THE HISTORY OF

CUXHAM (CO. OXON.)

with special reference to

social and economic conditions

in the Middle Ages

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Submitted for the degree of D.Phil.,

Trinity Term 1960.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My first obligation is to the Warden and Fellows of Merton College, Oxford, for so readily giving me access to the contents of their muniment room, and for allowing many of the Cuxham rolls to be deposited for my use at Warwick County Record Office; I must particularly thank Dr. J.R.L. Highfield, the College's Librarian and Archivist, for his guidance in selecting the records and for willingly and patiently producing them, often in large numbers and at short notice. I have also been much assisted by the National Register of Archives, which provided me with a photoprinted copy of W.H. Stevenson's catalogue of the Merton muniments.

It was a bequest of the late Miss M. Young, of Salisbury, and a generous grant from the President and Fellows of my own College, St. John's, that made it possible for me to keep three terms' residence at Oxford, working on Cuxham; for both of these I am extremely grateful. I must likewise thank both the Records and Museum Committee of the Warwickshire County Council and the Trustees of the British Museum for several periods of special leave from my regular work to carry on this research; the former body also generously allowed me to use their premises after office hours, so that I could work on the deposited Cuxham material.

Finally, I must express my deep gratitude to Mrs. M.D. Lobel, who has supervised the preparation of this thesis, for her sensible advice and unfailing encouragement at every stage of the work.

British Museum,
1st. April 1960.

P. D. A. HARVEY.

ABBREVIATIONS

BM : British Museum
Bodl.: Bodleian Library
C.P.R.: Calender of patent rolls
E.H.R.: English Historical Review
MM : Merton College muniments
PRO : Public Record Office
V.C.H. : Victoria county history

NOTE

1. In quotations from original documents, abbreviations have been expanded where possible; errors of spelling or grammar have not been corrected and are not specially noted. Roman figures have been replaced by arabic in cardinal (but not in ordinal) numbers, and the words or abbreviations used for pounds, marks, shillings, pence, quarters, bushels and pecks have been standardized as 'li.', 'm.', 's.', 'd.', 'qr.', 'bus.', 'p.'.

2. To avoid confusion in writing of peasants who appear in the records under several different names, each individual is normally referred to by a single surname throughout the text, using the form and spelling most often applied to him; in direct quotations, of course, the form used in the particular document is reproduced unaltered.

3. In the Illustrations, full numerical references are normally given only for the deeds; see the Bibliography for full references for the other documents used.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Geography and early history.

The parish of Cuxham lies in the country between the Chilterns and the River Thame, an area of small, rounded hills, large fields and many small streams. Oxford is twelve miles away to the north-west, while the River Thames makes its closest approach four miles away, at Benson. The parish is small, a little less than a square mile in extent, and it contains just the one village, with an isolated homestead at Cutt Mill. The larger neighbouring parishes, besides the village with the church, contain additional hamlets, or farms still bearing the names of hamlets that have decayed since the late middle ages.[1] Before that time it was essentially a region of many small, nucleated settlements, of which some were endowed with a church while others were spiritually dependent on their neighbours.

A small stream which rises in the next parish, Watlington, forms the axis of the parish of Cuxham. The village lies at the point where it emerges from between two low hills and turns northwards into a slightly broader valley with a floor that is partly marsh, partly rough pasture liable to flood. At the northern end of the parish, in an area of meadowland, it is joined by another stream, with which it flows towards the Thame at Chislehampton, five miles away. The village's arable lies on the higher ground, where greensand and chalk, with plateau gravel at the top of each hill, produce good light soils, easily worked.

1. Such as Holcombe in Newington; Golder, Clare and Standhill in Pyrton; Rofford in Chalgrove.

A few hundred yards from the present rectory, and manor farm is a copse or large thicket where several small springs rise. Nearby have been discovered a few pieces of pottery of the second, third or fourth century - the earliest traces of habitation in the locality.[1] Of Cuc, whose farm gave the village its name,[2] we know nothing except that he lived before the late ninth century, for a charter dated 880 names Cuceshaema gemaere as one boundary of an estate corresponding to the modern parish of Brightwell Baldwin.[3] A century later, in 995, the bishop of Dorchester gave to one Aelfstan 'a certain little piece of land, of five mansae, in the place that the country people call Cuces hamm';[4] his charter sets out in English the bounds of this estate, and it has been suggested that they correspond to the bounds of the modern parish.[5] None of the landmarks, however, can be recognized in later place-names, and the identification must be regarded as tentative. It is uncertain when the estate was endowed with a church and priest; the entry of Cuxham in Domesday Book makes no mention of either,[6] but this is not significant, as they are normally omitted from the Oxfordshire returns.

The suggested sites of the landmarks named in the charter of 995 are set out on the map which forms Illustration 1. Also indicated are the other pieces of evidence for the process by which the area was

1. V.C.H. Oxon., i, p.335.
2. Gelling, Place-names of Oxfordshire (Eng. Place-Name Soc.), i, p.125.
3. BM Cotton MS. Tiberius A. xiii, ff.28^{b} - 29^{b}, 195-196; printed in Cartularium saxonicum, ii, pp.166-167 (no547). The bounds are discussed in Grundy, Saxon Oxfordshire (Oxf. Rec. Ser.), pp. 9-12.
4. 'aliquantulam ruris particulam. quinas uidelicet mansas. Inloco qui aruriculis cuces hamm uocitatur' - BM Harley Charter 43.C.7; printed (with orthography normalized) in Codex diplomaticus (Eng. Hist. Soc.), iii, pp. 288-289 (no. 691).
5. Grundy, Saxon Oxfordshire (Oxf. Rec. Ser.), pp.26-27.
6. Domesday Book, i, f.159^{b}.

cleared of woodland and converted to arable fields. Two names in a fifteenth-century terrier of the manorial demesne (Document 13) contain the element den (from Old English denu, a wood); they are the names of general areas in the fields, not of specific furlongs, which are described as being 'in le Symmysdene' or 'in hecchelesdene'. These areas can be identified as the two highest parts of the parish, lying near its southern tip and the centre of its eastern boundary (see Illustration 4); and it thus seems likely that it was the lower ground of the chalk and greensand that was cleared first, and that the two names preserved the memory of the time when the gravel areas of the hills remained wooded. This must have been the position in 995, when a wudu wic, or dairy farmstead by the wood, stood on the south-east boundary of the parish, probably beside the Symmysdene.[1]
The parish boundaries record an earlier stage of clearance; mostly they follow straight lines across country, or, on the western side, along an ancient lane, and must have been set out before the conversion from woodland to arable. Only in the north-west corner of the parish at its lowest part, not far from the stream, does a series of abrupt right-angled corners suggest that the boundary had to follow the strips and furlongs of an existing arable field.

But whatever the rate of clearance, the process was complete by 1086. Domesday Book mentions no woodland in Cuxham, but says that there was enough arable for four ploughs - which corresponds to fourteenth-century practice there. And by the late eleventh century the general pattern of settlement of the neighbouring localities had emerged: to the west was Brightwell Baldwin, to the north-west Chalgrove, to the north Easington, to the north-east Golder, a hamlet

1. Grundy, Saxon Oxfordshire, (Oxf. Rec. Ser.), p.27.

of Pyrton, to the east Watlington and to the south Britwell and perhaps also a place called Ingham.[1] Clearance was not everywhere as complete as at Cuxham[2] - indeed most of these parishes contain a few woods and copses to this day - but the area had already become predominantly one of arable farming.

B. The history of the manor

The quine manse at Cuxham in 995 must represent the five hides of its assessment in Domesday Book. In 1066 the estate belonged to Wigod, whose lands had by 1086 passed to Miles Crispin to form the honour of Wallingford; thenceforth the overlordship of Cuxham remained a possession of the baronial or royal lords of the honour, which in 1540 became the honour of Ewelme.[3]

Miles Crispin did not hold Cuxham in demesne.[4] In 1086 the manor was held by Aluredus as his tenant, and it seems likely that it was thenceforth continuously subinfeudated. The next tenant of whom there is definite information was Walter Foliot, who probably held the manor in 1202, though he cannot certainly be identified as lord of Cuxham until 1227;[5] by then the manor had probably been in the Foliot family for many years. In 1166 it may have been one of

1. V.C.H. Oxon., i, pp.391-392.
2. Domesday Book mentions woods in Watlington, Britwell and Brightwell Baldwin, but not in Easington, Chalgrove or Pyrton.
3. V.H.C. Berks., iii, p.528.
4. Lennard, Rural England, pp.58-60, discusses the extent of sub-infeudation around Cuxham and in other parts of Oxfordshire at this time.
5. In that year he bought a virgate of land in Cuxham from Gilbert de Stanlake - Feet of fines for Oxfordshire (Oxf.Rec.Ser.), p.79, (no.18). He appears as owing the service of two knights to the honour of Wallingford (probably, like Ralph Chenduit after him, for the manors of Cuxham and Chenies, co. Bucks.) in Great roll of the pipe, 4 John (Pipe Roll Soc.), pp. 6-10.

the two knights' fees held by an earlier Walter Foliot,[1] while a charter of 1163-78 names Robert Foliot of Cuxham amoung its witnesses,[2] perhaps the same Robert Foliot who gave a mill at Cuxham to the prior of Wallingford in pure and perpetual alms.[3] The Foliots were a large family and their genealogy is obscure. Walter Foliot, lord of Cuxham, was perhaps the Walter Foliot who was sheriff of Oxfordshire in 1225;[4] but among his Cuxham sub-tenants was not only a Reginald Foliot,[5] but also another Walter Foliot who was rector (persona) of the parish (see Illustration 41). A third Walter Foliot witnesses contemporary charters as parson of Thuroc[6] - presumably Thurrock in Essex.

The next lord of Cuxham was Ralph Chenduit, who married Walter Foliot's daughter and heiress, Joan.[7] He was probably in possession by 1234, when he and Joan were parties to a final concord concerning Whelpley (co. Bucks.),[8] and certainly by 1235-36, when he appears as the honour of Wallingford's tenant of a knight's fee in Cuxham.[9] The date and circumstances of his death are recorded by Matthew Paris and Thomas Walsingham.[10]

1. Red Book of the Exchequer (Rolls Ser.), i,p.309; cf. the notes by W. Farrer in Boarstall Cartulary (Oxf.Hist.Soc.), p.318.

2. MM 809; printed in Merton muniments (Oxf.Hist.Soc.), p.14 and pl.Ib, and in Facsimiles of early charters in Oxford, no.49.

3. Rotuli hundredorum, ii, p.758.

4. Dugdale, Baronage, i,p.679.

5. MM 846, 849 are grants of land in Cuxham from Walter Foliot to Reginald Foliot and his daughter Matilda.

6. MM 848, 850, 851.

7. Great roll of the pipe, 26 Henry III, p.50.

8. Calendar of the feet of fines for the county of Buckingham (Bucks. Arch. Soc.), p.64 (no.10); in V.C.H. Bucks., iii, p.207 the same transaction is dated 1233.

9. Liber feodorum, i, pp.446, 452, 456, 555.

10. Matthaei Parisiensis chronica majora (Rolls Ser.), iv, p.262; Gesta abbatum (Rolls Ser.), i,pp.319-320. The two accounts differ slightly in detail.

He had been involved in a quarrel with the abbot of St Albans, who had excommunicated him; one day, in front of many people at Westminster, he jeered at the abbot's sentence: 'Look at the monks of St Albans, just look at them! Why, they have excommunicated me for so long, and so often and so well that here I am, hale and hearty, and so fat that my saddle will hardly hold me when I ride!'[1] Very soon afterwards he was taken with a seizure, and died prematurely on 18 November 1243; the chroniclers say that he had repented of his sins and had been received back into the Church through the special intervention of St Alban himself.

Ralph Chenduit was succeeded by his son Stephen, who seems to have been closely connected with the royal court. In 1256 he accompanied Richard, king of the Romans, to Germany for his coronation, and the Dunstable chronicler's account of this suggests that he was one of Richard's most intimate companions.[2] In 1268 he was able to call the Chancellor, Walter de Merton, his 'special friend'.[3] Perhaps in such society he was tempted to extravagance, for most surviving records of him form a single tale of mounting debts, mainly to Jews. The first reference is in 1255, when he owed £64 to Abraham de Berkhamstede;[4] in May 1265 his debts were the subject of a special royal grant - the king's son was given whatever rights the king had in Stephen's debts to the Jews[5] - and in November of the same year he was one of the chief debtors of Hagin, son of Master Moses, Jew of London.[6]

1. Matthaei Parisiensis chronica majora (Rolls Ser.), iv, p.262.
2. Annales monastici (Rolls Ser.), iii, p.203, where he is described as one of Richard's speciales consiliarii.
3. In his grant of Cuxham to Walter de Merton, MM 777, 778; that this was no empty phrase is shown by Walter's bequests of 20 marks to Stephen's wife and 80 marks to provide for his daughters - Hobhouse, Walter de Merton, p.48.
4. Close rolls, 1254-56, p.171.
5. C.P.R. 1258-66, p.427. 'E' the king's son might be either Edward or Edmund.
6. C.P.R. 1258-66, p.505.

On 12 February 1268 he granted the manor of Cuxham, including the advowson, now first mentioned, to Walter de Merton;[1] in a charter permitting the transcation, as lord of the honour of Wallingford, Richard king of the Romans states that it was to enable Stephen to discharge his debts,[2] while on 22 February Manasser son of Aaron Ysaac of Lincoln, in a starr addressed to Walter de Merton, agreed to discharge all debts to Jews raised on the manor of Cuxham by Stephen Chenduit or his predecessors.[3]

The acquisition of Cuxham was part of Walter de Merton's policy of buying up heavily encumbered properties for the endowment of the house of scholars of Merton that he had founded in 1264;[4] besides Cuxham, he bought from Stephen Chenduit two Buckinghamshire manors, Cheddington and Ibstone. By a final concord of 9 February 1271,[5] supplemented by his own private charter,[6] Walter de Merton granted the manor and advowson of Cuxham to his house of scholars, now settled at Oxford. From the profits of the manor, however, were to be paid annuities of £30 to himself, £5 to his sister Christina de Wurthing, and 5 marks to Nicholas de Thedden during the life of his wife Alice; in addition, whenever Walter wished to stay at Cuxham he was to be given lodgings, food and fuel, for which an allowance was to be made on a fixed scale from the £30 pension. By a further final concord, on 25 November 1273, Stephen Chenduit acknowledged Cuxham and the two other manors to be the property of the house of

1. MM, 777, 778.
2. 'quod ad exoneracionem debitorum in quibus ipse diuersis creditoribus suis tenetur' - MM 1002, 1049.
3. The original document has not survived, but an abstract is in Merton College's 'Liber Ruber', MM vol. 1. 1, f.15.
4. This practice of Walter de Merton was discussed by Dr. J.R.L. Highfield in a paper read to the Anglo-American Conference of Historians, July 1959.
5. MM, 773-775.
6. MM, 776.

Merton;[1] and Merton College has remained in possession of Cuxham to the present day. In 1315 an inquisition made before the collectors of scutage for Oxfordshire confirmed that the College held the manor of the honour of Wallingford not by the service of one knight, but in pure and perpetual alms;[2] and in 1352 a letter of the Black Prince, as lord of the honour, confirmed that the Warden and scholars of Merton owed no fealty or other service for their property at Cuxham.[3]

The College's possession of the manor did not long go undisputed, as three documents now in its muniments show. By the first, dated 29 May 1258, Stephen Chenduit granted Cuxham to Robert Brand with the provision that on his death it was to pass to his son John and John's wife Matilda in free marriage, with reversion to Stephen in default of heirs of their bodies; in return, Robert leased his manors of Kingshill and Stokenchurch to Stephen, until John came of age.[4] The charter was in the College's possession by 1287-88, for it is entered in the 'Liber Ruber' which was drawn up then;[5] on the back is a contemporary endorsement, 'Carta falsi Brond'. The second document is a final concord of 18 November 1281, by which John Brond and his wife Matilda, for £100, gave up all claim to the manor of Cuxham and acknowledged that it belonged to the house of Merton.[6]

1. MM 782.
2. MM 2580.
3. MM 2421, printed in Merton muniments (Oxf.Hist.Soc.), p.31 and pl.XIb.
4. MM 780. The seal-tags of this charter have been cut from parchment on which another deed (perhaps a draft) was written; on one of these are the words 'anno domini m^{o} cc^{o} lxx^{mo} septe - ', i.e. a date nineteen years later than the present grant. If this were the date of the deed used for the tags, it would be evident that the present charter had been forged by John Brand; but it is more likely that it was the date of a future event such as the terms of a lease, for the following line of writing on the tag 'Warantizabimus defend-', clearly belongs to the clause of warranty, which would hardly immediately follow the dating clause. At the same time, it is certainly unusual for a deed to specify a date in the future by reference to the year of grace rather than to a term of years.
5. MM vol. 1.1, f.15.
6. MM 781.

In the third document, which is undated, John Brond of Bix acknowledges receipt of £100 from the house of Merton for the release of the manor of Cuxham.[1]

It seems likely from the first of these documents that John Brand's wife Matilda was a daughter or sister of Stephen Chenduit, and that it was because John was still a minor that Cuxham was granted to his father for life. But even within the Brand family the right to Cuxham was a matter of dispute; by an agreement of 6 May 1261, entered on the Close Roll,[2] Christina, daughter and heiress of Robert Braunt, made over to Sir Maurice de Berkely nearly all her rights in Cuxham and other manors that her father had held, in return for his support in recovering possession of them. Her claim must have been very nebulous, and no more was heard of it. There is certainly no evidence that any of the Brand family ever had seisin of the manor, and it was conveyed in turn to Walter de Merton and Merton College quite without reference to their claims. A letter from Stephen Chenduit to Robert, his bailiff at Cuxham, in 1268,[3] shows that Walter de Merton had direct seisin of the manor, while the College's own records of the administration of the demesne at Cuxham begin in 1272,[4] In 1279 the Hundred Rolls stated with precision 'The Warden and scholars of the house founded by Sir Walter de Merton in Oxford have and hold the manor of Cuxham with the advowson of the church and all other appurtenances'; yet, two years later the College paid £100 to be quit of the Brands' claim.

Perhaps when the manor had first been acquired by the College John Brand had made a verbal promise to Walter de Merton to abandon his claim; he may even have been paid to do so, though without a

1. MM 855.
2. Close rolls,1259-61, pp. 474-475
3. MM 779.
4. The earliest administrative record of Cuxham is the account of grain on the manor in 1272 - MM 5529.

written agreement. Presumably Walter de Merton was a man of such influence that the Brands would not dare to take advantage of this imprecision during his lifetime, but after his death in 1278 brought their claim against Merton College. The College would have acquired Stephen Chenduit's original charter to Robert Brand when it paid the agreed £100, and such circumstances as these would well explain the indignant endorsement that was added before it was placed among the College muniments.

