warwickshire gentry operated both politically and socially not as county-wide groupings, not as leaders of 'Warwickshire society,' but within smaller and more localised groups, more durable and meaningful than the sense of county cohesion created by the earl's leadership.

³⁵ G. L. Harriss, 'Political Society and the Growth of Government in Late Medieval England,' *P&P*, 138 (1993), 54-56.

³⁶ Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, 77. Professor Hicks rejects this orthodoxy, largely established by Dr M. C. Carpenter; M. A. Hicks, 'Between Majorities: the 'Beauchamp Interregnum,' 1439-49,' *Historical Research*, 72 (1999), 27-43.

In Hampshire, the greatest magnate was the Bishop of Winchester. The Bishopric held many of the wealthiest manors in the centre and south of the county since before 1066, pushing the gentry to the north and borders of the county.³⁷ The predominance of the Winchester Bishopric also ensured the exclusion of great secular lordships and in turn created circles of influence between the gentry and the Bishops. Where the knights and esquires are concerned, the Bishopric was a source of possible patronage, an associate and a leader of local society. However, the Winchester Bishopric spanned six southern counties and drew not only from those areas but from previous affinities formed where the Bishop had held a previous office.³⁸ Furthermore, in the fifteenth century, the Bishops became leaders of the bench, and created their own group of lawyers, often servants of the Bishopric and not members of the armigerous gentry.³⁹ The Bishops of Winchester, the greatest lords in the county, were national figures and their interests in the locality were regional rather than county-based; they did not, therefore, create a sense of the shire.

1.2: HAMPSHIRE STUDIES

Aspects of Hampshire have been studied in the early medieval, high medieval and early modern periods.⁴⁰ Klingelhöfer's study was essentially a highly localised project based upon the administrative aspects of the hundred, vill and manor in the Anglo-Saxon period. McIver's concentrated upon the hundred and families of Basingstoke, though it did cover the thirteenth century knights and esquires. Dr. Fritze's main interest was the impact of the Reformation on the county but also included a lot of work on the justices

³⁷ Below, 49-50; Chapter Three, 90-92.

³⁸ For example, Henry Beaufort brought men from Lincoln with him; see below, Chapter Five.

³⁹ Illustrated in Chapter Five, below.

⁴⁰ From early medieval to early modern are: E. C. Klingelhöfer, *Manor, Vill and the Hundred in Early Medieval Hampshire* (Toronto, 1991); T. E. McIver, 'Aspects of the Gentry of Thirteenth Century Hampshire' (University of Oxford unpublished M.Litt, 1984); R. H. Fritze, 'Faith and Faction: Religious Changes, National Politics and the Development of Local Factionalism in Hampshire, 1485-1570' (Unpublished Cambridge PhD thesis, 1981); A. Coleby *Central Government and the Localities: Hampshire, 1649-1689* (Cambridge, 1987). They range respectively in theme from the administrative, the feudal, the religious to the political nature of county affairs.

of the peace. McIver and Fritze's works have both proved to be useful to this study. Dr. Coleby's thesis looked at political activities within the county in the seventeenth century, taking on board the legacy of the original seventeenth century county studies.

This thesis aims to reassess the concept of the 'county community', particularly in relation to the knights and esquires - the armigerous gentry - by using the different approach of the two hundred year chronology and by placing Hampshire in its context in the southern region. It will cover the period *c.* 1300-*c.* 1500. It will not dwell upon the great nobility, the clergy, the gentlemen, yeomanry, burgesses and husbandmen who all played a part in provincial society, or the administration and personnel of the bishop of Winchester. Hampshire had its own peculiarities, chiefly that the Winchester Bishopric and other ancient ecclesiastical estates precluded the development of great secular estates in the county and that in turn shaped the character of the secular landowners in the county. These are two chief reasons among many that makes the county useful to examine in addition to the other county studies.

The geography of Hampshire: boundaries, settlement and landownership

One might expect Hampshire, in the heart of ancient Wessex, to be a good case for the expression of a 'county community'. Hampshire was one of the original shires. It was in Wessex, during the eight and ninth centuries, that the shire system developed, to be exported to Mercia in the tenth century and ultimately the rest of the England.⁴¹ 'Hampshire', was first mentioned in 757 and came under no external influences.⁴² The Wessex shires of Dorset, Somerset, Hampshire and Wiltshire took their names from the towns governing the districts: Dorchester, Somerton, Southampton (Hamton) and Wilton; there was no corresponding system in Mercia, though by 980 there is a reference to Cheshire in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.⁴³

⁴¹ F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 3rd edition, 1987), 292-5.

⁴² *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Revised Edition*, ed. D. Whitelock (1961), 30.

⁴³ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 337.

Grants of land made in the Anglo-Saxon period were important in forming the boundaries of Hampshire. In the tenth century, pastures within defined boundaries in the wooded country between Berkshire and Hampshire were annexed to the bishop of Winchester's estates in North Waltham, in a fold of the Downs, and at Overton in the Test valley.⁴⁴ The western and northern boundaries of the county reflected the boundaries of the diocese of the Winchester Bishopric in the eleventh century, which extended eastwards into Surrey; only Sussex (Selsey) and Kent (Canterbury) had similarly shaped county and diocesan borders.

However well-defined and ancient the boundaries of Hampshire were by the late medieval period, the county of Hampshire actually represented several different geographical regions which never tallied precisely with the administrative units of county and hundred. The county concept was in fact imposed on to the locality; medieval Hampshire was an artificial creation.⁴⁵ These geographical regions placed Hampshire in the wider region of Wessex. The vast expanse of chalkland was the central unity of the Wessex region, stretching from the Dorset coast, across Cranborne Chase to the Salisbury Plain, and from Marlborough northwards to the Berkshire Downs, east to the Hampshire Downs and to Surrey and Sussex.⁴⁶ Hampshire itself consists of the Basin, the chalklands, the New Forest, the Isle of Wight and, north of the Downs, the London Basin. The Basin looks south towards Southampton, the Solent and the English Channel coast, where low-lying gravels, sands and clays predominate. The chalk downlands dominate the north and centre where the large sheepflocks had more in common with Wiltshire. In short, Hampshire was 'something of a mongrel.'⁴⁷

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 283.

⁴⁵ D. A. Hinton, 'Hampshire's Anglo-Saxon Origins,' in S. J. Shennan and R. T. Schadla-Hall (eds.), *The Archaeology of Hampshire: from the Palaeolithic to the Industrial Revolution (Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club, Monograph 1, 1981)*, 65.

⁴⁶ J. H. Bettey, *Wessex from 1000 AD* (London, 1986), 3.

⁴⁷ D. A. Hinton, with contributions by P. A. Stamper, 'Ham-tunscire: a Review of the Archaeology and History of Medieval Hampshire', D. A. Hinton (ed.), *Archaeology in Hampshire: A Framework for the Future*, Hampshire County Council (1996), 40.

In the central chalklands and to the west of the county, the villages were generally nucleated, but in the south-east, the north and the east, settlements consisted of satellite hamlets and dispersed farmsteads. Population was concentrated in the towns of Southampton, Basingstoke, Odiham, around Winchester and the Avon valley and from the towns of Andover and Stockbridge to the Wiltshire border. These were the wealthiest areas in the later medieval period; 50% of the deserted medieval villages were located on the higher chalklands.⁴⁸

If the geography did not bind Hampshire into a cohesive unit, then neither did the pattern of landownership. The feudal settlement is examined below, and its legacy casts a long shadow; the two resident lords were regional lords, holding estates all across the southern region. The Bishop of Winchester's estates were vast and he was the most powerful individual in the county and one of the wealthiest in the region, for his estates covered six counties; the lords St John, with their caput at Basing, held estates in Sussex and Kent. Both these lords governed estates that had been in existence for centuries; the result was that lesser landlords and other magnates were never able to build up major units of wealth that gave them substantial power in the county. These two salient points are established in this and the following chapter and the consequences carried though into Chapters Three and Four.⁴⁹

A regional society: 'communities within the county'

It has been argued that the independence of later medieval county gentry from royal or baronial domination is well attested; they served themselves first and made up their own minds; this was not a question of blind loyalty, as they were independent and parochial.⁵⁰ It should not be an 'all or nothing' conclusion of either nobility or gentry; this fails to allow for a mixture of both. The nobility need not be presented as

⁴⁸ M. Hughes, 'Settlement and Landscape in Medieval Hampshire,' in Shennan and Schadla-Hall, *The Archaeology of Hampshire*, 70-72.

⁴⁹ The last section of this chapter discusses the land held by the religious houses, and the first half of Chapter Two looks at the estates held by the magnates and the St John barony.

⁵⁰ This is the conclusion reached by S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990), in a study of the greatest medieval affinity, 261.

dominating and oppressive and the gentry as constantly seeking independence. And although the collective wealth and landholdings of the gentry always far outweigh the nobility in the county, in every county there was at least one nobleman individually substantially more powerful than any of the gentry in the county, in terms of global wealth and actual land in the county. There was no need to dominate all the gentry - rather, the right people. Informal, subtle connections and friendships, drew together nobles, greater, middling and lesser gentry, all with shared power values; the local tenurial geography was very important.⁵¹

The absence of any resident magnate in the county and the domination of the Winchester Bishopric meant that as well as no other secular large estates developing, opportunities for the gentry to advance themselves were limited. The paucity of secular wealth meant that Hampshire does not have many late medieval lay-owned manor-houses.⁵² Only a few stone churches contain stone effigies or monumental brasses commemorating knights.⁵³ There was no easily recognised group of resident 'greater gentry', that is, of greater knights and barons such as Dr Payling has identified in Nottinghamshire. There was, however, a hard core of some forty armigerous families resident in the county who dominated the offices of knights of the shire and sheriff in the fourteenth century. These families had been in the county for many generations and formed a (but not *the*) 'county community.' Their estates and their status passed on either directly through male heirs or through heiresses; advancement within the county came through marriage, and almost all of these were based on social parity.⁵⁴ Furthermore, Hampshire knights and esquires did not need a resident secular magnate to take their cue from; they could act independently, just as knights in other counties with resident magnates did, exchanging lands and forging alliances in war and at home.

⁵¹ Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community,' 356-361.

⁵² Notably The Vyne, home of the Sandys, but rebuilt in the sixteenth century; Tichborne, home of the Tichbornes; Basing House, home of the St John barons, was sacked in 1644.

⁵³ Notably at Thruxton (Lisle and Philpott), Stoke Charity (Hamptons and Wallers) and Stratfield Say (Dabridgecourt).

⁵⁴ Only the Whites purchased their way into the armigerous gentry and remained established; below, 193-194.

They were not above cynically exploiting courtly contacts for their own use, as Sir John Sandys did in 1376 to get off charges of abduction and murder.⁵⁵

Many of these families held lands in other counties. They were also sharing the county with dozens of absentee landlords of armigerous status, illustrated by the 1412 returns in Chapter Two. The large number of knights with estates in Hampshire is a constant feature; they cannot be ignored, and formed a silent minority. Moreton's idea of 'communities within the county' fits with the Hampshire evidence. The core of knights and esquires resident in the county formed one of these communities, existing alongside absentee neighbours who might call in a favour or suggest a marriage alliance after many years of absence or who might never get involved in the affairs of the county. One of the consequences of the powerful Bishopric and the absence of a lay magnate was that knights based primarily in other counties - usually neighbouring - could and did exercise their holdings in Hampshire for political and social ends. In the fifteenth century a cadet branch of the Gloucestershire Berkeley family became resident in the county and came to dominate the offices of sheriff and knight of the shire.⁵⁶ A regional, rather than a county, model of armigerous activity is appropriate to Hampshire and is proposed in this thesis.

Regional and parochial mentalities were not mutually exclusive. Taking McFarlane's advice on including adjacent districts, Hampshire is placed in the context of the southern region. The 'southern region' has been defined as the counties of Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Surrey, Sussex and Kent; some account is taken of any other lands held in England by Hampshire landowners. Dr. Carpenter defines inclusion as any fragment of manorial holding or office-holding activity. From the early fourteenth century right through to the end of the fifteenth, at least half a dozen families orbit those resident knights and esquires, holding office and visiting to witness family deeds, and occasionally marrying into the county. This is a constant feature.

⁵⁵ For Sir John Sandys, see below, 176-178.

⁵⁶ For the Berkeleys, see below, 169-170.

Chapters Three and Four turn to the knights and esquires of Hampshire. That is, those families who were resident in Hampshire and through their political and social activities formed the armigerous community in the county alongside the families of equal or greater status who were non-resident and non-active within the shire. But before continuing, a discussion is needed here of how historians have defined the term and of the difficulties involved in arriving at a satisfactory definition, especially covering the whole period c.1300-c.1500 and how these definitions will be applied throughout this thesis.

Definitions of nobility, knights and esquires

English aristocratic society in the early fourteenth century consisted of some 3,000 landowners whose estates were reckoned to be worth at least £20 per annum; in 1327 there remained only seven earldoms of the twenty-two in 1154.⁵⁷ In 1410 there were allegedly some 1,500 knights, 6,200 esquires and fifteen earls within the realm.⁵⁸ Only two great magnate families emerged unscathed after the Wars of the Roses, and in 1509 there was one duke and nine earls of age.⁵⁹ In the early 1520's there were some 200 knights.⁶⁰

At six hundred years' remove, Professor Given-Wilson asks whether it is possible to get at the essence of 'social class' in the Middle Ages, or whether we must be content with describing social 'types.' Nevertheless, as he says, the attempt must be made, chiefly because in the Middle Ages social status was closely related to political authority and it is impossible to understand the English polity without reference to the

⁵⁷ T. B. Pugh, 'The Magnates, Knights and Gentry,' in S. B. Chrimes, C. D. Ross and R. A. Griffiths (eds.), *Fifteenth Century England, 1399 - 1509: Studies in Politics and Society* (2nd edition, Gloucester, 1995), 86 - 128.

⁵⁸ From *The Chronicles of London*, in A. R. Myers (ed.), *English Historical Documents*, iv, (London, 1969), Nos. 391, 669.

⁵⁹ Pugh, 'The Magnates, Knights and Gentry,' 89; 115.

⁶⁰ On figures based on the commissions of the peace; J. P. Cooper, 'Social Distribution of Land and Men in England, 1436 - 1700,' *EcHR* 2nd series, xx (1967), 422.

levels in which society was ordered.⁶¹ What made a man noble in fourteenth century is difficult to define precisely; good birth, inherited land and lordship and leadership in battle were all qualifications. Title, legal privilege and wealth were the visible evidence.⁶² Language reflected the deliniation of social rank; French and Latin were the language of the governing levels in the fourteenth century but English was the language of the lesser landowners.⁶³

At the top of English lay society in 1300 there was the baronage, numbering around 200 families at any one time. Those who came below the baronage and made up the rest of the English nobility are commonly referred to as the 'armigerous class' or, among later medieval and modern historians, as the 'gentry'.⁶⁴ There was, however, no contemporary description of gentry; contemporary views of the level of wealth varied from area to area.⁶⁵ Gentility was widely felt and articulated long before legislation tells us so; but land-holding and office-holding cannot be the sole pre-requisites for gentry-membership.⁶⁶ Neither heraldry nor the triple schema of knight, esquire, gentlemen help definition. Terms such as 'greater gentry' are terms driven by external observation, not by contemporary perception. The term 'gentry' as employed by historians is a construct. However, the 'gentry' shared with nobility the gentility which is designed to express the essential social difference between them and the rest of the population. Before the emergence of a parliamentary peerage, the social distinction between the English nobility and the gentry 'did not exist.'⁶⁷

The concept of nobility had undergone a subtle though significant change between the twelfth century and the late thirteenth century. This period saw a crystallisation of the lesser ranks of the nobility. To be a trained mounted warrior became increasingly

⁶¹ Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, viii.

⁶² *Ibid.*, vii.

⁶³ 'Dominus', 'miles', 'Esquier' and 'armiger' for the armigerous élite, 'yeomen', 'franklin' and 'husbandmen' for the lesser landowners.

⁶⁴ Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, 14-19.

⁶⁵ Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry*, 2.

⁶⁶ P.R. Coss, 'The Formation of the English Gentry,' *P&P*, 147 (1995), 42.

⁶⁷ Pugh, 'The Magnates, Knights and Gentry,' 96.

exclusive, indicating social status as well as martial activity by the thirteenth century. The severe inflation of 1180 - 1220 concentrated lands in the hands of fewer; the period 1100 - 1300 saw a widespread shift of land out of the hands of the king and baronage to the church and armigerous level; lineage became more important as the costs of knighthood rose. Administratively, it was the *busones* (literally, 'big shots') of the shires who increasingly came to serve king and baronage, serving as jurors, tax assessors, military arrayers, escheators, coroners and sheriffs for the Crown and as stewards and councillors for the magnates. The spread of lay literacy from the twelfth century onwards gradually broke down the barriers demarcating the work of laymen from the work of clerics. A growing minority of dubbed knights were not militarily active.

By 1300 the armigerous gentry level consisted of between 2,500 - 3,000 landholders, half were dubbed knights, the other half - generally styled esquires - were men who for various reasons had decided not to assume actual knighthood, but who were roughly equivalent status and wealth to the dubbed knights. All these held land worth at least £20 p.a. They are described variously as *miles*, *dominus* and *valletus*, *armiger*, *scutifer* and *serviens*. The Statute of *Quia Emptores* of 1290 ended subinfeudation and, it is argued, acknowledged the growth in common law and the other aspects of the élite beyond the tenurial point to wider social changes.⁶⁸ Denholm-Young's figure of about 1,250 actual knights in the counties in the early fourteenth century, following the transformations of the previous century, whether sudden or gradual, is understood to be about right.⁶⁹ The hallmark of this group was still its warrior ethos, but increasing emphasis was placed upon lineage and service of non-martial character. Lineage was a defensive reaction to the dilution of the nobility's martial role in society and a defence

⁶⁸ S. L. Waugh, 'From Tenure to Contract: Lordship and Clientage in Thirteenth-Century England,' *EHR*, ci (1986), 811 - 39; J. Scammell, 'The Formation of the English Social Structure: Freedom. Knights and Gentry, 1066 - 1300,' *Speculum*, 68 (1993), 610 - 611; D. F. Fleming ascribed the increased use of 'miles' after 1220 in witness-lists not necessarily to increased use of documentation but to an increase in the use of *miles* and suggested that the answer might lie in the growing common law: 'Milites as Attestors to Charters in England,' *Albion*, xxii (1990), 188, 195.

⁶⁹ P.R. Coss, 'Knights, Esquires and the Origins of Social Gradation in England,' *TRHS*, 6th series, v (1995), 155.

against the growing wealth of the merchant level. By 1300, knighthood had become a distinction increasingly belonging to the heads of families only.⁷⁰

The 'Triple Criteria'

Later medieval preconceptions and modern historians' interpretations notwithstanding, contemporary expression of status and historical analysis point to three determinants of social gradation which shall be employed in this thesis. These are: wealth (chiefly landed income, though annuities and grants were important); office-holding (local offices particularly the shrievalty, representing the county in Parliament and exercising justice over the local populace, as justices of the peace) and thirdly, collective identity (ties of association with those of a similar status, such as marriage and witnessing family documents).

i) Landed wealth

The esquires were the group that the Crown had attempted to distraint to knighthood in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; thus they were potential knights and of the armigerous level. The thirteenth-century distraints were an attempt to remedy the lack of fighting men and officers. The Crown's chief desire was for fighting men and for administrators; status was not important. The policy of distraint begun by Henry III in 1224 for the Gascony expedition of 1225 was continued throughout the thirteenth century. The renewal of interest in warfare under Edward I in Wales and Scotland led to the renewed vigour of knighthood, which may be what we can see in the lists of the early fourteenth century, even though Prestwich has suggested that only 20 - 30% of Edward I's cavalry were of armigerous standing and that the major battles of the first half of the fourteenth century saw a great increase in the use of the footsoldier.⁷¹

⁷⁰ P.R. Coss, *Lordship, Knighthood and Locality: A Study in English Society, c.1180 - c.1280* (Cambridge, 1991), 253 - 5.

⁷¹ M.C. Prestwich, 'Miles in Armis Strenuus: The Knight at War,' *TRHS*, 6th series, v (1995), 202; 205. M. Page, 'Royal and Comital Government and the Local Community in the Thirteenth Century,' (Unpublished Oxford D.Phil, 1995) found that for Cornwall the armigerous families - about 35 in the

The distrains of the period 1242-1292 were variously £15 - £30 in lands *per annum* and thereafter £40.⁷² In 1410, legislation stipulated that a knight could live on 100 marks p.a. (£66) and an esquire on 40 marks (£26).⁷³ Gray's figures based upon the 1436 income tax allocated £40 - £100 to the lesser knights, actual and potential (£60 average) £101 - £399 to the barons and greater knights and £20 - £39 for the esquires (£24 average in 1436). This categorisation produced figures of 950 'knights' (excluding the peerage) with incomes from £40 - £200 and a further 1,200 or so 'esquires' with incomes £20 - £40. The 5,000 or so lesser landholders, some of whom were esquires, most gentlemen or merchants, had incomes of £5 - £20; the parish gentry.⁷⁴ The gentlemen were approximately in the £10 level, though it was not until 1530 that we learn that a man claiming gentle status was expected to hold lands to the value of £10 *per annum*.⁷⁵

These financial categorisations have been used by historians of regional studies, though faults with the sources have been acknowledged.⁷⁶ Dr. Payling's study of Nottinghamshire in the period 1399 - 1461 defined the greater knights having at least £100, the lesser knights £40 - £100 and the lesser squirearchy £20.⁷⁷ Dr. Carpenter found that the Warwickshire 'elite' of 1436 had an income of at least £60 and the 'middle-ranking' £20 - £50.⁷⁸ Dr. Wright found that most Derbyshire knights actually had at least double or even treble the amount set out in 1410.⁷⁹

late thirteenth century - did indeed suffer a decline, in line with the national trend, and that distraint and the successes of war encouraged a new armigerous vigour, 122, 132.

⁷² Page, 'Royal and Comital Government,' 124.

⁷³ *English Historical Documents*, iv, 668-9.

⁷⁴ H. L. Gray, 'Incomes from Land in England in 1436,' *EHR*, xl (1934), 623.

⁷⁵ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 248.

⁷⁶ Below, 38-41.

⁷⁷ Payling, *Political Society*, 113 and appendices.

⁷⁸ Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, 138.

⁷⁹ Wright, *Derbyshire Gentry*, 3.

The Hampshire armigerous families are identified using the determinants outlined above, that is, an income of £20 and above from land (£40 for the knights, more than £100 for the greater knights and barons). Evidence comes chiefly in the form of a summons in 1300 to do military service to all those with £40 from the county, and the 1412 and 1436 income tax returns, the inquisitions *post mortem* being unreliable and family records extremely sparse.⁸⁰

ii) Office-holding

Dr. Wright pointed out that office-holding is often used by historians to define the gentry.⁸¹ The criteria used for the definition of the armigerous elite in the thirteenth century has included the combination of the lordship of one or more manors with activity in local government as a coroner, forest official, and sheriff or under-sheriff.⁸² The thirteenth century articles of the eyre still defined a knight as the holder of a knight's fee, even though a knight's fee could represent a very small amount of land, not sufficient to support knighthood.⁸³ Faulkner's study of the early thirteenth century produced additional criteria in administrative duties such as electors of and service as grand assize jurors, viewers of sickness essoins, those who brought the record of the county court to the king's court and those who were sent to hear the appointment of an attorney and jurors for pleas of attain.⁸⁴ Those sharing these characteristics constitute a figure of some 86 known administrative knights in Hampshire in the period 1199 - 1216, compared to 83 in Wiltshire, 84 in Berkshire, 119 in Sussex and 66 in

⁸⁰ See below for a discussion of the sources, 34-43.

⁸¹ Wright, *Derbyshire Gentry*, 1.

⁸² D. A. Carpenter, 'Was there a Crisis of the Knightly Class in the Thirteenth Century? The Oxfordshire Evidence,' *EHR*, lxxxv (1980), 722.

⁸³ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 10.

⁸⁴ K. Faulkner, 'The Transformation of Knighthood in Early Thirteenth Century England,' *EHR*, cxi (1996), 4.

Dorset.⁸⁵ Faulkner revised Quick's figures of fifty-five (to 86) for Hampshire as an underestimate, and gives a national figure of 3,636 knights.⁸⁶

It has been noted above how the knights and esquires came to dominate the major county offices of sheriff, knight of the shire and justice of the peace in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The county gentry thus formed the political community of the shire. The office of escheator fell between two groups. Below were the lesser offices, coroner, tax-collector, juror, nearly always held by the lesser landholders, the 'parish' gentry. Financial requirements for the holding of office were usually far below the actual income of the holders.⁸⁷

In the 1460s, local office began to be seen as consonant with the highest social and tenurial status, and no longer a burden; by 1500, administrative experience had replaced military experience, suggests Dr. Carpenter.⁸⁸ Status was increasingly defined by peacetime office, service and tenurial position.

The holding of the county offices of knight of the shire, sheriff, justice of the peace, escheators, commissioners form the second part of the triple criteria used in defining the armigerous resident gentry in Hampshire. Those families identified in Chapter Three also form the nucleus of the county families active in office-holding across the period, but other landholders are identified, too, who were based in neighbouring counties. Their lands in Hampshire cannot be ignored, for they were a community within the county, another 'silent minority,' who qualified to hold office, usually did not, but sometimes did, as in the case of the Sturmys of Burbage, Wiltshire and Sir Thomas Chaucer of Ewelme.⁸⁹ The earls of Salisbury sometimes head the commissions of array, alongside the Bishops of Winchester. That said, the armigerous families

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁸⁶ J. Quick, 'The Number and Distribution of Knights in Thirteenth Century England,' in P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England* (Woodbridge, 1986); K. Faulkner, 'The Transformation of Knighthood,' 5.

⁸⁷ See below, Chapter Five, for the full discussion of office-holding and incomes.

⁸⁸ Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, 85-7.

⁸⁹ Below, 270-1 for Chaucer and 218 for Sturmy.

identified in Chapter Three did indeed represent the county in Parliament and as sheriffs generation after generation, without the obvious evidence of involvement of a great lord; to a good extent, they formed a political as well as a social community within the shire. Chapter Five shows that the holding of the offices of sheriff, knight of the shire and justice of the peace during the fourteenth and into the fifteenth centuries were dominated by that group of families. An examination of the attestations at county elections in the period 1422-1441 illustrate that if representatives of these families were not serving as sheriff or knight of the shire, then they were usually heading the list of electors.

Another consequence of the domination of the Bishopric and the absence of a great magnate is illustrated in the pattern of office-holding in Chapter Five. Most significantly, in terms of office-holding, is the influence of the Winchester Bishopric over the local judiciary. It is here that the emerging professional gentlemen of the fifteenth century found a voice; the resident knights rarely attended the quarter sessions, so it was left to the servants of the Bishop to gain almost total control by the end of the fifteenth century.⁹⁰

iii) Collective identity

The collective identity of the knights, esquires and gentlemen was marked by more subtle features in late medieval England. The fourteenth century was a time of stratification for the armigerous families, with legislation in 1363 acknowledging the gentility of the esquire. In 1300, knights were allowed coats of arms; esquires were not, until c.1350. These were the non-dubbed knights, of the lesser armigerous level; some of them were clearly considered to be of the nobility, but were not of the knighthood. Knighthood had thus lost its role as a binding force for the chivalric level. Knighthood came to mean one of two things; the dubbed knight was either a man whose ancestors had traditionally taken knighthood (and who could still afford it) or a man who had earned the honour by service, on the battlefield or in the council chamber and who could afford it.

⁹⁰ Below, Chapter Five.

The development of the gentry in this period was a legacy of the process by which the nobility became identified solely with the parliamentary peerage; the interrelation between nobility and gentry was therefore very important and by 1400 there were far clearer definitions than in 1300. In addition, the Black Death shook the landed élite and firmer ties of obedience were laid down; the social control of the peasantry was the responsibility of the king's law.

Socially, as well as economically and politically, the cleavage between the county and the parish gentry was also clear; county gentry families married each other, conducted their legal and familial transactions with each other, used other as witnesses, feoffees and guarantors; the parish gentry moved within their own circles. Kinship ties sometimes cut across these distinctions, but they did not undermine the hegemony enjoyed by the county gentry in local political society.

Patterns of land-holding underpinned the distinction; county gentry held more land and often in other counties. A minority held franchises such as free warren, view of frankpledge, fairs and markets. Parish gentry were much more localised and they virtually never held franchises. Pedigree was important; the families who had been established in the county longest tended to belong to the county gentry.

But the gap between some of the esquires and knights was a fairly narrow one; esquires could go to tournaments or join noble orders and by mid-fourteenth century they were allowed coats of arms. The wealthier esquires were clearly of the nobility, 'a nobility of blood marked out by the capacity to receive knighthood.'⁹¹ Restricted groups were summoned to the Great Council in 1324. It should be noted that esquires were different to 'men-at-arms' who were of a more general category; the 'esquire' had emerged as a social rung by the middle third of the fourteenth century.⁹²

⁹¹ M. H. Keen, *Chivalry* (Yale, 1984), 145.

⁹² Coss, 'Knights, Esquires and the Origins of Social Gradation,' 168, 177.

Matters of marriage and other forms of association pertinent to collective identity in Hampshire are discussed chiefly in Chapters Three and Four. While the financial definitions of knighthood - tax evasion and incompleteness of sources notwithstanding - and the holding of high local offices can to a large extent delineate the level, associations and means of collective identity is a far less exact science. Chapter Three uses the 1324 May Muster list of knights and esquires as a key source to identify resident Hampshire families, but the chapter demonstrates that a dozen or so listed actually had little or nothing to do with the county. Witnesses of charters and grants sometimes cut across the level divide, deploying clerks and locals, though the grants of manors - rare in Hampshire - usually included knights and esquires, often neighbours. McIver found that the relationship between the gentry and the lower gentry in thirteenth century Hampshire was characterised by very strong tenurial links.⁹³ Lesser gentry, those 'parish gentry' do often appear as witnesses. Parish gentry, identified by their holding of offices such as coroner, bailiff, tax collector and by lower incomes, are discussed where they throw light on the armigerous gentry.

As might be expected in Hampshire, the knights and esquires had close associations with the Winchester Bishopric, especially with William of Wykeham, sending their sons to his new school, dining with him and benefitting from the terms in his will, as well as holding the higher bishopric offices.⁹⁴

Evidence of marriages in Hampshire is scarce, but where it can be gleaned, both inter and extra-county marriages were common, again usually on a regional basis, amongst the knights and esquires. Inquisitions *post mortem* throws some light on these, the later Visitations being somewhat inaccurate. In the case of several heiresses, as Chapter Four demonstrates, suitors came from other counties, usually from within the region (Surrey, Sussex, Berkshire, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire). The *longue durée* used in Chapter Four highlights the importance of lineage to the Hampshire families; the oldest armigerous families maintained their status either by direct descent or by marriages that

⁹³ McIver, 'Aspects of the Gentry,' 367.

⁹⁴ Below, 264-266.

preserved the estate. This had a significant impact upon the stratification of the landowning level as the later medieval period progressed into the fifteenth century.

Stratification: 'rising' and 'falling' families across the period

As social stratification increased, the numbers of knights dropped in Hampshire as with elsewhere. Evidence of the regional studies suggests that the two upper groups were reasonably homogenous within the gentry; that is, the decline in knights through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries led to a corresponding rise in the status of the esquires. This is true of Hampshire, but it should be noted that those esquires were almost all of old armigerous families. Certainly they were as active in office-holding as the knights, probably because there were so few knights.

Several county lists of élites provide evidence for the numbers of knights. The numbers of fourteenth century armigerous families in Hampshire range from fifty-five (1300) to thirty-three (1308) and forty (1324). The Hampshire 1436 tax returns list 144 taxpayers for Hampshire; there were 22 knights, 27 esquires and 32 gentlemen.⁹⁵ There is the 1434 oath-list which contains 88 people, including three knights.⁹⁶ Further evidence for numbers of armigerous families in Hampshire at this later period comes in the form of the 1431 subsidy for which the Hampshire returns have survived, somewhat exceptionally, and would appear to indicate place of origin and residence.⁹⁷ These returns are far less informative about fees and previous owners than the 1428 returns, but unlike the 1428 returns, there is here a wealth of description concerning knights, esquires, gentlemen, masters and merchants both in the towns and the countryside. Of the total 162 landowners, all but 28 are accorded some form of title or status. All the entrants are accorded some form of residential origin, either a vill or county, usually both.

⁹⁵ PRO E179/173/92; knights had over £40, esquires between £20 - £39, gentlemen £10 - £19; see Table below, 31.

⁹⁶ CPR 1429-1436, 396-397.

⁹⁷ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 359 - 375.

In 1431, the county had nineteen knights and three lords with lands in Hampshire, and thirteen are recorded with a place of residence or origin in Hampshire. The esquires total 37, 27 of whom appear to be resident in the county, including two who were assessed for Southampton Town.

The country-wide trend into the fifteenth century was a contraction of numbers. Warwickshire in 1410 had 112 gentry families.⁹⁸ There were in 1436 18 knights, 59 squires and 55 gentlemen, representing a significant decline from the 42 knights in Warwickshire in 1324 and a fall to 12 in 1450.⁹⁹ Nottinghamshire in 1436 had 22 resident knights (43 in 1324) and Gloucestershire 20 (50 in 1324). The drop in numbers was also reflected in Derbyshire, where there were 17 in 1324 and fewer than half in 1434, of the 50-70 armigerous families.¹⁰⁰ If the 1324 list is primarily a military list reflecting the popularity of the newly-invigorated fighting knighthood, then those original figures may be over-estimates of the local élite. The Hampshire evidence does indeed show duplication and in some cases no particular allegiance (territorially) to the particular county, as will be illustrated in Chapter Three. The figures for the Hampshire armigerous families follow the national picture of contraction, as the 1324 list included 33 knights and 8 esquires where the 1436 income tax returns number 22 knights and 27 esquires; in 1501, there were 6 knights and 13 esquires.¹⁰¹ The title of knight carried costs, such as the scale of consumption, so many individuals chose not to be promoted. The military role of knighthood became increasingly moribund; Dr. Wright found in Derbyshire a brilliant interlude in 1415 but thereafter knighthood was 'superfluous.'¹⁰² In Hampshire the two social levels of knight and esquire were interactive and not mutually exclusive; the 1412 returns examined in Chapter Two,

⁹⁸ M. C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: a Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401 - 1499*, (Cambridge, 1992), 81, 89, Appendix II, 671 - 682.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 55, 82.

¹⁰⁰ Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry*, 6.

¹⁰¹ The numbers of 'knights and esquires' in 1436 is somewhat misleading, as it based purely on income, rather than any associative value; Chapter Four demonstrates that some of these individuals were merchants and lawyers did not actually remain in the ranks of the élite; nothing is known of several others.

¹⁰² Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry*, 10.

reveal the number of landholders with an armigerous income who were not belted knights and Chapter Five demonstrates that esquires shared office-holding alongside the knights.

Knights	Esquires	Date
33	8	1324
22	27	1436
6	13	1501

Table 1: Numbers of Knights & Esquires in Hampshire, 1324-1501

Analysis in Chapter Four illustrates how some of the armigerous families in 1324 had apparently become ‘gentlemen’ by 1501, despite retaining the lands they had occupied in 1324. If we are to follow the line of argument that the distinction between the knights and esquires was increasingly homogenous, sharing office-holding and eschewing titles because of unwanted costs but pertaining to equal social status within their level, then it is the division between knights, esquires and the gentlemen which is the important cut-off point. It is useful at this point for some discussion on the term ‘gentleman.’ The 1413 Statute of Additions gave legal recognition to the gentleman. The use of ‘gentleman’ is attested as early as 1384, when Richard II granted one of his servants seven and half pence a day ‘to enable him to support the estate of a gentleman to which the king has advanced him.’ But it was not until the early fifteenth century that the term gained widespread currency.¹⁰³

The gentlemen, in Professor Saul’s definition, were the new landowners who crossed the divide between the peasantry and gentry after the Black Death; he was the ‘farmer’ of leased-out demesnes.¹⁰⁴ In Warwickshire there were gentlemen by service (for example stewards, lawyers) and gentlemen by tenure, holding both manorial lordship and demesne leases.¹⁰⁵ These are what are sometimes termed the ‘parish’ gentry, the lesser landholding level composed of the poorer esquires, gentlemen, lawyers and

¹⁰³ Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, 70

¹⁰⁴ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 248.

¹⁰⁵ Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, 71

merchants and some richer yeomen. Their income was in the £10-£20 range.¹⁰⁶ The size of this group is difficult to determine; there is no obvious place to draw the line at the bottom. It is possible that many of those who described themselves as ‘gentlemen’ in the fifteenth century were not landed at all but in service or possibly in trade.

The Crown records reflect the confusion over the definition of the gentleman; ‘gentlemen’ in private records can be ‘yeomen’ in the king’s courts. Dr. M. C. Carpenter suggests that what occurred was rather a new definition of gentility than the arrival of upwardly mobile level of peasants becoming the fifteenth-century gentlemen; and Professor Saul asks whether the gentleman of 1415 was economically any different to the *valletus* of c.1300.¹⁰⁷ Lack of noble lands and resident knights could inflate the status of gentlemen. Between the gentlemen-yeomen and armigerous families there lay, in Dr. Wright’s words, an ‘enormous gulf’ - economic, political and social. But the bold categories become, as with knights, esquires and magnates, blurred in reality; younger sons and brothers of knights and esquires who inherited little or nothing and went into the law, service or trade were defined now as members of the lower social group, the parochial gentry. But how could there be an ‘enormous gulf’ between them and their brothers, fathers and cousins? Blood-ties would not prevent them attending weddings, funerals, christenings, witnessing documents and in general associating with the knights and esquires who were their family, even if they were themselves ‘parochial gentry.’ Dr. Wright finds a solution to this contradiction by speaking of those parochial gentry where they cast light on the ‘gentry proper’, that is, the knights and esquires.¹⁰⁸ If these younger sons did not benefit from a lucky marriage or a professional career, they ‘seem to have sunk without trace into the lower ranks of society,’ victims of the English custom of impartible inheritance.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry*, 5.

¹⁰⁷ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 247-8.

¹⁰⁸ Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry*, 6.

¹⁰⁹ A. J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses: Lay Society, War, and Politics 1450-1500* (Oxford, 1990), 105.

‘The gentry are always rising; it is their habit,’ wrote Professor Holt.¹¹⁰ What happened to the knights of the thirteenth century happened to the gentry of the sixteenth. The process of gentrification was difficult to halt. But rather than the familiar image of the ‘rising gentry,’ it might appear that the new status of the gentlemen simply recognised a level that already existed. Into this level were absorbed some of the cadet branches of the knights and esquires who failed to make good marriages or establish themselves by other means, such as service and fortunes of war. It was a level that rarely achieved sustained social promotion. In Warwickshire from 1349-c.1520, 80% of the land changed hands but mobility of the gentry was restricted; only four families in the fifteenth century entered the élite from lesser gentry without the aid of a marriage or inheritance windfall, and this in a ‘semi-open élite.’¹¹¹ In Hampshire, purchase of estates was minimal; the ecclesiastical landlords maintained their grip on the largest and wealthiest estates. Only three non-armigerous families are known to have purchased manors in Hampshire from the later fourteenth century and into the fifteenth. Two of these were merchants and one lawyers; only one family held office and had notable connections with the established families, and, by the triple criteria of wealth, office and collective identity, entered into the society of the knights and esquires with which we are primarily concerned.

If not ‘rising’ families, then ‘falling’ families might pose a problem. The triple criteria highlights the number of fourteenth century families that did fall out of the armigerous category in Hampshire due to wastage. Chapter Four includes eight families who failed in the male line and whose co-heiresses took parcels of the family estate to new marriages, none of which were substantial enough to maintain armigerous status within the county. Thus the new families do not appear as holding offices or associating with the Hampshire knights and esquires; the parcels of estate either resulted in a lower status or contributed to the overall income of the new family which may have been based in another county as armigerous gentry.

¹¹⁰ Quoted in Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 254, from J. C. Holt, *The Northerners: A Study in the Reign of King John*, (Oxford, 1961).

¹¹¹ Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, 150-151.

That said, continuity of Hampshire families and estates was strong. Chapter Four highlights the number of estates that were passed through heiresses. These marriages were usually made on a basis of social parity, to knights and esquires often in neighbouring counties. If an estate was divided between co-heiresses, often the new family had estates elsewhere to support armigerous status. Rather than 'rising gentry,' 'migrating gentry' is the chief characteristic of the evolving armigerous families, in Hampshire, at least. Using the triple criteria to define this level, it is shown that new entrants were extremely rare. Those who apparently fell out of the level may have always been on the fringes of the esquire/gentleman level, and the increasing stratification into the fifteenth century saw them assume gentleman status. Following Dr. Wright's solution, these families are talked of when they cast light on the armigerous families. The long time-span covered here can show that a family in 1324 may be of armigerous status but by 1501 is categorised as a 'gentleman'. This does not necessarily mean that the family had declined, but that the level of gentleman was broad and sufficiently established by 1500 for the family to find recognition in that group. The long time-span and triple criteria (that is, landed wealth, office-holding and collective identity) reveals them to be quite different from others in the same level. The classic example in Hampshire is the Tichbourne family; they held high office in Hampshire and were well connected with other armigerous families. The Tichbournes were knights in 1324, 'gentleman' in 1431 - but with £50 in 1436 - and 'gentleman' in 1501, and described 'esquire' and distrained in 1509. This perhaps confirms the ambiguity of the 1501 source as well as problems of title. But by using the triple criteria across the period 1300-1500, it can be determined who truly belonged to the armigerous élite, who apparently entered that community and who apparently left.

1.3: SOURCES

The greatest lords in Hampshire, the bishops of Winchester, have left behind their pipe rolls and a wealth of other material. These have been a rich source for several studies,¹¹² and are currently the major archive for a study of the Winchester Bishopric and Bastard Feudalism. The Bishopric records are too vast to more than sample here

¹¹² For example: J. Z. Titow, *Winchester Yields* (Cambridge, 1972).

and have secondary relevance in a thesis dealing primarily with secular lords. They do not include, in any case, the household accounts, receivers' accounts, or deeds that are most useful for exploring political connections. Some Bishopric sources, including the 1301-2, 1409-1410 and 1500-1 Pipe Rolls, *The Register of the Common Seal* (records of St. Swithun's Priory) have been sampled where there is relevant material for the secular landowners, and other ecclesiastical lords' records have been examined for any relevant material.¹¹³

Secular lords are much less fully documented. The Montagu earls of Salisbury, lords of Christchurch, have left a cartulary, odd estate accounts and title deeds which, however, relate almost exclusively to their estates further west. There is no archive relating to the principal barony of St. John.¹¹⁴ A Hampshire cartulary could have resulted in the close examination of a particular family and a particular area, in a period defined by the document. Studies of other counties and families are assisted by household accounts, indentures of retainer, letters, charters and witness lists. However, no cartulary survives for any Hampshire family; there are the Brocas deeds, studied by Montagu Burrows, now lodged in the Bodleian Library, and there are a few grants and charters for various families lodged in the Hampshire Record Office and the British Library. None of these amount to very much. Without a great secular lord, there is no central archive for Hampshire families and their connections. Few connections can be traced. What is possible, some of which has been done, requires a search of the records of the lords scattered and located far afield.

¹¹³ M. Page (ed.), *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1301-2*, Hampshire Record Series xiv (Winchester, 1996); M. Page (ed.), *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1409-1410*, Hampshire Record Series, xvi (Winchester, 1999); HRO 11M59B1/2/6; J. Greatrex (ed.), *The Register of the Common Seal of the Priory of St. Swithun, Winchester, 1345-1497*, Hampshire Record Series, iii, (Winchester, 1979). E. O. Blake (ed.), *The Cartulary of the Priory of St. Denys near Southampton*, Southampton Record Series, xxiv-xxv (Southampton, 2 vols, 1981); K. A. Hanna (ed.), *The Cartularies of Southwick Priory, Parts 1 and 2*, Hampshire Record Series, ix-x (Winchester, 1988-9); S. Himsworth (ed.), *Winchester College Muniments* (Chichester, 2 vols, 1976); S. F. Hockey (ed.), *The Beaulieu Cartulary*, Southampton Record Series, xviii (Southampton, 1974); J. M. Kaye (ed.), *The Cartulary of God's House, Southampton*, Southampton Record Series, xix-xx (Southampton, 2 vols, 1976).

¹¹⁴ Presumably destroyed when Basing House was besieged and sacked in 1644.

There is no fully satisfactory method by which the historian can calculate the distribution of landholding. Use has been made of the 1316 *Nomina Villarum* and its comparative value with Domesday Book, and the printed records in the *Feudal Aids* volumes, including knights' fees and the 1412 income tax. The calendars of the inquisitions *post mortem* have been used extensively for the fourteenth century. Central legal sources such as King's Bench indictments, election indentures, exchequer pipe rolls and sheriff's returns have been sampled. A thorough search through all the catalogues of the British Library and the Public Record Office has uncovered only a few charters, grants and leases. No specifically Hampshire private letters or indentures of retainer have been found; the later fourteenth century poll tax records for Hampshire are extremely fragmentary and the 1524/5 subsidy lists for the élite are disappointing (only fragments for Basingstoke survive), though the 1436 taxation manuscript survives and has proved very valuable. Chapter Three and Four use as much as possible the surviving deeds and witness lists of manorial grants to illustrate the connections within the county and those important connections formed with neighbouring counties. These samples throw some light on the armigerous communities in action, but are too sparse to draw general conclusions, though pointers can be made to the communities within the county theme.

The *Nomina Villarum*

The *Nomina Villarum* provides a detailed description of the Hundreds, vills and lords therein for the county of Hampshire in 1316, a generation after subinfeudation had ended and the generation preceding the Black Death.¹¹⁵ It illustrates the general

¹¹⁵ The Hampshire MS is Bib. Harl. 2195, a 17th century copy which seems to have been made from the original record rather than the 16th century transcript. It is printed in *Parliamentary Writs II*, iii, 301-416 and see introduction, iii; the writs of March 5th 1316 are printed in *Feudal Aids*, i, 254; the Hampshire returns are printed in ii, 306-323. The survey was occasioned by a grant at the Lincoln parliament of a foot soldier from every vill in the kingdom, in order to raise an army for the war against Scotland. Writs of March 5th, 1316 told the sheriffs to return at their next proffers the number and names of the hundreds, cities, boroughs and *vill* in their respective bailiwicks and the names of the lords thereof.

picture of the distribution of property within Hampshire at the start of the late medieval period. R. B. Pugh deduced that the 1316 lists were actually based upon pre-existing lists.¹¹⁶

The exact ratio of lords to vills is difficult to ascertain, seeing how many vills were divided between several owners, and that the vills themselves were defined variously as 'vills', 'villata' or 'hamlets'. None of the figures taken from the *Nomina Villarum* take into account the varying size of the vills or indeed their independent wealth, though the latter can to a certain extent be compared with the 1334 lay subsidy for which the movable values of the villages are given. The particular lords listed in the *Nomina* are sometimes tenants and other times tenants-in-chief, but mostly tenants. The status of a vill may not be indicative of the adjoining land and wealth.

As Domesday Book, the *Nomina Villarum* and the 1412 income tax were created for different purposes using different terminology in three different periods, they are not strictly comparable. Domesday Book lists 'places,' which were not necessarily manors. The *Nomina* lists vills and hamlets and the 1412 source is a taxation record, listing manors. But all three are concerned with property and ownership of property; the 1412 source is concerned with rental income from property and includes manors as well as the status of the lord. These sources may be constructed on a different basis but each provides a general picture with which that from another source can be compared.

Whatever the problems with comparing the various sources across different periods and different usage, there is no doubting the value of the *Nomina Villarum* as primary evidence of a topographical nature, in the tradition of Domesday Book, Kirkby's Inquest, the Hundred Rolls, the Testa de Nevil and the Inquisitions *Post Mortem*. The *Nomina* is the most directly valuable only after Domesday Book as a source of comprehensive reference, for relative if not absolute assessment. In Professor Saul's words, it gives as complete a cross-section of county society as can be for the early fourteenth-century.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ R. B. Pugh, 'England's Earliest Gazetteer?' *BIHR*, li (1978), 113.

¹¹⁷ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 4.

The Hampshire *Nomina* was the starting point of a survey that has been extended to the other seven counties in the 'southern region' whose records also survive. A complete database of all the landowners in southern England in 1316 has been compiled and is used at the end of this chapter to illustrate the distribution of land and in Chapters Three and Four for biographical information on particular armigerous families. In this way, Hampshire landowners have been placed in the wider context, so that it is not presumed that a narrow county élite necessarily existed.

A similar approach has been taken to the other sources, chiefly the 1412 taxation returns,¹¹⁸ lists of sheriffs, knights of the shire, justices of the peace and contemporary lists of so-called county gentry. It can be assessed with some authority just how close-knit, or how widespread, the landholders and office-holders were and whether the individual county did indeed influence the activities and achievements of the gentry.

Fifteenth-century taxations and subsidies

Whilst a comparison between Domesday Hampshire and the *Nomina Villarum* returns for Hampshire have illustrated a powerful degree of continuity of land settlement, such a comparison inevitably remains incomplete. The allocation and distribution of knight's fees may well allow for a more detailed picture of the landholding élites within the county; for Hampshire there survive the 1166 *cartae baronum*, the 1346 aid for the knighting of the king's son, the 1428 subsidy of 6 Henry VI and the 1431 returns of a subsidy revoked in 1432 for which the Hampshire returns survive, almost uniquely.¹¹⁹ For comparative purposes, the 1346 and 1428 knight's fees are the most useful and complete, especially as the 1428 returns were based upon the earlier returns. Both returns include the number and place of the fees and usually the previous holder of the fee. Of course such feudal aids record only the minority of land held by military

¹¹⁸ To which McFarlane was actually referring when he made his comments about county boundaries and great distances.

¹¹⁹ *The Red Book of the Exchequer* ed. H. Hall, Rolls Series 99 (London, 3 vols, 1896), i, 204 - 210; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 323 - 341; 342 - 359; 359 - 375.

service, but such tenure, as has often been pointed out, was normal both for the larger estates and the larger landowners.

The dearth of suitable secular sources for this study following the generation after the Black Death was ended by the run of county taxes and subsidies in 1405, 1412, 1428, 1431, 1436, 1450, complemented by oath-lists in 1434. None of these is all-embracing or very accurate, however. Families fail to appear consistently in all the returns. The assessment changed from one tax to another. The 1436 returns, though the fullest of the fifteenth century returns, does not record the status of the contributors, and, in Derbyshire at least, the local returns underestimated numbers and income levels.¹²⁰

McFarlane thought the 1412 and 1436 assessments 'ad hoc' and Payling noted how the commissioners often rounded off income assessments to the nearest multiple; £20, in the case of the 1412 returns.¹²¹ Furthermore, the inquisitions *post mortem* for the period post 1400 are 'notoriously unreliable' and of limited comparative value.¹²² It should be noted that absolute comparison is not always possible, given that the 1334 subsidy dealt with moveable property, that of 1412 with rental income (and annuities), and that the 1316 *Nomina* assessed villis and not manors. The ongoing inquisitions become unreliable after c. 1400 and there are no county lists between 1344 and 1412. However, the tax returns of the period can supply evidence for relative, if not absolute wealth, and if the figures were rounded down across the board in 1412, then this would balance out the total. That returns for all the southern counties in 1412 survive

¹²⁰ Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry*, 3.

¹²¹ McFarlane, 'Parliament and "Bastard Feudalism,"' 13; Payling, *Political Society*, 4. Barber found that "although there were no large scale omissions, a considerable proportion of property around the £29 level slipped through the tax net." M. J. Barber, 'A Study of Landowners and their Estates in Essex, Kent, Surrey and Sussex at the Opening of the Fifteenth Century, based on the Land Tax Assessments of 1412' (unpublished Oxford University B. Litt, 1949), 18.

¹²² Payling, *Political Society*, 4; this is a line of thought that follows C. D. Ross and T. B. Pugh, 'Materials for the Study of Baronial Incomes in Fifteenth-Century England', *ECHR*, 2nd series, iv, (1953), 186.

permits successful comparative study to be undertaken regarding Hampshire landowners.¹²³

As with the *Nomina*, there are problems and pitfalls with the use of the 1412 returns for wider purposes. Not all the records of the counties survive. There are nineteen counties for which the 1412 returns survive. They include the southern counties of Berkshire, Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Kent, Somerset, Surrey, Sussex and Wiltshire.¹²⁴ Such a good representation of the south validates the placing of Hampshire in the southern context. Furthermore, Payling has noted that McFarlane was surprisingly the only person to use the 1412 returns in any considered way in print.¹²⁵ It must be stressed however, that some other medieval English counties have no record for 1412; what is constructed here can at most only be a hypothesis of the distribution of land outside the southern region. Furthermore, the 1412 tax excluded lands purchased in mortmain before 20 Edward I and contains only land in frank almain purchased or received after that date; this excludes the majority of ecclesiastical properties.¹²⁶ The entries for the Church are thus very incomplete. A mere £491 of ecclesiastical income was assessed in 1412, with the bishop receiving an income of just £20. In 1535, the gross income of the Bishopric was £2,873, from Hampshire and other counties.¹²⁷ Cardinal Beaufort was reputed to be the richest man in the kingdom. Of the three sources of his income - the revenues of the Bishopric, the profits of wool exports and profits from personal favours - reliable figures can only be gained from the

¹²³ Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry*, 3; Payling, *Political Society*, 5; McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, 13, n50, where the returns in 1412 may not give us the real value of a man's lands but 'so long as they are made on the basis of comparison between one landowner and another, their absolute trustworthiness is immaterial.'

¹²⁴ The subsidy rate was granted at a rate of 6s 8d on 20 librates (£20). For Hampshire, *Feudal Aids*, vi, 449 - 458; cf. McFarlane's appendix A, tables A, B, in *England in the Fifteenth Century*, 14, 262 - 267.

¹²⁵ Payling, *Political Society*, 3; McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, 1 - 21.

¹²⁶ The full letter patent detailing the subsidy is to be found in *Feudal Aids*, vi, 391 - 392 in the letter from the king to the sheriff of Bedfordshire.

¹²⁷ D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales* (London, 1971), 447.

revenue of the Bishopric which in this period yielded £3,700 per annum. At the height of his career a sum of around £50-60,000 in coin, plate and bullion constituted his treasure.¹²⁸ If a complete comparative picture of the royal, noble ecclesiastical and other secular landlords cannot be gained from the 1412 returns, they nevertheless suffice for an analysis of secular landholding in Hampshire and to indicate the outlook and composition of southern region landed estates in the early fifteenth century. A database of all individuals with income from Hampshire has been developed and expanded by their tracing incomes from all the surviving remaining counties. This forms a useful comparative base with the pattern of landownership illustrated by the 1316 *Nomina Villarum*.

County lists of knights and esquires

Sources used for the number of lords, knights and esquires include four county lists in the first half of the fourteenth-century, dated to 1300, 1308 and 1324.¹²⁹ As with the *Nomina Villarum* and the Lay Subsidy, much is dependent upon the function of the document, whether for fiscal or military purposes.¹³⁰ It is not sensible to accept as a given fact that the lists represent the leading families in the county and that in turn they form a 'county' élite. The lists, that of 1324 in particular, are used as starting points, and are compared with the élites of 1412, 1431 and 1436 and, finally, with a list of 1501.

The summons to provide military service dated to 1300 includes only those with £40 or above from Hampshire; this excludes those of the esquire rank with an income of in excess of £20. The list of 1308, a Parliamentary Roll of Arms, fails to distinguish between residential and non-residential and between Hampshire and Wiltshire, though they are all termed 'sire'. The 1324 list of those summoned to the Great Council notes the sheriff and the names of the knights (thirty-three) and esquires (eight); unlike the

¹²⁸ G. L. Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort* (Oxford, 1988), appendix iii, 411 - 412.

¹²⁹ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339, 411-412 and ii, 648-649.

¹³⁰ Denholm-Young warns us to make a distinction between the terminology of the court and that of the shires; N. Denholm-Young, *The Country Gentry in the Fourteenth Century*, (Oxford, 1969), 24.

list for Wiltshire (forty-seven knights, twenty-nine esquires), it does not differentiate between residential and non-residential or between the greater and lesser baronage, only putting Henry of Lancaster and Ralph of Monthermer at the head.¹³¹ In 1344, a commission was appointed in each county to find the names of all laymen with incomes ranging from £5 to £1,000, but this did not distinguish social rank nor place of residence; after the 1340s, there were no more lists of county landowners until the income tax of 1436.¹³²

Absolute comparison between these sources is not realistic, but a framework for a construct can nevertheless be put in place for future debate. So, although the sources may be constructed on a different basis (a military summons or muster, an aid, a tax or distraint), each provides an overview with which the overview from another source can be compared. Interesting is the inclusion of the many individuals in all the lists from 1300-1501 who played little part in county affairs by the measure of office-holding and collective identity. This illustrates that the core of resident armigerous Hampshire families formed one community within the county and the lists reveal not only the county élite but other individuals who on closer inspection are part of the wider network of the regional élite.

Finally, the King's Book of 17 Henry VII lists the lords, knights, esquires and gentlemen of England towards the very end of our chosen period.¹³³ Head of the list for Hampshire was Thomas, Bishop of Winchester, followed by Richard, abbot of Hyde, six knights, thirteen esquires and some 29 gentlemen. This is a pattern that reflects the situation at the start of the period; the only chief lords were ecclesiastics and the armigerous families were few. Described by Dr. Lockett as a 'gentry list' of those resident in the shire, it is admittedly incomplete.¹³⁴ Professor Pollard suggests that the same list for the county of Yorkshire is 'probably a note of those distrained in

¹³¹ cf. Norfolk, Suffolk, *Parl. Writs*, ii, 641; 1324 Wiltshire list, *Parl. Writs*, ii, 656. Hampshire is one of the very few counties to put 'dominus' before every knight.

¹³² *CPR 1342 - 1345*, 414 - 416; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 32.

¹³³ BL MS Harley 6166 fos. 104 - 105 (Hampshire). Appendix V, below.

¹³⁴ D. Lockett, 'Crown Patronage and Local Administration in Berkshire, Dorset, Hampshire, Oxfordshire, Somerset and Wiltshire, 1485-1509,' (University of Oxford D.Phil, 1992), 135-6.

1500.¹³⁵ But if the list was one of distrained knights, why include esquires, gentlemen and the bishop of Winchester? It may be a combination of belted and distrained individuals. In Hampshire, Robert Cheney had been knighted after Stoke and appears as a knight in 1501, but Nicholas Lisle and William Sandys, also ‘knights’ in 1501, were made knights respectively in 1503, at the creation of Henry as Prince of Wales, and in 1518. John Paulet, John Philpot and George Putenam, esquires in 1501, were knighted on the marriage of Arthur, Prince of Wales, in 1501, at the same time as the list.¹³⁶

Comparisons with the distraints of 1503, 1508 and 1509 (no Hampshire individuals are listed in the distraint of 1500) show that none of these twelve distrained on those occasions were listed as knights in 1501.¹³⁷ Four were listed as esquires on the 1501 list and another four as gentlemen. Only Edward Dudley and Edward Pagnam, distrained in 1503, were not of old Hampshire armigerous families. All the other names - Lisle, Wallop, Tichbourne, Ringbourne - are familiar. Whether or not the 1501 list is a distraint, due to the possible incompleteness and the uncertainty of the function of this list, like so many of the other lists, it is used as a starting point in conjunction with other sources.

1.4: THE FEUDAL LEGACY

The final section of this chapter turns to the distribution of landowning in Hampshire in 1316, using a single source, the *Nomina Villarum*, as an introduction to later medieval landowning society. This is not intended to be an examination of the individual landowners, but it does provide an overview at the beginning of the period with which this thesis deals. Comparisons are made with the distribution of landowners in Hampshire in 1086, using Domesday Book. It is not necessary here to trace the families and their estates in the intervening period, that is, 1086-1300, but again to show an overview of landowning. Each source had different purposes and are not

¹³⁵ Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, 89.

¹³⁶ W. A. Shaw, *The Knights of England* (London, 2 vols, 1906), i, 21, 145-6; ii, 25.

¹³⁷ PRO E198/4/21, 23, 27.

strictly comparable, but each in themselves demonstrate at two fixed points of time the large estates held by ecclesiastical landlords in Hampshire and the resultant dispersed nature of the secular landlords. The *Nomina Villarum* in particular illustrates the diversity of landowners, and the many individuals with land in the county who were never active or resident in the county, suggesting that Hampshire included many communities in one county. Chapter Three highlights those families who were, by the triple criteria, the Hampshire armigerous families. In using the *Nomina Villarum* in this general way in this chapter, the triple criteria are not applied; four broad social divisions - the Crown, the Magnates, the Ecclesiasts and the Gentry - are employed, so that an introductory outline of the nature of landed society in Hampshire can be constructed. Later chapters employ rigorous criteria and detailed examination of families and individuals.

The 476 vills and hamlets listed in 1316 were held by a total of 285 landowners, 89 jointly. The 285 landlords have for convenience been divided into four categories. Firstly, the King, Queen Margaret, the Prince of Wales (Edward, earl of Chester), are for these purposes defined as the ‘Crown’, and this also includes the King’s sister, Maria. The Bishop of Winchester, and forty other ecclesiastical lords form the ‘Church’ category. Six titled earls form the ‘Magnates’ category and the remaining 234 other landlords, are here defined as the ‘Gentry’.

Landowner	Number in category	Vills held	% of vills held
Crown	4	43	9
Church	41	194	41
Magnates	6	14	3
Gentry	234	225	47

Table 2: Distribution of Vills in Hampshire in 1316

This latter group is easily the most diverse group, as it includes Hugh Courtenay, created earl of Devon in 1335, Hugh le Despenser, created earl of Winchester in 1322, and Henry of Lancaster who, following his brother’s death, became the earl of Lancaster. However, it is important to stress that the distribution of land illustrated by

the *Nomina* depicts the exact situation in 1316; to incorporate changes soon after would be to undermine that precision. The 'gentry' group also includes sometime peers such as the Barons St. John and Lisle and makes no distinction between the knights and esquires and lesser landlords. There were seventeen women, including eight widows and dowagers, and four were just 'heirs', or name unknown.

The 47% gentry category consisted of 234 non-titular, secular landlords in 1316, of whom 133 were lords of one vill only.¹³⁸ John of St. John, John Lisle, Ewas Baldet and Robert Ewer were outstanding as lords of nine, six, seven and four and a half vills. The overall 234 holding 225 vills suggests a ratio of less than 1:1, but as only fifty-three of the 225 are classed as full vills - without the 'hameletti' prefix - the figures do not indicate a great territorial hegemony on the lower levels of the aristocracy. As only fifty-three were full 'vills' rather than hamlets, and as many as 133 lords held one vill or less, the seignorial grasp appears to be tenuous.

Whilst this broad category of gentry undoubtedly distorts, since it includes some landowners like the St. Johns, to include all those summoned only occasionally who did not become peers, such as the Lisles, would be an even greater distortion. The category includes other individuals occasionally summoned to parliament, who defy exact definition, since the parliamentary baronage and peerage were not to crystallise for several decades.¹³⁹ In lieu of an arbitrary and ad hoc division of such individuals into peers and non-peers, all are here described as gentry. The four categories do allow a schematic division between non-royal and non-secular holdings and depicts the landlords of Hampshire and other counties in England immediately before the emergence of the parliamentary peerage and the new nobility of the fourteenth-century. It illustrates the vestiges of the feudal settlement of the twelfth century.

¹³⁸ 85 of those shared a vill with at least one other person.

¹³⁹ As Given-Wilson says, '.....while nearly 300 families were summoned to parliament at one time or another during the fourteenth century, only about thirty of them continued to be summoned from the beginning of the century to its end,' *The English Nobility*, 64.

The city of Winchester and the towns of Portsmouth and Southampton belonged to the king, but their fee-farms were also held by Queen Margaret. The six nobles held fourteen vills and hamlets between them, plus the boroughs of Petersfield and Stockbridge, but the Winchester bishopric held a massive sixty vills and hamlets, as well as the borough of Alresford and others. A further 134 vills and hamlets, and the borough of Romsey were in the hands of the forty religious houses and ecclesiastics. The 234 gentry held, or had a joint holding in, 225 vills and hamlets.¹⁴⁰ Other county studies in this period and later have found that the lesser, non-noble landowners apparently held from 60% - 75% of the land in any one county; Hampshire falls well below this average because of the high proportion of land in the hands of the Church.¹⁴¹

Hampshire and the southern region in 1316

The *Nomina Villarum* returns also survive for the neighbouring southern counties of Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Surrey, Sussex and Kent.¹⁴² Hampshire is geographically central to the 'Southern Region' counties of Devon, Dorset, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Surrey, Sussex and Kent and the composition of royal, noble, non-noble and ecclesiastical holdings also suggests that the county formed a middle ground in more ways than one. An analysis of the four categories of landholders defined for Hampshire places the county in the context of the southern region and consequently suggests several important conclusions. Firstly, there is a discernible change in the character of the landholders along from West Country to the east. The three counties of Devon, Somerset and Dorset had minimal representation from the Crown and relatively little magnate interest (the Courtenays in Devon had only ten vills); to the north and centre of the region, in Wiltshire, Berkshire and Hampshire, the

¹⁴⁰ Gloucestershire in 1316 had 235 vills containing 312 manors, 111 of which were owned by the religious houses, 166 - just over half - by the gentry and 35 by lay magnates; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 4.

¹⁴¹ Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, 36.

¹⁴² *Feudal Aids* i, 373 - 385; iv, 317 - 335; ii, 39 - 45; v, 199 - 212; i, 47 - 54; v, 106; v, 132 - 143 and ii, 9 - 19, respectively.

holdings of the Crown and magnate were greater; in the eastern part of the region the Crown holdings peaked, in Kent, and the magnates dominated Sussex.

County	Number of Vill	Crown (%)	Church (%)	Magnates (%)	Gentry (%)
Devon	526	0.5	18	1.5	80
Somerset	506	2	20	1	77
Dorset	199	0.5	27.5	1	71
Wiltshire	319	4	38	7	51
Hampshire	476	9	41	3	47
Berkshire	258	1.5	39	3	56.5
Surrey	106	6.5	43	9.5	41
Sussex	245	4	26	25	45
Kent	296	14	46	7	33

Table 3: The distribution of vills across the Southern Region in 1316.¹⁴³

Church holdings in the West Country counties were consistently at about a quarter, but in Hampshire, Berkshire, Surrey and Kent the Church held around 40% of the vill

s.

Even allowing for the inclusion of Hugh Courtenay's ten vill

s, the difference between the Devon gentry, holding 80% of the vills, and the Kent gentry, holding just 33% is graphically illustrated by Table 3. So are the corresponding swings from the 18% Church and Religious holdings in Devon to the 46% in Kent and the 0.5% Crown holdings in Devon to the 14% in Kent. The figures for Hampshire, falling geographically in the centre of the West Country and the south-east, also reflects the gradual shift towards a greater royal and ecclesiastical hegemony in the east. Only Sussex bucks the trend, with its extraordinary magnate holdings of 25% and the low level of ecclesiastical holdings at 26%. This was due to the blocs of land held in 1316 by John of Brittany, earl of Richmond, and the earl of Surrey, John de Warenne. Though a static picture of the southern region, it serves to illustrate the wide variation in the region and the place of Hampshire in the south. It should be remembered that the low number of vills in Surrey may be due to a missing membrane.

¹⁴³ The individual county details are tabled are printed below, Appendix I.

These figures suggest that Hampshire was something of a middle zone between the gentry-dominated West Country and the ecclesiastical-crown held east, buffered by the almost entirely aristocratic Sussex. Whilst the holdings of the Crown are greater, it is the Church that predominates in Hampshire, leaving something of a territorial vacuum which is filled by almost as many gentry-held vills. The character of the county in 1316 - at least in territorial terms - would appear to be strongly ecclesiastical with fewer gentry proportionately than Devon, Somerset and Dorset, but a stronger Crown interest than those counties and a minimal noble-interest in comparison to neighbouring Sussex. The only great blocs of vills held in the southern region as a whole are held by John of Richmond in Sussex and the bishop of Winchester in Hampshire; no other county expresses such hegemonies, not even the Archbishop of Canterbury in Kent.

Enduring patterns of landownership in Hampshire: 1086-1316

Much of the pattern of land distribution illustrated by the *Nomina Villarum* was as old, and usually older, than the Norman Conquest. No study of estate settlement in medieval England can be undertaken without reference to Domesday Book, either as a landmark in Anglo-Saxon/Anglo-Norman history or as a starting point for later medieval England. The Domesday returns of 1086 list 44 hundreds and 437 places, 88 of which were held directly by the king (21%), 95 by the Religious (22%) and 291 (57%) by other, secular, landlords, for whom there is good cause to term 'aristocracy' or 'gentry'.¹⁴⁴ The sixty-nine tenants-in-chief in 1086 held land in forty-four hundreds (including two on the Isle of Wight); sixteen of these tenants-in-chief were religious houses. The land of the king included 43 places on the mainland and 39 on the Isle of Wight; by 1086 only one Domesday place was subinfeudated and that was Shepshed, actually listed under Leicestershire. All other places were held directly by the king. The main lords *tempore regis Edwardi* (T.R.E.) included King Edward, 'Earl' Harold and Queen Edith; most of the various Saxons held from King Edward. The king's lands *tempore regis Willelmi* (T.R.W.) were scattered across the county, from the hundreds

¹⁴⁴ Hampshire DB, ed. J. Munby, Phillimore Series iv, (Chichester, 1982), Folios 37 - 55; J.

Gillingham suggests plausibly that there was a 'gentry' before the Conquest: 'Thegns and Knights in Eleventh-Century England: Who was then the Gentleman?' *TRHS*, 6th series, v (1995), 129.

of Odiham, Neatham, Bosmere and Portsdown in the east and south-east to Fordingbridge, Hurstbourne and Andover in the west, south-west and north-west; though there no place-names in the heartland hundreds of Micheldever, Mainsborough, Bermondspit, Fawley and Bountisborough because these were predominantly religious and in particular, Bishopric lands.

The Bishop of Winchester had 28 places on the mainland and only one on the Isle of Wight T.R.W., eighteen of which were held by the Bishop T.R.E. along with Archbishop Stigand, and the Abbot of Ely; three places are unattributed T.R.E. This suggests continuity from earlier, Anglo-Saxon settlements.

The Bishop's holdings in 1086 were precisely where the King's holdings were not, in the central and southern Hundreds of Mainsborough, Bountisborough, Waltham, Fareham and Buddlesgate, though there was some overlap in Meonstoke and East Meon. Twelve of the 29 places held by the Bishop were subinfeudated by 1086. Land held by the monks of the Bishop included 35 places in 1086, and nineteen of these were subinfeudated. These places were spread across the county, though eighteen of them were held by the monks T.R.E., and many of the remaining lands were held by various Saxons who held in turn from the Bishop. It is important to appreciate that as primary settlements the bishops' holdings were often swathes of territory much larger than manors created later.

A comparison between the Hampshire Domesday entries and the equally exhaustive survey of the *Nomina Villarum* reveals a strong degree of continuity from 1086 to 1316, particularly in the ecclesiastical domain. Vills and hamlets pertaining to the Crown in 1316 (including Queen Margaret and the Prince of Wales as the earl of Chester) totalled 43, and centred upon the hundreds of Andover, Odiham and Basingstoke, all held by the king in 1086. However, a bloc of vills at Alton (DB 'Neatham') held by Queen Margaret was held T.R.W. by a variety of lords and it seems that some land was recouped there. Christchurch and Ringwood were again in the king's hands following the death of Countess Isabella, the last of the Redvers, and

vills in the Isle of Wight were held by the earl of Chester in 1316, where the 39 places in 1086 decreased to only 13 vills.

It is with the Bishopric of Winchester that great blocs of land pass from 1086 to 1316 without interruption. 60 vills and hamlets were held by the Bishop in 1316 and most of these in groups gathered in Overton, Waltham, Fareham, Evingar, Bathsgate, Sutton, East Meon and Farley Hundreds which, with one or two exceptions, were all in the hands of the Bishop in 1086. There were no Bishopric vills on the Isle of Wight, Christchurch or Ringwood, as these were predominantly Crown areas. The land of the monks of the Bishop, which became St. Swithun's, also had blocs of land continuous from 1086 - 1316 in Evingar, Bathsgate, Crondal and Farley Hundreds, particularly in Evingar and Bathsgate, where in conjunction with the Bishopric, the priory was the sole lord of all the vills within the hundred.

The Anglo-Saxon foundations of Romsey, Wherwell and Hyde abbeys had blocs of land which also passed uninterrupted across the period. Romsey Abbey owned ten hamlets out of the eleven in the hundred of 'Buttlesgate', and the borough of Romsey, held T.R.W. Wherwell in 1086 was lord of seven named places in 'Welford' hundred which in 1316 were nine hamlets and one vill in the hundred of Wherwell and Hyde Abbey (St. Peter's in 1086) had several smaller blocs of land in Micheldever Hundred, where in 1316 Micheldever, East Stratton, Abbot's Worthy were held by the Abbey in 1086, as were Cranbourne, Popham and Drayton; but these by 1316 had passed to secular landlords. Hyde also had three of the four vills in Mainsborough in 1316, two of which belonged to the Abbey in 1086.

Given the continuity of Bishopric lands and the old abbeys, consideration must be directed towards the new churches that were founded between 1086 and 1316 in Hampshire and their effect on the pattern of land settlement. That is, from where did they derive their lands? Also included should be the churches noted in the *Nomina* that were not based in Hampshire, but by 1316 had acquired land in the county. These amount to some eighteen abbeys, priories and hospitals; of these, thirteen have Domesday *antecessores*, and eight of these were either the king by himself or with

another tenant-in-chief. Beaulieu, for example, held Soberton (Meonstoke hundred) in 1316, and this was the king's land. T.R.W. Titchfield Abbey in 1316 held Titchfield, which in 1086 had also been the king's land. Other houses held land in 1316 which in 1086 belonged to secular lords such as Hugh de Port (Leteley) or William son of Stur (St. Elizabeth's), but of the known Domesday owners, only Mottisfont in 1316 had a previous ecclesiastical lord, Archbishop Thomas and St. Mary's, Winchester. All the other foundations with land in Hampshire in 1316 had derived their land from either the king or one or more of his tenants-in-chief and in some cases, that land had already been subinfeudated.¹⁴⁵ In short, the new priories and abbeys created in Hampshire were not carved out of existing Church lands, but from land of the king or secular tenants-in-chief; this could only aid the survival of the large blocs of land owned by the Bishopric and diminish secular holdings in the county.

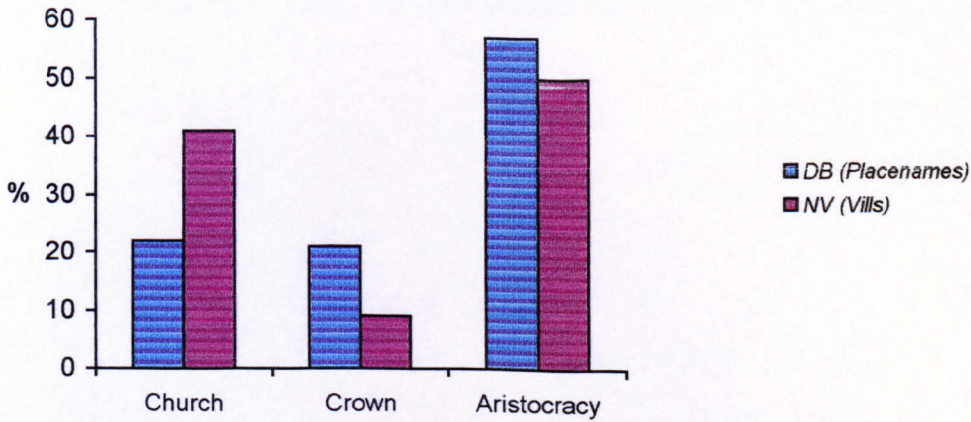
Conversely, the abbeys of Gloucester, Westminster, Chertsey, Jumièges, Glastonbury and Milton all held outlying lands in chief in Domesday Hampshire, but not in 1316; with the exception of Jumièges, whose Domesday land was owned by Hayling Priory in 1316, other Church lands (those known) passed into secular hands, and were subinfeudated early on.¹⁴⁶

Figure 1 shows the general redistribution of villis and manors from the two fixed points of 1086 and 1316 and suggests that while the aristocratic holdings (combining both magnates and gentry - all secular landholders) remained at around half, the greatest change comes in the decline of Crown lands and the growth of Church lands:

¹⁴⁵ Especially Southwick, whose Domesday antecessors at Candover Preston (Bermonspit hundred) included Hugh de Port, Earl Roger de Montgomery and Ralph of Mortimer, all of whom had subinfeudated to Walter, various clerks and Ansketel respectively by 1086.