There is one further matter to consider before leaving the manorial history of Cuxham. When the College acquired the manor, its appurtenances included land held by military service in the neighbouring parish of Chalgrove. How the two properties became associated is not certain, but they were probably united by some member of the Foliot family. The charter of 1163-78 which Robert Foliot of Cuxham witnessed[1] is a grant of one Gilbert Foliot installing William Quatermain, grandson of Richard Foliot, as his tenant in two hides at Chalgrove, to be held as one-quarter of a knight's fee. The holding was divided in 1203, when Hugh de Pagaham and Margery his wife granted one hide to Ralph Quatermain,[2] and this division probably continued down to 1279. In that year the Hundred Rolls show that one hide was held by William Quatermain of Sir Geoffrey de Lewknor, the other directly by Hugh de Pageham; in each case the property 'used to be held of the lord of Cuxham' by the service of one-eighth of a knight's fee[3]. It is not clear whether the past tense was intended literally or not; although there is no evidence of the College having any further interest in the fee of Hugh de Pageham, it continued as

1. See p.5 n.2
2. Feet of fines for Oxfordshire, (Oxf. Rec. Ser.), p.25, (no.54); the private charter which supplemented the final concord was copied onto the Cuxham court roll of 1338 - MM 5913.
3. Rotuli hundredorum, ii, p.770.

overlord of the Quatermain holding until 1517, when it made over its rights to Magdalen College in return for fealty and payment of 16s.8d. on the death of each president of Magdalen.[1]

The tenant of the Quatermain property owed suit at the manorial court at Cuxham, and in the first half of the fourteenth century he occasionally did attend; once, indeed, he was actually distrained for default.[2] But from the mid-fifteenth century this obligation was only nominal, and the orders to levy a distress from him were disregarded. It is only in this attendance at court that the Chalgrove tenant enters into the history of Cuxham, and there was no economic or administrative connection between his property and the College's manor. We can therefore ignore the Chalgrove fee, and say that in practice we have at Cuxham a perfect example of the classical manor, whose bounds are identical with the parish and the vill and which forms a single and complete economic unit and social community.

C. Sources for the history of Cuxham

The principal source for the history of Cuxham is the muniment-room of Merton College. Preserved there are the records of the administration of the manor from the time of its acquisition by the College, and there is no considerable period in the succeeding years from which some class of document has not survived.

Among the earliest records the annual accounts rolls of the College's reeves and bailiffs at Cuxham are outstanding both by their bulk and by the value of the information they contain.[3] Accounts for 1276-77 survive, but the main series starts with the account for 1288-89 and continues with gaps totalling only eleven years[4] down to

1. MM 3342, 3343; Magdalen College muniments Chalgrove 7A.

2. In 1333, 'Ricardus Catermeyns districtus est per 1 equum et non venit ideo preceptum est retinere dictum equum et capere plus pro homagio et fidelitate faciendis citra proximam' - MM 5912.

3. Full references to these and to the other sources described in this section are given in the Bibliography.

4. The accounts for 1292-93, 1295-96, 1311-12, 1314-15, 1324-27, 1337-38, 1352-53 and 1355-56 are missing, while that for 1351-52 (MM5880) is almost wholly illegible.

1359, when the manor was first leased to farmers. The accounts were audited late in July, and the accounting year usually began and ended about the feast of St. James (25 July), though on the death or resignation of a reeve an account was sometimes drafted for a shorter term. The form of the accounts follows the usual pattern; on the front is the cash account, first the income charged against the reeve, then the discharge in expenses; on the dorse is accounted first each type of corn, then each item of stock, live and dead. A typical account, that for 1316-17, was printed in 1866 by Thorold Rogers,[1] who wrote of them, 'Out of the many thousand accounts which I have investigated none equal these of Cuxham for intelligence, accuracy, and order'.[2]

Most of the account rolls are fair copies, drawn up by the reeve's clerk immediately before the audit, and usually showing no alterations or additions other than those of the auditors. But for a few years between 1303 and 1309 there survive also draft accounts; these are slightly more detailed than the fair copies, and show last-minute additions and corrections[3]. Since those that survive are for years shortly before the death of the reeve, Robert Beneyt, in January 1311, it seems likely that they were taken over by the College with his other official documents on his death, and that normally the reeve kept the draft account rolls as his own record.

The draft accounts distinguish expenditure before or after the view of account, a survey of the reeve's cash receipts and expenses usually made about halfway through the accounting year. A few

1. Rogers, History of agriculture and prices, ii, pp.617-630.
2. Ibid., i, p.508n.
3. Similar draft account rolls from Sevenhampton are described and printed in Accounts and surveys of the Wiltshire lands of Adam de Stratton, (Wilts.Arch. & Nat. Hist. Soc.), pp.ix-xi, 186-227.

roughly drawn-up cash accounts for periods of three to six months which have survived in the College archives were probably presented then, and presumably were normally destroyed when the account for the whole year was audited in July; some, but not all, of these short-term accounts are headed 'Visus compoti'. Other subsidiary records of account survive as schedules attached to the annual account roll; they include indented lists of stock on the manor drawn up at the end of a year or when a new reeve took office,[1] lists of the reeve's debtors, lists of allowances sought by the reeve, special accounts of harvest expenses, and accounts of the customary tenants' labour services on the demesne.

Besides the account records relating specifically to Cuxham, the records of the College estates as a whole provide some information. In particular, the chapter accounts, which summarize the cash account of each manor, giving simply the total of each paragraph of the roll, have helped to fill some of the early gaps in the series of account rolls; they survive for thirteen years between 1277-78 and 1328-29. Use also has been made of the College's estimates of grain on each manor and of the early accounts of the Warden, Sub-warden and Bursars, which record the amounts of money handed over by the reeve or bailiff.

In all, the records of account give a remarkably complete picture of the demesne at Cuxham during the first ninety years of the College's management; their value is not diminished because, as we shall see, some of their information must be used with caution. But after 1359, when the College leased the manor to tenant farmers, the full account

1. One such indented list of stock, for the College's manor at Leatherhead in 1283, is printed in Surrey manorial accounts (Surrey Rec.Soc.), pp.42-43.

rolls of the reeves and bailiffs were superseded by the lessees' short accounts of rents and repairs; of these, the earliest to survive is for 1395-96, but the series is then fairly complete to the end of the seventeenth century.

The records of the College's manorial court at Cuxham are much briefer than the reeves' accounts, but they form a longer series. The earliest to survive are for two courts held in 1279 and one in 1282, but the series is continuous only from 1294. As the reeve had to account for the profits of each court, it is possible to check how many of the court rolls before 1359 are missing; in fact, the only courts mentioned on the accounts of which no full record had survived are one in 1345, two in 1348, two in 1349 and one each in 1351, 1358 and 1359. There is a gap in the series from 1363 to 1377, and another from 1411 to 1436; otherwise they seem to be fairly complete down to 1509. Then, however, there is a long gap until the series starts again in 1677, broken only by the survival of rolls from 1611 and 1612.

Since the College's jurisdiction in Cuxham did not extend to view of frankpledge or trying criminal cases, its court rolls give information only about the tenure of peasant holdings, the agrarian organization of the vill and minor suits between the tenants. There are no peculiarities in the form of the court rolls; the earliest to survive consist of the records of two or three successive Cuxham courts entered on a single membrane, but by the fifteenth century it was more usual to enter the Cuxham courts on the same roll as the records of courts at the manors of Ibstone or Cheddington held at the

same time. Many of the fourteenth-century court rolls have been filed together, Exchequer-fashion, on loops of twisted parchment; the individual membranes bear no official numbers, and as it is often impossible to tell which is the first in the file, the numeration used in the references, though consistent, is often arbitrary.

The College archives contain about 130 deeds concerning its property at Cuxham, ranging from the twelfth to the seventeenth century. There are three main groups. First are the deeds granting Cuxham to the College and the muniments which were acquired together with the property. The latter are particularly valuable, as they form the only direct evidence of conditions at Cuxham before 1271; they include agreements of earlier lords of the manor with their tenants and with neighbouring landlords. All the deeds in this group are endorsed with the College's distinctive early reference - a large blue or vermilion letter, followed by a figure, referring to the chests in which they were kept - and most of them are entered in the 'Liber Ruber', a catalogue of the College's muniments, drawn up in 1287-88.[1] A few deeds both in this and in the following group are known only from their entries in the 'Liber Ruber', the originals having been lost.

The second group of deeds are those concerning the College's administration of Cuxham, of which only the earliest bear the thirteenth-century reference and appear in the 'Liber Ruber'. They are few in number, and do little to supplement the mass of evidence in the account and court rolls; the most valuable are the agreements

1. Merton muniments, (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), p.29, and pl. IX; Davis, Medieval cartularies p.85 (no.743)

made with the farmers who, after 1359, leased the manor from the College. Only six of these documents have survived, dating from 1361 to 1610, but notes of two others appear in the College's published 'Registrum Annalium', 1483-1521.[1]

The third group comprises some 80 deeds which the College acquired early in the sixteenth century with the property of a free tenant in Cuxham. Half of them date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and throw an interesting light on the history of this family and its lands in that period.

Besides these three main classes of document - records of account, court rolls and deeds - the College muniments contain a few miscellaneous records of Cuxham which have proved of considerable value. They include the earliest surviving tax assessments for the village, a full terrier of the demesne in 1447-48, and the earliest map of Cuxham, drawn in 1767; they will be discussed when their contents are considered.

Outside the Merton College muniments, records of Cuxham are widely scattered. Among the records of royal administration, the entry of Cuxham on the Hundred Rolls of 1279 provides a useful starting-point, soon after the College's acquisition of the manor, for a study of its tenants there. The tax returns for Cuxham among the Lay Subsidy records of the Exchequer supplement the early assessments in the College archives, and also include lists for the Poll Tax of 1377 and for the Hearth Tax from 1662 onwards. Also in the public records are the only surviving medieval records of the

1. Registrum annalium Collegii Mertonensis, (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), pp. 171-172. (1493) and 438 (1513).

honour of Wallingford's court, leet and view of frankpledge for Cuxham; but only seven of these court rolls survive, from 1432 to 1542, and they add little to the evidence of the College's court rolls. Of the records of local administration only the enclosure schedule of 1846, now in Oxford County Record Office, has been used, though a thorough search of the general records of Quarter Sessions would certainly reveal much information about the parish in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Until the Reformation Cuxham was in the diocese of Lincoln, and the bishops' registers give the names of its rectors from the early fourteenth century. The more recent records of the diocese of Oxford, now in the Bodleian Library, include three terriers of the glebe in the seventeenth century,[1] and the tithe apportionment of 1848 with its large map of the parish, all useful evidence in reconstructing the village's earlier agrarian history. Now also in the Bodleian Library are some 60 wills of inhabitants of Cuxham between 1530 and 1731. Of the parish records in the rector's custody, the most important are the registers, which begin in 1578; no parish officers' accounts earlier than 1853 have survived. A few early references to Cuxham occur in the records of other private owners besides Merton College; the Stonor family,[2] Magdalen College[3] and Christ Church, Oxford,[4] all at one time had rents or other interests in Cuxham - but these stray references add little to our story.

D. Scope of the succeeding chapters

There is thus a great wealth of documentary evidence for the history of Cuxham in the past seven hundred years. It is, however,

1. An interesting general account of glebe terriers, with some references to those of the diocese of Oxford, is given by Dr. D.M. Barratt in her Introduction to Ecclesiastical terriers of Warwickshire parishes (Dugdale Soc.), i, pp.xii-xxvi.

2. Stonor letters and papers (Camden Ser.), i, pp.51-52; ii, pp.184.

3. Magdalen College muniments, Chalgrove 186 is a memorandum of rents from Cuxham and other places near Chalgrove, in the early sixteenth century.

4. The manor of Chalkford (in Aston Rowant) which Wolsey granted to his new college in 1528, included rents from Cuxham - Cartulary of the mediaeval archives of Christ Church (Oxf.Hist.Soc.), p.182.

for the earliest part of the period that it is peculiarly rich, and since it has seemed most profitable to investigate the village over a short period but in great detail, the present study is confined to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Within these limits, the period covered by each chapter has been determined by the records available. All relevant evidence has been used in treating each topic, but, broadly speaking, chapter II is based on the maps, terriers and surveys, chapters III and IV on the records of account, and chapter V on the court rolls and deeds. Many records later than 1400 have been used for the light they throw on earlier times; that they do this at all is a sign of the remarkable continuity displayed by the records of the village. In accordance with this all-pervasive continuity and stability a chronological treatment of the subject has not been attempted. Although the period saw several structural changes in the village, and witnessed in the Black Death the greatest single catastrophe in its history. it has seemed best to treat it as a unity, and to examine aspect by aspect the life of the community at this time.

The quantity of evidence available, and the small size of Cuxham, combined with the identity of manor and vill, make it an ideal subject for such detailed study. Of recent years, attention has been focussed on the organization of medieval estates and on the structure of manors outside the midland region; but the classical manor, a community that can be studied without the distraction of complex tenurial or agrarian forms, has still much to reveal. The present study has been conceived as a contribution to general historical knowledge, rather than as an accumulation of purely local information. For this reason no account is given of the normal

operations of the agricultural year, or of the disabilities of the villein tenants, or of other topics on which the Cuxham records throw no new light and which have often been described from the evidence of other manors. So far as a balanced picture of the village permits, special attention has been paid to questions which seem likely to be of general relevance, such as the reeve's position in the community, and the use of surnames by the peasants. But no attempt is made to draw general conclusions, for which the evidence of a single community is quite inadequate; and although reference is sometimes made to parallel practices recorded from other places, this has been done sparingly and with some hesitation, lest superficial similarities should spring from quite dissimilar customs.

Two topics are barely mentioned, as they have been fully treated by earlier writers. The first is the information in the account rolls about commodities and prices; this has been examined and set out in detail by Thorold Rogers,[1] and there is no substantial point on which his presentation of the Cuxham evidence can be disputed. The second is the organization of the Merton College estates; this has been described in an unpublished thesis by Mrs. E. Lowry,[2] based on the records of the manor of Gamlingay, with some reference also to Cambridge, Cheddington and Diddington. Mrs. Lowry's work has proved a most useful guide in using the manorial records of the College, and in this field the Cuxham material could do no more than provide further illustrations of the points she discusses.

1. Rogers, History of agriculture and prices, i and ii.
2. 'The administration of the estates of Merton College' (1933), Bodl. MS. D.Phil. C.70.

CHAPTER II

TOPOGRAPHY AND TOPONYMY

A. The arable fields

In the area between the River Thame and the Chilterns open-field farming persisted well into the nineteenth century,[1] and the arable land of Cuxham was not enclosed until 1846-47. As enclosure was made with the consent of seven-eighths of the landholders a special act, Commissioners, and a detailed award were not needed, but a schedule of the lands to be enclosed had to be deposited with the Clerk of the Peace,[2] and this describes the arable as lying in the North Field, the South Field and the West Field, each containing 120-130 acres. These were the three open fields on which Cuxham's farming had been based since at least the thirteenth century. They are always named from the points of the compass from the sixteenth century onwards, and occasionally also in earlier records - *campus australis* is mentioned in 1358,[3] and *Northt Feld* in 1407;[4] but in general the medieval records refer to the North and West Fields as

1. Gray, *English field systems*, p.130. This author was unable to trace the enclosure of Cuxham (*ibid.*, p.116n), but his list of parliamentary enclosures in Oxfordshire (*ibid.*, pp.536-542) gives the following dates of enclosure in neighbouring parishes: Brightwell Baldwin, 1802; Britwell, 1845; Chalgrove, 1845; Pyrton, 1852; Watlington, 1815. Cf. Young, *View of the agriculture of Oxfordshire* (1809), pp.8,9: 'Crossing from Thame to Postcomb, and thence by Stoke to Golder, I passed much good pasturage, and some very fine open-field arable'; 'Much open-field intermixed, from Golder to Bensington'.
2. These were the provisions of 'An Act for facilitating the Inclosure of Open and Arable Fields in England and Wales', 6 & 7 Wil.IV c.115, sectt.40,41. The schedule, now in Oxford County Record Office, was deposited with the Clerk of the Peace on 3 Sept. 1846, but before enclosure could be effected a notice had to be published in a newspaper in each of the three months following.
3. MM 5886.
4. MM 5924 mem.3.

campus versus Pyritone and campus versus Brichtewelle respectively, and to the South Field as Burwefeld, or occasionally as campus versus Brutewelle.[1]

The bounds of the open fields are shown in the survey and map of the manor which William Chapman of Watlington compiled for Merton College in 1767;[2] this provides our only complete picture of Cuxham before enclosure. The glebe terrier of 1614 shows that an area of just over 7 acres[3] was transferred from the South Field to the West Field in the late sixteenth century;[4] before this transfer the areas of the three fields, according to the measurements of the 1767 survey, must have been 126 acres 1 rood 11 perches (North), 127 acres 3 roods 13 perches (South), and 121 acres 2 roods 29 perches (West).[5] There is no other reference to changes in the boundaries of the fields; the medieval evidence, especially the demesne terrier of 1447-48, shows that they were at any rate substantially the same as in the seventeenth century.

1, With, of course, many variations of spelling in each case.

2. The survey is MM vol.5.30. The map is not at present available; fortunately it is reproduced as map no.8 in Sixteen old maps of properties in Oxfordshire and it is on this reproduction that Illustrations 2-5 and 10 are based. In tracing it some adjustments were necessary (especially at the west end of the village) to bring together its four sections, but comparison with Ordnance Survey plans shows no overall distortion.

3. 7ac. 1r.3p. according to the survey of 1767.

4. The two glebe strips in the southern corner of the West Field 'are nowe tilled, as the wholl furlong is also togither with the west fielde: though lately within memory of man they have bin tilled as parte of the South fielde'; the hedge bounding one of these strips was 'sometyme within memorye of man the bownde betweene the south fielde & the west fielde' - Bodl. MS.Oxon Archdeaconry Papers b.40, f.112. As the 1767 map shows a tree at the inner end of this strip, it probably also butted on the former boundary of the two fields, so that no other furlong was involved in the transfer; see Illustration 3 and p.29 n.4

5. The survey actually gives the area of the North Field as 134ac. 1r. 11p.; this includes an area given as 38ac.0r.3p. in the survey, but as 30ac.0r.3p. on the map. If the figure on the map is taken as correct, the total for the field exactly corresponds with the enclosure schedule. The plan, accompanying the tithe apportionment of 1848 (Bodl.Oxon. Tithe Apportionment E.52) gives no reason to suspect the exclusion of 8ac. from the area affected by enclosure.