¹⁴⁶ Those known: Chertsey (Hugh de Port, Walter son of Othere) and Glastonbury (Gilbert of Breteuil).

Fig. 1: Distribution of Vills in Hampshire, 1066 and 1316



CONCLUSION

This was the distribution of estates in Hampshire at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the period when this thesis begins. Hampshire, though an ancient county and an administrative unit, was not geographically or geologically cohesive. The great magnate resident in the county was the Bishop of Winchester, holding the wealthiest lands in the county in demesne, and holding some sixty manors across six southern counties. These estates, along with other ecclesiastical estates, had been held by the religious houses for several centuries by 1300.

This thesis shall enquire as to whether there was one or more landed communities in Hampshire in the period 1300-c.1530. The following chapter, Chapter Two, will establish that one can divide the armigerous gentry into two groups: resident (county only) and absentee (regional), as many armigerous families holding land in Hampshire were drawn from the southern region and further afield. These groups can be identified from the 1412 and 1436 taxation returns. Chapter Three will return to the early fourteenth century and examine the roots and origins of the forty or so resident families and their relationships with their lords, the bishop, the crown and each other. Chapter Four will follow these families through to the early sixteenth century, seeking to see whether estates were broken up or built up, what impact descent through the female line had, why the overall numbers of the knights and esquires declined and how, if at

all, newcomers entered into county society. Chapter Five will examine the major county offices of sheriff, members of parliament and justices of the peace and will enquire as to whether through office-holding a community of the resident gentry can be discerned.

CHAPTER 2: THE BALANCE OF PROPERTY

INTRODUCTORY

Chapter One proposed the model of a community of knights and esquires within the county, defined by the triple criteria of landed income, office-holding and collective identity. Before moving on to discuss those armigerous families in Hampshire, this chapter will illustrate how those families formed only one community in the county by revealing the numbers of those other noble and armigerous families holding land in the county - however fragmentary - but who did not themselves form a community or part of the county community. These families were many and not necessarily unimportant on the social scale. This chapter demonstrates that such landowners cannot be conveniently dismissed so as to present a self-contained county community consisting of the remaining resident gentry. The borders of such communities were blurred; networks stretched far and wide across the realm.

The first half of this chapter looks at the early fourteenth century Crown holdings, the secular magnates and barons, their lands and connections in the county. It will be shown that some of the greatest noble families had manorial holdings in Hampshire, however fragmentary. The baronial family of the St. Johns is discussed; they were the most important local family but their outlook was a regional one. As will be seen in Chapter Three, their impact on the armigerous gentry resident in the county was considerable, particularly in the distribution and wealth of estates. Finally, within this half of the chapter, it will be shown that the ecclesiastical estates maintained their hegemony within the county into the sixteenth century. Chapter One established that the earlier medieval landed settlement resulted in the Winchester Bishopric and other religious houses dominating the centre of the county. The first half of this chapter also shows how important the feudal legacy was to the secular lords and the character of the landowners in the Hampshire at the start of the fourteenth century.

The second part of this chapter uses the income tax returns of 1412 to demonstrate in detail just how many landowners had estates in Hampshire, from the Crown, the

nobility to the many other armigerous gentry who formed part of the ‘silent majority’ of landowners in the county. There were many families who qualified as knights and esquires (that is, with at least £20 landed income from Hampshire) but who never held office or had discernible connections in the county, and thus did not form part of the community within the county. Nevertheless, they did form a formidable presence whose wealth from Hampshire must have contributed to their status and activities elsewhere in the realm. Their Hampshire estates may not have made them part of the county community but certainly made them part of the community of aim, and their aristocratic place in English society as a whole. Therefore, it is proposed that such estates and individuals must be discussed in order to illuminate the particular and place in context the armigerous community which did reside and act primarily within smaller boundaries. Furthermore, the database built from the 1412 returns shows to what extent landowners held land based in the southern region and how that regional outlook was as important to landed society as the county outlook.

This broad overview of the landowners in Hampshire from the fourteenth to the fifteenth centuries not only reveals the diversity of landowners in the county and their integral part in the balance of property, but reinforces the point established in the first chapter, that the Winchester Bishopric and other ecclesiastical estates formed the major blocs within the county and the southern region.

The third and final part of the chapter examines the income tax of 1436 for Hampshire and demonstrates that the pyramid of wealth within the county was relatively flat, as very few families held a low total of wealth in the county, probably due to the monopoly held by the Bishopric and the religious houses over the richest estates and the resulting diverse mix of landowners from neighbouring counties and counties further afield.

In conclusion, it will be argued here that no model of a county élite can be proposed without reference to the religious houses and also to the non-resident armigerous families whose primary interests lay elsewhere, but whose income from Hampshire was

crucial to their overall standing in landed society; and, as far as Hampshire in particular is concerned, formed part of the balance of property in Hampshire.

2.1: THE MAGNATES IN HAMPSHIRE

In 1300, Hampshire had no titular earl in the county. Saer de Quincy had been the first earl, created in 1207, followed by his son Roger in 1235 whose death in 1265 brought to a final end the line, with what McFarlane called “exceptionally bad luck.”¹ In 1322, Hugh Despenser the Elder was created earl, but on his execution in 1326, the title was not revived. In 1551, William Paulet was created Marquis of Winchester one year after being created first earl of Wiltshire and Thomas Wriothesley was created earl of Southampton in 1531; both were principal beneficiaries of monastic estates.

The reigns of Henry III and Edward I had seen the development of four major annexes in the kingdom: Cornwall (1227); Chester (1246); Wales (1284 and 1301) and, in 1399, Lancaster, based on the Montfort and Ferrers acquisitions (1265, 1266). From 1154 to the 1330s, no serious attempt was made to replenish the thinning ranks of the earls. Eight comital families were pressurised by Edward I: Ferrers, Forz, Clare, Redvers, Lacy, Longsword, Bigod and Bohun; Edward I neither actively expanded the earldoms nor did he create new titles.²

Edward I's pressure on the comital families included his acquisition of land in Hampshire from Isabella, dowager countess of Devon, in 1293, when he bought the Isle of Wight and the Christchurch barony.³ Widowed in 1260 and predeceased by five children, she parted with the lordship of Wight and the three properties of Honiton, Lambeth and Christchurch for just 6,000 marks. Although Denholm-Young and Powicke thought nothing amiss in Edward I's deathbed extraction from the dying widow in 1293, McFarlane took up Tout's theme that the king indeed deliberately

¹ K. B. McFarlane, 'Had Edward I a 'policy' towards his earls?' *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), 251.

² *Ibid.*, 267.

³ I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of Origin and Descent, 1086 - 1327* (Oxford, 1960), 112.

exploited dwindling earldoms. Hugh Courtenay, the collateral heir presumptive, was thus cheated out of his earldom, but managed to recover it in 1335; his Inquisition *post mortem* shows that he never managed to regain Wight or Christchurch, as the earl of Chester (that is, the Prince of Wales) was the dominant force in Wight, and the earl of Salisbury at Christchurch.⁴ Hugh Courtenay, earl of Devon had only two vills in 1316, Lymington and Breamore in the west of the county, and the same manors on his death in 1341 - no more, no less.⁵ After the attainder of the tenth earl of Devon in 1538, the Courtenay family lost its remaining lands in Hampshire.⁶ The bloc of Redvers' fees in the Honour of Carisbrooke passed to the Crown.⁷

At his death in 1344, William Montagu, created earl of Salisbury at the March parliament of 1337, had the manor of Swainston on the Isle of Wight, the honour, castle, borough, manor and hundred of Christchurch, the manor of Ringwood, plus all the knights' fees, advowsons of churches, markets, fairs, chapels therein, in this way acquiring the former Redvers lands.⁸ The hundred of Christchurch yielded £60. 2. 9 in 1334, the third richest in the county; Swainston, in the liberty of the Isle of Wight, yielded £11. 13. 0 and Ringwood, his other manor and classed as ancient demesne, yielded £22. 2. 6 at the tenth.⁹ William Montagu was a conspicuous example of a sudden rise to greatness, owed almost entirely by royal service and patronage.¹⁰ In 1412 the earl of Salisbury had an income of £234 from Hampshire alone, third highest after the Queen and Edward, duke of York.¹¹

However, despite this wealth drawn from Hampshire, the Salisburys played an insignificant part in the affairs of the resident armigerous families and the holding of

⁴ McFarlane, 'Had Edward I a 'policy' towards his earls?' 257 - 259.

⁵ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 315, 322 (though he was not actually earl in 1316); *CIPM* viii, 196 - 198.

⁶ S. F. Hockey, *Insula Vecta: the Isle of Wight in the Middle Ages* (Plymouth, 1982), 136.

⁷ The knightly families holding those fees are examined in Chapter Three, below, 94-99.

⁸ *CIPM*, viii, 386.

⁹ R. Glasscock (ed.) *The Lay Subsidy of 1334*, Record of Social and Economic History series ii (London, 1975), 121.

¹⁰ M. A. Hicks, *Who's Who in Late Medieval England* (London, 1991), 79-81.

¹¹ *Feudal Aids*, vi, 449.

offices in the county; only occasionally in the fourteenth century did the family head the commissions of array in the absence of a great titular lord, and this alternated with the Bishop of Winchester.¹² The earl's named feoffees from Hampshire in 1344 numbered ten, including the Prior of Breamore, Bath priory, the Bishop of Salisbury, the Abbot of Beaulieu, the Master of the Hospitallers and the earl of Ormond and held lands on the Isle of Wight and the south-west corner of the county, near Christchurch. Other feoffees included Roger Griffin, John Lisle, William Moyn and John Barowe. Lisle and Barowe were from armigerous gentry families resident in the county, but Griffin and Moyn were not apparently Hampshire landholders. The Lisles held their manors from the Crown, Henry Trenchard and Theobald Russell in chief; the Barowes from the Crown and the Bishop of Worcester. These knightly feoffees did not constitute a major Salisbury affinity within Hampshire, but the presence of the earl on the Wiltshire/Dorset/Hampshire border cannot be ignored as one of the several communities within the county and a thorough investigation of the Montagu cartulary might illuminate specific Salisbury business relating to Hampshire estates.

The *Nomina Villarum* indicates that in 1316, Crown holdings amounted to 9% of the total vills and boroughs in the shire. However, royal lands, along with possessions belonging to the Bishop of Winchester and other church holdings (41%) allowed little room for other great titular lords. Once the Isle of Wight and Christchurch barony had left the Redvers' hands, there remained only the St. John secular great lordship in Hampshire. Queen Isabella had the castle of Southampton, the castle and town of Portchester, the castle and manor of Odiham; Southampton and Odiham passed to Queen Philippa and Isabella, the king's daughter and countess of Bedford, was granted the castle, lordship and honour of Carisbrooke for life in 1355.¹³ The earl of Chester in 1316 was in fact Edward, prince of Wales and the future Edward III, so the eight vills of Bordwood, Thorley, Northwood, Parke, Carisbrooke, Bowcombe,

¹² See Chapter Five, below.

¹³ *CPR 1317-1321*, 115-116, *CPR 1327-1330*, 66 - 69; *CPR 1330-1334*, 55-56, 161; *CPR 1354-1355*, 317; B. P. Wolffe, *The Royal Demesne in English History* (London, 1971), 230-234.

Newport, 'Ermuth' and half the vill of Chalburn, the third vill at Newton and the liberty of Swainston on the Isle of Wight strictly count as Crown holdings.¹⁴

Of the 50% of non-ecclesiastical, non-Crown holdings in the *Nomina Villarum*, Henry of Lancaster, Hugh Despenser, the earls of Gloucester, Hereford, March, Lincoln, Oxford, Pembroke and Chester (the Prince of Wales) had vills in the shire in 1316. The 1300 list of those with £40 from Hampshire includes magnates such as Aymer de Valence, Henry of Lancaster, Edward earl of Cornwall, Hugh Despenser and Mortimer among a total of 55 names.¹⁵ In addition to this, inquisitions *post mortem* show the earls of Norfolk, Warwick, Arundel, Kent, Ormond, Devon and Salisbury having land-interest in the county in the first half of the fourteenth century. These estates were small and scattered far and wide across the county; no magnate had a concentrated bloc of territory in one area, as the following analysis reveals.

Though he died in 1306, Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, had recorded under his name three parts of a knights fee at Appleshaw, money rents from Upper Clatford, the borough of Petersfield and the manor of Corhampton, in 1316.¹⁶ Corhampton was on the Surrey border, east of Aldershot, Appleshaw and Upper Clatford outside Andover, on the Wiltshire border and Petersfield towards the Sussex border. John de Anne, holder of the fee at Appleshaw, was lord of Anne Savage and joint-lord of Appleshaw in 1316.¹⁷

Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, had the manor at Newton (Valence), three and half knights' fees at 'Cursottre', 'Daggingworth' and Eastling, one knights' fee at Thruxton, one and a half at Snoddington, Hook and Houghton, half at Stone, three parts of a knights' fee at Axor and Popham, half at Empshott, one at 'Speyne', one at Northmorton, half at 'Maydencote' and the advowson of the church at Newton: he had

¹⁴ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 321, 322.

¹⁵ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339.

¹⁶ *CIPM*, iv, 298, 318, 319.

¹⁷ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 312. He was not listed as having £40 from Hampshire in 1300 or on the 1324 Muster and was not one of the county knightly gentry families.

one vill, Newton, in 1316.¹⁸ These holdings were scattered across the county: Newton and Empshott were in the east, towards the Surrey border, Thrupton on the Wiltshire border in the north-west of the county, Houghton to the west of Winchester and Hook just east of Basingstoke. Some of the fees were held by the knightly families resident in Hampshire; Edward St John, brother of the Baron John St John, John de Cormeilles, Ingram Berenger and Robert Popham. Others were not resident; Hartrig, Birmingham and Stapelton. St. John, Cormeilles and Berenger were knights on the 1324 May Muster and the Pophams were an ancient armigerous family active in county office-holding.¹⁹ It is likely that Stapleton came from Dorset, where William Stapleton was lord of Stapleton in 1316, and that John Birmingham came from Birmingham, as no trace of either him or Hartrig in the southern region can be found.²⁰

Edmund, earl of Arundel, had one manor, Bedhampton, near Hayling, on the south coast.²¹ Edmund, earl of Kent had the manor and Hundred at Alton, a manor at Bedhampton, presumably acquired from Arundel at some stage, the towns of Andover and Basingstoke by gift of Edward II, which were let to the burgesses at a money rent.²² The manor of Bedhampton was held of the abbot of Hyde. James Botiller, earl of Ormond, had the manor of Sopley on the Dorset border near Christchurch.²³ Guy Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, had a messuage and the office of the pesage at Southampton.²⁴ Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, had the vill at Southerington, towards the Surrey border.²⁵ Thomas de Lacy, earl of Lincoln had Bramshott, again on the Surrey border²⁶ and Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, Shamlehurst, near Eastleigh

¹⁸ *CIPM*, vi, 328 (some of these are Berkshire); *Feudal Aids* ii, 315.

¹⁹ These families are discussed in detail below, Chapter Three.

²⁰ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 43.

²¹ *CIPM*, vi, 475.

²² *CIPM*, vii, 223; Bedhampton was held of the abbot of Hyde by both earls who probably gained from the fall of Despenser, who had it in 1316.

²³ *CIPM*, viii, 124.

²⁴ *CIPM*, v, 400.

²⁵ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 315; there is no entry in the *CIPM*.

²⁶ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 315; there is no entry in the *CIPM*.

towards the south coast.²⁷ All these lands were insignificant enough not to be subdivided into fees.

Ralph Monthermer, formerly earl of Gloucester, had in 1316 four villis; Hinton, Sparsholt, Lockerley and East Tytherley plus Barkeley and Lyndhurst, jointly with Queen Margaret, one third of the vill at Upper Clatford and the borough of Petersfield.²⁸ These holdings were in the south, centre and west of the county. The single named feoffee of his successor, Gilbert de Clare, was Sir John Acton, a £40 landholder in 1300, but neither resident nor active in the county.²⁹ At Sir John's death he was lord of several manors and lands in Devon, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire and Somerset; his son had three villis in Somerset in 1316.³⁰

Hugh Despenser the Elder, not yet earl of Winchester in 1316, had the five villis of Ashley, Newenham, Mapledurwell, Bedhampton, and Brockhampton, and the half vill of Barton Stacey.³¹ These estates were in the centre, north-east and south of the county. These estates do not constitute a major force: Professor Saul noted that in 1327 Edward II received little support, and as he lacked an ideology, his regime crumbled rapidly.³² For the Despensers, supporters of Edward II, the title 'earl of Winchester' Hugh took in 1322 was little more than a status symbol; it had no comparison with the ancient Domesday territorial titles and did not last beyond his execution in 1326.

Henry of Lancaster had in 1316 the three villis of Somborne, Weston Patrick, and Hartley, one third of the vill of Longstock and one borough, Stockbridge, though on his death he was recorded as holding nothing in Hampshire.³³ These estates were in the

²⁷ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 318; he had no lands in Hampshire on his death in 1331, *CIPM* vii, 220.

²⁸ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 317, 311, 319; there is no entry in the *CIPM*.

²⁹ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339; *CIPM*, v, 341.

³⁰ *CIPM*, v, 229-230; *Feudal Aids*, iv, 321, 324, 334.

³¹ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 310, 313, 320, 311.

³² N. Saul, 'The Despensers and the Downfall of Edward II', *EHR* xcix (1984), 1 - 32.

³³ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 309, 314, 315, 310. On his death in 1343, he had land in Wiltshire, but not recorded in Hampshire; *CIPM* viii, 457.

centre, north-east and west of the county. In 1330, 20 individuals held fees from Lancaster.³⁴ Nothing is known of ten of these feoffees. Only two of these were Hampshire knights, Sir John Basing and Sir Thomas Coudray, whose family had £40 in 1300 from Hampshire.³⁵ Two others with incomes of £40 from Hampshire in 1300 were Fulk Lestrangle and Sir William Paynel, whose sons held fee from Lancaster in 1330, but neither identified primarily with the county.³⁶ Other Lancaster feoffees in 1330 who had any particularly close connections with the county included Andrew Payn, knight of the shire, Lady Kendale, whose husband was probably either Sir Robert or Sir Edmund, knights of 1324, John Morwell, lord of Fifehide in 1316, the Westons of Marsh Court and Bembridge (Isle of Wight) and Richard Byfleet, whose family were parish gentry landholders at Well and Basing Byfleet into the sixteenth century.³⁷ Descendants of the Byfleets and Coudrays were holding fees from the Duchy of Lancaster in 1401-2, whilst John Kendale and Ralph Paynel were knights of the duke of Lancaster in the period 1379-83.³⁸ Only the Coudrays and Pophams were active in county office-holding. Whilst these feoffees may have formed some form of affinity to the Lancaster dynasty, in Hampshire this was not a significant force but these connections are enough to suggest at wider associations kept by Hampshire gentry outside the county boundary and beyond the region.

Some of these magnates holding manors and tenements in Hampshire were amongst the greatest and infamous lords in the realm. Aymer de Valence belonged to the international nobility, with an income from England, Ireland and Wales of some £3,000; the Despensers were notorious parvenu magnates in the reign of Edward II, and the earl of Salisbury, William Montagu, was of an ancient family who found special

³⁴ *Feudal Aids*, vi, 573.

³⁵ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339.

³⁶ Fulk Lestrangle had the manor of Chalton, near Porchester, on the south coast, *CIPM*, vi, 309; Paynel had the manor of Oakhanger, *CIPM*, vi, 18.

³⁷ For Andrew Payn, see Chapter Five, below, 233; for the Kendales, Chapter Three, below, 121-2; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 312, for Morwell; *VCH*, iv, 473, v, 161, for the Westons; *VCH*, iv, 19, 121, for the Byfleets.

³⁸ *Feudal Aids*, vi, 626-7; *John of Gaunt's Register, 1379-83*, eds. E. C. Lodge and R. Somerville (Camden Society, 3rd Series, lvi, 1937), ii, 6-13.

favour under Edward III.³⁹ The Lancaster affinity developed into the greatest of later medieval England and ultimately the Crown.

2.2: BARONIAL FAMILIES: THE ST. JOHNS

As Chapter One has outlined, the fourteenth century was a time of change for the English aristocracy; the parliamentary peerage came in to being, Edward III created new titles and the lines between knights and esquires were drawn. Magnates can be defined by their titles, power and huge wealth at this time, but lines between the barons and knights are not so easy to draw; some families were summoned by writ to parliament once and never again (the Lises, in Hampshire, for example) but others retained their status. In Hampshire in the early fourteenth century there was only one resident family that can clearly be distinguished from the armigerous families and the great magnates at the beginning of the fourteenth century: the St Johns of Basing.

The St Johns could trace their lineage back directly to Hugh Port, the Domesday tenant-in-chief, who was in possession of some 78 Domesday settlements; of the 9 vills and hamlets John II was lord of in 1316, seven can be identified as being held by his ancestor Hugh in 1086; Sir John's inquisition *post mortem* in 1329 included 54 fees, only three less than the 57 John de Port returned in 1166.⁴⁰ Port was from Port-en-Bessin, Calvados; 'St. John' came from Hugh's great-grandson Adam (d. 1213), whose first wife Mabel, was from St. Jean-le-Thomas, Manche, Avranches. Adam's father, John, is the John of Port whose returns in the *Cartae Baronum* of 1166, placed him on a par with the bishop of Winchester and easily the greatest secular lord in Hampshire over William son of Aldelin and Robert of Pont Arche.⁴¹

John St. John II's father, John I, died in 1302, after an illustrious career embracing Edward I's invasions of Wales in 1277 and 1282, attendance on the king in Aquitaine

³⁹ Hicks, *Who's Who*, 46-8, 62-3, 79-81.

⁴⁰ *CIPM*, vii, 183 - 187; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H.Hall, Rolls Series 99 (London, 3 vols, 1896), i, 207 - 209.

⁴¹ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, i, 207 - 209.

in 1286 - 9, and a mission to Pope Nicholas IV in 1291. He was Edward I's lieutenant in Gascony from 1293 - 4, returning after Philip the Fair's conquest of the Gascon strongholds; he died as warden of Galloway, Dumfries and adjacent marches and governor of Portchester castle.⁴² He was included in 1300 as having at least £40 from Hampshire.⁴³

John II was not listed at the 1308 'Feast of Swans' despite being of age (he was 28 years old at his father's death), but he was numbered fourth on the 1324 muster roll, after John de Scures (the sheriff), Henry of Lancaster and Ralph of Monthermer earl of Gloucester. John II was summoned to Parliament by writ on 29 December, 1299, November 12th, 1303 to 5 August 1320 and 14 March, 1321/2 to 10 October 1325, thus making him, in modern doctrine, Lord St. John (of Basing). He was a banneret, January 1303/4, and in 1316 keeper of the peace in Hampshire. His military service included serving with his father in Gascony, a summonses to Flanders (1297) and against the Scots, (from 1299 until 1328), where he followed his father as joint warden of Galloway, 1306-8, and became keeper of Bothwell castle in 1309. In 1321/2, he served in the Marches of Wales and in 1324 and 1325 was summoned for service in Gascony; he was appointed a commissioner for the defence of the coast of Hampshire. On Queen Isabella's return from England he attached himself to her party. In November, 1326, he and his brother, Sir Edward St. John, with William, Lord Zouche, brought to the Queen four sealed bags containing rolls and memoranda of the Chancery, which they had taken to Swansea castle and which were delivered to the keeper of the Chancery.⁴⁴

John II's first wife was probably Isabel, daughter to Sir Hugh Courtenay; in 1292, his father John I had had a grant of the marriage of the heirs of Hugh de Courtenay,⁴⁵ and the first surviving son by Isabel was Hugh. Hugh continued his father's close relations with the Crown, going to Gascony in June 1329, and he was keeper of Hampshire in

⁴² Moor, v, 175-177; *CIPM*, iv, 61 - 2.

⁴³ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339.

⁴⁴ Moor, v, 177-179; *CCR 1323 - 27*, 620; *GEC*, XI, 326.

⁴⁵ *CPR 1281-92*, 483; *GEC XI*, 326.

March 1331/2 and King's yeoman in January 1332/3; he received gifts from the King in token of special affection. In 1335 he was summoned against the Scots, but never to Parliament, so unlike his father was not, in modern doctrine, a peer. He died in late 1335 and his widow, Mirable, married Thomas de Aspale of Kent, who was sheriff of Hampshire by his wife's dower, from 1343 - 47. Hugh's son and heir was Edmund, but the barony was held between Hugh's three co-heirs, Isabel, Edmund and Margaret, and it is Margaret's husband, John, Lord St. Philibert, who appears on the 1346 list of Knight's fees as holding the three fees of the barony of Basing. On the death of both Margaret and her son John de St. Philibert in 1361, the title reverted to Hugh's remaining co-heir, Isabel, who became Baroness St. John. Isabel had married firstly Henry, younger son of Bartholomew, Lord Burghersh, who died in 1348; secondly, and most importantly for the St. John family fortune in Hampshire and elsewhere, she married Luke de Poynings, youngest son of Thomas, first Lord Poynings between 1348 and 1349. In March 1348 - 9 he obtained possession of her inheritance and in February 1360 - 1 he and his wife did homage to the Prince of Wales at Westminster. In March, 1361/2 Poynings had order for livery of the other moiety of the inheritance, including Basing.

The St. Johns were a regional family. With lands in Berkshire, Kent, Sussex, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Kent and Warwick, as well as Hampshire, they were in no way a purely Hampshire family.⁴⁶ There were four manors in Hampshire, six in Kent, five in Sussex, one for each in Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire. The four in Hampshire (Ludshot, Chawton, Warnford and Basing) were all held 'to himself' either of the king in chief or of the abbot of Hyde; Erde, in Kent, was held of the archbishop of Canterbury and Halnak in Sussex of Sir Robert de Montalt. All the other manors were held by him for parts of knights' fees. Other Hampshire lands included a park at Prevet, tenure unspecified and a yearly rent at Bromley for service of half a knight's fee to the king. The many other lands in Hampshire were enfeoffed, to a total of 36½ fees. John also held the advowsons of the churches at Warnford, Chawton, Sherborne and Abbotstone.

⁴⁶ *CIPM*, vii, No. 244, 183 - 187. John II's inquisition is much more detailed than his father's.

The four manors of Basing, Chawton, Ludshott (Bramshott) and Warnford were situated to the east of the county, in an arc south-east from Basing to Warnford, south-east of Winchester. Of the four manors, two, Chawton and Basing, were held of the king in chief; Warnford and Ludshott were held of the abbot of Hyde. Ludshott was held by service of a quarter of a knight's fee, Chawton and Warnford by one knight's fee and Basing by one and a half knight's fee plus ten marks yearly at the king's exchequer and 45s. yearly at the king's manor at Basingstoke. The manor of Erde, Kent, was held by service of two knights' fees and by suit at the court of Otford every three weeks; Halnak, Sussex, was held by service of twelve knights' fees.

The St. John lands in the *Nomina Villarum* comprise the nine properties of Chawton, Ludshott, Nateley, Up Nateley, Basing, Bromley, Sherborne, Warnford and Abbotstone; Bromley, Sherborne, Nateley and Upnately are all classified as hamlets.⁴⁷ Basing, Chawton, Ludshott and Warnford all appear as land held by Hugh de Port in 1086, where he was ranked twenty-third out of sixty-nine tenants-in-chief in the shire. Hugh de Port held fifty-six properties himself, the manor of Sherborne from the king, thirteen properties from the Bishop of Bayeux, three from the St. Peter's Abbey, Winchester, two others from the king, one from the bishop of Winchester, the monks of Winchester and one from Chertsey Abbey, totalling 78 Domesday properties, most of which were indeed manors. Of the nine vills and hamlets John II was lord of in 1316, seven can be identified as being held by his ancestor Hugh in 1086. However, as thirty-six of the fifty-seven properties held by himself and from the king directly and six of the thirteen from the bishop of Bayeux were sub-infeudated by 1086, fees listed in the inquisition *post mortem* of 1329 provide better comparison with Domesday Book. Of the 54 fees held of John II at his death in 1329, 37 can be identified as part of Hugh de Port's holdings in 1086. Sixteen properties appear to have been gained by the fourteenth century and twenty-five lost, or rather subinfeudated away.⁴⁸

In the absence of a resident magnate and other resident barons, the St. Johns and their descendants were to have an important role in the formation of the estates of the

⁴⁷ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 315, 313, 306, 307.

⁴⁸ The tenants of the St John barony are discussed below, Chapter Three, 108-114.

Hampshire knightly gentry and their development. The concentration of manors in and around Basing meant that the leading knightly families were based in that area of the county throughout the later medieval period. The regional commitment of the St Johns and the shift to Sussex after the Poynings marriage led to their virtual absence in the political life of later Medieval Hampshire. This created something of a vacuum and Chapters Three, Four and Five demonstrate that the resident armigerous gentry families acted semi-independently of magnates and barons, taking their lead, if any, from the Winchester Bishopric.

2.3: THE ECCLESIASTICAL LORDS AND THEIR ESTATES

The greatest landlord in Hampshire was therefore not a secular lord, but the Bishop of Winchester.⁴⁹ The diocese of Winchester was the wealthiest in England and second only to Milan in Europe, covering the counties of Hampshire and Surrey and the Isle of Wight. In 1300 the estate included nearly 60 manors and ten boroughs across seven southern counties, though the bulk lay in Hampshire, with 29 manors and five boroughs. Most of them were pre-Conquest gifts, probably dating from between the seventh to the tenth centuries, and were passed on intact from the early to the late Middle Ages, as Chapter One above has demonstrated. The substantial numbers of manors in the other southern counties included eight in Somerset, six in Wiltshire and seven in Berkshire. The income of the Bishopric was the equivalent to that of a middle-ranking earl, such as the earl Warenne or Isabella de Redvers, countess of Devon and Aumarle, and in 1301 - 2 the profits from the manors were almost £2,405. But more importantly, the personal income of the Bishop in the years 1301 - 1305 has been estimated at £4,121, equivalent to that of a high-ranking earl - and the receipts of 1301 - 2 were not untypical of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The predominance of the Winchester Bishopric may be exceptional to Hampshire, but the purely county-based approach usually does not take into account the diocesan outlook of the local bishopric. Not accounting for ecclesiastical estates and their

⁴⁹ The following details are from M. Page, ed., *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1301 - 2*, Hampshire Record Series xiv (Winchester, 1996), ix - xxiii.

relationship with the armigerous gentry estates is similar to dismissing the importance of non-resident secular estates within the county. Hampshire may have been unusual in having the wealthiest Bishopric dominate the county, but in Gloucestershire at the beginning of the fourteenth century, 111 manors of 235 in the county (just over one third) were held by the religious houses; in the North Riding in 1475, the clergy held 26.7% of the manors and this, Professor Pollard points out, takes no account of the spiritual income of the clergy.⁵⁰ Secular society in Medieval England cannot be divorced from the ecclesiastical world, but so many county studies spend very little time on considering the interaction between the two. In this thesis, Chapters Three and Four illustrate the influence of the Bishopric estates upon the armigerous families and their estates and Chapter Five the political connections between secular and ecclesiastical domains.

In addition to the pre-Conquest foundations of St. Swithun's Priory, Hyde Abbey, St. Mary's Abbey (in or near Winchester), Romsey and Wherwell, (in the valley of the River Test) all Benedictine, six Augustinian canonical houses were founded after the Conquest; three on the south coast (Christchurch, St. Denys and Southwick), one on the River Avon (Breamore), one on the River Test (Mottisfont) and Selborne, in the east of the county.⁵¹ These were founded in the mid to later twelfth century, though many houses of Augustinian canons had been minsters before the Norman Conquest. There were four Cistercian houses, Quarr, Isle of Wight, Beaulieu and Netley, both in the south of the county, and Hartley Wintney, in the north-east, founded in the mid eleventh to mid thirteenth century. The one Premonstratensian house was Titchfield, founded in 1232. Alien cells were Appledurcombe, Isle of Wight (Monteburg), Ellingham (St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte), Hayling (Jumièges), Monk Sherborne, Pamber (Cerisy-le-Forêt), Andwell and Hamble (Tiron). With the exception of Hamble and

⁵⁰ N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), 4; A. J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses: Lay Society, War and Politics, 1450-1500* (Oxford, 1990), 83-4.

⁵¹ Details in this paragraph are from D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales* (London, 1971) *passim*.

Andwell, which went to Winchester College in 1391, the alien priories were dissolved in 1414-5.

The early medieval religious houses and the estates of the Winchester Bishopric remained intact into the early sixteenth century; one quarter of manorial property in Hampshire belonged to the monasteries, one quarter to the Crown and Church, and the remaining 50% to the lay landowners, a figure which was the same for the magnates and gentry lords of the vill in 1316.⁵² The wealth of the houses and abbeys in 1536 ranged from St. Swithun's (£1,500) to Hartley Wintney (£50). At the Dissolution, the Hampshire houses, priories, abbeys, colleges and hospitals of St. Denys (Southampton), Netley, Quarr, Hartley Wintney, Breamore, Beaulieu, Southwick, Hyde, Romsey, Titchfield, St. Mary's Nunnery, Winchester, God's House (Portsmouth), Wherwell, Christchurch, St. Swithun's and St. Elizabeth's (Winchester) were dissolved. Winchester, a monastic cathedral, became a secular cathedral in 1542. The Winchester Bishopric manors had all been leased by the end of the fifteenth century, a process begun at the beginning of the century, and on the St. Swithun's estates, "most of the manors before the middle of the century."⁵³

2.4: THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME IN 1412: COMMUNITIES IN THE COUNTY

The diversity of gentry and magnate holdings in Hampshire in the early fourteenth century has been shown from figures of land distribution from the *Nomina Villarum* and the examination of the individuals above. The 1412 taxation illustrates continuing diversity and a thorough assessment of these families, their lands in Hampshire and their incomes from other counties in 1412 (as far as surviving returns allow) is made here, in order to show that a significant number of armigerous families existed in Hampshire, who may indeed have remained silent in county affairs but who nevertheless had a stake in the locality, a stake that was usually expressed through the

⁵² J. Kennedy, 'Laymen and Monasteries in Hampshire, 1530-1558,' HFC, xxvii (1970), 67.

⁵³ J. Greatrex ed., *Register of the Common Seal of the Priory of St. Swithun, Winchester, 1345-1497*, Hampshire Record Series (Winchester, 1979), 237.

regional outlook. The following chapters reveal those particular families who were resident and active in the county, actually a minority of the 1412 families.

The total entries for Hampshire in the 1412 income tax returns amount to 185, including 14 ecclesiasts. The annual incomes derived from Hampshire in 1412 range from Queen Joan, with the highest at £281, to John Sydenham, with £1. 10s. at the lowest and indeed apparently no other income from other counties. The ecclesiastical incomes amount to only £491 because the 1412 taxation only included land purchased in frank almain after 1291, and not lands given or purchased in mortmain before 20 Edward I; this includes the majority of ecclesiastical properties. These figures thus relate principally to secular landholders and not to landholding as a whole, so straightforward comparisons with the *Nomina Villarum* are not possible. Furthermore, many of the incomes recorded in the 1412 Returns include annuities which may or may not have a territorial base; sometimes an annuity is distinguished from rental income, but not always. Though Pugh and Ross showed afterwards that such a source of income could significantly adjust the general trends, McFarlane followed Gray's original analysis of 1934.⁵⁴

Landowner	Number	£ Rental Income	% of taxable wealth
Crown ⁵⁵	2	366	7
Magnates	10	815	16
Barons and Greater knights	2	216	4
Knights	34	1, 619	33
Esquires	66	1, 497	31
Others	54	451	9
<i>Total Laity</i>	<i>168</i>	<i>4, 964</i>	<i>100</i>

Table 4: Landowners with Hampshire incomes in 1412.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ T. B. Pugh and C. D. Ross, 'The English Baronage and the Income Tax of 1436', *BIHR* xxxvi (1953), 1 - 28; McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, 13; H. L. Gray, 'Incomes from land in England in 1436', *EHR*, 49, (1934), 607 - 639.

⁵⁵ Queen Joan and the Duchy of Lancaster; John, son of the king is included in the Peerage

⁵⁶ Source: *Feudal Aids*, vi, 449-458. These are income purely from Hampshire. The 'Baronial gentry' are those with £100 and more, the 'Knights' with between £40 - £99, the 'Esquires' with £20 - £39;

The classification of landholders in Table 4 has been made by the incomes drawn from Hampshire. Barons and greater knights had over £100, knights between £40 - £99, esquires between £20 - £39 and parish gentry below £20 ('others'). These incomes are those drawn solely from Hampshire and the classification does not include office-holding or collective identity, the other two criteria of the triple criteria set out in Chapter One. This is because the 1412 returns are used here to provide a schematic overview of the balance of property and to show the large numbers of armigerous individuals with knightly incomes in Hampshire. Many of these knights were not titled knight in the source, but had the income to sustain knighthood; some became knights after 1412. As will be demonstrated below, incomes from other counties played a crucial role in determining status and indicate that county incomes were but a part of regional and national bases of power and wealth.

None of the magnates in Table 4 were resident. With only 4% of the wealth, the greater knights and barons were not a dominant group. Of the two barons, one was resident, Sir Thomas Skelton, and his Hampshire income was entirely drawn chiefly from his wife, the widow of Sir John Sandys of the Vyne, and that income passed to her son Sir Walter Sandys, on her death. The other family with baronial income drawn from Hampshire in 1412 was the Wests. The family of Reginald West, Lord de la Warr, had held land in Hampshire since the thirteenth century, and were the overlords of eleven manors by a process of inheritance and acquisition through marriage.⁵⁷ Reginald was also lord of Bromwich in 1434, which was probably purchased by John Uvedale in 1428, and it had returned to the Uvedales by 1451.⁵⁸ Reginald's brother, Thomas, was assessed for a rental income of £110 from the Hampshire manors of Oakhanger, Testwood, Barton Peverel and Newton in 1412, and a further £20 from Devon.⁵⁹ The West estates were scattered across Hampshire and those at Shipton

'Others' those with less than £20 down to £1, which would include 'parish' gentry, gentlemen (whose income was £10 - £20) and yeomen, husbandmen and franklins. See Appendix III, below.

⁵⁷ *VCH*, iv, 512, 513; iii, 227; iv, 387; iii, 17, 295; iv, 549; v, 99; iii, 10, 26, 8, 486.

⁵⁸ *VCH*, iii, 225.

⁵⁹ Those lands were in the custody of the king: *Feudal Aids*, vi, 455.

Bellenger, Snoddington, Hook, Thrupton and Stone had been in the hands of Aymer de Valence.

The advantage of the 1412 income tax is that figures from 20 other counties survive, to enable comparison; the disadvantage is that the remaining medieval counties (18) do not survive, leaving great gaps and making any comparisons inevitably distorted. Nevertheless, the nature of multiple-county landholding is indicated. In order to ascertain those with greater interests in Hampshire and the south, every entry of the 168 laity in all the other counties has been pursued: 85 had a majority of their income in Hampshire, with seven equal to the total income from other counties that are known. Of the total 168 laity, very nearly 50% had a majority of their income drawn from other counties. Although no sign of residence is indicated by these figures, it suggests that incomes were derived from wide range of counties. Although there were only two individuals with incomes of £100 and more from Hampshire in 1412, a further 30 had lands in Hampshire and elsewhere that amounted to more than £100. Eleven of the 'knights' with incomes within the £40 - £99 bracket actually had combined incomes of well in excess of £100 from other counties, and 25 were not titled knight in the returns. Ten esquires had combined incomes of in excess of £100, and a further ten to make them knights. Thirty titled knights had under £40 from Hampshire in 1412. Of the apparent 'parish' gentry (those with less than £20), nine had incomes from elsewhere of over £100, 13 over £40 and eight over £20.

These figures illustrate how important combined incomes were, and how many landlords in Hampshire depended upon multiple-county landownership. Because not all the county returns for 1412 survive, conclusions cannot be scientific and absolute; including the combined figures without knowing all incomes for all the counties would be a distortion. However, figures from all the other southern counties survive, and Hampshire incomes can be placed in the regional context. This will demonstrate how significant incomes from neighbouring counties were for the armigerous gentry, in particular those from the west of Hampshire, a trend identified from the conclusions found from the *Nomina Villarum*.

The Southern Region

In his essay on ‘Parliament and “Bastard Feudalism”’ McFarlane used tables of the Dorset and Sussex landowners with over £100 p.a. in Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Hampshire, Surrey and Kent; Berkshire has been added to complete the picture of baronial, magnate and Crown landed interest in the southern counties.⁶⁰

Landowner	Devon	Somerset	Dorset	Wilts.	Berks	Hants	Surrey	Sussex	Kent
York	-	116	11	231	20	261	-	-	-
Queen Joan	-	40	67	158	20	281	-	-	-
Salisbury	-	90	60	120	-	235	-	-	-
Stafford	-	155	237	12	20	?	-	-	-
Lancaster	-	-	200	-	40	85	-	-	-
Mortimer	-	84	110	80	-	3	-	-	-
Somerset	40	200	15	-	-	12	-	-	-
More	-	-	108	60	70	20	-	-	-
Botreaux	-	168	20	28	-	27	-	-	-
Russell	-	40	122	-	-	40	-	-	-
Stourton	-	40	64	70	-	20	-	-	-
Roger	-	100	56	-	-	27	-	-	-
Berkeley	-	68	-	67	-	40	-	-	-
Kirkby	-	-	76	53	-	33	-	-	-
Sturmy	40	-	-	91	-	37	-	-	-
Courtenay	-	60	-	-	60	40	-	-	-
Popham	-	-	8	90	-	60	-	-	-
Popham	-	-	-	13	-	20	-	-	-
Moigne	?	-	50	-	-	5	-	-	-
Scrope	-	60	-	-	-	90	-	-	-
Cherlton	-	-	125	-	-	20	-	-	-
John Kayn	20	40	60	-	-	10	-	-	-
John Lisle	-	-	-	40	-	86	-	-	-
Lady Lisle	-	-	35	-	-	27	-	-	-
Golofre	-	-	10	12	49	40	-	-	-
Arundel	-	-	-	60	20	4	60	546	35
Pelham	-	30	-	-	-	8	-	497	-
St. John	-	-	-	-	-	70	-	60	149
Poynings	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	20	-
Carew	-	-	-	-	28	9	80	80	45
Codnor	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	100	83
Uvedale	-	-	-	-	-	70	60	-	56
Bohun	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	151	-
Camoyes	-	-	-	-	-	30	20	100	-
Kent	-	-	-	-	-	10	20	8	110
Skelton	-	-	-	10	-	107	-	30	-

Table 5: Hampshire landowners with lands in the Southern Region assessed at £100 p.a. and more in 1412.⁶¹

⁶⁰ McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, Appendix, tables A and B, 262 - 267.

⁶¹ After McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, Appendix, tables A and B, 262 - 267.

McFarlane tabled the Dorsetshire landowners with land in Dorset, Devon, Hants., Wilts., and

By combining McFarlane's two tables into one, and placing the counties in geographical order from west to east, it is clear from Table 5 how Hampshire acts as a 'buffer-zone' between the major landholders in the West Country and those in the east. Of the thirty-six major landholders with rental income, annuities and interest in Hampshire and the counties west of Hampshire - Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire - twenty-five had no landed interest in Sussex, Surrey and Kent. Of those eleven with landed interest in Hampshire and counties east of Hampshire - Sussex, Surrey and Kent - only four had interests to the west of Hampshire: Arundel in Berkshire (£20), and Wiltshire (£60), Pelham in Somerset (£30), Carew in Berkshire (£28) and Skelton in Wiltshire (£10). But these are relatively insubstantial rents compared to their total incomes from other counties, and as two of them were from Berkshire, the very northern boundary of the southern region, this does not alter the emerging east-west pattern of landownership.

Crown and Magnates in 1412

Since the 1412 returns omits so many counties, the problem for the greatest landowners is that such material inevitably underestimates the total incomes. However, as all the southern counties for 1412 survive, some attempt can be made to place the Hampshire incomes in that context.

Queen Joan had income from the fee-farm of Winchester, the town of Southampton, and rents in Odiham; these holdings, it will be remembered, were in the royal family in 1316, when Queen Isabella had the castle of Southampton and the castle and town of Odiham, which passed to Queen Philippa.⁶² Joan's other known incomes were derived from a variety of counties: Berkshire, (£20); Derby, (£46); Dorset, (£66 - 100 marks);

Somerset (262-265) and the Sussex landowners with land in Sussex, Hants., Kent and Surrey (266-7). In addition, all names listed for Hampshire but not holding land in Sussex or Dorset have been checked for lands held in the remaining counties.

⁶² Wolfe, *The Royal Demesne*, 230 - 234.

Essex, (£10); Hertfordshire, (£20); Huntingdon, (£80 + £24 in Staffordshire); Northamptonshire, (£340); Somerset, (£40) and Wiltshire, (£158.)

Landowner	Hampshire	Other known counties
Queen Joan	281	802
Edward, duke of York	260	587
Earl of Salisbury	234	316
Earl of March and Henry Lescrope	104	0
Countess Isabella of Suffolk	89	0
Duchy of Lancaster	85	240
John, son of the king	30	160
Earl of Warwick	26.	184
John Nevill, son of Ralph, earl of Westmorland	26	150
Earl of March	20	108
Countess of Somerset	12.	305
Alesia, Countess of Kent	10.	176
Earl of Arundel	4.	814

Table 6: Crown and Magnates in Hampshire in 1412

Edward, 2nd duke of York and sometime earl of Rutland, Cork and duke of Aumarle under Richard II, was the king's cousin and died commanding the right wing at Agincourt.⁶³ In Hampshire he had eight manors, including Freshwater, and lands and rents in the town of Newport. Though he is seemingly a new landlord to Hampshire, the lord of the liberty of Freshwater was in 1316 the lady Maria, sister of Edward II and the lord of Newport was the King's son, Edward, the earl of Chester. The duke's other recorded lands in 1412 included Berkshire, (£20); Dorset, (£11), Essex, (£90); Lincoln, Kesteven, (£20); Northamptonshire, (£100), Somerset, (£116); Wiltshire, (£231) and lands and rent in Rutland (unknown). Clearly his total known income in 1412 of £850 was far below the £1,333 required for the endowment of a duke. His Hampshire income of £260 represented 21% of the total Crown and Magnate wealth in the shire.

⁶³ *The Register of Henry Chichele*, (ed.) E. F. Jacob, Canterbury and York Society (Oxford, 4 vols, 1938-47), ii, 63 - 6, 670 - 1.

The third wealthiest landholder in Hampshire was Thomas, 4th earl of Salisbury, the great soldier and governor under the Lancastrian regime.⁶⁴ His great-grandfather William Montagu, the first earl, held the manors of Swainston on the Isle of Wight, Ringwood and the castle, borough, manor and Hundred of Christchurch on his death in 1344.⁶⁵ In 1412 Christchurch, Swainston and Ringwood were included in the seven manors belonging to the fourth earl and these were the wealthy manors that brought the bulk of his total income in the south and elsewhere. Dorset brought £60, Somerset £90 and Wiltshire £120; other counties were minimal: Hertfordshire (£20), Northamptonshire (£26). His Hampshire wealth contributed 19% of the total Crown and Magnate incomes from Hampshire in 1412, also marking a solid continuity from the early thirteenth century and laying a portentous foundation for the ultimate Nevill inheritance.⁶⁶

Perhaps most significant with regards to Hampshire's place in the southern region and the pattern of landownership identified in 1316, were the figures of Thomas, 5th earl of Arundel, with a total £814 in 1412, based primarily in the south and south-east.⁶⁷ His income from Hampshire in particular only totalled £4. Arundel's £4 was a minimal sum and not only reflects the buffer Hampshire formed between the West Country and the south-east, but continues the trend illustrated by the *Nomina Villarum* in 1316. Table 5, which illustrates well the division between east and west, includes Sir John Pelham MP, the second largest secular landholder after Arundel and his interest in Hampshire is also minimal. His £8 from Hampshire and £30 from Somerset was of little consequence compared with the £497 from Sussex and £535 altogether. After Pelham, the incomes of the those in Sussex and the south-east tail off more dramatically than the Hampshire peers after Salisbury with John Bohun's £151 in Sussex (£2 from Hampshire), Lord Grey of Codnor's £100 (£12 from Hampshire) and Lord Camoys' £100, both Sussex. The only landholder to derive wealth on a level basis across

⁶⁴ 1388 - 1428; *Chichele's Register*, ii, 390-400, 664-5.

⁶⁵ *CIPM*, viii, 386.

⁶⁶ Hicks, *Who's Who*, 251 - 2.

⁶⁷ Berkshire, £20; Essex, £93; Kent, £35; Surrey, £60, Sussex, £546; Wiltshire, £60.

Hampshire and the south-east is Thomas Poynings, Lord St. John, whose £70 from Hampshire, £60 from Sussex and £149 from Kent makes him the only landowner with at least £100 p. a. to attain almost exactly level incomes from the territorial boundary marked between Hampshire and Arundel; his ancestor, John II of St. John was one of the few landowners in Hampshire in 1316 to have lands all across the southern region.

Knights in 1412

The total taxable income of the 33 individuals with between £40 - £99 was £1,619, an average of £47. Of these, only ten were titled knights in the returns. Significantly, only 13 of these 33 knights were primarily associated with Hampshire.⁶⁸ This meant in theory that the other 20 individuals could stand for election as knight of the shire, serve as sheriff, escheator and justice of the peace in Hampshire. In practice, however, as Chapter Five demonstrates, few did. But this silent majority of landholders based in Hampshire composed a parallel community to those who were active and resident. And where their lands were located in the southern region, most were based to the counties west of Hampshire, in Somerset, Dorset and Wiltshire. The total income from other, known, counties, was £1,597.

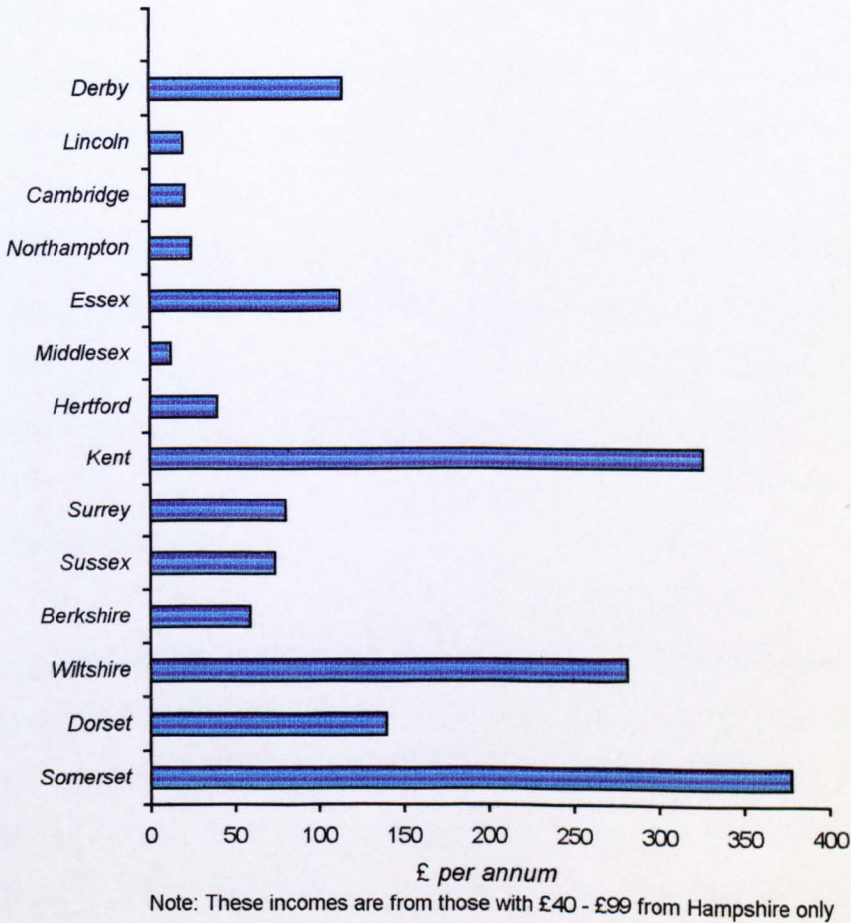
Of those eight titled knight in the 1412 returns with between £40 - £99, all had combined incomes of well in excess of £100, except one, Sir Thomas Wykeham, whose chief lands were in Oxfordshire (where the returns do not survive). Sir Edward Courtenay and Lord Thomas St John were connected to the peerage and were barons with lands across the southern region; Lord Scrope was a national baron, with lands in Lincolnshire, Hertfordshire, Essex and Somerset. Sir John Berkeley and Sir John Dabridgecourt were also regional barons, with lands in Wiltshire, Berkshire, Somerset.

Of those 25 not titled knight, but who had between £40 - £99 from Hampshire, only two had incomes greater than their Hampshire incomes. Eleven had no incomes from other counties, three with less than £20. This suggests that belted knights located

⁶⁸ Appendix iii, below, tables the incomes of 1412 and marks with an asterisk those identified as the Hampshire lords in Chapters Three and Four.

primarily in Hampshire were a rarity; the county did not have the wealth to support a resident greater gentry. It is amongst these non-titled knights that we find the majority of resident families who were the leading county families; Lisle of Wootton, Uvedale of Wickham, Popham of Popham, Sandys of the Vyne, Brocas of Beaurepaire, Coudray of Herriard and Brune of Rowner.⁶⁹ However, even these families depended upon income from other counties. In two cases, their incomes from other counties outweighed their Hampshire incomes (Uvedale: Kent and Surrey; Popham: Dorset, Essex and Wiltshire). They could, in theory, hold office in these other counties, as well as in Hampshire.

Fig. 2: Incomes from Other Counties for Hampshire 'knights' in 1412.



⁶⁹ These county families are discussed in detail in Chapters Three and Four, below.

Figure Two illustrates, even with the incomplete returns of 1412, the extent of the nature of multiple-landholding, and suggest that full returns would contribute to a greater network of inter-county landholding. The £115 sum from Derby belonged to Sir John Dabridgecourt, and included a £75 life annuity from the Duchy of Lancaster; Sir John's family held land in Hampshire for several generations. The incomes from Hertfordshire and Lincolnshire belonged to Lord Scrope, Cambridgeshire to Sir Nicholas Haute, Essex to Maurice Bune and Henry Popham, the latter two of resident families.

As with the landowners of the southern region with over £100, none of those with knightly incomes from Hampshire held lands to both the east and west of the county. Sir Nicholas Haute was a major Kent landowner, with £122 from the county, along with Thomas Poynings, Lord St John, with £149; John Uvedale had £56; their other southern lands were in Surrey and Sussex. William Brocas, with £40 in Hampshire, had just £14 from Sussex. Uvedale and Brocas were resident in Hampshire.

All other lands held in the south were to the west of Hampshire. Wykeham, Courtenay, Berkeley and Thomas Romsey had lands in Somerset, Berkeley, Lisle, Popham, Golofre, Romsey, Court, Bredding and Skilling lands in Wiltshire, Sir Maurice Russell, Popham and Golofre in Dorset.

Esquires in 1412

The taxable income of the 66 individuals with incomes of between £20 - £39 from Hampshire in 1412 was £1, 497, an average income of £23. Only 9 of these 66 have been identified as primarily associated with Hampshire.⁷⁰ As with the knights, the incomes from other counties was significant, and in the case of these esquires it was far greater: £2, 401. They are termed 'esquire' here because of their Hampshire income which puts them into that bracket, but of the 66, 15 were belted knights; five of these and a further five had combined incomes exceeding £100. Actual knights with esquire

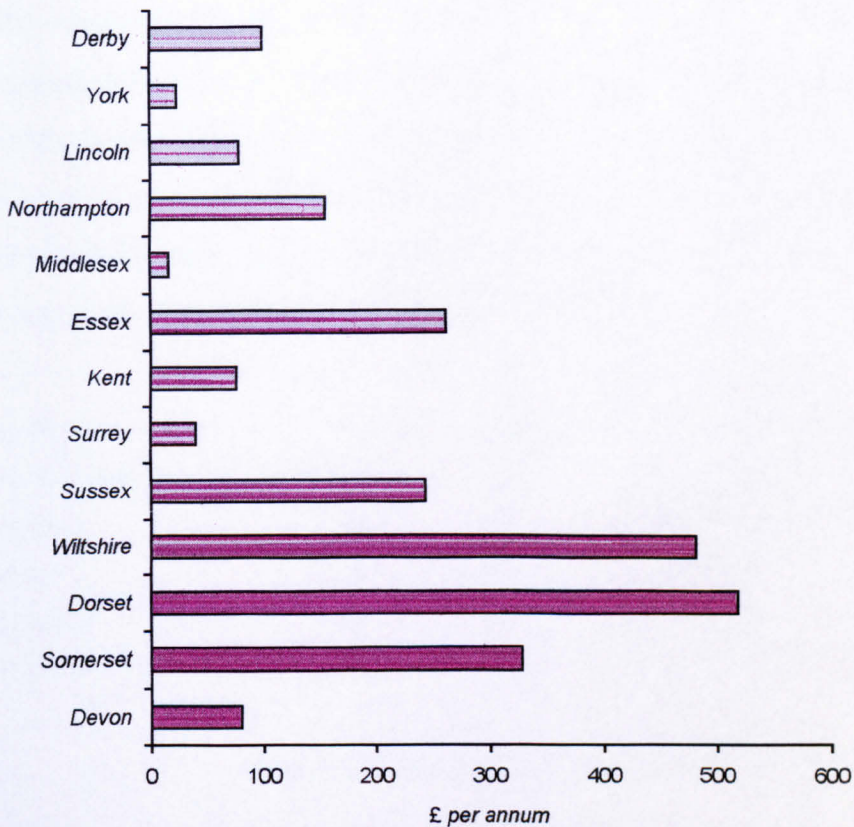
⁷⁰ Appendix iii, below, where the Hampshire esquires have been marked with an asterisk and are discussed in Chapters Three and Four.

incomes from Hampshire included Lord Botreaux and Sir William Bouchier. Thirteen had combined incomes in excess of £40, to make them potential knights, if not actual. The incompleteness of the source means that we do not know for sure how many of the remaining 33 had other incomes to make them knights, but the figures indicate again that other incomes from other counties highlight a network of individuals powerful in other places with at least £20 in Hampshire, enough to enable them a political role. Of those 66 'esquires', the county families of Lisle and Popham were represented, and the lesser county families, such as Dingley of Wolverton, Pershute of Sparsholt and Punchardon of Facombe. But families not resident in Hampshire, such as Sturmy, Camoys and Kirkby could and did hold office in Hampshire.

Figure Three illustrates the extent to which these on incomes in the £20 - £39 bracket had lands in other counties. Sir John Blount and Sir John Zouche had the Derby income; Lady Joan Ask and Sir John Melton Yorkshire, Sir William Bouchier and Sir Robert Pedwardyn Lincolnshire, Melton, Pedwardyn and Thomas Wake Northamptonshire, Richard Wyot Middlesex, John Boys, William Stourton (son of Sir John, Lord Stourton) and Sir William Bouchier the Essex income. None of these were resident or held office in Hampshire, but they were in their own domains powerful and well-connected; just as some of them were potential as well as belted knights, they were potentially players in Hampshire, their estates neighbours or near-neighbours to those who actually did hold office and reside in the county.

Of the nine who held lands in more than one other county in the southern region, only two, Sir John Zouche and John Kirkby, held lands in counties both to the east and west of Hampshire. The West Country prevailed again: six held land in Wiltshire, four in Somerset and Dorset and one in Devon.

Fig. 3: Incomes from Other Counties for Hampshire 'Esquires' in 1412



Note: These incomes are those with £20 - £39 from Hampshire only

2.5: THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME IN 1436: A COMMUNITY IN THE COUNTY

If the 1412 returns indicate the extent of the multiple-county landholding of Hampshire landlords, then the 1436 returns portray the community of armigerous families resident in the county. The paucity of Hampshire lords on baronial and knightly incomes is also laid bare in the 1436 income tax.⁷¹ Out of the total 135 secular assessments, only four people recorded incomes of over £100 and over, including Margaret, widow of Sir Walter Sandys, who topped the list with £252, averaging £161. Eighteen had incomes of between £40 and £99 (the knights), at an average of £54, the esquires averaged £27, the gentlemen £11. There were nine ecclesiasts with a total of £326, clearly not the true wealth of the religious houses in fifteenth century Hampshire, rather the personal incomes of the heads of the houses.

⁷¹ PRO E179/173/92

The total of 51 with incomes to the level of greater knights, knights and esquires in 1436 compared with the 99 families in 1412 illustrates how almost the same number of armigerous families had landed interest in Hampshire in 1412 as the resident armigerous families in 1436. Only 25 of 51 individuals listed in 1436 with armigerous incomes were members of the armigerous élite resident in Hampshire identified in the following chapters - just under half. This illustrates how that community was not predominant even within the landlords of the county.

Landowner	Number	£ Rental Income	£ Average Income	% of wealth
Greater Knights	4	645	161	25
Knights	18	972	54	35
Esquires	27	725	27	27
Gentlemen	32	380	11	13
<i>Totals</i>	<i>81</i>	<i>2, 722</i>		<i>100</i>

Table 7: Incomes of Hampshire landlords in 1436⁷²

The four greater knights between them had 25% of the total secular taxable income. Their average of £161 apiece set them apart from the £54 of the knights. These were the residential Sandys, Uvedale, Brocas and Lisle families who were to dominate county affairs. Four, however, did not constitute a separate class; it was not enough to function without the joint participation of the lesser knightly class or indeed without landholders from neighbouring counties. There was, in Hampshire, no resident ‘greater gentry’ class, which in Nottinghamshire formed 40% of those with £100 + .⁷³ The following chapters illustrate that family members of the knights and esquires married one another, sat on the bench, went to parliament and served as sheriff. No group of leading gentry dominated the county; the interspersion with other counties, particularly

⁷² The barons and greater knights are those with over, the knights those with £40 - £39, the esquires £20 - £39, the parish gentry those with less than £20. These are listed in Appendix iii, and those members of the active élite are marked with an asterisk.

⁷³ S. J. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: the Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991), 17.

the west country, and the domination of land by the Winchester Bishopric (which itself spanned six southern counties), had not created a single 'county community'.

However, the 1436 list did not include Sir John Popham (d. 1463) whose case is illustrative of the argument put forward by Pugh and Ross, whereby the annuities were included and not distinguished in the returns.⁷⁴ Popham had a taxable income of £122 in 1436, £80 of which include annuities, but he appears on other lists.⁷⁵ We cannot tell from the returns, therefore, how many members of the gentry were beneficiaries in 1436 of annuities granted by the king or the magnates; as with all taxes, there would have been evasion and fudging - the figures recorded were not gross private incomes but rather the 'expendable surplus' and the 1436 returns are not complete for all the counties.

Furthermore, widows are not all recorded in 1436. In Hampshire the dowager Maud, Lady St. John (d. 1453) was not listed in 1436. Her husband's will refers to manors in Kent, Sussex, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, and Berkshire, the substantial bloc of the barony of St. John established after the Conquest.⁷⁶ Some people might appear in different counties for different lists and so the 1436 lists, like the 1412, are not comprehensive. They are the best general indication there is and after 1436 there is nothing comparable until 1524/7.⁷⁷

CONCLUSION

Dr. Payling found that in Nottinghamshire in 1436, those with over £100 numbered 10, with 40% of the total wealth (third after Huntingdonshire and Northumberland); the élite of Nottinghamshire society appears both larger and more clearly defined than that

⁷⁴ Pugh and Ross, 'The English Baronage and the Income Tax of 1436,' 1 - 28.

⁷⁵ PRO E163/7/31 and PRO E179/240/269 m 14 (d).

⁷⁶ *Chichele's Register*, ii, 389 - 90; *CCR*, 1429-35, 8. It was well practised for widows to have a settlement beyond common law rights; Pugh and Ross, 'The English Baronage and the Income Tax of 1436,' 22.

⁷⁷ Payling, *Political Society*, 13.

of other counties.⁷⁸ Hampshire, with only 4 families with over £100 having 25% of the total wealth, was third from last in the surviving returns and did not have such a clearly defined élite, on paper, or in reality, as the following chapters illustrate; instead, there was a relatively flat pyramid of wealth. Furthermore, only half of those with armigerous incomes in Hampshire in 1436 were active members of the élite, which suggests that they were not the single predominant community in the county.

Furthermore, the 1412 figures reveal that only 13 with knightly incomes and nine with esquire incomes were members of the county élite identified in the following chapters, of the total 99 drawing armigerous incomes from Hampshire (that is, 21%). The remaining 79% figure is significant and cannot be summarily dismissed in the search to find a 'county community'. Such families could and did exercise the right to hold office in the county when it suited them, though these events were rare. Potentially, though, they constituted a major part of the Hampshire landed society. Even in Nottinghamshire, where the 'greater gentry' dominated, and where the case for a clearly defined county community is proposed, the 1412 returns reveal the existence of 38 non-resident, non-baronial landholders (of 127 total assessments), averaging £21 and with a 28% of the landed taxable wealth.⁷⁹ These families, numbering almost one third of the assessments and on average qualifying to hold the major offices, formed a not insignificant community within the county and actually challenge the model of a cosy, self-sufficient county community apparently existing within the borders of Nottinghamshire.

Incomes from other counties were therefore crucial to fifteenth century landed society. The 1412 returns indicate that any additional county incomes were coming from counties to the west of Hampshire, though this may be distorted by the survival of the southern county returns which may leave a built-in bias. Within the region, Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset were the key counties, for both knights and esquires; for those with incomes of over £100, the east-west divide was also apparent.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 16-17.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

The early fifteenth century balance of property was a continuation of the early fourteenth century balance of property. 234 lords held 47% of the vills in Hampshire in 1316, a diverse mix. This chapter has identified that in 1412, far more (around eighty) non-resident armigerous families held estates in the county as did resident families (forty or so). The Winchester Bishopric and other religious houses occupied most of the manors of Hampshire, had done so since the earlier medieval period, and would continue to do so until the Dissolution. A result of this legacy was that the manors of the magnates in Hampshire were few and scattered; the only estate in Hampshire, the Redvers estate at Christchurch and the Isle of Wight, was seized and broken up by Edward I. The single barony, the St Johns, was spread across the counties of Hampshire, Sussex and Kent, and failed in 1348.

The resident knights and esquires existed in this context of landed settlement. They numbered around forty, a figure drawn from the 1412 and 1436 tax returns. They were surrounded by the estates of non-resident armigerous families, whose collective wealth outranked their own. Just as there was no resident secular magnate, the resident greater knights were very few, and there cannot be said to have been a separate class of 'greater gentry'. Many resident knights had estates in other counties in the southern region; their outlook was potentially a regional as well as a county outlook. These families formed one community in a county of communities. It is to those particular families that we now turn, in order to examine in detail how that community functioned in the context set out in these first two chapters.

CHAPTER 3: KNIGHTS AND ESQUIRES, *CIRCA* 1324

INTRODUCTORY

This chapter examines the resident Hampshire knights and esquires in Hampshire in the first half of the fourteenth century. These families are identified where possible by the use of the triple criteria of landed wealth, office-holding and collective identity. The chapter demonstrates that there was a group of armigerous families based primarily in the county who had been landholders for several generations. They formed a community within the county and furthermore, their estates either directly or indirectly (by descent through the female line) remained the basis of the majority of the leading armigerous families into the fifteenth century.

Importantly this chapter also details the score or so families who co-existed alongside the resident Hampshire families, having a stake in the county but not being principal members of the resident community. These families were mostly based in neighbouring counties and further illuminate the regional model outlined in Chapter Two.

The first of six sections in this chapter deals generally with the overlords, types of tenancies and manorial geography prevalent in the county; the Crown and Nobility, the Winchester Bishopric and the St. John barony are identified as the major overlords. Although knights' fees were no longer of great tenurial or military significance by the early fourteenth century, they present a logical way of approaching knights and esquires because conditions had been determined by a past feudal reality. The generation of armigerous gentry in Hampshire at the beginning of the fourteenth century lived in a period of change; subinfeudation had been abolished, the last feudal levy was to be summoned in 1327 and a financial revolution in national taxation was under way to pay for the wars in Scotland and France. Locally, the estates of the Bishops of Winchester were by far the largest landed estates not only in Hampshire but in the counties to the west. Even so, there was an insignificant number of knights (six) holding tenancies from the Bishopric in Hampshire. This was because the Bishop kept the Hampshire lands in hand, subinfeudating only minor lands. As a result of this, the

number of families with estates in neighbouring counties was over half the total families considered in this chapter. The Chapter as a whole will demonstrate that the feudal legacy was in fact an extremely powerful one, determining the size and location of the armigerous estates and the wealth and importance of the families.

The second, third and fourth sections deal in detail with those armigerous families holding from these lords. Longevity of tenure was very important; the most active families were often those longest established in the county. The vast majority of armigerous families in early fourteenth century Hampshire had held their lands for several generations. The tables for each section include a column for the earliest date that family appears in Hampshire. These figures show that 26 - over half - of the 47 families were in the county from at least the mid-thirteenth century, a further twelve date from the twelfth century, three from the eleventh century and just six were newcomers in the fourteenth century.

The fifth section accounts for those armigerous families who were neighbours, newcomers and temporary lords in Hampshire; these families were not insignificant and illustrate how the more permanent Hampshire families co-existed alongside orbiting families in the region. Some individuals had very little affinity with the county. Sir Roger Pedwardyn owed his manor of South Warnborough to his marriage to Alice Longchamp. Sir Robert Kendal had been granted his manor of Shalden in 1309 by Sir Nicholas Boys, Sir James Norton was enfeoffed with Nutley in 1306 by Joan Gurdun, Sir John Randolf exchanged Chaddenwick in Wiltshire for the Hampshire manor of Ash in 1297, and Sir Theobald Russell's father had married the daughter and heiress of Thomas Aula and acquired the manor of Yaverland on the Isle of Wight. Very little can be found about John Cerne and John Launcelvy, both on the 1324 list for Hampshire. This section also details some of the tenants of the major overlords identified above, as those families were not, by terms of the triple criteria, primarily based in Hampshire.

Finally, the sixth section brings to light associations and activities of the families in this period, to demonstrate issues of collective identity. This shows how the resident

families formed one of the many ‘communities with the county’, associations which are illustrated by witnesses lists, marriage alliances, military and even criminal activities.

3.1: OVERLORDS, TENANCIES AND MANORIAL GEOGRAPHY

The Crown was the biggest single overlord in Hampshire, with 23 knights and esquires holding their manors from the king in chief. It is important to remember that the Crown had only recently acquired the Isle of Wight, which had been the bastion of the Redvers lordship until 1293.¹ The Crown held the Redvers honour of Christchurch from 1293-1335, but only one Hampshire lord, John Bookland, held a manor in knight service from the Christchurch honour. Eight of these 23 held their lands from the honour of Carisbrooke, on the Isle of Wight, which would have been part of the Redvers lordship. The leading families of Lisle of Wootton and Langford of Chale were Redvers tenants.

Name	Number
Crown	23
St. John	10
Bishopric	6
Hyde Abbey	4 ²
Pembroke	2
Lancaster	2
Hereford	1
Kent	1
Ralph Monthermer	1
Lisle of Wootton	1
Brayboeuf of Eastrop	1
Trenchard of Shalfleet (IoW)	1
Russell of Yaverland (IoW)	1
Treasurer of York	1

Table 8: Overlords and the Number of their Manorial Tenants, c.1324

¹ PRO E40/13452. The King was granted seisin of the Isle of Wight, the advowsons and fees, except the four manors of Sevenhampton, Whitchurch, Harewood and Tiverton, for 20,000 marks.

² Including 2 fees from the St. John barony.

Of the 37 knights and esquires listed in 1324 whose overlords can be identified, ten held manors from the St. John barony, four from the Winchester bishopric, thirteen from the Crown and six from the nobility. Six held manors and lands from more than one overlord. Of the fourteen additional families identified in the Inquisitions, ten held from the Crown, one from Chertsey Abbey, one from Hyde, one from Lisle of Wootton and one from the Bishopric.

With regard to knights' fees, two lists of knights' fees dated to 1282 and 1286 held from the Winchester Bishopric include three and two individuals respectively whose descendants were included on the 1324 Great Council list.³ Inquisitions of the members of the nobility who had fees in Hampshire in this period include the earls of March, Norfolk, Gloucester, Pembroke, Winchester, Kent, Lancaster, Hereford and Essex, Stafford, Devon, Salisbury, Arundel and Warwick. Very few Hampshire knights and esquires held fees or part fees from them and none substantial. Four held fees or part-fees from the earl of Pembroke, one from Kent, four from Lancaster, two from Hereford and Essex. Two earldoms held manors from the Hampshire landowners; Kent (Corhampton, from the St. Johns) and Arundel (Bedhampton, from the St. Johns and Hyde abbey)⁴.

Twenty-two inquisitions *post mortem* survive for the 37 knights and esquires listed in 1324, of whom 15 held 18 manors in the county. Ten of these held manors from the Crown, three from the St. John barony, two from the Bishopric, one from the earl of Lancaster and two from other Hampshire lords. Several had more than one lord; John Lisle held six manors from four lords. However, 11 of the 15 held only one manor. Where particulars are known, three held for life, with remainder to their sons and the heirs of his body and another just for life. The service owed varied, from 6d *per annum* (John Lisle, for the manor of Schaprix, held from Henry Trenchard) to the provision of a horseman in time of war for the defence of the Isle of Wight (John Lisle, from the

³ *Register of John of Pontoise, 1282-1304*, ed. C. Deedes, Canterbury and York Society, 19. (London, 1915), 387-390, 593-596.

⁴ *CIPM*, iv, 319 (Joan, wife of Gilbert de Clare); *CIPM*, vi, 475 (Edmund).

king), Scottish service with three horses for 40 days (John Bergh) and Grand serjeanty, i.e. carrying the wand of the marshalsey in the king's household (John Warblington).

Age of heirs

Fourteen knights and esquires left a son as their heir, twelve of whom were of full age, only one, Sir John Dun, who held the manor of Tidworth for life with reversion, left his manor to a kinswoman. Two left their manors to minors, and one, Edward St. John, brother of John II, had no recorded heir, and he, too, held his manor for life only. The average age of those son and heirs was 26.

Inquisitions *post mortem* also show that fourteen families held manors in Hampshire in the early fourteenth century whose heads were not included on the 1324 list, for reasons perhaps more specific to the Great Council interests than to local significance. Ten held their manors from the king, the other four from the Winchester Bishopric, Hyde Abbey, Chertsey Abbey and John Lisle. Four had manors in other counties, two in Wiltshire, one in Devon and one in Gloucestershire. Five individuals were knights of the shire in the period. Much of the type of service owed was by knights' fees. Eleven heirs had their age recorded, of whom eight were sons, six of full age, one brother and one kinsman. The average age of the son and heirs was thirty.

With fourteen of the 1324 knights and esquires and eight of the additional fourteen leaving sons, the majority of whom were of age, and an average age of 26 and 30, this contributed security and family continuity. A daughter or daughters could have divided the estate, left it open to outside influences, and a daughter as a minor even more so. Chapter Four underlines the importance of the female succession by pursuing the descents of these families across two centuries.

The distribution of manors within the county

Generally speaking, the armigerous manors of medieval Hampshire were located in the north-east and the west of the county and on the Isle of Wight. Such concentration of

manors was due to the fact that the Winchester Bishopric and other religious houses dominated the centre and south of the county - the Hampshire Downs - and had done so for over three hundred years. The armigerous wealth was concentrated primarily in the north-east and the Isle of Wight, for eight of the 23 families with incomes of £40 and over in 1300 were based on the Isle of Wight (six known to have held from the king in chief) and a further seven in and around the St John barony at Basing (six known to held from either the king or the St Johns). Three families with £40 in 1300 were based on the Wiltshire border and only one family - the Nortons - generated over £40 in 1300 from the centre of the county and, significantly, they did not hold their lands from the bishopric.

There are three 'zones' which correlated to the three chief groups of overlords. The eight Isle of Wight manors held of the Carisbrooke honour of the king is one. The remaining tenants of the Crown were based all over the county. Edward St. John, brother of Lord John II, held his manor from the king at Sherborne, Basing, for life by demise of his brother. Some, not principally Hampshire men, had their Hampshire lands near to the counties where they were principally based, such as Grimstead, a Wiltshire family, who held a moiety of Exbury, on the south coast near the New Forest, and Ford, another Wiltshire man, who held Hale at Breamore, to the extreme west of the country, bordering Wiltshire. Others were also based on the extremities of the county: Pedwardyn of South Warnborough to the east, Punchardon of Facombe and Romsey of Vernham's Dean to the north, Warblington of Sherfield-on-Lodden, principally a Sussex man, to the north-east and Estcote of West Tytherley to the west. If there was any pattern to the distribution of the Crown lands outside the Isle of Wight bloc, then it was one based on the periphery of the county.