The fields were the basis of the usual three-course rotation of crops; spring-corn, winter-corn, fallow. It seems to have been strictly adhered to. In 1313 vetch was sown for the sheep on a plot of demesne in the fallow field,[1] and in 1319 and 1320 some barley was sown in the winter-corn field where wheat had been waterlogged,[2] but these were exceptional instances; a court roll of 1334 describes the two sown fields as campus seminatus cum frumento and campus seminatus cum blado quadragesimali[3], and in the early fifteenth century there are references simply to Lentfeld',[4] and Falowfeldes.[5] A court order of 1692 that 'noe person or persons shall sow in the ffallow ffeild any corne or graine whatsoever'[6] suggests that some tenants had been sowing on the fallow, but at no period does this seem to have been done often or systematically. There is no evidence of an earlier two-course rotation at Cuxham; the earliest records, dating from the end of the thirteenth century, show the three-field system in operation.[7]

The map of 1767 marks and names the furlongs into which the fields were divided (see Illustration 2). This picture of the detailed lay-out of the arable can be carried back 150 years by the glebe terriers of 1685, 1635 and 1614; in each of these the positions and bounds of the glebe strips are described, and since they were mostly unchanged in 1767 they can serve as a basis for

1. 'super vnam placiam in Warect' pro bidentibus' - MM 5837.
2. 'vbi frumentum mersum fuit' - MM 5842; a similar entry is in MM 5843.
3. MM 5908 mem.10.
4. Court roll, 1439 - MM 5928.
5. Lease of the manor farm, 1424 - MM 2856 (endorsement).
6. MM 5957; the fair copy in Latin is MM 5958.
7. The reeve's account for 1297-98 (MM 5814), which is the first to give the acreages sown, provides the earliest indisputable evidence of a three-course rotation at Cuxham.

a partial reconstruction of the open fields in the seventeenth century. This is shown in Illustration 3. Earlier evidence is scanty, and particularly valuable is the terrier of 1447-48 which is reproduced as Document 13.[1] This begins with a list of the furlongs containing demesne, arranged by fields, giving the number of customary acres of demesne in each, with their length and breadth in perches. The second part of the terrier is a summary of the first, giving simply the names of the furlongs (with some variants of the forms in the first part) and the number of customary acres of demesne in each, with the total for each field. The measurements seem to be in normal statute perches; the breadth must be the aggregate of the demesne strips in each furlong, and the length of furlongs where the headlands are not parallel is presumably the average length of the demesne strips. From the measurements it is possible to identify most of the furlongs on the map of 1767, though few of the names are unchanged. The result is shown in Illustration 4 to which the names of furlongs occurring in other medieval sources have been added, to give as complete a picture as possible of Cuxham's open fields in the middle ages. It shows that the furlong boundaries remained largely unaltered at least from the fifteenth century, although, if the reconstruction is correct, there must have been some slight changes in part of the South Field near White Lands. On the other hand the names of the furlongs seem to have varied greatly. Stir Furlong and Fifty Acres were known by a single name from the thirteenth century onwards, but they are exceptional.

1. It is written on two leaves at the beginning of Merton College's 'Liber Ruber' (MM vol.1.1) - see p.15.
The terrier is written in a contemporary hand, with some corrections by a second scribe; it is prefaced by the note of the area of demesne arable which forms Document 3.

Gibbons Piece of 1767 is New Close Furlong in 1685, Grove End Furlong in 1614 and, probably, forrura super le court gardeyn in 1447-48. Mackney Furlong is a name which occurs only in 1767 and, as Magnes, in 1685, while Dych Forlong and Bolnhale, both mentioned several times in medieval sources, cannot now be identified.

Unlike the glebe and the tenants' lands, which lay in scattered strips, the arable of the manor farm in 1767 consisted almost entirely of compact blocks of land. This was no recent development. The terrier of 1447-48 shows the same arrangement, with large blocks of demesne in the West Field south of the road to Brightwell Baldwin, and in the part of the North Field nearest the village. Several references indicate that the demesne lands similarly lay apart from those of the tenants earlier in the middle ages - for instance, the court roll of 1355 specifies whether trespasses were 'in blado nativorum' or 'in separali domini'.[1] It is certainly implied by the note of demesne acres in the North and West Fields which is reproduced as Document 2. This is written on the back of the court roll of 1282 and probably dates from the mid-thirteenth century[2]; in each field most of the land is described as 'in dominico', but a few acres lie 'in campo comuni'. The former must refer to the blocks of demesne; the note 'iuxta domum rectoris' can scarcely apply to the whole of the West Field, but correctly describes that part of it where it is known that the demesne lay in the fifteenth century.

1. MM 5918.
2. See p.53.

A group of eight deeds of the mid-thirteenth century probably shows the actual process of forming these consolidated blocks of demesne arable.[1] They record purchases and exchanges of land within Cuxham by the lord of the manor, involving areas varying from a single acre to entire holdings; since the deeds were probably all in the hands of Merton College by the end of the thirteenth century,[2] they must relate to lands in demesne at that time. One of them is executed by Walter Foliot as lord of the manor,[3] and one by Stephen Chenduit;[4] the remainder belong to the period when the manor was held by Stephen's father Ralph, between 1227 and 1243. In a further deed Ralph Chenduit reaches agreement with the lord of Pyrton over rights of common,[5] and we begin to see him as an active, improving landlord, and to date the consolidation of the demesne largely from this time. His quarrel with the abbot of St Albans, whom he put to the indignity of taking an oath in person,[6] provides further evidence of his vigour as a man of business.

The consolidation of the demesne arable does not seem to have been made in order to form enclosures. The accounts of the manor for every year between 1313 and 1350 (except in 1335-37) note the customary payment of 2d. to the cottagers who moved the lord's sheep-fold.[7] The account of villeins' works for 1330-31 records 110 days

1. MM 785, 787-789, 791, 847, 848, 888.

2. They are all entered in the 'Liber Ruber' (MM vol.1.1,ff.33,33^{b}) except MM 787-789 and 791, and these too bear the distinctive early Merton reference letter.

3. MM 888.

4. MM 789.

5. MM 786.

6. 'cepit ab eodem Abbate legem, videlicet, sacramentum, in propria persona Abbatis, in magnum ejus dedecus et honoris laesionem' - Gesta abbatum (Rolls Ser.),i,p.319. Matthew Paris in his Chronica majora (Rolls Ser.),iv,p.262, calls Ralph Chenduit 'inexorabilis et indefessus ecclesiae Sancti Albani persecutor et libertatum ejus per triennium invasor protervus'.

7. The item is entered among the petty expenses; in 1335-37 there were no sheep on the demesne - see Illustration 22.

spent 'In fossis fac'/circa campos domini',[1] and that for 1332-33 ■■ 100 'In fossis factis circa camp'',[2] but these may refer simply to clearing ditches, not to making ditches and banks; as no other works account survives, it is impossible to tell whether the item occurred regularly. Later evidence suggests that the demesne continued to be cultivated as an integral part of the open fields. Noting the transfer of the 7 acres from the South Field to the West Field, the glebe terrier of 1614 states that 'The twoe acres last mentioned, are nowe tilled, as the wholl furlong is also togither with the west fielde: though lately within memory of man they have bin tilled as parte of the South fielde'; in fact, apart from the 2 acres of glebe, the whole area lay in demesne. The demesne was still ploughed in strips corresponding to the customary acres; the correspondence between the names of the fields south of the Brightwell Baldwin road in 1767 and the acreages ascribed to them in 1447-48 can only be due to continuity of practice, though the name Long Lands suggests that in this furlong the direction of the strips had been changed at some time during the period. There are other traces of slight re-organization; for instance, the demesne field named Dean Bottom in 1767 seems to have been made by combining a block of demesne in Fifty Acres with the furlong named (in 1447-48) <u>forrura que abuttat in le symysdene</u>.

Outside the demesne blocks, the strips were marked by boundary stones. References to these are few but definite. In the manorial court in 1322 John ate Grene was called to account for

1. MM 5853.
2. Schedule attached to MM 5857.

pulling up certain stones from a boundary between his own and another tenant's lands; he undertook to replace the stones by new ones before the next court.[1] In 1509 the rector was presented for encroaching 7 feet onto the demesne and for ploughing a certain merestone into his own land.[2] The same roll contains two entries which suggest that special stones marked the strips of the free tenants and the glebe. Richard Hall, who held lands in Cuxham both in copyhold and in free tenure, was ordered to distinguish the former by a special chalk-mark (or perhaps a lump of chalk) on the outside of each strip, while the rector's copyhold lands were said to bear the same mark as the strips of glebe.[3]

1. 'Johannes ate Grene attachiatus fuit ad respondendum domino de placito quare eradicauit quasdam petras de quodam confinio inter terram dicti Johannis et terram Willelmi Waldrugg' Natiui domini'; he found pledges 'ad alias petras reponendas loco aliarum petrarum citra proximam sub pena 12d. per visum prepositi et aliorum vicinorum' - MM 5908 mem.6.

2. 'Willelmus Irlond' Rector ecclesie de Cuxham accrochiauit terram domini per 7 pedes et arauit quendam merestone stantem super terram domini in terram ipsius Rectoris' - MM 5945.

3. 'Iniunctum est Ricardo Hall' qui tenet per copiam 13 acras terre . . . pro eo quod idem Ricardus tenet libere in Cokesham diuersas acras terre quod idem Ricardus signabit quamlibet acram domini cum speciali signo videlicet cum quodam Calco in exteriori parte cuiuslibet acre Ita quod terra domini bene et separaliter post cognoscend' de terra propria predicti Ricardi Hall' sub pena forisfacture' (the words underlined are insertions); the rector ploughed his two copyhold tenements 'sub signo terre sue vocate l'glebe lond' - MM 5945.

The boundaries between furlongs seem to have been marked by unploughed paths and balks.[1] An early reference occurs in 1303, when a tenant was amerced for grazing on a boundary (bunda) between the demesne and his own land, half of which boundary belonged to the lord.[2] The glebe terriers show that some of these must have been permanent, such as the greene meare waye across the North Field and that at the south-east side of Short Dean furlong, where in 1614 the glebe strip had a bush at the end (see Illustration 3). In places the open fields themselves seem to have been similarly bounded only by unploughed paths and strips. In 1439 a tenant was amerced because he occupied a piece of waste ground (fris') between the fields of Cuxham and Pyrton;[3] and the 'Mare balke whereon standeth a bush called apletree bush' mentioned in the glebe terrier of 1635 probably formed the boundary of the South Field with the field of Britwell. But for considerable lengths the three fields were bounded by hedges. These are shown on the map of 1767 (see Illustration 2); the glebe terriers mention quickset hedges where they abutted on the glebe strips (including one along the former boundary of the South and West Fields; see Illustration 3), and a court order of 1410 forbade the tenants to break or remove the lord's hedges, especially that between the field and the street of Cuxham - presumably referring to the south-

1. The use of balks between furlongs, but not between individual strips, accords with Beecham , 'A review of balks as strip boundaries in the open fields', Agricultural History Review, iv, pp. 22-44.

2. 'Ricardus est in misericordia quia passit pasturam super quendam bundam que est inter dominum et ipsum que bunda Medietas pertinet domino' - MM 5907, mem. 7.

3. 'Thomas freman (inserted) habet fres' (struck out) occup't 1 fris' inter campum de Cuxham et campum de Pyrton' ad dampnum domini 1d.' - MM 5928.

west corner of the North Field.[1] Still earlier, a plea of trespass entered on the court roll of 1386 against several tenants who broke down and carried away the lord's hedges at Kyngestret probably refers to the boundary of the West Field.[2]

It seems that enclosure at Cuxham did not substantially increase the amount of hedgerow in the parish;[3] nor did it lead to a new growth of trees. The map of 1767 shows that then, as now, they grew profusely in the hedges, along the streams and in the closes around the village (see Illustrations 2 and 5). This seems to have been the case earlier. The glebe terriers show that there were bushes and trees between some of the furlongs in the open fields in the seventeenth century (see Illustration 3).[4] In 1357 the

1. 'Preceptum est cuilibet tenenti domini istius dominii quod non frang' nec asport' aliquas sepes domini et precipue sepem inter campum et communem stratam ville de Cuxham sub pena cuilibet deliquenti 12d.' - MM 5924 mem.1.

2. 'sepes domini apud kyngestret frang' et asport'' - MM 5923, mem.5. The road to Brightwell Baldwin is Regia Via qu'/ducit versus Brigh'-well' in the demesne terrier of 1447-48, while the Via Regia mentioned in deeds of 1502 and 1504 (MM 1849, 882) is probably the road to Chalgrove. Since the present quotation and that in the previous note concern hedges adjoining roads they can hardly be taken as evidence for the enclosure of the demesne lands at this period; more probably the hedges were simply part of the bounds of the open fields.

3. It would, of course, have been otherwise if the tenants' holdings or the demands of drainage had necessitated dividing the arable into many small fields; cf. Hoskins, The making of the English landscape, p.153.

4. The only case of trees growing between furlongs is along the line of the pre-seventeenth century boundary between the South and West Fields, but elsewhere there were bushes and thickets. Clearly trees might grow on permanent boundary balks in the open fields; an interesting early reference occurs in a case of trespass on an unnamed manor in 1282, noted in BM, Harley MS.667, f.275: 'venit predictus W. ad vnam diuisam que est inter eos in quodam campo qui vocatur B. et amputauit vnam quercum et ad domum suam asportauit'.

College auditors disallowed the bailiff's claim for 2 bus. of wheat given to a man who promised that the next year the crows would not nest in the closes at Cuxham;[1] but the following year's account records a payment to three men to throw down the crows' nests.[2] Many entries in the medieval court rolls concern trees blown down or illicitly felled, and the four types specifically mentioned - ash, elm, poplar and willow - all grow in Cuxham today.[3]

B. The village

The earliest map of Cuxham to show the village in full detail is the plan accompanying the tithe apportionment of 1848;[4] it shows all yards and outhouses, and carefully distinguishes the actual dwelling-houses. William Chapman's map of 1767, from which Illustration 5 is taken, is much less detailed, but shows that the village had changed little in the succeeding 80 years. Earlier evidence is scanty, but points to the same stability.

1. 'Et lib' cuidam de Schirborn' qui promisit ballive quod in proximo anno Corui non facerent nidos suos infra claus' de Cokush' sub pena 40d. ex convencione 2 bus. frumenti' (the auditors have struck out the words underlined) - MM 5885.

2. 'expens' et stipend' 3 hominum deponencium nidos coruorum' is included in the expenses of one of the Warden's visits - MM 5886.

3. E.g. in 1385, 'Nicholus Barthelet prostrauit 6 vlm' precii 2s. sine licencia domini' - MM 5923 mem.6; in 1390, 'ventus prostrauit 5 Fraxcinos precii 4s.2d. Et 2 Popelers precii 16d.' - MM 5923 mem.2; in 1489, 'Robertus Halle liber tenens succidit quamdam arborem vocatum A Wylow crescentem in Communi domini valoris 1d. absque licencia domini' - MM 5941. Ashes are the trees most often mentioned in the medieval records; elms now predominate.

4. Bodl. Oxon. Tithe Apportionment E.52.

The only clearly medieval building in Cuxham today is the church, but other buildings occupy sites of great antiquity. That the church, manor-farm and rectory occupied the same relative positions in the fifteenth century as today is indicated by a provision in leases of the manor made between 1472 and 1610.[1] The rector was to have free access to the church across a meadow called Nutheys and through the gate of the manor; for this privilege he gave the farmer 1s.8d. a year and they shared the nuts from the meadow.[2] In 1386 the homage had denied that there was a right of way from the rectory to the church through the lord's garden;[3] the claim probably arose from the lessee of the manor from 1361 until at least 1368 having been the rector himself, who would then have had free access to the farm buildings.[4] Still earlier, Document 2 shows that the rectory occupied the same site, in the mid-thirteenth century, for it describes the demesne lands in the West Field as lying 'iuxta domum Rectoris'.

1. The 6-inch and 25-inch Ordnance Survey maps mark the site of the former Manor House a few hundred feet south of the present manor-farm, but Mr. J. Fox of the Ordnance Survey Archaeological Division kindly informs me that there is 'no evidence for the Manor House where it is shown on the map, and no doubt the documentary evidence for the continual occupation of the farm site since the 13th century is correct'.

2. Thus, in 1472, the lessee 'permittet Rectorem de Cuxham predict' habere liberum introitum et exitum ad ecclesiam de Cuxham predict' per portam dicti Manerii et pratum eiusdem Manerii vocatum le Nutheys percipiendo inde Annuatim ab eodem Rectore viginti denarios sterlingorum et medietatem nucum inibi crescencium' - MM 1874.

3. 'Quesitum est . . . vtrum aliqua via est vel ex consuetudine fieri debet <u>in gard'</u> (written over an erasure) domini a rectoria usque ad ecclesiam et homagium dicit quod non est ibidem via nec unquam fuit' - MM 5923 mem.5.

4. MM 3100 is a seven-year lease of the manor in 1361 to William Elham, rector of Cuxham.

No less striking is the evidence for the antiquity of the two mills shown on the modern Ordnance Survey maps. Cutt Mill is first referred to by name in a deed of about 1230,[1] and its inclusion in the list of the manor's tenements drawn up some years later (Document 1) shows that this was the mill at Cuxham which the Hundred Rolls record as belonging to the College.[2] The former mill at the east end of the village occupies the site of the mill which in 1279 belonged to the prior of Wallingford by the gift of Robert Foliot.[3] This is shown by the two different descriptions given to a cottage which Geoffrey Bouetoun built in 1304-05; in the first account roll to enter his 2s.0d annual rent it is described as vnum cotagium ad capud ville in oriente[4] but a College memorandum roll refers to it as domus iuxta molendinum.[5] It evens seems reasonable to assume that these are the sites of two of the three mills in Cuxham mentioned in Domesday Book.[6] On the other hand the site of the forge shown on the map of 1767 cannot be older than the late fifteenth century, for the rental of 1484 refers to a toft 'where the smith's house formerly stood'.[7]

1. A grant of land in Easington lying 'inter le Cuttedemulne et Timedgeswell', - Sandford Cartulary (Oxf. Rec. Ser.), i, p.130 (no.182).
2. Rotuli hundredorum, ii, p.758.
3. Ibid.
4. 'et de 2s. de nouo redditu vnius cotagii ad capud ville in oriente (inserted)' - MM 5825.
5. 'memorandum quod anno futuro crescet redditus de illa domo iuxta molendinum 2s.' - MM 4136.
6. Domesday Book, i, f.159[b].
7. 'vbi domus fabri antiquitus situata est' - MM 5902.

There are many indications in the medieval court rolls that the villagers' tenements were then much the same as in 1767 and 1848: a house with a yard, one or two outbuildings, a garden, and at the back a small close adjoining the arable fields. In 1322 for instance, tenants whose holdings adjoined the South Field were ordered to repair their hedges before the next court;[1] in 1393 a tenant was presented for failing to make a fence round his yard.[2] But the exact nature of the medieval tenants' holdings will be discussed later. Here it can only be added that until the fifteenth century their homesteads extended further down the stream, north-west of the present village. The map of 1767 marks an enclosure named Wallridges (see Illustration 10); its curious shape may have been due to overgrown hedges, or to the surveyor's difficulty in tracing its outline. It has now disappeared on the ground, but is visible on the air photograph which forms Illustration 6 ; there its outline, though clearly similar to that on the map of 1767, assumes a more conventional shape. It is referred to in a deed of 1447 which conveys a messuage lying between the toft called Wallerygg' on the north and the messuage called Greneheys on the south,[3] while a deed of 1483 concerns a messuage lying between the toft called Wall'-riggis on the south and the toft called Walleis on the north.[4] This gives a picture of a series of at least five tenements extending

1. 'Preceptum est omnibus tenentibus manentibus iuxta campum domini quod vocatur Berwfeld' reparare omnes sepes suos citra proximam sub pena 12d. cuilibet eorum' - MM 5908 mem.8.

2. 'Benedictus Coterell' non clausit Curiam suam que aperta est in preiudicium domini' - MM 5923 mem.1.

3. 'quod quidem Mesuagium iacet inter toftum vocatum Wallerygg' ex parte boriali et Mesuagium vocatum Greneheys ex parte australi' - MM 875.

4. 'quod Mesuagium iacet inter toft' vocat' Wall'riggis ex parte Australi et toftum vocatum walleis ex parte boriali' - MM 878.

beside the stream north-west of the rectory, and on the air photograph it is possible to distinguish the site of the house in Wallridges and, indistinctly, some of the bounds of the holdings beyond.

The names given to the tenements from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century were applied, apparently indiscriminately, to the houses, the homesteads and crofts, or the holdings of arable strips that went with them. In at least three cases - Burdons, Greenheys[1] and Wallridges - the name survived the tenement, and came to be applied to the vacant close (see Illustration 10). A full list of the names found forms Illustration 7, which shows that most of the names clearly derive from those of former tenants. The group of names ending in - heys[2] is of interest. Nutheys, already mentioned[3], must have taken its name simply from the nuts that grew there, and Ashheys, Brandheys, Greenheys and Ovenheys were probably similarly named from natural or man-made features, the name of the croft being given to the entire holding. Brandheys would be derived from the Old English brand, sometimes used of a place cleared by burning, while Ovenheys was probably the close where the demesne oven stood (Old English ofen, a furnace).[4]

1. The name Greneheys survived in the Greenwich Close and Piece of the maps of 1767 and 1848, as Miss M. Gelling correctly suggests in Place-names of Oxfordshire (Eng.Place-Name Soc.), i,p.126; the deed of 1447 quoted above (p.33 n.3) shows that the sites of Greneheys and Greenwich Close are identical.

2. i.e. Old English (ge)haeg, Middle English hay, a fence or enclosure; the word is found compounded with words of topographical significance, with the names of animals or with personal names - Smith, English place-name elements (Eng.Place-Name Soc.), i,pp.214-215.

3. See above, p.31.

4. Smith, English place-name elements (Eng.Place-name Soc.), i,p.47; ii,p.53, For the demesne oven, see p.44.

But one quarter-virgate in the fifteenth century is called Thresshershays as well as Threschers, the name of its former tenant; and Greneheys may likewise derive from a family name.

The stream which flows through the village was called the Marbrooke in the eighteenth century,[1] and may have been the riuulus qui vocatur Shythebrok' mentioned in a grant of land in Watlington in 1323.[2] Its present deep channel beside the road (see Illustration 8) is at least partly modern; the maps of 1848 and 1767 show it flowing ~~down the~~ down the centre of the western end of the village street - whence, perhaps, the rector's willingness to pay for the right of way to the church through the manor farm. The earliest known picture of Cuxham - an aquatint of 1796 by C. Tomkins and F. Jukes, reproduced as Illustration 9 - shows a rough wooden bridge crossing the stream near the church. Earlier records mention bridges and stepping-stones; at a view of frankpledge in 1536 a tenant was presented because the highway was flooded through his bridge being broken,[3] while the manorial court roll of 1316 records that a stone used as a bridge beside the prior of Wallingford's mill had been maliciously broken, to the great injury of the miller, and the inconvenience of the whole village.[4] Six years earlier the miller had himself been presented for opening a sluice (flodyate) and flooding a tenement.[5]

Below the village, near Cutt Mill, the stream meets another

1. Parochial collections (Oxf.Rec.Ser.),i,p.111.
2. MM 837.
3. 'Thomas Wyggen' habet vnum pontem defract' et infunder' viam Regiam' - PRO SC 2/212/18, mem.1.
4. The servant of Robert le Deghere 'quemdam Petram ad communem vtilitatem iuxta Molendinum predicti Ade positam pro ponte cum Fusi Molend' petram illam fregit ad grane dampnum ipsius Ade et tocius ville nocumentum' - MM 5908, mem.5.
5. 'Inquisicio dicit quod adam Molendinarius leuauit quandam flodyate ad nocumentum tenementi domini et ideo distringatur' - MM 5908, mem.2.

which rises in Shirburn and which in the seventeenth century may have been known as the Gogge.[1] Beside and between them are the parish's meadows and pastures, and an examination of these will complete the survey of its topography.

C. Meadows, pastures and commons

The map and survey of 1767 show the Town Meadow, in the extreme north of the parish (see Illustration 10) divided among the tenants in permanent strips, and the glebe terriers show that this was the case at least as early as 1614.[2] Earlier still, the strips were probably re-allotted each year, for in 1357 the bailiff accounted for moving 3 acres 3 roods 'in prato sortibili'.[3] In the neighbouring meadows of Easington this arrangement was in force in 1421,[4] and Richard Davis, reporting on Oxfordshire agriculture in 1794, wrote that 'The open field meadows . . . are frequently . . . in lots changeable every year'.[5]

Of the history of the enclosed meadows on the map of 1767 (see Illustration 10) little can be said. Leases of the manor from 1472 to 1610 mention Ox Lease and meadows called Hales; the latter name, echoed in the Sour Ale and Sweet Ale which appear in 1767,

1. In the manorial court in 1611 two tenants are ordered to scour ditches 'to the middle of the Gogge'; one of these adjoined Golder Mead - MM 5946, mem.4.

2. The glebe in 1614 included 'One acre of meadow grownde shooting on the gate, betweene the acre of John Gregory the yonger on the easte, and the farme meade on the west' - Bodl. MS.Oxon.Archdeaconry Papers b.40, f.112.

3. MM 5885.

4. MM 877 is a copy of a release in that year of an acre of meadow in Easington 'sicut sors accedit per annum ibidem'.

5. General view of the agriculture of the county of Oxford, p.15; repeated by Young, [redacted] View of the agriculture of Oxfordshire, p.205.

probably refers to all the other demesne meadows near Cutt Mill.[1] The meadows named in earlier records - Bolnhale, Nortmede, le Nywemede - cannot now be identified, and the same is true of the pastures. The only medieval pasture that can be even tentatively located is Holdepond, which was let out for 6d. a year from 1302 to 1311;[2] this probably lay either near the later Cutt Mill Mead, or near the rectory, since the entry of its lease on the court roll of 1302 describes it as 'in quodam Rivulo de . . . (hiatus) de Cuxham ad capud occidentale'.[3] Either, like the furlongs, they acquired new names in the course of centuries, or else the whole pattern of the grass-lands in Cuxham was changed at some time in the late middle ages.

The Common of 1767 is in earlier sources called the Moor;[4] the court rolls of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contain many orders for hedging it and cleaning its ditches.[5] It must have been enlarged by the abandonment of at least two tenements north of Wallridges, and a reference in 1323 to pastura domini vocata le More[6] suggests that it may have taken its name from a

1. MM 1872-1874; Registrum annalium (Oxf.Hist.Soc.), p.171. These provide that the lessee is to take possession of Ox Lease and Hales, and of pasture rights, on 25 March, although the leases otherwise take effect from 29 Sept.; it seems unlikely that only some of the meadows should be thus distinguished.
2. The item is entered among the assized rents on the reeve's accounts - MM 5819, 5821, 5823-5834, 5836.
3. MM 5907 mem.6.
4. Cf. the pastura in mora in Watlington - Ministers' accounts of the earldom of Cornwall (Camden Ser.), i, p.84.
5. E.g. in 1611, 'all the inhabitans of Cuxham shall sufficientlie scowere about the moore and make their hedgges from tyme to tyme vntill the next Court vppon a dayes warninge given to anie offender vppon paine of 3s.4d. for euerie defaulte' - MM 5946 mem.4.
6. MM 5908 mem.9. This may be the same as the pratum dominicale in le Morwlese, referred to (with variant forms) in the account rolls of 1354-55, 1356-57 and 1358-59 (MM 5883, 5885, 5887), which may not have been consistently mown.

piece of demesne pasture which at some time was added to it. But at least part of the area was ancient common. In 1329 William Waldrugge paid the lord 6d. to be allowed to keep his hedge next to the common pasture in its present condition,[1] and in 1296 his forbear Robert Waldrugge was amerced for wrongfully digging on the village's common pasture.[2] As the Waldrugge family presumably occupied the tenement later named after them, these references suggest that the area between the now abandoned tenements and the West Field was then common land. There seems no reason to assume less stability and continuity here than in the village and fields of Cuxham.

1. 'Willelmus Wauldrugg' dat domino 6d. ita quod posset tenere haiam iuxta communem pasturam in statu quo modo est' - MM 5911.

2. 'Robertus de Welderugghe In Misericordia eo quod fodiauit In Iuste super Communem pasturam ville' - MM 5907, mem.3.

CHAPTER III

THE MANORIAL DEMESNE 1271-1359

A. The curia and its buildings

At the centre of the Cuxham manorial demesne were the buildings and garden which are called the curia in most of the records of this period.[1] It is first mentioned in a deed of 1244 which stipulates that an annuity of wheat is to be collected 'ad curiam de Cukesham'.[2] In the account rolls there are many references to its upkeep, particularly to repairs to roofs and boundary walls, but unfortunately they do not enable us to reconstruct its detailed lay-out; all that is claimed for the plan which forms Illustration 11 is that it conflicts neither with common sense nor with what evidence is available. All the information that can be gathered about each building has been summarized as Illustration 12.

The curia was bounded by a wall built partly of stone, partly of earth covered with thatch.[3] There was one main gate, made of oak, with two locks, and set in a stone gateway;[4] probably the only other entrance to the curia was the garden gate (porta gardini) which

1. Curia seems never to be used in the Cuxham records in the more restricted sense of the courtyard of the domestic buildings or the farmyard, except in the phrase curia grang'; the terms murus gardini (used up to 1318), paries curie (1322-43) and paries manerii (1344-45) all seem to refer to the outer walls.

2. MM 789.

3. E.g. in 1312-13 payments were made 'ad emendendos et cooperiendos Muros terreos de curia grang' et gardini' and 'In virgis emptis pro cooperatura Murorum' (probably for thatching-pins) - MM 5837; in 1345-46, 'uni homini fodienti 150 carectatas lapidum pro parietibus Manerii' - MM 5871.

4. In 1297-98, 'In 20 peciis de quercu ad legges ad eandem portam 22½d.' - MM 5814; in 1299-1300 an entry includes 'in 2 ceruris ad magnam portam' - MM 5816.

was also fitted with a lock[1] and which was presumably the rector's way in when he passed through the curia to the church.[2] There was a room above the main gate, and it seems likely that in this part of the curia stood the other domestic buildings. These were the hall, the lord's room, the kitchen with a room adjoining it, and the bake-house; the dairy and cellar probably occupied the ground space below the lord's room and the room next to the kitchen.[3] The lord's room, with the latrine which probably adjoined it, was the only building in the curia to be roofed with shingles; it was built of stone and was reached by wooden steps; it had several windows, which were unglazed but fitted with shutters. The hall on the other hand was a wooden-framed building, with walls of wattle and daub; it had a tiled roof, as had all the remaining domestic buildings except the room next to the kitchen, which was thatched.

The exact use of each room can only be guessed. Illustration 12 includes extracts from inventories of 1349 and 1359 which give lists of furnishings, but their allocation of items to each building is sometimes uncertain, and they are unlikely to be complete. They show, however, that the lord's room and the hall were both equipped with tables and benches. The former, with its two chairs in 1349 and its tapetum (perhaps a hanging curtain), table-cloth and towel in 1359 was clearly used for entertaining the Fellows and officials of the College; it probably also contained the

1. E.g. in 1311 payment was made 'in vna cerura empta ad portam gardini' - MM 5836.

2. See p.31.

3. The evidence for this account of the domestic buildings is set out in Illustration 12, part I.

guests' bed for which a mattress was bought in 1318-19.[1] The hall, more sparsely furnished, was probably used for meals provided for workers on the demesne. It is not clear what the rooms over the gate and next to the kitchen were used for, but they may have been the sleeping-quarters of the famuli.[2]

The farm buildings probably surrounded the barn-yard, referred to in the records as the curia grang', the bertona, or le bernheys.[3] This was enclosed by walls of earth covered with thatch.[4] It had at least two gates of which one, the porta del palis, may have led into a portion of the yard fenced off with rails or stakes and used for cattle; another presumably led to the domestic buildings and the main gate.[5] The yard was used for stacking straw,[6] and the hay-rick, that the cottagers were bound to help make each year,[7] may have stood here also. There are occasional references to unthreshed peas and beans being stacked outside,[8] but unthreshed grain was usually kept in the barns.

1. 'In vno Materas empto pro lecto superueniencium 15d.'-MM 5842.

2. See p.87.

3. This use of bertona anticipates what the Oxford English dictionary calls the 'regular modern sense' of barton - a farmyard (earliest example 1552); it corresponds to neither of the two meanings noted by Finberg, Tavistock Abbey, p.49. The English form of the word is probably used in the sense of farmyard in the account roll of Wootton (co. Hants.) for 1337-38, printed in The manor of Manydown, (Hants.Rec.Soc.), p.144: 'Et de xvd.ob receptis de operibus xxxj custumariorum pro foragio portando et in Berthon tassando'.

4. E.g. in 1301-02, 'In 6 perticis Mur' terreis faciendis in curia grangie iuxta aulam et de Mur' bouerie 2s.3d. pro pertica 4½d. . . . In dictis Muris cooperiendis ad tascham 17d. In virgis ad preies 3½d.' - MM 5819. Preyes, with variants, is the word normally used in the Cuxham records for thatching pins; it is not mentioned by Salzman, Building in England, p.227.

5. In the account roll for 1331-32 the petty expenses include iron, wood and nails bought 'ad portam del palis' and 'ad portam del bernheys'; among the costs of buildings carpenters are paid 'ad faciendas duas portas in le Bernheis' - MM 5855.

6. E.g. in 1349, 'in factura tassi straminis in bertona 7½d.' - MM 5877.

7. See pp.134-135.

8. E.g. in 1290-91, 'ad cooperiend' tass' pisarum 4½d.' - MM 5809.

Throughout the period two barns were in use, one for wheat, the other for spring-corn.[1] A new wheat-barn was built between 1324 and 1327; the account roll for these years are missing, but a noua grangia is first mentioned in 1328-29. It was clearly built on a new site; until 1324 the wheat was normally stacked in the east and west ends of the barn, but in later rolls it is always said to lie in the north and south ends. One of the two old barns (probably the former wheat-barn) continued in use for spring-corn, and in 1335-36 was enlarged by the addition of a porticus, a sizeable extension with stone foundations and a tiled roof. Probably each of the barns had a large entrance in the middle of one side for loaded carts and a small door for ordinary use; there are specific references to the magnum ostium and parua porta of the old wheat-barn. In the case of wheat, but for no other type of corn, the account rolls specify the amount threshed from each stack in the barn; they show that in each half of the barn wheat was normally stacked both in the cotmowe or culas and in a maya or stack. The former refers to the extreme end of the barn, beyond the last king-post, where the wheat would be stacked against the wall below the sloping roof.[2] The latter is simply a bay of the barn, where there would be either a free-standing stack or a partition that the corn could be piled against; maya seems to refer indiscriminately to the division of the building and to the stack it contained. As only a single maya

1. The evidence for this account of the farm buildings is given in Illustration 12, part II.

2. Culacium or culatium is used of this part of a barn in 12th-century leases of St. Paul's manors - Domesday of St. Paul's (Camden Soc.), pp.123, 136, 137, 138. Culas is presumably the English form. The phrase 'stack' in le Cotemowe' shows that cutmow likewise refers to the part of the barn, not to the form of the stack.

is mentioned in each half of either wheat-barn both were probably buildings of five bays. The barns were customarily filled to capacity; the account roll of 1333-34 refers to the same maya once as half-full and again as full to the top of the walls,[1] while in 1282 a College official could not tell how much barley and dredge was in the barn because of the stack of unthreshed peas that stood in the way.[2]

Other new farm buildings besides the wheat-barn are recorded in the account rolls; they are a cart-house, a hen-house and pig-sty in 1294-95, a building next to the garden gate in 1306-07, a byre with perhaps a stable and cart-house in 1313, a granary in 1317-18, a dovecote in 1345, and, perhaps, a straw-house in 1327-28. In addition the hay-house was largely rebuilt in 1321, while outside the curia a fulling-mill was built in 1312 and the corn-mill reconstructed in 1321-22. The period 1310-30 was thus particularly one of development of the College's property at Cuxham. It is of interest that all the farm buildings newly built or extensively reconstructed then were given tiled roofs; earlier, all but the granary and the dovecotes had been thatched, so that we see here the use of tiles extending beyond the domestic buildings of the curia.[3] There was no complete revolution, however; the lease of the manor in 1420 refers to both tiled and thatched buildings on the demesne,[4]

1. Wheat: 'de exitu maie in parte australi plene v[sque] ad summitatem Murorum'; currall: 'de exitu maie in parte australi grangie semiplene' - MM 5858.

2. Grain estimate roll, 1281: 'Item ordeum et dragetum non potuit estimare nec videre propter pisas antepositas' - MM 4122 B.

3. Salzman, Building in England, p.229, mentions the increase in the use of roof-tiles in the 13th and 14th centuries.

4. The lessee 'exhibebit straminam sufficientem ad reparacionem omnium domorum cum stramine tectarum in dicto manerio . . . Exhibebit eciam . . . vnum tegulatorem . . . ad reparacionem domorum tegulatarum . . . ' - MM 3002.

and both are to be seen in Cuxham today (see Illustrations 8 and 9).

One structure which stood apart from the main buildings of the curia was the oven, referred to as the fornesium, furnus, torale or ustrinum.[1] Its detached position is shown by the description of a cottage as lying beyond it,[2] and it probably gave its name to the close called Ovenheys.[3] In 1301-02 its reconstruction involved buying 38 lb. of lead,[4] and in 1336-37 a new one was built with freestone worth 2s.0d. and a cart-load of other stone.[5] The oven's purpose can only be deduced. It was not a kiln, for tiles and earthenware pots were bought from outside throughout this period, while there was a bake-house elsewhere in the curia. Most likely it was a slow-burning, cool oven; several entries in the account rolls refer to its being used for drying peas and vetch,[6] and probably its main use was to provide the gentle heat needed for malting. This is consistent with the use of lead in its construction and with the many purchases for it of hurdles (clate, crate) and

1. In the Cuxham records the terms seem to be used interchangeably, but in The Estate Book of Henry de Bray, (Camden Ser.), p.50, is the entry 'in factura toralis et furni in curia contra Saltwells liijs iiijd' Perhaps furnus was the grate, torale the oven proper.