The manors held of the St. Johns based at Basingstoke in the north-east of the county can be identified as a second zone. The chief St. John manors in Hampshire were Basing, Warnford, Ludshot (Bramshott) and Chawton, along the east of the county, formed a line from Basing to the south, skirting Winchester district. Six of the ten tenants were based near Basing: Sifrewast at Ellisfield, Stratton at West Stratton, Brayboeuf at Appleshaw (also Eastrop, near Basingstoke, held of the earl of

Hereford), Scures at Up Nateley and Woodgarston (Wootton St. Lawrence), Basing at Basing Byfleet and Coudray at Herriard and Sherborne. There may also be identified a secondary St. John zone, including the manors of East Hoe, North Fareham, Drayton, Boarhunt and Wickham, in the south east of the county, down towards the coast. Of the remaining four tenants, Brune of Rowner, on the coast, was principally a tenant of the Crown and so was des Roches, who held manors at Ellisfield and East Hoe (Soberton) of the St. Johns. The latter also had Bradley and North Fareham of the Winchester Bishopric and Stevington of the king. Stevington and Bradley were just outside Basingstoke, North Fareham and East Hoe near the coast to the east. The last two tenants of St. John, Roger Woodlock of Drayton and the Boarhunts at Boarhunt, were also on the coast east of the county. The Scures also held Wickham, towards the south.

The Bishopric estates in Hampshire were based chiefly in the centre and the south of the county, and this is where we find the five principal tenants of the Bishop - Tichborne of Tichborne, Peverel of Chilworth, Woodlock of Kilmeston and Tisted of West Tisted, des Roches of Bradley and North Fareham, forming the third zone. With the exception of Bradley, all were in the heartland of the Bishopric estates, to the south and east of Winchester.

Knights and esquires with lands in other counties

The inquisitions show that nine 1324 knights and esquires held manors outside Hampshire, five of whom had more manors in those lands than in Hampshire, in Wiltshire (three manors), Devon (two), Somerset (two), Kent (two), Berkshire (two), Surrey (one), Sussex (one), Lincolnshire (one), Norfolk (one), Northamptonshire (one) and Essex (one).

With regard to the dozen or so armigerous families not included in the 1324 list, as well as those on the list, and with use of the *Nomina Villarum* for all the southern counties, as well as surviving inquisitions, it can be seen that 26 lords out of the total 47 with manors in Hampshire had lands in other counties. The obvious second county

was Wiltshire, followed by Dorset, then Somerset; the outlook was therefore to the West Country. This pattern of land distribution outside Hampshire is very similar to that identified in the 1412 incomes tax outlined in Chapter Two.

Table 9 illustrates that families such as the Lisle of Wootton, based primarily on the Isle of Wight, did have interests outside the county. Those with manors in the east of Hampshire, such as des Roches and Sifrewast, had other manors in Dorset, rather than Sussex, which we might expect, being nearer to their Hampshire manors.

Name	County
Ford	Wiltshire; Oxfordshire; Berkshire; Bedfordshire; Buckinghamshire
Sifrewast	Wiltshire; Dorset; Buckinghamshire.
Norton	Wiltshire; Dorset
Cerne	Wiltshire; Dorset
Bookland	Wiltshire; Somerset
Giffard	Wiltshire; Gloucestershire
Lisle of Wootton	Wiltshire; Northamptonshire
Pershete	Wiltshire
Grimstead	Wiltshire
Berengar	Wiltshire
Sturmy	Wiltshire
Des Roches	Dorset
Cormeilles	Dorset
Russell	Dorset
Langford	Somerset; Devon
Romsey	Somerset
D'Evercy	Somerset
Weston	Somerset
Coudray	Berkshire
Woodlock (Walter)	Berkshire
Warblington	Sussex; Surrey; Norfolk
D'Abernon	Surrey, Sussex
Brune	Kent; Essex
Basing	Northampton
Pedwardyn	Lincolnshire
Kendal (Robert)	Hertfordshire; Bedfordshire

Table 9: Fourteenth century Knights and Esquires with lands in other Counties

3.2: KNIGHTS AND ESQUIRES HOLDING OF THE CROWN AND NOBILITY

Twenty-three knights and esquires held manors in Hampshire from the crown. All eight manors held from the crown on the Isle of Wight were held of the honour of Carisbrooke, and these would have been held from the Redvers family before 1293; these are considered first. Sir Andrew Grimstead, knight in 1324, is not included here, as he was primarily of a Wiltshire family. The Venuz family, lords of Eastworldham, held no office in Hampshire, appeared on none of the lists as knights and esquires or £40 holders in the county; neither did the Cormeilles family. Twelve were included on the 1324 list as either knights or esquires.

In 1324 the knight who held the most recorded manors from the Crown was a representative of one of the oldest families of the county. This was Sir John Lisle. At his death in 1331 he had six manors in Hampshire, all on the Isle of Wight, three of which were held from the king as of the honour of Carisbrooke, one from Henry Trenchard by service of 6d. yearly, one from Theobald Russell, by service of a quarter of a knight's fee and one from the abbot of Hyde by service of 13s. 4d. yearly. These manors were held for life, with remainder to his son and heirs of their bodies, by the enfeoffment of William, parson of the church of Bonville. Lisle also had a manor in Northamptonshire, held of the earl of Lancaster, and the manor of Chute in Wiltshire, held in fee tail in three parts, of Hugh Audeley and his wife, sister of the late earl of Gloucester, the abbot of Hyde and thirdly of Hugh Estcote and Thomas Ameneigh.⁵

The Lisles of Wootton, or Wodyton, were the principal gentry family on the Isle of Wight, receiving individual summonses to parliament in 1302 - 1314, which in modern doctrine created a barony.⁶ The Lisles were the principal tenants of the Redvers earls of Devon and Isabella countess of Aumarle as lords of the Isle until it passed to the crown on the death of the countess in 1293. The Lisles can be traced back to Jordan and Hawise, c. 1130, whose grandson Walter (d. 1224) was bailiff of the island and

⁵ *CIPM*, vii, 261-2.

⁶ The following two paragraphs are from the *New DNB*. I am grateful to Michael Hicks for passing me a typescript of the entry.

whose great-grandson Geoffrey was sheriff of Hampshire in 1236 - 9. The first Lisle active outside the island and the county was John I (d.1304), who served in Wales in 1277, again in 1282 and in Gascony in 1295. He was the first Lisle to be knighted, in 1282, and the first to be summoned to parliament, in 1299. He had £40 from his Hampshire lands in 1300 and was a tenant-in-chief.⁷ His son, John II (d. 1331), the Sir John on the 1324 list, was no longer summoned after 1314. Only John IV (d.1407) stands out on the national scene, knighted at the coronation of Henry IV, to whom he was a king's knight and annuitant and who twice summoned him to great councils.

Inquisitions in 1252 and 1263 reveal the Lisles as almost exclusively an island family. Apart from two virgates, their entire estate consisted of 7½ fees held of the earl of Devon as of the castle of Carisbrooke by knight's service, castleguard and suit at the knight's court. The *Nomina* and the 1346 knight's fees reveal the Lisles as lords of four places in the Hundred of East Medina and one in West Medina. In 1304 John I died seised of the grange of Wootton, seven other manors on the Isle of Wight, and the manor of Mainsbridge in Swaythling, and La Ruge Hall; he was also lord of Woodhouse and 30 acres in the forest of Chute and hereditary bailiff of the east walk of Chute, which had been settled on him on his marriage to Nicola Columbiere. The estate was extended at a total of £79, of which £71 13s. 6½ d. was on the Isle of Wight. In 1306, John II was granted free warren on the whole estate. Wootton, of which John I styled himself lord in 1301, was apparently his principal seat, but was not the sole one; John III was born at Mainsbridge .

Another tenant-in-chief was Sir John Langford who held the manor of Chale from the king, also of the honour of Carisbrooke on the Isle of Wight, and was listed as knight in 1324. Although the Langford family held Chale from the late thirteenth century to 1509, when, after the death of John Langford, his daughter Anne and her husband William Stafford sold it to William Pound, they were not closely allied with the county. Sir John Langford was constable of Carisbrooke castle and keeper of the Isle of Wight, but did not sit for the shire or serve as sheriff.⁸ He was either the grandson or great-

⁷ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339.

⁸ *CCR 1335-8*, 435, 521.

grandson of Roger Langford who died in 1309, seised of lands in Chale and Newenham on the Isle of Wight, Fyfhide Langford in Somerset and Cadekbere in Devon and who had £40 from Hampshire in 1300.⁹ Sir John was lord of Chale in 1316, and of Wydecombe in Wiltshire and at his death held Chale, Langford and Cadekebere manors in Devon, of Hugh Courtenay, earl of Devon.¹⁰ He had acquired Chale from William atte Marsh in 1318.¹¹ The Langfords of Chale never held office as knights of the shire, sheriff or justice of the peace in Hampshire in the period 1300 - 1500; they were probably absentee landlords for much of the time, but nevertheless had a not insignificant stake in the county.

The other six who held manors from the king in chief of the honour of Carisbrooke were not included in 1324. Three of them were knights of the shire for Hampshire in the early fourteenth century. John, son of Reginald St. Martin, died in 1326 and left his nephew, Lawrence, the manor of Alvington, held of the king in chief of the honour of Carisbrooke castle by service of ½ knight's fee.¹² John's grandfather, William St. Martin, had been lord of Alvington on the Isle of Wight since 1262 and Sir Reginald, John's father, had £40 in lands from Hampshire in 1300.¹³ The St. Martin male line failed in the mid-fourteenth century and the Alvington estate went to the Pophams.¹⁴

John Glamorgan held three manors on the Isle of Wight at the time of his death in 1338: Wolverton, Motteston and Standenwood, all of the king in chief, as of the honour of Carisbrooke.¹⁵ John was probably the son of Sir Robert Glamorgan, lord of Brook, and when John married the daughter and heir of Peter D'Evercy, Amy (or

⁹ *CIPM* v, 110; *Parl. Writs*, i, 339.

¹⁰ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 322, v, 207; *CIPM*, viii, 283-4.

¹¹ CP25(1)205/18, no.53.

¹² *CIPM*, vi, 484.

¹³ *VCH*, v, 228.

¹⁴ See the Popham descent, Chapter Four, 184-7.

¹⁵ *CIPM*, viii, 71.

Anne), he acquired the manor of East Standen.¹⁶ John, styled knight, was knight of the shire for Hampshire in 1325.¹⁷

Name	Origin	Overlord	Principal Holding(s)
St. John (Edward)	11c	Crown	Sherborne
Lisle of Gatcombe	11c	Crown (Carisbrooke)	Gatcombe (IoW)
Lisle of Wootton	12c	Crown (Carisbrooke)	Wootton (IoW)
		Hyde Abbey	
		Henry Trenchard	
		Theobald Russell	
Trenchard	12c	Crown (Carisbrooke)	Shalfleet (IoW)
Langford	13c	Crown (Carisbrooke)	Chale (IoW)
Warblington	13c	Crown	Sherfield-on-Lodden
Bergh	13c	Crown	Stapely
		Bishop of Worcester	Ewshott
			North Charford
Bookland	13c	Crown (Christchurch)	Arnwood
		Treasurer of York	Bookland
Dun	13c	Crown	SouthTidworth
Pershete	13c	Crown	Sparsholt
		Ralph Monthermer	
Estcote	13c	Crown	West Tytherley
Russell	13c	Crown (Carisbrooke)	Yaverland (IoW)
Heyno	13c	Crown (Carisbrooke)	Stenbury (IoW)
St. Martin	13c	Crown (Carisbrooke)	Alvington (IoW)
Glamorgan	13c	Crown (Carisbrooke)	Wolverton (IoW)

Table 10: Manorial Tenants of the Crown and Nobility, c.1324

There was another Lisle family holding manors on the Isle of Wight, possibly a cadet branch of the Wootton Lisles. In 1337, John Lisle of Gatcombe left his son John the manors of Gatcombe, Helsey, Whitwell and Calbourn, all held of the king in chief, of Carisbrooke and Porchester castles.¹⁸ John was the son of Sir Baldwin Lisle and the descendant of the Estur family, whose ancestors probably included William son of

¹⁶ Moor, ii, 119; *VCH*, v, 146, 161.

¹⁷ *Return*, 74.

¹⁸ *CIPM*, viii, 82.

Stur, who held Gatcombe in 1086.¹⁹ Baldwin had £40 in lands from Hampshire in 1300.²⁰

Another Isle of Wight family were the Russells of Yaverland. Sir Theobald, who died in 1340, was lord of the manor, held of the king in chief by service of a knight's fee, of the honour of Carisbrooke; they were not an ancient island family like the Lises, as Theobald's father, Sir William, had married the daughter of Thomas Aula, heiress of Yaverland.²¹ Sir William had inherited the manor of Kingston, Dorset, in 1278, but served as the bailiff of the Isle of Wight in 1301, constable of Carisbrooke castle in 1305, and knight of the shire for Hampshire in 1307; his son Theobald sat twice for Hampshire, in 1331 and 1334.²² The Russells were overlords to one of the Lisle manors and Sir William had £40 in lands from Hampshire in 1300 as a tenant-in-chief.²³

One other family who held a manor from the king on the Isle of Wight were the Trenchards. On Henry's death in 1349, Henry Trenchard held Shalfleet from the king of the honour of Carisbrooke by knight's service.²⁴ The Trenchards had held the manor since at least 1135, when Payne Trenchard was lord, and continued to do so until the fifteenth century.²⁵ The Trenchards were also overlords to one of the Lisle manors on the Isle of Wight and in 1300 John Trenchard had £40 in lands from Hampshire.²⁶

Finally, the Heyno family had been lords of Stenbury, Isle of Wight, since John Heyno held it of the king, as of the honour of Carisbrooke at the end of the thirteenth century.²⁷ On John's death in 1295, his son William held the manor, recorded in 1316, and was the previous holder of the fee at Stenbury in 1346, which was held by his

¹⁹ *CIPM*, v, 26; *VCH*, v, 246.

²⁰ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339.

²¹ *CIPM*, viii, 212 (Theobald's inquisition); *VCH*, v, 206.

²² *Moor*, iv, 158; *Return*, 95, 105.

²³ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339.

²⁴ *CIPM*, ix, 256-7.

²⁵ *VCH*, v, 270

²⁶ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339.

²⁷ *VCH*, v, 174.

direct descendants in 1346 and 1428.²⁸ William Heyno had £40 in land from Hampshire in 1300 and was a tenant-in-chief.²⁹ John Heyno was knight of the shire in 1322.³⁰

On the mainland, four lords had their Hampshire manors in the north of the county, at Facombe (Punchardon), Vernham's Dean (Romsey) and Sherborne (Edward St. John) and Sherfield-on-Lodden (Warblington). Three had their manors on the Surrey/Sussex border, at South Warnborough (Pedwardyn), Ewshot and Stapely (Bergh). One lord, Brune of Rowner, was on the south coast, and one in the hinterland, Pershete of Sparsholt, outside Winchester, one near the New Forest (Ford of Hale, Breamore) and four in north-west Hampshire on the Wiltshire border (Bookland of Nether Wallop, Dun of South Tidworth, Estcote of West Tytherley and Cormeilles of Thruxton).

Of these thirteen families, the Romseys were principally a Wiltshire family; the Pedwardyns, though listed in 1324 and with £40 in 1300, did not hold offices in Hampshire but held their land there until 1441; the Brunes had interests in Kent and Essex and the Punchardons in Berkshire. These families are dealt with in the final section of the chapter.

The Sir Edward St. John listed in 1324 was the brother of John II, but had no lordships recorded in 1316 in Hampshire.³¹ His inquisition of 1348 includes the manor of Sherborne (Basing) which he held for life by the demise of his brother, John II, of the king in chief by service of half a knight's fee.³² He seems to have acquired other manors in his lifetime, too, purchasing Tidshelve from William Etchingham in 1315 and Winhall Ludshelve from William St. John in 1317.³³ His political career was chiefly based in Sussex, as he sat for Sussex in 1327, served on the commissions of array in

²⁸ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 321, 338, 352.

²⁹ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339.

³⁰ *Return*, 99.

³¹ *CIPM* ix, 43.

³² *CIPM*, ix, 43.

³³ PRO CP25(1)205/17, no.50; PRO CP25(1)205/18, no.22.

Sussex in 1323 and 1326, and was summoned as a knight from Sussex as well as Hampshire in 1324.³⁴

John Warblington's inquisition *post mortem* of 1332 reveals another individual with wider landed interests than Hampshire, though primarily southern based.³⁵ In addition to the manor of Sherfield-on-Lodden, north-east of Basingstoke, and various lands in four other places, he held the manor of Warblington in Sussex of the earl of Richmond, the manor of Tanregge in Surrey of William Zouche and the manor of Middleton in Norfolk by the gift of his father. His father, Thomas, was the son of William Warblington, a kinsman of Thomas Warblington whose father William inherited Sherfield in 1205: on John's death in 1332, his son John inherited the manor and his grandson William had in 1412 an assessed income of £43 from Hampshire but nothing recorded from elsewhere.³⁶ John Warblington sat for Hampshire in 1321 and 1327 and on commissions of array in 1324-5; he was a knight in 1325, noted as such in witnessing a deed by John Basing.³⁷

John Bergh, esquire in 1324, was a member of a family whose landed interest in Hampshire was to last from 1279, when Robert Berewe was noted holding Ewshott of Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester, to 1579, when it was sold to Henry Wriothesley.³⁸ In 1305, John Beauchamp of Fyfield granted the manor of Stapeley (Odiham) to Robert, and this remained in the family until 1566, when George Barowe, as the family name had become, sold it to Anthony Bustard; in 1353, Walter atte Bergh bought the manor of North Charford from William Gerberd, and this estate remained in the family until the seventeenth century; a second manor at Sopley was acquired in the middle fifteenth century but was sold in 1544 to Sir William Berkeley.³⁹ Ewshott and Stapely were in the east of the county, on the Sussex/Surrey border, North Charford on the Dorset/Wiltshire border by the New Forest.

³⁴ Moor, iv, 174.

³⁵ CIPM, vii, 337.

³⁶ VCH, iv, 104-5; *Feudal Aids*, vi, 451.

³⁷ Moor, v, 154.

³⁸ VCH, iv, 9.

³⁹ VCH, iv, 92, 561; v, 129.

John's inquisition includes the manor of Stapeley, held of the king in chief for service in Scotland with three horses for 40 days; there are no other manors or lands in any other counties, though he had two messuages.⁴⁰ John did not sit in parliament for Hampshire or serve as sheriff.

Sir Nicholas Pershete, who died in 1329, inherited the manors of Sparsholt and Shelvely which had been held by the Pershetes in the thirteenth century, the former of Ralph Monthermer.⁴¹ Sir Nicholas was also the lord of Bosington and Buntley vills in 1316, and his overlord, Ralph Monthermer, was recorded as the lord of Pershete; Peter, Nicholas's son, had the manor of Buntley at his death.⁴² Sir Nicholas was also lord of Winterslow vill, Wiltshire.⁴³ He sat for Hampshire in 1309, 1311 and 1313 and served as sheriff of Oxfordshire in 1303 and constable of Oxford and Marlborough castles.⁴⁴

John Bookland, esquire, held the hamlet of Arnewood of the Christchurch manor and jointly the vill of Avon (New Forest) in Hampshire in 1316, and the vill of Almunsworth in Somerset; in 1346 the fee at Arnewood was in the possession of William Bookland, and the half fee at Avon was held by William Melebury.⁴⁵ John Bookland acquired Brookley in the New Forest in 1334 and this passed to his brother Thomas and ultimately to the Wroths and Tiptofts.⁴⁶ His inquisition, wherein he is a knight, includes the manor of Brookley in the New Forest, held of Queen Philippa, and the manor of Bookland in Nether Wallop, held of the treasurer of York at fee-farm, and the manor of Radlynch in Wiltshire, held of the bishop of Winchester.⁴⁷ John Bookland's political career included sitting for Hampshire in 1327, Wiltshire in 1340

⁴⁰ *CIPM*, ix, 440-1.

⁴¹ *VCH*, iv, 457, iv, 555.

⁴² *Feudal Aids*, ii, 310, 311; *CIPM*, xi, 155.

⁴³ *Feudal Aids*, v, 199 (Amesbury Hundred).

⁴⁴ *Moor*, iv, 51-2.

⁴⁵ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 316, iv, 335; ii, 328; *VCH*, v, 114.

⁴⁶ *VCH*, iv, 628.

⁴⁷ *CIPM*, xii, 230-1.

and 1341, and serving as sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire from 1328-30.⁴⁸ He was also constable of Taunton castle from 1320-23 a possession of the Bishopric of Winchester, but outside the diocese.⁴⁹

Sir John Dun was the son of William Dun who held South Tidworth, north-west Hampshire on the Wiltshire border, in 1270 and died seised of it in 1286, holding from the earls of Kent who were the overlords since King John granted Hubert Burgh the middle manor; in 1318 Edmund of Woodstock, earl of Kent, was granted the manor by Edward II when it passed to the Holand heirs and eventually to the Crown in the later fifteenth century.⁵⁰ Sir John was a tenant-in-chief and had £40 in lands from Hampshire in 1300.⁵¹ On John Dun's death in 1332, the family ended its association with the manor, as it was held for life only, of the king in chief, with remainder to Stephen Brightmerston and his heir, Isabel, his daughter, a kinswoman of Sir John Dun.⁵² Sir John was lord of Tidworth vill in 1316 but had no other possessions in the southern region noted in the *Nomina Villarum*.⁵³ Sir John sat for Hampshire in the 1319 and 1328 parliaments.⁵⁴

Walter Estcote was 26 when he inherited the manor of West Tytherley from his mother Joan, widow of Hugh, in 1316.⁵⁵ Joan was an heiress, daughter of Walter Langford, and had married Sir Hugh Estcote in 1280.⁵⁶ Walter Estcote held the manor from the king in chief by service of a providing a war-horse annually for forty days; he died in

⁴⁸ *Return*, 82; *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales* (Public Record Office Lists and Indexes, ix, 1898), 108.

⁴⁹ *Registers of John de Sandal and Rigaud de Asserio, Bishops of Winchester, 1316-23*, ed. F. J. Baigent, Hampshire Record Society (Winchester, 1897), lxiii.

⁵⁰ *VCH*, iv, 392.

⁵¹ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339.

⁵² *CIPM*, vii, 333-4. The manor was of the king in chief, as of the honour of Camel, Somerset, and had been of that honour since 1086.

⁵³ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 312.

⁵⁴ *Return*, 58, 86.

⁵⁵ *CIPM*, vi, 8.

⁵⁶ *VCH*, iv, 519.

1341.⁵⁷ In 1337 the manor of Sherfield English was granted to Sir Walter Estcote and John Aucher by Sir John Englys for life.⁵⁸ His father, Sir Hugh, had been knight of the shire for Hampshire six times from 1297 - 1305, and Walter, titled knight, sat once, in 1340.⁵⁹ West Tytherley and Sherfield English were east of Salisbury, along the Wiltshire border.

The evidence suggests that at this point in time, the most active armigerous families holding from the Crown in Hampshire were distinguished by their land, wealth and offices not only in Hampshire but in neighbouring counties (with the important exception of the Lisles of Wootton, an Isle of Wight family); this might suggest that in order to acquire standing in one's primary locality, interests in other counties were held in high regard.

3.3: THE BISHOPRIC AND HYDE ABBEY AND THEIR TENANTS

Seven lords had their principal manors from the Winchester Bishopric and Hyde Abbey. Their manors were situated to the south and east of Winchester, in the heartland of the bishopric estates (Tichborne of Tichborne, Peverel of Chilworth, Tistede of West Tistede and Woodlock of Kilmeston), south of Basingstoke (des Roches of Bradley, Popham of Popham), and to the east, on the Surrey border (Giffard of Itchell, Crondal). Although the Peverels had held the fee at Chilworth since at least 1166, none were listed on any of the Hampshire lists and held no offices in the county in the early fourteenth century and the family sold the manor to Sir Thomas Tyrell, of Essex, in 1365.⁶⁰ Similar were the Tistedes, who held three knight's fees from the Bishop of Winchester; their manor passed through the female line ultimately to the Tichborne family.⁶¹

⁵⁷ *CIPM*, viii, 230-1.

⁵⁸ PRO C148/59.

⁵⁹ *Return*, 7, 11, 14, 17, 20; 131.

⁶⁰ *VCH*, iii, 468.

⁶¹ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, Rolls Series 99 (London, 3 vols, 1896) i, 206; *VCH*, iii, 61.

Using the *Cartae Baronum* of 1166 as a starting point, we find that the ancestors of several fourteenth century knights and esquires held land from the Bishopric. William Peverel's ancestor held one fee, Sir Robert Tistede's ancestor three fees and Sir John Tichborne's ancestor one and a half. Given that the Bishop was the greatest landowner in the county by far, this is not a large number of local knights; the Bishopric manors were not subinfeudated but retained in demesne until the middle fifteenth century, when they were leased, largely to the reeves and under-bailiffs who already officiated over the manors.

The first mention of the Tichbornes was in 1135, when Walter Tichborne held two knights' fees of the Bishop of Winchester; Walter's son Roger owed one and half fees in 1166.⁶² The Sir John Tichborne of 1324 was lord of Kempshott and Rode in 1316; Tichborne vill itself was recorded under the overlord, the Bishop of Winchester and in 1320 Sir John acquired the rights by fine from Martin Woodhay.⁶³ A note of fine concerning the manor Tichborne shows that it was held in tail male by Sir John and his wife for life, then to his son Roger and his male heirs.⁶⁴ Kempshott had been gained by Sir John on his marriage to Margaret Sifrewast, daughter of Roger Sifrewast and in 1332, Sir John was granted the neighbouring manor of Winslade.⁶⁵ Sir John was active in county affairs, sitting for the shire in 1315, 1316, 1320 and 1327 and serving as sheriff and constable of Winchester castle for the year 1320; he was also on many commissions in the county, and served as sheriff of Wiltshire on whose list he appears as a non-resident in 1324.⁶⁶

In 1316 Walter Woodlock, esquire, who may have been Sir Roger's brother, was lord of the hamlet of Kilmeston, along with the provost of St. Elizabeth's College, Winchester; this manor had been divided into two parts in the thirteenth century by the Bishop of Winchester, granted to the Bere and Gymming families.⁶⁷ In 1307, the

⁶² *Red Book of the Exchequer*, i, 205.

⁶³ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 313, 315, 320; CP25(1)205/19, no.12.

⁶⁴ HRO 29M82/252, dated to 1339.

⁶⁵ *VCH*, iv, 179-180. The Sifrewasts held their land from the St John barony and are discussed below.

⁶⁶ *Moor*, v, 25.

⁶⁷ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 320; *VCH*, iii, 323.

trustees of John Gymming alienated their part to St. Elizabeth's but in 1230 Richard Bere had enfeoffed Alan Plukenet with the other moiety, which was granted to Alan Plukenet junior in 1295 and held by Alan's nephew Nicholas Woodlock after 1346.⁶⁸ It may be that Walter was the father of Nicholas and held the part of the manor for life from the Plukenets, which was then re-granted to Nicholas.

Name	Origin	Overlord	Principal Holding(s)
Tichborne	12c	Bishopric	Tichborne, Kempshott
Popham	12c	Hyde Abbey	Popham
Des Roches	13c	Bishopric	Bradley
		Crown	Stevington
		St. John	Hoe, Ellisfield
Woodlock (Walter)	13c	Bishopric	Kilmeston
Giffard	13c	Bishopric	Itchell

Table 11: Manorial Tenants of the Winchester Bishopric and Hyde Abbey, c.1324

Walter Woodlock was also joint lord of the vill of West and East Enbourne in Berkshire in 1316, along with Joanna Havering, Thomas Sandervill and the Priory of Sandelsford.⁶⁹ He held no offices in the county but he was chief huntsman and deputy keeper of the chase in the Winchester Bishopric from 1316-19, bailiff of Twyford and Waltham from 1320.⁷⁰

In 1329 John des Roches, a collateral descendant of Peter des Roches, owed two fees to the St. John barony, one for Ellisfield and one for Hoo.⁷¹ His father, John, had £40 in lands in Hampshire in 1300, and was a tenant-in-chief.⁷² On his death in 1312 his son John inherited the manors of Stevington, Bradley, North Fareham and Hoe.⁷³ John's grandfather Martin des Roches, sheriff of Hampshire in 1269, had acquired the lands at Stevington in 1260, and held them of the king, in chief; Martin had inherited the manor

⁶⁸ *VCH*, iii, 324.

⁶⁹ *Feudal Aids*, i, 49.

⁷⁰ *Register of John de Sandal and Rigaud de Asserio*, lxiii.

⁷¹ *CIPM*, vii, 183-7.

⁷² *Parl. Writs*, i, 339.

⁷³ *CIPM*, v, 175.

of Bradley from his father Geoffrey, (nephew of the Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester and Justiciar of England), who had married Emma, daughter and heir of William FitzRoger of North Fareham and Bradley (held of the Bishop of Winchester); Martin's brother and heir, Sir Hugh, married the daughter and heir of Roger Hoo, thus adding that manor to the family estates.⁷⁴ John's father had also added Broxhead to the family estates by marrying Margery, sole heir of Eufemia, daughter of Sir Herbert Calne, and to the family honour by fighting at Falkirk and serving in the company of Sir William Brune.⁷⁵ Lands in other southern counties seemed to amount only to Bromley in Dorset, which had come down from the Calne legacy and which John's son William was seised of in 1316.⁷⁶ In 1302, John acquired part of the manor of Hoo from Roger Launcelvy and in 1332 he re-settled the manors of Bradley, Hoo, North Fareham and Brokley from John Clanfield and John Pulburgh.⁷⁷ The Brocas deeds show that John de Roches had granted Roger Launcelvy half the manor of Hoo in 1300 and in 1345, Sir John, as he was by then, leased Bramley in Dorset to Peter Cupping; in 1357 his widow Joanna leased her dower lands at Eldestoke for life, to Thomas Hampton of Stoke Charity for a rent of 40s.⁷⁸ John was knight of the shire for Hampshire in 1320 and 1322.⁷⁹

The Pophams had held Popham since the twelfth century: in 1225 Gilbert Popham did homage as the heir to his mother, Agnes Popham, for the lands there; his grandson Sir John, who died in 1317, was lord of the vill of Popham.⁸⁰ Other patrimonial lands included Binsted Popham, for which Gilbert had done homage in 1225 and Faringdon Popham, which in 1155 was held by the sheriff of Hampshire, Turstin, of the king, and from whom Agnes Popham, who held it in 1189, descended.⁸¹ Popham was held of

⁷⁴ *VCH*, iv, 171-2, 202, iii, 212; M. Burrows, *The Family of Brocas of Beaurepaire and Roche Court* (London, 1886), 321.

⁷⁵ *VCH*, iii, 52; Burrows, *Brocas of Beaurepaire*, 322.

⁷⁶ Burrows, *Brocas of Beaurepaire*, 325.

⁷⁷ PRO CP25(1)205/15, no.238 and CP25(1)205/22, no.44.

⁷⁸ Burrows, *Brocas of Beaurepaire*, 339, 342, 349.

⁷⁹ *Return*, 61, 68.

⁸⁰ *VCH*, iii, 398; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 306.

⁸¹ *VCH*, ii, 484; iii, 21.

Hyde Abbey and in 1360, Henry Popham did homage to the abbey for four parts of a knight's fee, though three parts of a knight's fee was owed to the earl of Pembroke in 1324.⁸² No inquisitions for this period survive. Henry's father, Robert, son of Sir John, was active in the first half of the fourteenth century, sitting as knight of the shire in 1329-30, 1335-6, 1337 and 1343.⁸³ His father, Sir John, had been knight of the shire in 1295 and 1305.⁸⁴

John Giffard was twenty when he inherited the manor of Itchell from his father John and the manors of Norton and Weston-under-Edge in Gloucestershire in 1319.⁸⁵ He died in 1329, holding Itchell from the Bishop of Winchester, and the two in Gloucestershire from the king, leaving a six month old heir, John.⁸⁶ The Giffard family that had been lords of Itchell since 1264, when Walter Giffard, Bishop of Bath and Wells (later Archbishop of York) held it, and passed it to his brother Godfrey, Bishop of Worcester whose nephew John Giffard held the vill in 1316: that John Giffard also held the Wiltshire vill of Honton, Sharenton, Stapleford, Eliston, Sherston Parva, Ashton and Codford, the last with Oliver Ingham.⁸⁷ John Giffard held no office in Hampshire and was a rebel in the years 1322-25, which was probably why he was the only tenant of the Bishopric not included on the 1324 list; he did qualify for knighthood.⁸⁸

Of these armigerous families, the des Roches family was clearly the most significant, with many estates in the county and an important pedigree; they were a leading family in the county and the family estate formed the foundation for one of the leading fifteenth century families, by marriage. The Tichbornes and Pophams were significant, too, and were to remain so into the fifteenth century. None of these three families had much land outside Hampshire, though, unlike the leading tenants of the Crown. Walter

⁸² *CIPM*, vi, 328 (Aymer de Valence).

⁸³ *Return*, 90, 110, 118, 137.

⁸⁴ *Return*, 5, 20.

⁸⁵ *CIPM*, vi, 134.

⁸⁶ *CIPM*, vii, 18-19.

⁸⁷ *VCH*, iv, 7-8; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 314; *Feudal Aids*, ii, v, 199, 202, 202, 203, 208, 211, 211.

⁸⁸ *Moor*, ii, 112.

Woodlock was clearly in the lower level of the armigerous class, principally as a servant of the Bishopric.

3.4: THE ST. JOHN BARONY AND ITS TENANTS

All ten of the manorial tenants of the St. John barony were included in 1324 as knights and esquires, perhaps a measure of their importance in the county, and of the influence of St. John. Of these ten families, the des Roches family has been considered in the above section, the Brunes and Sifrewasts will be considered below. Six of the ten had their manors in or around Basingstoke, two in the south. The St. John barony was a Domesday establishment and four of the fourteenth-century tenants had been in Hampshire since the twelfth century and the other six since at least the mid-thirteenth century. Most of these ten families had significant stakes in the county and were politically and militarily active.

It is possible to trace connections with the barony from the twelfth century onwards. Ten knights and esquires listed in 1324 held fees or part fees from the St. John barony in 1329, including John Scures, sheriff of Hampshire at that time. Three of those, Sir John Scures, Sir Richard Stratton and Sir Hugh Brayboeuf, had twelfth century ancestors who held fees from the St. John barony, for in 1166, Matthew Scures owed four fees to John Port, Richard Stratton and Hugh Brayboeuf one apiece.

During the reign of Henry I, Matthew Scures was enfeoffed of Woodgarston (Wootton St. Lawrence, outside Basingstoke) by John Port, baron of Basing; in 1166 he held four knights' fees of John Port for Nateley Scures (Up Nateley, east of Basingstoke) and his descendant Sir John Scures, at the head of the 1324 list (presumably by dint of being sheriff at the time), held the fourth part of a fee there in 1346, as well as Wickham (in the south of the county) and Widley, owing four fees in total to the St. John barony on John II's death in 1329.⁸⁹ He had £40 in lands from Hampshire in 1300, but he did not hold other manors in the southern region, at least not according to

⁸⁹ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, i, 208; *VCH*, iv, 232; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 332, 336, 335; *CIPM*, vii, 183-187.

the *Nomina Villarum*, or his inquisition *post mortem*.⁹⁰ The Scures had held Kimpton in the thirteenth century of the St. Johns, (who were also the Nateley, Wickham and Widley overlords), and the Husseys held of them, though in 1346, William Edington, Bernard Brocas and Margaret Spircock were the tenants.⁹¹ Sir John's inquisition lists only the one manor held at the time of his death, Wickham, held with the advowson of the church. In 1331, Sir John's daughter, Beatrice, leased the manor of Woodgarston to Roger Fyfhide, a Hampshire landowner, and in 1332 and 1340 Sir John leased the manor to Roger and then his widow Edith. The manor was later leased by the female descendants of Sir John, the Uvedales, in the fifteenth century.⁹² Feet of Fines show that in 1334, Sir John settled by fine Natley Scures, Woodley and Woodgarston and Wickham, the latter from Robert Popham.⁹³ In the same year, Robert Popham settled the rights of Popham from Sir John.⁹⁴ Both Scures and Popham had held those manors for several generations before the Fines show them resettling the rights to the manors.

Sir John Scures had an active county career. He was knight of the shire for Hampshire in 1309, 1314 and 1322, sheriff for the unprecedented period 1322 - 1337, Warden of the castle of Winchester and on the commissions of array from 1321.⁹⁵ As sheriff, he conducted the wife of Roger Mortimer to Skipton castle and his three daughters to various priories. He was loyal to the Crown and served overseas on military service. He was not the direct descendant of the original Matthew Scures, but a cousin of Eva Scures, wife of William, Lord Clinton, who was the grand-daughter of the Matthew Scures holding Wickham in 1268.⁹⁶ Sir John died in 1353 and was succeeded by his son and heir John, aged 17.

⁹⁰ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339; *CIPM*, x, 72.

⁹¹ *VCH*, iv, 373; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 325.

⁹² HRO 21M58/T88-95; R.F. Bigg-Wither, 'On the Manor of Woodgarston and some Documents Relating Thereto,' *HFC*, iv (1898-1903), 249-251.

⁹³ PRO CP25(1)206/23 Nos.2, 5 The seller for the first three manors is obliterated by stains on the MS.

⁹⁴ PRO CP25(1)206/23, No.3.

⁹⁵ *Return*, 31, 47, 65; *List of Sheriffs*, 54; *CPR 1321-24*, 39, 96, 213; *Moor*, iv, 233-4.

⁹⁶ *VCH*, iii, 234.

Richard Stratton's ancestor Richard Stratton held West Stratton, north of Winchester, of John Port for one fee in 1166 and he was lord of the vill in 1316; soon afterwards he conveyed it to William Wayte, who held it in 1346, and whose descendants held it until 1527, when John Wayte sold all his estates to his kinsman Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle, for £2,000.⁹⁷ Richard Stratton also held the vill of Bonwood in Hampshire in 1316 and was recorded in 1346 as being the previous tenant of Segensworth in Titchfield hundred, for which his heirs owed the St. John barony half a fee in 1329.⁹⁸ No inquisition *post mortem* survives. He married well, to Rose, sister of Nicholas, Baron of Stafford, and had a daughter by her at least, by 1294. He served as knight of the shire in 1313 and as a commissioner of array in 1316.⁹⁹ The Stratton name does not appear again in Hampshire after the early fourteenth century.

The Brayboeufs held Cranborne (now Dorset) of the St. John family in the twelfth century, Hugh holding one fee in 1166 of John Port. By the thirteenth century they held Great Bramshill and Appleshaw of the St. Johns and Eastrop of the earls of Hereford. Hugh Brayboeuf in turn was overlord of one of the manors at Norton.¹⁰⁰ The Sir Hugh listed in 1324 also possessed one fee at Freshwater, on the Isle of Wight, held by his widow Joan in 1346.¹⁰¹ He owed one fee to the barony in 1329, for Norton, Chelwarnton, Appleshaw, Bramshill, and Cranbourne, though he had sold Cranbourne to William Mare and Robert Hameno in 1317.¹⁰² No inquisition survives, though in 1333 Sir Hugh son of William settled by fine the manor of Eastrop.¹⁰³ Sir Hugh was knight of the shire for Hampshire in 1313 and assessor in 1319.¹⁰⁴ Appleshaw was near Ludgershall, on the Wiltshire border, Eastrop outside Basingstoke, Bramshill (Eversley) on the Surrey border north-east of Basingstoke.

⁹⁷ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, i, 208; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 306, 329; *VCH*, iii, 392.

⁹⁸ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 308, 336; *CIPM*, vii, 183-7.

⁹⁹ *Moor*, iv, 303.

¹⁰⁰ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, i, 208; *VCH*, iv, 39, 358, 148; iii, 9.

¹⁰¹ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 341.

¹⁰² *CIPM*, vii, 183-7; CP25(1)205/18, no.23.

¹⁰³ PRO CP25(1)205/22 no. 35.

¹⁰⁴ *Return*, 42; *CPR 1317-1321*, 347.

Name	Origin	Overlord	Principal Holding(s)
Stratton	12c	St. John	West Stratton
Brayboeuf	12c	St. John	Appleshaw
		Earl of Hereford	Eastrop
Scures	12c.	St. John	Wickham, Natley, Woodgarston
Woodlock (Roger)	13c	St. John	Drayton, Allington
Boarhunt	13c	St. John	Boarhunt
Basing	13c	St. John	Basing Byfleet
		Earl of Lancaster	
Coudray	13c	St. John	Sherborne Coudray, Herriard

Table 12: Manorial Tenants of St. John, c. 1324

John Basing, esquire in 1324, was the son of Sir John Basing whose father Ralph had held Basing Byfleet, Basingstoke, in 1260.¹⁰⁵ John also held in 1316 the hamlet of Northampton but by 1346 this, recorded only as one hide, was in the hands of a certain Henry of Northampton and the Abbot of Hyde.¹⁰⁶ In 1343 John released his rights over Basing Byfleet to Joan, his father's widow and in 1389 Thomas Byfleet was in possession, possibly through his wife Alice, who may have been the heiress of John Basing.¹⁰⁷ John Basing's father, Sir John, had gone to Gascony in 1294 with John I, had £40 in lands from Hampshire in 1300 and was knight of the shire in 1311.¹⁰⁸ In 1329 John Basing, esquire, held the quarter fee from the St. John barony for Basing and Lomer and in 1330 Sir John, as he was by then, owed service for two virgates at Hamondsdon held of the Earl of Lancaster for the honour of Chaworth.¹⁰⁹

Sir Thomas Coudray held the villis of Newton, Barton Stacy, Sherborne Coudray and Herriard in 1316.¹¹⁰ His father, Sir Peter Coudray, had £40 income from Hampshire in 1300.¹¹¹ Herriard and Sherborne, the main manors, were parcel of the Sherborne St.

¹⁰⁵ *VCH*, iv, 121.

¹⁰⁶ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 306, 329.

¹⁰⁷ *VCH*, iv, 121.

¹⁰⁸ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339; *Moor*, i, 48.

¹⁰⁹ *CIPM*, vii, 183-7; *Feudal Aids*, vi, 573.

¹¹⁰ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 311-313.

¹¹¹ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339.

John barony and had been since 1086. In 1240 Matilda Herriard, sister and heir of Richard of Herriard, had granted Fulk Coudray the manor of Herriard.¹¹² Sir Thomas, who died in 1349, was his direct descendant, and had secured a quitclaim from Robert Herriard in 1297. Herriard passed to Sir Fulk, his son, and to Sir Henry Coudray, Sir Fulk's cousin, and to Sir Henry's nephew, Edward Coudray; from there on, the manor of Herriard passed from father to son into the sixteenth century.¹¹³ At Sir Thomas's death he held the manor of Sherborne Coudray of the heirs of Edmund St. John by service of a fifth of a knight's fee, which he had acquired in 1314 from Richard Fetiplace and John Sanes.¹¹⁴ He also had the manor of Padworth in Berkshire, held from the king in chief, and the manor of Lyford from the abbot of Abingdon.¹¹⁵ Sir Thomas accompanied John I overseas in 1293 and sat for Hampshire in 1318 and for Berkshire in 1328.¹¹⁶

In the south of the county, Roger Woodlock, who held the fee at Drayton listed in John II's inquisition of 1329, was the nephew of Bishop Henry (1304-1316). Roger Woodlock is in the lower armigerous category and the least significant in this section. In 1326, Sir Roger re-settled the third part of the manor of Drayton for £10, from Robert Power.¹¹⁷ He held the vill of Drayton and Allington in 1316. Drayton was held by marriage and passed to the Baker family, descendants of the Woodlocks and in 1446 was sold to Robert Ingpen in which family it remained into the sixteenth century. Allington was probably inherited by Sir Roger from Richard Woodlock, who in 1306 acquired the moiety of the manor which was held by his grandson John from 1379, from whose daughter it passed to John Fromond, steward of Winchester College, on whose death in 1420 it went to Winchester College.¹¹⁸ Sir Roger held in 1346 the fourth part of a fee at Brayfield, but this was held by John Emery in 1428.¹¹⁹ Sir Roger

¹¹² HRO 44M69/C/221.

¹¹³ PRO CP25(1) 205/15, no.225; *VCH*, iii, 366.

¹¹⁴ PRO CP25(1) 205/17, no.45.

¹¹⁵ *CIPM*, ix, 171.

¹¹⁶ *Moor*, i, 241-2.

¹¹⁷ PRO CP25(1) 205/20, no.6.

¹¹⁸ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 306, 310; *VCH*, iv, 420; iii, 485.

¹¹⁹ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 325, 348.

was neither knight of the shire for Hampshire nor sheriff, though he was on the commission for array for the county in 1322.¹²⁰

Thomas Boarhunt owed half a fee to the St. John barony for Boarhunt and Applestead in the John II's inquisition *post mortem*. Sir Richard Boarhunt held Hinton Barrant in around 1300, was knight of the shire for Hampshire in 1306 and was probably the father of Thomas Boarhunt who held Boarhunt Herriard in 1316; it may be possible that the list should have stated Thomas for 1324, rather than Richard, who was listed on the 1308 'Feast of Swans' list and who would have been very old in 1324.¹²¹ The Boarhunts had probably been established in Boarhunt, near Southwick, for several generations by 1262, when Thomas Boarhunt was recorded as holding 2 fees of the St. John family for Boarhunt Herriard.¹²² Sir Richard went overseas with John I Lord St. John in 1293, served as sheriff of Somerset and Dorset and knight of the shire for Hampshire in 1307 and commissioner of the peace for Hampshire from 1308-1314.¹²³ The Thomas Boarhunt of 1316 married Margaret Lovel, daughter and heir of John Lovel, master of the royal buckhounds, and died in 1339, leaving a son and heir Sir John, whose marriage to Mary des Roches, daughter and heir of Sir John des Roches, resulted in one son, John, who died in 1360, the year after his father. Thomas Boarhunt's inquisition *post mortem* includes the manor at Boarhunt, held jointly with his wife, of the heir of Hugh St. John, and the manor of Benham, Berkshire, held for life in the right of his wife; his heir was John, aged nineteen.¹²⁴

Of these families, only the Woodlocks stand apart as less significant. The Scures were perhaps the most important, and their estates formed the basis of a leading fifteenth century family in Hampshire, by marriage. They, like the Lises and des Roches families, were based principally in the county. Only the Coudrays had extensive

¹²⁰ CPR, 1321-24, 96.

¹²¹ VCH, iii, 97; Feudal Aids, ii, 319; Parl. Writs, i, 411-412.

¹²² VCH, iii, 144; Burrows, Brocas of Beaurepaire, 334.

¹²³ Moor, i, 164-5.

¹²⁴ CIPM, viii, 177-8.

interests outside the county, and a series of leases of their manors suggests that they were absentee landlords.¹²⁵

3.5: NON-RESIDENT FAMILIES, SHORT-TERMERS AND NEWCOMERS

Nineteen fall into this group, of whom ten are included in the 1324 Muster for Hampshire, a not insignificant figure, as it shall be shown that for most of them Hampshire was not of primary importance. Firstly, the seven whose estates bordered Hampshire and who had held land in Hampshire for at least one generation: Sturmy, Grimstead, Berengar and Romsey (Wiltshire), Weston (Devon, Somerset), D'Abernon (Surrey/Sussex) and D'Evercy (Somerset). Second, newcomers: Norton (from Wiltshire) and Kendal (Hertfordshire). Third, the four whose interests and involvement in Hampshire were short-term or minor, at least as far as the evidence can show: Chikenhill, Cerne, Randolph and Launcelvy.

This group of armigerous families cannot be discounted. These armigerous families either had lands in the county for several generations or moved in and out of the county over a period of time, or, in the case of the Nortons, moved in to the county and remained there, basing themselves in that area. Many of these families either held office in the county, or had lands worth £40 or formed some association in the shire. These families are a reminder of the constant shifting circumstances of a few families orbiting the more permanent, and prominent local families such as Lisle, Scures and des Roches. Lack of evidence makes it difficult to trace the movements of some of these orbiting families, particularly the Chikehills of Austeburn and the Launcelvys of Hannington. If a family disappeared from the county it could be either that the male line failed and that the estate was split up through co-heiresses, or that the family exchanged lands for others in another county and concentrated their estate in one county that was not Hampshire.

Some families, such as the Sturmys, made longstanding contributions to Hampshire, but never became resident in the county. Others, particularly the Nortons, migrated into

¹²⁵ Below, 156-158.

the county and remained there, making a contribution to the political life of the county for the next two centuries and beyond. Whether a neighbour, a newcomer or a family in transit, these armigerous families formed part of the many communities in the county.

Regional landowners

Another family holding a Hampshire manor since the Anglo-Norman settlement were the Sturmys of Elvetham. Primarily a Wiltshire family, based at Borbach, the Sturmys had held the hereditary office of Steward of Savernake forest since the Conquest, but they were involved in Hampshire county affairs throughout the late medieval period. Henry Sturmy had £40 in lands from Hampshire in 1300 and was listed as a tenant-in-chief, though Elvetham was held of Chertsey abbey.¹²⁶ The Sturmys were not on the 1324 list, but were sheriffs and MPs for Hampshire in the later fourteenth century and remained closely associated with the county for over the next century.

Sir Andrew Grimstead was a Wiltshire knight, with his chief manor at West Grimstead and was listed accordingly on the 1324 list for Wiltshire residential knights.¹²⁷ The Grimsteads, however, could trace their links with Hampshire back to 1166, when Richard Grimstead owed fees for Plaitford, on the Wiltshire border. Sir John Grimstead had £40 in land from Hampshire in 1300.¹²⁸ Andrew also held Exbury and Hute in 1316, jointly with Amabilia Gras,¹²⁹ and the vill of Whaddon and Grimstead in Wiltshire with John Grimstead and Alan Plukenet.¹³⁰ Sir Andrew died in 1324 and his inquisition includes the moiety of the manor at Exbury held of the king in chief and the manor of Grimstead in Wiltshire held of the king by knight's service.¹³¹ Sir Andrew

¹²⁶ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339; *CIPM*, viii, 101.

¹²⁷ *Parl. Writs*, ii, 656.

¹²⁸ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339.

¹²⁹ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 317.

¹³⁰ *Feudal Aids*, v, 200.

¹³¹ *CIPM*, vi, 365.

was sheriff of Wiltshire in 1307, assessor in Wiltshire in 1306 and 1309 and commissioner of array in Wiltshire in 1316, but held no office in Hampshire.¹³²

The Berengar family was a Wiltshire rather than a Hampshire family; in 1316, Sir Ingram was joint-lord of the Wiltshire vill of Alveston and Ebblesbourne.¹³³ He was listed for Hampshire and Wiltshire in 1308 as well as for 1324, and he was noted as a resident knight on the Wiltshire 1324 list.¹³⁴ In 1316 he was lord of the Hampshire vill of Shipton and Snoddington.¹³⁵ Ingram had held Skipton since 1296 and acquired it in 1334, along with Snoddington, which he held from the earl of Pembroke.¹³⁶ Ingram also held, for a short time, Cholderton, from 1321 to 1329, and in 1330, Ingram had lands at Bitterne which became a manor at a later stage.¹³⁷ His inquisition includes the manors of Ebbesbourne Wake and Avedeston in Wiltshire, a messuage in Berkshire and only a meadow at Mainsbridge in Hampshire, held of the king at fee farm.¹³⁸ He held no office in Hampshire but was sheriff of Wiltshire in 1314 and 1322 and a commissioner in Dorset in 1325.¹³⁹

Sir John Cerne was another Wiltshire knight, and was listed on the 1324 Wiltshire list as a residential knight as well as on the Hampshire list; he had no lands in Hampshire in 1316, but was lord of the vill of Draycote in Wiltshire and joint-lord of the vill of Melcombe in Dorset, which his father had left him in 1296.¹⁴⁰ He held no office in Hampshire and, as his family name does not reappear on any later Hampshire lists, he was an individual whose interests impinged on Hampshire intermittently.

¹³² Moor, ii, 159.

¹³³ *Feudal Aids*, v, 201.

¹³⁴ *Parl. Writs*, ii, 656.

¹³⁵ *Parl. Writs.*, i, 411-412; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 310;

¹³⁶ *VCH*, iv, 512, 513; PRO CP25(1) 205/22, no.50; *CIPM*, vi, 328 (Aymer de Valence).

¹³⁷ *VCH*, iv, 339; iii, 485.

¹³⁸ *CIPM*, viii, 10-11.

¹³⁹ Moor, i, 81-2.

¹⁴⁰ *Parl. Writs.*, ii, 656; *Feudal Aids*, v, 209; ii, 40; Moor, i, 187.

The Romseys appear to have been tenants of Romsey Abbey for the manor of Marchwood in the thirteenth century. In 1316 it was John Romsey who was the lord of the vill, as well as joint-lordship of Chelwarton and the hamlet of Appleshaw; Sir Walter Romsey, perhaps a brother or cousin of John, had lands of the Abbess of Romsey at Romsey Horses in 1299 and held jointly the vill of East Dean and singly the hamlet of Hyde on the Wiltshire border in 1316.¹⁴¹ Sir Walter Romsey was on the Wiltshire list in 1324, but as a non-residential knight. His inquisition *post mortem* in 1333 states that he had a moiety of a manor at Fernham (Vernham's Dean), northern Hampshire, from the king in chief, a moiety of a manor at Winsford, the manor of Oakley, and a third part of the manor at Mudford Terry, all in Somerset.¹⁴² Sir Walter sat in parliament for Somerset in 1313 but never for Hampshire.¹⁴³

Sir John Bluet was lord of Silchester in Hampshire (north of Basingstoke) and of manors in Essex and Wiltshire. He had £40 from Hampshire in 1300 and the vill of Silchester in Hampshire and Orcheston in Wiltshire in 1316.¹⁴⁴ Bluet held these jointly with his wife and his two daughters and co-heirs inherited the estate. Bluets had held the manor since 1086 and Sir John was a descendant.¹⁴⁵ He held no offices in Hampshire at this time but had an obvious stake in the county.

Adam Forde was a tenant-in-chief and had £40 in lands from Hampshire in 1300¹⁴⁶; he was lord of the manor of Hale by Breamore, on the Wiltshire border by the New Forest, which he held jointly with his wife Christina, enfeoffed by Gilbert Chilton, of the king in chief; they also held a moiety of the manor of Great Wychford, Wiltshire, of the earl of Lancaster and of the inheritance of Christina, daughter and heir of Patrick

¹⁴¹ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 318, 312, 311; *VCH*, iv, 554, 498, 458.

¹⁴² *Parl. Writs*, ii, 656; *CIPM*, vii, 358; he was lord of Oakley and Hull in 1316, *Feudal Aids*, iv, 320.

¹⁴³ *Moor*, iv, 138.

¹⁴⁴ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 313, v, 207-8.

¹⁴⁵ *VCH*, iv, 53.

¹⁴⁶ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339.

Chaworth.¹⁴⁷ Adam also had lands in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire and was conservator of the peace in Essex in 1321.¹⁴⁸

Robert Punchardon inherited the manor of Faccombe, in the north of the county, from his father Oliver in 1322, held of the king in chief by service of half a knight's fee, but died in 1324; his brother, Oliver, inherited Faccombe, as well as a manor in Berkshire.¹⁴⁹ Robert and Oliver were qualified for knighthood.¹⁵⁰ The Punchardons had been tenants of Ellingham, Faccombe (Punchardon) and Harbridge since the thirteenth century, and overlords of Faccombe (Fyhide) and Tangle in the fourteenth. In 1207 Oliver Punchardon was lord of half the manor at Faccombe, when King John divided the manor between Oliver and William Cosyn, but by 1232, the Punchardons held the entire manor and the Cosyns were villeins of the manor.¹⁵¹ It is probable that Oliver was the descendant of Alric 'de Orchaddone' who held one knight's fee from the Bishop of Winchester in 1166.¹⁵² As the Punchardons do not appear on any lists in Hampshire, or sit in parliament or serve as sheriff for Hampshire, it is probable that they were based principally in Berkshire.

Sir John Weston inherited the Hampshire manor of Milton, on the Isle of Wight, on his father's death in 1323, along with a manor and other lands in Devon.¹⁵³ Milton was held of John Lisle by service of ¼ knight's fee. Sir John was summoned as a knight of Somerset to the Great Council of 1324 and his illustrious career included service overseas, in Scotland, Wales and as Constable of the Tower of London.¹⁵⁴

The D'Abernons were a Surrey family. When the manor of Lasham was divided into two moieties in 1207, Walter D'Abernon was the lord of one of the moieties and his

¹⁴⁷ *CIPM*, vi, 414.

¹⁴⁸ *Moor*, ii, 79.

¹⁴⁹ *CIPM*, vi, 270, 357-8.

¹⁵⁰ *Moor*, iv, 105.

¹⁵¹ *VCH*, iv, 563, 315, 603, 316, 326.

¹⁵² *Red Book of the Exchequer*, i, 207.

¹⁵³ *CIPM*, vi, 298.

¹⁵⁴ *Moor*, v, 182-3.

descendants held it until at least 1346, when William D'Abernon possessed the half fee that John D'Abernon and God's House, Portsmouth, had shared.¹⁵⁵ Sir John D'Abernon had in 1316 the vill of Lasham and Brocham but no other vills in the southern region; in 1314 either he, or his father (he is termed Sir John D'Abernon 'le filz' in 1324) granted lands away.¹⁵⁶ In 1330, John D'Abernon, knight, acquired Binstead manor from John St. Clare.¹⁵⁷ D'Abernon never sat in parliament for Hampshire, but a John D'Abernon was sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1330 and 1334 and escheator in Cornwall from 1343-1350.¹⁵⁸

The D'Evercy family were based in Somerset, though Sir Peter D'Evercy had £40 in land from Hampshire in 1300.¹⁵⁹ In 1316, Sir Peter D'Evercy was lord of the vill of East Standen and joint lord of Bembridge, both on the Isle of Wight, but the D'Evercy tenure in Hampshire was short-lived; the holder of the knight's fee in 1346 was Thomas Haket and in 1428 John Haket and Walter Veer.¹⁶⁰ In 1304, Quarr abbey granted Peter land in the manor of Arreton, in the Isle of Wight.¹⁶¹ Sir Peter's daughter Amy married John Glamorgan, lord of Brook, and the manor of East Staunden passed to their son Nicholas Glamorgan and was divided on the inheritance of his daughters.¹⁶² Sir Peter also had a share in the vill of Brympton, Somerset, in 1316, and the associated hamlets of Huntsdon and Lockton, with Luke Gatry and John Stanard.¹⁶³ D'Evercy sat in parliament three times for Hampshire, in 1313, 1318 and 1322, and for Somerset in 1307.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁵ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 333.

¹⁵⁶ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 314; *VCH*, iv, 83.

¹⁵⁷ PRO CP25(1)205/21, no. 38.

¹⁵⁸ *List of Sheriffs*, 135; *Lists of Escheators for England* (Public Record Office Lists and Indexes, lxxii, 1971), 30.

¹⁵⁹ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339.

¹⁶⁰ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 321, 338, 353.

¹⁶¹ PRO E329/265.

¹⁶² *VCH*, v, 146.

¹⁶³ *Feudal Aids*, iv, 320.

¹⁶⁴ *Moor*, i, 317.

Name	Origin	Overlord	Principal Holding(s)	County
Sturmy	11c	Chertsey Abbey	Elvetham	Wiltshire
Bluet	11c	Norfolk	Silchester	Wiltshire; Essex
Sifrewast	12c	St. John	Ellisfield	Dorset; Bucks.
Grimstead	12c	Crown	Exbury (moiety)	Wiltshire
Berengar	13c	Pembroke	Shipton	Wiltshire
Brune	13c	Crown	Rowner,	Kent, Essex
		Kent	Fordingbridge	
		St. John		
D'Abernon	13c	-	Lasham	Surrey
Weston	13c	Lisle	Milton	Devon, Somerset
Punchardon	12c	Crown	Facombe	Berkshire
Pedwardyn	13c	Crown	South	
			Warnborough	Lincolnshire
Chikehill	13c	-	Austeburn	-
Romsey	13c	Crown	Vernham's Dean	Wiltshire
Botiller	13c	Arundel	Limborne	Berkshire; Somerset
Launcelvey	13c	-	Hannington	-
Kendal (Robert)	14c	Lancaster	Shalden	Hertfordshire
(Edmund)	14c		Linwood	Rutland
Norton	14c	Brayboeuf	Norton	Wiltshire
D'Evercy	14c	-	East Staunden	Somerset
Randolf	14c	-	Ashe	Wiltshire
Ford	14c	Crown	Hale	Wiltshire, Berks
Cerne	14c	-	-	Wiltshire

Table 13: Non-resident Families, Short-termers and Newcomers, c.1324

The Sifrewast family was probably descended from Robert Sifrewast who held two knight's fees of the Bishop of Winchester in 1166.¹⁶⁵ In 1255 Richard Sifrewast held Ellisfield, in Bermondspit Hundred south of Basingstoke, of Robert Lord St. John; the manor remained in Sifrewast hands until the end of the fifteenth century.¹⁶⁶ Sir Robert Sifrewast was not primarily a Hampshire landowner, as he was summoned to the Great

¹⁶⁵ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, i, 205.

¹⁶⁶ *VCH*, iii, 360-1.

Council of 1324 for Dorset and Buckinghamshire as well as Hampshire; he was knight of the shire for Dorset in 1313, 1322 and 1324, and lord of Chesham, Buckinghamshire and Chiltern, Wiltshire, in 1316.¹⁶⁷

Sir John Botiller, tenant-in-chief with £40 from Hampshire in 1300 married Joan Fauconer, daughter and heiress of John, who had lands in Hampshire and in Sussex.¹⁶⁸ Botiller had five vill in Hampshire in 1316, one vill in Somerset in 1316 and one in Berkshire.¹⁶⁹ He neither held office in the county or appeared on the lists.

Wider connections

An armigerous family who held a manor in Hampshire from the Crown but who had little do to with county affairs were the Pedwardyns, represented by Sir Roger in 1324, who never sat for the shire or acted as sheriff. On his son's death in 1369, another Sir Roger, the Pedwardyns held the manor of South Warnborough in Hampshire by knight's service, and the manor of Burton Pedwardyn also of the king in Lincolnshire.¹⁷⁰ In 1316 Sir Roger Pedwardyn held the vill of South Warnborough, in the north-east of the county, near Odiham, which had come to him by his marriage to Alice Longchamp in around 1300; the Longchamps had held South Warnborough by a marriage into the Craon family who had held the manor since the end of the eleventh century, when Guy Craon had married the daughter of Hugh son of Baldwin, the Domesday tenant.¹⁷¹ Sir Roger had the knight's fee in 1346 and the Pedwardyns held the manor up until 1441, when it was alienated to Robert White, and thereafter the Whites had it into the sixteenth century.¹⁷² Sir Roger Pedwardyn had £40 in land from Hampshire in 1300.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁷ *Moor*, iv, 253.

¹⁶⁸ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339; *CIPM*, iv, 197.

¹⁶⁹ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 319-320; iv, 328; i, 47.

¹⁷⁰ *CIPM*, xii, 389.

¹⁷¹ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 313; *VCH*, iii, 378.

¹⁷² *Feudal Aids*, ii, 330; *VCH*, iii, 378.

¹⁷³ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339.

Sir Maurice Brune inherited the manors of Rowner, Migham and Perle (East Parley) when his mother, Iseult, widow of Sir William Brune, chamberlain of the king, died in 1307.¹⁷⁴ Sir William had held the manors of Rowner and Fordingbridge in 1277 and in 1316 his son was lord of the Rowner, Fordingbridge, Migham and Hurne vills; in 1331 Maurice acquired the liberty of Crofton in Tichfield, and was also lord of Beckenham, in Kent, by 1316.¹⁷⁵ In 1329 he owed just half the fee to the St. John barony, for Rockford and his own inquisition *post mortem*, which survives, reveals that he held the two manors of Fordingbridge and Rowner, both of the king in chief.¹⁷⁶ In 1340, Sir Maurice acquired the manor of East Parley from Gilbert Bradyalo and John Okley and held the half fee of the St. John barony.¹⁷⁷ Sir Maurice's inquisition *post mortem* shows his interests outside Hampshire; he held the manor of Beckenham in Kent of the king in chief and the manor of Wokingdon Rokley, Essex, in the right of his widow, of the earl of Hereford.¹⁷⁸ He held a knight's fee of the earl of Kent for Fordingbridge and Randolfston.¹⁷⁹ He was neither knight of the shire for Hampshire nor sheriff, but was a knight of Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, in 1300 and was summoned to Parliament there from 1313-1322.¹⁸⁰ Rowner was down on the coast, near Gosport, Fordingbridge on the Wiltshire border.

Sir Robert Kendal was a man with scattered estates; his inquisition *post mortem* lists three manors in Hertfordshire, as well as lands in three other villages, in the county, and a sixth part of a manor in Bedfordshire at Luton; his Hampshire manor was Shalden, held of the earl of Lancaster, for which Lady Kendal, his widow, owed half a fee in 1330.¹⁸¹ Shalden had been granted by Sir Nicholas Boys to Sir Robert in 1309, after he had acquired it in 1307 and was inherited by Sir Edward Kendal, Sir Robert's

¹⁷⁴ *CIPM*, v, 31-2.

¹⁷⁵ *VCH*, iii, 218, iv, 568; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 308, 322, 322, 316; *VCH*, iii, 226; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 19.

¹⁷⁶ *CIPM*, vii, 183-7; *CIPM*, x, 209-210.

¹⁷⁷ *PRO CP25(1) 206/23*, no.71; *CIPM*, viii, 52 (Hugh of St. John).

¹⁷⁸ *CIPM*, x, 209-210.

¹⁷⁹ *CIPM*, x, 54 (John, earl of Kent).

¹⁸⁰ *Moor*, i, 152-3.

¹⁸¹ *CIPM*, vii, 209-210; *Feudal Aids*, vi, 573.

son and heir, and his son, another Sir Edward.¹⁸² Sir Robert's activities reflect the lands he held and his interests chiefly in Hertfordshire and Kent; he was made constable of Dover castle and warden of the Cinque Ports in 1307 and was still so in 1324, acted as a justice in Kent, Sussex and Hampshire in 1318 and mayor of London in 1320, and served overseas and in Scotland for the king.¹⁸³ He never sat for Hampshire.

Sir Edmund Kendal may have been a brother of Sir Robert, but his association with Hampshire was not so strong as Sir Robert's. He was lord of Lyndon manor, Rutland, and was mentioned as being a knight of Rutland in 1318.¹⁸⁴ He was lord of Linwood, Hampshire, in the early fourteenth century: his two daughters inherited the property and Felicia, a granddaughter, married John Norton, in whose family part of the Linwood manor remained until the sixteenth century; Henry Smith of Harbridge was a descendant of the second daughter Margaret and held lands there in the early fifteenth century.¹⁸⁵ Sir Edmund also held Longstock Harrington very briefly between 1331 and 1333, selling it for 100 marks to John Hampton in 1332 and he was recorded as holding the half fee at Tisted in 1346.¹⁸⁶ His inquisition only records the holding of four messuages and six acres of land in Hampshire.¹⁸⁷ Nevertheless, he was conservator of the peace in Hampshire in 1322 and on the commission of array.¹⁸⁸

Short-termers

John Chikehill's father, Sir Hugh, had £40 in land from Hampshire in 1300 and was a tenant-in-chief.¹⁸⁹ He left his son the manor of Austeburn, on the Isle of Wight, a tenement at Chikehill and a tenement at Wolveston; Hugh's wife, Juliane, heiress of Bridge Court, left lands on the Isle also, but these were to go to her nephew, John

¹⁸² PRO CP25(1) 205/16, no. 19; *VCH*, iv, 102.

¹⁸³ *Moor*, ii, 278-9.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 278.

¹⁸⁵ *VCH*, iv, 630.

¹⁸⁶ *VCH*, iv, 450; CP25(1) 205/22, no.25; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 333.

¹⁸⁷ *CIPM*, xiii, 88.

¹⁸⁸ *Moor*, ii, 278.

¹⁸⁹ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339.

Kingston.¹⁹⁰ John acquired Chikehill from William Northwyke in 1326.¹⁹¹ John was also in possession of Osborne on the Isle of Wight, but this passed to William Payn of Newport, in 1328 and thereafter a variety of owners across the late medieval period.¹⁹² John's father Hugh was lord of the vill of Whippingham, Isle of Wight in 1316, though this, like the other Chikehill possessions, was temporary in the long-run, as Lawrence Norreys held the half fee in 1346 that Richard Norreys previously held.¹⁹³ Although John's father served as sheriff of Hampshire in 1297, he had no such office in the county.¹⁹⁴

Sir Roger Launcelvy had £40 in land from Hampshire in 1300, but in 1333 his son, Sir John Launcelvy, granted the manor of Hannington Launcelevy, which his family had held from the FitzHerberts in the thirteenth century, with remainder to Thomas Boarhunt, which eventually passed to Sir Bernard Brocas by his marriage to Mary Boarhunt.¹⁹⁵ In 1300, Sir Roger Launcelvy had been granted half the manor of Hoo and Broxhead by John des Roches for his lifetime only.¹⁹⁶ Launcelvy had no political career in Hampshire, but it seems likely that they associated closely with the des Roches and Boarhunt families and eventually migrated out of the county.

Both these individuals had £40 in lands from Hampshire, which certainly place them in the higher ranks of the armigerous level, but their association with the county was short-lived; neither held office in the county and it seems that Chikehill probably held his lands in the county by right of his marriage and Launcelvy by a grant for life only. Neither name appears in the later medieval records for Hampshire.

¹⁹⁰ *CIPM*, vi, 7; v, 186-7.

¹⁹¹ *PRO CP25(1)* 205/20, no.14.

¹⁹² *VCH*, v, 199-200.

¹⁹³ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 321, 340.

¹⁹⁴ *Moor*, iii, 206.

¹⁹⁵ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339; *VCH*, iii, 259.

¹⁹⁶ *Burroughs, Brocas of Beaurepaire*, 339.

Sir John Randolf had £40 in land from Hampshire in 1300, was listed in 1308 as well as in 1324, and held the hamlet of Ashe in Hampshire in 1316.¹⁹⁷ However, in 1297, he had exchanged Chaddenwick in Wiltshire for the manor of Ashe, and this was not a long-term investment in Hampshire, for in the 1330s the manor was granted to John Stonor.¹⁹⁸ Randolf's career was a busy one, and he acted as Conservator of the Peace in Hampshire in 1308 and 1314 but many of his offices spanned the counties of Wiltshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Somerset and Dorset.¹⁹⁹

Newcomers

Significantly, only one family entered Hampshire armigerous society in the early fourteenth century and participated in county life, a measure perhaps of the constraints of the feudal legacy on the pattern of landholding. Previously, they appear to have been based principally in Wiltshire and Dorset.

James Norton had £40 in land from Hampshire in 1300 and in 1306 Joan, daughter of Adam Gurdun, enfeoffed James Norton and his wife Elizabeth of the manor of Nutley which was to be held by the family until it was sold in 1745.²⁰⁰ Joan also enfeoffed James with East Tisted in 1308 and this manor remained with the family until Sir John Norton's death in 1686; a manor at Norton was held by James Norton (of Sir Hugh Brayboeuf) which had been held by Roger Mortimer in 1275.²⁰¹ The exact relationship between the Nortons and Gurdons is not known, but is probable that they were related by marriage and that the Nortons were the sole heirs. The Nortons remained a county family throughout the period.

Sir James Norton was on the 1324 Wiltshire list as a non-residential lord, as well as appearing on the Hampshire list; in 1316 he was a joint-lord of the Dorset villis of

¹⁹⁷ *Parl. Writs.*, i, 339; 411-412; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 306

¹⁹⁸ PRO CP25(1) 205/15, no.263; *VCH*, iv, 199.

¹⁹⁹ *Moor*, iv, 112-3.

²⁰⁰ *Parl. Writs.*, i, 339.

²⁰¹ *VCH*, iii, 370. 31, 9.

Milton and Peterstone, lord of Fisherton and Baberton vills in Wiltshire, and lord of the Hampshire vills of Nutley, Norton and Tisted.²⁰² On his death in 1329, Sir James held a third part of the manor of Selton in Dorset by right of his wife Elizabeth, a third part of the manor of Fisherton in Wiltshire, also by right of his wife, and the manor of Norton in Hampshire; the heir to all three properties was their son Thomas.²⁰³ Edmund Kendal was custodian of his lands in his son Peter's minority. Norton was held from Hugh Brayboeuf for James's life only, by service of half a knight's fee.²⁰⁴ In 1308 Norton had acquired the manor of East Tisted from Robert Achard's widow Joan and in 1316 acquired the manors of Nutley and Tisted from Herman Saham.²⁰⁵ Norton had an active county career for one new to the shire, sitting in parliament for Hampshire in 1306, serving as sheriff in 1312 and from 1318-20 and keeper of the peace in 1316 and on the commissions of array in 1322 and as justice of gaol delivery in 1326. He was also active in other counties, serving on commissions in Wiltshire and Sussex.²⁰⁶

Very little is known of the Sir Robert Norton listed in 1324; it may be conjectured that he was a brother of Sir James. He was not on the Wiltshire lists, nor the knight's fees records of 1346 for Hampshire and no inquisition *post mortem* survives.

3.6: CONNECTIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

The Hampshire gentry were not independent or isolated from political events of the period. Careers as knights of the shire and sheriffs have already been noted, as have the importance of coastal defence and the military needs of the castle of Carisbrooke, where at least half a dozen knights owed their military service. Sixteen of the 37 knights and esquires listed in 1324 served as knights of the shire, sheriff or keeper of the peace at one time or another, and four of the additional fourteen did so. It has been

²⁰² *Parl. Writs.*, ii, 656; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 40; v, 212; ii, 313, 315.

²⁰³ *CIPM*, vii, 162-3.

²⁰⁴ *CIPM*, vii, 162-3.

²⁰⁵ *PRO CP25(1) 205/16, no.27, CP25(1) 205/18, no.3.*

²⁰⁶ *Moor*, iii, 274-5.

indicated that several held offices in neighbouring counties and wherever else they held land, illustrating overlapping communities within the county.²⁰⁷

Sir Maurice Brune was in 1300 the earl of Lincoln's knight and in 1314 Sir Ingelram Berenger was the keeper of the earl of Gloucester's lands, a knight of Hugh Despenser the Elder and custodian of the Despenser lands and the Contrariants lands, pardoned in 1327.²⁰⁸ But of the list of 41 officials in the Winchester Bishopric for the period 1316-23, only two, John Bookland and Walter Woodlock, were men of any significant land and status based in Hampshire, and a third, Alan Descures, might well have been a kinsman to Sir John Scures.²⁰⁹ The connection between the Winchester Bishopric and the Hampshire armigerous families was to change towards the end of the fourteenth century, under Bishops Wykeham and Beaufort.²¹⁰

Military service

At least 24 knights and esquires saw military service in the reigns of Edwards I and II, under leaders that included John St. John I (Basing, Boarhunt and Coudray), William Lord Ros of Hamelak (Roger Pedwardyn), and Thomas and Henry, earls of Lancaster (John Randolf and John Scures respectively). Thirteen Hampshire knights were at Boroughbridge, including six listed in 1324.²¹¹ John Bookland and Edward St. John were in France in 1346-8, in the retinues of Maurice Berkeley and Hugh Despenser, and sons of those listed in 1324 were there, too.²¹² Thirteen Hampshire knights were at the battle of Crécy, including Edmund Kendal, John Giffard and Roger Pedwardyn;

²⁰⁷ Office-holding in Hampshire and other counties is further discussed in Chapter Five, below.

²⁰⁸ Moor, i, 152-3, 81-2; Scott L. Waugh, 'For King, Country and Patron: The Despensers and Local Administration, 1321-1322,' *JBS*, 22 (1983), 47; N. Saul, 'The Despensers and the Downfall of Edward,' *EHR*, xcix (1984), 6.

²⁰⁹ *Registers of John de Sandal and Rigaud de Asserio*, lxiii.

²¹⁰ See below, Chapter Five for the associations forged between the Winchester Bishopric and the Hampshire armigerous gentry,

²¹¹ *Parl. Writs*, ii, App. 196-201.

²¹² G. Wrottesley, *Crécy and Calais* (London and Paris, 1898), 85; Sifrewast (Thomas, earl of Warwick), 128; Coudray (Henry of Lancaster), 141; Peverel (earl of Pembroke), 148.

four died in Normandy and at the siege of Calais, including Edmund St. John, only son of Hugh, Lord St. John.²¹³

Witnesses

Surviving witness lists to grants, leases and quitclaims of manors in the early fourteenth century indicate that these families participated in one another's affairs to a certain extent. They also indicate that geography, tenorial and wider, regional affinities played a part in witnessing transactions and that armigerous individuals from outside the county also played a part. The majority of witnesses in these collections, however, were not the members of the Hampshire armigerous élite identified in this chapter.