2. In 1299-1300, 'In Meremio serrando pro cotag' vltra furn' 11d.' - MM 5816.

3. See p.34.

4. 'In vno homine conducto per tres dies ad Mensam ad faciendum vnum nouum fornesium de veto et de alio plumbo ad idem empto 12d. In 38 libris plumbi emptis ad idem 19d.' - MM 5819.

5. 'In liberis petris emptis ad nouum furnum 2s. In 1 carectata aliarum petrarum empta ad eundem 2d.' - MM 5863.

6. E.g. in 1338-39 the reeve accounts for 2 bus. of vetch 'in siccacione super Torale' - MM 5864.

rough cloth (cilicia, heyre) on which presumably the grain to be dried was laid.[1] Once indeed, rough cloth was specifically bought for drying malt.[2]

The position of the vivarium is likewise uncertain, but it may have been the pond which the Ordnance Survey romantically calls a moat and which appears on the map of 1767 (see Illustration 5). It was kept stocked with fish - in 1334-35, for instance, 250 roach and two bream were bought for it[3] - and it also served as a duck-pond. This double use was not wholly satisfactory, for the reeve had occasionally to account for ducklings eaten by fish, once specified as a lupus aquaticus or pike.[4]

The garden of the curia was extensive. Part lay to the north of the buildings, for a deed of 1388 concerns a tenement bounded on one side by the garden, on the other by the highway;[5] but it adjoined

1. E.g. in 1306-07, 'in vna clata empta ad torale 1½d.' - MM 5830. Similar entries occur in Wellingborough manorial accounts (Northants Rec. Soc.); on p.32, for example, clate ad tarellum are bought. The editor assumes that the four ovens leased at Wellingborough were for bread-making (p.xxvii), but they seem more likely to be connected with the manor's being the centre of malting and brewing for the Crowland Abbey estates in Northamptonshire (p.xxxi).

2. In 1278-79, 'in 1 heyre empt' ad Braseum siccandum 3s.' - MM 5804.

3. 'In 250 roches emptis pro staur' viuar' 20d. In 2 breymes emptis ad idem 10d.' - MM 5861.

4. Ducks: in 1332-33, 'quidam piscis in Viuario cepit et occidit 4 Iuuenes' - MM 5857; in 1312-13, 'destructum per lupum aquaticum 2' - MM 5837.

5. 'vnam tofftam terre iacentem iuxta tenementum Roberti Oldeman versus occident', et campum Gardini de Mertonhalle ex parte boriali, in longitudine iuxta Regiam viam' - MM 883. The phrase 'ex parte boriali' is puzzling. If the tenement lay where it is suggested the garden would have been to its south; but there seems no other possible site for the tenement, and the phrase can probably be taken either as an error of the clerk or else as part of the succeeding phrase and referring to the highway.

the grounds of the rectory for a distance of at least 12 perches,[1] and must have extended along the west, and perhaps also the south, sides of the curia to give its name to the forrura super le court gardeyn in 1447-48 (see Illustration 4). Indeed as murus gardini and paries curie are used symonymously in the account rolls[2] it is likely that the garden almost wholly surrounded the buildings of the curia. It was not all intensively cultivated; in 1293-94 two men spent two weeks and four days digging thorns from it,[3] and in 1317 it cost 2s.1d. to mow its grass.[4] In 1316-17 3bus. of acorns were planted, presumably to provide food for pigs,[5] while two carpenters once spent six days felling timber there.[6] The garden probably included the close called Nutheys, which in the late fifteenth century produced a crop of nuts shared by the rector and the farmer;[7] it certainly contained orchards where apples, pears and cherries, and even wines, were grown.[8] Between 1298 and 1303 at least 180 fruit trees, probably all apples, were bought to plant in the garden,[9] and sales of fruit and of cider are entered on the account rolls throughout the period.[10] Leeks

1. In 1297-98, 'In 12 perticis mur' inter Curiam et domum persone cooperiendis 9d.' - MM 5814.

2. See p.39 n.1.

3. 'Item in . . . stipend' 2 hominum fodiantium spinas in gardino per 2 septimanas et 4 dies 8d.' - MM 5811.

4. 'In gardino falcando 2s.1d.' - MM 5840.

5. 'In 3 bus. de glan' emptis ad plantand' in gardino 12d.' (the entry has been struck out by the auditors) - MM 5840. Cf. The Estate Book of Henry de Bray, (Camden Ser.), pp.9,50, where there are references to planting acorns 'in grava mea'.

6. In 1332-33, 'in 2 carpentariis conductis ad prostrandum Meremium in gardino de Couxham quod est apud Chetyndon' per 6 dies' - MM 5857. It was, of course, the meremium, not the gardinum de Couxham, that was at Cheddington.

7. See p.31.

8. In 1291-92, 'in expensis gardin' qu' acind' vineas 1d.' - MM 5810.

9. In 1300-01, 'In 31 entis pomeriorum emptis ad gardinum 3s.7d.' - MM 5818; in 1298-99 60 ente pomeriorum were bought (MM 5815), in 1301-02 54 ente (MM 5819), and in 1302-03 24 ente (MM 5821).

10. E.g. in 1289-90, cherries (seres') worth 5d. and cider worth 9s.0d. - ⁄MM 5808⁄; in 1290-91, 1qr. of pears worth 2s.2d. - ⁄MM 5809⁄.

(porette), onions (oleres, oynons), beans and hemp were also regularly grown in the garden.[1]

B. The demesne arable

We have seen that by the late thirteenth century the demesne arable lay mainly in consolidated blocks as it did five hundred years later.[2] It does not follow from this that its total area did not alter, and we must now see if any change in fact occured. For most of the present period the account rolls provide useful evidence of the size of the arable; from 1297-98 they record not only the amount of each type of corn sown as seed, but also how many acres were sown and the number of bushels sown per acre.[3] Of the earlier records only the view of account for 1278-79[4] gives these acreages, and this roll is defective so that the figure for oats is lost. This is unfortunate, for between 1276 and 1293 the number of villein tenants in Cuxham rose from six to thirteen;[5] the seven new half-virgates must have contained some 80 acres of arable, and it would be useful to have direct evidence of the area of the demesne before their creation. Instead we can only compare the amounts of seed sown in those years, before 1300 for which accounts survive; this has been done in Illustration 13. The comparison cannot be exact, for, as the figures for 1293-1300 show, the amount sown varied from year to year even when the area stayed the same. However, it does seem that there was no substantial reduction of the demesne arable; although

1. E.g. in 1300-01, 'In 2 Mulieribus locatis ad plantandas fabas in gardino per 4 dies 8d.' - MM 5818; in 1306-07, 'Et de 18d. de canabo vendito. Et de 6¾d. de vno bussello et dimidio seminis canobii vendito' - MM 5830; in 1341-42, 'In plantis olerum et porrectarum emptis 7½d.' - MM 5867.
2. See p.24.
3. Not in the rolls for 1306-07 and 1307-08 (MM 5829, 5830, 5833).
4. MM 5804.
5. See pp.129-130, 137.

the average amount of spring-corn sown before 1292 was one-fifth more than in 1292-99, the amounts of wheat, which should be the more reliable guide, remain constant. The area sown with wheat in 1278-79 confirms this; its 106½ acres tallies with the area of the demesne in the North Field recorded after 1297 (see Illustration 14), and it certainly gives no hint of the reduction by one-quarter which would have occurred if the new half-virgates had been carved out of the demesne.

How these holdings were in fact formed will be considered later.[1] After 1293 the only new tenements with arable to be let out were a building plot with two butts of land in 1304, a quarter-virgate (6 acres) in 1309 and 3½ acres in 1317-18;[2] we might expect therefore that the total area sown in each field would change little from year to year. In fact the figures in the account rolls, tabulated as Illustration 14, present a very different picture. From 1297 to 1317 the acreages vary widely: in the North Field from 119 to 83½ acres, in the South Field from 116 acres to 102 acres 1 rood, in the West Field from 106 acres 1 rood to 100 acres. In 1318 a regular pattern emerges, and continues to 1348, with a few small variations due perhaps to clerical slips: 87 or 87½ acres are sown in the North Field,[3] 88 acres 1 rood in the South Field and 93 acres 1 rood in the West Field.

The explanation is that two different sorts of acres are involved. The account roll for 1310-11 shows that the areas were then given in customary acres, related to the actual strips in the

1. See pp.129-130, 137-138.

2. The customary renders from the new quarter-virgate are first entered on the account roll for 1309-10 (MM 5834) and the rent from the 3½ac. on the accounts for 1317-18 and 1318-19 (MM 5841, 5842); the entry of the tenant into the building plot with two butts is recorded on the court roll (MM 5907 mem.8).

3. This ½-acre variation is explained in p.59 n.4.

fields; the reeve explained the high rate of wheat sown per acre by noting that in the South Field the acres were larger than elsewhere.[1] The annual variations can be explained by the reeve's uncertainty over which strips to count as full acres, which as half-acres what sizes to allot to gore-acres and butts, and so on. After 1318 the areas are in statute acres, based on a measured survey of the demesne.[2] Thus, in 1334-35, when the tenement of Richard le Deyere was in the lord's hands, oats were sown on what is described as 1 unmeasured acre of his land, in implied contrast to the 57 acres 1 rood of demesne sown with the same crop.[3] Traces of this survey survive in a note of the area of demesne in each field, of which there exist both an undated copy of the fourteenth century and a mid-fifteenth century copy dated the 21st year of King Edward (i.e. 1292-93 or 1347-48); it is reproduced as Document 3/. The figures for the South and West Fields, specifically described as measured acres (except $2\frac{1}{2}$ customary acres in the common field, estimated as $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre) exactly correspond with those of the account rolls, but the figure for the North Field, $79\frac{1}{2}$ acres, does not; perhaps this figure is a result of faulty copying or of using a survey of a different date to supplement a defective exemplar.

The change from customary to measured acres is reflected in the amounts of seed sown per acre, tabulated as Illustration 15. The figure for wheat rises significantly in 1317-18, the figure for barley in 1318-19; the amounts of oats and barley sown vary more from year to year, so the change there is not so marked. The size

1. 'super acram 2bus. et Magis in toto 3qr.$1\frac{1}{2}$bus. quia in illo campo acre Mangne aunt' - MM 5835.

2. There is no record of this survey being made; the account roll for 1291-92, however, mentions such a survey at the College's manor of Farleigh (co. Surrey) recording the expenses of David on his way there and back 'ad terram mensurandam' - MM 5810.

3. Oats are sown 'super 57 acras et 1 rodam terre domini' and 'super 1 acram non mensuratam quondam Ricardi le Deyer'' - MM 5861.

of the customary acre at this time was about five-sixths of the statute acre. In the demesne terrier of 1447-48 (Document 13) it is just over 2½ roods, or five-eighths of an acre,[1] and this about corresponds with William Chapman's survey of 1767.[2] This difference can again be explained by changing values of the smaller strips in terms of customary acres.

The account roll for 1317-18,[3] when the measured acreages were introduced, provides a curiously striking example of the dangers of drawing information from isolated documents. For, as Illustration 14 shows, the area sown with wheat is given in the measured acres of the survey, but the areas under spring-corn are given in the old customary acres. Presumably the reeve was given the survey after the spring sowing; it was easy to give the area of wheat in the new measured acres, as it covered the whole of the demesne in the North Field, but it was far harder to convert the acres sown with the various types of spring-corn from customary to measured acres, so these figures were left in the old form. On the roll itself there is no indication that two kinds of acre are being used. And throughout the period from 1318 to 1348 entries of areas harvested continued to be given in customary acres, only occasionally specified as <u>acre ut iacent</u>;[4] it was thus that, for instance, in 1345, when oats were sown on 49 acres 3 roods, it was possible to

1. The average sizes of the customary acres in each field in terms of the terrier's own measurements are: North Field, 2r.23p.; South Field, 2r.21p.; West Field, 2r.28p. In different furlongs the size of the customary acre varies from 1r.6p. to 3r.19p.

2. MM vol.5.30. It shows individual customary acres varying in size from 1r.23p. to 1a.0r.25p., but most are 2-3r.

3. MM 5841.

4. This is very explicitly stated in 1330-31, when 49ac. of oats were harvested: 'et sic tante acre Auene quia eas metierunt ut iacent et non per acram mensuratam' - MM 5853.

harvest 60 acres of oats by hired labour alone.[1] Clearly reaping had always been paid for by the customary acre in the past, and the practice had to continue.

The accounts continue to give the areas sown in measured acres until 1353-54 - probably also in the roll for 1354-55. The reduced acreages may be ascribed to labour difficulties in the years following the Black Death, which attacked Cuxham in the spring of 1349, but there is no evidence why 27 acres of the South Field were left unsown in 1348. The Black Death did not lead to an increase in the area of demesne; it will be shown later that by May 1355 all the holdings which had come into the lord's hands in 1349 had been let out to new tenants.[2] The larger areas sown with wheat in 1356-58 are specifically in customary acres, acre ut iacent; this reflects change in the management of the demesne, not in the area of its arable.

Thus, despite all apparent evidence to the contrary, the amount of arable in demesne remained constant throughout this period. Before considering how it was used, we should perhaps examine the changes in its area after 1359. From 1353 onwards there are references to leases of small parcels of demesne to tenants; some are entered on the court rolls, others are referred to only in the entries of their rent on the accounts. Leases of 3 acres, 1 acre, and 3 roods of demesne for terms of lives are recorded in the court roll of 1358,[3] but all others were for single years.[4] This practice probably

1. The area sown is entered on the roll for 1344-45 (MM 5870), the cost of reaping on the roll for 1345-46 (MM 5871).
2. pp. 156-157.
3. MM 5920.
4. E.g. the account roll for 1356-57: '3d. de 1 roda terre dimissa Roberto Magote ad seminandum pro 1 vestura' - MM 5885.

continued and grew; the court rolls of 1389 shows that a number of tenants held up to 3 acres of arable for money rents; in addition to their principal holdings.[1] The earliest agreements with the farmers of the manor make no reference to it, but that of 1472 permits the lessee, with the rector's advice, to let up to 100 acres of the demesne lands to the tenants for the best price he could get.[2] These leases were to be on a yearly basis, but this may have been only to enable the lands to be reclaimed for the demesne if necessary and to prevent the rents from becoming fixed by custom; it seems likely that the leases were in effect long-term, and that this explains why the area of demesne in the terrier of 1447-48 was about 100 acres less than a century before. This was probably the origin of the 14-acre holding known as the Outlondes, which first appears in the mid-fifteenth century (see Illustration 7) and which was held for a term of lives, with payment of entry fine and heriot.[3]

Later, nearly half of these lands must have been resumed, the rest permanently let out; by 1767 the manor farm contained 218 acres of arable, some 50 acres less than in the period of demesne farming four hundred years before. These figures are set out in Illustration 16;

1. E.g. Stephen Burekebrok, besides his cottage tenement, rented 1 ac.3r. of arable for 17½d. a year - MM 5923 mem.3.

2. 'Ac eciam per ipsius Rectoris aduisamentum Centum acras de terris dominicalibus dicti Manerii tenentibus tam consuetudinariis eiusdem Manerii annuatim ad firmam dimittet meliori modo quo comode fieri poterit' - MM 1874. The leases of 1493 and 1513 contain a similar provision. The clause in the agreements of 1361, 1420 and 1424 forbidding the farmer to sub-let any part of the manor did not exclude small leases for a single year, as the same clause occurs in the agreement of 1472. No such leases are entered on the court rolls after 1358, but presumably after the manor had been set to farm they were no longer the concern of the manorial court.

3. It was let in 1474 to Robert Halle for the lives of himself, his wife and his son, for 6s.8d. a year, with 3s.4d. on entry and 12d. as heriot on the death of the last of the three - MM 5934.

with them are the acreages for the North and West Fields written in an apparently contemporary hand on the back of the court rolls for 1282, and reproduced here as Document 2. These show about 10 acres less in each field than were being sown in the fourteenth century, and it can only be conjectured that they were copied from a document dating from before the College's acquisition of the manor, but after the formation of the blocks of demesne. If this is so, it seems that the second half of the thirteenth century, far from marking a reduction of the demesne, witnessed its expansion by some 30 acres.[1]

C. Corn production

The tables of the seed sown in 1276-1300 and of the areas sown with each crop in 1297-1359 (Illustrations 13 and 14) show what types of corn were grown on the demesne. The areas of the spring-corn field sown with each kind of grain are expressed as percentages of its total acreage in Illustration 17. Illustration 18 shows the uses that were made of each kind of grain expressed as percentages of its total expenditure;[2] its figures are for each decade, and they conceal a good deal of variation from year to year. Between them these four tables supply an outline picture of the demesne's

1. It has been assumed that acre mensurate in medieval Cuxham were in fact statute acres and that the demesne was surveyed with fair accuracy; there is no reason to doubt either proposition. Inaccurate measurement might explain the difference between the acreages on the 1282 court roll and those sown in the 14th century, but it could hardly account for the reduction of the demesne by 100ac. between 1348 and 1448.

2. This total expenditure includes corn bought or paid as rent besides that grown on the demesne; it is not usually possible to distinguish the expenditure of corn brought in from outside, and as its amount was small it scarcely affects the general picture.

corn production in this period; it remains only to fill in the details.

Wheat was the manor's principal cash crop. Every year it occupied half the available arable, and until the Black Death 60 - 70 per cent of the crop was either sold or else delivered to the College or one of its other manors. Rye was not grown on the Cuxham demesne, though in the neighbouring parish of Watlington maslin, a mixture of rye and wheat, was being grown at the end of the thirteenth century.[1] Until 1351 10-17 per cent of the total wheat expended was classed as currall (currallus), and entered in a separate paragraph on the account rolls.[2] This currall consisted simply of the poorer part of the wheat; it has been defined as wheat from which the husks had not been separated,[3] or possibly even as chaff alone,[4] but this was certainly not the case at Cuxham. The currall came from the same stacks in the barn as the wheat and seems to have been separated from the frumentum only after threshing and winnowing. In 1304-05 the auditors struck out the reeve's entry of 2qr. of wheat seized for the king's use, and entered the item in the following paragraph as 2qr. of the less valuable currall;[5] clearly there was no absolute distinction between the two. Between 1303 and 1311 the account for currall includes small quantities (from 3bus. to 5bus) of brotcorn

1. Ministers' accounts of the earldom of Cornwall (Camden.Ser.),i, pp.88,89. In this year half as much maslin as wheat was sown on the demesne of the Cornwall manor at Watlington, but the issue of the mill, 2qr. of wheat and over 17qr. of maslin, suggests that on the tenants' lands maslin was the predominant winter-corn crop.

2. In 1289-90 (MM 5808) it was included in the wheat account.

3. Select documents of the English lands of the abbey of Bec, (Camden Ser.), p.187.

4. The returns of 'wheat-chaff' listed by Finberg, Tavistock Abbey, pp.119-120, probably refer to currallus or some synonym, though the actual word used in the documents is nowhere stated. Pigeons could hardly have been fed on chaff (ibid.,p.193). The Medieval Latin word-list defines coraltum (ante 1564) as 'chaff of corn'; this would explain such a mistranslation.

5. MM 5826.

or brot frumenti; this was probably over-ripe grain that fell from the ears of corn and was swept up from the carts and barns in harvest[1] - its amount is often checked by tallies against the harvest supervisor.[2] Very rarely the terms currallus and brot are used of corn other than wheat.[3] Every year about 20qr. of currall was used as the basis of the mixed corn in which the allowances of the famuli were paid;[4] nearly all the rest was sold.

Until 1349 from half to three-quarters of the spring-corn field was normally sown with oats,[5] a crop used chiefly as fodder. The cart-horses each had one peck of oats every night of the year, the affers half a peck each in winter only - usually for about six months from the end of November. Unthreshed oats were fed to the oxen for a slightly shorter period, and to the cows and calves for the three or four months after Christmas.

The rest of the field was sown mainly with barley and dredge (dragettum). The latter was a mixture of oats and barley; in 1307 the dredge sown consisted of 1qr.6bus. of barley and 2qr.7bus. of oats.[6] The barley was the richer part of the mixture; in 1298,

1. I am indebted to Mr. M.W. Farr for this explanation, based on the English dialect dictionary's definition of brott (with variants) as 'shaken, refuse corn' or (as a verb) 'Of corn or grain: to shatter, fall out through overripeness'.

2. E.g. in 1306-07, 'de 3bus. brotcorn de exitu per 1 talliam contra Willelmum clauigerum de expensis autumpn'' - MM 5830. In 1353-54 'Brot' formed a special paragraph of the account roll - MM 5882.

3. E.g. in 1309-10 the reeve accounts for 5bus. of brot auene and 3½qr. of currall' dragetti (MM 5834) and in 1298-99 the issue of leguminous crops includes '3bus. puls' de brot in autumpno' and '1½qr. curall' eiusdem puls'' (MM 5815). At Combe (co. Hants.) in 1306-08 brotcorn refers to the sweepings of beremancorn or bere, possibly a rye-barley mixture - Select documents of the English lands of the abbey of Bec, (Camden Ser.), pp.152-165.

4. At Farleigh (co.Surrey) in 1277-78 the reeve combined the accounts of currall and of the mixed corn for the famuli in a single paragraph - Surrey manorial accounts (Surrey Rec. Soc.), p.23.

5. To judge from the amounts of seed sown, the proportion in 1276-79 was even larger; see Illustration 13.

6. 'et de 1qr.6bus. ordei et 2qr.7bus. auene Mixtis ad dragettum faciendum ad semen' - MM 5830. Only these 4qr.5bus. of dredge were sown that year.

for instance, some barley was added to improve the seed from the previous year's crop of dredge.[1] Both the dredge and the barley were put to the same uses. In 1276-79 they were grown primarily for sale after malting,[2] but in 1288-99 sale of the grain itself formed the largest single item in its expenditure, and only enough malt was made for the manor's own needs - about 4qr. for the ale drunk at harvest, though in 1288-89, when the College's annual Chapter was held at Cuxham, 8qr. was malted.[3] The only malt sold in this decade was 1qr. 5bus. in 1291-92.[4] Then, in 1299-1300, production of malt for sale started again and until the Black Death up to 26qr. were made each year (see Illustration 25 for the figures)[5]. From 1300 to 1319 the accounts mention payments of mixed corn and (to 1309) cash to the woman who made the malt.[6] The quantities of barley and dredge malted were about the same; the proportion of barley malted is larger because less barley was grown than dredge. Dredge was put into the mixed corn for the <u>famuli</u>, but pure barley was seldom used for this; it was, however, given to some of the <u>famuli</u> in annual payments at Michaelmas,

Up to one-fifth of the spring-corn field was normally sown with leguminous crops. The chief were peas and beans, grown mainly to be put in the mixed corn for the <u>famuli</u> or to be added to the

1. 1qr.2bus of barley was expended 'In Mixture cum dragetto ad seminem meliorandum' - MM 5814.

2. In Feb.-Sept. 1276, of 41qr.5bus. of dredge, 16qr.4bus. was malted (MM 5803 mem.2); in Sept. 1276-May 1277, none of the 37qr.6½bus of dredge accounted for was used for malt (MM 5803 mem.3.), but in Sept.1278-March 1279 13qr.4bus. of 27qr.4½bus. of barley and 15qr. of 20qr.2bus. of dredge were malted (MM 5804).

3. MM 5807.

4. MM 5810.

5. In addition small amounts of wheat were malted to make <u>braseum capitale</u>.

6. E.g. in 1302-03, 2bus. of mixed corn 'In vna Muliere que fecit braseum et siccauit' - MM 5821; the payment was disallowed in 1319-20, and does not occur in later rolls.

oats as fodder.[1] Pulse (puls, pols), which is sometimes entered on the accounts, was a mixture of the two.[2] Between 1327 and 1343 the accounts distinguish grey, white and green peas as separate crops; the amounts of white and green peas sown were small, and when the type is not specified it was probably grey peas that were grown.[3] The green or white peas may have been the same as the lentils (tilles) of which a bushel was bought in 1314 and sown on ½ acre.[4] The only other leguminous crop to be grown was vetch (vesce, vesse); normally ½-2½ acres were sown with seed that had been bought,[5] but the reeve seldom accounted for the crop. The account for 1297-98 notes that there was no crop of vetch because the cart-horses ate them green, and this was probably the usual practice.[6] After 1349, however, it was harvested like the other crops.

Indeed, the decade after the Black Death saw many changes in the spring-corn grown at Cuxham. Fewer oats were grown - In 1354 they occupied less than 7 per cent of the field - and more barley and dredge. A new crop appeared: bereuechicorn, first mentioned on the account roll for 1347-48, when 2qr.5bus. was harvested from a tenant's holding then in the lord's hands.[7] From 1351 it was sown,

1. E.g. in 1346-47, of the crop of 19qr. of peas. 7qr.7bus. were put in the corn for the famuli, 4qr. mixed with oats for fodder, 1qr. fed to the pigs, 1qr. sold and 5qr.1bus.used for seed - MM 5872.

2. Thus, in 1305, 6bus. of beans and 6bus. of peas were mixed 'ad puls faciend' ad semen' - MM 5826. The proportion varied; in 1307 pulse was made of ½qr. of beans and 3qr.2bus. of peas - MM 5830.

3. In 1323-24, 1333-35, 1343-47 and 1348-49 the crop is specifically grise pise, although no other type of peas was grown.

4. It is entered in a special paragraph of the account roll (MM 5838). The Oxford English dictionary gives examples of till, meaning lentil, from 1388 onwards;the English dialect dictionary gives only the plural form.

5. In 1298 4½ac. was sown, but this is quite exceptional.

6. 'de exitu vesce nihil quia equi carectarii comederunt verid'' - MM 5815. Cf. p.22 n.1.

7. It is entered in a special paragraph: 'Bereuechycorn - Et de 2 qr.5bus. de exitu terre Johanne le Canon trituratis per opera sine tallia' - MM 5876.

on the demesne, either alone or mixed with dredge, oats or vetch. Its name shows what it was: bere-vetch-corn, a mixture of vetch and barley or dredge. Thus, in 1348-49 it is accounted for as vetch,[1] and in 1350-51 1qr. of dredge was mixed with the bereuechicorn to improve the seed.[2] Like the pure vetch that was grown after 1350, it was used mainly as fodder. The uses to which other crops were put did not change in the decade after the Black Death; the changes that appear on Illustration 18 are due to the bad harvests, which meant that a larger proportion than usual of the crops had to be used as seen.

Nearly every year some corn was bought from outside. The quantity varied greatly - the total annual cost was sometimes under 1s.0d., sometimes over £8.[3] Some of these purchases were to make good deficiencies in the corn grown on the manor; in 1346-47, for instance, after the failure of the oats crop (its yield that year was only one-third more than the amount sown; see Illustration 20), 29½qr. was bought throughout the year for fodder and seed.[4] But such purchases were countenanced only if they were really necessary; in the account for 1339-40 the auditors disallowed 7qr.1bus.1p. of oats that the reeve had bought, apparently because the oats account showed that he still had that quantity in hand.[5] But most purchases

1. '7 bus. bereuech' corn de rem'' is entered in the paragraph headed 'Vesse' - MM 5875 mem.2.

2. Dredge: 'Mixt' cum bereuechycorn' 1qr. ad sem' meliorandum' - MM 5879.

3. E.g. in 1299-1300 no corn was bought (MM 5816), and in 1338-39 only 8d worth (MM 5864); the most spent was £8.15s.2½d. in 1321-22 (MM 5845).

4. MM 5872.

5. MM 5865; the amount of oats remaining entered in the grain account was struck out, and the amounts bought altered accordingly in both the grain and the cash accounts.

of corn were for sowing in accordance with the precept that seed grown on other land would yield more than seed from one's own crop.[1] In 1323-24, 23qr.2bus. of wheat, 2qr.2bus. of barley, 7bus. of beans and 3bus. of vetch were specifically bought for seed, and purchases on a similar scale occurred in 1321-22, 1336-37 and 1340-41.[2] Usually, however, less than a tenth of the seed sown had been bought.[3]

On the demesne arable, the furlong, not the individual strip, was the unit for cropping. This is suggested by the regularity of the total area sown in each field after 1317-18; it is unlikely that a calculation based on the areas of individual strips or of varying groups of strips would produce the results year after year with the same accuracy.[4] It is confirmed by an entry in the account for April-June 1349, after the reeve had died in the Black Death; oats were then entered as sown, not on so many acres in the North Field, but on two specific furlongs.[5] The peas, beans and vetch were probably sown on butts and gore-acres; in 1304, for instance, 9bus. of peas was sown 'super 7 buttes'.[6]

1. 'plus vos aprowera la semence ke est cru sur autre terre ke ne fust cele ke est cru sur la terre meymes' - Walter of Henley's Husbandry, p.18.

2. MM 5845, 5847, 5863, 5866. These large purchases do not seem to have been induced by particularly poor harvests in the preceding years; see Illustration 20.

3. E.g. in 1306-07 ½qr. of peas and 1bus. of vetch were bought for seed; in 1307-08 5qr.7bus. of wheat; in 1308-09 1bus. of vetch - MM 5830, 5833, 5832.

4. The acreages sown in the North Field from 1317-18 are particularly significant. Until 1333-34 there were 87½ac. in the years it was sown with wheat, 87ac. when sown with spring-corn; after 1335-36 the total is always 87½ac. Probably on the reeve's copy of the field survey the total for one furlong had been miscopied and was ½ac. shprt, but the total for the field (which figure would be copied straight into the account when a single crop was sown) was given correctly. Between 1334 and 1336 the mistake was rectified. The variation is unlikely to have occurred if the calculations were made in terms of individual acres.

5. Oats: 'in semine super Longam foreram et super aliam foreram 4 bus.' - MM 5875 mem.1.

6. MM 5824.

The few years for which accounts begin or end during the spring seed-time give interesting evidence of the times of sowing. In 1349 the account ending on 18 April shows that all the peas and vetch , and most of the dredge and oats had then been sown, but the following roll contains entries for sowing small quantities of dredge and oats and the whole of the barley.[1] The same order of sowing is shown by the view of account taken on 12 March 1303;[2] comparison with the account for the full year,[3] shows that all the beans and some at least of the oats had been sown, but none of the barley, dredge or peas.

Before examining the crop-yields there are two questions to be considered about the issue of grain as recorded in the accounts. The first is easily answered: the accounts contain entries of the payment of every kind of tithe except that of corn; although there is no positive evidence it seems clear that the rector's tenth part of the crop was taken straight from the field after harvest.[4] This means that to find the amount actually reaped, one-ninth of the issue recorded in the rolls must be added to it.

The second question is more complex: are the amounts of corn entered as issuing from the granary the amounts actually threshed? For the period before 1350 the answer is straightforward: the corn always seems to have been issued by the struck measure, and is often explicitly 'rasa mensura', 'per rasam mensuram' or 'sine

1. MM 5875 mems. 1 and 2. The Black Death may have delayed sowing this year; it should be remembered that any date in the 14th century is eight days later in terms of the seasonal year than the same date in the modern calendar.
2. MM 5822.
3. MM 5821.
4. Cf. Lennard,'Statistics of corn yields in mediæval England: some critical questions', Economic History, iii, pp.173-192.

incremento'.[1] Some slight allowance for wastage seems to have been made to the reeve, who sometimes successfully asked for the total issue to be reduced because it had been too strictly measured, but the amounts are insignificant compared with the total issue.[2] College officials seem to have inspected the stacks of unthreshed corn and to have estimated how much grain they would produce;[3] and there are occasional traces of such estimates being used as the basis of the reeve's account of grain issues. In 1313-14, for instance, a stack of unthreshed peas remaining from the previous year produced 3qr. instead of the estimated 2qr. 6bus., and the extra 2bus. is separately accounted for by the reeve.[4] And in 1323-24 the quantity of wheat remaining unthreshed was altered by the auditors from the reeve's estimate of 22qr.3bus. to 26qr., calculated by measuring the stacks; the reeve was to answer for the revised amount.[5] In the same year a note in the margin of the

1. The phrase 'sine incremento' occurs only in the rolls for 1297-98 and 1300-01 (MM 5814, 5818). Incrementum in the sense of an addition to the amount of issue to make up for heaping the measure occurs in the accounts for Malden in 1270, Farleigh in 1277-78, Leatherhead in 1282-83 and probably also Chessington in 1289-90 (Surrey manorial accounts (Surrey Rec.Soc.), pp.3-5, 20-23, 44-49,82) and on the Crowland Abbey estates (cf.p.63 nn.5,6).

2. These allowances were entered as items of discharge of grain. Thus, in 1304-05 the wheat account includes 'In defectu Mensure quia stricte Mensuratum fuit 7bus. et dimidium videlicet de 20qr. 1bus.' (the words underlined have been struck out by the auditors); in other words, the reeve was allowed 1/160 of the issue, which that year was 144qr.4½bus. (MM 5826). In 1340-41 the auditors disallowed the reeve's entry of2qr. of wheat 'In defectu mensure quia nimis stricte mensuratur'; the total issue for that year was 140qr. 5bus. (MM 5866).

3. These estimates for Cuxham survive for 1272, 1276, 1282, and 1322 (MM 5529, 4120, 4122B, 4137); they presumably continued to be made throughout the period.

4. 'Idem respondet de 2qr. 6bus. pisarum de remanent' per estimacionem iacentium in pallia. Et de 2bus. pisarum remanent' plus quam estimatum fuit' - MM 5838.

5. 'Item remanent secundum estiacionem prepositi (inserted) in garbis 22qr. 3bus. sed remanere deberent secundum computacionem hulorum 26qr. qu' si non respondeat prepositus de tot oneretur in proximo compoto de residuo' - MM 5847.

account records that the issue of the dredge fell short of the estimate by 11qr.2½bus., and presumably for this reason an extra 5qr. was charged against the reeve.[1]

In 1350-51 some deduction seems to have been made for heaping the measures of corn, for the bailiff is charged with 5bus.of wheat and 1bus. of dredge 'de incremento granarii',[2] But in the account for 1353-54 a completely new system appears. In that year all issues of grain are 'sine cumulis cum cantell'', and in each case there follows an entry of grain 'de cantell'' amounting to one thirty-second of the amount of issue.[3] The subsequent rolls throw light on this. They give nearly all issues of corn as 'viij^{o} busello cumulato'; that is, every eighth bushel of corn taken from the granary was heaped - 'cum cantell'' - but the others were struck level - 'sine cumulis'. This is the system recommended by Walter of Henley, who in describing it uses the French forms of the same terms: cauntle and coumble.[4] Heaping the eighth bushel increased its volume by a quarter, and the total issue by one thirty-second. But the rolls after 1354 add a new complication. Instead of accounting for the amounts 'in cantell'', the yield of each crop is followed by an entry 'in cumul' et incremento',[5] the quantity never being less than one thirty-second of the yield, but often much more (see Illustration 19). Cumul' in these rolls is presumably the cantell' of 1353-54; the account for 1358-59 shows that the incrementum was the surplus discovered by official examination of the amount actually in the granary, and possibly

1. Marginal note: 'deficit ab estimacione durant 11qr.2½bus.'; the entry 'Item oneratur in 5qr. super compotum' has been added to the account in a hand different from that of the original clerk, and the totals adjusted accordingly' - MM 5847.

2. MM 5879.

3. MM 5882.

4. 'Vos prouos e vos gerneters fetes karker mesures issi ke al vtime bussel demurge vn cauntel pur le gast ke chet al entrer e al yssir du gerner kar al coumble est fraude' - Walter of Henley's Husbandry, p.16.

5. Sometimes simply 'in cumul'' - but 'et incremento' is probably understood, for these entries do not correspond with those where the amount approximates to 1/32 of the issue.

also of the stacks of unthreshed corn.[1]

Why was this system of heaping each eighth bushel introduced? Walter of Henley describes it as an allowance to the reeve for wastage of grain in the granary,[2] and this might suggest that it had always been in operation in Cuxham, and that only after 1353 was the reeve or bailiff made to account for this allowance. But this is unlikely, for in 1356-57 and 1357-58 peas and vetch were still issued 'rasa mensura' with no entry of cumulus or incrementum.[3] The account rolls for Wellingborough (co. Northt.), a manor of Crowland Abbey,[4] provide an explanation. There in most years the system disparaged by Walter of Henley was in use: every bushel was heaped, and to compensate for this an extra amount called the incrementum - from one-sixth to one-quarter of the total[5] - was added to the issue. But this applied only to the corn threshed by hired labour or, in some years, by customary workers; corn threshed by the famuli was apparently always reckoned by the struck measure.[6] It follows that the heaped measure originated not in an allowance to the reeve, but in the agreements made with the threshers. This throws light on the sudden appearance of the heaped eighth bushel at Cuxham; the abnormal labour conditions

1. The entry under barley and dredge for this year reads 'de cumul' et incremento compert' per mensuracionem granarii et examinacionem vt in visu' - MM 5887; the final phrase probably refers to estimating the amounts in stacks before threshing. The corresponding entry for peas is similarly expanded in this roll.

2. See p.62 n.4.

3. MM 5885, 5886; in the latter the issue of peas with vetch is 'triturat' ad xxv^{m} mensur'', clearly a mistake for 'triturat' ad xxv^{m} granum rasa mensura'. In 1354-55 the issues of peas was probably also by the struck measure, though not specifically stated - MM 5883.