Sir John Scures witnessed the transaction of half the manor of Hoo from John des Roches to Roger Launcelvy in 1300, the grant of Willhall (Alton) from John Vautort to Edward St John for life in 1310, the grant of Herriard from Thomas Coudray to Jacob Man, Cecilia Beauchamp and Roger of Essex for life in 1314, a quitclaim of Huntborne from Lord St John to the Prior of Hamble, Ralph Malling, in 1318 and the grant of Eling from Sir Ralph Camoys to his son Hugh, in 1331.²¹⁴ John Scures' main residence at Wickham was close to the main des Roches seat at North Fareham; he owed his lands at Nately and Wickham to his St John overlords, which may explain his witnessing the Willhall grant, his manor at Woodgarston was outside Basing, near to Herriard, Hamble and Eling were near Wickham in the south-eastern corner of the county. Sir Thomas Coudray witnessed grants at Sherborne St John in 1314, 1332, 1346, near his land at Herriard, and at Bramley and Beaurepaire in 1327 and Chinham in 1329.²¹⁵

James Norton, Richard Boarhunt and John Popham also witnessed the Hoo transaction and Richard Boarhunt the Huntborne quitclaim. Sir John Tichborne also witnessed this

²¹³ Wrottesley, *Crécy and Calais*, 31-39; 280. Kendal was under the earls of Northampton and Arundel; the others were king's knights.

²¹⁴ Burrows, *Brocas of Beaurepaire*, 339; *WCM*, ii, 28; HRO 44M69/C/252; *WCM*, ii, 504-5, 269.

²¹⁵ Burrows, *Brocas of Beaurepaire*, 377-8; 398; 423-4.

quitclaim as well as the lease of Meonstoke from Alan Plugnet to John Foxley at Winchester in 1319, where he was joined by Sir Nicholas Pershute, Sir John Tichborne, Sir John Basing, Walter and William Woodlock, Richard Fromond and Valetine Beck; Tichborne, Popham and Woodlock held some of their manors from the Winchester Bishopric in the centre of the county, close to Meonstoke.²¹⁶ Richard Fromond was the Bishop of Winchester's bailiff of Clere from 1320-1323, and Walter Woodlock bailiff of Twyford and Waltham, deputy keeper of the chases; Nicholas Woodlock was Alan Plugnet's nephew.²¹⁷ Valentine Beck's lands were at Woodcott, near the Tichbourne and Norton holdings at Tichborne and East Tisted.²¹⁸ Norton, Boarhunt, Popham, Tichborne and Fromond were all at some point knights of the shire for Hampshire.

Sir John Peche, Sir Robert Popham and Sir Hugh Brayboeuf appeared on Brocas deeds in the first half of the fourteenth century but the majority of witnesses in these collections were not members of the armigerous class, but either local tenants, servants of the parties involved, or clerics. Sometimes the witness was described, as a 'clerk,' or 'of Basing,' but this is rare. None of the names Hasting, More, Wasthouse, Kenney, Batsford and Oakland, who appear regularly on the Sherborne, Bramley and Beurepaire transactions are identifiable in the 1316 *Nomina Villarum* in Hampshire or any other southern county; just one, John Waleys, who married a daughter of Edmund Kendal, had a vill at Caundel Bevin, Dorset, in 1316, and he witnessed a grant at Sherborne in 1313.²¹⁹

Geography and the nature of the transaction dictated the type of witnesses involved; a grant of a manor or an endowment was more likely to enlist the local or county knights than a transferrance of a few acres or a messuage. Dr G. Astill found in fourteenth century Leicestershire that far from being evidence for a 'county community,' witness-

²¹⁶ *WCM*, ii, 615.

²¹⁷ *Registers of John de Sandal and Rigaud de Asserio*, lxii - lxiii.

²¹⁸ *CIPM*, viii, 11.

²¹⁹ *Feudal Aids*, , ii, 40; Burrows, *Brocas of Beurepaire*, 377.

lists were evidence for localism rather than the county; those affected lived nearby.²²⁰ Members of the armigerous classes only headed the witness-lists; other witnesses outnumbered them and are not readily identifiable as knights, if at all. John the Clerk 'of Alton' was one of the Willhall witnesses and a quitclaim from Sir Thomas Paynel to the Abbot of Tiron in 1308 at Huntborne was headed by John Guildford, clerk.²²¹

An exception was Sir John Bluet, lord of Silchester in Hampshire (north of Basingstoke) and of manors in Essex and Wiltshire. Sir John witnessed a grant at Sherborne and the grant of Herriard to Jacob Man, Cecilia Beauchamp and Roger of Essex, both in 1314.²²² He was never sheriff of Hampshire, or knight of the shire, but was one of the 'silent', non-resident armigerous families of Hampshire, who was not primarily associated with the county but nevertheless visited and clearly had some involvement with his lands there. Such association is not to be discounted. Furthermore, the Silchester manor went to his Baynard son-in-law, and Baynards bear witness to transactions at Sherborne later in the fourteenth century.²²³

A series of transactions concerning the manor of Fernham (or Vernham's Dean, in the extreme north-west of Hampshire, close to the Wiltshire and Berkshire borders) from Gilbert Cundy to Walter Romsey from 1304-1316 illustrates both cross-county connections and ties of localism. The enfeoffment by fine of the manor in 1304 and the grant of 1306 was witnessed by Sir Walter Urtiaco, Sir Walter Pavely, Sir Matthew Furneaux and Oliver Punchardon.²²⁴ The Punchardons, as discussed above, were a twelfth century Hampshire manorial family, and the seat of Facombe was very near to Fernham. Neither Urtiaco, Pavely or Furneaux had Hampshire lands, but the *Nomina Villarum* indicates that the Urtiacos (Henry, son of Walter) had four villis in Somerset and one in Berkshire in 1316.²²⁵ Similarly, Sir Walter Pavely held villis in Somerset and

²²⁰ G. G. Astill, 'The Medieval Gentry: A Study in Leicestershire Society, 1350-99,' (University of Birmingham PhD, 1977), 91.

²²¹ *WCM*, ii, 28; 504.

²²² Burrows, *Brocas of Beaurepaire*, 377; HRO 44M69/C/252.

²²³ Bluet died in 1316; his wife Eleanor died in 1349, *CIPM*, ix, 91-3.

²²⁴ *WMC*, ii, 339.

²²⁵ *Feudal Aids*, iv, 329-330; i, 53.

Wiltshire in 1316, but Sir Matthew Furneaux, a Somerset landowner in 1316, had none elsewhere.²²⁶ Sir Walter Romsey, however, had villas in Somerset too, in 1316, making his connection with Furneaux, Pavely and Urtiaco not just a Hampshire/Wiltshire/Berkshire border connection, but indicating connections further afield within the southern region, in this case, Somerset.²²⁷ In 1316 Geoffrey Cundy, brother of Gilbert, made a quitclaim to his rights of the manor and this was witnessed by Sir John Dummer, Sir Philip Maubanks and Sir William Faucomberg.²²⁸ Dummer and Faucomberg had one villa apiece in Somerset in 1316, and Maubanks one in Dorset.²²⁹ These connections were certainly not local, but serve to illustrate regional affinities held by landowners, in this case a west country connection. Only one of these seven witnesses to the Fernham transactions - the Punchardons - had lands and held office in Hampshire.

Marriages

Evidence of Hampshire marriages in the early fourteenth is equally fragmentary, complicated further by second and third marriages, short life expectancies and very little detail where the wives were concerned. What there is, however, certainly illustrates both local and regional connections. The nobility and baronage, including Lord St John, married daughters of their equals or near equals, again usually within their region and generally speaking, and this is not a startling conclusion to reach, it seems that the greater the land a lord held, and in more counties, the more widespread geographically marriages were likely to be, linked with tenure, status and inheritance.²³⁰ But local and regional connections were not mutually exclusive. Several of the Hampshire armigerous families married within the region and further afield, perhaps reflecting the disparate nature of Hampshire armigerous estates. John Glamorgan, lord Brook (Isle of Wight), married Amy D'Evercy, heiress to Sir Peter

²²⁶ *Feudal Aids*, iv, 328; v, 204, 208, 211, 212; iv, 332-4.

²²⁷ *Feudal Aids*, iv, 320, 328.

²²⁸ *WCM*, ii, 340.

²²⁹ *Feudal Aids*, iv, 320; 327; ii, 41.

²³⁰ John II St John, listed in 1324, married Isabel Courtenay, daughter of Sir Hugh Courtenay.

D'Evercy of Brympton, Somerset, but his chief Hampshire base was the vill of East Standen, on the Isle of Wight.²³¹ Robert Glamorgan and Peter D'Evercy held the vill of Binbridge, Isle of Wight, jointly in 1316.²³² Sir Richard Stratton, a knight listed in 1324, had married Rose Stafford, sister of the Nicholas, Baron of Stafford.²³³

Sir John Botiller, tenant-in-chief with £40 from Hampshire in 1300 married Joan Fauconer, daughter and heiress of John Fauconer, who had lands in Hampshire and in Sussex.²³⁴

James Norton, lord of East Tisted and Nutley in Hampshire, married Elizabeth, daughter of Peter and Christina Stane, who held lands in Bedford, Dorset and Wiltshire.²³⁵ It was Elizabeth's second marriage, and she was one of three sisters, including Margery, who married William Saffery of Cambridgeshire and Christina, wife of Anthony Bydik. Clearly James Norton added to his own estates in Wiltshire and Dorset through this marriage and perhaps he felt drawn to Hampshire when his mother-in-law had a child outside wedlock by John Gadesden, born in Hampshire.²³⁶ Elizabeth, who had a daughter from her first marriage, was herself succeeded by Margaret, James' second wife, who died in 1334.²³⁷

Mary des Roches, daughter and heiress of Sir John, married John Boarhunt, son of Thomas Boarhunt; their family seats at North Fareham and Boarhunt were within ten miles of one another, in the south of the county. Sir John Popham of Popham, married Sybil St. Martin of Alvington, Isle of Wight, and West Dean, near Popham; her father, Lawrence, also had villis in Dorset and Wiltshire.²³⁸

²³¹ *VCH*, v, 146.

²³² *Feudal Aids*, ii, 321.

²³³ *Moor*, iv, 302-303.

²³⁴ *Parl. Writs*, i, 339; *CIPM*, iv, 197.

²³⁵ *CIPM*, vi, 94.

²³⁶ *CIPM*, vi, 94.

²³⁷ *CIPM*, vii, 444.

²³⁸ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 40; v, 200, 202, 212.

Rebels, lawlessness and disputes

The episode of Edward II and the Contrarians did not generate consistent county-wide allegiances. John Giffard was a rebel and had his lands taken in 1322; Sir Edmund Kendal was the king's man and on capturing a late rebel was granted his horse, dagger and haketon, in 1325.²³⁹ Sir Ralph Camoys was the king's enemy at Boroughbridge and was pardoned, along with his son, Sir Thomas, but Sir Ralph Gorges, having £40 in lands from Hampshire, Somerset and Dorset in 1300, and Sir John Scures were the king's men.²⁴⁰ Scures became custodian of rebels' lands in Hampshire in 1321 and as sheriff of Hampshire, conducted the wife of Roger Mortimer to Skipton castle and his three daughters to various priories, though this did not lose him his position as sheriff after the deposition of Edward II in 1327.²⁴¹

Violence and criminal activities also serve to illustrate certain factions within and along the county borders, though alleged assaults, abductions and suits did not necessarily occur. Intimidation and threats on property could be a means of forcing a marriage or resolving an ancient land dispute, especially in the vulnerable time of a minority or widow-hood. Sir Ralph Gorges, holder of £40 in lands from Hampshire, Somerset and Doprset in 1300, was accused by Robert Haustede, holding the manor in the minority of John Lisle, of forcibly entering Gatcombe manor, Isle of Wight and wrecking the house doors, taking hay, goods and felling trees.²⁴² Gorges was also accused of forcibly entering the close at Ubbley, Somerset, and of breaking the doors and taking goods.²⁴³ John des Roches, Edward St John, Richard Stratton and John Warblington, knights, were all accused of entering the manor of Coudray, Midhurst, in Sussex, and breaking doors and windows, hunting in the park and assaulting the servants of the widow Joan Bohun, in 1320.²⁴⁴ St John had lands in Sussex, and had already broken doors and windows of John Bohun's manor at Eastbourne in Sussex in 1317. Being a

²³⁹ Moor, ii, 112-3, 278.

²⁴⁰ Moor, i, 176-177; *Parl. Writs*, i, 339.

²⁴¹ Moor, iv, 233-4.

²⁴² *Parl. Writs.*, i, 339; Moor, ii 128-9.

²⁴³ Moor, ii, 128-9.

²⁴⁴ Moor, iv, 129, 174, 303; v, 154.

younger brother of Lord John II of St John, it is possible that Edward was the ring-leader in this dispute.

Stratton and des Roches teamed up to burn granges and houses at Bromley manor in Dorset in 1319 and in 1321 des Roches and Edward St John were pardoned for the abduction of Eve Paynel in 1317, widow of William Paynel, a Hampshire and Sussex knight, in order to marry Edward St John without a licence. This was not the last abduction of a Hampshire widow, as John Sandys' abduction of Joan Bridges, the Fifehide heiress in 1375 illustrates, which led to the formation of one of the leading Hampshire dynasties in the fifteenth century.²⁴⁵ Stratton had joined forces with Henry Trenchard in 1310 to lay siege to Titchfield Abbey, where they were accused of taking goods, assaulting servants and doing £1,000 worth of damage.²⁴⁶ Indeed, Stratton had begun his life of crime with an accusation of homicide against him in 1287, when he had been delivered from Ipswich gaol.²⁴⁷

Such activities across the border east and west of Hampshire reflect family feuds, land disputes and illustrate the vulnerability of minors and widows. Alliances were doubtless made and broken on the strength of personal friendships, expediency and opportunity as well as tenurial ties and geography. Powerful patrons may have encouraged or initiated the violence, then covered tracks afterwards. Sir Ralph Gorges was a knight of Hugh Despenser the Elder, Edward St John held fees from Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke and Richard Stratton's brother-in-law was Nicholas, Baron Stafford. It was Roger Mortimer who accused Edward St John of breaking into his park at Stratfield Mortimer, Berkshire, hunting and taking deer in 1316 and trespassing on Stratfield, Wokefield and Sheningfield in 1318. William Paynel had connections with John, earl of Surrey and as his widow fell victim to Edward St John's assaults, it may have been that the earl of Surrey was the intended target.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁵ See below, Chapter Four, 176-180.

²⁴⁶ *Moor*, v, 47.

²⁴⁷ *Moor*, iv, 303.

²⁴⁸ William Paynel went to France with the earl of Surrey in 1308, witnessed his charters in 1308-9; *Moor*, iv, 21.

Some characters, as in any society, were just a bad lot. In 1320 Henry Sturmy was convicted of castrating and blinding his elder brother Henry Sturmy at Elvetham, Hampshire, and died in Winchester gaol, aged only 21.²⁴⁹ The alleged criminal activities did not prevent some individuals from holding office later in their careers - indeed, alliances of intimidation and violence could be reproduced within politics. Stratton was MP for Hampshire in 1312, John des Roches in 1320, 1322 and 1331, John Warblington in 1321.²⁵⁰ The shire may well have been a politically minded community in the early fourteenth century, but some individuals clearly saw no conflict in serving the king in Scotland, arraying troops for Guienne, sitting in parliament, then breaking the king's peace by assaulting neighbouring manors and pursuing personal vendettas.

CONCLUSION: A COUNTY COMMUNITY

The majority of the knights and esquires in early fourteenth century Hampshire had just one manor, and most were well established by 1324. The ancient feudal overlordships of the Winchester Bishopric and the St. John barony were crucial to the distribution and development of the later medieval Hampshire gentry. The Bishopric dominated the centre and south of the county, and few of manors had been subinfeudated in the centuries following the Norman Conquest. As a result, the Hampshire secular élite was based chiefly in and around Basingstoke, in the north-east of the county, and this was where the wealthiest county families based themselves in the fifteenth century. The Redvers honour of Carisbrooke passed to the Crown and the block of gentry holding its Wight manors henceforth held from the Crown and continued to do so into the later period. The only family locally which had managed to build up a considerable estate independent of the Bishopric and the St. Johns were the Lisles on the Isle of Wight, where the Bishopric held few manors and the St. Johns none. As well as preventing the gentry from acquiring blocs of territory, the Bishopric did not build up any great families; the des Roches estates were built upon Crown and St. John tenancies in

²⁴⁹ Moor, iv, 306; *CIPM*, vi, 393.

²⁵⁰ *Return*, 40, 61, 68, 97, 63.

addition to their Bishopric manor (Bradley). The one other family related to one of the bishops, the Woodlocks, were not at all a power in the county, at this time, or at any later time. Neighbouring nobility, namely the earls of Devon, Salisbury and Arundel, had few tenurial connections with the county and its gentry. This does not preclude other connections, and the Bishop was the most potentially valuable patron.

Land held in other counties and gentry based primarily in other counties had an important influence. A score of families has been identified as having a stake in the county, either holding office at some point, or with an income of £40 and other associations. The Sturmys of Wiltshire were involved in Hampshire affairs from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries; the Brunnes and D'Evercys in the fourteenth. Others came and went - the Cernes, Randolfs and D'Abernons. These neighbouring families with a stake in the county were only the most significant of the many dozens listed in the *Nomina Villarum* and the 1412 returns who had only fragmentary holdings and associations with Hampshire.

Pedigree and length of presence established in the county were clearly very important. The two greatest local families were the St. Johns at Basing and the Lisles of Wootton, on the Isle of Wight. The Lisles, though of a lesser status than the St. Johns, had been established since the early twelfth century. However, longevity was not necessarily a guarantee of power in the locality, since the Cormeilles family had been there since the eleventh century and had very little to do with the county, whilst the Nortons, who arrived in the fourteenth century, were active from the start and continued to be so into the fifteenth century.

The limited evidence of witnesses and marriages emphasise the interactive associations of Hampshire armigerous families with their neighbours in the southern region, particularly those from the counties west of Hampshire. The links, tenurial, familial and personal, can never be fully reconstructed but indications of inter-county and regional activity cannot be discounted purely because they cannot be fully explained. This leaves the concept of the county community somewhat ragged at the edges, but throws up the concept of a regional network - 'Wessex' in this case.

This chapter has established the *dramatis personae* of early fourteenth-century Hampshire. They included men of old and new families, though the majority had been established for several generations. The manors they held were few and any connection with the nobility and the Bishopric seems to have been limited. Relations with the Crown were strong, perhaps due to the coastal defensive requirements. Stability was a key characteristic of Hampshire county life. The Inquisitions show that the majority left their manors to sons of full age. Sir John Scures' long tenure as sheriff reflects a lack of involvement in high politics. There were no forfeitures. Only one family entered and remained in the locality.

The Lisle, Scures and des Roches were the most significant resident families of Hampshire, followed closely by the Brayboeuf, Boarhunt, Warblington, Popham and Tichborne families. Together, these families were the *buzones* of the shire, big fish in a small pond, secure in their positions, forming a community in the county. It was these families who, with one major exception, formed the basis of the fifteenth century armigerous Hampshire families, as the following chapter will demonstrate.

CHAPTER 4: THE COMPOSITION OF THE HAMPSHIRE ÉLITE TO THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

INTRODUCTORY

This chapter traces the descent of the armigerous gentry families identified in the previous chapter, and assesses the evolving character of the élite in the light of the extinction and the introduction of new families. These families amount to around eighty or so who were related and who held landed income, offices and associations within the county sufficient to fulfil the triple criteria outlined in chapter one. This chapter is not concerned with a further score or so who do appear on occasion in the records (chiefly the 1436 income tax) with at least £20 but have no links with the established families or hold any offices in the county.

Following an initial section on the nature of transmission and extinction, the male descent of the early fourteenth-century knights and esquires is examined in the second section. In the third and fourth sections are those who were descended through the female line, in two parts: first, the 1324 knights and esquires and second, other fourteenth-century armigerous gentry not listed in 1324. Examined in the fifth section are the new families appearing between the early fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Sixth, are those families of the early fourteenth century who were never primarily based in the county but continued to hold land in the county. Finally, there is a section on associations and connections formed between these families.

Several armigerous families and their estates identified in the previous chapter survived through the male line into the sixteenth century. Mere 'survival' was not enough by itself, though, and the more subtle changes within that continuity are assessed; did, for example, the family increase its holdings, shift its location or lose holdings? Some of these families did increase their holdings, though none dramatically enough to join the peerage; three families, of lesser armigerous status in the fourteenth century had, by 1501 become 'gentlemen.'

'Extinction' is not merely defined as failure in the male line but also as the dispersal of the main estate through co-heiresses, so as to render the remaining parcels of land insufficient to maintain armigerous status (particularly if the marriages were outside the county). This might be termed 'wastage' or 'dispersal' rather than 'extinction.' Thus several families whose heads are listed as 'gentlemen' at the start of the sixteenth century possess parcels of hitherto knightly family estates. That said, where marriages sometimes combined parcels of land to form a new, or bigger, estate (particularly when the marriage was within the county and to another leading Hampshire family), the concept of 'extinction' must be questioned altogether. Equally, the sole heiresses who passed on estates intact are significant in Hampshire and the origins of their husbands - potentially 'new men' - are therefore important.

The concept of the new men falls into three categories: those with armigerous status, who married an heiress or co-heiress and by doing so enlarged or even doubled their income; those not originally with armigerous status who, made a similar marriage and thereby enter the armigerous county society; and finally, those not with armigerous status, who purchase or are granted an estate which provides for them an income to sustain armigerous status. The acid test of the entrance of any new family into a locality is not just attainment of knightly income through whatever means, but participation in county affairs, both by office-holding and by associations, ideally over several generations (to meet all parts of the triple criteria). As will be shown in this chapter, most marriages were based upon social parity. Thus the second category of new man, who rose in the gentry, is quite rare and the third category, the wholly new men, extremely rare in Hampshire. Indeed, the first category is not 'new' at all, as he has either risen from an existing armigerous base in the county, or has migrated from a neighbouring county with an armigerous background. The second category often involves families with some lands in or near the county, though not greatly substantial. Only the last category is truly new: those families in Hampshire who achieved and maintained their advance by purchase and through service were very few.

Each section includes a table based on key sources so that the progress of each family

can clearly be illustrated across the period.¹ Also, there are included five pedigrees of some of the major armigerous gentry families, which illustrate survival (Lisle), extinction and reinvention (St. John-Poynings-Paulet), the emergence of new families through marriages (Brocas and Sandys) and dispersal and wastage (Popham). Each pedigree includes the chief manors and acquisitions of each generation, and shows where the manors were distributed in the event of joint inheritances.

4:1: THE TRANSMISSION AND EXTINCTION OF HAMPSHIRE FAMILIES

Dr. Payling has argued that there were substantial demographic changes among the English aristocracy in the later Middle Ages that resulted in the failure and extinction of many families and the immigration of many others with new money from royal service and the law in their place.² It is reasonable to suppose that this applied equally to the community in Hampshire. Indeed historians of county communities have often identified substantial changes in composition over quite short periods of time, such as 50 or 100 years. Hence the justification for this study of the changing composition of the Hampshire gentry over several such periods between the early fourteenth and early sixteenth century. It is the contention of this chapter that there is much more continuity than is usually supposed.

Too much emphasis has been placed by historians on the continuity revealed by surnames and hence the male line. As McFarlane observed, it was common enough by the late thirteenth century for families to fail in the male line, but virtually unheard of for them to leave no heirs at all (new families without longstanding tenure were far more likely to die out). Whilst undoubtedly succession in the female line could cause disruption by dividing estates and carrying inheritances away from the collateral male relatives, female inheritance nevertheless represented continuity and kept most of the

¹ The lists and surveys which across the medieval period provide an indication of the status of the family and their presence in the county, including Domesday Book, *Cartae Baronum*, *Nomina Villarum*, Knights' Fees of 1346, 1428 and 1431, the Income taxes of 1412 and 1436 and the lists of 1324, 1434 and 1501.

² S. J. Payling, 'Social Mobility, Demographic change, and Landed Society in Late Medieval England,' *ECHR*, 45 (1992), 51-73.

leading Hampshire estates together throughout the two centuries. A really radical change in landholding, which is not discussed here, was occasioned by the Dissolution of the Monasteries and other religious changes from 1536 which brought onto the landmarket and ultimately into secular hands most of the principal landed estates in Hampshire.

It is commonplace that late medieval landed families had very short histories; this was demonstrated most effectively in the statistics compiled by K. B. McFarlane.

McFarlane defined 'extinction' to mean when the head of a noble family died, either leaving no known heirs, or leaving a female heir or heirs, or a male heir or heirs whose claim came through a woman.³ He found that, of 136 'barons' summoned to parliament in 1299, including their heirs male after 1295, 16 survived in 1500 (11%), though the average rate was 27%, indicating the ability of the nobility for reinventing itself every few generations.

The armigerous gentry, the knights and esquires, are not of course anywhere near so well documented as the nobility, but the survival rate for the 33 families of knights and esquires in Hampshire listed in 1324, down to the early sixteenth century, was 21.2% (seven families survived in the male line), twice the 11% the barons achieved from 1299 to 1500, though nearer to the 27% average figure.⁴ Five of those seven were listed in 1501, out of 48 resident knights, esquires and gentlemen. However, at least six of those 33 families have been shown not to have had lands in the county for longer than one generation, which increases the survival rate to 26%. Admittedly, these are fixed figures for a list that was not definitive, and are based upon evidence far from conclusive. The trend however, is clear.

Payling argues that tail male settlements were the exception, not the rule.⁵ Fourteen of the 1324 Hampshire knights and esquires left a son and heir but this figure is derived

³ K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), 172-176.

⁴ Of the 37 knights and esquires in 1324, four were of the same families and have been discounted from the calculation.

⁵ Payling, 'Social Mobility,' 55.

from the surviving 22 inquisitions *post mortem*. Descent through the female line was indeed very important, as 16 of those 33 1324 Hampshire families ultimately left estates to female heirs. Again, these figures are not absolute, as, in ten cases, families sold or released their Hampshire manors to other individuals, and the family line may have continued in another county, where perhaps they concentrated their estates (the Grimsteads in Wiltshire and the Sifrewasts in Berkshire, for example).

Knights	Male	Female	Esquires	Male	Female
Nicholas Lisle	✓		John Paulet		✓
Edward Berkeley		✓	William Brocas		✓
Walter Sandys		✓	John Philpott		
Maurice Barowe	✓		John Giffard	✓	
William Uvedale		✓	George Puttenham		✓
Robert Cheney			Robert White		
			William Ringborne		✓
			John Pound		✓
			Richard Wallop	✓	
			John Waller		✓
			Peter Coudray	✓	
			John Kirkby		
			Robert Bulkeley		✓

Table 14: The Descent of the 1501 Knights and Esquires through the Male and Female Lines from early Fourteenth-Century Armigerous Families

The importance of female descent is shown in pedigrees of the knights and esquires of 1501, Table 14. Of the six knights, three had come from families who had married Hampshire heiresses in the later fourteenth century, and, more importantly, two of them (Sandys and Uvedale) were the wealthiest in 1436. Two knights were descended in the male line from 1324 knightly families. One 1501 knight was from a family with minimal association with the county, so this means that a majority of knights descended through female lines. Of the 13 esquires, one was descended through the male line from 1324, seven held lands inherited through the female line from early fourteenth-century knightly families (one of whom was included in 1324), two from male descent from the fourteenth century or earlier and another's ancestor acquired the manor of

Compton after Thomas Thorncombe, a merchant of Winchester, fell deep into debt, which might suggest mercantile origins.⁶

There was not a great gulf between some of the knights and esquires on the list of 1501. The esquire with the senior pedigree was John Paulet, lord of Basing, whose family had married into the Poynings family, themselves descended from the original St. John line.⁷ William Brocas's ancestor had married into the des Roches family and George Puttenham was the nephew of the Warblington heiress, both of wealthy titled knightly families. Only one family on Table 14 purchased their way into the resident knightly circle: the Whites, and they were never to become a leading county family.⁸

Manorial holdings and age of heirs

Though comparisons of raw numbers of manors in the Inquisitions over irregular periods are not statistically important, since feudal tenures were static after 1290, any trend in numbers of tenants holding manors is. 198 Inquisitions survive for the period 1307 - 1349. 153 male landowners held between them 102 manors.⁹ Twelve of these were for life only, 35 held by knight's fee. Eighty-five left sons, of whom 49 were of age, and five left grandsons; 14 left daughters. Eighty-one (52%) of the 153 male landowners were manorial lords (holding, therefore, an average of 1.2 manors apiece). Of these, 45 had sons who inherited, plus three leaving grandsons, five brothers and three kinsmen; eight women inherited (five sisters, three daughters). Twenty-three of the 45 sons were of age, 22 were not. The average age of the sons of age was 30, though the average age of the heirs male, including brothers, kinsmen and minors, was 23; these figures include the first plague years, in which 29 Inquisitions were taken for Hampshire landowners, as compared to the more usual four or five per year. An entry for Padworth, Berkshire, in the Inquisition of Sir Thomas Coudray, of Sherborne

⁶ The Philpotts; *VCH*, iii, 406. They married into the Lisle family and acquired some of those estates: below, 183-4.

⁷ John Paulet was knighted and his son William became Earl of Wiltshire and Marquess of Winchester, a title still held by the family; below, 161-165.

⁸ Below, 193-4.

⁹ Excluding ecclesiastics (2) and nobility (11).

Coudray, Hampshire, notes that the pleas of the court are worth nothing “because almost all the people in the manor are dead.”¹⁰ Only three left heirs who were unknown.

In the period 1350 - 1417, 255 non-noble, male landowners held lands in Hampshire in the inquisitions. Of these, 95 (37%) held 148 manors between them (average of 1.5 manors apiece). The proportion of those holding manors (37%) was somewhat less than in the first half of the century (52%), which might suggest a concentration of manors in the hands of fewer individuals over the century. As we shall see, there are numerous cases where succession was by a single heiress; co-heiresses, understandably, tended to carry their purparties to pre-existing county families. This suggests that the high incidence of heiresses in an era of high mortality tended to enlarge estates rather than to break them up. As McFarlane and others have observed, families that maintained their line accumulated the inheritances of those that did not. Ten manors were held for life, 48 by knight service or knight fee, and two by a grant of Henry IV.¹¹ Seventeen lords left sons of age, another 35 left sons under age; nine females inherited. Only one lord left no heir. The average age of those sons who were of age was 26.

Inquisitions from 1485 - 1509 include 107 non-noble male landowners, 60 (56%) of whom held 186 manors between them (an average of three manors apiece), figures that seem to suggest more families holding more manors each, as well as more manors in the county. This may have to do with the definition of various lands as a manor, which in the fourteenth century may not have been so described. One example is the Oglander family at Nunwell, Isle of Wight. In 1309, Henry Oglander left his son a capital messuage and arable lands held of the king in chief but in 1481 his direct descendant, John Oglander, left his son and heir the manor of Nunwell, held of the king in chief.¹² The emergence of new ‘manors’ may be linked with the growing social stratification across the fifteenth century, with more gentlemen claiming higher status and

¹⁰ *CIPM*, ix, 147-352; *CIPM*, ix, 171.

¹¹ *East Tytherley and Lockerley*, by Sir Francis Court; *CPR 1405-8*, 405-6): *CIPM*, xx, 13.

¹² *CIPM*, v, 92; *CIPM*, Henry VII, iii, 291.

attempting to gain admission to landed society.

Means of extinction

Given that the Black Death killed over a third of the population of England and that land transactions were more frequent thereafter, the impact of the plague visitations to Hampshire in 1348 and 1361 upon these families is considered. Historians of all kinds of the Middle Ages have placed great emphasis on the Black Death as a rupture in most areas of life.¹³ McFarlane concluded that the Black Death had very little, if any, influence on the extinction rates of the nobility and even though 1361 was the most serious visitation of plague as far as the magnates were concerned.¹⁴ In Hampshire, the plagues by themselves did not extinguish families, though they probably accelerated the transmission of inheritance through the female line, as McFarlane suggested could be the case generally. The high rate of death in Hampshire in 1348 is recorded in the Inquisitions. As far as manorial landholders and their estates are concerned, one means of assessing the impact of the death rates is to examine the number of minorities and the incidence heirs male and female at that time. For the first visitation, eleven manorial lords were recorded, one who held for life; six left heirs under age (including two grandsons), three sons of age and one a cousin of age. One family, the Coudrays, was listed in the élite of 1324 and continued into the sixteenth century. No adverse effect was had on those family descents with minors, in the sense that the families did not fail altogether.

The much higher rate of deaths in Hampshire for 1361 was again reflected in the Inquisitions, where 44 were taken in 1361 and a further 24 in the following year. Of the total 64 Inquisitions, 15 male manorial lords died that year, two of whom held for life, leaving seven sons and grandsons under age, two sons of age, three brothers and one whose manors were held in dower by his mother at the time of his death. In the

¹³ For example, C. Platt, *King Death: The Black Death and its Aftermath in Late-Medieval England*, (Toronto, 1997); M. M. Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society* (repr. London, 1993); M. H. Keen, *England in the Later Middle Ages* (repr. London, 1988).

¹⁴ McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England*, 170.

case of the Booklands, John left his forty-year old brother Thomas the two manors of Brockley and Bookland; Thomas died in 1378, without a son.¹⁵ Another case, that of Giles Norman, is perhaps more instructive. Roger Norman, a merchant of Southampton, had built up an estate of some four manors in Hampshire by the time of his death, possibly in the first visitation of plague; he left his son Giles, aged five, who died in 1361, possibly in the second visitation, whose estates went to his cousin, Margaret Chamberlain.¹⁶ Some of those lands were granted to Peter de Bridges, whose wife, Joan, married again, to John Sandys, and found their way into hands of the Sandys family, one of the wealthiest of the fifteenth century. Though the Normans were not of an old gentry family, their rapid rise and swift demise, perhaps as a result of both plague visitations, contributed to the rise of another leading gentry family in Hampshire. None of the other minorities can be seen to have contributed directly to the decline of Hampshire gentry families or indirectly to the expansion of other Hampshire families. New families, as McFarlane pointed out, were always more liable to extinction than the older families who had produced more heirs to fall back on in time of failure.

War and forfeiture following rebellion were two potential alternative means of extinction. There was one forfeiture, Sir Bernard Brocas, executed for his part in the rising against Henry IV, but his widow, Joan, was granted all his forfeited goods, and a third of all his manors and lands by the new king, in February, 1400.¹⁷ The Brocas forfeiture had little lasting effect, as they were amongst the wealthiest of the fifteenth-century élite.

Death in war was another means. The only son of Hugh Lord St. John, Sir Edmund St. John, died at Calais in 1346; his heirs were his two sisters, Isabel and Margaret and it was eventually Isabel's second husband, Luke Poynings, who assumed the title to the lordship of St. John.¹⁸ No other leading Hampshire families seemed to have suffered

¹⁵ *CIPM*, xi, 230; *CIPM*, xv, 38.

¹⁶ *CIPM*, ix, 231-3; *CIPM*, xi, 206-8.

¹⁷ *CIPM*, xviii, 19; *CPR 1399-1401*, 207.

¹⁸ *CIPM*, ix, 37-43.

this fate, although both Sir John Lisle and John Norton died “overseas” in 1370, each leaving a three-year old son, but both families survived into the sixteenth century.¹⁹

Among other means of extinction, incompetence and bad management are harder to detect, but the successful accumulation of the des Roches estates was terminated in the line by the idiocy of John des Roches’ son and heir, John, so the estates passed to his daughter, Mary. Self-destruction is something else not to be discounted. The Inquisition of Henry Sturmy junior, who died in Winchester gaol in 1325, recalls that he “totally castrated his elder brother Henry Sturmy”, and was convicted of £20,000 damage to him, though his brother had already managed to get an heir before his drastic loss.²⁰

4.2: SURVIVAL INTO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY THROUGH THE MALE LINE

The concerns in this section is twofold; firstly, to examine surviving male lines of the armigerous gentry listed in 1324, identified as members of the actual élite in the previous chapter. Secondly, the section examines those other male lines that also survived from the early fourteenth century into the sixteenth century and whose estates, office-holding and associations merited the families a place amongst the county élite. Both concerns assess the extent to which these families increased or decreased in status and their participation in the county over the two hundred year period.

In 1501, the Hampshire county élite apparently consisted of six resident knights, 13 esquires and 29 gentlemen, plus Thomas, Bishop of Winchester and Richard, Abbot of Hyde, who headed the list.²¹ Of these, two knights, one esquire and two gentlemen were descended through the male line from knights and esquires listed in 1324. Using the 1501 list alone would discount those other families listed in 1324 who survived in the male line and continued to hold estates in Hampshire into the sixteenth century; these amounted to a further two.

¹⁹ *CIPM*, xiii; 33-4, 60-2.

²⁰ *CIPM*, vi, 393-4; viii, 101.

²¹ *BL Harl.* 6166 fols. 104-5. See Appendix V, below, for the full list, including the Gentlemen.

In addition to these seven families were two families listed as esquires in 1501 but not listed in 1324, although the family held estates in Hampshire at that time and appear on the other major sources at an armigerous level. It shall be asked, were these 'rising' families during the period, or were they omitted from the 1324 lists for some other reason?

The use of the other major sources also brings to light one other family which survived in the male line, did not appear in 1324, held county office, but who appear as gentlemen in 1501. Of the ten families considered here, the three classed as 'gentlemen' in 1501 are included because of their earlier armigerous status in the records. With these families, it will be considered to what extent they were 'falling' families.

Finally, three families, one listed in 1324 and 1501, the other two listed in 1324 but not in 1501, are considered as 'absentee' landlords, as they clearly had lands elsewhere but continued to hold the same estates in Hampshire as they had done since the early fourteenth century.

Consolidation and expansion

Lisle

The Lisles were the outstanding resident élite of Hampshire in this group of ten families. Sir John Lisle, who headed the 1501 list, was the son of Sir John Lisle and died in 1503, leaving John, his son and heir, the manors of Wootton and eleven other manors on the Isle of Wight, to the value of 140*l*.²² Since the early twelfth century, the Lisle patrimony had descended from father to son in an unbroken line of descent; Nicholas was the thirteenth generation.

By 1500, the Lisles had long been established on mainland Hampshire. Over the late medieval period they increased their estates considerably. In 1345, Sir Bartholomew

²² *CIPM*, Henry VII, iii, 294.

died seised of the manor of Welton in Northamptonshire and Maiden Newton in Dorset.²³ The marriage of his son Sir John III (d. 1370) to Maud Edington, a relative of Bishop William Edington (d. 1366) produced the manors of Thruxton in north-west Hampshire and South Baddesley in Boldre in the New Forest.²⁴ John IV acquired property in Crookham (Berkshire).²⁵ In 1412, the estate was assessed for taxation at £187; £33 in Dorset, £40 (Chute) in Wiltshire, and £112 in Hampshire, two thirds held by John V (d. 1429) and a third in dower by the dowager Elizabeth. John VI (d. 1471) married the heiress Anne Botreaux, niece of William, Lord Botreaux, who brought Briston in Devon, Holt in Wiltshire and two Hampshire manors to the family. Altogether by 1471 there were fifteen manors and two advowsons in Hampshire, four manors in Dorset, and two each in Wiltshire and Devon. The estate was appropriate for a leading family of gentry, but insufficient as an endowment for a peer. But in Hampshire, a county dominated by ecclesiastical landlords, this was one of the largest secular estates.

The identification of the family with the defence of the Isle of Wight diminished, perhaps because the Lisles increasingly resided from preference on the mainland. The shrievalty of Wiltshire strictly implied residence in Wiltshire and it is striking how frequently John IV, V and VI attended the county elections in Wiltshire. Early Lisles patronised Quarr Abbey, co-founded Barton oratory on the Isle of Wight, but their fifteenth-century successors were different. John V chose in 1429 to be buried at Chute. John IV in 1407, John VII in 1523 and at least one other were interred at Thruxton, where their tombs remain and where John VII apparently intended to build an ambulatory. The will of John VI (d. 1471) mentions his daughter Anne and that of Sir Nicholas (d. 1506) a kinswoman Joan, both nuns of Amesbury in Wiltshire.²⁶ Other bequests to Edington and Mottisfont priories suggest a focus on the mainland.

²³ *CIPM*, viii, 426-8.

²⁴ *VCH*, iv, 388, 617; Thruxton had gone from Henry Welles to Bishop Edington in 1352, PRO CP25(1)206/25, no.45 and was settled by on John Lisle, knight, and John Fauconer, in 1441, from John Wilford: PRO CP25(19)207/33 no.4.

²⁵ *CIPM*, xix, 176.

²⁶ PRO PROB 11/6

Across the two centuries, the Lisles managed to maintain and expand their estates and retain knightly status in every generation but one. They were knighted at important state occasions such as the knighting of Prince Edward in 1306, the coronation of Henry IV, the coronation of Queen Elizabeth of York in 1497 and the creation of Henry Prince of Wales in 1503. The only head of the family who was not knighted was John V, who was not a J.P. and lost the lease of the herbage of the Wiltshire forest granted to his father. However, as the single family that maintained its male line, it did not manage to expand significantly and break into the higher league of the nobility.

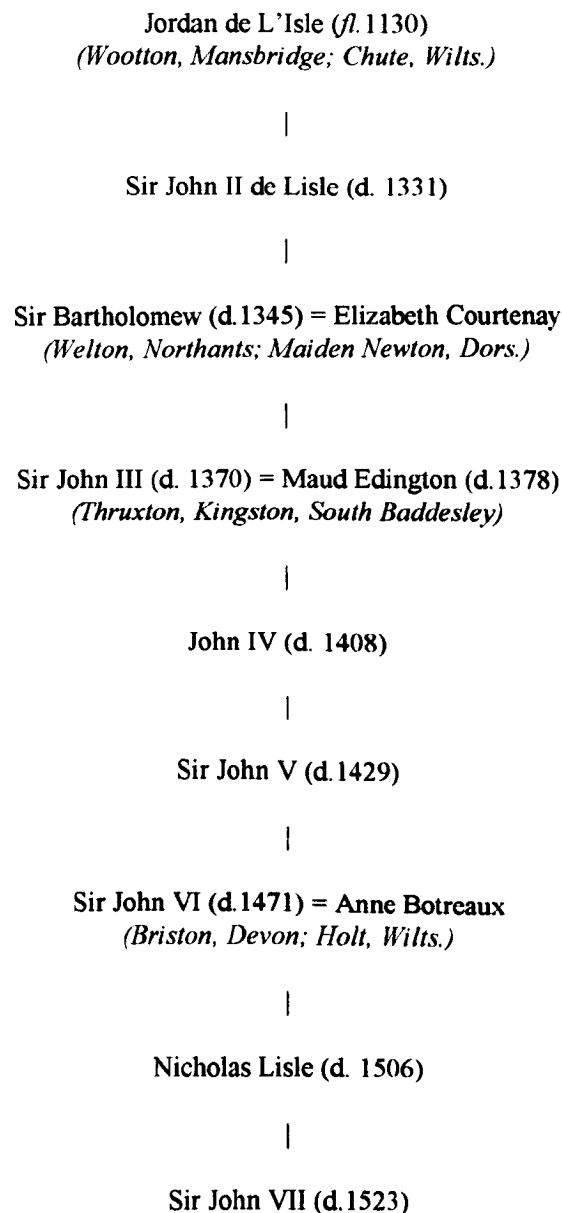


Fig. 4: Survival and Expansion: The Lisles

Impressive though the survival and expansion of the Lisle family is, and important that

it is in showing the longer the family lasted the larger the estates, the Lisle family did not significantly increase its status. They remained among the knightly gentry of Hampshire throughout the later Middle Ages but did not manage to marry into, or achieve promotion, to the higher peerage and join the ranks of the nobility.

On the death of Sir John VII in 1523, his great-niece Mary Kingston became the heir-general and her marriage to a distant cousin, Sir Thomas Lisle, ensured the continuation of the estate for a further generation. However, that match proved childless, and the estate devolved upon the three cousins descended from two of John V's daughters, including the Philpotts.

Barowe

Sir Maurice Barowe, whose ancestor in 1324 was John Bergh, also came from a continuous line of descent from father to son, but the Hampshire records do not show them to be as wealthy or as active as the Lisles in the county. The Barowes, or de la Berghs, as they had been in 1324, as esquires, had held the manor of Ewshott of the Giffards since 1279 and Stapeley since 1305; in 1353 Walter atte Bergh purchased North Charford from William Gerberd (Gilbert) which the family held in the sixteenth century.²⁷ In 1412, John 'Berewe' had lands and rents in Charford at the assessed value of only £10; in 1428 John 'Berewe' held the third part of a fee at North Charford, and in 1431 was titled 'esquire,' of North Charford.²⁸ In 1436, John 'Berewe' had a total income of £50, rather more than in 1412.²⁹ In 1501, the head of the family was Sir Maurice. The family only once held county office, as knight of the shire in 1433.

Rising families?

Wallop

The Wallops had held land at Wallop and Over Wallop in Hampshire since the reign of Henry III; in 1428 John Wallop held the quarter fee at Wallop and his income in 1436

²⁷ *VCH*, iv, 9, 92, 561.

²⁸ *Feudal Aids*, vi, 456; ii, 349, 371.

²⁹ PRO E179/173/92.

was £36.³⁰ The existence of the family in the early fourteenth century was without distinction but the marriage of Thomas Wallop to Margaret Valoignes in the later fourteenth century brought the family the manors of Cliddesden and Hatch and on John's death in 1486, he was seised also of Farleigh Wallop and Appleshaw, which he held of Sir Walter Sandys.³¹ John married Jane Holt, daughter of Nicholas Holt of Coldrey, and from their son Stephen descended the family which became earls of Portsmouth after 1743; Richard Wallop, esquire in 1501, was their grandson and his son, Stephen, had £20 in land in 1525.³² To put a seal on their increase in fortune, the Wallops sat in parliament for Hampshire throughout the fifteenth century, served as sheriffs and on the county bench.

Name	DB	1166	1316	1324	1346	1412	1428	1431	1434	1436	1501
Lisle	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Barowe		---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Coudray			---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Tichborne	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Norton			---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Brune		---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Langford			---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Wallop		---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Heyno		---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Giffard		---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Waytes of					---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Denmead											
Waytesof W.			---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Stratton											

Table 15: Survival through the Male Line into the Sixteenth century

Giffard

One of the esquires listed in 1501 was John Giffard. His father, John Giffard of Itchell,

³⁰ *VCH*, iii, 261, iv, 532; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 350; PRO E179/173/92.

³¹ *VCH*, iv, 146, 146; iii, 364; iv, 358; *CIPM*, Henry VII, i, 85.

³² J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, 1439 - 1509* (London, 2 vol, 1936-8), ii, 916; *HoP*, iv, 752-3; BL MS 6166 fos. 104-5; PRO E179/173/183.

who was an esquire in 1431 and assessed with an income of £50 in 1436, was a member of the family that had been lords of Itchell since 1264.³³ John Giffard's inquisition in 1320 also showed that in addition to the manor at Itchell, Hampshire, he had the manor of Norton and Weston in Gloucestershire; his heir to both manors was his son John, (d. 1317) and the son of his great-grand-nephew was the John Giffard, esquire, of 1431, who in 1428 had the two fees his great-uncle owed in 1346.³⁴ He died in 1444, and was followed by his two sons, Robert and John, who was the esquire of 1501, then by William, son of John; in 1579 Henry Wriothesley, second Earl of Southampton, bought the manor from George Giffard.³⁵ William Giffard was distrained for knighthood in 1503.³⁶ The Giffards served only twice as sheriffs and never as knights of the shire. Whether the Giffards were genuinely a rising family in Hampshire is open to question; in 1324, John Giffard was a rebel, which probably accounts for his absence from the May Muster in that year. It is more likely that the family base in Hampshire was maintained at a constant level and their accompanying status remained much the same across the period, rather than undergoing a rise in fortunes.

Wayte

Sometime after 1315, Sir Richard Stratton conveyed the manor of West Stratton to William Wayte, which the family held into the sixteenth century, before John Wayte sold all his estates to his kinsman Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle, for £2,000.³⁷ The Waytes were not listed in 1324, but William Wayte was MP in 1339 and John Wayte in 1396. In 1412, Thomas Wayte had the manor of Lee and lands at West Stratton and the soke of Winchester to the value of £37; in 1431, he was titled esquire and in 1436, he was assessed at £32.³⁸ John Wayte was distrained for knighthood in 1509.³⁹

In fact, there appear to be two Wayte families, or two branches of the same family.

³³ *VCH*, iv, 7-8; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 362; PRO E179/173/92.

³⁴ *CIPM*, vi, 134; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 333, 359.

³⁵ BL MS Harl. 6166 fos. 104-5; *VCH*, iv, 8.

³⁶ PRO E198/4/21.

³⁷ *VCH*, iii, 392.

³⁸ *Feudal Aids*, vi, 451; ii, 364; PRO E179/173/92.

³⁹ PRO E198/4/27.

Richard Wayte of Denmead's marriage to Isabel Butler in the later fourteenth century acquired him Wymmering which the family held until 1561.⁴⁰ In 1412, Richard had the manors of Wymmering, Denmead and land and rents at Limborne, Totton, Bere and Hale to the value of £40.⁴¹ They had held lands in Bere since the early fourteenth century.⁴² The Waytes of Denmead were apparently of lesser status than the Waytes of West Stratton, though their fortunes were certainly improved by the Butler marriage. William Wayte of Denmead possessed Wymmering in 1431 but was titled gentleman; in 1436 he had £32 and the Waytes were listed as gentlemen in 1501.⁴³

Falling families?

Tichborne

The two 'gentlemen' of 1501 who descended in the male line from knights and esquires listed in 1324 were William Tichborne and Richard Norton. In 1487, William Tichborne inherited from his father John the manors of Tichborne, Winslade and Kempshott on the mainland and the manor of Lymerston on the Isle of Wight. Tichborne and Lymerston were held of the Bishop of Winchester, Winslade and Kempshott of John Paulet; Tichborne was held in fee tail.⁴⁴ The Tichbornes had held those manors under the same overlords in the early fourteenth century, when Sir John Tichborne was head of the family in 1324. Sir John was succeeded by Roger, his son and heir and Roger by his grandson, John, who held the half fee at Kempshott and one fee at Tichborne in 1428. In 1431 John Tichborne ('of London') held the manor of Tichborne for the service of a fourth part of a fee and was titled 'gentleman,' though in 1436 he was assessed for £50, easily enough to finance knightly status.⁴⁵ The William Tichborne of 1501 was thus the sixth generation since Sir John in an unbroken descent from father to son, though the family estates seems to have neither expanded nor contracted. The Tichbornes held office as knights of the shire and sheriffs across the

⁴⁰ *VCH*, iii, 166.

⁴¹ *Feudal Aids*, vi, 450.

⁴² *VCH*, iii, 263.

⁴³ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 361; PRO E179/173/92; BL MS Harl. 6166, fos. 104-5.

⁴⁴ *CIPM*, Henry VII, ii, 89.

⁴⁵ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 344, 357, 363; PRO E179/173/92.

period, though less so in the fifteenth century. Although William Tichborne was listed as 'gentlemen' in 1501, he was distrained for knighthood in 1503 and 1509, and the long view of their family wealth and participation in the county shows them to have maintained their status across the period.⁴⁶

Norton

The Nortons clearly lost some ground. Richard Norton died in 1501 seised of the manors of Nutley and East Tisted which his ancestor Sir James Norton had held in 1324.⁴⁷ The family had lost the manor of Norton; in 1428, a certain William Haringdon had the fourth part of the fee and it is probable that the manor passed out of existence, or merged with the other manor held by the St. John, Poynings and Paulets family across the period.⁴⁸ By the marriage of Sir James Norton's grandson John to Felicia Waleys, the Nortons acquired the manor of Linwood and retained it until the sixteenth century. By Richard Norton's marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of William Rotherfield, at the end of the fifteenth century, the Nortons acquired Rotherfield, which remained with the family until the seventeenth century.⁴⁹ John Norton, father of Richard, had lands and rents to the value of £20 in Nutley and Tisted in 1412 and was holding the half fee at East Tisted in 1428; in 1436 he was assessed for £18.⁵⁰ It is not clear whether Richard was the direct descendant of Sir James, as Sir James's son, Thomas, had a son named Ralph; it is John son of John Norton, kinsman and heir to Sir James Norton, whose proof of age was taken in 1361, and who died in 1371, leaving a three-year son and heir, John.⁵¹ It may be that John was Ralph's brother or of a cadet branch who inherited the manors at that stage; no inquisition for Ralph survives.⁵² The

⁴⁶ PRO E198/4/21 (1503), E198/4/27 (1509).

⁴⁷ *CIPM*, Henry VII, ii, 474-5.

⁴⁸ *VCH*, iii, 370, 31, 9; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 358. In 1378, Sir Richard Norton sold the manor of Norton to John Fitelton and Richard Story; PRO CP25(1)207/28, no.21.

⁴⁹ *VCH*, iv, 630; iii, 32. John Norton may not have been James Norton's direct descendant as Ralph is reported to be the son of Thomas (iii, 9).

⁵⁰ *Feudal Aids*, vi, 452; ii, 358; PRO E179/173/92.

⁵¹ *CIPM*, xi, 122-3; *CIPM*, xiii, 33-4.

⁵² Ralph was active in 1368, selling the tenancy of Norton manor to William Tirwhy; PRO CP25(1)206/27, no. 17.

Nortons held office as sheriff and knight of the shire in the fourteenth century but ceased to do so in the fifteenth century, perhaps a reflection their declining fortunes.

Heyno

The Heyno family were another whose fortunes declined. Although they had £40 in lands from Hampshire in 1300 (but were not listed in 1324), by 1501 they were accorded gentleman status. John Heyno, 'esquire' in 1431, came from a family who had been lords of Stenbury, Isle of Wight, since another John de Heyno held it of the Honour of Carisbrooke at the end of the thirteenth century.⁵³ On John Heyno's death in 1295, his son William held the manor, recorded in 1316, and was the previous holder of the fee at Stenbury in 1346, which was held by his direct descendants in 1346 and 1428.⁵⁴ John Heyno held the fee in 1428, and was titled esquire in 1431, had an annual income of £20 in 1412, £26 in 1436, and was followed by Thomas Heyno, who in 1501 was titled a gentleman.⁵⁵ Thomas had four daughters, and the manor was divided amongst the families of Pound, Stour and Wyker, of whom one representative, John Pound, was accorded the title esquire in 1501.⁵⁶ The Heynos did not hold the office of sheriff, only once appeared as knight of the shire (1332) and once on the bench (1443).

Absentee landlords

Coudray

Last, but not least, are the families listed in 1324 and 1501 who had knightly status and lands in Hampshire but were probably never, or rarely, resident. Peter Coudray, esquire in 1501, was not the direct descendant of the Sir Thomas Coudray listed in 1324. Sir Thomas, who died in 1349, left Herriard to Sir Fulk, his son, from whom it passed to Sir Henry Coudray, Sir Fulk's cousin, and to Sir Henry's nephew, Edward Coudray; from there on, the manor of Herriard passed from father to son into the sixteenth

⁵³ *VCH*, v, 174.

⁵⁴ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 321, 338, 352.

⁵⁵ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 352, 367; vi, 454; PRO E179/173/92; BL MS Harl. 6166 fos. 104-5.

⁵⁶ *VCH*, v, 174; BL MS Harl. 6166 fos. 104-5.

century.⁵⁷ Peter Coudray, son of Edward, was recorded in possession of the quarter fee of Herriard in 1428, received no mention in 1431, but had an assessed income of £20 in 1436; his son Peter was listed in 1501 and distrained for knighthood in 1508 and 1509.⁵⁸

Sir Thomas Coudray had manors also in 1316 in Berkshire, Padworth and Lydworth, and two villis in Buckinghamshire⁵⁹; when Edward Coudray inherited Herriard from his childless uncle Sir Henry in 1377, he obtained a licence to acquire Padworth from Bishop Wykeham of Winchester in 1402 having also acquired Lydworth from Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Fulk, Sir Henry's cousin. Elizabeth had married Sir Philip Popham. After a law suit, an agreement was reached whereby Edward Coudray paid annual rent on the Berkshire manors.⁶⁰

The other main Coudray manor, Sherborne Coudray, did not remain in the family; Sir Fulk granted it to William Fifhide, whose son leased the manor house to William Gregory of Basingstoke, on whose death in 1386 Joan Bridges inherited. Her marriage to Sir John Sandys in 1376 brought the land to the Sandys and Brocas families in the fifteenth century.⁶¹

The Coudrays in fact seem to have been absentee landlords of Sherborne Coudray and Herriard, as a series of grants and leases in the Hampshire Record Office show. Sir Fulk Coudray leased Sherborne to Robert Burton, archdeacon of Winchester, in 1346 for 15 years at £8 annual rent and in 1351 released him of the rent for services.⁶² In 1369 William son of William Fifhide demised the manor to William Gregory of Basingstoke; the previous leases record the sale of corn from Robert Burton to Fifhide.⁶³ Although a suit of novel disseisin was brought by Bartholomew Mayhew

⁵⁷ *VCH*, iii, 366.

⁵⁸ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 344; PRO E179/173/92; PRO E198/4/23 (1508), E198/4/27 (1509).

⁵⁹ *Feudal Aids*, i, 53, 109-110.

⁶⁰ *HoP*, ii, 681.

⁶¹ *VCH*, iv, 160.

⁶² HRO 31M57/38, 39.

⁶³ HRO 31M57/39.

against William son of William Fifhide, he had it at his death and eventually Robert Mayhew, kinsman of Bartholomew, released the manor to Sir Thomas Skelton and his wife, Joan, heiress of William Fifhide.⁶⁴

Thomas Coudray granted the manor of Herriard for life to Master Jacob Man, Cecilia Beauchamp and Roger of Essex in 1314 for £26 annually for fifteen years and £100 annually thereafter.⁶⁵ Nicholas Hurst of Herriard quitclaimed all his rights of the manor of Herriard to Sir John Coudray in 1335, leased to him by Sir Thomas and by 1351 Sir Thomas Coudray had granted the manor for life to Robert Achard.⁶⁶ In 1365 Edward Coudray granted the manor to John, rector of St. Martin's, Winchester and others, to Sir John Insula Bona in 1380 and to William Brocas and others in 1421.⁶⁷

Though these manors were leased, Edward Coudray was sheriff of Hampshire in 1404 and knight of the shire in 1402, 1417 and 1423; the only member of the family to hold county office in the period.

Brune

When Thomas Brune died in 1499, he left the manors of Fordingbridge and Rowner to his son William.⁶⁸ The Brune association with Hampshire was long-lived; the male line did not become extinct until 1769 and until that date, Rowner and Fordingbridge continued in the family; Brown Candover, probably in the family in the thirteenth century, remained with them throughout the period, and at some point in the later fifteenth century Afton on the Isle of Wight was acquired by the Bruners, probably from the Ringbornes.⁶⁹ East Parley was granted to the Ringbornes in the late fourteenth century, but clearly with reversion, as the Bruners were in possession again by the mid-sixteenth century; and Hurn was by 1392 in the possession of Isabel Poynings who

⁶⁴ HRO 31M57/44,46,49.

⁶⁵ HRO 44M69/C/252.

⁶⁶ HRO 44M69/C/76, 106.

⁶⁷ HRO 44M69/C/279, 280, 443.

⁶⁸ *CIPM*, Henry VII, ii, 190-1.

⁶⁹ *VCH*, v, 242.

granted it that year to Christchurch Priory;⁷⁰ Crofton was not a Brune property in 1346 or 1428.⁷¹

In 1412, the Maurice Brune's grandson and namesake of the knight of 1324, had an assessed rental income of £40 from Hampshire (Rowner and Fordingbridge manors) and a further £40 from Essex.⁷² Maurice was later knighted, and appears in 1431 as Sir Maurice Brune of Rowner, though he is not listed in the 1436 returns.⁷³ Sir Maurice's son, Henry, inherited Rowner, followed by his nephew Thomas and Thomas's son William, whose name does not appear on the 1501 list; it is probable that the association with Essex was stronger than the ties with Hampshire.

The Brunos served as sheriffs of Hampshire and sat on the bench in the mid-fifteenth century and Sir Maurice Brune served in nine successive parliaments from 1376-1384, the only family member to sit for Hampshire in the period.

Langford

Another long-lasting family with lands in Hampshire but with associations elsewhere were the Langfords. Thomas Langford, esquire, died in 1492, leaving the manors of Chale, Soberton and Haliwell to his brother Walter; he also had a manor in Hertfordshire.⁷⁴ In 1509, after the death of John Langford, his daughter Anne and her husband William Stafford sold it to William Pound.⁷⁵ Although Sir Thomas Langford held the part of the fee Roger Langford had held in 1346, and in 1428 Isabella Langford held the part-fee, the Langford lands either did not qualify or did not report under the Hampshire taxation records of the fifteenth century, nor does the family appear in the 1431 and 1501 records, or hold any office, though Edward Langford witnessed a Brocas conveyance in 1470.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ *VCH*, iv, 184; v, 100; v, 98.

⁷¹ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 336, 356.

⁷² *Feudal Aids*, vi, 451; ii, 444.

⁷³ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 370, 371.

⁷⁴ *CIPM*, i, 401.

⁷⁵ PRO CP25(2)37/243, no. 30, for 400m. (in 1518).

⁷⁶ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 340, 354. See below for the conveyance, 206.

It is indicative of the nature of the Hampshire armigerous gentry that these three knightly families are included on the lists at the start and end of the chosen period and hold land throughout but are largely absent from county life. This illustrates the point made in chapter one concerning the Hampshire landowners with a stake in the county alongside the active resident families. It is also worth noting that although manors were leased by the Coudrays while they (presumably) based themselves in Berkshire and Buckinghamshire and the Brunes divided their time between Hampshire and Essex, representatives of both families did exercise their right to hold county office in Hampshire at certain times. The Langfords, by contrast, absented themselves entirely from county political life.

4.3: ACCUMULATION AND WASTAGE THROUGH THE FEMALE LINE: 1) THE 1324 KNIGHTS AND ESQUIRES TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

This section looks at the descent of the families listed in 1501 and to those listed in 1324 who failed in the male line but whose estates either passed through a single heiress or several co-heiresses. As a consequence of those transmissions, the following questions arise; was there accumulation or wastage? When and why did families fall out of the county élite? If they entered the élite, how did families enter that élite?

Three of the six knights listed in 1501 were descended through the female line from early fourteenth-century gentry Hampshire families and seven of the 13 esquires; one knight and three esquires had ancestors listed in 1324. The importance of the female line, and the continuity of estates in that way, is not to be underestimated. Fifteen of the 33 knights and esquires of 1324 survived through the female line, four of whom descended to two sixteenth century families. Eight families are known to have been worth at least £40 in either 1412 or 1436 in lands from Hampshire, placing them in the middle ranks of the knightly class. Of the fifteen families considered here, the estates of seven were ultimately broken into various family portions.

Extinction and reinvention

St. John-Philibert-Poyning-Paulet

At the head of the list of esquires in 1501 was John Paulet, who inherited on the death of his mother Eleanor four manors, including the St. John manors of Ludshot, Abbotstone and Bromley; his father had been lord of Basing.⁷⁷ John Paulet was descended through his mother from the branch of the Poyning family which had married the St. John heiress. The St. John family is included here because the estates of a former peerage family were dispersed and, as a consequence, the family declined in status in the fifteenth century.

John St. John II's first wife was probably Isabel, daughter to Sir Hugh Courtenay; in 1292, his father John I had had a grant of the marriage of the heirs of Hugh Courtenay⁷⁸ and the first surviving son by Isabel was Hugh St. John. Hugh's son and heir was Edmund, who died without an heir at Calais in 1347. The barony was then held between Hugh's three co-heirs, Isabel, Edmund and Margaret. It is Margaret's husband, John, lord St. Philibert, who appears on the 1346 list of Knight's fees as holding the three fees of the barony of Basing. On the death of both Margaret and her son John de St. Philibert in 1360, the title reverted to Hugh's remaining co-heir, Isabel, who became baroness St. John.

Isabel had married firstly Henry, younger son of Bartholomew, Lord Burghersh, who died in 1348; secondly, she married Luke Poynings, youngest son of Thomas, first Lord Poynings between 1348 and 1349. In March 1348 - 9 he obtained possession of her inheritance and in February 1360 - 1 he and his wife did homage to the Prince of Wales at Westminster. In March, 1361/2 Poynings had order for livery of the other moiety of the inheritance, including Basing. In February 1367/8, Luke was summoned to Parliament by writs directed *Luce de Poynges*. He was keeper of the forest of Pamber, Hampshire in March 1368 and was later named on various commissions in the county; he died in June, 1376, though Isabel lived on until October 1393, marrying again, to Sir Thomas Worting, who sold the manor of Binsted St. Clare to William

⁷⁷ *CIPM*, Henry VII, i, 355 (John Paulet); iii, 110-111 (Eleanor).

⁷⁸ *CPR*, 1281-92, 483; *GEC* xi, 326

Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, in 1390.⁷⁹

It is questionable whether Sir Luke was ever officially lord St. John, as well as lord Poynings. He made his will as lord St. John and directed his burial at Warnford.⁸⁰ His widow, Isabel, used the title lady of St. John,⁸¹ in accordance with the custom of the time, in dealing with St. John property. A grant of the custody of the lands of William de Ferrers made in 1371 simply referred to him as 'Luke de Poninges';⁸² in 1394 his son and heir, Thomas, called himself 'Thomas Ponynges Seint Johan kt'.⁸³ His son, who styled himself as lord St. John, was never summoned to Parliament either as lord Poynings or St. John; the summonses of 5 Henry IV in the name of 'Thomas Ponynges' is believed to be an error for Robert Poynings, his cousin.

Thomas' career, however, was no less illustrious than his father's. He probably served in the duke of Lancaster's historic march across France in 1373 and in 1399 he was chief of a group ordered to retake Pevensey Castle from the King's enemies from overseas.⁸⁴ In May, 1424, he was commissioned with Robert Willoughby to raise men-at-arms and bowmen to take to the duke of Bedford in France. From 1377 until his death he was active in Hampshire and Sussex as commissioner of array and for the peace, and was a knight by 1381. His marriages reflected the standing of his family; firstly to Joan, daughter of Roger, Lord Strange of Knockin, but secondly, to Philippa, relict of John Hastings, earl of Pembroke and widow of Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel and daughter of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March by Philippa, daughter and heir of Lionel, duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III. On Philippa's death in 1400, Thomas married a third time, to Maud Mawley, widow of John Halsham of

⁷⁹ PRO CP25(1)207/29, no.4.

⁸⁰ *William of Wykeham's Register*, T. F. Kirby, (ed.) Hampshire Record Society (London, 2 vols, 1896) ii, 256 - 58.

⁸¹ *CPR*, 1388-92, 312

⁸² *CFR*, 1368-1377, 109.

⁸³ *CCR*, 1392-96, 255

⁸⁴ *John of Gaunt's Register, 1379-1383* eds. E. C. Lodge and R. Somerville (Camden Society, 3rd series, lvi, 1937) i, 3; *CPR*, 1396-99, 596.

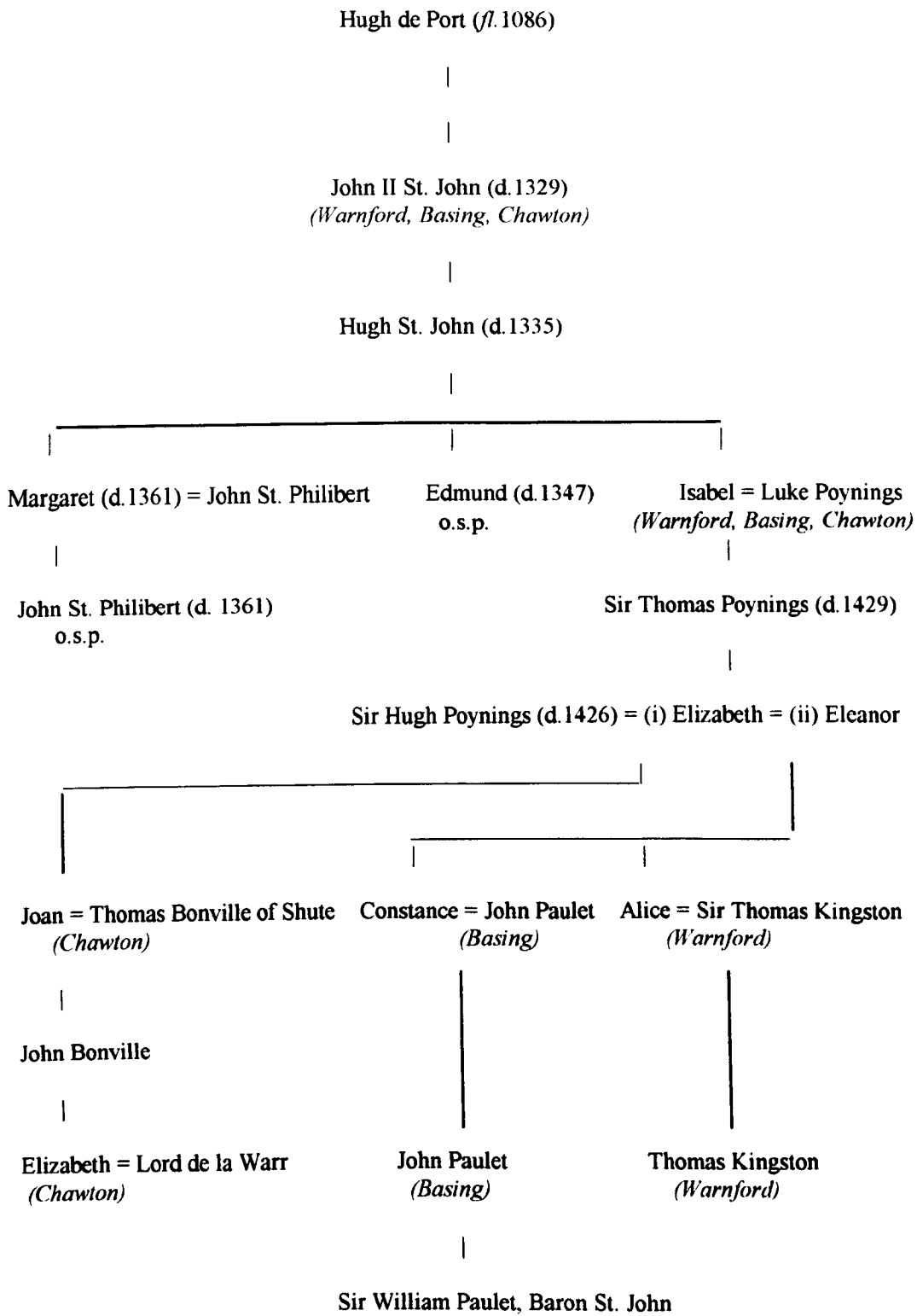


Fig. 5: Extinction and Reinvention: St. John-Philibert-Poynings-Paulet

Coombe, Sussex and died in 1429. His son and heir was firstly Luke, born in or before 1376 (by Joan) died before 1393/4 and his brother, Hugh was appointed heir, and came

of age in 1401. Hugh married firstly Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Sir Martin Ferrers of Bere Ferrers, Devon and after her demise, Eleanor, daughter of John, Lord Welles by Eleanor daughter of John, Lord Mowbray. But Hugh died before his father, in December 1426, and when Sir Thomas died in 1429 the barony went into abeyance.

Any barony created by the summonses to Luke Poynings, Lord Poynings from 1368 - 76 or descending through his marriage with the eventual heir of Edmund de St. John, Lord St. John of Basing went into abeyance (according to modern doctrine) on his son's death in 1429 among the co-heirs of his son Hugh. Hugh had a daughter by his first wife Elizabeth, Joan, who married Thomas Bonville of Shute; one daughter of theirs, Elizabeth, married the lord de la Warr and took with her the St. John manor of Chawton; another daughter was Anne, who married Philip Coplestone of Coplestone, Devon. The Coplestone descent was continuous to 1631, whereupon the eldest surviving sister and co-heir, Elizabeth married John Elford of Sheepstor, Devon, whose descendants can be traced until 1887.

Hugh's second wife, Eleanor, had given him two more daughters, Constance and Alice. Constance married John Paulet and Alice was first wife to John Orrell and afterwards Sir Thomas Kingston. Alice's second marriage to Sir Thomas Kingston produced several generations of Kingstons.⁸⁵ The Paulet descent, however, continued from father to son and in 1538 Sir William Paulet was created baron St. John in tail male; at the head of the list of esquires in the Hampshire list of 1501 was John Paulet, father of William.

Across the later medieval period the fortunes of the descendants of Sir John of St. John came full circle; the family began as barons and ended at a higher level, as William Paulet became earl of Wiltshire and Marquis of Winchester as well as baron St. John. In 1525, John Paulet, knighted by then, had £200 in land, and his son William the same.⁸⁶ John Paulet was sheriff of Hampshire in 1491 and his son William was sheriff in

⁸⁵ Thomas Kingston died seised of the St. John manors of Warnford and Sherborne St. John. in 1505: *CIPM*, Henry VII, iii, 559.

⁸⁶ PRO E179/173/183.

1511 and knight of the shire in 1529; John Paulet witnessed a Brocas covenyance of 1470.⁸⁷

Consolidation and expansion

Scures-Uvedale

When Sir John Scures, son of the Sir John Scures who was sheriff of Hampshire in 1324, died in 1381, his daughter was his heir. Her marriage to John Uvedale of Titsey, Surrey, took the Scures estates of Wickham, Nately, Woodgarston and Widley to that family for the next three and a half centuries.⁸⁸ The Uvedales were an old family with lands in Surrey and Sussex in the early fourteenth century. But very rapidly on acquiring the Scures manors they rose to prominence in the county. Second wealthiest in Hampshire in 1436 with £173 was John Uvedale, titled esquire in 1431 and never in fact knighted.⁸⁹ John Uvedale junior inherited the Scures patrimony in around 1408, as well as Titsey and two other manors in Surrey: in 1412 he had an income from Hampshire lands of £70, and a further £56 and £60 from Kent and Surrey; he also inherited a family manor at Tacolneston in Norfolk, and purchased Pittleworth manor in Hampshire and later settled Titsey on his younger brother William.⁹⁰

On his death in 1440, John Uvedale was succeeded by Sir Thomas, his son and heir who was succeeded in turn by a son and heir Sir William, the knight of 1501. Wickham, Widley, Funtley, Woodgarston, Pittleworth and Nately Scures remained with the family into the later seventeenth century. Bromwich, which John Uvedale had purchased before 1428, was sold in 1531. Bramshill, which Sir Thomas acquired on his marriage to Elizabeth Foxley, whose great-great-grandfather John Foxley had held it in 1306, was sold on by 1474.⁹¹

⁸⁷ See below for the conveyance, 206.

⁸⁸ *VCH*, iii, 234, iv, 153, 232.

⁸⁹ PRO E179/173/92; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 364.

⁹⁰ The exact date of his father's death is uncertain: *HoP*, iv, 699-700; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 450; PRO CP25(1)207/30, no.74.

⁹¹ BL MS Harl. 6166 fos. 104-5; *VCH*, iii, 234, 171, 227; iv, 232, 492, 153; iii, 225; iv, 35.

Here was a family then who, in 1500, had been in Hampshire for over a century and had, through the female line, maintained and extended the Scures estates and played a major role in county office-holding, just as the fourteenth century Scures family had.

Des Roches-Boarhunt-Brocas

William Brocas, esquire in 1501, was from a family established in Hampshire since the middle fourteenth century, though originally from Gascony via Berkshire.⁹² His grandfather, another William, was an esquire in 1431 and assessed with an annual income of £120 in 1436, the fourth highest in the county. The fortunes of the family were partly built upon the failures of two thirteenth century Hampshire families, des Roches and Boarhunt.

The successful accumulation of the des Roches estates in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries ended with the unfortunate fact that the 1324 Sir John des Roches's son and heir, William, was an idiot. The estates were settled upon Mary, John des Roches' daughter, and Mary married Sir John Boarhunt, grandson of Sir Richard Boarhunt. The territorial links between the Boarhunt and Roches families went back to at least Sir Hugh de Roches' time, as the manor of Hoe he married into was held of the Boarhunt family.⁹³ Mary Boarhunt outlived both her husband and son, another John, and married again, to Sir Bernard Brocas of Clewer, Berkshire, into whose family the Boarhunt and Roches manors passed.

Sir Bernard Brocas's marriage to Mary Boarhunt in around 1360 brought him the Boarhunt and des Roches estates, but he endowed Southwick Priory with all the Boarhunt manors in the 1360s.⁹⁴ His son by his first marriage, another Sir Bernard, was executed in 1400, and it was his elder son William Brocas who inherited the

⁹² *Feudal Aids*, ii, 364; PRO E179/173/92; M. Burrows, *The Family of Brocas of Beaurepaire and Roche Court* (London, 1886).