4. Wellingborough manorial accounts, (Northants.Rec.Sec.).

5. One-sixth in 1267-68, one-fifth from 1271-72 to 1305-06, one-quarter from 1308-09. The increase may have been due to the use of new measures with successively wider tops, or to increasing strictness of the auditors.

6. Similarly in the account rolls of the Cambridgeshire manors of Crowland Abbey from 1267-68 to 1314-15, printed in Page, Estates of Crowland Abbey, pp.212-237, corn threshed by hired labour attracted an incrementum usually of one-seventh (1267-68) or one-quarter; on the rolls for 1322-23 (pp.238-260) the whole issue is 'rasa mensura' and there are no entries of incrementum. The same system, with an incrementum of

after the Black Death led to the introduction of new forms of contract for threshing, now for the first time performed almost wholly by hired labour. It is in this same period that threshing is first paid for in kind, at the rate of 1bus. of corn for every 3qr. threshed.[1] Probably it had become the general local custom to heap the eighth bushel; entries of corn sold from 1354-55 are regularly followed by amounts discharged 'in cumul' usually one thirty-second of the amount sold, as shown in Illustration 19.[2]

The last account roll, for 1358-59, contains yet a further complication. In the accounts of oats and of barley with dredge the reeve has to answer not only for the issue, with its cumulus and incrementum, but also for an additional charge, superonus, added by the auditors to bring the total yield up to twice the amount of seed sown.[3] This system of binding the reeve or bailiff to produce a minimum yield does not occur earlier at Cuxham; the notes of yields which the auditors occasionally added on the accounts of grain (see Illustration 20) were for information only. On some other

6 cont'd) one-quarter, appears at Seven[illegible]hampton (co.Wilts.) from 1269 to 1276, but from 1288 grain there was issued 'sine cumulo' - Accounts and surveys of the Wiltshire lands of Adam de Stratton (Wilts.Arch. & Nat.Hist.Soc.). / 1276 to

1. Expressed in the account rolls either as 'triturat' ad tascham pro blado dato pro singulis 3qr. 1bus.' (MM 5879), or as 'triturat' ad xxv^{m} granum' (MM 5885, 5886, 5887).

2. In 1357-58 some of the wheat was sold with the addition of one-twentieth to the buyers: 'Et in cumul' liberat' emptoribus pro 16qr. venditis 4bus. et de . . . (hiatus) resid' nihil hic [quia] emptores habuerunt 21 pro 20qr. ex consuetudine precepto et visu domini Henrici Hedecrone' - MM 5886.

3. 2qr.2bus. of barley with dredge and 7½bus. of oats are added 'de superonere vt respondeant se altero' - MM 5887. Notes of yield have also been added by the accounts for peas and for vetch with bereuechicorn, but here the returns were apparently considered satisfactory, and no extra charge was added.

estates, however, the system had already come into use - on some Crowland Abbey manors by 1322-23,[1] and on the estates of St Swithun's Priory, Winchester, in 1323-24.[2]

We can thus assume that the corn entered as issuing from the granary at Cuxham represented the actual production of the demesne, minus tithe, and can safely be used to calculate the yield. This has been done in Illustration 20 for all the years for which the survival of two consecutive full accounts enables the seed sown to be compared with the total crop. But corn harvested in the autumn had not necessarily all been threshed by the end of the accounting year late in July. Some might still be in stacks, and the grain threshed from these would be entered on the next year's account. In the case of wheat this 'old grain' (vetus granum) is always distinguished from the issue of the succeeding harvest, but this is not done for other types of corn, and it is clear that the 'issue of the barn' sometimes includes produce of two harvests.[3] Thus, we can be certain that the whole of a year's crop of wheat has been taken into account in calculating the yield only when three consecutive rolls survive: one giving the amount sown, the next the amount threshed the winter

1. Page, Estates of Crowland Abbey, pp.238-260; the reeve of Cottenham, for instance, had to answer for 9qr.6bus. of barley 'de exitu super compotum ut respondet de se quinto' (ibid.,p.241).

2. Drew, 'Manorial accounts of St Swithun's Priory, Winchester', E.H.R., lxii, p.32. There, as presumably at Cuxham in 1357-58, the reeves were required to return a minimum yield, but would have to answer for more if it were actually produced. A further development is illustrated by the accounts of Werrington (co.Devon), where in 1459-98 the yield of oats was always exactly four times the amount sown - Finberg, Tavistock Abbey, pp.112, 114n. Presumably it had been agreed that the bailiff should always return this amount, keeping for his own profit any surplus due to his own efficiency; this seems more likely than Prof. Finberg's suggestion that he was cheating the abbey.

3. This is specifically the case in the account of peas and beans mixed in 1302-03: 'de exitu veteris grani per rasam Mensuram triturat' per opera hoc anno nihil quia fabe defecerunt et pise computantur cum aliis pisis' - MM 5821.

following the harvest, the third the amount threshed the next year as 'old grain'. In the case of the other types of corn the annual variations in yield must be regarded with caution, but the tables showing average yields (Illustration 21) probably present a fairly accurate picture.

Two interesting points emerge from these tables. The first is the steady decline in the yield of wheat throughout the period, from an average of 8.3qr. for every quarter sown in 1289-99 to only 4.1qr. in the decade following the Black Death; the yield of dredge shows a similar trend, but, curiously, the yields of barley and oats sown separately do not. The other is that the yields at Cuxham were extremely high compared with other manors at the same period. The yield of wheat surpasses that laid down by the writer of the anonymous 'Husbandry', whose figures generally represent ideal aims rather than practical economy.

D. The demesne stock

Illustration 22 shows what livestock was on the demesne each year when the account was made up at the end of July. Some of its figures are a little misleading, as they record purely temporary variations. In 1316, for instance, the 20 oxen on the demesne included 12 bought since 25 March to replace most of the manor's oxen by younger beasts; of the old oxen, six were sold off before the account was drawn up, while a further four were sold probably soon afterwards but in the next accounting year, so that the roll for 1315-16 shows them remaining in stock at the end of July.[1]

On the demesne there were normally 12-16 oxen which, with the four affers, or ploughing-horses,[2] made up two full plough-teams.

1. MM 5839, 5840.

2. They are once called equi ad carucam (stock indenture, 1276: MM 5805, 5806), once stot' (view of account, 1301-02; MM 5820), otherwise always affri.

Probably each normally consisted of six oxen and two horses; the list of stock on the demesne in 1349, together with three ploughs, includes equipment for twelve oxen and four horses.[1] The third plough was only occasionally brought into use; in 1309, for instance, it was set to work for two weeks because the spring ploughing had been delayed by frost.[2] But there seems often to have been difficulty in raising the third plough-team. In 1309 it comprised two cart-horses, two horses belonging to the reeve which he lent for the occasion, and, probably, two or four affers taken from the other ploughs;[3] in 1311, when a third plough was at work for 38 days, it was drawn by four affers, two or three cart-horses, an ox and a bull.[4] Wheeled ploughs were used at Cuxham; the list of stock at the end of the account roll for 1358-59 specifies caruce rotate,[5] and new wheels for the ploughs were bought almost every year. At Watlington also, wheeled ploughs were in use at the end of the thirteenth century[6], and this is to be expected in a district of light soils.[7]

1. 'Item 3 carucas cum toto apparatu ad easdem pro 12 bobus et pro 4 equis' - schedule attached to MM 5878.

2. 'in vno garcione eunte ad terciam carucam per 2 septimanas in quadragesima bus. curall' frumenti quia caruce deturbate fuerunt pro gelu' - MM 5832.

3. Special allowances of oats were made to the cart-horses on the third plough and 'in prebend' 2 equorum prepositi per idem tempus euntium ad terciam carucam' - MM 5832.

4. Oats account in MM 5836. There are other references to using the bull for ploughing; in 1321-22 plough expenses include 'In ferrura 8 boum et 1 Tauri per 2 vices' (MM 5845), and a similar entry occurs the next year (MM 5846).

5. MM 5887.

6. 'In 4^{or} rotis carucarum factis de proprio meremio 4d.' - Ministers' accounts of the earldom of Cornwall, (Camden.Ser.), i, p.86.

7. Plot, Natural history of Oxfordshire (2nd edn.), p.252, on ploughs: 'there are two sorts used in Oxfordshire, the Foot, and Wheel-plow; whereof the first is used in deep and Clay Lands . . . and the second in the lighter and stony Land . . .' Cf. Kerridge, 'Ridge and furrow and agrarian history', Economic History Review, 2nd ser., iv, p.16.

Normally two carts were in service on the demesne.[1] The better of the two seems to have been used for carting outside the manor - it is once called le farcart.[2] The other was used mainly at harvest, and was apparently drawn by the affers.[3] It is likely that these were always two-wheeled.[4] In addition, sometimes a wheelless tumbril, sometimes an extra cart, was kept for muck.[5]

The cart-horses - there usually two or three on the demesne - were superior to the affers. In 1344-45 one was re-classified as an affer because it was old and feeble,[6] but there are few other cases of a horse being moved from one group to the other. Horses were not bred on the manor; they were bought fully grown, and sold sometimes before their working days were over.[7] One, however, an affer sold in 1291-92 for only 2s.0d., must have been an old favourite,

1. In 1279 there was only one (stock indenture, MM 5805, 5806), but in 1289 there were two (list of stock at the end of the account roll, MM 5807) as also in 1349 (stock indenture, schedule attached to MM 5878). In 1359 there were '3 corpora carect' pro garbis unde 1 nouum cum 1 par' rotarum nudarum ad idem' (list of stock at the end of the account roll, MM 5887).

2. In 1331-32: 'In le farcart axiand' per 5 vices cum axibus emptis 17½d.' - MM 5855.

3. E.g. in 1348-49: 'in principali carecta axanda cum axibus emptis per 3 vices 9d. In carecta pro affris axanda cum axibus emptis contra Autumpnum 3d' - MM 5875 mem.2.

4. The only definite indication is in 1289-90: 'in 1 par' rotarum empt' apud nundinas de Crowmere' ad faciendam nouam bigam' - MM 5808. Drew, unpublished notes, found no evidence for the use of four-wheeled carts on the St. Swithun's estates.

5. The stock indenture of 1279 includes '1 dungcart' (MM 5805; '1 dongcart', MM 5806), and the list of stock in 1359 '1 corpus carect' pro fimo cum 1 pari rotarum nudarum ad idem'; in 1334-35 a tumberell' pro fimo was bought for 6d. (MM 5861), another in 1342-43 for 5½d. (MM 5868) and another in 1350-51 for 7d. (MM 5879).

6. 'quia vetus et debilis' - MM 5870.

7. In 1321-22 three affers were sold for 10s., 9s. and 7s. (MM 5845); the normal price for worn-out horses was from 2s. to 4s.

for the account roll twice mentions his name, Bauson or Bausan.[1] The horses were probably normally kept on the common pasture; fetters (veteres) with locks were used to prevent their straying, and, presumably, as a guard against theft.[2]

Oxen too were more often bought than bred on the manor. The surviving account rolls record the purchase of 123 in all, but the addition of only 31 from younger stock. The earliest accounts show that in 1276 the oxen were the only cattle on the demesne, but cows, calves and a bull had appeared by 1279; their absence had probably only been temporary, for in 1241 Ralph Chenduit's agreement with the lord of Pyrton on pasture rights had allowed ten cows and one bull from Cuxham on the Pyrton fields after harvest.[3] In the period covered by the account rolls this was the number of breeding cattle normally kept on the demesne, and each cow was expected to produce one calf annually.[4] Most of the calves were sold during their first year - pasture at Cuxham was too scarce for stock-raising on a large scale to be practicable - but a few were kept and eventually added to the cows or oxen. Slightly more than half the cows on the demesne had been bred on the manor; the rolls account for 41 bought and 47 added from younger stock. Like the horses the cattle were

1. MM 5810, in the sale of stock and the oats account. The name is probably a form of either bauson, 'Big, fat, unwieldy, swollen' or bausond, 'Of animals: having a white spot or streak on the face' - English dialect dictionary. Perhaps one of these words, not the inappropriate boatswain, is the origin of Bo'sun as a modern name for a farm-horse.

2. E.g. in 1334-35, 'In 1 vetere ferr' empt' pro affris ligandis in pastura 4d. In 2 seruris cum clau' emptis ad le veteres pro dictis affris 7d.' - MM 5861. Cf. Rogers, History of agriculture and prices, i,p.514.

3. MM 786.

4. E.g. in 1323-24 the reeve accounts for 10 calves born of 11 cows, 'et non plures quia hoc anno 1 vacca sterilis' - MM 5847.

sold when they got old; there are occasional references to fattening them first.[1] Milk, from the ewes as well as the cows,[2] was used for making cheese. From one to two hundred cheeses of different sizes were produced each year; of these one-tenth went to the rector as tithe, from one-tenth to one-fifth were normally eaten at harvest or by official visitors, and the rest were sold.

The number of sheep on the demesne varied a good deal. The agreement of 1241 allowed the lord of Cuxham pasture rights for 200 sheep, but from 1276 sheep do not appear until 1289, when 23 wethers and 12 ewes with their lambs were bought. The next year their number was increased, but after 1293 the flock was reduced and from 1303 to 1310 there were only from three to five sheep on the demesne. In 1311 a new flock was formed by purchase and by transferring 44 yearlings from Ibstone, and its numbers were kept between 100 and 150 until 1334-35, when 58 sheep were lost by murrain; the next year the survivors were sold off, and in the summer of 1337, 102 sheep were bought to start a new flock. This survived until the autumn of 1353, when once more all the sheep on the demesne were sold; there is no evidence why. In 1356 a flock of 100-150 again appears, but they were sold in the autumn of 1357, and when the manor was leased in 1359 two wethers were the only sheep on the demesne. Wool from the sheep was normally sold each year until the 1330's, when it became the practice to collect it for

1. E.g. in 1293-94, 'in pastura 4 bou' crassand' ad lard' 16d.' - MM 5811.

2. In 1289-90 2bus. of mixed corn was given 'in liberacione ancille lactantis oues' - MM 5808.

several years before selling, either directly or through the College, presumably when the best price could be got. Lambs and yearlings were very seldom sold, and wethers and ewes seem normally to have been sent to market only when they were getting old;[1] as with cattle, sheep were bred for production, not for sale.

The number of pigs on the demesne also varied. Normally up to one-third of the piglets were sold during their first year - in all 198 are entered thus on the accounts; the rest were kept and either sold in their second or third year (203 are thus accounted for) or killed on the manor at harvest or for official visitors (148 in all). Of the smaller livestock little need be added to the evidence of Illustration 22. Until 1334 the dovecotes produced from 500 to 1500 young doves each year, mostly sold or delivered to the College, but from 1335-36 there was a sharp decrease, and after 1340 the number never rose above 100. From 2bus. to 9bus. of mixed corn was fed to the dogs each year;[2] cats are mentioned only once, when one ate a cheese.[3] A hive of bees first appears in 1350-51.[4]

Unfortunately it is impossible to compare the profits of corn and livestock at Cuxham, as the overhead expenses and the value of produce delivered to the College cannot be accurately estimated.

1. E.g. in 1317-18 six wethers were sold at 1s.6d. each, and five at 1s.2d. 'quia infirmi'; in the same year 30 were bought for 2s. each - MM 5841.

2. From 1315-16 to 1323-24 always 6bus. and from 1327-28 to 1347-48 2bus. only were allowed.

3. In 1293-94, '1 cas' comm' per catum' - MM 5811. One 12th-century lease of a St. Paul's manor includes in its list of stock one cattus senex and two juvenes catti - Domesday of St. Paul's, (Camden.Soc.), p.132.

4. It is entered in a special paragraph at the end of the stock account - MM 5879.

But it is clear that Cuxham was primarily a corn-producing manor. In 1290-1300, when most of the corn was sold directly from the manor, the proceeds were from five to eight times the sums received from selling livestock, cheese and wool (see Illustration 23); this figure is certainly affected by the high crop yields of these years, but the general picture is probably the same for the whole period.

E. The reeves and bailiffs

In charge of the demesne farm was either a reeve (prepositus), an unfree tenant, who took on the work of management in addition to running his own holding, or a bailiff (ballivus), an official appointed from outside, who probably took up his residence in the curia. The titles are carefully distinguished in the records; of the five reeves in this period four were definitely villein tenants in Cuxham, while the fifth, Richard le Blunt, left office at a date (1277) earlier than most of the surviving records, and probably held a tenement which appears later under some other name.[1] John son of Robert Oldman, who ran the manor for a month in 1349, is described as bailiff, although he was a villein of Cuxham; unlike his father and the other reeves, he was given a payment of corn for his services, perhaps a reflection of the dislocation caused by the Black Death.

The names and terms of office of the reeves and bailiffs are set out in Illustration 24. This shows that from the time the College acquired the manor until 1349 it was nearly always run

1. The half-virgate held in 1279 by Robert son of Richard (Rotuli Hundredorum, ii, p.758) may well have been his.

by a reeve, and for most of this period by only two holders of the office: Robert Beneyt from 1288 to 1311, and Robert Oldman from 1311 to 1349.[1] Such long terms of office as reeve have been recorded on other manors in the fourteenth century;[2] it is clear that its holders at Cuxham were more akin to the comfortably settled reve of the 'Canterbury Tales' than to the somewhat oppressed prouost of the 'Seneschaucie'.[3]

There is no evidence that the reeves at Cuxham were elected by the tenants in the manorial court. In fact, it seems likely that on the Merton estates the reeves were normally appointed by the College, for a villein on one manor might become a reeve on another. In 1317-18 a Cuxham tenant, William Waldrugge, became reeve of Cheddington, and the next year another, William ate Heycroft, became reeve of Holywell;[4] the name of the sergeant (serviens) at Leatherhead in 1282-83, John de Chetindone (i.e. Cheddington), may point to an earlier instance of the same custom.[5]

1. Rogers, History of agriculture and prices, i, p.18, mentions the long service of 'The Oldmans, father and son' at Cuxham. He must be referring to the short term of office of John son of Robert Oldman in 1349; there is no evidence of a change of reeve between 1311 and 1349.

2. E.g. John Hankyn, at Vernham Dean (co. Hants.), a manor of the Nevill family, from at latest 1351 until 1379-80 - Drew, unpublished notes; Nicholas, at Elmington (co. Northt.), from 1267 to 1314 - Page, Estates of Crowland Abbey, p.71.

3. It is appropriate therefore that one of Chaucer's editors should cite Robert Oldman of Cuxham as an example of a 14th-century reeve - The poetical works of Chaucer, ed.F.N. Robinson, p.767.

4. The re-allowance of the customary rents due from their tenements in Cuxham is first entered on the account rolls for these years - MM 5841, 5842.