⁹³ *CIPM*, v, 175.

⁹⁴ HRO 5M50/27 includes the indenture of a gift in free alms by Sir Bernard to Richard Newell, prior of Southwick, of the manors of Hoe and Hannington to found a Brocas chantry, dated 1 March 1384/5.

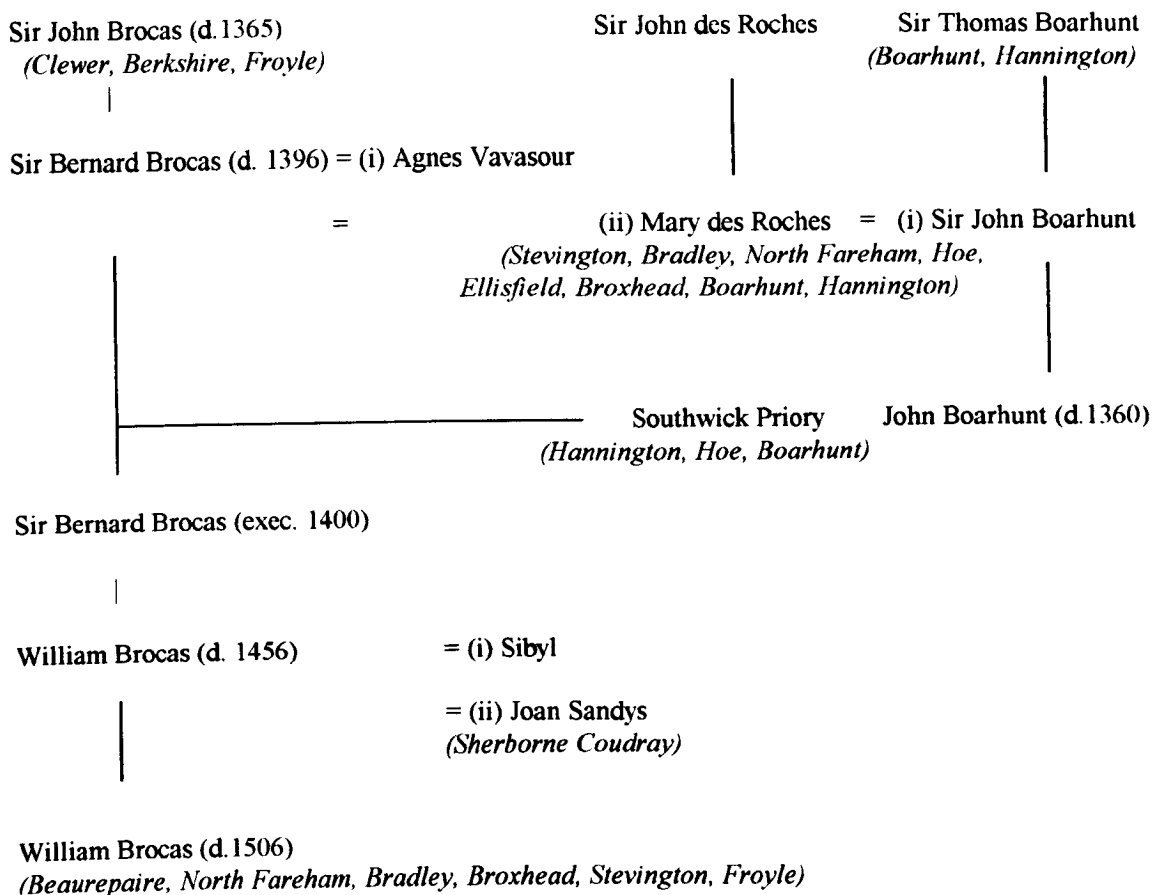


Fig. 6: Old Wine in New Bottles: Brocas, Roches and Boarhunt

Hampshire lands, initially forfeit after his father's rebellion. William Brocas also inherited Beaurepaire, which was not part of the Boarhunt package, but had been purchased by Master Bernard Brocas in 1353 from John Pecche, whose ancestor had held the manor of William Lord St. John in the thirteenth century.⁹⁵ In 1355 Bernard settled the manor on his nephew, Sir Bernard Brocas, who then consolidated his lands in Hampshire by the Boarhunt marriage; William Brocas acquired Sherborne Coudray on his second marriage, to Joan Sandys, daughter of Sir Walter, who settled the manor upon them in 1414, though the Sandys regained the manor on the death of Bernard, William's son, in 1488.⁹⁶ William Brocas junior, William's other son, had an income of £20 in 1436.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ PRO CP25(1)206/25, no.57.

⁹⁶ *VCH*, iv, 165, 160; other Brocas settlements included Northfarham, Hoe, Bradley, Brockshed: PRO CP25(1)206/26, no.49 and Stevington; PRO CP25(1)206/26, no.50 by Sir Bernard Brocas.

⁹⁷ PRO E 179/173/92.

The death of William Brocas in 1506, an esquire on the 1501 list, resulted in the end of the Hampshire male line, as he had two daughters. One, Edith, married Ralph Pexall, but the family estate continued through the female line.⁹⁸ The Brocas family were active in county office-holding.

Warblington-Puttenham

On John Warblington's death in 1333, his son John inherited the manor and his grandson William had in 1412 an assessed income of £43 (Sherfield manor and other lands) from Hampshire but nothing recorded elsewhere.⁹⁹ William appears in 1431 unfortunately as one of the few without a designated status and in 1436 he was omitted.¹⁰⁰ On his death in 1469, he was succeeded by William Puttenham, the great-grandson of John Warblington, son of the esquire of 1324, whose family retained the manors of Sherfield and Chinham until 1572, after Richard Puttenham's daughter Anne inherited the manor in 1567 and sold it.¹⁰¹

The Warblingtons possessed other lands in Hampshire during the period, including Botillers Candover, acquired by John Warblington in 1368, and passing to his grandson William but not to the Puttenham in 1469, instead to William Skulle, son of William's cousin. In 1335 Thomas Warblington was in possession of Sutton Warblington, but not for long, as St. Swithun's had it in 1346 (the probable overlords) and kept it until the Dissolution. In 1462, William Warblington acquired Russell Flexland after the death of William, Lord Botreaux.¹⁰²

The Warblington male line in Hampshire had come to an end with William's death in 1469, but the son of his heir and brother-in-law, William Puttenham, George, was listed as a Hampshire esquire in 1501.¹⁰³ The Warblingtons had been active in county

⁹⁸ BL MS Harl. 6166, fos. 104-5.

⁹⁹ *VCH*, iv, 104-5; *Feudal Aids*, vi, 451.

¹⁰⁰ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 362.

¹⁰¹ *VCH*, iv, 105.

¹⁰² *VCH*, iii, 374, iv, 19, iii, 261.

¹⁰³ William Warblington's sister Margaret had married William Puttenham; Burrows, *Brocas of*

office-holding and George Puttenham was sheriff of Hampshire in 1504.

A new regional élite

Cormeilles-Betteshorne-Berkeley

Sir Edward Berkeley, knight in 1501, had ancestors who also married into several Hampshire families. On his death in 1505 he was seised of the manors of Avon, Coldrey, Husseys and Westcourt, and a moiety of a manor called Pury.¹⁰⁴ Sir Edward's grandfather, Sir John Berkeley, was a son of his father's second wife Katherine and thus half-brother to Maurice Berkeley, who succeeded to the barony in 1361; Sir John nevertheless inherited seven Berkeley manors in Gloucestershire (Beverstone being the chief), four in Wiltshire and two in Somerset, plus one in Worcestershire and two more in Somerset on the death of his mother in 1386.¹⁰⁵ It was Sir John's second marriage that brought the Berkeleys into Hampshire, that to Elizabeth, sole heir to John Betteshorne of Bisterne; on her father's death in 1399, she inherited lands in Dorset, Wiltshire and Hampshire, centred on an estate in the New Forest.¹⁰⁶

The Betteshornes were an old southern family, who had held Minstead since 1280; it was John Betteshorne's son Walter who was lord of the vill in 1316, and Walter and Roger who were joint-lords of Betteshorne. When Walter's son Richard died in 1361, leaving two daughters and a young grandson, John Betteshorne of Bisterne, son of Roger and probably a cousin or half-brother of Richard, obtained custody of young John's lands and the grant of the reversion of the inheritance of the two daughters, Joan and Margaret.¹⁰⁷ On his death in 1399, John Betteshorne was a wealthy man, with estates in Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire and Hampshire; he was buried at Mere, in Wiltshire, which his mother had inherited from her father John Mere.¹⁰⁸ His marriage to Gauda, kinswoman to Bishop Edington and co-heiress to Sir John Cormeilles,

Beaurepaire, 368.

¹⁰⁴ *CIPM*, Henry VII, iii, 67-68.

¹⁰⁵ *HoP*, ii, 197-199.

¹⁰⁶ *HoP*, ii, 198.

¹⁰⁷ *VCH*, iv, 635; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 317; *HoP*, ii, 219-220.

¹⁰⁸ *CIPM*, xvii, 404-6.

brought him some of the Cormeilles lands.

In 1412 Sir John Berkeley accounted for £40 a year from the Hampshire lands at Exbury, Minsted, Berkeley, Totton, Christchurch, Ash, Arnewood, Betteshorne and Pulnor, but his main income was £157 from Gloucestershire, £68 from Somerset and £67 from Wiltshire; Hampshire was a considerable part, but only a part, of his total wealth of over £340.¹⁰⁹ Sir Maurice was Sir John's son and heir, and his son and heir was another Maurice, who died in 1474; his marriage to Anne West, daughter of Reginald West, Lord de la Warr, produced a son and heir, William, who died in 1485. It was his uncle, Sir Edward Berkeley who was listed as a knight on the Hampshire 1501 record, and was described as 'of Avon, Hampshire,' while his brother Sir Maurice and his son Sir William were described as 'of Beverstone', though Sir William was buried in his own chantry chapel at Christchurch, Hampshire. Sir Edward had further increased his lands by marriage to Christina Holt, daughter and heir of Richard Holt, who are discussed below.

This particular branch of the Berkeley family migrated to Hampshire whilst retaining lands in Gloucestershire, accumulating the Cormeilles and Betteshorne estates, the former listed in 1324, and became very active in county office-holding in Hampshire in the later fifteenth century. They remained, however, due to their inheritance, a regional family with a strong base in Hampshire, rather different to the more insular Uvedale and Brocas families.

¹⁰⁹ *Feudal Aids*, vi, 450.

Name	DB	1166	1316	1324	1346	1412	1428	1431	1434	1436	1501
<i>St. John</i>		_____									
Philibert					_____						
Poynings						_____					
Paulet								_____	-----	_____	
<i>Scures</i>		-----	_____								
Uvedale						_____					
<i>Boarhunt</i>		-----	_____								
<i>Des Roches</i>		-----	_____								
Brocas					_____						
<i>Warblington</i>		-----	_____			_____					
Puttenham											_____
<i>Cormeilles</i>		_____									
Betteshorne		-----	_____								
Berkeley							_____	-----	_____		
<i>Basing</i>		-----	_____								
Byfleet					_____	-----	_____	-----	_____		
<i>Bookland</i>		-----	_____								
Wroth						-----					
Tiptoft								-----	_____	-----	
<i>Brayboeuf</i>		_____									
Camoyo						_____					
Hamelyn								_____			
Ashley									-----	_____	
<i>Woodlock</i>			_____								
<i>Pershete</i>		-----	_____								
Erneley, Uvedale &											_____
Bengar											
<i>Russell</i>		-----	_____						-----	_____	
Gorges		-----	_____				_____				
Gilbert		-----	_____								
<i>D'Evercy</i>			_____								
Glamorgan			-----								
Haket					_____						
Gilbert		-----	_____								

Table 16: Accumulation and Wastage through the Female Line:

i) The 1324 Knights & Esquires to the Sixteenth century

Wastage and dispersal

The estates of the following six armigerous families listed in 1324 were broken up and dispersed at the end of the fourteenth century and in the first half of the fifteenth. The new families were not leading Hampshire families and did not accumulate enough resources to attain this status.

Basing-Byfleet

In 1343 John Basing released his rights over Basing Byfleet to Joan, his father's widow, and in 1389 Thomas Byfleet was in possession, possibly through his wife Alice, who may have been the heiress of John Basing, knight in 1324.¹¹⁰ This Thomas also acquired the manor of Well from Alice Byfleet, daughter of Geoffrey de Wengham, whose father held the manor in 1243; Well remained with Basing in the Byfleet family into the sixteenth century.¹¹¹ Although Thomas Byfleet, grandson of the first Thomas, appears as Thomas Byfleet of Well, esquire, in 1431, he does not appear in 1436, nor does a representative of the family appear in 1501, though in 1499 another, third, Thomas Byfleet, gentleman, left the manors of Basing and Well to his brother, who was over thirty years of age.¹¹² The Byfleets were not sheriffs, knights of the shire or on the county bench in the fifteenth century; they either did not have the estate to support such participation, or they had estates and interests in another county.

Bookland-Wroth-Tiptoft

John Bookland was probably related to the Booklands of Nether Wallop Bookland and Bookland, tenants of those manors since the thirteenth century: Nether Wallop Bookland passed from John son of Ralph Bookland to his brother Sir Thomas, who died in 1379, without an direct heir,¹¹³ then to John Wroth, the latter's grandson, and on the death of John Wroth's daughter Elizabeth in 1413, it passed to the Tiptofts and on their expiry in 1484 to their cousin, Edmund, Lord Ros. Bookland itself left the

¹¹⁰ *VCH*, iv, 121.

¹¹¹ *VCH*, iv, 19.

¹¹² *Feudal Aids*, ii, 362; *CIPM*, Henry VII, ii, 321.

¹¹³ *CIPM*, xv, 38.

Bookland family in 1362, on John's death, and was acquired by the Siddling family, but by 1417 the Pophams were in possession; by the end of the fifteenth century it was two estates, held by the Long and Lovell families.¹¹⁴ By 1428 the Bookland fee at Arnewood was in the hands of Maurice Berkeley, as the earl of Salisbury had sold it in 1384 to Thomas Street, whence it found its way into the Berkeley possessions.¹¹⁵

The Bookland estate was therefore well dispersed. Neither the Wroths, Siddling, Long and Lovell families entered into or belonged to the Hampshire armigerous gentry, as they do not appear in any of the records of taxation or office-holding.

Brayboeuf-Camoys-Hamelyn-Ashley

Sir Hugh Brayboeuf's Hampshire estates appear to have been broken up in the later fourteenth century. His widow Joan held the Cranborne fee in 1346 but in 1367, Sir Hugh de Camoys, in the right of his wife, Joan, daughter of Hugh and Joan Brayboeuf, held Cranborne. In 1394, Joan, widow of Hugh Camoys, sold the manor.¹¹⁶ Great Bramshill was held by Elizabeth Hamelyn, daughter of Sir Hugh Camoys, in 1427, as Sir William Sturmy died seised of lands held of her in Bramshill, and passed through the marriage of Elizabeth's daughter, Egidia, to Robert Ashley of the Ashley family, where it remained into the late sixteenth century.¹¹⁷ Appleshaw passed to Roger Norman and the Sandys family in the fifteenth century and Eastrop was in the hands of the overlord, Oliver Bohun, in 1346.¹¹⁸ Freshwater, on the Isle of Wight, was in the hands of Elizabeth Wake in 1428.¹¹⁹

Neither the Hamelyns or the Ashleys belonged to the Hampshire élite, as they did not

¹¹⁴ *VCH*, iv, 525, 646.

¹¹⁵ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 316; iv, 335; ii, 328, 350; *VCH*, v, 114. There are IPM for Sir John Bookland (36 Edw. III) probably the 1324 John Bookland, and Thomas Bookland, his brother. (2 R. II).

¹¹⁶ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 329; *VCH*, iii, 458; PRO CP25(1)207/29, no.26. There is some confusion over whether Hugh Camoys married Brayboeuf's daughter or the daughter of Oliver Bohun, cf. *VCH*, iv, 148.

¹¹⁷ *VCH*, iv, 39.

¹¹⁸ *VCH*, iv, 358; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 332.

¹¹⁹ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 355.

appear in any of the records in the fifteenth century, though the Appleshaw manor played a part in the rise of the Sandys family, a major family in fifteenth century Hampshire.¹²⁰

Woodlock-Pershete

The Woodlock lords of Marwell and Kilmeston continued into the later fourteenth century when, on the death of Nicholas Woodlock, the lands at Marwell passed to his deceased son's kinsman, Sir William Pershete.¹²¹ The moiety at Allington was conveyed to John Fromond, steward of the Bishop of Winchester and thence to Winchester College on his death in 1420.¹²²

Pershete-Erneley-Uvedale-Bengar

The Pershete estate was dispersed in the middle of the fifteenth century. Sir Nicholas Pershete, who died in 1329, inherited the manors of Sparsholt and Shelvely which had been held by the Pershetes in the thirteenth century; Shelvely passed out of the family in 1369, on the death of Nicholas's grandson Nicholas, but Sparsholt was held by William in 1428, who had acquired Kilmeston Plukenet by 1412, as William Pershute had lands and rents there, along with Buntley, Pershute and Romsey, to the value of £20.¹²³ William Spershute of Marwell, as he was now known, was titled 'esquire' in 1431, but had an assessed income of £40 in 1436, enough to support knightly status.¹²⁴

Sir William Pershete's wife, Alice, married again, to Sir Thomas Browne, but his lands were left to his three daughters, Margaret Erneley, Margery Uvedale and Eleanor Bengar; Margery died without issue, and the lands descended through the other sisters to John Erneley and John Bengar, who still held Marwell equally in 1516. John Bengar was listed as a gentleman in 1501, and did not hold any county office.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ For the Sandys, see below, 176-180.

¹²¹ *CIPM* xiii, 123; *VCH*, iii, 232; S. Waight, 'Marwell Woodlock: The Creation of the Manor and its Descent, c. 1300 - 1920,' *HFC*, 53, 1998, 201-217.

¹²² *VCH*, iii, 485.

¹²³ *VCH*, iv, 457, iv, 555, iii, 324; *Feudal Aids*, vi, 457.

¹²⁴ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 357; PRO E179/173/92.

¹²⁵ Waight, 'Marwell Woodlock,' 204; BL MS Harl. 6166 fos. 104-5.

D'Evercy/Russell-Glamorgan-Haket-Gilbert

In 1316 Sir Peter D'Evercy was lord of the vill of East Standen and joint lord of Bembridge, both on the Isle of Wight, but the D'Evercy tenure was short-lived; the holder of the knight's fee in 1346 was Thomas Haket and in 1428 John Haket and Walter Veer.¹²⁶ Sir Peter's daughter Amy married John Glamorgan, lord of Brook, and the manor passed to their son Nicholas Glamorgan and was divided on the inheritance of his daughters, one of whom married Thomas Haket.

John Haket 'of Middleton', esquire in 1431 and with an income of £20 from Hampshire (Wood and Wolverton) in 1412, £61 in 1436, was in 1428 joint-holder of the half fee at Middleton (with Henry Howles) and East Standen (with Walter Veer), and holder of the half fee at Wolverton, on the Isle of Wight.¹²⁷

As a cousin of Ralph Russell, John Haket also acquired Knighton manor. The Russells had been in possession of Knighton since Theobald Russell of Yaverland married Eleanor Gorges in the early fourteenth century, as the Gorges had held the manor since Ralph Gorges married Ellen Moreville at the end of the thirteenth century. Theobald's son Theobald took the name Gorges and died without issue, in 1462, when the manor of Knighton passed to the heirs of Thomas Russell, the great-grandson of Theobald the Elder and Eleanor, and then to John Haket, whose daughter Joan married John Gilbert, and took with her John Haket's manors of Knighton and Wolverton, the latter remaining with the Gilberts until 1565.¹²⁸

The Hakets, despite the accumulation of some of the D'Evercy-Glamorgan and Russell-Gorges estates, were never sheriffs or MPs of Hampshire, unlike all the members of those previous families; the Gilberts, too, held no county office and appear on none of the early sixteenth century lists or distraints.

¹²⁶ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 321, 338, 353.

¹²⁷ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 365, 366; vi, 453; PRO E179/173/92; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 351, 353, 353.

¹²⁸ *VCH*, v, 182-3, 161.

4.4: ACCUMULATION AND WASTAGE THROUGH THE FEMALE LINE: 2) OTHER KNIGHTLY FAMILIES INTO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY¹²⁹

The descents examined here are of those other armigerous gentry families not listed in 1324. Marriage again played a crucial part in determining whether old estates were passed on intact so that the new family could maintain armigerous status within the county, or whether the estate was dispersed amongst co-heiresses, the parcels of which were not enough to maintain knightly status and activity in the county. One of the Hampshire's wealthiest families in the fifteenth century, the Sandys, accrued wealth and power through an advantageous marriage into two fourteenth century families. Without studying the female descent, it would appear that families such as the Sandys, Waller, Holt and Pound were interlopers, 'new men' buying their way into the county, but actually their careers and fortunes were built upon marriage to Hampshire heiresses and their incomes in 1412 and 1436 were at the very least £20 and they held the county offices of sheriff, MP and JP.

Consolidation and expansion

Marriage played an important part in the rise of several families in Hampshire from the end of the fourteenth century, but those marriages were either based on social parity or through the accumulation of old Hampshire estates.

Norman-Fifhide-Sandys

Sir Walter Sandys, knight in 1501, was 26 when he inherited eleven Hampshire manors from his father, Sir William, held in fee tail, in 1498.¹³⁰ The Sandys' entry into the Hampshire elite was rather dramatic. In November 1375, orders were sent to William Upton to keep safely all the goods of John Sandys, a 'fugitive' which were in his keeping; the king's serjeant-at-arms were then commissioned to arrest all goods of John Sandys in William Upton's keeping and bring them to London to the king for

¹²⁹ Those lords not listed in 1324, but who had an income of at least £20 and associations to meet the triple criteria.

¹³⁰ *CIPM*, Henry VII, i, 556-7.

disposal.¹³¹ John Sandys was charged with the abduction of the recently widowed Joan Bridges from Romsey Abbey, where she had been staying. It was found that he had on his person possessions worth over £120 which belonged to the lady's previous husband and that he had already married the lady. In April, 1376, he was pardoned for all homicides, rapes and felonies of which he stood indicted and although he acknowledged that he owed a fine of £1,000 to the king, this was never paid, due to the support of the Black Prince, in whose retinue he had served at Najera.¹³²

This opportunistic marriage brought to Hampshire a major new landowner, one whose son was the wealthiest of the indigenous upper gentry in the first half of the fifteenth century, for Joan Bridges was the widow of Giles Norman and brought to Sandys the four Hampshire manors of East Cholderton, 'Norman's Court,' in Upper Clatford, West Tytherley, Shirley, and Cowsfield in Wiltshire. Giles Norman's grandfather, Roger Norman, was a wealthy merchant and burgess of Southampton, MP and Mayor for the town, and had acquired Shirley in 1327. Cholderton in 1329, which passed on Giles' death in 1361 by grant to Peter de Bridges, of Andover, who married Joan; 'Norman's Court' by purchase in 1334 from Stephen Loveraz, whose families were the thirteenth century tenants; part of the manor of Upper Clatford which also passed to Peter de Bridges and to Joan; and parts of the manor at South Tidworth, which passed to Margaret, Giles Norman's cousin.¹³³

Joan, however, was worth much more. She was the cousin and eventual heir of Sir William Fifhide, on whose death in 1387 she inherited three manors in Sussex and five in Hampshire, including Sherborne Coudray, Ellisfield, Faccombe, Longstock Harrington and Catherington.¹³⁴ Sir William's grandfather Roger had held the vill of Ellisfield in 1316 jointly with Southwick Priory,¹³⁵ and by 1331 held Faccombe of Oliver Punchardon and after 1333 Longstock Harrington. His son William was granted

¹³¹ *CFR 1368-1377*, 310, 314.

¹³² *HoP*, iv, 301-302.

¹³³ *VCH*, iii; 429; iv, 339, 522, 362, 392; PRO CP25(1)205/22, no.43 (Shirley), CP25(1)205/22, no.22 ('Norman's Court', West Tytherley), CP25(1)205/22, no.51 (South Tidworth).

¹³⁴ *HoP*, ii, 301-302; *VCH*, iv, 160; iii, 361; iv, 316, 450; iii, 89.

¹³⁵ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 313

custody of Catherington in 1349 and leased Sherborne Coudray from Fulk Coudray, whose ancestor had been in possession in the earlier thirteenth century.¹³⁶ Roger Fifhide had also leased the manor of Woodgarston from the Scures of Wickham in 1321, 1331 and his widow Edith had leased in 1340.¹³⁷ Stratfield Turgis, in William Fifhide's hands in 1360, was held by Robert Herriard in 1390 and remained with that family throughout much of the next century.¹³⁸

In 1395 Sir John Sandys died, leaving two sons, Walter and Thomas, and Joan, who married for a fourth time to Sir Thomas Skelton and died in 1415; Sir Walter Sandys' Hampshire estates in 1412, mostly still in the hands of his mother, were valued at £47 with an additional £14 from Sussex; Sir Thomas Skelton, his step-father, had an assessed rental income of £106 from Hampshire and £30 from Sussex and £10 from Wiltshire.¹³⁹

Sir Walter Sandys, following in his father's footsteps, married well. Agnes, the only daughter of Thomas Warrener, and a kinsman of Bishop Wykeham of Winchester, was left £100 in Wykeham's will in July 1403, and predeceased her father, upon whose death in 1407, Walter's son and heir Thomas inherited the Warrener manors of North Ashley and Preston Candover, of which his father gained custody until Thomas came of age in 1425. Bishop Wykeham had granted Thomas Warrener and his wife Joan the manor at Preston Candover in 1389. Thomas Warrener's second marriage to Isabel Overton, granddaughter of the William Overton who had been granted the manor in 1350 by Hugh Estcote whose grandfather Hugh had held it in 1280, brought him overlordship of the manor of North Ashley.¹⁴⁰

Sir Walter married again, to Margaret Erleigh, who stood to inherit two manors in Wiltshire, and four in Somerset, although this had to wait until the demise of her mother, Isabel, in 1434, but as the widow of the younger son of Lord St. Maur, John,

¹³⁶ PRO CP25(1)206/26, no.1 (Sherborne Coudray, for 200m.)

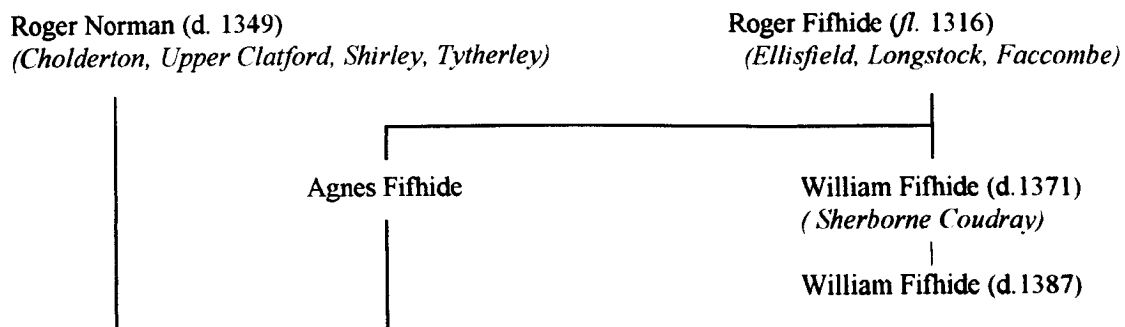
¹³⁷ HRO: 21M58/T89, 91, 93.

¹³⁸ *VCH*, iv, 63.

¹³⁹ *HoP*, ii, 302; *Feudal Aids*, vi, 450, 449.

¹⁴⁰ *VCH*, iii, 372; iv, 610; PRO CP25(1)207/28, nos. 11 (North Ashley), 12 (Preston Candover).

she had the two manors in Somerset and lands in Devon; in the income tax of 1436, a year after the death of Sir Walter, Margaret Sandys heads the list as the wealthiest individual, with an assessed £252, and lived on until 1443, marrying again to Sir William Cheyne, the chief justice.¹⁴¹



Giles Norman (d. 1361) = Joan (d. 1415) = ii) Peter Bridges of Andover

= iii) Sir John Sandys (d. 1395)

Sir Walter Sandys = Agnes Warrener
 (*Preston Candover, North Ashley*)

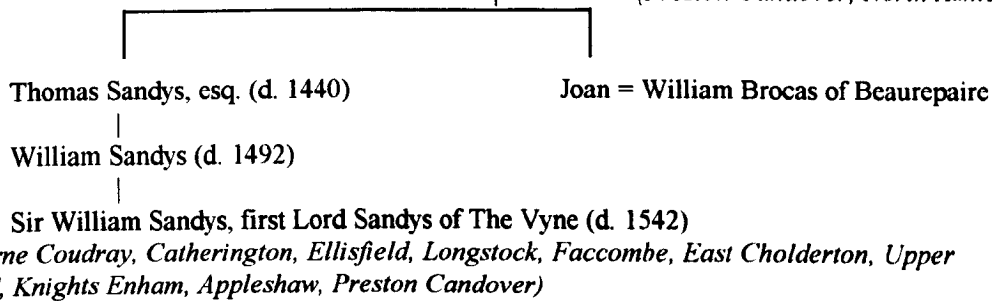


Fig. 7: The Rise of the Sandys Family

In 1431, Thomas Sandys, son and heir to Sir Walter, appears as esquire, of Preston Candover, and in 1436 he had an income of £58; however, he died in 1440, leaving a young son and heir William, who married Edith, daughter of Lord Stourton and in 1488 recovered Sherborne Coudray from his cousin Bernard Brocas, whose father William Brocas of Beaurepaire had married Joan Sandys, daughter of Sir Walter Sandys.¹⁴² It was Sir William Sandys, son of William, who was listed as a knight in 1501, went on to become lord Sandys of the Vyne in 1523, and who built a new house at Sherborne, which was visited by Henry VIII in 1510 and 1531, and remained in the

¹⁴¹ *HoP*, ii, 303-4; PRO E179/173/92.

¹⁴² *Feudal Aids*, ii, 634; PRO E179/173/92.

Sandys family until William, Lord Sandys, sold it in 1653 to Chaloner Chute, a famous lawyer.¹⁴³ The first Lord Sandys inherited Catherington, Preston Candover, Facombe, Cholderton, Appleshaw, Knights Enham, Longstock Harrington, Ellisfield, and lands at Upper Clatford; all of these properties remained with the family until the later seventeenth century. His great-great-grandfather, John Sandys, a soldier from Cheshire with no previous connection with Hampshire, had, with the backing of the Black Prince and two advantageous marriages, inaugurated in Hampshire ultimately the wealthiest gentry family of the later medieval period, built upon the accumulation of manors inherited from three fourteenth-century manorial families.

Dibden-Brudenell-Hampton-Waller

John Waller inherited in 1486 the manor of Shalfleet, Isle of Wight, held of the king in chief, and was an esquire in 1501.¹⁴⁴ When his father, Richard Waller of Groombridge, Kent, married Alice Brudenell of Dibden, he acquired not only Dibden, which had been held by the Dibden family since the reign of Henry II and had passed to Edmund Brudenell by his marriage to Agnes Dibden in the mid-fifteenth century, but also Shalfleet, Isle of Wight, which had passed to the Dibdens from the Trenchards, the twelfth century holders.¹⁴⁵

John Waller died in 1526, having acquired lands at Lasham and Stoke Charity by marriage to Joan Hampton, the youngest daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Hampton of Stoke Charity.¹⁴⁶ The Hamptons had been established at Stoke since John Hampton, MP for Southampton purchased it in 1334; his son was MP for Southampton and sheriff, and his grandson MP for Hampshire, and John Hampton was MP and esquire of the body to Henry VI; his income in 1436 was £15.¹⁴⁷ Of the four daughters of Thomas, three died heirless, and it was Joan, John Waller's wife, who passed Stoke and Lasham into the Waller family where they remained until the death of their grandson Richard in 1551, whereafter Stoke was mortgaged off and Lasham sold by

¹⁴³ *VCH*, iv, 160-1.

¹⁴⁴ *CIPM*, Henry VII, iii, 291.

¹⁴⁵ *VCH*, iv, 656; v, 273.

¹⁴⁶ BL MS Harl. 6166 fos. 104-5; *VCH*, iv, 83; iii, 448.

¹⁴⁷ *VCH*, iii, 448; PRO E179/173/92.

William Waller in 1576 to Sir William Kingswell and Dibden sold to William Webbe in 1594.

The Brudenells and Hamptons had not been part of the greater élite of Hampshire society, as the Scures and des Roches families were; John Hampton was MP six times from 1335-1344, and Thomas Hampton had been sheriff in 1361 and MP in the following year, another John MP in 1392 and 1432, but the Brudenells never held such office in Hampshire. John Waller was sheriff of Hampshire in 1502 and was distrained for knighthood in 1509.¹⁴⁸ Splendid memorials to the Hamptons and Wallers survive in Stoke Charity church.

Coldrey-Holt-Berkeley & Pound

The Holt acquisition of the Coldrey estates through marriage played an important part in the fortunes of the Pounds and Berkeleys in Hampshire affairs in the later fifteenth century. The Coldreys, a fourteenth-century manorial family, were not part of the Hampshire élite, and did not hold county offices, but the Holts, Pounds and Berkeleys all sat in parliament for Hampshire from the 1430s onwards and sat on the county bench; the Berkeleys and Pounds were sheriffs and Edward Berkeley listed as a knight in 1501 and John Pound an esquire.

Richard Holt had an income of £67 in 1436, eighth in the county, though the 1431 returns list him as a 'gentleman'; he was lord of Belanny manor in 1431 and in 1428 had the quarter fee at Wychanger and half the fee at Wield, jointly with others.¹⁴⁹ Holt owed some of his lands to the marriage with Christine, grand-daughter of Roger Coldrey: Coldrey's family had been lords of Coldrey ('Castle Ralph') in the mid-fourteenth century, and Roger Coldrey's marriage to Alice Westcote ultimately brought Richard Holt lands at Badley, Perryland and Westcourt; he also acquired lands at Wield, Husseys, Wychanger, Belanney and Brome.¹⁵⁰ In 1447, power of attorney by Thomas Pound and William Uvedale junior, esquire, was granted to John Goldsmith

¹⁴⁸ PRO E198/4/27.

¹⁴⁹ PRO E179/173/92; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 361, 348, 357.

¹⁵⁰ *VCH*, ii, 503; iv, 9, 28; ii, 286; iii, 346; ii, 504; iii, 53, 163; iv, 194.

and Thomas Townsend to give seisin to Richard son and heir of Richard Holt of the manor of Pury.¹⁵¹

Richard Holt's son Richard, was knighted, and had two daughters, Christine and Elizabeth. Christine Holt's second marriage to Sir Edward Berkeley took the Holt lands at Coldrey, Westcourt, and Perryland to Sir Edward for life, though Belanney went to John Pound, whose father Thomas married Elizabeth Holt; John Pound died in 1511 and was in 1501 an esquire.¹⁵² In 1462, an indenture of a grant in tail to Edward Berkeley and Christine concerns the settlement of the manor of Coldrey, witnessed by Sir John Lisle, Sir John Popham and Maurice Berkeley and others, with remainder to Elizabeth Holt, sister of Christine.¹⁵³ Sir Edward's lordship of the manor of Avon came to him by a grant from William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, Sir Robert Poynings and Robert Bulkeley, to him and his second wife, Alice, with remainder in tail male; his heir was John Berkeley, his grandson, but the heir to Christine's lands was William Blount, her grandson by a first marriage.¹⁵⁴

John Pound, later knighted, of Drayton, was MP for Portsmouth (1472-5) and son and heir of Thomas Pound, MP. He married firstly Elizabeth Holt, daughter of Richard Holt, MP, and second, Amy, daughter of Julia Hammond; his son and heir was William Pound.¹⁵⁵

Thomas Pound, originally from Yorkshire, was in the King's household in 1433 and a clerk to the receipt of the exchequer, probably acquired Drayton in his wife's name when it was settled on them in 1447; John Pound gained Belanney on his marriage to Elizabeth Holt, whose father Richard had held the fee in 1428.¹⁵⁶ Drayton and Belanney remained with the Pounds into the sixteenth century.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵¹ BL Add. Ch. 17434.

¹⁵² Wedgwood, *History of Parliament*, ii, 67; *VCH*, iii, 163; BL MS Harl. 6166 fos. 104-5.

¹⁵³ BL Add. Ch. 17600.

¹⁵⁴ *CIPM*, Henry VII, iii, 67-8.

¹⁵⁵ Wedgwood, *History of Parliament*, ii, 695.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 695-6.

¹⁵⁷ *VCH*, iii, 150, 163.

Name	DB	1166	1316	1324	1346	1412	1428	1431	1434	1436	1501
<i>Popham</i>		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bulkeley											—
Wadham &											—
Barantyne											—
<i>Coldrey</i>					—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Holt							—	—	—	—	—
Pound											—
<i>Norman</i>					—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fifhide			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sandys						—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Hampton</i>				—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dibden		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Brudenell									—	—	—
Waller											—
<i>Lisle of Gatcombe</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bramshott						—	—	—	—	—	—
Dudley & Pakenham											—
<i>Lisle</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Philpott						—	—	—	—	—	—

**Table 17: Accumulation and Wastage through the Female Line:
ii) Other Fourteenth-century Armigerous Gentry**

Philpott

At the the very end of the fifteenth century, a family that had possessed estates in Hampshire since the beginning of the century but not as a county family, managed by marriage to enter into the élite. Listed third of the thirteen esquires in 1501, John Philpott's father was sheriff of Hampshire in 1459 and was lord of Compton, held by the Thorncombe family in the thirteenth century, and of a manor at Pennington, which had been in the family since at least 1400, when Sir John Philpott was lord, though the family does not appear on the 1412, 1436 taxation records or the 1428, 1431 land records.¹⁵⁸ The John Philpott of 1501, who died in that year, increased the family holdings by marrying Elizabeth Lisle, sister of Nicholas, who inherited Mansbridge,

¹⁵⁸ BL MS Harl. 6166 fos. 104-5; *VCH*, iii, 407; v, 119.

which had been with the Lises since 1304; the three manors of Compton, Mansbridge and Pennington remained with the Philpott family into the seventeenth century, passing from father to son.¹⁵⁹ That John Philpott was also sheriff in 1500 and Peter Philpott in 1524; Philpott effigies can be seen at Thruxton, alongside the Lises, in accordance with their succession to the Lisle lands, and put a seal upon their knightly residence in the county.¹⁶⁰

Wastage and dispersal

The following two families were not listed in 1324 but were clearly armigerous gentry by the evidence of other sources and who failed in the male line. Their estates were ultimately broken up between six heiresses; three of the beneficiaries were rather insignificant members of the Hampshire élite, one of whom had interests in Sussex as much as Hampshire. None were as significant as the original Hampshire families.

Popham-Bulkeley, Wadham & Barantyne

In total contrast to the Sandys family, the Pophams, lords of Popham since the twelfth century, survived until the middle fifteenth century when the estates were divided among two co-heiresses and a second estate, acquired by a junior branch, passed through the female line to the Bulkeleyes.

The Pophams were a major Hampshire family, extremely active in office holding throughout the fourteenth century. Henry Popham had an assessed Hampshire income of £60 in 1412, and a further £8 from Dorset, £40 from Essex and £89 from Wiltshire.¹⁶¹ His Hampshire lands included the manor of Popham, and lands and rents in Dummer, Binsted, Alton, West Dean, Langford and Alvington. Henry's father, Sir John, had married Sybil St. Martin, whose family had held a manor at West Dean since 1263 and lands at Alvington, Isle of Wight, since 1262.¹⁶² Henry Popham was also the

¹⁵⁹ *CIPM*, Henry VII, ii, 410; *VCH*, iii, 484.

¹⁶⁰ *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales*, (Public Record Office List and Index Society, ix, 1898), 55.

¹⁶¹ *Feudal Aids*, vi, 452.

¹⁶² *VCH*, iv, 522; v, 228.

co-heir to Sir Laurence St. Martin of Wardour (Wiltshire), his mother's elder brother, and gained these properties in 1385 along with Thomas Calston, grandson of St. Martin. In 1386 a partition was made, and Henry Popham was apportioned the above lands in Hampshire and 'Puddle Bardolveston' in Dorset, property in Salisbury, and the moieties of East and West Grimstead, Hampshire.¹⁶³ Henry's first wife, Jane, brought him the manor of Fisherton Anger and his son Stephen; his second wife Margaret, a widow, brought him for his lifetime the manors of Wanstead and Great Maplestead in Essex, and a second son, John.¹⁶⁴

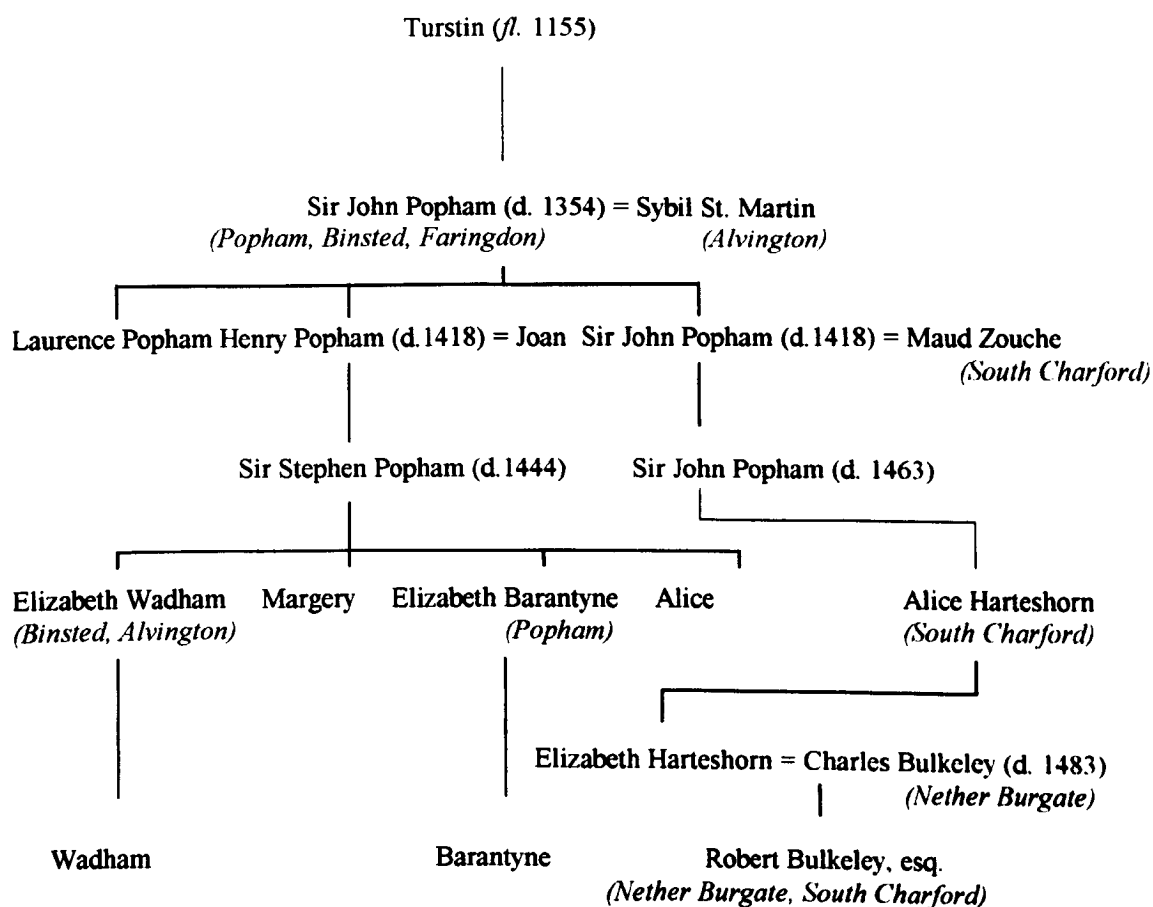


Fig. 8: Decline and Fall of the Pophams

Sir Stephen Popham inherited the bulk of his Henry's estate on his father's death in 1418, though his step-mother Margaret was assessed for £75 in 1436. his own marriage produced four daughters and co-heirs: Elizabeth wife of Sir John Wadham,

¹⁶³ *HoP*, iv, 114.

¹⁶⁴ *HoP*, iv, 114.

Margery, Elizabeth and Alice.¹⁶⁵ However, the estates were entailed on the male line by his father and passed to his cousin, Sir John Popham, who never married. The estates then reverted to Sir Stephen's four daughters. Binsted and Alvington went to Elizabeth and Sir John Wadham, in whose family it remained into the seventeenth century, though they were not represented on the Hampshire list in 1501; Popham passed to the younger Elizabeth, whose marriage to John Barantyne took it to that family until 1552, when Francis sold it; West Dean went to John, son of Sir John Popham but reverted on his death in 1463, to the co-heirs of Sir Stephen and found its way to the Barantyne family.¹⁶⁶

Sir John Popham had been Sir Stephen's famous cousin; soldier, chamberlain to the duke of Bedford in France and chancellor of Anjou and Maine and finally treasurer of Henry VI's household, his story is well told elsewhere.¹⁶⁷ As far as Hampshire was concerned, Sir John inherited South Charford from his father in 1418, another Sir John, younger brother of Henry Popham; Sir John senior had married into the Zouche family, holders of South Charford in 1305, which also brought him Eynesbury in Huntingdonshire, and had an assessed income in Hampshire in 1412 of £20, from Southampton and Charford, and a further £31 from Huntingdonshire and £12 from Wiltshire.¹⁶⁸ Sir John junior was not assessed for Hampshire in 1436 and on his death in 1463 left as kinswoman and heir a certain Alice, wife of William Harteshorn, whilst the Popham patrimonial lands reverted to Sir Stephen's four daughters. Alice Harteshorn's daughter and heir Elizabeth married Charles Bulkeley of Nether Burgate; William Burgate, Charles' father, had inherited Nether Burgate from Thomas Lekhill, a kinsman, whose parents had been granted the manor by the Crown in 1390 and whose mother, Katherine, was the grand-daughter of the John Rivers whose grandfather had married Margaret Bisset, daughter of John Bisset, descendant of the twelfth century lord.¹⁶⁹ In 1464 South Charford was released by Robert Stoneham to Alice and after

¹⁶⁵ PRO E179/173/92.

¹⁶⁶ *VCH*, ii, 484; v, 228; iii, 398; iv, 522; *CIPM*, Henry VII, i, 82 (John Barantyne, esq.)

¹⁶⁷ J. S. Roskell, 'Sir John Popham, Knight-Banneret, of Charford: Speaker-elect in the Parliament of 1449-50,' *HFC*, xxi (1958), 38 - 52.

¹⁶⁸ *VCH*, iv, 562; *Feudal Aids*, vi, 456.

¹⁶⁹ *VCH*, iv, 562, 569-70.

her death was to go to Elizabeth, wife of Charles Bulkeley.¹⁷⁰ When Charles Bulkeley died in 1483, Nether Burgate and South Charford were inherited by his son Robert, who was titled esquire in 1501.¹⁷¹

The Barantynes and Wadhams held no offices in Hampshire but Charles Bulkeley was sheriff of Hampshire in 1473 and sheriff of Wiltshire in 1479, which suggests that the dispersed Popham estates maintained for the Bulkeleys armigerous status and some participation in Hampshire affairs. Robert Bulkeley was distrained for knighthood in 1509.¹⁷²

Lisle-Bramshott-Dudley & Pakenham

The Bramshotts were a family whose interests bordered along the Hampshire - Sussex axis: these were dictated by inheritance, as his maternal great-grandfather was John, Lord Bohun of Midhurst and his mother was daughter of John Lisle of Gatcombe, Isle of Wight, and heir of her brother John Lisle (d. 1369). His father, John Bramshott, left him Bramshott (the fee was held by William Bramshott in 1346) and Terwick.¹⁷³ The Lisles of Gatcombe had held Gatcombe since 1086, when William son of Stur held it from the king, and their other lands on the island included Merston (sold in 1472 to Winchester College), Alverstone (passed to the Staffords by marriage by the beginning of the fifteenth century), Whitwell, Chessell and on the mainland, Little Gatcombe.¹⁷⁴

William Bramshott was an esquire in 1431; in 1412, he had an income from the Hampshire manors of Bramshott and Gatcombe of £50 and on his death in 1433 he was succeeded by his sons John and Baldwin.¹⁷⁵ John Bramshott's income in 1436 was £32, and in 1455 he married Katherine, Sir John Pelham's great-granddaughter and had two daughters, Elizabeth and Margaret. They married John Dudley and John Pakenham who each took a part of the Gatcombe manor on John's death in 1479;

¹⁷⁰ HRO 1M53/1387.

¹⁷¹ BL MS Harl. 6166, fos. 104-5.

¹⁷² PRO E198/4/23.

¹⁷³ *HoP*, ii, 335-6; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 333.

¹⁷⁴ *VCH*, v, 246-7, 145, 160, 202, 273; iii, 169.

¹⁷⁵ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 364; vi, 455.

Chessell passed to the Wallers of Shalfleet. Little Gatcombe, on the mainland, was settled first upon Baldwin Bramshott by his father William in 1432, and passed on Baldwin's death in 1468 to his brother John and then to John's daughters Elizabeth and Margaret and the Dudley and Pakenham families.¹⁷⁶

William Bramshott was sheriff of Hampshire in 1409, and MP for Sussex in 1414, reflecting the location of his estates. John Dudley was sheriff in 1493 and Edward Dudley was distrained for knighthood in 1503, but the Pakenham family held no offices or appear on the lists.¹⁷⁷

4.5: NEW MEN IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The new men under discussion in this section are those individuals who either purchased or were granted an estate in Hampshire which gave them armigerous gentry status which hitherto they had not maintained. Furthermore, to qualify as members of the county élite, the new families had to hold a county office and form associations with other members of the élite, and do this over more than one generation. Those who came from this background were very rare. This is in sharp contrast to those with armigerous status who improved or consolidated their fortunes by a good marriage, or to those who acquired armigerous status by an advantageous marriage - the former quite common in Hampshire, the latter very rare, as the above sections show.

The income tax of 1436 brings to light some 25 other families with an armigerous income from lands in Hampshire (that is, over £20). However, for the vast majority, there is no other mention of them that would place them in the armigerous county élite, that is, as office-holders, or connected by marriage or other association to the established Hampshire families of the fourteenth century. Names such as Banaster, Fetplate, Fleming, Whitehead, Cricklade, Ring, Drinkley, Morris and Chevedon do not appear in connection with the armigerous landed gentry in Hampshire. The 1431

¹⁷⁶ PRO E179/173/92; *VCH*, v, 246-7, 273; iii, 169.

¹⁷⁷ PRO E198/4/21.

Hampshire returns describe Nicholas Banaster and John Fleming as gentlemen of Southampton and Walter Fetplate as a Southampton merchant.¹⁷⁸

Evidence throws further light on two individuals. William Soper, esquire, was another merchant of Southampton in 1431; his income in 1436 was £50 and his place of residence Southampton.¹⁷⁹ He had properties in Southampton Water and a house in London; he apparently joined the ranks of the gentry, and kept a country house at Newton Bery.¹⁸⁰

Another individual was William Chamberlain, described as a 'gentleman' in 1431, appeared as a property owner in Southampton and Winchester, and also owner of lands at Hinton Daubeney.¹⁸¹ William Chamberlain was a lawyer who, like William Soper, had apparently joined the ranks of the gentry; in 1428 he held the quarter fee at Hinton.¹⁸² His income of 1436 was ninth highest in Hampshire, at £64.¹⁸³ It is possible that William was the son of the John Chamberlain who married Margaret, cousin of Giles Norman, whose grandfather Roger Norman bought Norman Court from Stephen Loveraz in 1334 and was a burgess, MP and mayor of Southampton.¹⁸⁴ In 1412, John Chamberlain had an income of £20 in land and rents from the Isle of Wight and the town of Southampton.¹⁸⁵

Neither Chamberlain or Soper served as sheriff or MP for Hampshire, though Chamberlain, as a lawyer, was on the county bench from 1439-1446. They were not dynasts, and the family name did not reappear in the Hampshire records in the later fifteenth century; they did not, therefore, become established members of the county élite.

¹⁷⁸ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 360.

¹⁷⁹ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 360; PRO E179/173/92.

¹⁸⁰ *HoP*, i, 421; M. A. Hicks, *Who's Who in Late Medieval England* (London, 1991), 228-9.

¹⁸¹ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 360, 374, 362.

¹⁸² *Feudal Aids*, ii, 358.

¹⁸³ PRO E179/173/92

¹⁸⁴ *VCH*, iv, 522.

¹⁸⁵ *Feudal Aids*, vi, 454.

Five further families entered the Hampshire élite in the fifteenth century by means not associated with marriage. Four families became established as the century progressed, holding county offices, but only one family gained close association with the more powerful and wealthy established landed élite identified in the sections above, chiefly because the entry into the Hampshire élite was facilitated by that same connection. The other new families never acquired close affinity with the Hampshire inner circle.

Dingley

One family listed in 1436 that entered the county by means of service and did establish a dynasty amongst armigerous society was the Dingley family. The father of Robert Dingley esquire in 1431, another Robert Dingley, came from the Lancashire family of Dingley, seated at Downham, and found service in the retinue of the Black Prince and John of Gaunt, and was closely associated with Sir John Sandys.¹⁸⁶ In 1385 he acquired the rights to the manor of Fittleton and Combe in Wiltshire, where he was knight of the shire in 1391, and in 1384 he bought the Hampshire manor of Malshanger, which had been in the de la Bere family since 1239 and Wolverton in 1385, which had been with the FitzHerberts since 1215; he also acquired land in Surrey and Ireland which passed to his younger son on his death in 1395.¹⁸⁷ Dingley was one of the very few who purchased land in the county and gained access to the inner circle of resident knightly families, by use of patronage and connections.

Robert Dingley II furthered consolidated the family's rise by marrying the daughter of a leading county knight, Sir Bernard Brocas, Joan, and although he inherited Wolverton, through a series of land transactions he concentrated his estates in the Kennet Valley, away from Wolverton, exchanging Wiltshire estates for Berkshire lands.¹⁸⁸ Robert Dingley does not appear in 1412 (although a Gilbert Dingley does) but in 1436 he accounted for £60, eleventh highest in the county; in 1431 he was titled

¹⁸⁶ *HoP*, ii, 786-7.

¹⁸⁷ *HoP*, ii, 787; *VCH*, iv, 224, 271; BL Add. Ch. 24698-24701, where Joan, wife of Edward St. John granted Hugh Craan of Winchester the manor of Wolverton at a rent of 10m and where Hugh Craan granted the manor to Robert Dingley and his wife to rent.

¹⁸⁸ *HoP*, ii, 788.

esquire.¹⁸⁹ Robert Dingley II was also engaged in a series of land transactions at Earlston and Woolton, which he settled by fine from Sir Thomas Wykeham in 1420, Bridge, in 1423, and Lee in 1425.¹⁹⁰

Before 1437, Robert had settled Wolverton on William his son: on Robert's death in 1455 William inherited the remainder of his father's estates, but seems to have further extended the Dingley estates by his marriage to the daughter of Thomas Foxcott, whose family had been tenants of Foxcott since the end of the eleventh century; this had occurred by 1428, since William held the quarter fee at that time, and was titled esquire in 1431.¹⁹¹ Wolverton, Malshanger and Foxcott were inherited by William's grandson Edward, and his son Thomas, but on the latter's death in 1501, the male line failed, and Elizabeth, Thomas's daughter, married George Barrett of Aveley, Essex. Malshanger was sold in 1504 to William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, but Wolverton and Foxcott remained with the Barretts into the sixteenth century.¹⁹²

Robert Dingley I was sheriff of Hampshire in 1392 and his son in 1434; Robert II was also MP for Hampshire in 1421. No Dingley was listed in 1501, presumably because Thomas's death in that year ruled him out; the name Barrett does not appear on any Hampshire record and it was probable that the Barretts were absentee landlords of the Dingley estates in Hampshire. Though the Dingleys were never on a par with the Sandys and Brocas families, it is clear that their close association with those families bolstered and enhanced their survival for over a hundred years in Hampshire.

Kirkby

The John Kirkby, esquire of 1501, had a grandfather, John Kirkby, who was first mentioned 'of Hampshire' in 1389 and had acquired rents at Stanbridge by 1403: he was probably related to the Kirkbys or Kirkbys of Horton Kirkby in Kent and his first marriage to Alice Harnham brought him property in West and East Harnham,

¹⁸⁹ PRO E179/173/92; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 372.

¹⁹⁰ PRO CP25(1)207/31, 32, nos. 27, 2 and 10 respectively.

¹⁹¹ *VCH*, iv, 351; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 347, 370.

¹⁹² *VCH*, iv, 271, 224, 351.

Wiltshire, which he retained on her death. His second marriage to Allison, sister to Canon Gilbert Hallam, cousin and heir to Bishop Robert Hallam of Salisbury, brought him prestige; he entered the bishop's service before 1417.¹⁹³

In 1412 John Kirkby had an income of £76 from Dorset, £32 from Hampshire, £26 from Sussex and £53 from Wiltshire, but most of these estates belonged to the heir of Thomas, Lord West, and were only temporarily in his hands; his own holdings in Wiltshire were £20 and £23 in Hampshire, mostly near Romsey (Stanbridge).¹⁹⁴

Kirkby's origins are obscure, but he acted as a mainperor in Chancery in 1389 when he was described as being 'of Hampshire'. His first marriage based him in Wiltshire and his second gave him social prestige and a career of service. His associations with the greater gentry and peerage included acting as an executor of the wills of Lord West in 1405, and his son in 1415, and as a feoffee-to-uses to John Uvedale; Reynold, Lord de la Warre acted as a feoffee of the Kirkby estates.¹⁹⁵ John Kirkby I appeared as an elector in 1419 and was elected MP for Hampshire in 1420.¹⁹⁶

John Kirkby I died in 1424 and his son and heir, John, died in 1469 and did not appear on any of the Hampshire 1428-1436 records; he was followed by his son, another John, who appears on the Hampshire 1501 list as an esquire; the lands at Stanbridge remained in the Kirkby family until they were sold in 1652.¹⁹⁷

In contrast to the Dingleys, the evidence for the close involvement of the Kirkbys in Hampshire affairs and with the leading Hampshire armigerous gentry families is lacking. The Kirkbys probably divided their time between Wiltshire and Hampshire.

¹⁹³ *HoP*, ii, 521-2.

¹⁹⁴ *Feudal Aids*, vi, 428, 452, 524, 541; *HoP*, ii, 522.

¹⁹⁵ *HoP*, ii, 521-2.

¹⁹⁶ PRO C219/12/3.

¹⁹⁷ *HoP*, ii, 520; BL MS Harl. 6166 fos. 104-5; *VCH*, iv, 458.

Name	DB	1166	1316	1324	1346	1412	1428	1431	1434	1436	1501
Dingley											
White											
Kirkby											
Roger											
Cheney											

Table 18: New Men of the Fifteenth century

White

Robert White, esquire in 1501, and sheriff of Hampshire in 1505, was the third generation of the only family to have had purchased its way into the armigerous gentry ranks of later medieval Hampshire. The family of William, Lord Botreaux, were overlords in Hampshire since the marriage of William's great-grandfather William Botreaux to Isabel Moels, daughter and heir of John Moels and grand-daughter of the John Moels who held the manor of Rockford in 1280. The first William Botreaux died in 1349, and on the marriage of his grandson Sir William to Elizabeth Courtenay, the family acquired Bedenham, which had been in Elizabeth's maternal family, the Drokensfords, since 1303; William, Lord Botreaux, his great-grandson, inherited Russell Flexland which had been released to John Drokensford, bishop of Bath and Wells in 1308 by John Russell, and acquired lands at Pennington, Binsted St. Clare and Wick in his own lifetime.¹⁹⁸

Lord Botreaux died in 1462, and his heir was his daughter Margaret, who married Robert, Lord Hungerford; in order to pay off loans and debts incurred by the ransom of her son lord Moleyns, captured at the battle of Castile in 1453, further multiplied by domestic disasters brought about by the execution of Lord Moleyns in 1464 and his son Sir Thomas, in 1469, whose son predeceased him, Margaret sold off six Botreaux manors to Robert White, one of her many creditors, and his son John, between 1465 and 1467; John White died in 1469 seised of the additional manor of Kingsley. Russell Flexland was sold to Winchester College.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ *VCH*, iv, 564; iii, 204, 261; v, 119; ii, 486, 487.

¹⁹⁹ M. A. Hicks, 'Counting the Cost of War: The Moleyns Ransom and the Hungerford Land-Sales, 1453-87,' *Richard III and his Rivals: Magnates and their Motives in the Wars of the Roses*, (London,

In 1441, Robert White, a merchant of Farnham, Surrey, had also acquired South Warnborough, which had been in the possession of the Pedwardyns since c. 1300.²⁰⁰ Sir Roger Pedwardyn had the knight's fee of South Warnborough in 1346 and was followed by his son, another Sir Roger; after 1441 the Whites had it into the sixteenth century.²⁰¹

There is no trace of the White family in the taxation and returns for Hampshire from 1412-1436. This was a case of a family gentrified by acquiring by purchase patrimonial estates of a family long established in Hampshire in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Roger

John Roger, esquire in 1431 (lord of Marsh Court), 'of Soberton', and his son John Roger, acquired in 1422 the manor of Marsh Court which had been held by the Marsh family in the reign of Richard I and had been sold to John de Weston in 1311 by Nicholas Marsh; Weston's grand-daughters Eleanor and Isabel had heirs, William Bouchier and Thomas Brune, but the Roger family, from Bryanston in Dorset, possessed the manor from 1422 to 1544.²⁰²

John Roger also bought lands at Hinton Markaunt, Hinton Barrant, North Houghton, Denecourt, Houghton Edington and Stanbridge Ranville in the early fifteenth century; he held the quarter fee at Houghton and John Roger junior, 'of Soberton', also esquire in 1431 (lord of Botillers Candover) and probably his son, had the half fee at Stanbridge and Houghton with John Brinkhale and the half fee at Dibden with Thomas Dibden.²⁰³

1991), 185-208; *VCH*, ii, 515; iii, 261.

²⁰⁰ *VCH*, iii, 378; BL MS Harl. 6166, fos. 104-5.

²⁰¹ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 330; *VCH*, iii, 378.

²⁰² *VCH*, iv, 476

²⁰³ *VCH*, iii, 97, 97, 414, 415, 416, 457; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 364, 351, 351, 349. He may be the 'John Rogers' who had £26 from Hampshire and a further £56 from Dorset and £100 from Somerset and was MP for Dorset in 1421 and died 1441.

Stanbridge passed to the Kirkby family with whom it remained until the eighteenth century, Hinton Markaunt to St. Swithun's until the dissolution and Hinton Barrant was in the hands of Elizabeth, widow of Sir Thomas Uvedale on her death in 1488. The part of the manor at North Houghton passed to the Webbes of Odstock, Wiltshire, and Great Canford, Dorset. But Deancourt, Houghton Edington and Marsh Court remained with the Roger family into the middle sixteenth century.

The origins of the Roger family is not clear; they were certainly not based in Hampshire before the fifteenth century and did not confine themselves to Hampshire after their purchases in the county. John Roger senior was sheriff of Hampshire in 1441, and sheriff of Oxford and Berkshire in 1452; his son was sheriff of Hampshire in 1483. John Roger senior did not appear on the county bench for Hampshire and the family was not in the record for 1412.

Cheney

Little evidence connects the Sir Robert Cheney of 1501 with Hampshire; his family was not on any of the major earlier lists, though a Hugh Cheyne, knight, left a nephew, Roger, lands in Hampshire, a manor in Wiltshire and a manor in Leicestershire, in 1390.²⁰⁴ He may be related to the Cheynes of Kent or Wiltshire.²⁰⁵ Sir John Cheyne demised and enfeoffed Sir William Stonor, Thomas Ramsey and Thomas Fachell with the manors of Beymes, Nursling and Ely in 1487.²⁰⁶ In 1519, a John Cheyne, esq., purchased, or settled, with Robert Sewe the manor of Laybroke from Henry Bridge.²⁰⁷ William Cheyne was listed on the county bench from 1416 to 1424 for Hampshire and from 1403 and 1405 in Sussex and Wiltshire, which suggests the legal profession, but no other Cheyne held any other office in Hampshire.

²⁰⁴ *CIPM*, xvi, 316-7.

²⁰⁵ *HoP*, ii, 557-9.

²⁰⁶ HRO 29M82/162.

²⁰⁷ PRO CP25(2) 37/243, no. 39.

4.6: TRANSMISSION OF THE NON-RESIDENT, ORBITING FAMILIES

The purpose of this section is to examine the descent of those families identified in chapter three as holding lands and offices in early fourteenth century Hampshire but based primarily in a neighbouring county or further afield. It does not include the three families of Brune, Langford and Coudray who descended through the male line into the sixteenth century and are included in section 4.1 above.

As all the families considered either here failed in the male line, or alienated their Hampshire estates, the main question that arises is whether the descendants or beneficiaries of these families actually moved closer into the Hampshire circle of local armigerous families as their estates were dispersed or relocated ('incoming' descendants), or whether their descendants moved further away or completely removed themselves from Hampshire life ('outgoing' descendants). In answer, only one family, the Ringbournes, seemed to have acquired greater status through their association with a Hampshire neighbour, the Sturmys; all other families with armigerous status and influence in early fourteenth century Hampshire moved further from the county élite.

Incoming descendants

Sturmy-Holcombe & Ringborne

The Wiltshire Sturmys of Wolf Hall and Elvetham in Hampshire were linked by marriage to the Hampshire family of Ringbourne since the later fourteenth century and this enhanced the status of the Ringbournes during that period and even more so when the Sturmy male line failed in the mid-fifteenth century.

John Holcombe of Afton, esquire, married Agnes Sturmy, daughter and co-heir to the famous Sir William Sturmy, of Wolf Hall, Wiltshire, and of Elvetham, Hampshire. The Sturmys had held land in Hampshire since Geoffrey Sturmy (d. 1246) married Maud Bendeng and acquired several Bendeng manors, and in Wiltshire since the Conquest, but John Seymour, Sir William's grandson, inherited the bulk of the Sturmy properties

in Hampshire, Wiltshire and Devon.²⁰⁸

John Holcombe thus held part of the Hampshire manor of Liss Turney in his wife's name but he seems to have had his own landed interests in Hampshire 1431, at Hadley, Rowbridge, Afton and Bulnore, on the Isle of Wight, and half the fee at East Parley in 1428, though he was not a tax-payer in Hampshire in 1436.²⁰⁹ Holcombe never held offices in Hampshire.

On Holcombe's death in 1455, the part of the Liss Turney manor went to Robert Ringborne, whose grandfather William Ringborne had been another Agnes Sturmy's first husband, and whose family had held land at Afton from the mid-fourteenth century.²¹⁰ The Ringbornes also held East Parley for much of the fifteenth century from the Brunnes of Rowner, to whom it returned on the death of William in 1511; this was clearly another connection between the Ringborne, Holcombe and Sturmy families.²¹¹

In 1485, William Ringborne inherited from his brother Robert the manors of East Parley, Afton and Bulnor.²¹² Robert was listed as a Hampshire esquire in 1501; on his death, the manor passed to his grandson Thomas Brune of Rowner.²¹³ William Ringborne's father William held the half fee at Barton Stacy and the fee at Afton, Isle of Wight, in 1428, and lands at Shete and Cheverdon in 1431, though his status is not recorded; his great-grandfather, William, had an income of £60 in 1412, from the manors of Afton and Bulnor, and land and rents from Marsh Court, Barton Stacey and Chalgrove.²¹⁴ William Ringborne, grandfather of the 1412 William Ringborne, was lord

²⁰⁸ John Seymour died seised of the Hampshire manors of Elvetham and Polling in 1492; *CIPM*, Henry VII, i, 328.

²⁰⁹ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 367, 368, 350.

²¹⁰ *HoP*, ii, 523; *VCH*, v, 242.

²¹¹ *VCH*, v, 100.

²¹² *CIPM*, Henry VII, i, 30-1.

²¹³ BL MS Harl. 6166 fos. 104-5; *VCH*, iv, 84.

²¹⁴ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 348, 354, 368; vi, 454. In 1382, William Ringborne bought the manor of East Purley from Sir Maurice Brune: PRO CP25(1)207/28, no.28.

of Afton in 1359, and before that the Drokensfords were lords.²¹⁵

The Ringbournes had held office in Hampshire since the later fourteenth century. William Ringbourne was knight of the shire in 1376 and 1383, and sheriff in 1380; another William Ringbourne was sheriff in 1420 and knight of the shire in 1437. Their status was clearly enhanced by the marriage of William Ringbourne to Agnes Sturmy and when the Sturmy line failed, William's grandson benefitted again from Sturmy lands in Hampshire.

Outgoing descendants

Punchardon-Lewston, Sedy & Okeston

Although Richard Punchardon appears as a juror for the Hundreds of Titchfield, Sutton, Andover, Ford and Christchurch in 1431, he is not listed as a fee holder: the Punchardons, however, had been tenants of Ellingham, Faccombe (Punchardon) and Harbridge since the thirteenth century, and overlords of Faccombe (Fifhide) and Tangley in the fourteenth; Richard, who died in 1467, was the direct descendant of the Oliver Punchardon who was lord of half the manor at Faccombe in 1207.²¹⁶ In 1428, Richard held the second part a fee at Faccombe and half the fee at Ellingham; the former had been held by his ancestor Oliver in 1346, but Ellingham was held by Richard Despenser at the earlier date.²¹⁷

Richard's grandfather, another Oliver, had an income of £20 in land and rents from Faccombe, Ellingham, Ibbesley and Harbridge in 1412 and Richard had £40 in 1436.²¹⁸ The family did not, however, sit in parliament for Hampshire or serve as sheriff or on the county bench in either the fourteenth or the fifteenth centuries; they were probably based primarily in Berkshire.

²¹⁵ *VCH*, v, 242.

²¹⁶ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 369; *VCH*, iv, 563, 315, 603, 316, 326.

²¹⁷ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 345, 349.

²¹⁸ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 453; PRO E179/173/92.

On the death of Richard's son Walter Punchardon, in 1479, the manor at Faccombe was divided into three for his three sisters and co-heirs who married into the Lewston, Sendy and Okeden families, though it was the Okeden family which ultimately possessed the Punchardon lands in the next century, and they were also to own Somerby in the sixteenth century.²¹⁹ None of these families was included in 1501, or appear as active in county affairs in the later fifteenth century.

Romsey-Payn-Wyke & Horsey

The records of 1346 state that Walter Romsey held the knight's fee at Vernham's Dean, though John Romsey was his son and heir according to the 1333 inquisition; in 1428, the fee at Vernham's Dean was held by Joanna Romsey, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Romsey.²²⁰ The Romseys had acquired the fee at Vernham's Dean by grant from Gilbert Cundy, grandson of Gilbert Bernevall, whose family had held the manor since 1177; Joanna Romsey, the 1428 tenant, married Thomas Payn and on her death in 1440 the manor went to her cousins the Wyke and Horseys families.²²¹

Joanna's uncle was Walter Romsey who left her Rockborne, which also passed to the Payn and Wyke families; the Romseys had married into the Bisset family who had held Rockborne of the Crown since the twelfth century. In 1431 John (not Thomas) Payn of Rockborne, gentleman, was recorded lord of Rockborne and also 'of Chelwarton', held jointly by John Romsey in 1316, described there as a 'farmer' (which may come closer to his true profession) and in 1436 he returned an assessed income of £40.²²² Joanna also inherited Romsey Horseys, East Dean and Marchwood; Marchwood, however, was held by John Romsey of Tatchbury after 1477 and passed to his son John on his death in 1494.²²³ In 1412 Thomas Romsey, Joanna's father, had £47 rental income from the manors of Rockborne and Vernham, and the lands at Romsey, Dean and Hyde in Hampshire, £20 from Somerset, and £10 from Wiltshire, thus maintaining

²¹⁹ *VCH*, iv, 563, 315, 605.

²²⁰ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 323, 345.

²²¹ *VCH*, iv, 330.

²²² *Feudal Aids*, ii, 371, 365; PRO E179/173/92.

²²³ *VCH*, iv, 458, 498, 554.

the regional outlook his ancestor Sir Walter had in the early fourteenth century.²²⁴

Neither the Payns, Wykes or Horseys held any of the main county offices in Hampshire in the fifteenth century, so no new alliances with the indigenous élite were established by the dispersal of the Romsey estate on the Wiltshire/Hampshire border.

Berengar-Bodenham

Sir Ingram Berengar had held Skipton since 1296; it passed to his son and then grandson and grandnephew Nicholas, on whose death in 1382 it passed to the Bodenham family²²⁵, along with Snoddington, through Anastasia Berengar's marriage to Stephen, but their son Robert, holding the fee in 1428, went bankrupt and after his death in 1466, John Hall of Salisbury, his principal creditor, took possession, and his son William eventually conveyed the manor to Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester.²²⁶ Ingram also held, for a short time, Cholderton, from 1321 to 1329, and in 1330, Ingram had lands at Bitterne which became a manor at a later stage, passing to the Bodenhams but remaining with that family into the sixteenth century, when it passed to the Dudleys.²²⁷ Representatives of the Bodenham family are absent from the 1431, 1436 and 1501 Hampshire lists.

Grimstead

Sir Andrew Grimstead died in 1325 and was succeeded by his son and heir John, but on the death of his great-grandson John, in 1361, Reginald Perot, a cousin, inherited Plaitford and his son Ralph conveyed it to Sir John Holand, earl of Huntingdon, in 1389; in 1406, Sir John Berkeley and his wife Elizabeth were holding Plaitford and Exbury.²²⁸ Exbury had come to the Berkeleys through John Betteshorne, whose daughter Elizabeth had married Sir John de Berkeley. Betteshorne claimed the manors of Plaitford and Exbury on the death of Eleanor Grimstead in 1363, wife of John

²²⁴ *Feudal Aids*, vi, 451.

²²⁵ Having been held by Peter Stantor, in right of his wife Joan, daughter of Nicholas; his heir was Robert Bodenham, son of Anastasia, Joan's sister: *CIPM*, xx, 97-8.

²²⁶ *VCH*, iv, 512, 513; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 351.

²²⁷ *VCH*, iv, 339; iii, 485.

²²⁸ *VCH*, iv, 542, iii, 291.

Grimstead, citing a grant made to him with reversion after the death of Eleanor, even though the inquisition states that Eleanor's brother, Sir Thomas Bookland, was her heir.²²⁹

Name	DB	1166	1316	1324	1346	1412	1428	1431	1434	1436	1501
Grimstead		_____ --									
Kendal		_____ -- -- --									
Pedwardyn		_____ -- -- -- --									
Peverel		_____ -- --									
D'Abernon		-- _____									
Romsey		-- _____									
Payn		_____									
Wyke & Horseys		_____									
Berengar		_____ --									
Bodenham		_____ -- -- -- -- --									
Punchardon		_____ -- -- -- -- --									
Okeden, Sedy &		_____									
Lewston		_____									
Sturmy		-- _____									
Holcombe		_____									
Ringborne		-- _____									

Table 19: Orbiting Knights and Esquires

D'Abernon

Sir John D'Abernon had in 1316 the vills of Lasham and Brocham but no other vills in the southern region. In 1314 either he, or his father (he is termed Sir John D'Abernon 'le filz' in 1324) granted lands away. In 1330, he purchased the tenancy of the manor of Binsted, but by 1380 the manor had been sold to Bishop Wykeham. In the fifteenth century Hampshire records, the name D'Abernon does not arise, so it is likely that the D'Abernons concentrated their estates in Surrey.²³⁰

²²⁹ *CIPM*, xi, 383. Sir Thomas Bookland died in 1379 without a son and heir, see above, 172-3.

²³⁰ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 314; *VCH*, iv, 83; PRO CP25(1)205/21, no.38; CP25(1)207/29, no.6.

Kendal

Sir Robert Kendal of Shalden left a son and heir, Sir Edward and his son, another Sir Edward, whose death without issue in 1375 resulted in the manor passing first to Beatrice, Sir Edward's sister, then to the trustees of Elizabeth, Sir Edward's widow; Elizabeth married again, to Sir Thomas Barre, but in 1428 a John de Kendal was recorded holding the half fee, though the family name is absent from the 1431, 1436 and 1501 records for Hampshire.²³¹ Shalden manor passed to Robert Lee, either by purchase or by descent, and remained with that family until 1567, when William Lee sold the manor. The Lee name is not present among the élite of the fifteenth century.

Peverel

William Peverel died in 1337, to be succeeded by his son Sir Henry, whose son Thomas sold the manor of Chilworth in 1365 to Sir Thomas Tyrell, of Essex.²³² Along with Chilworth Sir Thomas Tyrell purchased Mansbridge (Townhill), which had been with the Peverels since the time of Agnes, as she was the sister and heir of John de Mansbridge who had held the manor since 1167. Tyrell also purchased a manor at Pennington from the Peverels which Sir Henry, William's son, had acquired by 1346, and Milton, which the Peverels acquired by marriage to Henry Chalcombe's daughter Edith, and the manor of Northavon which had been with the Peverels since 1243, when Agnes was recorded in possession.²³³ The Peverels disappear from the Hampshire records. Sir Henry Peverel held on his death the manor of Borscombe in Wiltshire on his death in 1362 as well as other lands in that county, it is probable that the family became associated with Wiltshire.²³⁴ The Tyrells, who held the Peverel manors of Milton and Northavon until 1595, remained identified with Essex. In 1431, Sir John Tyrell, son of Sir Thomas, was described as 'of Arnewood' (Christchurch), holding Avon, with Essex as his county of residence. As might be expected, as non-residents, the Tyrells were absent from the 1436 and 1501 Hampshire records.²³⁵

²³¹ *VCH*, iv, 102; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 345.

²³² *VCH*, iii, 468.

²³³ *VCH*, iii, 483; v, 118, 125, 129.

²³⁴ *CIPM*, xii, 323-4.

²³⁵ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 373.

Pedwardyn

The Pedwardyns, lords of South Warnborough in the early fourteenth century, were also lords of Burton Pedwardyn in Lincolnshire and of lands in Herefordshire, where it is likely they concentrated their resources.²³⁶ The Pedwardyns held the manor of South Warnborough, Hampshire, up to 1441, when it was alienated to Robert White.²³⁷ They did not hold any Hampshire offices in the period.

4.7: CONNECTIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Marriage has featured as a very significant part of this chapter, in that it has illustrated how some individuals migrated into the county through marriage to an heiress; often these marriages were based upon social parity, such as the Uvedale-Scures, Betteshorne-Berkeley unions. The case of John Sandys is an exception. Those knightly families indigenous to the county in the early fourteenth century and who remained in the county also used marriage alliances to strengthen and increase their holdings within the county and the region. The marriage of Sir John Lisle III (d. 1370) to Maud Edington, a relative of Bishop William Edington (d. 1366) produced the manors of Thruxton in north-west Hampshire and South Baddesley in Boldre in the New Forest.²³⁸ John Lisle VI (d. 1471) married the heiress Anne Botreaux, niece of William, Lord Botreaux, who brought Briston in Devon, Holt in Wiltshire and two Hampshire manors to the family. These marriages, one to a kinswoman of a Winchester Bishop, and another to a kinswoman of a member of the nobility not primarily based in Hampshire, illustrate the sort of connections a county family such as the Lisles might expect to cultivate. Other marriages included unions with Joan, daughter and heir of John Bohun of Midhurst, Sussex, Margaret, daughter of John Bramshot and Elizabeth Courtnay. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Alice Lisle married John Rogers and her sister Elizabeth married John Philpot, both individuals with chiefly Hampshire interests.

²³⁶ BL Add MS 32, 101: chartulary and descent to 1432.

²³⁷ *VCH*, iii, 378.

²³⁸ *VCH*, iv, 388, 617; Thruxton had gone from Henry Welles to Bishop Edington in 1352, PRO CP25(1)206/25, no.45 and was settled by on John Lisle, knight, and John Fauconer, in 1441, from John Wilford: PRO CP25(19) 207/33 no.4.

The Brocas family, having consolidated their Hampshire lands greatly by the de Roches-Boarhunt inheritance from Mary in 1360, added Gilbert Banbury's estate at Holybourne (south of Basing, near the Brocas estates of Beaurepaire) when his daughter Joan married the second Sir Bernard Brocas. One of Sir Bernard's daughters, Jane, married Robert Dingley, a close associate of the Sandys, and Sir Bernard's son William married Joan Sandys. It is possible that the families of Brocas-Sandys-Dingley saw themselves as distinct from the old, more indigenous families such as Popham, Lisle and Tichborne, and formed alliances within their own particular circle.

Various deeds serve to illustrate other connections and associations amongst the knightly families in and around the county, though the type and location of transaction may have influenced the witnesses. The number of deeds surviving is not enough to recreate networks of close associations and groupings, merely to indicate what may have been. The release, quitclaim and demise of the manor of Sherborne Coudray from William Fifehide to William Gregory of Basingstoke in 1369 was witnessed by Sir John Foxley, Sir Bernard Brocas, Henry Sturmy, William Tauk and Walter Perle.²³⁹ Some of these individuals were important in the locality. Foxley and Brocas were Hampshire knights, Sturmy one of the Wiltshire knightly families whose landed and political interests had concerned Hampshire since the Conquest, and the Tauks had Hampshire land.²⁴⁰ The Brocas estate of Beaurepaire (Sherborne St John) was adjacent to Sherborne Coudray. Henry Sturmy had been MP for Hampshire in 1344, 1346, 1354, 1357 and 1360 while John Foxley, who also had lands in Northamptonshire, was MP for Hampshire in 1364.

Another Coudray grant, this time of the manor of Herriard, from Edward Coudray to William Brocas, Thomas Rotherwelle, John More, Ingram More and Nicholas Bridges, vicar of Herriard, was witnessed by leading knightly individuals in 1421.²⁴¹ Belted knights included Hugh St John, Walter Sandys and Stephen Popham, others Gilbert

²³⁹ HRO 31M57/43.

²⁴⁰ Robert Tauk, *CIPM*, xviii, 130-1, Thomas Tauk, esquire, *CIPM*, xix, 2.

²⁴¹ HRO 44M69/C/443.

Banbury, Bernard Brocas, brother of William, Nicholas Bernard and Richard Lee. Banbury, by his daughter Joan's marriage to Sir Bernard Brocas, was uncle to William and Bernard Brocas. Nicholas Bernard went on to become escheator in 1430 and MP for Hampshire in 1435.

The Brocas endowment of Southwick Priory in 1384 was witnessed by Sir Maurice Brown, John Uvedale, John Champflour, Richard Danvers and Andrew Dene, among others.²⁴² Champflour was sheriff in 1401 and appears as a witness to a Fernhill quitclaim in 1397, though no Champflour appears in 1412 or 1436.²⁴³ Brown and Uvedale had their chief estates at Rowner and Wickham, near the south coast and close to Southwick. Uvedale was relatively new to the county, but perhaps his wife's family name - Scures – and the estates he had acquired along with his marriage gave him enough clout. Since Bernard Brocas was seeking to put a stamp on his position within the county by endowing Southwick with his wife's Boarhunt lands, the appearance of Uvedale as a witness was beneficial to both parties, bolstering two marriages by the transaction of old land under old names.

A series of deeds in the Brocas collection from Sherborne St John, Beaurepaire and Bramley and Pamber in the period c.1380 - c.1460 illustrates what may have amounted to a Brocas affinity, where longstanding local landholders were befriended (or coerced) with followers of the Brocas train to appear as witnesses. The majority were not local belted knights or esquires. The Coudrays appear on nine occasions from 1314 - 1429, as the indigenous knightly family at Herriard, and the Warblingtons eight times from 1406 - 1460, but the other witnesses were either parish gentry or cannot be identified, which probably places them in the service of the Brocas family or the other party concerned in the transaction.

Two events demanded the presence of county knights. The deed of settlement of 1429, in which trustees John Golofre and William Warblington settled Beaurepaire on William Brocas' heirs male was clearly important enough to merit the presence of

²⁴² HRO 5M50/27.

²⁴³ *Lists of Sheriffs*, 55; *WCM*, ii, 355.

Sir Walter Sandys and Sir Stephen Popham, two of the big names of the county.²⁴⁴ Neither appeared on any other transactions. The conveyance of 1470 at Hoo and Broxhead between the trustees of William Brocas to William Brocas and his wife was witnessed by John Lisle, Thomas Uvedale, John Paulet, Edward Langford and Bernard Brocas, among others.²⁴⁵

Robert Dingley, who married Jane Brocas, witnessed two transactions at Sherborne (five miles from his manor of Wolverton) three at Bramley and Beaurepaire and one at Pamber.²⁴⁶ Dingley was an elector for the 1422 parliament, when William Brocas was elected, and again in 1429, when William Brocas was sheriff.²⁴⁷ The Mores of Pamber had close associations with nearby Monk Sherborne and Richard More appears in a transaction in 1313, his descendants Hugh, Henry, Robert, John, William and Geoffrey in fifteen transactions from 1387 to 1463 out of 28 transactions in that period concerning Monk Sherborne.²⁴⁸ Robert More II became MP for Hampshire in 1397, and may have had connections with Robert Cholmeley, 'King's esquire,' and constable of Pamber Castle; Sir Bernard Brocas was a courtier and had been buried at Westminster amid great pomp by Richard II; his son, Sir Bernard, was executed in 1400 for plotting to restore Richard II.²⁴⁹ The Mores were also present on the Beaurepaire and Bramley transactions on fourteen occasions from 1322 to 1451 and at Pamber six times from 1368 to 1443.²⁵⁰

Another regular witness on the Sherborne deeds was the Baynard family. Philip Baynard appeared in six transactions from 1387 to 1406, and had an income of £20 in Hampshire in 1412, and £40 from Wiltshire.²⁵¹ The Baynards had held lands at Silchester, five miles north of Sherborne, resulting from a marriage to a daughter of Sir

²⁴⁴ Burrows, *Brocas of Beaurepaire*, 414.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 340-341.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 391-2, 412-414, 419.

²⁴⁷ PRO C219/13/1, 13/3.

²⁴⁸ Burrows, *Brocas of Beaurepaire*, 381-392.

²⁴⁹ *HoP*, ii, 770.

²⁵⁰ Burrows, *Brocas of Beaurepaire*, 396-415; 416-419.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 381-387; *Feudal Aids*, vi, 452; *VCH*, iii, 346.

John Bluet, a witness to a Sherborne grant in 1314 and were chiefly a Wiltshire knightly family.²⁵² Philip died in 1415, and his son Robert was a Brocas witness at Sherborne in 1412, and his son John in 1460.²⁵³ Philip and Robert were also witnesses in the Beaurepaire and Bramley deeds, appearing eight occasions from 1383 to 1428 and on three occasions from 1381 to 1413 in the Pamber deeds.²⁵⁴

The Fabian family witnessed seven transactions at Sherborne from 1387 to 1404, fifteen at Beaurepaire and Bramley from 1332 to 1398 and just once at Pamber in 1381.²⁵⁵ The Fabians, of Fabians (Wootton St Lawrence, close to Monk Sherborne) were another local longstanding family like the Mores and Baynards, and had held Fabians since 1282; in 1411 John Fabian conveyed it to John Gervays and Thomas Horton, whence it went to St Swithun's.²⁵⁶ The Fabians were not a county knightly family, never sitting in parliament or serving as sheriff, but to the Brocasses at least, they were important parish gentry, to be associated with in certain circumstances.

Another family that fell into this parish gentry category were the Cufauds of Cufauds, in Basingstoke Hundred. They had been lords of the manor since 1167 and remained so until 1737, when it was sold by Martha Cufaud, widow of Henry.²⁵⁷ The Cufauds made no returns for Hampshire in 1412 or 1436, never sat in parliament for Hampshire or served as sheriff, but were certainly significant in Sherborne, Beaurepaire and Bramley, where they appeared on twelve occasions from 1332 to 1418.²⁵⁸

The Dabridgecourts, a knightly family without close ties with Hampshire appeared regularly on Brocas deeds, though their presence may indicate the greater courtly politics at stake echoed by manorial transactions in the localities. Sir Nicholas had

²⁵² *VCH*, iv, 53. Sir Philip Baynard was sheriff of Wiltshire in 1377; his son Philip had the manor of Silchester in 1412. For Sir John Bluet, see above, Chapter Three, 117.

²⁵³ *Burrows, Brocas of Beaurepaire*, 389, 392.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 410-413, 416-418.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 382-6, 398-412, 416.

²⁵⁶ *VCH*, iv, 240.

²⁵⁷ *VCH*, iv, 122.

²⁵⁸ *Burrows, Brocas of Beaurepaire*, 377-412.

married Elizabeth Say, heiress of Stratfield Say, in the latter half of the fourteenth century, and his descendants remained lords of Say until 1629, but took no interest in Hampshire politics.²⁵⁹ Dabridgecourt, of Hainault origins, had found favour at the court of Edward III, but did not manage to maintain his position at the court of Richard II, losing his annuity; he was retained by John of Gaunt for life in 1391, went on campaign with the duke in 1395 and his one occasion as MP for Hampshire in 1399 is attributed to that connection, for it was that Parliament that endorsed the deposition of Richard II.²⁶⁰ Odd then, that Dabridgecourt associated with Sir Bernard Brocas, arch-supporter of Richard II, unless it was to curry favour with a powerful local man and influence the return of his lost annuity. Sir Nicholas appeared for the Sherborne deeds in 1387 and 1390, and his son Sir John in 1406, 1408 and 1412.²⁶¹ Perhaps when Sir Nicholas's Lancaster connections became apparent in the 1390s he split from Brocas, but when he regained his annuity under Henry IV just before he died in 1400, and the Brocas family fell from favour, the boot was on the other foot; and it was William Brocas, son of the executed Sir Bernard, who needed Sir John Dabridgecourt on his charters.

The Pedwardyns of South Warnborough were another knightly family with lands in Hampshire but again not closely associated with the shire. Sir Robert Pedwardyn appears in three transactions, all in 1412, at Sherborne and Beaurepaire, twice with Sir John Dabridgecourt.²⁶² South Warnborough was just five miles south-east of Sherborne, but what brought Sir Robert there in 1412 in particular is unknown; very possibly some association with either the Dabridgecourts or the Warblingtons (the other party in two of the transactions) as well as the Brocases probably accounts for his presence. Certainly the presence of Dabridgecourt and Pedwardyn, absentee landlords in Hampshire for many decades, is a reminder of the involvement of non-resident knightly families in the local affairs of the county, albeit intermittently, but nevertheless an involvement that should not be discounted.

²⁵⁹ *VCH*, iv, 58-9.

²⁶⁰ *HoP*, ii, 731-2.

²⁶¹ *Burrows, Brocas of Beaurepaire*, 382-389.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 388-9, 412.

William Chamberlain was in a different category again; noted above as a new man, a lawyer with an estate at Hinton Daubney, Chamberlain appeared eleven times in Sherborne from 1396 to 1444, succeeded by his son John in 1454 and 1469, once in Beaufort and Bramley in 1440 and once in Pamber in 1420.²⁶³ Chamberlain was an elector for the 1430, 1436 and 1441 parliaments, latterly present alongside William Brocas senior and junior and Robert Dingley.²⁶⁴

Other witnesses in the Brocas collection are not so easy to identify. Occasionally the deeds reveals their origins, which were in the orbit of Sherborne - Basing, Silchester, Sherfield, Baghurst, Hannington and Pamber. John Strode, appearing at Sherborne St John seven times from 1396 to 1415, had an income of £20 in 1412, drawn from land and rents at Sherborne and Allington.²⁶⁵ Nicholas Valence appeared at Sherborne in 1399 and 1404 and had an income of £33 in 1412, from the manor of Farley Mortimer in Hampshire; the family had also held Wield, south of Basingstoke, in the fourteenth century.²⁶⁶ These incomes easily place Strode and Valence at the lower end of the knightly class, though neither ever sat in parliament for Hampshire or served as sheriff; they were, along with Fabian and Cufauds, parish gentry. Others appearing in the Brocas deeds at the beginning of the fifteenth century are not so easily identified. We must assume that they too were either parish gentry probably on incomes below £20 or less, serving as estate officials or tenant-farmers on the Brocas lands around Basingstoke.

Transactions of an ecclesiastical nature highlight associations between the knightly gentry and the Winchester Bishopric and its endowment Winchester College. The grant of Eling from Henry Husee to William Wykeham in 1372 was witnessed by the knights Luke Poynings, Bernard Brocas and Philip Popham, and the grant of Meonstoke from William Wykeham to Thomas Cranley, Master of Winchester College in 1386, was witnessed by Sir Philip Popham, William Ringborne and Thomas Warenner.²⁶⁷

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 383-391, 392, 393, 415, 418.

²⁶⁴ PRO C219/14/2, 15/1, 15/2.

²⁶⁵ Burrows, *Brocas of Beaufort*, 383-389; *Feudal Aids*, vi, 452.

²⁶⁶ Burrows, *Brocas of Beaufort*, 384, 386; *Feudal Aids*, vi, 457

²⁶⁷ *WCM*, ii, 270, 617-8.

Warrener was Wykeham's kinsman and bailiff of the Soke and Liberty of Winchester 1365-1404 and he and Ringborne were both beneficiaries of Wykeham's will.²⁶⁸ The Pophams were among the first generation of Winchester College commoners.

Warrener and Ringborne also appeared on a grant in 1397 from William Penne to John Fromond, steward of the estates of Winchester College, along with Henry Popham.²⁶⁹

The grant of Barton from Archdeacon Walter Trengof of Cornwall to the warden of Winchester College in 1440 was witnessed by Sir John Popham and Sir John Lisle, amongst others.²⁷⁰ Other grants concerning Winchester College involved witnesses to obscure to identify on a county basis as knightly gentry. Henry Lode, Henry Read, Richard Newlyn, Richard Bedford and Richard Goddard witnessed two grants at Willhall and Wyards, Alton, in 1483 and 1484 but none of them were connected to the county families, or held county office or acted as bailiff, steward, warden, second master of bursar to the Bishopric or college.²⁷¹

Soldiering remained an important aspect of these knightly gentry families' lives, and five greater Hampshire landowners were on the field of Agincourt.²⁷² Sir Bernard Brocas' military service spanned from Crécy to Najera and included the posts of Keeper of Corfe and Odiham castles, the captaincies of Calais and Sandgate in the Pas de Calais. Sir John Lisle was governor of Guernsey from 1405-8, Sir Stephen Popham was present at Agincourt under the duke of York, Sir John Sandys at Najera under the Black Prince - his patron at home as well as abroad - and his son Sir Walter served in Gascony under Sir Matthew Gournay.

If the function of the knightly class became increasingly administrative across the period, then the law or trade grew correspondingly as a profession. Robert White's

²⁶⁸ *HoP*, iv, 699-700; *Testamenta Vetusta*, ed. N. H. Nicolas (London, 1826), 771-2.

²⁶⁹ *WCM*, ii, 355.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, ii, 157.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, ii, 30-1.

²⁷² N. H. Nicolas, *A History of the Battle of Agincourt*, (London, 1832): William Coudray (in the retinue of Sir Thomas West), 352; Maurice Brune, Nicholas Norton, esq., Thomas Norton, esq., Walter Sandys, knt. (with three men-at-arms) and William Warblington (all in the retinue of Henry V), 377, 382, 384, 386.

family had mercantile origins and William Soper was a rarity, but the Inns of Court records include one of the 1501 knights and one esquire, and three gentlemen.²⁷³ A good education was already a prerequisite for such professions, or indeed for the administration of family estates; members of the Brocas, Tichborne and Uvedale families attended Winchester College, New College and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford.²⁷⁴

These were not new families grown rich on their profession, but were old families utilising the resources of growing institutions. Neither did any of the knightly gentry build careers or estates within the Bishopric. Relations between the knightly gentry and the Winchester Bishopric in the later medieval period seems to have been one of equals rather than that of master-servant.²⁷⁵ Sir Bernard Brocas was a close associate of Bishop Wykeham, witnessing several deeds and acting as chief surveyor and keeper of the parks on the episcopal estates in 1377; Sir Edward Coudray was Wykeham's bailiff at Highclere, a beneficiary of his will and Bishop Beaufort's bailiff at Sutton, Alresford and Cheriton from 1405-26; Henry Popham attested many of Wykeham's transactions, was another beneficiary of his will and involved with the foundation of Winchester College.

John Uvedale's maternal grandfather, Sir John Scures, had been an early patron of Bishop Wykeham and his sister married Wykeham's great-nephew, William Wykeham; he was a commoner at Winchester College with his brother William, witnessed grants to the college and also acted as Bishop Beaufort's co-feoffee. At the end of the fifteenth century, Sir William Uvedale was a beneficiary of Bishop Waynflete's will and

²⁷³ *Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, from the fifteenth century to the year 1944*, Middle Temple, (London, 1949), William Uvedale, knight (1509-10); *Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn Admissions, from 1420 to 1893*, Lincoln's Inn, (London, 1896); Robert White (1476), William Wayte (1523), John Kingsmill (1516); *Calendar of Inner Temple Records*, vol. i; Richard Norton (1509) who later became Treasurer, Master and Governor of the Inner Temple.

²⁷⁴ A. B. Emden (ed.), *A Biographical Dictionary of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, (Oxford, 3 vols, 1957-9); 271 (Brocas), 1,921 (Tichbornes), 1,938 (Uvedales).

²⁷⁵ See below, Chapter Five, for an assessment of the influence of the Bishopric over the Hampshire judiciary and other relations between Bishopric and gentry.

Sir John Pound acted as executor of Bishop Langton's will in 1501.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated that the majority of the armigerous élite of Hampshire in the fifteenth century were either descended directly through the male line (including Coudray and Titchborne) or through the female line (including Uvedale and Brocas), of the armigerous élite of the early fourteenth century. Some families consolidated their fortunes (Lisle, Puttenham), others declined (Norton). The exceptions include the Sandys family, originally from nowhere, but whose fortunes were still based upon the accumulation of the resources of two landed Hampshire families through a marriage; the Dingleys, closely allied to the Sandys, advanced through service and marriage, and the Whites purchased land and established themselves in the county in the second half of the fifteenth century. The latter two families did not reach the prominence gained by the Sandys family, which is the outstanding exception in all situations. The other élite families all owed their status in Hampshire to marriages to Hampshire heiresses, and usually those marriages were based on social parity. Furthermore, the wealthiest knightly gentry in fifteenth century Hampshire were based in the same areas - chiefly the north-east of the county near Basingstoke - as the feudal tenancies of the earlier fourteenth century.

In concert with the national trend, the élite of Hampshire grew smaller.²⁷⁶ This was for two reasons. The élite families of the fifteenth century were those who either already had resources of their own or married an heiress, thus combining two or more fourteenth-century estates. And those families that left co-heiresses were in the majority, and it has been shown here that most of those families acquiring moieties of Hampshire estates through a marriage to a co-heiress did not enter the Hampshire élite. Thus the estates of the fourteenth-century élite families of Popham, Braybeouf, Basing, Lisle of Gatcombe, Bookland, Woodlock and Pershete were dispersed to collateral heirs who did not play a role in Hampshire county affairs. Hampshire secular estates, never wealthy because of the domination of the ecclesiastical estates since the early

²⁷⁶ See Chapter One, above, 29-31.

Middle Ages, were very vulnerable when the male line failed, and on partition usually left the new members with too little to act in county life. The major exception was the Bulkeley family, inheritors of part of the Popham estate.

Accumulation and dispersal were important in the shrinking armigerous élite but the balance was not redressed by incoming new men. Only one family really rose through service (Dingley); only one family purchased their way into the élite (White); both these families remained for several generations. Others, the Sopers and Chamberlains, came and went without any permanence; those who entered the élite and remained - namely the Kirkby, Roger and Cheney families - lack evidence to suggest that they were closely associated and resident in the county. Furthermore, the balance of shrinking armigerous families was not redressed by heirs of the neighbouring families identified in the previous chapter as having some part in the affairs of the county in the fourteenth century; the Wiltshire Romseys, the Surrey D'Abernons, the Berkshire Sifrewasts did not move into the county; the sole exception were the Ringbournes, whose Wiltshire Sturmy connections clearly gave them added wealth and status.

Although the numbers of the active, resident armigerous gentry in Hampshire had diminished by the beginning of the sixteenth century, it should not be forgotten, however, that the landownership in the county was still diverse, and, as a result, actually more diverse because of dispersal of the bigger estates. There were landowners with manors in Hampshire and Hampshire landowners with lands elsewhere. For example, Richard Fiennes, esquire of Broughton, Oxfordshire, who died seised of ten manors in Hampshire in 1501.²⁷⁷ Sir Robert Fiennes held county office in Hampshire, as MP in 1446-7 and sheriff in 1448.²⁷⁸ Many longstanding knightly families active in the county, such as the Sturmies, Pophams and Brunnes, had lands and estates in other counties equal to or greater than their Hampshire estates. Lists of witnesses indicate that otherwise absentee landowners did make appearances in matters of local grants. Interaction between neighbouring counties and counties further afield was as energetic as a century before; a significant minority of 'silent'

²⁷⁷ *CIPM*, Henry VII, ii, 342.

²⁷⁸ *Return*, 336; *List of Sheriffs*, 55.

landowners formed part of the various other 'communities within the county'. We hear little of them, but they were there for many decades. Sir William Stonor, whose family connections ranged across Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, died seised of the manor of Nursling Beaufo in Hampshire; his parson at Penyton Mewsey, the advowson of which was held by the Stonors, urged Sir William twice to stand for sheriff, to get 'acquaintance, love and dread with this shire,' and William Sandys of Hampshire was described elsewhere in the Letters as a 'cousin' of William Stonor.²⁷⁹ Stonor never did serve as sheriff or indeed in any other office in Hampshire but the point is that he could have done and we can only imagine there to have been some groups of such individuals who were active in the county at some point; only occasionally does the documentation allow us to see what networks and possibilities there were.

All that said, the number of those qualifying to hold office in the county did not increase because the partitions were so small. And there may well have been an active land market in Hampshire, but it existed on a small scale (with the exception of the Botreaux estates) and did not contribute to the rise of new families. It was the marriage market that facilitated the accumulation or dispersal of the élite families. This was constricting; the knights and esquires survived and flourished largely within the narrow confines of the landed settlement that had evolved before 1300. As wastage occurred, as it must do, the Hampshire élite would continue to shrink into the sixteenth century. However, the situation would be radically altered after the Dissolution of the Monasteries.

²⁷⁹ *CIPM*, Henry VII, i, 410; M. C. Carpenter, 'The Stonor Circle in the Fifteenth Century,' in R. Archer and S. Walker (eds.), *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England* (London, 1995), 193, 185.

CHAPTER 5: OFFICE-HOLDING AND THE COUNTY COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTORY

Dr. Payling identified a hierarchy of office-holding in fifteenth century Nottinghamshire, with the sheriff at the top, followed by the MP, JP and escheator; the coroners, undersheriff and clerks of the peace were well down the order.¹ The offices of sheriff, MP and JP were the major offices in the localities in later medieval England and an integral part of the definition of the armigerous gentry, due to the intricate relationship between government and locality in the later medieval period.

This chapter will demonstrate that the armigerous gentry families identified in the previous chapters held these major offices and that there was strong continuity across the reigns and régimes. Those gentry families formed a political community in the county that was the same as the landed community. This political community was in existence at the beginning of the fourteenth century and continued throughout the fifteenth century.

The chapter will also demonstrate that other political communities existed alongside the political armigerous gentry community, and that these communities did affect the armigerous gentry. Other offices included escheator and borough MP but chiefly the professional lawyers, who were closely connected to the Winchester Bishopric.

The Bishop of Winchester was the greatest landlord in the county. As the fifteenth century progressed, and the county bench evolved, it becomes clear that the Bishopric grew to dominate the bench. Professional justices were increasingly servants of the Bishopric; their status was lower than that of the armigerous gentry who still controlled the offices of knight of the shire and sheriff. Although the armigerous gentry retained positions on the bench, much of the actual work was done by professional lawyers. Some of these individuals acquired greater status by pursuing this profession

¹ S. J. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: the Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991), 109.

which expanded and by 1500 some of them were well placed to enter the county élite, thus impacting upon the character of the armigerous gentry, a social movement outside the remit of this thesis, but nevertheless a movement that is well under way by the end of the chosen period.

In addition to the distinct judicial community that emerged in the fifteenth century under the auspices of Bishopric influence were the relationships formed between armigerous families and Bishopric through the holding of Bishopric offices, such as bailiff, steward and treasurer and the less tangible connections, such as beneficiary and witness. Evidence suggests that the political and landed armigerous community in Hampshire formed an increasingly closer relationship as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries progressed.

To summarise, this chapter demonstrates the existence of a political community formed of the armigerous gentry and shows that this political community co-existed alongside not only incursive office-holders from nearby counties, but alongside other political communities formed of the escheators, borough MPs and professional lawyers, the latter recruited largely from the ranks of the Winchester Bishopric. Just as the landed community was not exclusive to Hampshire - a regional model has been proposed earlier in this thesis - neither was the political community. A landed and political county community co-existed alongside regional landed and political communities. Hampshire landowners were diverse; they held land in other counties and therefore, offices too. Landowners resident in neighbouring counties held office in Hampshire, though in practice this was infrequent. Incursions made by absolute outsiders imposed upon the county were rare in Hampshire, but nevertheless, some incursions were made under Richard II and Richard III.

Families frequently in Office

A special feature that the two centuries this thesis has illuminated is the continuity of several leading families and the succession through the female line. This is equally important in county office-holding. Several Hampshire families are outstanding across

the period as members of a county officer-class in what is almost hereditary in some cases. These were the Popham, Brocas, Uvedale, Sandys, Berkeley and Sturmy families. These families were all members of the leading gentry families identified in the previous two chapters and held the offices of sheriff and knight of the shire either collectively as a family or as an individual at least five times. The Pophams was the oldest family, but the Sturmys were Wiltshire based but had held land in Hampshire for centuries, and the Berkeleys, through a marriage to a local heiress, became established in Hampshire in the fifteenth century and virtually monopolised office-holding towards the end of the century.

Longevity of family office is of course aided considerably by the continuity of the male line. However, the descent through the female line was crucial. The Scures, Boarhunt, Roches and Fifhild male lines were some of those which failed before the fourteenth century was out, and the Uvedale, Brocas, Sandys and Berkeley men married into those families inherited not only estates but office-holding responsibilities that went with them.

Family	Sheriff	MP
Popham	6	24
Uvedale	15	13
Brocas	5	13
Sandys	6	10
Berkeley	14	6

Table 20: Number of times Offices held, 1300 - 1529

Table 20 illustrates how the Pophams were the most frequently elected MPs in the period. But this was mostly in the fourteenth century, before the office of sheriff declined and the family was never as wealthy as the others. The Uvedale family, armigerous migrants through marriage into Hampshire, had the most of both shrievalty and parliamentary seats in the fifteenth century; the Berkeleys, again armigerous migrants through marriage, dominated the shrievalty in the mid to later fifteenth century.

Indeed, Table 20 is a fair reflection of the nature of landholding and the political community in later medieval Hampshire. It includes one ancient family (Popham), and four families who migrated into the county by marriage and who became very active members of the political community. All the families were listed on the commissions of the peace, sometimes for twenty or thirty years. Berkeley and Uvedale held offices in their places of origin, respectively Gloucestershire, Surrey and Sussex, retaining a regional, rather than purely county, political perspective.

Other members of the armigerous élite held office infrequently and sometimes in a burst of activity. Sir Maurice Brune, whose family owned Rowner for two centuries as absentee landlords, was knight of the shire nine times from 1376-1384 but held no other office; two of his descendants were sheriff on one occasion each in the fifteenth century. Sir William Sturmy, of Wolf Hall, Wiltshire, and Elvetham, Hampshire, was knight of the shire five times from 1344-1360 and sheriff in 1347, but never again. These individuals were not outsiders or interlopers; they were Hampshire landowners exercising their rights to hold office in the county. They serve to illustrate the regional political community as well as the more insular county political community the families in table 20 represent.

5.1: THE SHRIEVALTY

The office of sheriff was the oldest and most wide-ranging office that carried the king's office into the shires.² He was the judicial officer who served writs, collected farms and supervised the county elections. Though the late medieval sheriff was not the great man he had been in the Anglo-Norman period, the position remained the most important office in the Lancastrian period.³ Whilst the thirteenth-century saw attempts to subordinate the shrievalty to Crown authority, the Provisions of Oxford determined

² W. A. Morris, *The Medieval English Sheriff to 1300* (Manchester, 1927).

³ Payling, *Political Society*, 109; M. C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: a Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499*, (Cambridge, 1992), 263, where, in the law courts, 'No suit could proceed without the sheriff's co-operation.'

that the sheriff must be a substantial freeholder, a vavasour of the county, and that he must serve for no more than one year; however the frequency of Commons petitions in the reign of Edward III suggest that these points were not observed.⁴ The crown had to reconcile the conflicting views of the commons, who wanted local men in the office, and the lobbying of the higher nobility, who wanted to see their dependants rewarded. The conflict between crown and nobility in the reign of Edward II was further complicated when the 1311 Ordinances withdrew the 1300 right of election, which Edward III re-introduced in 1338; in 1340 he reinforced the ruling that sheriffs were to be in office for no more than a year and were to be appointed by the exchequer.⁵ The prohibition in the Statute of Lincoln (1316) of any steward of a lord from holding the shrievalty may have removed one of the problems, but the qualification of land-holding and the length of office-holding remained unsettled until the last years of Edward III's reign.⁶

The turning point in the history of the shrievalty was the February parliament of 1371, when £20 a year was judged to be the qualification in land and the income was to be derived from the land in the county of appointment. This was following the 1368 statutes requiring escheators to have at least £20 income from land. These were not unfamiliar requirements, given the statutes of the earlier fourteenth century, but what was unusual was that the King accepted the proposals and that the restrictions were implemented.⁷ This, in theory, would mean that all sheriffs and escheators would belong to the class of knights and esquires, £20 being the minimum income required for an esquire.

Of the 33 knights listed in 1324, four of the 33 were sheriffs of Hampshire, but a further three were sheriffs for Wiltshire, Somerset and Dorset, and Surrey and Sussex.

⁴ N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century*. (Oxford, 1981), 108.

⁵ N. Denholm-Young, *The Country Gentry in the Fourteenth Century*, (Oxford, 1969), 54.

⁶ Nine of the 25 sheriffs were replaced in February, 1327 by Isabella and Mortimer as part of their *coup d'état*; Edward II received little support and the Despenser affinity crumbled quickly: N. Saul, 'The Despensers and the Downfall of Edward II,' *EHR* xcix (1984), 1 and *passim*.

⁷ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 110.

None of the eight esquires of 1324 were sheriffs of Hampshire, though John des Roches went on to become sheriff and MP in Wiltshire in the next decade and John Bookland sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire soon afterwards.

Of the 47 sheriffs of Hampshire in the whole fourteenth century, nineteen (40%) belonged to the armigerous gentry families identified in the preceding two chapters. A further seven can be identified as lesser landholders in the county, with connections to the armigerous gentry. Four of the remaining 21 held office in other counties, and may therefore have been based primarily in those counties. There is no trace of any Hampshire landholding for ten individuals, though five of these held office in the reign of Richard II the others held office before the 1371 statute.

Of the 66 fifteenth-century sheriffs, 35 (53%) came from members of the Hampshire armigerous families, an increase of 13% from the fourteenth century. A further five were lesser landholders in Hampshire with connections to the armigerous gentry. Three of the remaining 26 did not account - two during the Readeption - and another three were obvious knightly gentry primarily based outside Hampshire (namely Thomas Chaucer of Ewelme, Thomas Wykeham and Robert Fiennes). No evidence of connections with the armigerous Hampshire gentry or of substantial landholding in Hampshire can be found for 16 sheriffs, though six of these held offices in other counties, where their primary base might have lain.

The evidence suggests a gradual movement towards closer ties with the county. Furthermore, the domination of the shrievalty and of the parliamentary seats by particular families is disguised by these figures, for all those who had no land in Hampshire only held the office once, whereas the leading resident Hampshire families of Brocas, Uvedale, Lisle, Popham and Berkeley held the office time and time again, generation after generation, increasingly from the later fourteenth century.

Patterns of Appointment and Re-appointment, c.1297 - c.1509

Of the nine southern counties, Hampshire, Wiltshire and Kent were the only counties that did not have a joint shrievalty with another county; Somerset and Dorset, Devon and Cornwall, Surrey and Sussex, Oxfordshire and Berkshire shared the office. The pattern of appointments of the 120 sheriffs in Hampshire from the years 1297 to 1509 broadly reflects the national situation outlined above.⁸ In the whole period 1297-1509, most extraordinary was the tenure of John Scures, from 8 October 1321, to 12 November, 1338; this was unique.⁹ Scures was not a retainer of the Despensers and was a man of the locality.¹⁰ Apart from his long tenure, which spanned the troubles of Edward II's reign and continued well into Edward III's, most other periods of office were either of two or three years in length. After 1371, the pattern of appointments in Hampshire followed that of the 1371 Statute, becoming an annual event.

Immediate continuity across the reigns of the three Edwards was assured by the tenure of Thomas Warblington and John Scures. The 34 sheriffs appointed in the 45 years of the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V included seven who experienced the office in more than one reign, one of whom, John Uvedale, was sheriff under Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI; two others, Walter Sandys and William Brocas saw service from Henry V's reign into Henry VI's.¹¹

The period 1422 to 1509 saw 58 men hold the office of sheriff, 21 of whom held the office more than once.¹² Outstanding in experience as sheriff was again John Uvedale, with a shrieval career spanning the reigns of the three Henrys (1408 - 1433) but he was equalled by Edward Berkeley in the later period (1464 - 1490); both were in office six times (Uvedale possibly five, if the 1408 appointment refers to his father) and Thomas Uvedale was the next most often repeated sheriff, with four appointments spanning the years 1438 - 1463. Nine others held the office three times and nine twice; the

⁸ Details from the *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales* (PRO Lists and Indexes, ix, 1898), 54-55; the starting date of 1297 tallies with the beginning of regular Parliamentary returns.

⁹ Saul, 'The Despensers and the Downfall of Edward II,' 17.

¹⁰ See above, 108-109.

¹¹ *List of Sheriffs*, 55. The John Uvedale of 1408 was John Uvedale sr., his father.

¹² Up to 1509; thereafter the figure includes only those sheriffs in both Henry VII and Henry VIII's reign.

remaining eighteen saw office once. The sheriffs appointed after 1512, and for the remainder of Henry VIII's reign, were not re-appointed.

Repeated periods of offices across the reigns of Henry V to Henry VIII provided a measure of continuity. Of the 21 men holding the office more than once, twelve held the office across one or more reigns; three of the remaining nine held office either side of 1445, the year Henry VI's minority ended. Of the seven sheriffs under Henry V, two were re-appointed under Henry VI, though a further four were living and active elsewhere; Sir Walter Sandys skipped a reign to become sheriff in 1423, having held the office in 1410. The 27 sheriffs of Henry VI's reign included three who held the office again under Edward IV and one, Edward Berkeley, who held the office under Henry VI, Edward IV and Henry VII; 'a record,' in Wedgwood's words.¹³ But Henry VI's reign was too long for those holding office in the first decades; they were too old or infirm to do so again under Edward IV, just as with the reigns of Edward III - Richard II. Of the fifteen sheriffs in office during the time of Henry's minority, three are known to have died by 1445 and one, Robert Dingley II, in 1456. The twelve in office after the minority included one who died four years into Edward IV's reign and four who were sheriffs under Edward IV.

The pattern of those repeated in office across the reigns of Edward IV to Henry VII again does not indicate wholesale change or intervention from the Crown into the locality. The eighteen sheriffs of Edward IV's reign included four reappointed under Henry VI and Henry VII. Only two of the eighteen sheriffs of Henry VII's reign saw service again under Henry VIII. Five of those serving during the first Tudor reign had done so under Edward IV; in that sense, there was greater continuity across the reigns of Edward IV and Henry VII than between the first two Tudors. This, though, may owe more to the changing nature of the shrieval office than to the vagaries of Crown and locality relations.

To summarise, the characteristic of appointments and re-appointments of the Hampshire sheriffs was that of continuity. Particular families, such as the Uvedales,

¹³ J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, 1439-1509* (London, 2 vols, 1936-8), i, 67.

Berkeleys, Sandys and Brocas, all leading local families, held the shrievalty on several occasions.

Hampshire sheriffs in other counties

The holding of lands in counties adjacent to Hampshire by the élite is reflected in the holding of offices by Hampshire sheriffs in other counties. One of the seven sheriffs under Edward II held office as sheriff outside Hampshire, in Wiltshire. Five of the thirteen sheriffs under Edward III were sheriffs elsewhere, in Wiltshire and Somerset and Dorset. Two of the sixteen sheriffs under Richard II were sheriffs in Wiltshire.

Of the thirteen sheriffs under Henry IV, five acted as sheriffs elsewhere, in the counties of Somerset and Dorset, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Oxfordshire and Berkshire, Surrey and Sussex and Herefordshire. Three of the seven sheriffs of Henry V sat in Parliament elsewhere, two of them before becoming sheriff of Hampshire. These seats included Sussex and Oxfordshire. Hampshire sheriffs acted as sheriffs elsewhere in Surrey and Sussex and Oxford and Berkshire.

Eleven of the 27 of Henry VI's reign were sheriffs elsewhere, in Wiltshire, Surrey and Sussex, Somerset and Dorset, Gloucestershire and in Oxford and Berkshire. Eleven of the 18 sheriffs under Edward IV acted as sheriffs in other southern counties (six either Somerset and Dorset or Wiltshire); three sat in parliament outside the county. Only one sheriff of the eighteen under Henry VII acted as sheriff somewhere else.¹⁴

For much of the period 1300-1500, Hampshire sheriffs continued to hold office as sheriff or knight of the shire in counties mostly bordering the west of Hampshire. This did not appear to decrease in the fifteenth century until the reign of Henry VII and reflects the diversity of landholding in the county and illustrates to a certain extent a regional, rather than purely county, political élite.

Sheriffs as knights of the shire for Hampshire

¹⁴ John Dudley, sheriff in Hampshire in 1493, and sheriff in Surrey and Sussex in 1483.

The relationship between the shrievalty and parliament was a close one from the very beginning of the period. Twenty knights of the shire of the eighty or so who sat under the three Edwards were sheriffs of Hampshire at some point; eleven were knights of the shire before becoming sheriff. More significantly, four of the twenty returned themselves to parliament.¹⁵

The practice of sitting sheriffs electing themselves had become common custom by 1327; the first to do so was Miles Pychard, sheriff of Herefordshire, in 1300.¹⁶ The first in Hampshire was Sir Thomas Warblington, sheriff from 1306 to 1312, and MP in 1307; he had already served as sheriff from 1297 to 1301, and 1303 to 1305.

A Statute of the Realm of 1372 forbade election of a sheriff during his term of office. Thereafter the practice halted in Edward III's reign but was revived in Richard II's reign.¹⁷ Political influence of the sheriff over the knights of the shire was not new. Saul found in Gloucestershire that in 1324, during Edward II's personal rule, a Despenser candidate was elected and in 1326, after the Despenser downfall, a Lancaster dependant sat for the shire, even though there is little evidence of attempts to pack these parliaments.¹⁸ The situation in Hampshire was not the same, as the sheriff, Sir John Scures, was one of the few to remain in power after 1327 and did so extraordinarily until 1338. The knights of the shire elected in the 1320s - with the

¹⁵ Sir Thomas Warblington, MP 1307, sheriff 1306-12; Sir John Scures, MP 1322 (May), sheriff 1321-38; John de la Beche, MP 1315-16, sheriff 1315-17; Peter de Bruges, MP 1366, 1368, sheriff 1366-9.

¹⁶ K. L. Wood-Legh, 'Sheriffs, Lawyers and Belted Knights in the Parliaments of Edward III,' *EHR*, xlvii (1931), 373.

¹⁷ Though it was an administrative grievance, rather than a political one: Wood-Legh, 'Sheriffs, Lawyers and Belted Knights,' 373, 376. The practice of returning a sheriff was challenged in 1339. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ed. J. Strachey, Record Commission (London, 6 vols, 1767-1783), ii, 104; M. M. Taylor, 'Parliamentary Elections in Cambridgeshire, 1332-8,' *BIHR*, xviii (1940-1), 21-6. Taylor found in Cambridgeshire that sheriffs were 'invariably' returned.

¹⁸ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 123.

exception of Sir John de Glamorgan - had either sat earlier in the reign or would do so in or after 1327.

The practice of sitting sheriffs returning themselves resumed under Richard II.¹⁹ Eleven Hampshire MPs were at some point sheriff and the practice of sheriffs returning themselves seems to have occurred in Hampshire once at this point; Robert Cholmey was appointed sheriff on 21 October and sat for Hampshire at the November parliament in 1391.

All seven of Edward II's sheriffs represented Hampshire in Parliament, four before taking office as sheriff. Thirteen of the 22 sheriffs under Edward III were knights of the shire for Hampshire, six before becoming sheriff and one in the same year.

Nine of the sixteen sheriffs under Richard II were knights of the shire for Hampshire; three of the members of Parliament sat before becoming sheriff. Seven of the thirteen sheriffs of Henry IV's reign sat for Hampshire, two before becoming sheriff, and a further two sitting in Parliament elsewhere before becoming sheriff in Hampshire.

The seven sheriffs of Henry V included four who sat for Hampshire, two of whom sat before becoming sheriff; fifteen of the 27 sheriffs under Henry VI sat for Hampshire, ten of whom before becoming sheriff and two of whom sat elsewhere. Three of the eighteen sheriffs under Edward IV sat for Hampshire; two sat in Parliament before becoming sheriff. The eighteen sheriffs under Henry VII included just three who sat for the shire, all after being sheriff.

The hierarchy of office-holding in Lancastrian Nottinghamshire identified by Dr. Payling began with the office of MP, which brought the individual to the attention of the Crown as a potential office-holder; sheriff, JP and Escheator followed afterwards. 27 of the 38 Lancastrian MPs in Nottinghamshire had no previous experience when first elected, but only eight of the 38 ended their careers not having served as anything

¹⁹ Seventeen times, suggested Wood-Legh, 'Sheriffs, Lawyers and Belted Knights,' 373.

else, and Professor Saul noted that MPs of Gloucestershire became sheriffs very soon afterwards.²⁰

This is not a pattern that is repeated in Hampshire. 23 of the 44 Hampshire MPs in the Lancastrian period were sheriff at some point in their careers. Thirteen were appointed after having sat for the shire; eight of the nine who were also JPs sat on the bench after having been MP and fifteen of the 44 who were JPs sat on the bench after having sat for the shire. The pattern, if any, again seems to be that of MP last, sheriff or JP (usually sheriff) first.

The 22 MPs appointed sheriff at some point across the period 1297 to 1399 included twelve who represented the shire before becoming sheriff, and there is no discernible pattern towards a hierarchy, from Sir Thomas Warblington, sheriff 1297 - 1301 and MP in 1307, to John Betteshorne, MP in 1390 but sheriff in 1378.

Eight of the eleven MP-sheriffs of Henry VI's reign were elected MP first, though this was in no way becoming a pattern, as the MPs of the later fifteenth century and early sixteenth-century included individuals such as Thomas Troys, sheriff in 1474, MP in 1477; Thomas Wallop, sheriff in 1454, not MP until 1472; Sir William Uvedale, sheriff in 1479 and MP in 1491, and Sir William Paulet, sheriff in 1511 and MP in 1529.²¹ Any pattern at all in Hampshire was one of sheriff to MP. There is no discernible pattern as to whether they sat in parliament before or after serving as sheriff. Although the importance of the sheriff decreased at the end of the fifteenth century, fewer parliaments were summoned and the records are incomplete.

Income of the Sheriffs

Sheriffs were chosen from substantial local landowners. From 1371, as we have seen, a minimum of £20 a year was the minimum income required to qualify to be sheriff and all sheriffs during this period appear to have met this criterion. However £20 a year

²⁰ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 114.

²¹ Though Thomas Troys was MP for Arundel, 1472-5.

falls short of the income of the best endowed gentry. What was the reality? The 1412 returns for Hampshire throw some light on the landed income of some of the Hampshire sheriffs. Eighteen in all are on the Hampshire returns and reveal a wide economic discrepancy between the wealthiest, John Lisle (£86) and the poorest, Philip Baynard, with the minimum qualifying income of £20. However, known incomes from other counties play an important part in the overall wealth of these sheriffs, and Robert More's £20 from Hampshire is paltry compared with the £168 he received from other counties. Such other totals would make Henry Popham's total income, £197, the highest, though his £60 from Hampshire places him third after John Lisle and John Uvedale. Eight of the eighteen received higher incomes from other counties than from Hampshire, with two the same.

Just as the offices held outside the county by Hampshire sheriffs tended towards the south-west counties, other known incomes originate from the western counties to Hampshire, though these are not exclusive; incomes from Essex and Northamptonshire as well as Kent, Surrey and Sussex, indicate enough from these incomplete returns that the variety of landed incomes of some of the Hampshire sheriffs was great, and that for some of them, Hampshire was not at all their residence, or place of main interest.

The absence of figures from some counties means that the total wealth of Hampshire sheriffs is underestimated. Nevertheless, the average income of the eighteen sheriffs based on the known incomes in the 1412 returns stands at £103, including other counties, and a mere £43 from Hampshire alone.²²

Of the eighteen sheriffs' returns listed in 1412, nine belonged to the armigerous gentry families identified in Chapters Three and Four above and a tenth, Sir John Berkeley, had begun a process of integration into the county that would span most of the fifteenth century. The 1412 returns thus provide a window not only into the diversity in

²² Cf. the 88 Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire sheriffs, 1197 - 1406, whose average income was around £40: K. S. Naughton, *The Gentry of Bedfordshire in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Leicester University Press, Department of English Local History Occasional Papers, 3rd Series, no.2, 1976), 45.

origin of armigerous incomes in Hampshire but also, because of the strong association between landed wealth and office, the diversity in origin of office-holders in the county.

Name²³	Income from Hampshire	Recorded income from elsewhere
Sir Thomas Wykeham	50	40
Sir John Berkeley	40	155
Sir John Popham	20	43
John Lisle	86	40
John Uvedale	70	116
Henry Popham	60	137
William Bramshott	50	0.
Walter Sandys	47	14
William Brocas	44	40
William Warblington	43	0
Edward Coudray ²⁴	52	27
Maurice Brune	40	40
William Ringborne	40	0
John Rogers	26	156
John Waterton	22	33
Philip Baynard	20	20
John Boys	20	80
Robert More	20	168
<i>Average Income</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>103²⁵</i>

Table 21: Incomes of the Hampshire Sheriffs listed in the 1412 Returns

The average income of the sheriffs listed in the 1436 returns was £78, as the incomes were solely from Hampshire in that record. It should be noted that after the top three figures of John Uvedale, William Brocas and John Lisle (son of the John Lisle in the 1412), the incomes drop dramatically, to £60 (Robert Dingley), £50 (John Giffard, John Ticheborne), £40 (William Fauconer) down to John Wallop, with £36. With the exception of the Fauconers, all these families were identified as armigerous gentry

²³ Status that given in the return

²⁴ £42 from Hants with Thomas Hunt, clerk; £10 and £27 his own, in a separate entry.

²⁵ This is the average of the combined income of Hampshire and other counties

families of Hampshire in previous chapters, but the Uvedale, Brocas and Lisle families were far superior to others.

Name	Income
John Uvedale	173
William Brocas	120
John Lisle	100
Robert Dingley	60
John Giffard	50
John Ticheborne	50
William Fauconer	40
John Wallop	36
<i>Average Income</i>	78

Table 22: Incomes of the Hampshire Sheriffs listed in the 1436 Returns

5.2: THE ESCHEATORS

The escheator was primarily a royal official, responsible for enforcing the crown's rights to escheats, wardships, and the general administration of crown lands.²⁶ He held the inquisitions *post mortem* and inquests of age, delivered seisin to heirs, and supervised the year-and-a-day waste of the land of the felons. It is generally assumed that escheators were from a lower stratum of society than sheriffs, and this is the case in Hampshire, where the status and income of the escheators was lower than the sheriffs and knights of the shire.

The evolution of the escheators of Hampshire is not quite so straight forward as that of the sheriff. The two escheatrics north and south of the Trent were in existence by 1258 and remained unaltered until 1323, when the counties of Hampshire, Wiltshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and Berkshire shared the office.²⁷ From

²⁶ E. R. Stevenson, 'The Escheator,' *The English Government at Work 1327-1336*, ed. J. F. Willard, W. A. Morris, et. al (Cambridge, Mass., 1947), ii, iii.

²⁷ S. T. Gibson, 'The Escheatrics, 1327-41,' *EHR*, xxxvi (1921), 218; *List of Escheators for England*, List and Index Society, 72 (1971), 147-151.

1327-32 and 1335-40, the system reverted back to the Trent division, but after November 1341 the escheatrics regrouped on closer county lines; from 1342-1356 Hampshire had its own escheator but from 1357-1376 it was grouped with Wiltshire, Oxfordshire and Berkshire. Only after 1377 did the escheatry settle down to the two counties of Hampshire and Wiltshire for the remainder of the medieval period and beyond.²⁸

Despite the petitions for annual rotation by the Commons, it was not until after 1400 that escheators were replaced each year, or in the same year; there were only seven exceptions across the fifteenth century.²⁹ For most of the fifteenth century the pattern of service remained steadily one year.

Only 23 of the 120 Hampshire escheators appointed in the period 1342-1509 held either the shrievalty or sat for Hampshire; after 1474 there is a very definite end to the escheators holding other offices in Hampshire. Until that date, and from 1342, they included men such as Henry Sturmy, sheriff and MP for Hampshire, and MP for Wiltshire; William Warblington, sheriff, MP and JP, as well as sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, MP and JP for Berkshire; Henry Trenchard, sheriff and MP and Thomas Troys, sheriff three times for Hampshire, JP over a twenty-year period, MP for Arundel and JP in Gloucestershire. But after Troys (1473), no escheator held either the shrievalty or was elected for Hampshire; even allowing for those based in Wiltshire, this points to a growing singularity about the office of escheator towards the end of the fifteenth century.³⁰ Of those 120 escheators, only a dozen were members of the armigerous gentry families hitherto identified. These did include members of the Uvedale family, one of the élite Hampshire families, but not any of the others, such as the Brocas, Lisle, Sandys or Berkeleys.

²⁸ In 1400, 1403 and 1404 the appointments appear to have been specifically for each shire.

²⁹ William Wayte, 1420-22; William Fauconer, 1424-26; Robert Longe, 1428-30; Thomas Morays, 1467-9; Thomas Coke, 1490-92; John Wykes, 1492-4; John Uvedale, 1494-1499.

³⁰ Those escheators at the end of the fifteenth century certainly included Hampshire men such as John Uvedale and William Tichborne.

Incomes of the Escheators

The ten escheators who can be found present on the 1412 and 1436 returns were in receipt of a lower average income than that of the other royal official in the locality, the sheriff, with just £34, compared with the £43 of the sheriff. The inclusion of figures from the other known counties magnifies the gap and illustrates the narrower geographical basis from which escheatal incomes were drawn; this was £54 for the escheators and £103 for the sheriffs. Six escheators had no known income from other counties, though six had total incomes of £40 and more.

Name	Income	Known income from elsewhere
John Uvedale	70	116
William Warblington	43	0
John Skilling	40	25
William Ringborne	40	0
Thomas Brerdyng	40	16
Nicholas Bray	34	0
John Gawayn	30	0
Thomas Colynton	20	0
Philip Baynard	20	40
John Berewe	10	0
<i>Average Income</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>54</i>

Table 23: Incomes of the Hampshire Escheators listed in the 1412 Returns

Three of these ten listed in 1412 have been identified as armigerous gentry families based primarily in Hampshire, indicative of the lower status of the escheator, not, as in the case of the sheriffs and knights of the shire, of diverse landholding and regional affinities.

The five listed on the 1436 returns also had an average of £34, though this figure includes solely Hampshire men; the top three, with £50, £40, and £32 had not insignificant incomes in their own right, particularly as Hampshire was not a wealthy shire and had no individuals with baronial incomes. But compared with the shrieval average of £78, the escheatal average was significantly lower.

Name	Income
John Tichborne	50
William Fauconer	40
William Wayte	32
Nicholas Bernard	15
<i>Average</i>	<i>34</i>

Table 24: Incomes of the Hampshire Escheators listed in the 1436 Returns

Only two of these five have been identified as members of the armigerous gentry. The lower incomes of the escheators confirms the normal unsubstantiated assumptions that the escheators were of a lower class than the sheriffs and, as will be shown, lower than the MPs.

5.3: THE KNIGHTS OF THE SHIRE

Unlike the sheriff and the escheator, the knights of the shire were elected, rather than appointed, and this event took place in the full county court, in the presence of the sheriff.³¹ After the Statute of York in 1322, the growth of the commons in parliament was rapid; the fourteenth century knight of the shire, not always a dubbed knight, was typically a member of the gentry, greater and lesser, a retainer of a lay magnate, a son of a former member and a sheriff, coroner, keeper of the peace, tax collector or some royal commissioner.³² The Great Council list of 1324 included 33 knights, eleven of whom were knights of the shire for Hampshire before that date. Of the eight esquires on the 1324 list, four were Members of Parliament for Hampshire.

Of the 90 knights of the shire in Hampshire in the fourteenth century, 45 (50%) were members of the armigerous gentry families identified in Chapters Three and Four; 13

³¹ Naughton, *The Gentry of Bedfordshire*, 48. The daily rate was fixed in 1327, at 2 shillings for Franklins and 4 shillings for knights banneret per day; H. M. Cam, *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1933), 238-9.

³² Denholm-Young, *The Country Gentry*, 52. Clerks of Chancery rarely bothered to record personal details of the MPs: Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 120.

more were of lesser landed families who had links with the armigerous gentry. A further eight held lands in other counties, usually in the south, which probably indicates their place of origin. Five MPs had origins in service, whose patronage gave them their seats. Andrew Payn, knight of the shire ten times from 1323 to 1340, served as bailiff of the Duchy of Lancaster lands in Hampshire from 1331.³³ Richard Fromond, John Beche and Robert Thorncombe were bailiffs of the Winchester Bishopric in the first half of the fourteenth century and Walter Haywode was steward of St. Swithun's in 1380.³⁴ Of the remaining nineteen MPs, no trace of landholding in Hampshire can be found for ten of them.

This compares well with Professor Saul's findings in Gloucestershire. Gloucestershire knights of the shire numbered 102 in the fourteenth century, 50 of whom were knights; many of those not dubbed knights were wealthy esquires, but 27 of the 102 were of such humble origin that they left no trace of holding any manors at all.³⁵

Were Hampshire knights of the shire recruited from armigerous gentry families resident in the county at an ever increasing rate as the fourteenth century entered the fifteenth century? The Statute of 1445-6 laid down that MPs should be knights of the shire, notable squires or gentlemen of birth, but not yeomen or those beneath. In practice, as with so many laws, the reality had 'stood for some time.'³⁶ There were 49 Hampshire knights of the shire in the fifteenth century; 33 (67%) were drawn from the armigerous families identified in the previous chapters. This represented an increase of 17% over the 50% from armigerous families in the fourteenth century. As there were only nine MPs who sat in the seventeen parliaments for which the returns survive after 1450, as opposed to the 41 MPs who sat in 32 parliaments in the first half of the fourteenth century, this increase really occurred in the earlier half of the century and took its cue from the closer ties formed in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, this did not stop the intrusion of outsiders holding the seat on occasion during this

³³ R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, (London, 2 vols, 1953) i, 363.

³⁴ See below, 251-2.

³⁵ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 120.

³⁶ Payling, *Political Society*, 112.

period, though, as we have seen, the leading armigerous families increasingly dominated the office.³⁷

Re-elections

The two types of writ, the sheriff's returns and those *de expensis*, are incomplete for the reigns of the Edward I and Edward II; even though the sheriff's writs summon knights of the shire, one cannot be sure that those people actually attended.³⁸

However, some general conclusions can be drawn. As with the pattern of shrieval appointments, there is little indication of wholesale change or drastic intervention by the government in Hampshire in the long period 1300 - 1500. Lewis suggested that though the reign of Richard II ended with a substantial increase in the practice of repeated election across the realm as a whole, there was no striking change in the electoral practice between the beginning and the end of the fourteenth century, and re-election and repeated election were neither greatly valued nor of much influence at the end of the century, even at times of crisis and special interest.³⁹ Whether or not re-election was valued, and Wood-Legh thought it was⁴⁰, re-election was not frequent in Hampshire at the end of the fourteenth century. In fifteenth century Nottinghamshire, Payling found a 'significant change' in the personnel of the officer-class once the majority of Henry VI was attained in February, 1445; nobody elected MP before that date was elected thereafter, though this was due in part to demographic factors, as very few were available afterwards.⁴¹ This was not the case in Hampshire, as four men, William Warblington, Sir Thomas Uvedale, Sir John Lisle and Sir John Popham, each sat in parliaments either side of that date, though re-election did become rarer in Hampshire during the reign of Henry VI.

³⁷ See below for Outsiders and Interlopers, 267-274.

³⁸ Wood-Legh, 'Sheriffs, Lawyers and Belted Knights', 375, 376; 'The Knights' Attendance in the Parliaments of Edward III,' *EHR* xlvii, (1932), 398-399.

³⁹ N. B. Lewis, 'Re-election to Parliament in the Reign of Richard II.' *EHR*, xlviii (1933), 375, 379, 394.

⁴⁰ Wood-Legh, 'Sheriff, Lawyers and Belted Knights', 375, 376; 'The Knights' Attendance,' 413.

⁴¹ Payling, *Political Society*, 142.

Eight of the sixteen knights of the shire under Richard II were re-elected, three of whom sat in Henry IV's parliaments, and there was no change in the pattern of re-election during the reign. The ten MPs of Henry IV's reign included two who sat in Henry V's parliaments; both of them, Edward Coudray and John Uvedale, sat in Henry VI's parliaments of 1423 and 1429, respectively. Eight of the ten were re-elected, but two of those had previous experience under Richard II and sat only once under Henry IV. The other twelve members of Henry V's reign included five who sat in his son's parliaments and four re-elected in his reign.

Re-election of knights of the shire under Henry VI, however, quite clearly became rarer as the reign progressed, though parliaments were much less frequent after 1461, and this would affect the number of re-elections. In the period 1400-1449 there were 37 parliaments, whereas from 1450-1500 there were nineteen parliaments. Only ten of the 27 MPs of Henry VI's reign were re-elected, and four of these had their previous experience under Henry IV and his son. One of the remaining six re-elected sat again under Edward IV. No new members elected after 1425 and up until Sir John Lisle, elected in 1433, and 1439, were re-elected. Only one MP of the 27, Sir Maurice Berkeley, was re-elected in the reign of Edward IV, and that was when his brother, Sir Edward, was sheriff; at least six others were active in other spheres of office into the reign of Edward IV. None of the six MPs of Edward IV's reign were re-elected either in Edward IV's reign or Henry VII's.

MPs and other Seats

Twelve fourteenth century Hampshire MPs sat in twelve other shires; six of these were for Wiltshire, and one each for Somerset, Dorset, Devon, Surrey, Berkshire and Cambridgeshire, though Sir Thomas Skelton was a native of Cumberland and held office chiefly in Cambridgeshire. John de la Beche, sitting for Hampshire in the January parliament of 1315, appears to have sat for Dorset in the same parliament. As might be expected, because they sat in the counties where their various lands lay, the outlook of

the Hampshire MPs seat-wise was predominantly to the west of the shire, and to Wiltshire in particular; the same was the case with sheriffs in other counties.⁴²

This number was halved in the fifteenth century. Six fifteenth century MPs sat in six other shires, which included Gloucestershire, Somerset, Wiltshire, Essex, Berkshire and Sussex. The Gloucestershire influence was due to John Berkeley and his son Maurice, and Essex due to Lewis John, by no means a Hampshire or even southern landowner.

Professor Saul suggested that the bonds of loyalty to one county grew as the fourteenth century progressed; in Gloucestershire, only two MPs in Richard II's reign sat on other counties.⁴³ But in Hampshire, five of the twelve fourteenth-century MPs who sat elsewhere held office in Richard II's reign, an indication of the diversity of Hampshire landholding rather than intervention from outside the county.

Income of the MPs

Sixteen Hampshire MPs were listed on the 1412 returns, and seven on the 1436 returns. The incomes illustrate a great diversity amongst the MPs in both sets of returns, ranging in 1412 from Sir Thomas Skelton's £106, to John Berewe's £10 and from John Uvedale's £173 to Nicholas Bernard's £15 in 1436. The 1436 returns include only the incomes from Hampshire and those with primary interests in the county, and so the Berkeleys, for example, are not present on the list. The 1412 totals from other counties do, however, reveal that eight of the sixteen MPs had higher incomes from other counties than from Hampshire; in five cases Wiltshire was the major county. Skelton had a further £43 from Cambridgeshire and £30 from Sussex, but John Boys' £80 from Essex places him clearly outside the southern counties. Henry

⁴² Wood-Legh, 'The Knights' Attendance,' 412; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 126.

⁴³ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 126. The parliamentary representation in Gloucestershire was falling into a smaller group of men as the century progressed, something also occurring in Nottinghamshire: cf. Payling, *Political Society*, 112.

Popham's £40 from Essex, William Brocas' £15 from Northamptonshire, Sir John Berkeley's £20 from Huntingdon and Sir John Popham's £31 from

Name	Hampshire income	Recorded incomes from elsewhere
Sir Thomas Skelton	106	83
Sir John Berkeley	40	155
Sir William Sturmy	37	131
Sir John Popham	20	43
John Lisle	86	40
John Uvedale	70	116
Henry Popham	60	137
Walter Sandys	47	14
William Brocas	44	40
William Warblington	43	0
Edward Coudray ⁴⁴	52	37
William Ringborne	40	0
John Kirkby	32	205
John Boys	20	80
Robert More	20	168
John Berewe	10	0
<i>Average Income</i>	45	123 ⁴⁵

Table 25: Incomes of the Hampshire MPs listed in the 1412 Returns

Huntingdon were all the other sources listed outside the southern region counties; the majority of other county incomes, eighteen in all were from within those counties of Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Surrey, Sussex and Kent. The average incomes of those Hampshire MPs on the 1412 list was £45 from Hampshire alone and £123 including other counties. These figures show a slight rise, but are very close to the corresponding averages of the Hampshire sheriff (£43 and £103).

Of the sixteen MPs included in the 1412 returns, eight were from armigerous families identified closely with the county in Chapters Three and Four. A further three were to

⁴⁴ £42 from Hampshire and £10. 6. 0. was with Thomas Hunt, clerk

⁴⁵ This is the average of the combined total of Hampshire and the other counties.

become part of the landed élite during the fifteenth century. Skelton was present by right of his wife's lands, Joan Sandys, and Sir William Sturmy was a neighbour whose family had held land and office in Hampshire since the eleventh century.

The average income of the seven MPs listed in the 1436 returns for Hampshire was £78, exactly the figure for the average income of the sheriff, but then the three men heading the list, John Uvedale, William Brocas and John Lisle were all sheriffs, and so was Robert Dingley, fifth on the MP list; missing from both was the recently departed Walter Sandys, sheriff and MP, whose widow Margaret had a recorded £252, the highest of all county incomes. Uvedale, Lisle and Brocas were members of the élite, whilst Dingley and Holt have been identified as rising families.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Income</i>
John Uvedale	173
William Brocas	120
John Lisle	100
Richard Holt	67
Robert Dingley	60
John Hampton	15
Nicholas Bernard	15
<i>Average Income</i>	78

Table 26: Incomes of the Hampshire MPs listed in the 1436 returns

Composition of the Electors at County Elections

From the early fourteenth-century, elections had become a valued local privilege. Nationwide, competition grew as the importance of MPs in national government emerged. Richard II was accused of packing parliament, something his detractors would not have felt the need to do if the Commons had not become increasingly powerful. The emergence of the House of Lords in the middle fourteenth century led to a division between the Lords, who attended for personal gain, and the Commons, who represented the community, a community that bore the burden of the taxations inaugurated by Edward I and the wars against Scotland and France.

In the light of this, it is useful to examine the composition of the electors, in order to see who in the county was participating in county elections and in county politics; to see in effect, that political community in action. The Statute of 1406 was a ‘vital turning point,’ in Dr Payling’s words.⁴⁶ It requested that the election returns should not be a simple endorsement on the writ of summons of the names of those elected, but rather an indenture drawn up between the sheriff and the electors who were to append their seals.⁴⁷ The statute reflects the increasing importance of the commons and the competition for seats, but says nothing about the election process itself. Dr Payling suggests that the names of the attestors appearing after 1406 were presumably the same type of men appearing pre-1406. That the number of electors was increasing is shown by further legislation, in 1430, where each elector was to have an annual income of at least 40s. from freehold land and who were resident in the county; over 200 turned up to an election in Buckinghamshire in 1429.⁴⁸ The statute also tells us of the competition for seats, as in the event of a contest, those with the support of the greater number of electors should be returned. The legislation did not, however, restrict the electorate to the wealthier gentry, but remained a broad composition of yeoman and husbandmen, the very type who bore the burden of taxation.

Dr Payling’s analysis of the subsidy of 1451 shows that in Nottinghamshire there were about 625 potential electors, in a county of average wealth, in theory placing the electorate beyond the easy reach of the county élite.⁴⁹ The lists of named electors, who rarely made up more than 100 per county, probably represented only a proportion of those actually present; the sheriffs listed the most important attestors, and in order of rank. It is probable that those longer lists reflect the contested elections, when the candidates brought as many electors as they could and the sheriff noted them all down so that he would be insured should there be a later challenge.

⁴⁶ S. J. Payling, ‘County Parliamentary Elections in Fifteenth-century England,’ *Parliamentary History*, 18 (1999), 243.

⁴⁷ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, iii, 588.

⁴⁸ Payling, ‘County Parliamentary Elections,’ 244.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 245.

An analysis of seven surviving lists of electors in Hampshire for the parliaments of 1422, 1423, 1425, 1429, 1430, 1436 and 1441 show that the numbers of electors was on the increase, in line with the trend identified by Dr Payling, more than doubling from 14 in 1422 to 32 in 1441, peaking in 1436 with 67 electors and averaging 27 per election.⁵⁰ No Hampshire election list was composed of more than 100 electors at any time in the fifteenth century.

Of the 125 electors present at the seven elections, 19 were at some time in their careers knights of the shire and a further five borough MPs; 15 were sheriffs, 13 justices of the peace and six escheators. The leading electors confirm the hegemony established by the landed families that had sat in parliament for Hampshire for the previous century. In 1422, Sir Stephen Popham and John Lisle headed the list; Popham did so again in 1429 and 1436, and was actually elected in the other parliaments of 1423, 1425, 1429 and 1441, making him the most dominant individual at the elections in this period. Popham was sheriff in 1427 and 1440. John Lisle was an elector again in 1423, 1436 and 1441, sheriff in 1439 and MP in 1433. Both the Lisle and Popham families had held land in Hampshire for over a century and had sat in parliament over that period. Sir John Uvedale, sheriff in 1422, 1423 and 1426, was elected in 1429 and had MP in 1419; William Brocas, elected in 1422, was chief elector in 1423, second in 1425 and 1441, and was sheriff in 1429 and 1435. These men represented families who had married into old county families in the later fourteenth century and inherited their office-holding responsibilities as well as lands. Sir Walter Sandys, whose father Sir John had married the Fifehide heiress after a successful military career under the Black Prince, was sheriff in 1424 and chief elector in 1423 and 1429. The income taxes of 1412 and 1436 indicate that these men had incomes well in excess of the £40 limit for knighthood; they were the wealthiest the county had to offer.

144 people were included in the 1436 income tax return for Hampshire, which started at £5, above the 40s. threshold of the 1430 Statute for electors. The average 27 electors at each election thus represented less than a fifth of those financially eligible by

⁵⁰ PRO C219/13, 14, 15.

the terms of the 1436 income tax. (The Hampshire returns for the 1450 income tax do not survive). Those with incomes recorded in 1436 varied from the greater gentry to the husbandmen. Of the 50 electors recorded with a Hampshire income in 1436, 25 had incomes of less than £20 and 12 of £40 and over. The majority of these fifty with recorded incomes in 1436 were thus in the esquire/gentleman income bracket, but we can be sure that some individuals, such as Edward Coudray and Stephen Popham, fell into the £40 + bracket and had their chief residences in Berkshire and Wiltshire and other individuals, such as John Clapton, John Cloudico and John Emory, were husbandmen and yeomen who had no other part in county politics.

Table 27 below shows how the political offices of sheriff and MP were concentrated in the hands of the very few electors, namely the Popham, Lisle, Uvedale and Sandys individuals. Southampton men Chamberlain and Soper, were electors several times, but never county MPs. In the four elections from 1422 - 1429, two electors had been sheriff, and with the exception of 1422, two more went on to become sheriff. None of the electors in 1430 had been sheriff, and even in 1436, with 67 electors, only three had been sheriff. The figures are slightly higher for MPs, as there were more of them in the county and the three boroughs.

Figures in brackets show those who went on to hold office after the election listed; these figures show that those who later held office after appearing as electors were fewer than before, or the same; this might suggest that once one had held office, that experience was used in guiding the next or later elections to influence the return of the favoured individual.

Number	Election	Sheriff	MP (county & borough)
14	1422	2 (4)	3 (4)
19	1423	2 (2)	3 (2)
22	1425	2 (2)	3 (1)
13	1429	2 (2)	5 (4)
25	1430	0 (1)	2 (2)
67	1436	3 (3)	6 (3)
32	1441	3 (2)	9 (4)

Table 27: Number of electors and political appointments, 1422-1441

While it is clear that the leading Hampshire gentry attended the elections and engineered it so that they maintained their political hegemony, they may not have had it all their own way. 39 of the 125 electors in the period 1422-1441 were included on the 1434 oath list, plus Sir John Lisle who was an MP that year; this not insignificant figure suggests that many individuals who were not sheriffs or MPs had other parts to play in county affairs, influence that cannot be discounted lightly. Thomas Tame and Walter Veer sat for Hampshire in the 1427 parliament, neither of whom were present on any of the seven elections lists for the period 1422 - 1441, nor were listed in the Hampshire income tax returns for 1436, though they were both on the 1434 list. In 1430, Tame was listed as sheriff but so was John Seymour, who appears in the 1430 indenture when Sir Stephen Popham and Richard Holt were elected. Veer was sheriff in 1432, when Maurice Berkeley was returned to parliament; neither Berkeley nor Veer appear on any of the other election lists. It could be that a power struggle was occurring between the indigenous Popham-Lisle-Uvedale faction and the Berkeley faction, which had recently married into the county, through the Bettesthorne heiress in 1399. No Berkeley was MP or sheriff again until 1452, but thereafter the Berkeleys dominated county politics, holding office as MP or sheriff on twelve occasions from 1455-1485.

Furthermore, the sheer number of electors outside this very small group must have meant that other forces were at work. One of these was the participation of individuals whose office-holding careers involved the Winchester Bishopric. Seven electors were bailiffs either under Bishop Wykeham or Bishop Beaufort, and an eighth, Thomas Haydock, was steward of Winchester College, Wykeham's foundation. These electors were politically active in the county; John Arnold was county MP in 1413, John Hampton, elector in five elections, in 1432, Richard Wallop, elector in 1423 and 1429, was MP in 1421, Thomas Haydock in 1441 and William Fauconer in 1407. Richard Holt and Richard Hunte, both bishopric bailiffs, were MPs for Portsmouth in 1402 and 1429 respectively. Edward Coudray, from an old landholding Hampshire family, was never elector in this period, but was bailiff under Wykeham and Beaufort, steward of St. Swithun's and MP in 1402, 1417 and 1423. He was sheriff in 1404 and 1416 and

William Fauconer, also bailiff under Wykeham and Beaufort, was sheriff in 1437. Wallop, Haydock and Fauconer were justices of the peace also. The connections between the Winchester Bishopric and the county bench are discussed more fully below. The landed incomes of some of these individuals was nowhere near high enough to place them amongst the ranks of the knights and esquires; John Arnold and Richard Wallop had just £5 in 1436 from Hampshire and John Hampton £15. We must assume that Bishopric influence got them into office.

Another factor to consider is that of the borough MPs. Just as the families of Lisle, Uvedale, Popham dominated the county seats in this period, two individuals dominated the Southampton seats. These were William Chamberlain and William Soper. Chamberlain, with an income of £64 in 1436, was MP on six occasions from 1427 to 1442 for Southampton, and elector in 1430, 1436 and 1441; Soper was MP seven times for Southampton from 1413 to 1442, and elector in 1429; his income was £50 in 1436. In a county where the leading families did not command very large incomes, the wealth of Chamberlain and Soper was not insignificant. Furthermore, the MPs for the boroughs are listed along with the electors for the county. Presumably, they had a vote in the county seat, just as the electors voted for both county and borough seats, which suggests some interaction between borough and county seats.

For Winchester and Portsmouth, smaller towns altogether, the story was rather different; only William Wood and John Bye appear as electors and MPs for Winchester, and Richard Hunte and Richard Newport for Portsmouth. As shown below, the county gentry never moved in on the borough seats and it seems that they were largely left to their own devices, with an internal hierarchy and structure that is outside the scope of this work. Nevertheless, the listings of these individuals on the county election indentures suggests that borough politics were a part of the political county community. This illustrates another ‘community’ within the ‘county of communities.’

The Boroughs

The great domination of the boroughs by the gentry did not begin until the fifteenth century, though this did not happen at all in Hampshire.⁵¹ In the 1290 parliament Hampshire returned nine borough MPs, at Alresford, Alton, Andover, Basingstoke, Overton, Portsmouth, Southampton, Winchester, Yarmouth and Newport (Isle of Wight), though after 1311 Winchester, Portsmouth and Southampton were the main boroughs; the other southern counties had many more borough MPs.⁵² As we might expect, none of these individuals were members of the landowning class.

There is little evidence of Hampshire MPs monopolising the boroughs in the early fifteenth century. Lewis John, knight of the shire for Hampshire in 1414, sat for Wallingford and Taunton (in the same year, 1413, probably due to his patron, Bishop Beaufort) and Thomas Troys, MP for Hampshire in 1478, sat for Arundel in 1472 - 5 and Thomas Welle, MP in 1455, sat for Bedwin in 1442, 1449-50 and 1450, and Downton (a Winchester bishopric manor; he was a servant of the Bishopric, see below) in 1453-4 and 1467-8. However, the fact that Sir John Pound, son and heir of Sir Thomas Pound, MP for Hampshire in 1450, sat for Portsmouth in 1472-5, may indicate that the country gentry were later representing the local boroughs.

The MPs for the three Hampshire boroughs of Southampton, Winchester and Portsmouth at the turn of the century came from one of two social groups; merchants or lawyers.⁵³ Most of the Portsmouth MPs were resident in the town and most were small property owners and shopkeepers; the major office held in addition to that of MP was bailiff of the town. The one exception to all this was Richard Spicer, the outstanding seaman who established himself in the gentry class and attained armigerous rank.⁵⁴ Without exception, the MPs of Winchester in the period resided in Winchester; the majority were fullers and dyers, the élite of the cloth manufacturing industry, though after 1422 an influx of lawyers dominated the returns.⁵⁵ There were a

⁵¹ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 127.

⁵² *Return*, 5.

⁵³ As in Warwickshire; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, 267.

⁵⁴ His total income in 1412 was £30, from Hampshire alone; *Feudal Aids*, vi, 449- 458.

⁵⁵ *HoP*, i, 427

small number of entrepreneurs, some of whom were very well off; Richard Turnaunt (MP, 1416, 1417 and 1419) left over £450 in his will in 1430, but at the end of the fourteenth century fewer Winchester merchants than before had country estates. Mark le Faire had the manor at Freefolk⁵⁶, and his son-in-law was Sir Henry Somer, MP for Middlesex and Cambridgeshire. Richard Gould, a lawyer, held South Langley manor. Southampton MPs were more cosmopolitan, as probably only half of the twenty in the period 1386 - 1421 were natives of the town; seven certainly came from elsewhere, as far away as the Channel Islands. Over half were merchants and six of the twenty became JPs at some point. William Soper was the most substantial merchant, trading with Spain, France and Italy for over thirty years, in wool, cloth, corn and wine and owned properties in Southampton Water and a house in London; he joined the ranks of the gentry, achieving armigerous rank.⁵⁷ His income from land in 1436 was £50.⁵⁸ In the careers of these borough MPs, there can be detected a gradual advancement up the urban hierarchy, beginning with the office of alderman, common's bailiff, bailiff of the Twenty-Four and finally Mayor; the office of MP was a high honour, though it usually preceded that of Mayor.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, only Henry Uvedale, esquire (Portsmouth, 1452, 1467) and Thomas Uvedale, esquire (Portsmouth, 1477) had any connection with the knightly élite of the county.⁵⁹ Others, such as John Wrythar (Winchester, 1432, 1435, 1436) and Henry Smart (Winchester, 1455, 1472) had incomes as low as £5 and £7 in 1436 whereas the Southampton MPs - probably merchants - had far higher incomes (John Payn, 1435, 1447, 1450, £40; John Fleming, 1449, £20; Walter Fetplate, 1472, £20). None of these types of borough MP were major county landowners or country gentry or went on to become knights of the shire, though their income assessed in 1436 were based on landed income and this indicates investment in the countryside.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ His income in 1412 was £40 from Hampshire, plus £6 from Wiltshire.

⁵⁷ *HoP*, i, 421.

⁵⁸ PRO E179/173/92.

⁵⁹ *Return*, 348, 358, 364.

⁶⁰ *Return*, 322, 327, 330; 351, 361; 327, 336, 345; 342, 361; PRO E179/173/92.

5.4: JUSTICES OF THE PEACE

The early fourteenth century was a time of much judicial experimentation and improvisation.⁶¹ By the beginning of the reign of Edward II, keepers of the peace were a regular part of the machinery used to enforce the Statute of Winchester.⁶² They had come to the fore during the years of the baronial wars of the thirteenth century. By 1314 the powers included that of arrest and by 1316 the power to inquire of felonies as well as of trespasses, but it was the statute of January, 1361, that sanctioned the transformation of the keepers into justices, a change that had already been carried out in practice for some eleven years.⁶³ Putnam argued that justices of the peace were not ‘Statute creatures,’ as the statutes sanctioned what actual experience had proved useful, and the Commons had played a large part in the reign of Edward III; JPs did not represent primarily the interests of the crown against the feudal lords.⁶⁴

Eventually county courts and the sheriff’s tourn were superseded by the quarter sessions, but under Edward III, the crown preferred to rely on the magnates rather than the local gentry to suppress order; for much of the fourteenth century, keepers of the peace were at the centre of local rivalries and influences, where the sheriffs were the local actors in the drama of national politics.⁶⁵ Under Richard II, political influence and expansion changed the situation, and after the Black Death, magnate patronage and the newly prosperous swelled the numbers, though few of the increased numbers in Gloucestershire in the 1380s included knights and esquires.⁶⁶

⁶¹ A. Musson and W. M. Ormrod, *The Evolution of English Justice: Law, Politics and Society in the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1999), 53.

⁶² Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 128.

⁶³ B. H. Putnam, ‘The Transformation of the Keepers of the Peace into the Justices of the Peace.’ *TRHS*, 4th series, xii (1929), 23, 46.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁶⁵ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 131.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 135.

The five keepers of the peace listed in Hampshire in 1307 and 1308 were all local Hampshire knights. Two lists of keepers of the peace dated to 1314 and 1316 include five out of six in total who were designated Hampshire knights on the 1324 Great Council list, including the Lord John of St. John, indicating a strong involvement of the local gentry in the administration of royal justice in the province.⁶⁷ Roger Southcote, Roger Bellofago and John Inge were Justices of gaol delivery at Winchester Castle in this period, none of whom were of the local landed élite, though Roger Bellofago was granted the manor of Testwood from William, son and heir of William Baileman of Testwood and a Richard Bellofago was granted the manor in 1334.⁶⁸ The keepers in the early 1330s were for the most part local gentry, but in 1348, the Commons stipulated that the commissions of the peace should consist of six men: two lords, two gentry and two men of law.⁶⁹ Commissions in 1349 again included a majority of local landowners, such as William Fihide, Edward Trenchard, William Overton and Henry Sturmy, who were at times MP and sheriff for Hampshire.⁷⁰ The numbers of those on the Commissions in the middle of the fourteenth century was usually six, but before 1361 did not include any great lords for Hampshire, when William Montacute, earl of Salisbury, was included.⁷¹

By the later fourteenth century, the commissions of the peace had become the premier judicial agency in the shires and the position of the justice of the peace had established a prominent place in the *cursus honorum*: accordingly, the size of the commissions expanded.⁷² The first significant increase in Hampshire was in 1368, when eight individuals were appointed; thereafter, the numbers rose, to nine in 1375 and 1377, thirteen in 1380 and fourteen in 1397.⁷³ The commission of 22 individuals to put down the rebels after the Peasants' Revolt in 1381 was exceptional, but it illustrates the close relationship between the commissions of the peace and the commissions of array in the

⁶⁷ CPR, 1307-1313, 30, 50; *Parl. Writs.*, II, ii, Appendix, 75 (1314), 103 (1316).

⁶⁸ PRO JUST3/61/3, 108, 116; PRO C146/9704, 9748.

⁶⁹ Putnam, 'The Transformation of the Keepers of the Peace,' 26; *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ii, 174

⁷⁰ CPR, 1348-50, 382-3.

⁷¹ CPR, 1361-64, 63.

⁷² Musson and Ormrod, *The Evolution of English Justice*, 69-70.

⁷³ CPR, 1367-70, 191-2; CPR, 1374-77, 139; CPR, 1377-81, 45, 512; CPR, 1396-99, 99.

later fourteenth century, many of which were identical lists.⁷⁴ The lack of great secular lords in Hampshire is also reflected in the composition of these commissions, for as well as the Earl of Salisbury, Thomas Holand, earl of Kent, Edward, duke of Aumarle and Thomas, duke of Surrey were included at times.⁷⁵ The commissions did include the greater gentry families of Hampshire, such as Uvedale, Brocas, Sandys, Brune, Lisle and Popham, as well as professional lawyers such as Robert Bealknapp, William Rickhill, Thomas Skelton and William Hankford.

The Commissions of the Peace in the fifteenth century

The emergent categories of magnates, gentry and lawyers in the later fourteenth century are reflected in the 68 or so JPs on the commissions of the peace listed in the patent rolls of the first half of fifteenth century Hampshire. They were a much wider group of men, both socially and geographically, than either sheriffs or MPs were; they ranged from the mighty Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, to the likes of John Heyno, whose income in 1436 was £20, and included five earls and four bishops.⁷⁶ Central officials, peers and judges appear in many counties, but that does not necessarily mean that they were active on those counties. Peers were unpaid, and were unlikely to have sat. There was an overlap in the personnel between gentry and lawyers, as the consideration of those active lawyers in the following section shows.

The longest career in this period on the county bench was that of Richard Wallop, with an unbroken thirty-six years from 1399 to 1435, and the shortest Sir John Popham's, from January 1406 to February 1407. Eleven of the twenty-six JPs of Henry IV's reign served under Henry V; of the 21 under Henry V, twelve continued under Henry VI. Four of the 68, Sir Thomas Poynings, Richard Wallop, John Skilling and John Colpeper, were JPs under all three Lancastrian kings. Thirteen JPs served before and after the end of Henry VI's minority, February 1445 (of the 44 JPs appointed in the

⁷⁴ *CPR, 1381-85*, 84-5.

⁷⁵ *CPR, 1381-85*, 589, in 1385; *CPR, 1396-99*, 233, the latter two in 1397.

⁷⁶ JP from Nov. 1443, to Sept. 1444, and held no office in the county. Figures from the appendices of the *CPR, 1399-1452*.

reign before 1452) and at least three, Sir John Lisle, Sir Thomas Uvedale and Sir Maurice Berkeley went on to serve on the bench under Edward IV.

Dr. Fritze suggests that the inclusion of Beaufort on the commissions after 1424 was part of a deliberate policy of placing central officials in the shires. The Court of the King's Bench had been fixed at Westminster in 1423 and in 1424 Beaufort became Lord Chancellor; central officials appeared in other counties, too, and thereafter the commissions grew in size.⁷⁷ The numbers of those serving on the commissions of the peace at any one time in the first half of the fifteenth century grew from the ten appointed in November 1399 to a peak of nineteen, appointed in September, 1444, dropping down to eight in February, 1452, the lowest number in this period. The period 1441-1446 was a time of large numbers on the bench, with fourteen the minimum; the appointments of November, 1447 of only ten registered a dramatic drop. Other low numbers were nine in December, 1416, and nine in November, 1435. Much of the time the figure was above ten, and the 26 separate commissions for the period 1399-1452 gives an average figure of 12 individuals serving on the county bench at any one time within that period.

Around half of the 68 Hampshire JPs appointed after 1399 and up to 1452 served as JPs in other counties and the counties included ranged from Cumberland to Cornwall. William Rickhill, a royal justice, was JP in Hampshire at the beginning of the fifteenth century but also in Cambridgeshire, Essex, Kent, and others. Some did spend their time wholly in one region; William Brenchesley, JP in Hampshire from 1399 - 1406, acted as JP in Somerset, Devon, Dorset and Surrey in those years. John Colpeper's career was based in Dorset, Somerset, Kent, Surrey and Wiltshire, but Judge William Paston, made a circuit, starting in Cambridge in 1418 to 1422, Suffolk for a year, then Hampshire, Devon, Somerset, Dorset and Wiltshire in 1423-24, followed by Sussex, Hertfordshire, Kent and Essex in 1424 and then Surrey in 1431 and Norwich in 1439. Henry, bishop of Winchester, also served in twelve counties, from 1424 onwards,

⁷⁷ R. H. Fritze, 'Faith and Faction: Religious Changes, National Politics and the Development of Local Factionalism in Hampshire, 1485-1570,' (Unpublished University of Cambridge Ph.D., 1981), 7-8.

including six southern counties but also Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire over to the east Midlands. Sir Walter Hungerford, as the duchy of Lancaster chief steward, was *ex officio* JP in eighteen counties from March 1416 to May 1437 in one of the most notable careers in this period, though his time in Hampshire as JP was from 1422 to 1424 and he held no other office in the county.

Of the 68 JPs in this period, 38 did not serve as JPs in other counties. 27 of these served either as MP or sheriff of Hampshire; of those 22 did not serve as JP in another county. The majority of JPs who acted on one or both of the other two major county offices for Hampshire thus did not serve on the bench elsewhere; this insular group were the greater gentry in their county and clearly did not associate with the more mobile lawyer class of JP. Those five men who were either MP or sheriff of Hampshire, JP in Hampshire and JP elsewhere, experienced time on another bench in areas they would consider their locality; Sir Thomas Skelton (Cambridgeshire), Sir William Sturmy (Wiltshire), Sir Maurice Berkeley (Gloucestershire), William Warblington (Berkshire) and Sir Thomas Uvedale (Sussex and Surrey).

After the dynastic struggles of 1460-1, the numbers of those on the commissions returned to around 20 in the 1460s, dropping to 15 on the readeption of Henry VI. The initial weakness of Henry VII was reflected by the presence of only four central government officials in 1485. The leading knightly families had been involved in the Buckingham rebellion of 1483 (Sir William Berkeley, William Uvedale and John Brocas). Indeed, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire and Hampshire were the heartland of Henry VII's support in 1483-5.⁷⁸

In 1461, powers to arrest and fine were transferred from the sheriff to the JP and in the parliament of 1495, new powers were granted, including further regulation of the poor, judging crimes, controlling weights and measures, and investigating misdeeds by

⁷⁸ D. Lockett, 'Crown Patronage and Local Administration in Berkshire, Dorset, Hampshire, Oxfordshire, Somerset and Wiltshire, 1485-1509,' (Unpublished University of Oxford D.Phil. 1992).

sheriffs.⁷⁹ By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the office of justice of the peace was the most powerful in the locality. In Fritze's words, "For the Tudor gentry, the most common sign of political success was the attainment of the office of justice of the peace."⁸⁰ The Commissions grew in size and those for 1498 included 20.⁸¹

Professional Lawyers: King's Bench Cases and the Quorum

In addition to the commissions, further evidence as to those actively participating in the processes of the law is required. Two samples of the ancient indictments of King's Bench records (1411-20, 1491-1450), a list of those on the quorum in the period 1422-85, and payments to the JPs made in the reigns of Henry IV, V and VI throw further light on who was actively participating in the processes of the law in the fifteenth century.

The emergent factor was the increasing influence of the Bishop of Winchester and other ecclesiastical estates in Hampshire over the recruitment and employment of professional lawyers as the fifteenth century progressed. Many of these professions with connections with the Bishopric can be seen in the later fourteenth century. An assize roll of 43 Edward III includes Walter Haywode and William Hoghton as JPs.⁸² Haywode was Steward of the Priory of St. Swithun's in 1380 and Hoghton attorney for Bishop Wykeham. Both were MPs of Hampshire; Haywode escheator in 1356, sheriff also in 1356 and of Wiltshire in 1366-71; Hoghton was JP in Wiltshire also. Haywode was also a servant of the duchy of Lancaster, acting as steward of Trowbridge and Aldebourne from 1365, steward in Wiltshire and Berkshire, King's Somborne (Hampshire) in 1372, Hampshire and Wiltshire in 1374 and Wiltshire in

⁷⁹ Fritze, 'Faith and Faction, 10, 24.

⁸⁰ HRO HP/106: R.H. Fritze and W. Robinson, 'Age and Magistracy in the Tudor Shires: The JPs of Hampshire and Surrey, 1485-1570,' 3 (unpublished pamphlet).

⁸¹ *CPR 1485-98*, 499-500.

⁸² B. H. Putnam (ed.), *Proceedings Before the Justices of the Peace in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, Edward III to Richard III* (Ames Foundation, 1938), i, 200.

1375; he was MP for Hampshire in 1365 and 1368.⁸³ Hoghton and Haywode were on the commissions of the peace from 1361 to 1385.

King's Bench Cases

In the period 1411 - 1420, eight appear in the records. Most of the sessions were held in Winchester. Understandably, only one justice appeared at each of the two Isle of Wight sessions in 1412 and 1416. Most frequent was Richard Wallop, appearing eight times; he was also justice of gaol delivery at Winchester Castle in 1410.⁸⁴ Wallop was from an old armigerous Hampshire family and was a servant of the Winchester Bishopric. Also present on the bench were John Fromond (four times), another Bishopric official, William Rickhill, a professional lawyer, King's serjeant in 1384 and justice of the common pleas in 1389, and Sir Thomas Skelton, a judge.⁸⁵ The only individual of knightly rank in those years was John Uvedale. Skelton, Fromond, Skilling, Wallop and Breding all claimed payments in this period.⁸⁶ Along with Wallop, William Rickhill, William Brenchley, William Hankford, John Colpepper, William Skerne, William Cheyne and John Martin were justices of gaol delivery in Hampshire in the first quarter of the fifteenth century; all were professional lawyers.⁸⁷ However, the apparent dominance by professional lawyers, judges and Bishops' men may have been due to the participation of the knights and esquires in Henry V's wars in France in this period. Certainly Sir Stephen Popham, John Popham, William Warblington and Sir Walter Sandys, all on the commissions, were in France in and after 1415.

⁸³ Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, i, 379.

⁸⁴ PRO KB 9/205/1 - 9/1056; PRO JUST3/61/8.

⁸⁵ Putnam, *Proceedings Before the Justices of the Peace*, i, 235.

⁸⁶ PRO E101/562/17 Sheriff's Accounts (8, 13 Henry IV) and E101/562/18, 19 (2, 7 Henry V). I am indebted to Dr. Hannes Kleineke for this reference.

⁸⁷ PRO JUST3/61/8, 186, 192, 194, 196, 198, 202, 205.

Session	Location	Justices
Michaelmas, 1411	Winchester	Sir Thomas Skelton
Trinity, 1412	Shalfleet (Isle of Wight)	Thomas Bredring
Michaelmas, 1413	Winchester	John Fromond, Sir Thomas Skelton
Michaelmas, 1414	Bedhampton	John Fromond, John Uvedale, Richard Wallop
Michaelmas, 1416	Newport (Isle of Wight)	William Rickhill
Hilary, 1417	Southampton	Richard Wallop
Michaelmas, 1417	Winchester	Richard Wallop
Easter, 1419	Winchester	John Fromond, John Skilling, Richard Wallop (twice)
Michaelmas, 1419	Winchester	John Skilling (twice), Richard Wallop (twice)
Michaelmas, 1420	Winchester	John Fromond, John Skilling, Richard Wallop

Table 28: JPs on Ancient Indictments, 1411-1420

In the period 1491-1500, the sessions were held in Basingstoke as well as Winchester, but there does not seem to be any apparent north-south county divide in attendees, as John Dale and William Frost sat in both towns. One rather different session seems to have been held at Southwick in 1495, where Sir Edward Daubeny, William Tichborne and Thomas Langton, Bishop of Winchester attended. Lord Daubeny purchased the manor of Little Bramshill in 1499 the name does not appear in any of the landholding records earlier in the fifteenth century.

William Frost, John Dale, John Newport and John Kingsmill were the most frequently named on the ancient indictments, each attending around five times.⁸⁸ None of these individuals came from old landed families within the county, though John Newport's ancestor Richard had leased the manor of Soberton from Beaulieu Abbey for 200 years in 1411.⁸⁹ Kingsmill's father was Richard Kingsmill of Berkham, Berkshire, where they were enfeoffed in 1337.⁹⁰ In 1490, an indenture was signed between John Giffard of

⁸⁸ PRO KB 9/338-422.

⁸⁹ VCH, iii, 258.

⁹⁰ HRO 19M61/1076.

Itchell and Richard Kingsmill of Basingstoke, for the marriage of John Kingsmill and Jane Giffard, daughter of John Giffard; Freefolk manor was purchased at the end of the century.⁹¹ In 1484, William Dale purchased the manor of Fyfield from John Marewell and by the end of the century the Dales had also acquired the manor of South Tidworth.⁹² In 1498 William Frost purchased the manor of Yavington for £100 from John Rogers.⁹³

The presence of Lord Daubeny, Sir Edward Berkeley and Sir Nicholas Lisle - the latter two local landowning gentry - suggests that the professional lawyers were not in total command, and Waller, Philpot and Pound were all listed as esquires in 1501.⁹⁴

Session	Location	Justices
Trinity, 1491	Liberty of Winchester	Sir Nicholas Lisle, John Dale
Easter, 1491	Winchester	William Tichborne
Michaelmas, 1491	Heckfield	Sir Edward Berkeley
Michaelmas, 1492	Basingstoke	John Dale, William Frost
Hilary, 1493	Winchester	John Dale, William Frost, John Newport
Michaelmas, 1493	Basingstoke	William Frost, John Newport, Robert Rede, Thomas Wood
Trinity, 1495	Southwick	Sir Edward Daubeny, Thomas Langton, Bishop of Winchester, William Tichborne
Easter, 1497	Winchester	Sir Edward Berkeley, John Dale, William Frost, John Philpot, John Pound, John Tichborne, John Waller, John Kingsmill, John Newport
Trinity, 1498	Winchester	William Frost, John Kingsmill
Easter, 1499	Winchester	John Kingsmill, John Newport
Easter, 1500	Winchester	John Dale, John Kingsmill, William Frost, John Newport

Table 29: JPs on the Ancient Indictments, 1491-1500

⁹¹ HRO 19M61/1088.

⁹² CP25(1)207/35, no.5; *VCH*, 392-4.

⁹³ CP25(1)207/36, no.35.

⁹⁴ BL MS Harl. 6166, fos. 104-5.

The Quorum

Those on the quorum were those actively participating in the processes of the law.⁹⁵ In the years 1422-85, 31 individuals were listed for the Hampshire quorum, an average of five per recorded year. This included local landowners from old Hampshire families, such Richard Wallop, George Bramshott, new men such as Richard Holt, Thomas Welle and at least ten who were not of the greater Hampshire élite, such as Nicholas Ashton, MP for Liskeard in 1421 and Cornwall in 1437, John Martin, MP for Dorchester in 1432 and Walter Moyle, MP for Bodmin in 1429. John Catesby and Richard Chokke were serjeants-at-law. Catesby was from Northamptonshire and became a justice of common pleas in 1481; Chokke, from Somerset, became justice of common pleas in 1461.⁹⁶ With the exception of Wallop and Bramshott, none of the other 31 on the quorum were of the greater Hampshire gentry families identified in previous chapters. The Bishop of Winchester was included in 1435 and 1439, along with the Bishop of Exeter in 1435 and the Bishop of Bath in 1439. No secular magnates were included in the period. Richard Holt was included from 1422 to 1444, and Richard Wallop from 1406 to his death in 1435, the longest periods of service.

Payments to the JPs in the last twenty years of the reign of Henry VI do include members of the greater élite families of Hampshire, such as Popham, Uvedale, Berkeley, Brocas and Lisle, as well as those on the quorum.⁹⁷ This illustrates that the greater gentry were sitting in the quarter sessions but were not part of the inner circle of the legal processes in their county. Sir Stephen Popham appeared alongside Thomas Haydock, Richard Holt, Richard Newton, William Sydney and Sir Henry Husee for cases of oyer and terminer in 1441: Richard Newton was the most active.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ I am indebted to the History of Parliament Trust for allowing me to view and use their typescript lists of the Quorum from the E372 Originalia Rolls.

⁹⁶ Putnam, *Proceedings Before the Justices of the Peace*, 273.

⁹⁷ PRO E101/562/50.

⁹⁸ PRO KB9/234 (Hilary, 1441).

Attendance at the quarter sessions at the end of the fifteenth century averaged 7.7 in a year.⁹⁹ The quorum formed the inner, élitist circle, including around three to four individuals, and this was dominated by the Bishops of Winchester, particularly Waynflete and Fox. Common to the quorum were William Frost, John Dale, William Pound and John Newport; Frost and Newport were servants of Winchester College. Other JPs, Richard Jay, John Tichborne, Nicholas Tichborne, John Waller, Thomas Welles and John Pound were also servants of the Bishopric.¹⁰⁰ Jay, Welles and More were included on the quorum from 1461.

Many JPs were professionally trained lawyers. Frost had attended Lincoln's Inn in 1471 and became sheriff in 1520; Newport attended Winchester College, New College and Lincoln's Inn. Thomas More of Sherfield had attended Middle Temple and became legal counsel to Bishop Fox; John Kingsmill of Freefolk went to New College after Winchester and then the Middle Temple, becoming justice of the common Pleas in 1509. Frost, Newport, Dale and Kingsmill were listed as 'gentlemen' in 1501; they were not, therefore, members of the armigerous county élite.¹⁰¹

Income of the JPs

The 1412 returns illustrate a greater disparity in the incomes of some of the JPs than for the MPs and the sheriffs, as might be expected because of the greater social diversity of the composition of the JPs, ranging from Edward, duke of York's Hampshire income of £260, to Sir Thomas Poyning's £4. However, because of the lack ecclesiastical incomes in 1412, average incomes of the JPs are more difficult to assess; the lay average of the twenty-one JPs identified in the returns, including the two earls, York and Salisbury, was £60; but a truer picture of the greater and lesser gentry who made up the bulk of the JPs, as they did the shrievalty and parliamentary representation, is £39, without the two earls. Accounting for other counties this rises to £158 without the earls.

⁹⁹ Fritze, 'Faith and Faction' 40.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 66-7.

¹⁰¹ BL MS Harl. 6166, fos. 104-5.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Income from Hampshire</i>	<i>Recorded income from elsewhere</i>
Edward, duke of York	260	587
Thomas, earl of Salisbury	234	316
Sir Thomas Skelton*	106	83
John Uvedale*	70	116
Henry Popham	60	137
John Fromond*	50	0
Walter Sandys	47	14
William Brocas*	44	40
William Warblington*	43	0
William Ringborne	40	0
John Skilling*	40	25
Thomas Brerdyng*	40	16
John Hall	40	0
Sir William Sturmy	37	131
Sir Thomas Camoys	30	120
Sir John Popham	20	43
Philip Baynard	20	40
Sir John Pelham	8	593
John Laurens*	6	8
Sir Thomas Poynings	4	20
<i>Averages</i> ¹⁰²	60 (39)	179 (158) ¹⁰³

Table 30: Incomes of the Hampshire JPs listed in the 1412 Returns

These figures show that the average income of the 1412 MPs - £45 (from Hampshire alone) - was slightly higher than that of the JPs, though the average including outside counties was higher for the 1412 JPs; £158, compared to £123. If this included the two earls, at £179, it would even higher. In terms of gentry, though, the involvement of the likes of Sir John Pelham on the Hampshire bench, with only £8 from Hampshire but £593 from Sussex and other places, and Sir Thomas Camoys, with £120 from elsewhere and £30, the greater variety of wealthy gentry in Hampshire affairs of the bench makes all the difference. The corresponding averages of the shrieval incomes listed in the Hampshire returns of 1412 were similar for the incomes from Hampshire

¹⁰² The figure in brackets is without the two earls

¹⁰³ This is the average of the combined total of Hampshire and other county incomes

alone, (or a little lower if the earls are included at £60) but substantially lower including the outside figures, at just £103 as against £158 (£179 with the earls).

Name	Income
John Uvedale*	173
William Brocas*	120
John Lisle*	100
Richard Holt*	67
William Chamberlain*	64
William Fauconer*	40
Michael Skilling*	26
John Heyno*	26
John Skilling*	20
<i>Average income</i>	<i>70</i>

Table 31: Incomes of the Hampshire JPs listed in the 1436 Returns

In 1436, nine past, present and future JPs were recorded as having income from Hampshire; the top three were again John Uvedale, William Brocas and John Lisle, and the average was £70, an apparent rise on the £39 figure of the 1412 gentry. The three averages for the MPs, sheriff and JPs in 1436, were £78, £78 and £70, much the same across the board, though the lowest JP income was just £20 from John Skilling.

It should be noted that tables 30 and 31 include all those on the Commissions in the Patent Rolls; those marked with an asterisk were either claiming payments, on the quorum or included in the Ancient Indictment sample. Those regularly present on the Indictments, the payments and the quorum for the first half of the fifteenth century, such as Michael Skilling and John Hayno, had lower incomes, as we might expect from their social status as lawyers and servants of the Bishop. The absence of twelve of those regulars from the 1412 and 1436 Hampshire returns indicates their lack of landed interest in the county, and makes any average figure impossible to attain.

The samples of those cases that went to King's Bench, those on the quorum, and those claiming payments indicate that those who officiated at quarter sessions actually had

little relationship to the county élite. With only two members of the quorum in the period 1422-85 (Wallop and Bramshott) part of the landed élite, the inner circle of the legal processes in Hampshire were dominated by professional servants of the royal courts and of the Bishopric.

5.5: OFFICE-HOLDING AND THE WINCHESTER BISHOPRIC

Connections between the parliamentary electors and the Bishopric and the county bench in the fifteenth century have been highlighted in the above sections. The intention here is to assess to what extent the armigerous families held specifically Bishopric offices in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and whether those connections grew closer as the period progressed.

The personnel of county office is often explained by reference to bastard feudal factors: the preference of and service to the principal lords. Several great lay magnates held land in Hampshire: apart possibly from the Earls of Salisbury, whose caput was at Christchurch, none concentrated their interests and political activity in Hampshire. There were also a number of major ecclesiastical landowners - Wherwell, Romsey, Beaulieu, Netley, Hyde, St. Swithuns, Southwick and Winchester College - whose wishes may also have mattered. Most important of all, however, was the bishop of Winchester, whose estates rivalled those of the greatest secular magnates and who cannot be ignored. Many bishops were national figures, often indeed the chancellors who composed the pricklists of sheriffs and composed the commissions of the peace, surely in Hampshire's case on the basis of first-hand acquaintance.

It is reasonable therefore to suppose that service to the bishop and the bishop's influence was important in county government and the appointment of county officials. A full study of the Winchester Bishopric and ecclesiastical administration is not the intention here: indeed surviving records, notably the almost unbroken series of pipe rolls are too voluminous to tackle.¹⁰⁴ To pursue such connections in full and to assess their significance would require another thesis. Some impression, from the armigerous

¹⁰⁴ A study of the Winchester Bishopric and Bastard Feudalism is currently in progress.

gentry point of view, can be obtained, across the period 1300-1500 from a look at some sources, namely the printed Registers, the Register of the Common Seal, for St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester College Muniments and the Pipe Rolls for 1301-2 and 1500-1. Regrettably, however, there are no surviving household accounts and livery rolls and the identity of other officials and annuitants from the records of expenditure could not be attempted.

Connections in the Fourteenth century

The Bishop's treasurer was one of the most important officials, followed by the steward, the bailiffs and then the reeves, the manorial officials. In 1302, the treasurer was Geoffrey Farham, and had been since 1293, and his brother Simon Farham was clerk of the Bishopric; the Bishop's steward was Robert Harwedon.¹⁰⁵ There were some eleven bailiffs acting for the 29 Hampshire Bishopric manors in that year, including Nicholas Woodlock, bailiff of Alresford, Sutton, Beauworth, Cheriton, Hambleton and Wield and related to Bishop Henry. Nicholas was of a knightly family though acted in a professional rather than honorial capacity; he was neither knight of the shire nor sheriff.¹⁰⁶ The other major bailiff, Henry Wayte, was bailiff of Ashmansworth, Burghclere, Highclere, Ecchinswell, North Waltham, Overton, Newton and Woodhay but again held no county office as MP or sheriff. Any inquisition recording his holding lands in Hampshire does not survive, or never existed, though it is likely he was of the Wayte family who had land at Bere and Wayte's Court, the latter on the Isle of Wight, identified as an armigerous family in the preceding chapter.¹⁰⁷ The other bailiffs, John Forton, James Northon, Robert Froyle, William Worsetede, John Heriard, Nicholas Itchen, John David, John Pulayn and Richard Clericus were none of them notable landowners or county officials in the shire or related to any; it is likely that they were members of the growing corps of increasingly professional bailiffs that had emerged in the previous century.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1301-2*, ed. M. Page (HRS, xiv, 1996), xv, xvi.

¹⁰⁶ The Woodlocks are discussed in Chapter Three, 104-105.

¹⁰⁷ *VCH*, iii, 263; v, 211.

¹⁰⁸ *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester*, xvi.

The relationship between local landowners and the Winchester bishopric is further highlighted by a list of some 41 officers of the bishopric in the years 1316 to 1323, during the episcopates of John Sandal and Rigaud Asserio.¹⁰⁹ On the list are included John Bookland, as constable of Taunton castle in the period 1320-23, lord of Avon and Arnewood in Hampshire in 1316 and esquire in 1324, and Walter Woodlock, as chief huntsman and deputy keeper of the chases from 1316-19, and bailiff of Twyford and Waltham from 1320; he too was esquire in 1324 and part lord of Kilmeston, Hampshire, in 1316.¹¹⁰ Bookland was knight of the shire in 1327 and sat for Wiltshire in 1340 and 1341, as well as holding the shrievalty in Oxfordshire and Berkshire between 1328-30; Bookland was also lord of Almondsworth in Somerset in 1316 and lord of Brookley in Hampshire after 1334.¹¹¹ Walter Woodlock was the nephew of Bishop Henry Woodlock of Winchester (1304 - 1316) and may have been the brother of Sir Roger Woodlock, Hampshire knight in 1324 and lord of Drayton and Allington in 1316; Walter was also lord of West and East Enbourne in Berkshire in 1316, with others, and in 1316 was pardoned for acquiring lands without permission at Marwell, lands within the bishopric estates which eventually became a manor in its own right in the lifetime of Walter's son Nicholas.¹¹²

Bookland and Woodlock were not insubstantial men in the locality and the region; one held the highest local offices and the other benefited from having a family member as bishop of Winchester. However, neither were of the status of those such as the des Roches, Scures or Lisle armigerous families. None of the other 41 were knights or esquires of Hampshire in 1324, but further investigation shows that three others, Richard Fromond, bailiff of Clere from 1320 to 1323, and Robert Thorncombe, bailiff of Sutton in 1320, were knights of the shire in 1324, 1325, 1328 and in 1321

¹⁰⁹ *Registers of John de Sandal and Rigaud de Asserio, Bishops of Winchester, 1316-1323* ed. F. J. Baigent (HRS, 1897) pp.lxii - lxiii.

¹¹⁰ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 316, *Parl. Writs.*, ii, 648-9; *Feudal Aids*, ii, 320, *Parl. Writs.*, ii, 648-9.

¹¹¹ *Return*; PRO Lists and Indexes, ix, 1898, 108; *Feudal Aids*, iv, 335; *VCH*, iv, 628.

¹¹² *Parl. Writs.*, ii, 648-9, *Feudal Aids*, ii, 306, 310; *Feudal Aids*, i, 49; S. Waight, 'Marwell Woodlock: The Creation of the Manor and its Descent, c.1300 - 1920,' *HFC* 53 (1998), 201-217.

respectively.¹¹³ Sir John Beche, bailiff of Wargrave in the years 1320-23, was sheriff of Hampshire in 1313 and again between 1315 and 1317 and knight of the shire in 1315, as well as for Dorset in 1312 and 1315; he was lord of Yattendon in Berkshire in 1316 and appeared to have no lands in Hampshire, though he may have been related to the Beches of Woodcote, lords of that manor from before 1270 to 1431.¹¹⁴ Three others, John Aygnel, bailiff of Downton between 1320 - 23, Roger Fifhide, bailiff of Sutton and receiver of Taunton between 1316 and 1321, and John Bere, bailiff of Wargrave from 1320 - 1323, had lands in Hampshire in 1316 (Migham, jointly with Maurice Brune, Ellisfield and Ibsley, jointly with Roger Melbury and John Nutavon).¹¹⁵

Others were probably related to Hampshire landowners, as younger brothers and sons. Alan Descures, bishop's huntsman, was probably related to the Scures of Wickham, and Giles Pecche, constable of Taunton Castle between 1316-1319, to the Pecches of Beaurepaire.¹¹⁶

Officers of high status with little or no known landed association with Hampshire included Sir Ralph Bereford, steward of the bishopric from 1305 - 1324 and who seems to have been a justice based perhaps in Oxfordshire and Berkshire; Sir William Blounte, clerk of the bishop's household and wardrobe (no date), Simon Farham, rector of Crondal and treasurer of Wolvesey from 1304-1319, Sir Thomas Folquardby, bishop's clerk and treasurer of Wolvesey from 1323, and Sir William Staunforde, treasurer of Wolvesey from 1320 to 1323.¹¹⁷

Of the remaining 26 officers of the Bishopric between 1316 and 1323 John Everard was lord of Pury, in Somerset, in 1316, though no others are known to have been landowners in the southern region in 1316.¹¹⁸ Robert and Thomas Sandal were probably related to Bishop John Sandal and further investigation, more specific to the

¹¹³ *Return*, 72, 74, 84, 63.

¹¹⁴ *List of Sheriffs*, 54; *Return*; *Feudal Aids*, i, 49; *VCH*, iii, 47.

¹¹⁵ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 322, 313, 322.

¹¹⁶ *VCH*, iii, 234; iv, 165.

¹¹⁷ *Titles as in the Register: Moor*, i, 80.

¹¹⁸ *Feudal Aids*, iv, 319.

Winchester Bishopric estates, would no doubt illustrate the character of those office-holders in this chosen period in greater detail.

From the Hampshire secular élite perspective, the examination suggests that some of the gentry were officers of the Bishopric but, as might be expected in a diocese spanning six counties, the Hampshire élite by no means predominate, even though Hampshire contained 29 of the 60 Winchester bishopric manors. Those present from Hampshire were not of the most distinguished local families.

The personnel of the middle fourteenth century were of similar standing.¹¹⁹ Under Bishop Edington, John Payn was bailiff of the manor of Waltham in 1347, parson of Waltham, and may have been related to Andrew Payn, MP; Richard Wyke was bailiff and keeper of the franchises of the county in 1349 and Simon Clere his successor in the post in 1354 and neither held high secular office in the county. The treasurer and receiver of Wolvesey and bailiff of Waltham in 1358 was Walter Noht, rector of Michelmersh and the bailiff of Downton, Wiltshire; the Steward of the episcopal lands in 1365 was Thomas Hungerford, of the Hungerfords of Wiltshire, a leading knightly family in that county, and a near neighbour of Edington. Such officers as William Consolde, bailiff of the Soke of Winchester in 1356 and of Sutton and East Meon in 1359, William de Somerford, bailiff of Clere in 1363, William Putton, bailiff of Waltham in 1346 and Roger Gervays, bailiff of East Meon in 1364, held no high county office and no estates in the shire. Roger Gervays held the half fee at Bighton of Hyde Abbey in 1346 and lands in Ropley; Roger's son, Andrew, granted these lands to William Wykeham in 1370 and in 1428 Winchester College held the part of the fee formerly held by the Gervays family.¹²⁰

Bishop Wykeham

¹¹⁹ *Register of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester, 1346-66* ed. S. F. Hockey, (HRS, Southampton, 1987) 2 vols.

¹²⁰ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 334; *VCH*, iii, 39, 56.

It was perhaps under Bishop Wykeham that Hampshire landowners and those of knightly status came closer to the Bishopric administration. Thomas Warrener, the bishop's kinsman, was bailiff of the Soke for life from 1366, in a charter witnessed by Sir John Lisle, Sir Bernard Brocas, Walter Haywode, Nicholas Woodlock and others. The chief surveyor and keeper of the parks on the episcopal estates in 1377 was Sir Bernard Brocas; Wykeham's bailiff at Highclere was Sir Edward Coudray and, at Twyford and Merdon, Richard Wallop. All sat for Hampshire as knights of the shire.

Less direct were connections with Bishop Wykeham through marriage. John Uvedale's maternal grandfather, Sir John Scures, had been an early patron of Wykeham and his father's marriage to the heiress of Wykeham, Sybil, brought him not only into Hampshire, but into the sphere of influence of his overlord, the bishop, beginning with his attendance, with his brother William, at Wykeham's new school in Winchester. Uvedale's sister married Bishop Wykeham's great-nephew, William Wykeham, and Uvedale was left a cup of silver to the value of 10 marks in Wykeham's will.¹²¹ The Uvedale connection with the Bishopric continued, as in 1486 John's grandson Sir William was a beneficiary of Bishop Waynflete's will, and a certain Thomas Uvedale was servant to Waynflete. Equally significant in the eyes of the greater gentry was Sir Bernard Brocas's close association with Bishop Wykeham, witness of several deeds and chief surveyor and keeper of the parks on the episcopal estates from 1377; his marriage to Mary Boarhunt, daughter of Sir John des Roches, brought him not only a clutch of manors to consolidate his inheritance at Beaurepaire, but also a connection with the collateral descendant of Peter des Roches, thirteenth century bishop of Winchester, whose descendants held their lands at Bradley and Hussbourne from the Bishopric.¹²² Similarly, Sir John Sandys, who had married Joan Bridges, cousin and heiress to Sir William Fifhide, descendant of Roger, sought to cement his arrival in the shire by associating with the bishop, dining in Wykeham's household; his son Walter furthered the family by marrying Agnes Warrener, a kinswoman of Wykeham.¹²³

¹²¹ *HoP*, iv, 699-700; *Testamenta Vetusta*, ed. N. H. Nicolas (London, 1826) ii, 772.

¹²² *Register of John of Pontoise, 1282-1304*, ed. C. Deedes (Canterbury and York Society, vols. 19, 30, 1915-17) 387, 593

¹²³ *HoP*, iv, 301-4.

Kinship might have been as important as tenurial connections, if the two were not mutually exclusive. Thomas Warrener, Wykeham's kinsman, was bailiff of the soke and liberty of Winchester from before 1365 to 1404, when he was abruptly replaced by Bishop Beaufort's man, John Arnold.¹²⁴ Wykeham's will listed Edith Ringborne, Agnes Woodlock, Lady Agnes Sandys (née Warrener, daughter of Thomas), Thomas Warrener, William Ringborne and John Bennet as his cousins and beneficiaries; the first three of these received £100, the second three £20.¹²⁵ Warrener was also left 100s. or a silver cup to that value, as was John Fromond, steward of the Winchester College manors from 1405-1420.¹²⁶

There were 100 or so beneficiaries altogether. Henry Popham, of one the most established families in Hampshire, and most of whose lands were held of the Abbey of Hyde (he did homage to the abbot in 1360 for four parts of a knight's fee) also received a cup of silver to the value of 10 marks; his connection was probably due to his patronage of Wykeham and his college, as his sons and nephews were among the first commoners at the school.¹²⁷ As well as dining in the bishop's household in 1393, he attested many of Wykeham's acts, was licensed by Wykeham to choose a confessor in 1396, and was authorised to hunt game on the episcopal chases at Downton.¹²⁸

Other beneficiaries in Wykeham's will included Edward Coudray, who acted as attorney to receive seisin of the manor of Andwell on behalf of Winchester College in the years 1391 - 1404, as bailiff of Highclere to 1404 and dined in Wykeham's household in 1393; he received 100s, or a silver cup to that value. So did William Fauconer, Wykeham's bailiff of Sutton, Alresford and Cheriton from 1401-1405, and Richard Wallop, bailiff of Twyford and Merdon from 1401-1404.¹²⁹ Wallop also acted

¹²⁴ *HoP*, ii, 56.

¹²⁵ *Testamenta Vetusta*, ii, 771-2.

¹²⁶ *Testamenta Vetusta*, ii, 775; *WCM*, i, liii.

¹²⁷ *VCH*, iii, 398; *Testamenta Vetusta*, ii, 772; *HoP*, iv, 113-5.

¹²⁸ *HoP*, iv, 113-5.

¹²⁹ *Testamenta Vetusta*, ii, 775; *HoP*, iii, 62, iv, 752.

as Fromond's feoffee and as steward of Winchester College manors from 1421-30; he sent his son Richard to Wykeham's new school and his new college at Oxford.¹³⁰

Land, kinship and personal interaction influenced the connections between the gentry and the bishopric. All the above sat for the shire and some acted as sheriffs; many were from well established Hampshire families and were either knights or esquires. John Arnold, who replaced Thomas Warrener, was not a member of the greater gentry, rather a career official, acting in Beaufort's entourage when he was bishop of Lincoln, receiver-general of the Winchester estates and joint apparitor-general of the diocese. Thomas Warrener's removal from the soke and liberty of Winchester was probably an exception, as others continued to act for the new bishop, Beaufort, or interact with him. Sir Walter Sandys, husband of Agnes Warrener, Wykeham's kinswoman, acted as co-feoffee with Bishop Beaufort and Thomas Chaucer, Beaufort's cousin. John Uvedale also acted as co-feoffee and witnessed a latter patent issued by Beaufort. Edward Coudray, Wykeham's bailiff of Highclere, swapped with William Fauconer to become Beaufort's bailiff of Alresford, Sutton and Cheriton from 1405- 1426.

Connections in the fifteenth century

The middle to later fifteenth century also saw a number of the county families holding bishopric offices as bailiffs and stewards. A strong link between the Bishopric and the county bench has been highlighted. These included Richard Newport, esquire (bailiff, Waltham, Twyford, 1445) Richard Waller, esquire (steward of all the Bishop's lands, 1447), John Wallop, esquire (bailiff, Sutton, 1478), John Tichborne, esquire, (Waltham and the Soke, 1478), Thomas Welle, (steward of all the Bishopric castles and manors, 1478), Bernard Brocas, esquire, (bailiff, High Clere, 1486), William Tistede, esquire, (bailiff, Sutton, 1488), John and Henry Tichborne (bailiff, Waltham, 1492).¹³¹ Newport was escheator in the county in 1445, Tistede in 1465; John Tichborne was sheriff in 1487 and JP from 1470-94 and William Tistede JP from 1493.¹³² Thomas Welles, a

¹³⁰ *WCM*, i, liii.

¹³¹ J. Greatrex, *Register of the Common Seal* (HRS, iii, Winchester, 1979), *passim*.

¹³² *List of Escheators*, 147-151; *List of Sheriffs*, 54-55; *CPR*, 1468-77, 629, *CPR*, 1485-98, 499.

lawyer of Eastleigh, Hampshire, was JP from 1452-93, MP in 1455 and MP for Bedwin in 1442, 1449, Downton in 1453. He typifies the class of lower gentry whose status was built upon professional training combined with a good marriage, for he married Margaret Weston, heiress of her uncle Thomas Winterhill of Eastleigh.¹³³ Welles was also steward of the Winchester College manors from 1451-88.¹³⁴ Others in that class included John Kingsmill and William Frost, stewards of the Winchester College manors from 1493-1504 and 1504-1529, JPs, gentlemen and lawyers.

The evidence demonstrates that the gentry did more commonly become bishopric officers as time went on and that the armigerous gentry saw these offices as useful sources of income and authority to add to their own. It also suggests that the bishop valued their service and wanted their influence.

The involvement of gentry in estate office may be related to the leasing of the demesne, which removed the grinding day-to-day responsibility for the running of the estates. It is reasonable to suppose that they saw potential profits to be made in the leased estates and sought to take them on as well. However the evidence shows this was not the case. It was the lower ministers, the reeves of the Bishopric manors who acquired the farms of the Bishopric manors in the later fifteenth century, not the knightly families. In the Pipe Roll of 1500-1, only one member from a knightly family, Henry Tichborne, can be identified as a lessee.¹³⁵ It was also the case that gentry involvement in estate office preceded much of the leasing.

5.6: INTERLOPERS AND OUTSIDERS

With the 1368 statute restricting the escheators to £20 *per annum* from land in the county, the similar 1371 statute for the sheriffs, a residence requirement imposed in 1413 on the knights of the shire and the same for JPs in 1414, and income qualifications for JPs of £20 plus from land in 1439-40, the officer class in the counties

¹³³ Wedgwood, *History of Parliament*, 928-9.

¹³⁴ *WCM*, i, liii.

¹³⁵ HRO 11M59/B1/216.

apparently became an increasingly narrow and plutocratic group of individuals as the fifteenth century progressed. However, although there were no abrupt changes in the personnel in any of the major offices across the late Medieval period in Hampshire, this is not to say that 'foreign' individuals did not take office in the shire at some point, for short periods of time. A distinction must be made between those new to the locality who settled and became, over a period of several generations, indigenous gentry, and those who passed through, by the influence of either the Crown or powerful individuals attempting to use Hampshire as a base to wield influence elsewhere.

The price for taking such a long-term view is that this study has deliberately limited itself in the topics covered. It is not possible to undertake a full investigation of local politics across the timespan covered. An enormous range of additional sources would have to be consulted. However the investigations that have been undertaken allow some commentary to be offered for Hampshire on some of the principal political phenomena noted elsewhere.

Richard II and the early Lancastrians

Although there is no direct evidence royal interference, which the repeated elections and appointments suggest, the electors of the 1390s certainly chose close supporters of Richard II and followers of Lancaster after 1399. The Parliament of 1399 which sanctioned Richard's deposition and acclaimed Henry IV returned Sir Nicholas Dabrichecourt and Sir Thomas Skelton. Dabrichecourt, of Flemish origin, had been a member of Edward III's household for the last fifteen years of the reign, but Richard II had removed his offices and cut short his annuities; Dabrichecourt then found service in John of Gaunt's household.¹³⁶ Skelton was chief steward of the southern and Welsh parts of the Duchy of Lancaster and executor of John of Gaunt's will.¹³⁷ Dabrichecourt had served as sheriff of Hampshire in 1389, and held commissions of enquiry in Berkshire and Hampshire in 1390, so he was not entirely in the wilderness during

¹³⁶ *HoP*, ii, 713-2.

¹³⁷ *HoP*, iv, 380-2.

Richard's reign, as far as office-holding in Hampshire was concerned. Skelton, too, amongst many other offices elsewhere, had served as JP in Hampshire from 1396.

Allegations that Richard II ordered, or at least wooed the sheriffs to influence the elections have been substantiated in Norfolk and Suffolk, and in Gloucestershire, where sheriff Robert Pointz, a retainer of Thomas, Lord Despenser, probably influenced the election of Hugh Mortimer and John Brouning, both in Despenser's affinity.¹³⁸ Neither had sat for the county before, and Mortimer was not a landowner in Gloucestershire. The MPs for Hampshire in the last three years of Richard's reign included John Popham, Robert Cholmley and Robert More, the sheriffs John Wayte and William Audeley. Popham's family had sat in parliament for Hampshire since the end of the thirteenth-century but Cholmley's origins were obscure. He was described as 'King's esquire' in 1383, was constable of Winchester castle from 1383, and received, amongst other incomes, a livery worth £2 a year and the farm of the perquisites of the courts of four manors in Berkshire and in 1397 his annuity of £20 from the issues of Hampshire was increased by a third.¹³⁹ However, Cholmley did not appear to go to Richard's aid in the summer of 1399 and a week after Bolingbroke's coronation had his position as Constable of Winchester castle confirmed and he sat for Hampshire again in 1401.¹⁴⁰ Cholmley's associations with Hampshire in particular probably stemmed from his service in the retinue of Sir John Sandys from November 1379 to May 1381, who had acquired estates in Hampshire by marriage and with whom he sat for Hampshire in 1391, the year Cholmley returned himself to parliament whilst occupying the shrievalty.

¹³⁸ R. Virgoe, 'The Crown and Local Government: East Anglia under Richard II,' in *The Reign of Richard II*, ed. F. R. H. Du Boulay and C. M. Barron (London, 1971), 231; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 124; and in Cambridgeshire, where Richard II appointed his own men, did not limit the period of office and used them to illegally influence the return of the shire MPs, though the Lancaster propaganda may have turned an administrative grievance into a long-standing political event: A. Steel, 'The Sheriffs of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in the Reign of Richard II,' *Proceedings of the Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society*, xxxvi (1934-5), 2, 31.

¹³⁹ *HoP*, ii, 572.

¹⁴⁰ *HoP*, ii, 572.

Robert More sat with Cholmley in the parliament of September, 1397 and had been sheriff in 1393 to 1394. He was a close associate of the Brocas family, the Hampshire family most identified with Richard II. More witnessed several deeds relating to the Brocas estates from 1383 to 1404 and it is possible that his election in 1397 was influenced by Sir Bernard Brocas jr., who was executed in 1400 for plotting to restore Richard to the throne.¹⁴¹ More belonged to a family that had held small amounts of property at Pamber and Tadley during the fourteenth century and continued to do so in the fifteenth; he continued as verderer of Pamber forest until his death in 1407 and was on the commission of array in Hampshire in July 1402.¹⁴²

The sheriffs at the time of Richard's tyranny were John Wayte (appointed December 1396) and William Audeley (November 1397), neither of whom were recorded in the 1412 returns nor sat for Parliament or on the bench in Hampshire. William Audeley was described as 'King's esquire' in September 1398, when he was given a grant for life, without rent, of two messuages and the office of pesage in Southampton, which had been the earl of Warwick's, and had been forfeited by the earl by the judgement of that parliament.¹⁴³ Audley seems to have remained sheriff until 1399, as the next to be appointed was John Uvedale, in November, 1399. Although Audeley appears to have been the king's man, his immediate predecessor, John Wayte, was commissioned with others and the sheriffs of Hampshire, Surrey and Sussex in December, 1399, to enquire as to what goods Richard had within the castle and lordship of Porchester, what value and in whose hands they were, and to seize them for the Chancery.¹⁴⁴

Those office-holders foreign to Hampshire and the locality in the first decades of the Lancastrian era included Thomas Chaucer, appointed sheriff in 1413, and Lewis John, MP in November 1414. Chaucer was the son and heir of the famous Geoffrey Chaucer and was intimately associated with the House of Lancaster and based primarily in

¹⁴¹ *HoP*, iii, 770.

¹⁴² *HoP*, iii, 770.

¹⁴³ *CPR*, 1396-1399, 195.

¹⁴⁴ *CPR*, 1399-1401, 169.

Ewelme, Oxfordshire.¹⁴⁵ He sat for Oxfordshire fourteen times from 1401 to 1431, acted as JP and Escheator for Oxfordshire and Berkshire and in many other capacities. His lands in Hampshire were the manors of East and West Worldham, by his marriage to Maud Berghersh, but his regional base was between the Chilterns and the Cotswolds; and his connections with Hampshire were chiefly political, through his close association with his first cousin Henry Beaufort.

Lewis John was intimately connected to Thomas Chaucer, and owed his remarkable double election to the seats of Taunton and Wallingford in the parliament of May 1413 solely to Chaucer, who was constable of Wallingford and Taunton castles; John had no other connections with the area.¹⁴⁶ His election in Hampshire for the parliament of November 1414 was seemingly a result of his marriage to Alice de Vere, sister of Richard, earl of Oxford and widow of Sir Francis Court. Her dower lands from Court included land in Holbury and East Tytherley and although John obtained formal possession of the manors of Tytherley and Lockerley during the minority of Court's heir, his election as knight of the shire probably owed more to Thomas Chaucer's position as sheriff at that time. After the death of Alice de Vere, John remarried, to another earl's daughter, Anne Montagu and acquired property in Wiltshire, Somerset, Berkshire and Devon. However, his regional outlook in terms of office became Essex, where he sat five times in the period 1420 - 1439, and where he was sheriff and JP; presumably he lost his lands in Hampshire after the death of his first wife, but may have acquired other lands, as his will was dated at Catherington in Hampshire.¹⁴⁷

The other obvious foreigners to the region and the county in this period include Richard Mawarden and, to a lesser extent, Sir Thomas Wykeham. The latter, though great-nephew of Bishop Wykeham, and the wealthiest Hampshire sheriff listed in the 1412 returns, mainly held offices outside Hampshire, in Oxfordshire, where he sat four times in parliament and on the bench from 1406 periodically until 1413 and then from

¹⁴⁵ *HoP*, ii, 524-532.

¹⁴⁶ *HoP*, iii, 494. Taunton was another Winchester Bishopric manor and Chaucer was Beaufort's cousin, so the hidden hand of the bishop of Winchester may have been at work here again.

¹⁴⁷ *HoP*, iii, 497.

1416 until his death in 1443.¹⁴⁸ He was sheriff of Hampshire from November 1416 to November 1417 and had the manors of Otterbourne, Whilton and Erlseton in the Hampshire returns of 1412. His time as sheriff of Hampshire in 1417 may have influenced the election of Edward Coudray in that year, who had enjoyed close links with Bishop Wykeham throughout the 1390s and links with Beaufort into the next century.¹⁴⁹

Richard Mawarden was sheriff of Hampshire from November, 1403 to January, 1404 and apparently did not account.¹⁵⁰ He was a Herefordshire man, with lands and estates in Wiltshire, Dorset and Gloucestershire. He was a Ricardian, and as sheriff of Wiltshire in 1397 returned Sir Henry Green and Sir Thomas Blount to the notorious September parliament; both courtiers who both suffered execution. Mawarden, however, made his peace with Bolingbroke, sat for Wiltshire in 1404, and became keeper of Southampton castle in January 1400, receiving a £10 annuity, among other sources of income. His involvement with Hampshire was thus limited.

Although the greatest secular landowners in Hampshire at this time were the duke of York, the earl of Salisbury and the earl of March, it is difficult to identify any significant aristocratic influence.¹⁵¹ There were, however, political links between some of the MPs and the bishops William of Wykeham and Henry Beaufort. Sir Bernard Brocas, Henry Popham and John Uvedale were friends of Wykeham, and Edward Coudray, William Fauconer, John Hampton and Richard Wallop held administrative offices in the episcopal estates.¹⁵² But there is no direct evidence that Wykeham influenced the outcome of elections. Hampton and Coudray held episcopal office when they became MPs and Fauconer and Coudray were Beaufort's officials on being elected.

¹⁴⁸ *Feudal Aids*, vi, 450; *HoP*, iv, 920-922.

¹⁴⁹ *HoP*, ii, 680.

¹⁵⁰ *HoP*, iii, 706; *List of Sheriffs*, 55.

¹⁵¹ *HoP*, i, 413.

¹⁵² *HoP*, i, 413.

The most significant known connection was between John Arnold II, who sat in the Henry V's first parliament of May, 1413, and Henry Beaufort, who opened the parliament as Chancellor. Arnold was Beaufort's bailiff of the soke of Winchester from 1405 for at least twenty years, and receiver-general for the entire episcopal estates from 1407; he attended the Hampshire elections to the parliaments of November 1414, when Lewis John, associate of Beaufort's cousin, Thomas Chaucer, was elected.¹⁵³

Lancaster, York and Tudor

It has been noted above that Hampshire was strongly anti-Yorkist in its political sympathies, but no wholesale changes were made in the composition of the Hampshire MPs, JPs or sheriffs in the turbulent political arena of the later fifteenth century. No returns were found for parliaments of 1460, 1461, 1470 or 1482-3 - indeed until 1529 thereafter, though three members of the Berkeley family sat in 1467, 1472 and 1477. John Paulet was sheriff in 1461, and had been in 1457; Nicholas Huse and Thomas Basset were sheriffs in 1470, though did not account and were not Hampshire landowners, and the brothers Maurice and Edward Berkeley were sheriffs in 1471 (Edward returning Maurice), again in 1475 and 1476 and Edward again in 1480, 1485, 1490. Sir William Berkeley was sheriff in 1483, and was knighted in July of that year; he participated in the Buckingham rebellion and went into exile with Henry Tudor: he died in 1485. Sheriffs in 1483 and 1485 were John Roger and Robert Carre, the former having served in 1467 and 1472. The latter was JP in 1483-4 but was not re-appointed in any capacity in Hampshire and had no manors in the county.

Sir William Berkeley's manor of Bisterne was granted to John Hutton of Hunwick in County Durham.¹⁵⁴ Hutton became Richard III's chief agent in south-west Hampshire and had no previous connection with the county. He was appointed Constable of Southampton castle for life in December 1483 and in February, 1484, he was charged with the collection of the revenues of seven more of Berkeley's manors. In June of that

¹⁵³ *HoP*, i, 56.

¹⁵⁴ Discussed by W. E. Hampton, 'John Hutton of Hunwick and Tudhoe, County Durham,' *The Ricardian*, vii (1985).

year, he was appointed constable of Christchurch castle, steward of Christchurch and Ringwood. He was made a JP, commissioner to raise loans and commissioner of array. He brought members of his own retinues with him who were rewarded with grants of lesser offices in the New Forest. But Hutton did not become a member of the Hampshire élite. Sir William Berkeley's attainder was reversed and the Berkeleys remained leading gentry in Hampshire at the start of the sixteenth century.

CONCLUSION: POLITICAL COMMUNITIES WITHIN THE COUNTY

This chapter has demonstrated over a long period the continual involvement in county affairs of the local landed élite. The offices of Sheriff and MP were the chief offices in the fourteenth century, as they were in other counties. Most were knights and esquires from Hampshire; some MPs in the earlier fourteenth century are harder to identify but by the end of the fourteenth century, MPs were knights and esquires. Similarly, MPs of Hampshire were often MPs in other counties in the early fourteenth century; by the end of the century they identified increasingly with Hampshire. Repeated appointment and re-election were highly valued. Whilst the sheriff was the most important official in the fourteenth century, before the MP, the opposite order of precedence was true of the later fifteenth century. Hampshire boroughs were not held exclusively, indeed hardly at all, by members of the landed élite in the fifteenth century; that may be a phenomenon of later centuries.

Several knightly families resident in the county and one non-resident, have been identified as the major families in office across the period. The Lisles, Brocas, Sandys and Uvedale families were the wealthiest resident families; the Berkeleys migrated into the county in the later fifteenth century and Sturmiess remained in Wiltshire. Lists of electors in the first half of the fifteenth century further illustrates the extent to which these families attempted to monopolise local politics. Marriage to heiresses and the continuity of office-holding as well as landholding underlines the importance of the female descent. The amount of lands in Hampshire held by knights resident in other counties, identified in Chapter Two, could have led to a far greater diversity of office-holders than there actually was; the incursions of Chaucer, Wykeham and Lewis John

in the reign of Henry IV was a rare example. As it was, the resident families can be said to have formed a close-knit political community within the county.

The growing importance of the justices of the peace was reflected by the increasing size of the commissions. The composition of those commissions reflected the general picture portrayed in other counties. A particular aspect of Hampshire office-holding was the relation with the Winchester Bishopric, which had special influence over the commissions of the peace, probably due to the lack of a great secular lord. A hard core of professional lawyers has been identified, many of whom were servants of the Bishopric. The resident knightly families, such as the Lisle, Sandys and Brocas families, were infrequently on the bench and virtually absent from the quorum; as the fifteenth century progressed, the lesser knightly and parish gentry ranks increasingly formed a judicial community within the county, quite distinct from the political community, so that by 1500 the frequent JPs were men such William Frost, John Dale and John Kingsmill, servants of the Bishopric and gentlemen, not the county knights or esquires.

A secular magnate affinity may have generated political faction and led to wholesale changes within the county at the change of a régime but the absence of such a magnate in Hampshire probably contributed to continuity in the holding of offices. The resident knightly families were certainly more closely involved in Bishopric office-holding at the end of the fourteenth century than at the beginning, gravitating towards Wykeham, his retinue and new school.

County families were not totally immune to events in the outside world, and several outsiders under Richard II and Richard III have been identified. The knightly gentry could act independently, choosing a patron and participating in affairs of the court, as Sir Bernard Brocas and his son did under Richard II and the Berkeleys under Edward IV and Richard III. But these were the exception; the long-view has emphasised the continuity of families in office, either through direct descent or through marriage, and the role of the Winchester Bishopric, the greatest estate in the county, and which led to a distinct judicial community within the county.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Medieval Hampshire was distinctive because landholding was dominated by the Church. Nevertheless, in the period 1300-c1530, the knights and esquires of Hampshire formed a landed and political community within the county. A core of armigerous families at the beginning of the fourteenth century held estates in the county which had been in their families for several generations. Many of the families held the major offices of sheriff, knight of the shire and keeper of the peace. Around a dozen of these families passed their estates on through the male line across the two centuries. Those families that failed in the male line either notably left heiresses who married social equals who consolidated and sometimes expanded the older estate, or co-heiresses who dispersed the estate, leading to declining numbers of armigerous families. This was in line with national trends, as social stratification occurred and the level of gentleman became a recognised part of later medieval society. Those estates that were dispersed excluded their new lords from the ranks of the knights and esquires of Hampshire.

This core of resident Hampshire knights and esquires who carefully tended the estates continued and increased their hold over the county offices. Sometimes the offices were dominated by particular families; if not passed on from father to son, then from father to son-in-law. Entry to this political and landed élite was strictly limited. It was marriage to heiresses that saw the Uvedales, Berkeleys and Brocasses rise to the head of the Hampshire élite in the fifteenth century. Those marriages were based on social parity. Sir Bernard Brocas, who married Mary Boarhunt, the des Roches and Boarhunt heiress, already had the manor of Beaurepaire; John Uvedale had the manor of Titsey in Sussex and the Berkeleys Beverstone in Gloucestershire. These were not 'rising gentry', rather 'migrating gentry.' Only one family not of armigerous status married into the county élite (Sandys). Only one family purchased its way into this landed community and remained established (White). The wealth generated by Southampton allowed two individuals, Chamberlain and Soper, to assume the status of the armigerous gentry, but their position did not last. And though four families had a good deal more wealth than so many of the other armigerous families in the first half of the

fifteenth century, there was not, unlike Nottinghamshire, a 'greater gentry' in Hampshire. Four families is not enough to constitute a separate group; these families were connected closely to the other armigerous families in the county and the region.

The land market was active, but the sale of manors was infrequent. Opportunities to acquire and build up bigger and more powerful estates did not occur. The later medieval knights and esquires of Hampshire were confined by the earlier medieval settlement, dating back to pre-Conquest days. It was then that the wealthiest estates were acquired by the Winchester Bishopric, Wherwell, Romsey, Hyde and St. Swithun's. The feudal tenancies organised in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest formed the settlement of the secular estates within the county. The single county barony, St. John, was established at Basing, and it was here that the estates of the knights and esquires congregated, to the north-east of the county. The later medieval country houses and major Hampshire families - Paulet of Basing House, Sandys of the Wyne and Brocas of Beaurepaire - were based here. Other gentry were pushed out to the borders of Wiltshire, Dorset and Sussex, as the ecclesiasts dominated the centre of the county, and continued to do so until the 1530s.

Crown and magnate influence in Hampshire was limited. The crown acquired in one fell swoop the Redvers Honour of Carisbrooke at the end of the thirteenth century, which ended the connection between half a dozen Isle of Wight knightly families and the earls of Devon; the Courtenays never regained those estates. The parcels of land held by the other magnate families of Montague, Beauchamp, Despenser and Fitzalan in Hampshire were nothing compared to the vast estates and affinities concentrated in Devon, Somerset, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire and Sussex. It is probable that these magnates and peers of later medieval England only ever set foot in Hampshire *en route* to Southampton, to embark on yet another war in France.

The great magnate in Hampshire was therefore the Bishop of Winchester. He was the reason why the secular estates were never dramatically enlarged and why other nobility never had much involvement with the county. Where other great lords provided opportunity for the local gentry to gain promotion through service in war or politics,

the bishops of Winchester provided no such outlet for the Hampshire knights and esquires. True, the bishops of Winchester trod the boards of the national stage, all but one serving as Chancellor in the period 1300-1530. They were the richest churchmen in the realm, endowing a school and three university colleges to rival royal foundations at Eton and Cambridge. But the bishopric spanned six counties in the south of England, creating no sense of a county unit. They employed only two members of armigerous families from Hampshire at the start of the fourteenth century, and they were lesser members, one of whom was related to a previous bishop. Under Bishop Wykeham, associations between the diocese and the knightly gentry reached a high point, but these were not opportunities for service, rather expressions of a social status already attained and established. Knights and esquires sent their sons to Wykeham's new school and dined with him. They were as much the bishop's patron as he was theirs. The advent of Bishop Beaufort illustrates how transient these connections could be; he brought with him his own officials and instigated the changes within the commissions of the peace that saw the emergence of a distinct judicial class of Bishopric servants as the fifteenth century progressed. These servants were again composed not of the local knights and esquires, but of the professional members of the lesser gentry - the gentlemen - men such as Dale, Frost, Fromond and Skilling.

To demonstrate the exact limits of the spheres of influence the knights and esquires of Hampshire exercised is impossible. So much of the evidence is based upon records that used the county for administrative, fiscal, judicial and political purposes. But the county was not the limit of Hampshire knights and esquires' existence. Although a distinct county community developed during the period 1300-1530, this was only one community within the county. Just as later medieval magnates had their 'country' there is ample evidence to suggest that the knights and esquires too had their 'country.' Landed society of Hampshire was diverse and numbered many individuals, as illustrated by the *Nomina Villarum* and the 1412 taxation; the majority of those with knightly incomes in 1412 were not resident gentry families. This meant that the resident families formed but one armigerous group in the county. Closer examination of the resident families has shown that they too, held offices and estates outside the county, usually in neighbouring counties. These activities did concentrate increasingly

upon the county as the fourteenth century became the fifteenth, but a strong regional outlook remained, not only among the landholders as a whole, but among the resident families. This regional outlook was based in the counties to the west of Hampshire - Wiltshire, Dorset and Berkshire. Knightly families might hold estates in Hampshire for many decades before taking office or contracting a marriage within the county; they remained potentially active if not actually active. The landed and political community of armigerous gentry in Hampshire existed in this wider geographical and mental region. How this community actually developed was determined by all the potential communities in the region impacting upon the Hampshire landlords.

‘No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the Continent, a part of the main.’¹ Later medieval county society did not act in a vacuum; county boundaries were - in theory - no obstruction to managing estates, holding offices and contracting marriages. Matters of life and death were either very localised or expressed through a network of family connections that could extend across many counties. Some members of the Hampshire armigerous families might have known Westminster or parts of Gascony as well as Basingstoke or Southampton, as members of political and military communities. Is then, the concept of a county community dead and buried? So much medieval documentation is organised around the county. Contemporaries used that same system for their own ends, to increase and enhance their power and standing in the local community, either as resident gentry or as peers seeking to gain influence. The county was an integral part of the political geography of later medieval England. This thesis has shown how useful the county was to the Hampshire knights and esquires, and, in the absence of so much private documentation, how useful it has been as a vehicle for study. But the county is only a means to an end, not the end itself. Some knights and esquires had horizons that spanned several counties; those whose horizons spanned Hampshire, then it was usually a particular part of Hampshire. There were spheres of activity within the shire and within the region.

As well as addressing the issue of the concept of the county community, this thesis has raised two questions which will, it is hoped, influence further study of late medieval

¹ J. Donne, *Devotions*, xvii.

localities. First, the longstanding dominance of the Winchester Bishop may have been exceptional to Hampshire, but the ecclesiastical landlords were a major force in late medieval society throughout England. Professor Saul states that just over one third of fourteenth century Gloucestershire manors were held by the religious houses, but little mention is made of the consequences of that distribution of property.² Church lands were permanent; secular estates depended upon the vagaries of human life. Hampshire knights and esquires not only laboured under all the unenviable limitations of later medieval life, which their privileged birth did not make them exempt from, but had to co-exist with their powerful ecclesiastic neighbours. They established a *modus vivendi*; they sought office and connections with the Church and looked further afield, to the region, to draw their income, marry and gain advancement. The impact upon, and the relations between, knights and esquires and ecclesiasts in the localities, has - on the whole - been neglected. Studies are carried out either on the secular or on the religious. The unusual power and impact of the Winchester bishopric has brought to light what surely must have existed - albeit to a lesser extent - in many other counties, particularly Dorset, Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire.

Second, this study of Hampshire has covered a period of over two centuries, where most studies have examined either a generation, a régime or a century at the most. This long view has emphasised continuity, rather than change. The ecclesiastical estates remained until the Dissolution, which meant that the secular lords had to work within that framework. There was little room to manoeuvre, and so those knightly estates that survived intact through the male line did not greatly expand. Heirs of single heiresses held the same offices as well as the same estates that their maternal heirs had held. The Black Death does not seem to have affected the balance of property or the composition of the élite greatly. The lack of magnate estates and affinities in the county meant that very few forfeitures were made at times of political instability on the national scene; the Brocas and Berkeley Hampshire estates survived forfeitures in 1400 and 1483. There were no radical shifts of appointments as the political régimes in Westminster changed. Hampshire sheriffs and MPs were appointed and elected in line with the law.

² N. E. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: the Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century*, (Oxford, 1981), 4.

Incursions made on the pattern of appointments under Richard II, Henry IV and Richard III were not long-lasting and had no faction within the county to draw upon.

The Dissolution of the Monasteries was the greatest event to affect the Hampshire landowners and altered the balance of property within the county. Some of the existing leading gentry did extremely well; William Lord Sandys got the Mottisfont Priory lands, William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, those of Netley and some of Hartley Wintney, some 12 manors in all.³ However, it was Thomas Wriothesley, not a freeholder before the Dissolution, nor on any of the county commissions, who was the greatest beneficiary, taking 27 former monastic manors based around Titchfield and Micheldever, in all one quarter of the monastic properties given or sold by the Crown in Hampshire in the period 1536-58. Another family was that of Mill, a Sussex family and leading burgesses at Southampton and stewards of Wriothesley's Titchfield estates; by the 1550's the Mills were the leading landowning family in Hampshire.

Hampshire thus became a county of great estates such as Stratfield Say, Highclere, Hackwood, Bramshill, Cadland and Southwick in the centuries following the Dissolution. It was only then that the status quo maintained in the period 1300-1530 - which itself was based largely upon the earlier medieval distribution of estates - was no more.

³ J. Kennedy, 'Laymen and Monasteries in Hampshire, 1530-1558,' *HFC* xxvii (1970), 78-83.

APPENDICES

I: Landlords and Vills in the Southern Counties in 1316

Devon¹

Number of Vills/Hamlets	526
Number of Landlords	135
Number of Vills held Jointly	36
Unknown Landlords	1
Unknown Vills	2

<i>Category of Landowner</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Vills</i>	<i>%</i>
Crown	1	4	0.5
Church/Religious Houses	24	97	18
Magnates	2	8	1.5
Gentry	107	417	80
<i>Totals</i>	<i>135</i>	<i>526</i>	<i>100</i>

¹ *Feudal Aids*, i, 372 - 385.

Somerset²

Number of Vills	506
Number of Landlords	365
Number of Vills Held Jointly	180
Unknown Landlords	14 ³
Unknown Vills	4

<i>Category of Landowner</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Vills</i>	<i>%</i>
Crown	2	10	2
Church/Religious Houses	34	103	20
Magnates	3	4	1
Gentry	326	389	77
<i>Totals</i>	<i>365</i>	<i>506</i>	<i>100</i>

² *Feudal Aids*, iv, 317 - 335.

³ Including 11 with first name only

Dorset⁴

Number of Vills	199
Number of Landlords	167
Number of Vills Held Jointly	107
Unknown Landlords	1
Unknown Vills	0

<i>Category of Landowner</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Vills</i>	<i>%</i>
Crown	2	1	0.5
Church/Religious Houses	20	55	27.5
Magnates	2	2	1
Gentry	148	141	71
<i>Totals</i>	<i>167</i>	<i>199</i>	<i>100</i>

⁴ *Feudal Aids*, ii, 39 - 45.

Wiltshire⁵

Number of Vills	319
Number of Landlords	216
Number of Vills Held Jointly	73
Unknown Landlords	3
Unknown Vills	1

<i>Category of Landowner</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Vills</i>	<i>%</i>
Crown	3 ⁶	14 ⁷	4
Church/Religious Houses	34	120	38
Magnates	7	22	7
Gentry	173	163	51
<i>Totals</i>	<i>216</i>	<i>319</i>	<i>100</i>

⁵ *Feudal Aids*, v, 199 - 212.

⁶ The king, Queen Margaret, and the King's sister, Maria

⁷ 3 vills held by the king for life of the earl of Cornwall (1) and the life of the earl of Gloucester (2)

Hampshire⁸

Number of Vills	476
Number of Landlords	285
Number of Vills Held Jointly	89
Unknown Landlords	2
Unknown Vills	0

<i>Category of Landowner</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Vills</i>	<i>%</i>
Crown	4	43	9
Church/Religious Houses	41	194	41
Magnates	6	14	3
Gentry	234	225	47
<i>Totals</i>	<i>285</i>	<i>476</i>	<i>100</i>

⁸ *Feudal Aids* ii, 306 - 323.

Berkshire⁹

Number of Vills	258
Number of Landlords	176
Number of Vills Held Jointly	133
Unknown Landlords	0
Unknown Vills	0

<i>Category of Landowner</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Vills</i>	<i>%</i>
Crown	2	4	1.5
Church/Religious Houses	27	100	39
Magnates	5	8	3
Gentry	142	146	56.5
<i>Totals</i>	<i>176</i>	<i>258</i>	<i>100</i>

⁹ *Feudal Aids*, i, 47 - 54.

Surrey¹⁰

Number of Vills	106
Number of Landlords	80
Number of Vills Held Jointly	28
Unknown Landlords	2
Unknown Vills	0

<i>Category of Landowner</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Vills</i>	<i>%</i>
Crown	2	7	6.5
Church/Religious Houses	22	45	43
Magnates	4	10	9.5
Gentry	52	44	41
<i>Totals</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>106</i>	<i>100</i>

¹⁰ *Feudal Aids*, v, 106 - 111.

Sussex¹¹

Number of Vills	245
Number of Landlords	126
Number of Vills Held Jointly	68
Unknown Landlords	1
Unknown Vills	0

<i>Category of Landowner</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Vills</i>	<i>%</i>
Crown	2	10	4
Church/Religious Houses	32	64	26
Magnates	4	60	25
Gentry	88	111	45
<i>Totals</i>	<i>126</i>	<i>245</i>	<i>100</i>

¹¹ *Feudal Aids*, v, 132 - 143.

Kent¹²

Number of Vill	296
Number of Landlords	93
Number of Vill	49
Number of Vill Held Jointly	49
Unknown Landlords	0
Unknown Vill	0

<i>Category of Landowner</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Vills</i>	<i>%</i>
Crown	2	43	14
Church/Religious Houses	26	137	46
Magnates	6	20	7
Gentry	59	96	33
<i>Totals</i>	<i>93</i>	<i>296</i>	<i>100</i>

¹² *Feudal Aids*, ii, 9 - 19.

II: Hampshire Knights and Esquires in 1324¹³

Knights

John Scures* (sheriff)

Henry of Lancaster

Ralph Monthermer

John of St. John

Ralph of Camoys

John Lisle*

Robert Kendal

Robert Tistede

Maurice Brune*

Edward of St. John

Thomas Coudray*

Richard Boarhunt*

Roger Woodlock*

John Siffrewast

Edmund Kendal

Ingelram Berenger*

John Langford*

John D'Aberton junior.

John Tichborne*

Richard Stratton*

James Norton*¹⁴

John Randolf

Hugo Braybouef*

Robert Norton*

¹³ List of Knights and Esquires in Hampshire, 1324: King's great council: PRO 47/1/10 m. 3, printed in *Parl. Writs*, ii, 648-649. No distinction is made between greater or lesser barons and knights, cf. Norfolk/Suffolk (Palgrave, p. 641). It does not state whether they are residential or not, cf. Wiltshire. Hampshire is one of the very few counties to put 'dominus' before every knight. Those marked with an asterisk are those of families closely associated with Hampshire, identified in Chapter Three.

¹⁴ Also appears on the 1324 Wiltshire list, as non-residential land-holder

John Cormailles
John Dun
Roger Pedwardyn
Peter D'Evercy
John Cerne¹⁵
Walter Romsey¹⁶
Andrew Grimstead¹⁷
Nicholas Pershute*
John Launcelvy
Esquires
John des Roches*
John Warblington*
William Peverel
Walter Woodlock*
John Basing*
John Bookland*
John Chikehull
John Burgh

¹⁵ On the 1324 Wiltshire list, as residential knight

¹⁶ On the 1324 Wiltshire list, as non residential knight

¹⁷ 1324 Wiltshire list, as a residential knight

III: Lords, Knights and Esquires in 1412¹⁸

<i>Landowner</i>	<i>Hampshire</i>	<i>Known income from other counties</i>	<i>Total</i>
Sir Thomas Skelton*	106. 13. 4.	83. 0. 0. ¹⁹	189. 13. 4. 4
Thomas West ²⁰	110. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0. ²¹	130. 0. 0.
Henry, lord Lescrop	90. 0. 0.	146. 0. 0. ²²	236. 0. 0.
John Lisle* ²³	86. 6. 8.	40. 0. 0. ²⁴	126. 6. 8.
Richard Wayte*	80. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	80. 0. 0.
John Uvedale* ²⁵	70. 13. 4.	116. 13. 4. ²⁶	187. 6. 8.
Thomas, lord of St. John	70. 0. 0.	279. 0. 0. ²⁷	349. 0. 0.
Henry Popham* ²⁸	60. 0. 0.	137. 13. 4. ²⁹	197. 13. 4.
Hugo Tildale	60. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	60. 0. 0.
Sir Thomas Wykeham	50. 0. 0.	40. 0. 0. ³⁰	90. 0. 0.
John Fromond ³¹	50. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	50. 0. 0.
John Aylmer, clerk	50. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	50. 0. 0.
William Bremshute	50. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	50. 0. 0.

¹⁸ *Feudal Aids*, vi, 449-458. In order of descending wealth in Hampshire, to a minimum of £20 from the county. Those marked with * are members of the armigerous families identified in Chapters Three and Four. It can be seen from this table that there were as many with £20 (and therefore eligible to hold office) from Hampshire who were not resident as those who were.

¹⁹ Cambridge, £43; Sussex, £30; Wiltshire, £10

²⁰ In the custody of the king

²¹ Devon, £20; he had lands in Dorset and Sussex, now in the hands of John Kirkby

²² Hertford, £40; Lincoln (Kesteven) £20; Essex, £20 + 40 marks; Somerset £60.

²³ Son and heir of Sir John Lisle, MP for Hampshire

²⁴ Wiltshire, £40.

²⁵ Uvedale

²⁶ Kent, £56. 13. 4; Surrey, £60.

²⁷ Sussex, £60; Kent, £149

²⁸ Son and heir of Sir John Popham, MP for Hampshire

²⁹ Dorset, 12marks (£8); Essex, £40; Wiltshire, £89. 13. 4

³⁰ Somerset, £40

³¹ Sheriff

Thomas Romsey*	47. 5. 0.	30. 0. 0. ³²	77. 55. 0.
Walter Sandys*	47. 0. 0.	14. 0. 0. ³³	61. 0. 0.
William Brocas*	44. 0. 0.	40. 6. 8. ³⁴	84. 6. 8.
William Warblington*	43. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	43. 0. 0.
Edward Coudray*,	42. 0. 0.	10. 6. 0. ³⁵	52. 6. 8.
Thomas Hunt, clerk			
Sir John Berkeley*	40. 13. 4.	155. 13. 8. ³⁶	196. 7. 0.
John Golofre	40. 6. 0.	71. 0. 0. ³⁷	111. 6. 0.
Sir Nicholas Haute	40. 0. 0.	179. 6. 8. ³⁸	219. 6. 8.
Sir Maurice Russell*	40. 0. 0.	165. 5. 0. ³⁹	205. 5. 0.
Sir John Dabriggecourt ⁴⁰	40. 0. 0.	126. 13. 4. ⁴¹	166. 13. 4.
Sir Edward Courtenay	40. 0. 0.	60. 0. 0. ⁴²	100. 0. 0.
Maurice Brune*	40. 0. 0.	40. 0. 0. ⁴³	80. 0. 0.
Francis Court	40. 0. 0.	37. 0. 0. ⁴⁴	77. 0. 0.
John Pokeswell	40. 0. 0.	30. 0. 0. ⁴⁵	70. 0. 0.
John Skilling	40. 0. 0.	25. 0. 0. ⁴⁶	65. 0. 0.
Thomas Brerdyng ⁴⁷	40. 0. 0.	16. 0. 0. ⁴⁸	56. 0. 0.

³² Somerset, £20; Wiltshire, £10.

³³ Sussex, £14.

³⁴ Berkshire, 100s; Northamptonshire £15. 6. 8; Surrey £20.

³⁵ Thomas Hunt only, Northamptonshire, £10. 6. 0; he is not a clerk here

³⁶ Huntingdon, £20; Somerset, £68; Wiltshire, £67. 13. 8.

³⁷ Berkshire, £49; Dorset, £10; Wiltshire, £12 (18 marks).

³⁸ Cambridge, £21. 6. 8 (not a knight); Essex, £29; Kent, £122. 6. 8; Middlesex, £6. 13. 4

³⁹ Dorset, £122. 5. 0; Somerset, £40; plus lands in Gloucestershire (value unknown).

⁴⁰ Manors extend across Wiltshire and Berkshire and Hampshire.

⁴¹ Berkshire, 100s; Derby, £40 + £75 life annuity; Middlesex, £6. 13. 4.

⁴² Somerset, £60

⁴³ Essex, £40.

⁴⁴ Somerset, £20; Wiltshire, £17.

⁴⁵ Somerset, £30

⁴⁶ Wiltshire, £25

⁴⁷ And lands in Wiltshire

⁴⁸ Wiltshire, £16

Marcus Fayre	40. 0. 0.	6. 0. 0. ⁴⁹	46. 0. 0.
John Hall	40. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	40. 0. 0.
William Drewe	40. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	40. 0. 0.
William Ringbourne*	40. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	40. 0. 0.
Thomas Midlyngton	40. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	40. 0. 0.
William Overton	40. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	40. 0. 0.
Sir William Sturmy	37. 0. 0.	131. 6. 8. ⁵⁰	168. 6. 8.
Thomas Wayte*	37. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	37. 0. 0.
Nicholas Bray	34. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	34. 0. 0.
Nicholas Valence	33. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	33. 0. 0.
John Kirkby*	32. 13. 4.	205. 0. 0. ⁵¹	237. 13. 4.
Sir John Melton	32. 0. 0.	30. 0. 0. ⁵²	62. 0. 0.
Sir Thomas Camoys	30. 0. 0.	120. 6. 8. ⁵³	150. 6. 8.
Richard Spicer	30. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	30. 0. 0.
Walter Haywode	30. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	30. 0. 0.
John Gawayn	30. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	30. 0. 0.
William Urry	30. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	30. 0. 0.
Nicholas Beynton	28. 0. 0. ⁵⁴	40. 13. 4 ⁵⁵	68. 13. 4.
Elizabeth wife of John Lisle, knight* ⁵⁶	26. 13. 4.	34. 13. 4 ⁵⁷	70. 6. 8.
William Botreaux ⁵⁸	26. 13. 8.	216. 0. 0. ⁵⁹	236. 13. 8.
John Rogers ⁶⁰	26. 0. 0. ⁶¹	156. 0. 0. ⁶²	183. 0. 0.

⁴⁹ Wiltshire, £6

⁵⁰ Devon, £40; Wiltshire, £91. 6. 8.

⁵¹ Dorset, £71 + 8 marks; Sussex, £75. 13. 4; Wiltshire, £53. 6. 8.

⁵² Northamptonshire (in Leicestershire), £20; Northamptonshire, ? (no figure); York, £10

⁵³ Surrey, £20 (Lord of Camoys, not Sir Thomas); Sussex, £100. 6. 8.

⁵⁴ 42 marks

⁵⁵ Wiltshire, £40. 13. 4

⁵⁶ Lady Lisle

⁵⁷ Dorset, £34. 13. 4.

⁵⁸ Lord Botreaux, 1389-1462

⁵⁹ Dorset, £20; Somerset, £168; Wiltshire, £28; cf. McFarlane

⁶⁰ MP for Dorset, 1421, d. 1441

Sir John Denham ⁶³	24. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	24. 0. 0.
John Delmare	23. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	23. 0. 0.
John Harreys ⁶⁴	23. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	23. 0. 0.
Sir William Bouchier	22. 0. 0.	292. 0. 0. ⁶⁵	214. 0. 0.
John Waterton	22. 0. 0.	33. 6. 8. ⁶⁶	55. 6. 8.
William Stourton ⁶⁷	20. 0. 0.	174. 5. 0. ⁶⁸	194. 5. 0.
Robert of More	20. 0. 0.	168. 0. 0. ⁶⁹	188. 0. 0.
Sir Edward Cherlton	20. 0. 0.	155. 0. 0. ⁷⁰	175. 0. 0.
Thomas Wake	20. 0. 0.	130. 0. 0. ⁷¹	150. 0. 0.
Sir John Blount	20. 0. 0.	91. 6. 8. ⁷²	111. 6. 8.
John Boys	20. 0. 0.	80. 0. 0. ⁷³	100. 0. 0.
Sir John Souche	20. 0. 0.	63. 13. 4. ⁷⁴	83. 13. 4.
Sir John Popham*	20. 0. 0.	43. 0. 0. ⁷⁵	63. 0. 0.
Philip Baynard	20. 0. 0.	40. 0. 0. ⁷⁶	60. 0. 0.
Edmund Hamden	20. 0. 0.	40. 0. 0. ⁷⁷	60. 0. 0.
John St. Clere	20. 0. 0.	31. 0. 0. ⁷⁸	51. 0. 0.

⁶¹ 40 marks

⁶² Somerset, £100; Dorset, £56

⁶³ Hampshire only

⁶⁴ Lands in Dorset and Devon, too

⁶⁵ Essex, £162; Lincoln (Kesteven), £60; Northampton, £70

⁶⁶ Surrey, £20; Sussex, £13. 6. 8

⁶⁷ MP for Dorset, son Sir John, 1st Lord Stourton

⁶⁸ Dorset, £64, Essex, £20, Somerset, £40; Wiltshire, £70. 5. 0.

⁶⁹ Dorset, £108; Wiltshire, £60

⁷⁰ Dorset, £25 + £40 + £60 all during the minority of the Earl of March, his stepson; Hertfordshire, £30.

⁷¹ Dorset, £40; Northamptonshire, £60; Wiltshire, £30

⁷² Derby, £80, annuities and concession' Wiltshire, £11. 6. 8. (not knight here)

⁷³ Essex, £80

⁷⁴ Kent, £25. 13. 4; Derby, £20; Wiltshire, £18

⁷⁵ Huntingdon entry has £31 in "Southo, Wynchestre. Maugre and Eynesbury": Wiltshire, £13 (19 marks).

⁷⁶ Wiltshire, £40

⁷⁷ Devon, £40

Thomas Pauncefot	20. 0. 0.	26. 13. 4. ⁷⁹	46. 13. 4.
John Dacombe	20. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0. ⁸⁰	40. 0. 0.
John and Thomas Hayward	20. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0. ⁸¹	40. 0. 0.
Thomas Pole	20. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0. ⁸²	40. 0. 0.
Hugo of St. John	20. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0. ⁸³	40. 0. 0.
Heir of Robert Plesington	20. 0. 0.	17. 0. 0. ⁸⁴	37. 0. 0.
Richard Wyot	20. 0. 0.	16. 13. 4. ⁸⁵	36. 13. 4.
Sir Robert Pedwardyn	20. 0. 0.	15. 0. 0. ⁸⁶	35. 0. 0.
John Norton*	20. 0. 0.	15. 0. 0. ⁸⁷	35. 0. 0.
Joanna Ask	20. 0. 0.	14. 0. 0. ⁸⁸	34. 0. 0.
Sir Thomas Beaufort ⁸⁹	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
Sir John Lilbon ⁹⁰	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
Sir Thomas Barry ⁹¹	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
Thomas Cobyngton	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
John Ontils	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
William Makeney	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
Juliana Ramvills	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
John Strode	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
William Horwood	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.

⁷⁸ Kent, £31.

⁷⁹ Somerset, £20; Wiltshire, £6. 13. 4.

⁸⁰ £20, Kent

⁸¹ John Hayward, £20, Kent

⁸² Wiltshire, £20

⁸³ Sussex, £20

⁸⁴ Yorkshire, with Richard Boteler

⁸⁵ Middlesex, £16. 13. 4, where he is noted as 'armiger'

⁸⁶ Lincoln, £19; Northamptonshire, 8 marks (£5)

⁸⁷ Sussex, £15

⁸⁸ York, £14 (as Lady Joan)

⁸⁹ No lands elsewhere, in 1412

⁹⁰ Hampshire rents and lands only; nowhere else in 1412

⁹¹ He seems to have possessed no lands or rents elsewhere in 1412.

Richard Inkpen	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
Edward Southworth	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
Oliver Punchardon*	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
John Perion	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
John Haket*	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
John Haynore	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
John Veer	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
John Chamberlain	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
John Lisle of Calbourne	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
Gilbert Dingley*	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
Thomas Lisle of Stone	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
William Perot	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
Nicholas Faulkner	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
Augerus Frank ⁹²	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.
William Pershute*	20. 0. 0.	0. 0. 0.	20. 0. 0.

⁹² Also land in Wiltshire

IV: The 1436 Hampshire Tax Payers⁹³

<i>Name</i>	<i>Assessment in £</i>
Margaret, wife of Walter Sandes, knight*	252
John Uvedale*	173
Master Robert Thurborn of Winchester College	143
William Brocas*	120
John Lisle*	100
John Roucle	77
Margaret, widow of Henry Popham*	75
Richard Holt*	67
William Chamberlain	64
John Haket*	61
Robert Dingley*	60
William Marays	60
Thomas Sandys*	58
Priory of St. Swithun's, Winchester	52
John Berewe*	50
Thomas Ringwood*	50
John Titchborne*	50
William Soper	50
John Giffard*	50
Prior of Southwick	46
John Payn	40
Richard Punchardon*	40
William Spershete*	40
William Fauconer	40
Alice Drynkeley	40
John Lawrence	39
Ludwic Bryawas	38
Nicholas Crykkelide	37

⁹³ PRO E179/173/92. Arranged here in order of wealth down to £20. Those marked with an asterisk are from the armigerous families identified in Chapters Three and Four.

John Wallop*	36
Elizabeth, widow of Richard Ramport	34
John Rynes	33
John Bramshott*	32
William Wayte*	32
Thomas Wayte*	31
Abbot of Titchfield	31
Nicholas Banaster	30
John Hayno*	26
John Russell*	26
William Hacslas	26
Michael Skilling	26
Thomas of Haydl	26
John Moore	25
Ralph Dingley*	24
Richard Chevedon	23
Edmund Ring	21
Robert Whitehead	20
John Fleming	20
Walter Fatplate	20
William Brocas jr.*	20
John Skilling	20
Peter Cowdray*	20
John Brocas*	20
John Tybenham	20

**V: The King's Book of Lords, Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen of
England⁹⁴**

Hampshire⁹⁵

<i>RANK</i>	<i>NAME</i>
Bishop of Winchester:	Thomas
Abbot of Hyde:	Richard
Knights:	Nicholas Lisle Edward Berkeley William Sandys Maurice Barowe William Uvedale Robert Cheney
Esquires:	John Paulet William Brocas John Phillipott John Gifford George Puteman Robert White William Ringborne John Pound Richard Wallopp John Waller Peter Coudray John Kirkby Robert Bulkeley

Gentleman:⁹⁶

⁹⁴ 17 Henry VII; BL MS Harley 6166.

⁹⁵ Fos. 104 - 5.

Thomas Croys
John Lisle of Wight
Thomas Hayno
Edward Wayte
John Dale
Thomas Gressewell
William Coterell
John Bengar
John Kingsmill
William Faulkner
William Wayte
Bernard Dabbiscourt
William Froste
William Deringe
John Newport
William Tichborne
Thomas Fawconer
Robert Inkepenn
Nicholas Barnarde
John Black
Richard Norton
Richard Reede
Thomas Allwyne
John Crolsewell
Richard Rithe
Thomas St. Martine
John Harris
Edward More
Robert Collewayne

⁹⁶ Although for Hampshire they are not actually defined as such, cf. Wiltshire

VI: Office-holders with the Winchester Bishopric, St. Swithun's, and other connections⁹⁷

<i>Name</i>	<i>Office/Connection</i>	<i>Date</i>
1316-1323		
Aignel, John	Bailiff of Downton	1320-23
Aykeheved, William	Clerk of the Bishopric, Deputy Steward	1316-23
Beche, Sir John	Bailiff of Wargrave	1320-23
Bereforde, Sir Ralph	Steward of the Bishopric	1305- 1324
Blounte, Sir William	Clerk of the Bishop's household and Wardrobe	-
Bookland, John*	Const., Taunton Cas.	1320-23
Clerke, Richard	Bailiff of Southwark	1316-23
Cokermouth, John	Bishop's clerk, Executor	-
Denmede, Philip	Bailiff of Meon	1316-19
Descures, Alan	Bishop's Huntsman	-
Everard, John	Bailiff of Downton	1320
Farham, Sir Simon	Rector of Crondal, Treasurer of Wolvesey	1304- 1319
Fifhide, Roger*	Bailiff of Sutton	1320-21
	Receiver, Taunton	1316-19
Flode, Nicholas	Clerk of Wolvesey	-1324
Folquardeby, Sir Thomas	Bishop's clerk	1316
	Treasurer of Wolvesey	1323-
Fromond, Richard	Bailiff of Clere	1320-23

⁹⁷ From the *Registers of John de Sandal and Rigaud de Asserio, bishops of Winchester, 1316-23*, ed. F. J. Baigent, HRS (London, 1897), lxii - lxiii, and *The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester, 1346-1366*, part 2, HRS, (Winchester, 1987) and *The Register of the Common Seal* ed. J. Greatrex, HRS (Winchester, 1979) and *HoP* by name: for those offices at the Dissolution, J. Kennedy, 'Laymen and Monasteries in Hampshire, 1530-1558,' *HFC* vol. xxvii (1970), 68. Those marked with an * are from, or have close connections with, those armigerous families identified in Chapters Three and Four

Fuatard, John	Bailiff of the Liberties of the Bishopric	
Newcastle, William	Clerk of the Bishop's household	1319
Overton, William	Bailiff of Meon	1320-23
Peche, Giles	Const. of Taunton Cas.	1316-19
Staunforde, Sir William	Treasurer of Wolvesey	1320-23
Thorncombe, Robert*	Bailiff of Sutton	1320
	Bailiff of the Soke	1316- 1323
Wodemancote, Nicholas	Bailiff of Clere	1316- 1319
Woodlock, Walter*	Chief Huntsman and Deputy keeper of the chases	1316- 1319
	Bailiff of Twyford	1320-
	Bailiff of Waltham	
1346-1366		
Thomas Pentelowe	Constable of Farnham and Bailiff of the manor of Wargrave	1346
Sir Robert Hungerford & John Inkepenn	To deal with all pleas of the crown concerning debts, transgressions and contracts of any kind at St.Giles' fair	1346
John Payn, parson of Bishop's Watham	Bailiff of the manor of Waltham	1347
Reginald Forest	Constable of the castle of Farnham and keeper of the manors of Esher and Southwark	1348
Richard Wyke	Bailiff and Keeper of the franchises of the county of Southampton	1349
John Hanlegh	Bailiff of Downton	1350
Robert St. Manefeo	Constable of Farnham	1350
Simon Clere	Bailiff of the county of Southampton	no date

Thomas Passelewe	Steward	1354
John Pain	Treasurer of Wolvesey	1354
John des Roches*	Constable of Taunton	1354
Roger Gervays	Bailiff of Meon	1354
William Consolde	Bailiff of the Soke of Winchester	1356
Thomas Hungerford	Bailiff of Downton	1356
Walter Noht, rector of Michelmersh	treasurer and receiver of Wolvsey; and bailiff of Waltham	1358
William Consolde	Constable of the castle of Farnham	1358
John Alresford	Bailiff of East Meon	1358
Thomas Pentelowe	Steward of episcopal lands	
William Consolde	Bailiff of Sutton, and East Meon	1359
Thomas Warn	Bailiff of the liberty of the bishopric in the county of Southampton and the soke of Winchester	1359
Robert Maingford	Bailiff of Downton	1362
William Somerford	Bailiff of Clere	1363
Thomas Hungerford	Steward of the episcopal lands	1365
William Putton	Bailiff of Waltham	1346
Roger Gervays	Bailiff of East Meon	1364
Thomas Warrener	Bailiff of the Soke of Winchester, for life (witnessed by John Lisle, Bernard Brocas, knights and Walter Haywode and Nicholas Woodlock and others)	1366
1377-1433		
Haywode, Walter	Steward of St. Swithun's	1380/1
Pauncefot, Richard	“	1385
Spircock, Edmund	“	1389/90
Purchas, William	“	1392/3
More, Robert	“	1394/5;

		1397-
		1406
Lyghe, Ralph	“	1469/70
Arnold, John II	In entourage of Beaufort as Bp of Lincoln	bef. 1402
	Bp. Beaufort's bailiff, the Soke and	1405-
	liberty, Winch. (repl. Warrener)	1423
	Receiver-general, the Episcopal estates	1407-
	Joint apparitor-general of the diocese	1419
		1433
Betteshorne, John*	Wife, Gouda, kinswoman of Bp Edington	-
Brocas, Sir Bernard*	Witness of Bp Wykeham's deeds; close	-
	associate	1377
	Chief surveyor and keeper of the parks on	
	the episcopal estates	
Cholmley, Robert	Dined in Bp. Wykeham's household	1393
Cowdray, Edward*	Attorney to receive seisin of the manor of	1391-
	Andwell on behalf of Winch. College; Bp.	1404
	Wykeham's bailiff of Highclere	
	Bp. Beaufort's bailiff of Sutton, Alresford	1405-
	and Cheriton	1426
	Steward of St. Swithun's	1414/15
	Dined in Bp. Wykeham's household	1393
	Beneficiary of Wykeham's will (£5)	1404
Fauconer, William	Bp. Wykeham's bailiff of Sutton,	1401-
	Alresford & Cheriton (exch. with	1405
	Cowdray)	
	Bp. Beaufort's bailiff of Highclere	1405-
	Beneficiary of Wykeham's will (£5)	1412
		1403
Fromond, John	Steward of the estates of Winchester	
	college (grandson of Richard Fromond,	

	bailiff of Clere, 1320-23)	
Hampton, John*	Bp. Wykeham's bailiff of the liberty of Oxon. and Berks.	bef. 1404 (?1394-)
	Dined in Bp Wykeham's household	1393
Popham, Henry*	Attestor of many of Wykeham's transactions	1383
	Granted licence by Wykeham to choose a confessor	1396 1403
	Authorised to hunt game on episcopal chases at Downton	1393
	Beneficiary of Wykeham's will (silver cup worth 10 marks)	
	Dined in Bp.'s household; involved with foundation of Winch. college; sons and nephews among first commoners	
Sandys, Sir John*	Permit of non-residence from Bp for the rector of Broughton	1385
	Preacher's licence for his own chaplain	
	Dined in Bp's household	
Sandys, Sir Walter*	Married Agnes Warrener, kinswoman of Bp. Wykeham	By 1401 1403
	Agnes left £100 in Wykeham's will	bef. 1420
	Co-feoffee with Bp Beaufort and Thomas Chaucer (Beaufort's cousin)	
Uvedale, John*	Maternal grandfather (Sir John Scures) early patron of Bp Wykeham; father close friend of Wykeham; sister married Wykeham's great-nephew, William Wykeham; commoner at Winch. college with brother William	1414; 1440
	Witnessed grants to Winch. college	bef. 1420
	Bp Beaufort's co-feoffee	1433

	Witnessed letter patent issued by Beaufort	
Wallop, Richard*	Wykeham's bailiff of Twyford and Merdon	1401-1404
	Beneficiary in Wykeham's will (£5)	1404
	Witnessed grant to Win. college	1414
	Feoffee to John Fromond, steward and benefactor of the college	
	Son, Richard, educated at Winchester and New college, Oxford	
Warrener, Thomas	Kinsman of Wykeham; bailiff of the soke and liberty of Winch. (replaced by John Arnold, Beaufort's man; see above, 1366)	1366 - 1404

1433-1500

Gervays, William	Bailiff, the Soke	1433
Ashley, John (valectus of the chamber)	Bailiff, Havant	1433
Tiece, William	Bailiff, East Meon	1441
Newport, Richard	Bailiff, Waltham, Twyford	1445
Waller, Richard*	Steward of all the Bishop's lands	1447
Hunt, Richard	Bailiff, the Soke	1447
Pece, William (clerk of the Bpric)	Bailiff, East Meon	1444, 1446
Thornebury, John	Bailiff, Liberty of Hampshire	1446
Welle, Thomas	Steward of all the Bpric castle and manors, etc	1478
Anketell, Robert	Bailiff, Twyford	1478
Wallop, John*	Bailiff, Bishop's Sutton	1478
Tichborne, John*	Bailiff, Bishop's Waltham and the Soke	1478
Burton, Richard	Bailiff, East Meon	1478
Brocas, Bernard*	Bailiff, High Clere	1486

Bray, Sir Reginald	Steward of all the Bprie castles and manors, etc (on Welle's death)	1487
Wykes, John	Bailiff, Twyford	1487
Tistede, William	Bailiff, Bishop's Sutton	1488
Burton, Richard	} Bailiff, East Meon	1491
Hungerford, Richard		
Tichborne, John*	} Bailiff, Bishop's Waltham	1492
Tichborne, Henry*		
Fautleroy, Tristram	Steward of the Priory	1493
Pound, Sir John*	Executor of the will of Bp Thomas Langton	1501
Uvedale, Sir William*	Beneficiary of Bp Waynflete's will	1486
Uvedale, Thomas*	Servant of Bp Waynflete	
 c.1536		
Paulet, Sir William*	Chief Steward of St. Swithun's, Wherwell, Wintney	c.1536
Worsley, James (Governor, IOW)	Chief Steward of Quarr Abbey	c.1536
FitzWilliam, William (Vice-Admiral of the Fleet)	Chief Steward of Christchurch	c.1536
Wriothesley, Thomas	Chief Steward of Titchfield, Hyde, Southwick	c.1536
Kingsmill, John	Chief Steward, Mottisfont	c.1536
Skelley, John	Chief Steward, St. Mary's	c.1536
Mill, George and John (Southampton merchants)	Chief Steward, Beaulieu	c.1536
Pace, Thomas, Mill George	Chief Steward, Breamore	c.1536

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I) MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Public Record Office:

Court of Common Pleas:

- CP25(i) Feet of Fines Series I
CP25(ii) Feet of Fines, Series II

Chancery:

- C146 Ancient Deeds, Series C
C148 Ancient Deeds, Series Madox
C219 Election Attestations and Indentures

Exchequer:

- E28 Treasury of Receipt, Council and Parliament
E40 Treasury of Receipt, Ancient Deeds, Series A
E101 King's Remembrancer, Various Accounts, Sheriff's
 Accounts
E179 King's Remembrancer, Lay Subsidies
E329 Augmentations Office, Ancient Deeds, Series BX
E359 Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, Enrolled Subsidy Rolls

Justices Itinerant:

- JUST 3 Gaol Delivery Rolls

Court of King's Bench:

- KB 9 Ancient Indictments

British Library:

Additional Charters and Rolls

Additional Manuscripts

Egerton Charters and Rolls

Harleian Charters and Rolls

Harleian Manuscripts

Lansdowne Charters

Hampshire Record Office:

Letters, manuscripts, deeds and family papers:

1M53	Coventry
5M50	Daly
11M59B1/2	Bishop of Winchester Pipe Books
15M84	Wallop
19M61	Kingsmyll
21M58	Bates
24M53, 26M60	Brocas
29M82	Various deeds
31M57	Chute
43M48	Cope
44M69/C	Jervoise-Herriard
109M94/G4	Sandys

Typescript:

HP/106	Fritze, R. H., and Robinson, W., 'Age and Magistracy in the Tudor Shires: The Justices of the Peace of Hampshire and Surrey, 1485-1570.'
--------	--

II) PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Edition ed. Whitelock, D., (London, 1961).

Black Prince's Register (London, 4 vols, 1930-3).

The Beaulieu Cartulary, ed. S. F. Hockey, Southampton Record Series, xviii (Southampton, 1974).

Calendar of Close Rolls, 1296 - 1485 (London, 45 vols, 1892-1954).

Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1272-1509 (London, 22 vols, 1911-62).

Calendar of Inner Temple Records ed. Inderwick, F. A., (London, 5 vols, 1896-1936).

Calendars of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, 1219-1422 (London, 7 vols, 1916-68).

Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Hen. III to 6 Hen. IV (London, 18 vols, 1904 -88).

Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1232 -1509 (London, 52 vols, 1891-1916).

The Cartulary of the Priory of St. Denys near Southampton, ed. E. O. Blake, Southampton Record Series, xxiv-xxv (Southampton, 2 vols, 1981).

The Cartulary of God's House, Southampton, ed. J. M. Kaye, Southampton Record Series, xix-xx (Southampton, 2 vols, 1976).

The Cartularies of Southwick Priory, Parts 1 and 2, ed. Hanna, K. A., Hampshire Record Series, ix-x (Winchester, 1988-9).

Domesday Book, ed. Munby, J., Phillimore Series, iv (Chichester, 1982).

English Historical Documents 1042 - 1189, ii, eds. Douglas, D. C. and Greenaway, G. W., (London, 1955).

English Historical Documents 1189-1327, iii, ed. Rothwell, H., (London, 1975).

English Historical Documents 1327-1485, iv, ed. Myers, A., (London, 1969).

'Private Indentures for Life Service in Peace and War', 1278-1476, eds. Jones, M. and Walker, S., *Camden Miscellany* xxxii, Camden Society 5th series, iii (1994).

Inquisitions and Assessments Relating to Feudal Aids; with other analogous documents preserved in the Public Record Office, A.D. 1284-1431 (London, 6 vols, 1899-1920).

John of Gaunt's Register, 1379-1383, eds. Lodge, E. C. and Somerville, R., (Camden Society, 3rd series, lvi, 1937).

Leland, J., *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-43*, ed. Toulmin Smith, L., (London, 6 vols, 1907-10).

- The Lay Subsidy of 1334*, Record of Social and Economic History, Series II, ed. Glasscock, R., (London, 1975).
- List of Escheators for England* (Public Record Office Lists and Indexes, lxxii, 1971).
- List of the Lands of the Dissolved Religious Houses* (Public Record Office Lists and Indexes Supplementary Series, III, iii, 1964).
- List of Sheriffs for England and Wales* (Public Record Lists and Indexes, ix, 1898).
- Parliamentary Writs*, ed. Palgrave, F., (London, 4 vols, 1827-34).
- The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1210-1211*, ed. Holt, N. R., (Manchester, 1964).
- The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1301-2*, ed. Page, M., Hampshire Record Series, xiv, (Winchester, 1996).
- The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1409-10*, ed. Page, M., Hampshire Record Series, xvi (Winchester, 1999).
- The Plumpton Correspondence*, ed. Stapleton, T., Camden Society iv, (London, 1839).
- The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381*, ed. Fenwick, C., (Oxford, 1998).
- Proceedings before the Justices of the Peace in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries, Edward III to Richard III*, ed. Putnam, B. H., (London, 1938).
- Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn Admissions, from 1420 to 1893*, Lincoln's Inn, (London, 1896).
- Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, Rolls Series 99 (London, 3 vols, 1896).
- Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, from the fifteenth century to the year 1944*, Middle Temple, (London, 1949).
- Register of the Common Seal of the Priory of St. Swithun, Winchester*, ed. Greatrex, J., Hampshire Record Series, iii, (Winchester, 1979).
- Register of Henry Chichele* ed. Jacob, E. F., (Canterbury and York Society, 4 vols, 1938-47).
- Registrum Henrici de Woodlock Diocesis Wintoniensis, 1305-16*, ed. Goodman, A. W., Canterbury and York Society, 44, (London, 1940-1).
- Register of John of Pontoise, 1282 - 1304*, ed. Deedes, C., Canterbury and York Society, 19, 30 (London, 1915-17).
- Registers of John de Sandale and Rigaud de Asserio, bishops of Winchester, 1316-23*, ed. Baigent, F. J., Hampshire Record Society, (London, 1897).
- Register of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester, 1346-1366*, ed. Hockey, S. F., Hampshire Record Series, vii, viii, (Winchester, 1987).

Return of the Name of every member of the Lower House of Parliament, 1213 - 1874, (London, 1877-78).

A Roll of Arms compiled in the reign of Edward III, ed. Nicolas, N. H., (London, 1829).

Rotuli Parliamentorum, ed. J. Strachey, Record Commission, (London, 6 vols, 1767-1783).

Statutes of the Realm ed. Luders, A., Record Commission, (London, 11 vols, 1810-28).

The Stonor Letters and Papers 1290-1483, ed. Kingsford, C. L., *Camden Miscellany*, xiii, Camden 3rd series, (2 vols. 1919).

Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae, auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, circa AD 1291, ed. Astle, T., Ayscough, S., and Caley, J., Record Commission, (London, 1802).

Testamenta Vetusta, ed. Nicolas, N. H., (London, 2 vols, 1826).

Valor Ecclesiasticus Temporibus H. VIII (Record Commission, 1810).

William of Wykeham's Register, ed. Kirby, T. F., Hampshire Record Society (Winchester, 2 vols, 1896).

III) UNPUBLISHED THESES

Astill, G. G., 'The Medieval Gentry: A Study in Leicestershire Society, 1350-99' (University of Birmingham, Ph.D., 1977).

Barber, M. J., 'A Study of Landowners and their Estates in Essex, Kent, Surrey and Sussex at the Opening of the Fifteenth Century, based on the Land Tax Assessments of 1412' (University of Oxford, B.Litt., 1949).

Fritze, R. H., 'Faith and Faction: Religious Changes, National Politics and the Development of Local Factionalism in Hampshire, 1485-1570' (University of Cambridge, Ph.D., 1981).

Hare, J. N., 'Lord and Tenant in Wiltshire, c.1380-c.1520, With Particular Reference to Regional and Seigneurial Variations' (University of London, Ph.D., 1976).

Luckett, D., 'Crown Patronage and Local Administration in Berkshire, Dorset, Hampshire, Oxfordshire, Somerset and Wiltshire, 1485 - 1509' (University of Oxford, D.Phil., 1992).

McIver, T. E., 'Aspects of the Gentry of Thirteenth Century Hampshire' (University of Oxford, M.Litt., 1984).

Page, M., 'Royal and Comital Government and the Local Community in the Thirteenth Century' (University of Oxford, D.Phil, 1995).

Phillips, S., 'The Recycling of Ecclesiastical Wealth in Late Medieval Southern England' (University of Southampton, M.A., 1998).

Sheail, J., 'The Regional Distribution of Wealth and England as indicated in the 1524/25 Lay Subsidy Returns' (University of London, Ph.D, 1968).

Swift, E., 'The Machinery of Manorial Administration with Special Reference to the Lands of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1208 - 1452' (University of London, M.A., 1934).

IV) SECONDARY SOURCES

Acheson, E., *A Gentry Community - Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century c.1422-1485* (Cambridge, 1992).

Altschul, M., *A Baronial Family in Medieval England: The Clares, 1217-1314* (Oxford, 1965).

Archer, R. E. and Walker, S., (eds.), *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England: Essays Presented to Gerald Harriss* (London, 1995).

Aston, T. H., 'The Origins of the Manor in England,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th series, viii (1958), 59-83.

Bagley, J. J., *Historical Interpretation: Sources of English Medieval History, 1066 - 1540* (Harmondsworth, 1971).

Baker, A., 'Evidence in the Nonarum Inquisitiones of Contracting Arable Lands in England during the Early Fourteenth century', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, xix, (1966) 518-532.

Baigent, F. J., and Millard, J. F., *A History of the Town and Manor of Basingstoke* (Basingstoke, 1889).

Bean, J. M. W., *The Estates of the Percy Family, 1416-1537* (Oxford, 1958).

- *Decline of English Feudalism* (Manchester, 1968).

- *From Lord to Patron: Lordship in Late Medieval England* (Manchester, 1989).

Bellamy, J., *Crime and Public Order in England in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1973).

Bennett, M. J., 'A County Community: Social Cohesion among the Cheshire Gentry, 1400-25', *Northern History*, viii (1973), 24-44.

- *Community, Class and Careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1983).

Beresford, M. W., 'The Six New Towns of the Bishops of Winchester, 1200- 1235', *Medieval Archaeology*, iii, (1959), 187-211.

- *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (London, 1967).

- Berry, W., *County Genealogies: Pedigrees of the Families in the County of Hampshire* (London, 1833).
- Bettey, J. H., *Wessex from AD 1000* (London, 1986).
- Beveridge, W., 'Wages in the Winchester Manors', *Economic History Review*, vii (1936), 22-43.
- 'The Yield and Price of Corn in the Middle Ages', in Carus-Wilson, E. M., (ed.), *Essays in Economic History*, ii (London, 1954).
- Bigg-Wither, R. F., 'On the Manor of Woodgarston and some documents relating thereto,' *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club*, iv (1898-1903), 241-252.
- Blanchard, I., 'Population change, enclosure and the Early Tudor economy', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, xxiii (1970), 423-445.
- Blatcher, M., *The Court of King's Bench, 1450-1550* (London, 1978).
- Bloch, M., *Feudal Society*, trans., Manyon, L. A., (London, 1965).
- Bolton, J. L., *The Medieval English Economy, 1150-1500* (London, 1980).
- Bridbury, A. R., 'English Provincial Towns in the Later Middle Ages,' *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, xxiv (1981), 1-24.
- 'Dr. Rigby's Comment: A Reply,' *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, xxxix, (1986), 417 - 422.
- Britnell, R. H., 'Production for the Market on a Small Fourteenth Century Estate', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, xix (1966), 380-387.
- Britnell, R. H. and Pollard, A. J., (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy - Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society* (Stroud, 1996).
- Britton, E., *The Community of the Vill: A Study in the History of the Family and Village Life in Fourteenth Century England* (Toronto, 1977).
- Brown, R. A., *Origins of English Feudalism* (London, 1973).
- and Colvin, H. M., *The History of the King's Works*, ii, (London, 1965).
- Burrows, M., *The Family of Brocas of Beaurepaire and Roche Court* (London, 1886).
- Cam, H. M., *The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls* (1930).
- *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1933).
 - 'The Decline and Fall of English Feudalism', *History*, xxv (1940), 216 - 33.
 - 'The Community of the Vill,' in Raffer, V., and Taylor, A. J., (eds.) *Medieval Studies Presented to Rose Graham* (Oxford, 1950).

- Campbell, B. M. S. (ed.), *Before the Black Death - Studies in the 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century* (Manchester, 1992).
- Carpenter, D. A., 'Was there a Crisis of the Knightly Class in the Thirteenth Century? The Oxfordshire Evidence,' *English Historical Review* lxxxv (1980), 721-752.
- Carpenter, M. C., 'The Beauchamp Affinity: A Study of Bastard Feudalism at Work,' *English Historical Review*, xcv (1980), 514-32.
- *Locality and Polity: a Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992).
 - 'Gentry and Community in Medieval England,' *Journal of British Studies*, 33, (1994), 340-380.
 - 'Who Ruled the Midlands in the Later Middle Ages?,' *Midland History*, xix (1994), 1-20.
 - 'Political and Constitutional History: Before and After McFarlane,' in Britnell, R. H. and Pollard, A. J., (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy - Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society*, (Stroud, 1995), 175-206.
 - 'The Stonor Circle in the Fifteenth Century,' in Archer, R., and Walker, S., (eds.), *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England: Essays Presented to Gerald Harriss*, (London, 1995), 175-200.
- Cherry, M., 'The Courtenay Earls of Devon: The Formation and Disintegration of a Late Medieval Aristocratic Affinity,' *Southern History*, i, (1979), 71-97.
- 'The Struggle for Power in Mid-Fifteenth Century Devonshire,' in Griffiths, R. A., (ed.), *Patronage, The Crown and The Provinces*, (Gloucester, 1981), 123 - 144.
- Chew, H. M., *The English Ecclesiastical Tenants-in-Chief and Knight Service* (Oxford, 1932).
- Clanchy, M. T., *From Memory to Written Record* (London, 1979).
- Coates, R., *The Place-Names of Hampshire* (London, 1989).
- Cokayne, G. E., *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, Gibbs, V., et al., (eds.), (London, 12 vols, 1910-59).
- Colebourn, P., *Hampshire Countryside Heritage 2: Ancient Woodland* (Hampshire County Council, 1983).
- Coleby, A., *Central Government in the Localities: Hampshire, 1649-1689* (Cambridge, 1987).
- Cooper, J. P., 'Social Distribution of Land and Men in England, 1436 - 1700,' *Economic History Review* 2nd series, xx, (1967), 419-440.

Cornwall, J. K., 'The Early Tudor Gentry', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, xvii (1964-65), 456 - 475.

- 'English Population in the Early Sixteenth century, *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, xxiii (1970), 32 - 44.
- *Wealth and Society in Early Sixteenth Century England* (London, 1988).

Coss, P. R., 'The Langley Family and its Cartulary. A Study in Late Medieval 'Gentry,' *Dugdale Society Occasional Papers*, 22 (1974).

- 'Literature and Social Terminology,' in Aston, T. H., (ed.) *Social Relations and Ideas* (Cambridge, 1983), 109-50.
- 'Bastard Feudalism Revised,' *Past and Present*, 125 (1989), 27-64.
- *Lordship, Knighthood and Locality: A Study in English Society c. 1180-c. 1280* (Cambridge, 1991).
- *The Knight in Medieval England, 1000-1400* (Gloucester, 1993).
- 'Knights, Esquires and the Origins of Social Gradation in England,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, v (1995), 155-178.
- 'The Formation of the English Gentry,' *Past and Present*, 147 (1995), 38 - 64.

Crouch, D., *The Beaumont Twins: The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1986).

- *William Marshal - Court, Career and Chivalry in the Angevin Empire, 1147-1219* (London, 1990).
- *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300* (London, 1992).
- 'From Stenton to McFarlane: Models of Societies of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, v (1995), 179-200.

Darby, H. C., *The Domesday Geography of South-East England* (London, 1962).

- *A New Historical Geography of England, before 1600* (Cambridge, 1976).

Darby, H. C., Glasscock, R. E., Sheail, J. and Versey, G. R., 'The changing geographical distribution of wealth in England: 1086 - 1334 - 1525,' *Journal of Historical Geography*, v (1979), 247-262.

Davies, R. G. and Denton, J. H. (eds.), *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1981).

Davies, R. R., 'Baronial Accounts, Incomes, and Arrears in the Later Middle Ages,' *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, xxi (1968), 211 - 229.

- *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales, 1282-1400* (Oxford, 1978).
- Davis, G. R. C., *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain* (London, 1958).
- Davis, V., 'William Waynflete and the Wars of the Roses,' *Southern History*, xi (1989), 1-22.
- *William Waynflete: Bishop and Educationalist* (Woodbridge, 1993).
- Denholm-Young, N., 'Edward I and the Sale of the Isle of Wight,' *English Historical Review*, xlv (1929), 433-8.
- *Seignorial Administration in England* (London, 1937).
 - 'Feudal Society in the Thirteenth Century', *History*, xxix (1944), 107-119.
 - *The County Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1969).
 - *Collected Papers* (Cardiff, 1969).
- Dobson, R. B. 'Urban Decline in Late Medieval England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, xxvii (1977), 1-22.
- (ed.), *Church, Politics and Patronage in England and France in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1984).
- Drew, J. S., 'Manorial Accounts of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester', *English Historical Review*, lxii (1947), 20-41.
- Du Boulay, F. R. H., and Barron, C. M., (eds.), *The Reign of Richard II* (London, 1971).
- Duby, G., *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. Postan, C., (London, 1977).
- *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. Goldhammer, A., (Chicago, 1980).
- Dugdale, W., *The Baronage of England*, (London, 2 vols, 1675-6).
- Dyer, C., *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society: The Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester, 680-1540* (Cambridge, 1980).
- 'The English Medieval Village Community and its Decline,' *Journal of British Studies*, 33 (1994), 407-429.
 - 'Taxation and Communities in Late Medieval England,' in Britnell, R. H. and Hatcher, J., (eds.), *Progress and Problems in Medieval England - Essays in Honour of Edward Miller*, (Cambridge, 1996), 168 - 190.
- Edwards, J. G., 'The Personnel of the Commons in the Reign of Edward II', in Little, A. G. and Powicke, F. M., (eds.), *Essays Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout* (Manchester, 1925), 197-215.

- 'The Huntingdonshire Parliamentary Election of 1450' in Sandquist, T. A., and Powicke, M. R., (eds.), *Essays in Medieval History presented to Bertie Wilkinson* (Toronto, 1969), 383-95.
- Elton, G. R., *England: 1200 - 1640* (London, 1969).
- Emden, A. B., (ed.), *A Biographical Dictionary of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (Oxford, 3 vols., 1957-9).
- Everitt, A. M., 'Country, County, and Town: Patterns of Regional Evolution in England,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, xxix (1979), 79-108.
- Faulkner, K., 'The Transformation of Knighthood in Early Thirteenth Century England', *English Historical Review*, cxi (1996), 1-23.
- Fleming, D. F., 'Milites as Attestors to Charters in England,' *Albion* xxii (1990), 185-198.
- Fletcher, A. J., 'National and Local Awareness in the County Communities,' in Tomlinson, H. C., (ed.), *Before the English Civil War* (London, 1983).
- Foss, E., *A Bibliographical Dictionary of the Judges of England, 1066-1870* (London, 1870).
- Fritze, R. H. "A Rare example of Godlyness amongst Gentlemen": the Role of the Kingsmill and Gifford Families in Promoting the Reformation in Hampshire,' in Dowling, M., and Lake, P., (eds.), *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth-Century England* (London, 1987), 144-61.
- Galbraith, V. H., *The Making of Domesday Book* (Oxford, 1961).
- Gibson, S. T., 'The Escheatrics, 1327-41', *English Historical Review*, xxxvi (1921), 218-25.
- Gillingham, J., 'The Introduction of Knight Service into England,' *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 4 (1982), 53-64.
- 'Thegns and Knights in Eleventh Century England: Who was then the Gentleman?' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, v (1995), 129-154.
- Girouard, M., *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (London, 1978).
- Given-Wilson, C., 'The King and the Gentry in Fourteenth Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, xxxvii (1987), 87 - 102.
- *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1996).
- Goody, J., Thirsk J., and Thompson, E. P., (eds.), *Family and Inheritance* (Cambridge, 1976).
- Goring, J. J., 'The General Proscription of 1522,' *English Historical Review*, lxxxvi (1971), 681-705.

- Graves, E.B., (ed.), *A Bibliography of English History to 1485* (Oxford, 1975).
- Gray, H. L., 'Incomes from Land in England in 1436', *English Historical Review*, xl (1934), 607-639.
- Griffiths, R. A., (ed.), *Patronage, The Crown and The Provinces, in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1981).
- *Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales* (Gloucester, 1994).
- Guth, D. J., *Late Medieval England, 1377 - 1485* (Cambridge, 1976).
- Habbakuk, H. J., 'English Landownership, 1680 - 1740', *Economic History Review*, x (1940), 1-17.
- Hadwin, J. F., 'The Medieval Lay Subsidies and Economic History,' *Economic History Review*, xxxvi, (1983).
- 'From Dissonance to Harmony on the Late Medieval Town?' *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, xxxix (1986), 423 - 426.
- Hampton, W. E., 'John Hoton of Hunwick and Tudhoe, County Durham,' *The Ricardian*, vii (1985).
- Hare, J. N., 'The Monks as Landlords; the Leasing of the Monastic Demesnes in Southern England', in Barron, C., and Harper-Bill, C., (eds.) *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society* (Woodbridge, 1985).
- 'Agriculture and Rural Settlement in the Chalklands of Wiltshire and Hampshire from c. 1200 - c. 1500,' in Aston, M. and Lewis, C. (eds.), *The Medieval Landscape of Wessex* (Oxbow Monograph, 46, 1994), 159 - 169.
- Harriss, G. L., *King, Parliament and Public Finance in Medieval England to 1369* (Oxford, 1975).
- *Cardinal Beaufort* (Oxford, 1988).
 - 'Political Society and the Growth of Government in Late Medieval England', *Past and Present*, 138 (1993), 28-57.
- Harvey, B. F., 'The Population Trend in England, 1300-1348,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, xvi (1966), 23-42.
- *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1977).
 - *Living and Dying in Medieval England: the Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993).
- Harvey, P. D. A., 'Manorial Records,' *British Records Association*, 5 (1984).
- Harvey, S., 'The Knight and the Knight's Fee in England,' *Past and Present*, 49 (1970), 1-43.

- Hatcher, J., *Plague, Population and the English Economy, 1348-1530* (London, 1977).
- Heal, F. and Holmes, C., *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500 - 1700* (Basingstoke, 1994).
- Herbert, A., 'Herefordshire, 1413-61: Some Aspects of Society and Public Order' in Griffiths, R. A. (ed.), *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces*, (Gloucester, 1981).
- Hexter, J. H., 'Storm over the Gentry', *Reappraisals in History* (London, 1961).
- Hicks, M. A., *False, Fleeting, Perjur'd Clarence: George, Duke of Clarence, 1449-78* (Gloucester, 1980; revised edn. Bangor, 1992).
- *Who's Who in Late Medieval England* (London, 1991).
 - 'Counting the Cost of War: The Moleyns Ransom and the Hungerford Land-Sales, 1453-87', *Richard III and his Rivals: Magnates and their Motives in the Wars of the Roses* (London, 1991), 165-164.
 - *Bastard Feudalism* (London, 1995).
 - 'An Escheat Concealed: The Despenser Estate in Hampshire,' *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club*, 53 (1998), 183-190.
 - 'Between Majorities: the 'Beauchamp Interregnum,' 1439-49,' *Historical Research* 72 (1999), 27-43.
- Hilton, R. H., *A Medieval Society: the West Midlands at the End of the Thirteenth Century* (1966).
- Hilton, R. H. and Aston, T. H (eds.), *The English Rising of 1381* (Cambridge, 1981).
- Himsworth, S., (ed.), *Winchester College Muniments* (Chichester, 2 vols., 1976).
- Hinton, D. A., 'Hampshire's Anglo-Saxon Origins,' in Shennan, S. J., and Schadla-Hall, R. T., (eds.), *The Archaeology of Hampshire: from the Palaeolithic to the Industrial Revolution* (Hampshire Field Club, Monograph 1, 1981), 56-65.
- (with contributions by P. A. Stamper): 'Hamtunscire: a Review of the Archaeology and History of Medieval Hampshire,' in Hinton, D. A., and Hughes, M., (eds.), *Archaeology in Hampshire: A Framework for the Future*, (Hampshire County Council, 1996), 40-54.
- Hockey, S. F., *Quarr Abbey and its lands, 1132-1631* (Leicester, 1970).
- *Insula Vecta: the Isle of Wight in the Middle Ages* (Plymouth, 1982).
- Hollingsworth, T. H., 'A Note on the Medieval Longevity of the Secular Peerage, 1350 - 1500,' *Population Studies* xix (1965), 156 - 9.

- Holmes, C., 'The County Community in Stuart Historiography,' *Journal of British Studies*, 29 (1980), 54-73.
- Holmes, G. A., *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth Century England* (Cambridge, 1957).
- Holt, J. C., *The Northerners* (Oxford, 1961).
- 'Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England: I,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th series, xxxii (1982), 193-212.
 - 'Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England: II,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, xxxiii (1983), 193-220.
 - 'The Introduction of Knight Service into England', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 6 (1983), 89-106.
 - (ed.), *Domesday Studies*, (Woodbridge, 1987).
- Holt, R., and Rosser, G. (eds.), *The Medieval English Town. A Reader in English Urban History, 1200 - 1540* (London, 1990).
- Horrox, R., 'The Urban Gentry in the Fifteenth Century,' in Thomson, J. A. F., (ed.), *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century*, (Gloucester, 1988), 22 - 44.
- Hoskins, W. G., *Local History in England* (London, 1984).
- Hudson, J., 'Life-Grants of Land and the Development of Inheritance in Anglo- Norman England', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 12 (1989), 67-80.
- *Land, Law and Lordship in Anglo-Norman England* (Oxford, 1994).
- Hughes, A. L., 'Warwickshire on the Eve of the Civil War: A "County Community"?' *Midland History* (1982), 43-64.
- Hughes, M. F., *The Small Towns of Hampshire* (1976).
- Hunnisett, R. F., *The Medieval Coroner* (Cambridge, 1961).
- 'The Reliability of Inquisitions as Historical Evidence', in Bullough, D. A. and Storey, R. L., (eds.), *The Study of Medieval Records. Essays in Honour of Kathleen Major* (Oxford, 1971).
- Jefferies, P. J., 'The Medieval Use as Family Law and Custom in the Berkshire Gentry in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,' *Southern History*, i (1979), 45-69.
- 'Profitable Fourteenth-Century Legal Practice and Landed Investment: The Case of Judge Stonor, c. 1281 - 1354', *Southern History*, xv (1993), 18 - 35.
- John, E., *Land Tenure in Early England* (Leicester, 1960).

- Jones, M., 'An Indenture between Robert, Lord Mohaut, and Sir John de Bracebridge for Life Service in Peace and War, 1310', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, iv (1972), 383-94.
- (ed.), *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe* (Gloucester, 1986).
- Keene, D. J., *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, Winchester Studies, ii, (Oxford, 1985).
- Keen, M. H., *England in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1973).
- 'Chaucer's Knight, the English Aristocracy and the Crusade', in Scattergood, V. J., and Sherborne, J. W., (eds.) *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1983), 45-62.
 - *Chivalry* (Yale, 1984).
- Kendall, P. M., *The Yorkist Age* (London, 1962).
- *Warwick the Kingmaker and the Wars of the Roses* (London, 1972).
- Kennedy, J., 'Laymen and Monasteries in Hampshire, 1530-1558,' *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club*, xxvii (1970), 65-83.
- Kershaw, I., 'The Great Famine and Agrarian Crisis in England, 1315-1322', in Hilton, R. H. (ed.), *Peasants, Knights and Heretics: Studies in Medieval English Social History*, (Cambridge, 1981), 85-132.
- King, E., 'Large and Small Landholders in Thirteenth-Century England,' *Past and Present*, 47 (1970), 26-52.
- *England, 1175-1425* (London, 1979).
- Klingelhöfer, E. C., *Manor, Vill, and the Hundred in Early Medieval Hampshire* (Toronto, 1991).
- Knowles, D., *The Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge, 3 vols., 1947-59.)
- Knowles, D. and Hadcock, R. N., *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales*, (London, 1971).
- Kosminsky, E. A., *Studies in the Agrarian History of England* (Oxford, 1956).
- Labarge, M. W., *A Baronial Household of the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1956).
- Lander, J. R., *Crown and Nobility, 1450 - 1509* (London, 1976).
- *Government and Community: England, 1450 - 1509* (London, 1980).
 - *English Justices of the Peace, 1461-1509* (Gloucester, 1989).
- Latham, R. E., *Revised Medieval Latin Word List* (London, 1965).
- Leach, E., and others (ed.), *Feudalism: Comparative Studies* (Sydney, 1985).
- Lees, B. A., 'The Statute of Winchester and the Villa Integra,' *English Historical Review*, xli (1926), 98-103.

- Le Roy Ladurie, E., *Montaillou* (New York, 1980).
- Lennard, R., 'What is a Manorial Extent?' *English Historical Review*, xlv (1929), 256 - 263.
- *Rural England* (Oxford, 1959).
- Lewis, N. B., 'Re-election to Parliament in the Reign of Richard II,' *English Historical Review*, xlviii (1933), 346-94.
- 'The Organisation of Indentured Retinues in Fourteenth Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, xxvii (1945), 29-39.
 - 'A Contract Army, 1337', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxvii (1964), 1-19.
 - 'Indentures of Retinue with John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, enrolled in Chancery, 1367-1399', *Camden Miscellany*, xxii (Camden Society, 4th series, i, 1964), 77-112.
- Loyd, L. C., *The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, Harleian Society, 103 (1951).
- Lyon, B., *From Fief to Indenture* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1957).
- Lytle, G. F., 'Patronage Patterns and Oxford Colleges,' Stone, L. (ed.), *The University in Society: Oxford and Cambridge from the 14th to the Early 19th Century*, i (Oxford, 2 vols, 1974).
- Macgregor, P., *Odiham Castle, 1200 - 1500: Castle and Community*, (Gloucester, 1983).
- Macfarlane, A., *Reconstructing Historical Communities* (Cambridge, 1977).
- McFarlane, K. B., 'Parliament and "Bastard Feudalism"' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, xxvi (1944), 53-79.
- 'Bastard Feudalism', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xx (1945), 161-81.
 - 'An Indenture of Agreement between two English Knights for Mutual Aid and Counsel in Peace and War', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxviii (1965), 200-210.
 - *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973).
 - *England in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1981).
- McIntosh M. K., *Autonomy and Community: The Royal Manor of Havering, 1200 - 1500* (Cambridge, 1986).
- McKisack, M., *The Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1959).
- Maddern, P., 'Friends of the Dead: Executors, Wills and Family Strategy in Fifteenth Century Norfolk,' in Archer, R., and Walker, S., (eds.), *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England: Essays Presented to Gerald Harriss*, (London, 1995), 155-174.
- Maddicott, J. R. L., *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322* (Oxford, 1970).

- 'Thomas of Lancaster and Sir Robert Holand', *English Historical Review*, lxxxvi (1971), 449-72.
 - *The English Peasantry and the Crown, 1294-1341* (Past and Present Supplement i, 1975).
 - 'The County Community and the Making of Public Opinion in Fourteenth Century England,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series, xxviii (1978), 27-44.
 - *Law and Lordship: Royal Justices as Retainers in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century England*, (Past and Present Supplement 4, 1978) 35-40.
 - 'Parliament and the Constituencies, 1272-1377,' Davies, R. G. and Denton, J. H. (eds.), *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1981), 61-87.
 - 'Magna Carta and the Local Community, 1215-1259, *Past and Present*, 102 (1984), 25-65.
- Maitland, F. W., *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Cambridge, 1907).
- Miller, E., (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England: 1348-1500*, iii, (Cambridge, 1991).
- Miller, E. and Fryde, E. B., (eds.), *Historical Studies of the English Parliament* (Cambridge, 2 vols, 1970).
- Miller, E., and Hatcher, J., *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change, 1086-1348* (London, 1978).
- Miller, H., 'Subsidy Assessments of the Peerage in the Sixteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 28, (1955), 15 - 34.
- Milsom, S. F. C., *The Legal Framework of English Feudalism* (Cambridge, 1976).
- Mingay, G. E., *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1963).
- *The Gentry: The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class* (London, 1976).
- Moor, C., *The Knights of Edward I*, Harleian Society, lxxx-lxxxiv, (1929-32).
- Moreton, C., 'A Social Gulf? The Upper and Lesser Gentry of Later Medieval England,' *Journal of Medieval History*, 17 (1991), 255 - 262.
- Morgan, V, 'The Cartographic Image of "The Country" in Early Modern England' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, xxix (1979), 129-54.
- Morris, W. A., *The Medieval English Sheriff to 1300* (Manchester, 1927).
- Musson, A., and Ormrod, W. M., *The Evolution of English Justice: Law, Politics and Society in the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1999).
- Nash, A. E., 'The Mortality Pattern of the Wiltshire Lords of the Manor, 1242 - 1377,' *Southern History*, ii, (1980), 31-43.

- 'The Population of Southern England in 1086: A New Look at the Evidence of Domesday Book,' *Southern History*, x, (1988), 1 - 28.
- Naughton, K. S., *The Gentry of Bedfordshire in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Leicester University Press, Department of English Local History Occasional Papers, 3rd Series, no. 2, 1976).
- Neilson, N., 'The Court of Common Pleas', *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336*, iii, (eds.) Willard, J. F., Morris, W. A., and Dunham, W. H., (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 3 vols, 1950).
- Nicolas, N. H., *A History of the Battle of Agincourt* (London, 1832).
- Ormrod, W. M., 'Agenda for Legislation, 1322 - c.1340', *English Historical Review*, cv (1990), 1-33.
- Painter, S., *Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony* (Baltimore, 1943).
- Palmer, R. C., *The County Courts of Medieval England, 1150-1350* (Princeton, 1982).
- Parker, J. H., *History of Domestic Architecture* (London, 1858).
- Payling, S. J., 'The Widening Franchise - Parliamentary Elections in Lancastrian Nottinghamshire,' in Williams, D. (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century*, (Woodbridge, 1987), 167-186.
- *Political Society in Lancastrian England: the Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991).
 - 'Social Mobility, Demographic Change, and Landed Society in Late Medieval England,' *Economic History Review*, 45 (1992), 51-73.
 - 'County Parliamentary Elections in Fifteenth Century England,' *Parliamentary History*, 18, (1999), 237-260.
- Phillips, J. R. S., *Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, 1307-1324* (Oxford, 1972).
- Platt, C., *Medieval Southampton: the Port and the Trading Community, 1000-1600* (London, 1973).
- *The English Medieval Town* (London, 1976).
 - *King Death: the Black Death and its Aftermath in Late-Medieval England* (Toronto, 1997).
- Plucknett, T. F. T., *Statutes and their Interpretation in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1922).

- Pollard, A. J., 'The Richmondshire Community of the Gentry during the Wars of the Roses,' in Ross, C. D. (ed.), *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979), 37-59.
- *North-Eastern England During the Wars of the Roses: Lay Society, War, and Politics 1450-1500* (Oxford, 1990).
- Pollock, F., and Maitland, F.W., *History of English Law* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1911).
- Post, J., 'The Peace Commissions of 1382,' *English Historical Review*, xcl (1976), 98-101.
- Postan, M. M., 'Some Social Consequences of the Hundred Years War,' *Economic History Review*, xii, (1942), 1-12.
- *The Medieval Economy and Society*, (London, 1972).
 - *Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy* (Cambridge, 1973).
- Postan, M. M., and Titow, Z. T., 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors,' *Economic History Review*, xi, (1959), 392-417.
- Powicke, F. M., *The Thirteenth Century* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1962).
- Prestwich, J. O., 'War and Finance in the Anglo-Norman State,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, iv (1954), 19-43.
- Prestwich, M. C., *War, Politics and Finance under Edward I* (London, 1972).
- *The Three Edwards - War and State in England, 1272-1377* (London, 1977).
 - 'Miles in Armis Strenuus: The Knight at War', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, v (1995) 201-220.
- Prince, A. E., 'The Strength of English Armies in the Reign of Edward III,' *English Historical Review*, xlvi (1931), 353-71.
- Pugh, R. B., 'England's Earliest Gazetteer?' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, li (1978), 113-123.
- Pugh, T. B., 'The Magnates, Knights and Gentry', in Chrimes, S. B., Ross, C. D., and Griffiths, R. A. (eds.), *Fifteenth-Century England, 1399-1509: Studies in Politics and Society* (2nd edition, Gloucester, 1995), 86 - 128.
- Pugh, T. B., and Ross, C. D., 'The English Baronage and the Income Tax of 1436', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxvi (1953), 1-28.
- Putnam, B. H. 'The Transformation of the Keepers of the Peace into the Justices of the Peace', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, xii (1929), 19-48.

- Quick, J., 'The Number and Distribution of Knights in Thirteenth Century England', in Coss, P. R., and Lloyd, S. D., (eds.), *Thirteenth-Century England*, (Woodbridge, 1986).
- Razi, Z., 'The Toronto School's Reconstruction of Medieval Peasant Society: A Critical View,' *Past and Present*, 85 (1979), 141 - 157.
- *Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish: Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen, 1270 - 1400* (Cambridge, 1980).
 - 'Family, Land and the Village Community in Later Medieval England,' in Aston, T. H. (ed.) *Landlords, Peasants and Politics in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1987), 360 - 393.
- Razi, Z. and Smith, R. (eds.), *Medieval Society and the Manor Court* (Oxford, 1996).
- Reuter, T. (ed.), *The Medieval Nobility* (Amsterdam, 1978).
- Reynolds, S., 'Medieval Origines Gentium and the Community of the Realm', *History*, 68 (1983), 375-90.
- 'More about Feudalism', *Peasant Studies*, 14 (1987), 250-9.
 - 'Magna Carta, 1297 and the Legal Use of Literacy', *Historical Research*, lxii (1989), 233-44.
 - 'Bookland, Folkland and Fiefs', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 14 (1992), 211-27.
 - *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994).
- Richmond, C., *John Hopton, A Fifteenth Century Suffolk Gentleman* (Cambridge, 1981).
- Rigby, S. H., 'Late Medieval Urban Prosperity: The Evidence of the Lay Subsidies,' *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, xxxix (1986), 411 - 416.
- Rogers, J. E. T., *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, (Oxford, 7 vols, 1866-1902).
- Roskell, J. S., 'The Social Composition of the Commons in a Fifteenth Century Parliament', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxiv (1951), 152-72.
- *The Commons in the Parliament of 1422* (Manchester, 1954).
 - 'Sir John Popham, Knight Banneret, of Charford: Speaker-Elect in the Parliament of 1449-50', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club*, xxi (1958), 38-52.
 - Clark, L., and Rawcliffe, C., (eds.), *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1386-1421* (Stroud, 4 vols, 1992).
- Ross, C. D., (ed.), *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979).

- *Richard III* (London, 1981).
- Ross, C. D. and Pugh, T. B., 'Materials for the Study of Baronial Incomes in Fifteenth-Century England', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, iv (1953), 185-194.
- Round, J. H., *Feudal England* (London, 1895).
- 'The Lords Poynings and St. John,' *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 62 (1921).
- Rowney, I., 'Arbitration in Gentry Disputes in the Later Middle Ages', *History*, 67 (1982), 367-376.
- Russell, J. C., *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, 1948).
- *Medieval Regions and their Cities* (Newton Abbot, 1972).
- Sanders, I. J., *English Baronies: A Study of Origin and Descent, 1066 - 1327* (Oxford, 1960).
- Sawyer, P.H., '1066-1086. A Tenorial Revolution', in Sawyer, P. H., (ed.), *Domesday Book: a Reassessment* (London, 1985), 71-85.
- Saul, N., *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981).
- 'The Despensers and the Downfall of Edward II', *English Historical Review*, xcix (1984), 1-33.
 - *Scenes from Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex, 1280-1400* (Oxford, 1986).
 - 'Murder and Justice, Medieval Style: the Pashley Case, 1327-8,' *History Today*, xxxiv (1984) 30-35.
 - 'Conflict and Consensus in English Local Society', in Taylor, J. and Childs, W., (eds.), *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth Century England*, (Gloucester, 1990) 38 -59.
 - *Richard II* (Yale, 1997).
- Scammell, J., 'The Formation of the English Social Structure: Freedom, Knights and Gentry, 1066 - 1300', *Speculum*, 68 (1993), 591 - 618.
- Scarisbrick, J. J., *Henry VIII* (London, 1990).
- Schofield, R. S., 'The Geographical Distribution of Wealth in England, 1334-1649', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, xviii (1965), 483-510.
- Shaw, W. A., *The Knights of England* (London, 2 vols, 1906).
- Shennan, S. J. and Schadla-Hall, R. T., (eds.) *The Archaeology of Hampshire: from the Palaeolithic to the Industrial Revolution* (Hampshire Field Club, Monograph 1, 1981).
- Sherborne, J. W., 'Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions to France, 1369-80', *English Historical Review*, lxxix (1964), 718-46.

- Simpson, A. W. B., *A History of the Land Law* (Oxford, 1986).
- Smith, R. M., (ed.) *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle* (Cambridge, 1984).
- Somerville, R., *History of the Duchy of Lancaster* (London, 2 vols, 1953).
- Southern, R. W., *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953).
- Spufford, P., *Origins for Parliament: Problems and Perspectives in History* (London, 1967).
- Stamper, P., 'The Medieval Forest of Pamber,' *Landscape History*, v, 41 - 52.
- Steel, A., 'The Sheriffs of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in the Reign of Richard II,'
Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, xxxvi (1934-5), 1-34.
- Stenton, F. M., *The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066-1166* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1961).
- *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 3rd edition, 1987).
- Stephenson, C., 'The Origin and Significance of Feudalism', *American Historical Review*, 46 (1941), 788-812.
- Stevenson, E. R., 'The Escheator', in Willard, J. F., Morris, W. A., and Dunham, W. H., (eds.), *The English Government at Work 1327-1336*, ii, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 3vols, 1947).
- Stone, L., *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558 - 1641* (Oxford, 1965).
- and J. C., *An Open Elite? England, 1540 - 1880* (Oxford, 1984).
- Stones, E. L. G., 'Geoffrey Le Scrope (c. 1285-1340), Chief Justice of the King's Bench',
English Historical Review, lxxix (1952), 1-17.
- Stubbs, W., *The Constitutional History of England*, (Oxford, 3 vols, 1874-8).
- Tawney, R. H., 'The Rise of the Gentry, 1558-1640,' *Economic History Review*, xi, (1941), 1- 38.
- Taylor, M. M., 'Parliamentary Elections in Cambridgeshire, 1332-8,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xviii (1940-1), 21-6.
- Thompson, F. M. L., *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1963).
- 'The Social Distribution of Landed Property in England since the Sixteenth century',
Economic History Review, 2nd series, xix (1966), 505-517.
- Titow, J. Z., 'Evidence of Weather in the Account Rolls of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1209-1350,' *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, xii (1959 - 60), 360 - 407.
- *English Rural Society, 1200-1350* (London, 1969).
- *Winchester Yields* (Cambridge, 1972).
- Tout, T. F., *Chapters in the Administrative History of England* (Manchester, 6 vols, 1920-33).

- *Collected Papers of Thomas Frederick Tout* (Manchester, 3 vols, 1932-4).
- Trevor-Roper, H. R., 'The Gentry, 1540 - 1640', *Economic History Review*, supplement i, (1953), 1-55.
- Tuck, J. A., *Richard II and the English Nobility* (1973).
- Vale, M. G. A., *Piety, Charity and Literacy among the Yorkshire Gentry, 1370-1480* (Borthwick Papers, No. 50, 1976).
- Victoria History of the Counties of England* 5 Hampshire vols, (London, 1900-12).
- Virgoe, R., 'Three Suffolk Elections of the Mid-Fifteenth Century,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxix (1966) 185-96.
- 'The Cambridgeshire Election of 1439,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xlvi (1973), 95-101.
- 'The Crown, Magnates and Local Government in Fifteenth Century East Anglia,' in Highfield, J. R. L. and Jeffs, R. I., (eds.), *The Crown and Local Communities in England and France in the Fifteenth Century*, (Gloucester, 1981), 72 - 87.
- 'The Parliamentary Subsidy of 1450,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, lv (1982), 125 - 137.
- 'Aspects of the County Community in the Fifteenth Century' in Hicks, M. A., (ed.), *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, (Gloucester, 1990), 1-14.
- Wagner, A., *A Catalogue of English Rolls of Arms* (Oxford, 1950).
- Waight, S., 'Marwell Woodlock: the Creation of the Manor and its Descent, c.1300 - 1920,' *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club*, 53 (1998), 201 - 218.
- Walker, S., 'Lancaster v. Dallingridge: A Franchisal Dispute in Fourteenth Century Sussex,' *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 121 (1983), 87-94.
- *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990).
- 'Sir Richard Abberbury (c.1330 - 99): the Rise and Fall of a Gentry Family', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 34 (1990), 113-140.
- Watts, D. G., 'The Villages on the Manors of Titchfield Abbey,' *Hampshire Field Club*, xxi (1958), 31-37.
- 'A Model for the Early Fourteenth Century,' *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, xx (1967), 543-7.
- Waugh, Scott L., 'For King, Country and Patron: The Despensers and Local Administration, 1321-1322', *Journal of British Studies*, 22 (1983), 23-58.

- 'The Profits of Violence: The Minor Gentry in the Rebellion of 1321-1322 in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire,' *Speculum*, 52 (1983), 937 - 986.
- 'From Tenure to Contract: Lordship and Clientage in Thirteenth-Century England', *English Historical Review*, ci (1986), 811-839.
- *The Lordship of England: Royal Wardships and Marriages in English Society and Politics, 1217-1327* (Princeton, 1988).

Wedgwood, J. C., (ed.), *History of Parliament, 1439-1509* (London, 2 vols, 1936-8).

Willard, J. F., Morris, W. A., and Dunham, W. H., (eds.), *The English Government at Work, 1327-36* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 3 vols, 1940-50).

Willard, J. F., *Parliamentary Taxes on Personal Property, 1290 to 1334* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934).

Williams, C. H., 'A Norfolk Parliamentary Election, 1461,' *English Historical Research*, xl (1925), 79 - 86.

Wilkinson, B., *The High Middle Ages in England, 1154-1377* (Cambridge, 1977).

Wolffe, B. P., *The Royal Demesne in English History* (London, 1971).

Wood-Legh, K. L., 'Sheriffs, Lawyers and Belted Knights in the Parliaments of Edward III', *English Historical Review*, xlvi (1931), 372-88.

- 'The Knights' Attendance in the Parliaments of Edward III', *English Historical Review*, xlvii (1932), 398-413.

Wright, S. M., *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century*, Derbyshire Record Society, viii (Chesterfield, 1983).

Wrottesley, G., *Crécy and Calais* (London, 1898).