5. Surrey manorial accounts (Surrey Rec.Soc.), p.30.

It is not surprising that the College should itself choose the reeve. His responsibilities were considerable. College officials supervised the harvest and sometimes the threshing as well, while the frequent visits of the Warden, steward and Fellows kept a check on the reeve's activities. But besides seeing to the daily running of the demesne, he had some share in broader policy. In 1341 the reeve was presented in the manorial court because there were no pigs on the demesne, which could in fact support six with little expense.[1] This shows both the reeve's responsibility to keep the demesne well stocked and the further check on his activities provided by his fellow-villagers; the reeve's efficiency was a topic on which they were regularly questioned in the court.[2] At the same time, the reeve was not purely a manager; he must have spent much of his time in manual work on the demesne. When one of the ploughmen was sowing seed, the reeve normally took his place at the plough; several times, when the account rolls record payment of an extra hand hired instead, it is added that the reeve could not do the work himself, usually because he was supervising the threshing.[3] There are several references to the reeve himself repairing the walls of the curia.[4] There is also evidence

1. ' possunt commode sustentari modicis sumptibus domini in Manerio de Cuxham 6 porci et modo nulli porci sunt ibidem de stauro domini' - MM 5913. The homage added that the reeve's own pigs were sometimes kept in the manerium, which in these passages means, of course, the curia.

2. Thus, in 1326, 'Inquisicio Capta si prepositus bene se habeat in officio suo et omnia que habet in custodia sua de bonis domini bene custodiantur an non que dicit per sacramentum suum quod bene se habet in omnibus' - MM 5908 mem.5. The efficiency of the officials was a subject of routine enquiry in a manorial court; see the articles of enquiry in Historia et cartularium monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae (Rolls Ser.), iii, pp.221-222, and The court baron (Selden Soc.), p.102.

3. E.g. in 1305-06, mixed corn: 'In vno garcione eunte ad carucam dum carucarius seminauit tam in yeme quam in quadragesima 2bus. quia prepositus fuit vltra tritur' et non potuit esse in camp''- MM 5828.

4. E.g. in 1289-90, 'in conductione vnius hominis ad adiuuandum prepositum circa mur' gardini per decem dies 13d.' - MM 5808.

to show that the reeve might be employed on College business quite unconnected with the manor - though such business is mentioned only incidentally in the Cuxham records. Thus, in 1306-07 the reeve's debt to the College was reduced by 27s.8d. which he had paid at Henley for various articles for the Warden, and which the Warden now paid in for him.[1] In 1320-21 the reeve went to Winchcombe fair to buy ten foals for the Bursar; he entered his expenses in a separate note at the end of the account roll for that year, but this was struck out, clearly because it was regarded as a transaction quite distinct from the management of Cuxham.[2]

The formal record shows that each reeve was normally heavily in debt to the College. Except the first, all of Robert Beneyt's accounts show him owing the College from £4/ to £13; Robert Oldman's debt was usually about the same in the first half of his period of office, but after 1330 it became far larger, and by July 1348 had reached £42.1s.11½d.[3] Occasionally the College tried to get the reeve to pay his debt. In 1319, the account roll notes that he was to pay half the current debt of over £12 by Martinmas, and the remainder by Candlemas, on pain of £5 in default;[4] similar notes occur in 1335 and 1336, when the reeve's clerk stood surety in £6 for the payments due.[5] These heavy debts are common in manorial

1. 'De quibus soluit per manus Custodis 27s.8d. in quibus sibi tenebatur pro diuersis emptis apud henle (inserted)' - MM 5830.

2. MM 5844.

3. MM 5876.

4. 'Memorandum quod Robertus prepositus tenetur de arreragiis huius anni ut patet supra £12.12s.1½d. et ponuntur sibi dies sancti Martini proxima sequens ad soluendum medietatem et purificacionis ad soluendum residuum sub pena 100s.' - MM 5842.

5. Notes at the end of the cash accounts, MM 5861, 5900; in the latter year the arrangement is also noted on the combined stock account, MM4140.

accounts of this period,[1] but one small group of Cuxham records throws an interesting light on them. These are lists of people owing money to the reeve, which he apparently submitted to the College both at the view of account and at the annual chapter, and of which five specimens between 1333 and 1349 have survived; the last of these is reproduced as Document 7. They show that the amount of the reeve's debt to the College was approximately equalled by the sums owing to him from other sources; thus, in 1333 the reeve owed £26.19s.0d. but was himself owed £23.7s.3½d.,[2] while the £39.7s.1¼d. due to the College on the death of Robert Oldman's son in April 1349 was balanced by the list of credits totalling £39.15s.4d. which the father had drawn up early in February.[3]

These lists of reeve's creditors, then, show first, that the reeve's own financial position was far sounder than the mounting debts on the account rolls would suggest. Secondly, they throw light on the system, not found at Cuxham but recorded on some manors, of saddling a new reeve with the debts of his predecessor;[4] presumably the incoming official would take over the credits with the debts. Thirdly, the mere fact that such lists were returned to the College points to a less formal, closer relationship between the College and

1. E.g. Denholm-Young, Seignorial administration in England, pp.151-152; Drew, 'Manorial accounts of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester', E.H.R., lxii, p.37.

2. MM 5857 and attached schedule.

3. MM 5874 mem.6, 5875 mem.2.

4. The first accounts of both Robert Beneyt (MM 5807) and Robert Oldman (MM 5836) contain no entries of arrears. The system is mentioned by Page, Estates of Crowland Abbey, p.76; it was also in force on the St. Swithun's estates, though with modifications in practice - Drew, 'Manorial accounts of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester', E.H.R., lxii, p.37.

the reeves than the impersonal record of charge and discharge shown by the account rolls; in particular they throw new light on the auditors' alterations.

Nearly all the Cuxham account rolls bear traces of the auditors' disallowances,[1] either as direct alterations to the cash account, usually made before the paragraph totals were entered, or else as entries of venditiones super compotum representing items of corn or stock for which the reeve's account was considered unsatisfactory and which were charged against him as though they had been sold. These disallowances reveal no general policy of increasing strictness or leniency towards the reeve; although the amounts are greater in the later part of the period this is because it then became usual to charge the reeve himself with most of the corn seized for the use of royal officers - that is, it became the reeve's responsibility, not the College's, to recover payment - but as the lists of the reeve's debtors show, the College did not altogether lose sight of these charges. It was these purveyances, which will be discussed further in the next chapter,[2] that formed the larger part of Robert Oldman's debts to the College; of the £39 owing on his final account over £27 represented sums due from the royal family and their officials (see Document 7).

The most severe auditing occurs in the roll for 1328-29, when

1. There are none on the rolls for 1288-89, 1300-01, 1315-16, 1322-23 and 1343-44 (MM 5807, 5818, 5839, 5846, 5869).

2. See pp.124-125.

the venditiones super compotum totalled £4.4s.4½d. and another 5s.0d. was charged against the reeve by various alterations in the cash account; the reeve appealed successfully against one disallowance, and 1s.0d. was deducted from his total debt.[1] In some years considerable sums were remitted to the reeve on his appeal, either of old debts or of current disallowances. In 1334, for instance, £2.7s.6d. was remitted, including £1.2s.8d. owed by the baker of King Edward II and now written off as a bad debt.[2] On some account rolls the reeve's petitions for special allowances form a paragraph at the end of the cash account;[3] in other cases they are written on a separate schedule, and the fullest of these is reproduced as Document 6.[4]

But if on the surface the account rolls give a misleading picture of the reeve's position, so also do the court rolls. The reeve was often presented and put at mercy for inefficiency or abuses in running the demesne, but the usual marginal note of the amount of the amercement is lacking in most cases, and it is clear that his offences were normally overlooked. These presentments, then, provide evidence of the sort of perquisite that the reeve's office brought him. In 1299, for instance, among other offences, he had kept the lord's black horse at his own house for over a month in Lent, using it for harrowing and muck-carting, and had kept his

1. MM 5851.

2. 'Item 22s.8d. de antiquo debito pistor' Regis patris Regis nunc' - MM 5858.

3. E.g. in 1309-10 they are entered as 'peticiones allocancie' (MM 5834), in 1332-33 as 'alloc' ex gracia' (MM 5857).

4. Similar documents attached to account rolls of Monkleigh (co. Devon) for 1363-64 (Devon County Record Office) and Pyrford (co. Surrey) for 1324-25 (Westminster Abbey muniments) are noted by Drew, unpublished notes.

own geese in the curia for nearly a year without permission; his wife had taken grass from the garden and Folewelle pasture and - a fascinating entry - had entertained the famuli with ale when they should have been working.[1] In 1323 it was presented that one of the demesne ploughmen had often been working for the reeve when he should have been working on the demesne,[2] and in 1315 that the reeve had kept two horses in the demesne pasture all summer without permission, had used wood bought for the demesne ploughs and carts to repair his own equipment, and had pastured his own sheep with the demesne flock, guarded by the lord's shepherd, while keeping them in his own fold at night.[3] For none of these offences was any penalty imposed. In 1333, on the other hand, when Robert Oldman was presented for having kept his horses and cattle in the demesne pasture, and his pigs in the curia, he was actually charged 1s.0d. for each of the eight years that he had been doing this, and the homage was in mercy for having concealed the practice for so long.[4]

In general, though, there seems to have been a good deal of give and take in the reeve's use of his own stock and that of the demesne. We have seen that his own horses might be used to supplement the demesne plough-teams; there are several instances of his cart, with carter and horses, being used on College business for no payment beyond expenses and an allowance of fodder.[5]

1. MM, 5907 mem.5.

2. 'Dicunt etiam quod Johannes Meniggrom Tentor caruce domini non est vtilis ad retinendum in seruicio domini eo quod sepissime operatus est in seruicio prepositi tempore quo operari debuisset in negociis domini. Et quia Robertus prepositus hoc permittit. Ideo ipse Robertus in misericordia' - MM 5908 mem.9,

3. MM 5908, mem.4.

4. MM 5912.

5. E.g. in 1339-40 2bus. of oats were given to four horses of the reeve used for carting brushwood to Oxford, while the carectarius prepositi was among the persons whose expenses were paid for the same work - MM 5865.

Thus, although the reeve's actual remuneration was small - simply the remission of the rents and services due from his holding, worth about £1/ a year - his position must have given him many opportunities of personal profit. This can be illustrated from the entries of malt made from spring-corn (braseum cursale) on the account rolls. The process of malting led to a slight increase in bulk, entered as incrementum, and in Illustration 25 these amounts are expressed as percentages of the total malted each year. Before 1311, when Robert Beneyt was reeve, the incrementum varied from 4.5 per cent to 7.6 per cent (except in 1301-02, when none was entered); under Robert Oldman the figure gradually fell, until in six of the years between 1336 and 1346 no incrementum at all was recorded. This process was interrupted only by the occasional intrusion of the auditors, whose exaction of a larger incrementum was each time also reflected in the following year's account. Clearly the figures do not reveal a deliberate plan of the reeve to cheat the College systematically; probably he malted his own corn with that of the demesne, and allowed the College a share in the combined increase which grew gradually less as the years passed. The court rolls show that Robert Oldman was the principal brewer in Cuxham.[1]

But whatever the source of his profits, it is clear that Robert Oldman was a man of substance and position in the village. Matilda le Oldemannes, who married John ate Grene, a freeholder, was probably his daughter or sister-in-law.[2] He himself added

1. E.g. at the court of 22 May 1341 he paid toll for brewing ten times; no other tenant had brewed more than three times - MM 5913.

2. In 1324, 'Johannes ate Grene qui duxit in vxorem Matildam le h (erased) oldemannes Natiuam domini sine licencia domini venit et ponit se in Misericordiam respectuantur per Custodem per plegium Roberti prepositi'; 40d. amercement is entered in the margin - MM 5908 mem.9.

to his customary holding by buying 3 acres of free land in 1315,[1] and in 1323 he took over another 6 acres, a quarter-virgate, of land in villeinage.[2] By the last ten years of his life he owned at least four horses,[3] and employed at least two labourers of his own;[4] his two sons probably also helped to run his own farm.[5] After his death the College took over his goods in repayment of his official debt;[6] accounts survive of the sale of some of these by the bailiffs in 1351 and 1352, and there is also an earlier valuation. These are reproduced as Documents 9, 10 and 11; they do not give a complete inventory of Robert Oldman's possessions - his horses, for instance, are not mentioned - but they confirm that he

1. 'Presentatum est per Curia quod Robertus prepositus perquisiuit sibi et heredibus suis libere tres Acras terre cum pertinenciis et libere condicionis cum Catallis domini et sine licencia domini' - MM 5908 mem.4. See p.152.

2. MM 5908 mem.9.

3. See p.79 n.5.

4. See the passage quoted in p.125 n.2. There are various references to his carter; see p.79 n.5.

5. Johannes filius prepositi is mentioned in the account roll for 1336-37 (MM 5863) and a court-roll of 1341 (MM 5913), besides his account as bailiff in 1349 (MM 5875 mem.2.); Robertus filius prepositi is mentioned in the account for 1343-44 (MM 5869).

6. Possibly the reeve's heirs would normally have been left to pay off the debt gradually, as they collected the money owing to him from outside sources; as there are no later references to the Oldman family in Cuxham it seems that they all died in the Black Death and that their goods would thus in any case pass to the College.

was a prosperous man, with his flock of 56 sheep and 11 lambs, his two cows and three head of younger cattle, and his stock of household goods and clothes.

The records, in short, show both Robert Oldman and his predecessor as men of substance, holding a position of responsibility and trust. Their long terms of service sufficiently indicate their loyalty to the College, and it is perhaps typical that Robert Oldman's last hours were spent in making up the accounts; he died, the clerk notes, before he could say anything about the fodder given to the oxen.[1] This provides a pointer to what happened after the Black Death. Robert Oldman's first two successors seem likewise to have fallen victims to the plague,[2] but in the next ten years the demesne was successively in the hands of at least seven officials; one, William de Elmden, had charge of another manor as well.[3] The difficulty of finding a suitable manager seems the most likely reason why the College let the demesne from 1359 onwards.

The cause of this difficulty is less clear. During this decade the manager of the demesne, whether reeve or bailiff, was given a bushel of wheat each week for his services, except during harvest when, presumably, he ate at the lord's expense; this was probably supplemented by the gift of a gown,[4] and, from 1353, by money for shoes,

1. Oats: 'Et nescitur quantum boues domini habuerunt in garbis per estimacionem quia prepositus decessit antequam aliquid dixit de prebend' boum' - MM 5875 mem.2.

2. The account of Robert Oldman and his son John from 25 July 1348 to 18 April 1349 (MM 5875 mem.2.) refers to Robert ate Elme both as executor Roberti Oldeman and as executor Johannis filii Roberti Oldeman; the account of Thomas ate Grene as bailiff from 17 April to 23 June 1349 (MM 5875 mem.1) opens 'Et nihil recepit de redditu termini Natiuitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste quia decessit ante illud tempus'.

3. In 1353-54, 'In stipend' ballivi per annum pro 2 Maneriis 13s.4d.' - MM 5882.

4. In the account roll for July-Sept.1352 an entry of 6s.8d. 'In stipend' Ballivi' has been struck out and 'quia cepit Robam suam' interlineated; this was probably a regular perquisite at harvest-time. - MM 5881.

first 6s.8d. then 10s.0d a year. But this was probably not enough to attract able men at a time when disturbed conditions offered great opportunities. The first two bailiffs after the death of Robert Oldman's son, Thomas and Hugh ate Grene, both belonged to the old-established family of Cuxham freeholders,[1] while Robert Magote, the only reeve to hold office after 1349, was a customary tenant, though a new-comer to the village;[1] but all the other bailiffs in this decade were men appointed from outside. This meant that many of the perquisites and sources of private profit which the earlier reeves had enjoyed were closed to them. It also meant that, having no roots in the village or more than a professional loyalty to the College, they were free to leave whenever they saw an opportunity of advancement.

Towards the end of the decade there are increasing signs of the College's dissatisfaction with direct demesne farming at Cuxham. We have already seen that small parcels of arable were being let out to tenants before 1359.[2] There were similar short-term leases of stock; in 1353-55 the milk from the cows was sold in advance for the whole year,[3] and the hens were similarly lent out at 6d. each for most years from 1353.[4] In the last year of demesne farming, 1358-59, the Warden gave the entire crop of wheat after harvest to John Melles, who undertook to render 144qr., with the appropriate quantity of straw, at specified terms;[5] in other words, responsibility

1. The 6d. entry-fine that he owed the reeve in Feb. 1349 (included on the list of reeve's debtors, Document 7) shows that he had come to Cuxham before the Black Death and had presumably taken over a cottage.

2. See p.51.

3. Entered in 1353-54 as 5s.6d. 'de firma 6 vaccarum' (MM 5882) and in 1354-55 as 6s. 'de lactagio 6 vaccarum' (MM 5883).

4. By 1358-59 this was taken to be the standard practice, for the cash account for that year contains the entry 'De firma poletr' nihil quia ad exitum vt extra' (i.e. they were entered in the normal way in the stock account) - MM 5887.

5. 'integra vestura frumeni jacet in 2 thassis in fine boriali magne grangie hoc anno quam vesturam integram cepit Johannes Melles de Custode Redd' inde 144qr. frumenti et tot straminis cum palea' - MM 5887.

for threshing was taken out of the bailiff's hands. From 1359 the entire demesne was set to farm, but the early lessees seem to have retained some of the characteristics of bailiffs; in 1410, the homage presented that the death of 21 sheep by murrain was not the fault of the farmer, William Modirby, who was to answer to the College only for their fells.[1]

The gradual nature of the change from direct demesne farming to simply letting the manor can be particularly well illustrated at Cuxham, but seems to be characteristic of many fourteenth-century estates. The standard form of the bailiff's accounts tends to conceal a general movement away from demesne farming of which the actual letting of manors was only the most obvious feature. Leases of parcels of demesne, the practice of making a reeve or bailiff answer for a pre-determined yield of crops or stock, completely standardized returns of seed sown and corn harvested, are all signs of the same trend.

F. The demesne labour force.

The nucleus of the demesne labour forde was the staff of from six to nine full-time workers, or famuli, whose offices and rates of pay are set out in Illustration 26. Chief among them were the ploughmen - two holders, or tentores, and two drivers, fugatores - who were probably the successors of the four servi at Cuxham in 1086.[2] Probably one of the holders, who were the highest paid famuli,

1. 'Item presentant morinam 21 bidentium mortuorum in communi morina ob defectu nullius custodie de quorum pellibus Willelmus Modirby firmarius oneratur' - MM 5924 mem.1.

2, Domesday Book, i, f.159[b] .

was foreman; in 1305-06 and in 1306-07 a bushel of wheat was given to the magister carucatorum on the Warden's orders.[1] It seems to have been always one of the ploughmen who sowed the seed on the demesne, receiving a bushel of wheat as his perquisite;[2] while one of them is once mentioned as making cider.[3] The carter was normally paid the same as the drivers; it was he who did the harrowing, and the earliest rolls refer to him as herciator. The dairy-assistant - not always a woman, for in 1296-97 his name was Alan[4] - did much of the winnowing,[5] and, alone of the famuli, ate at the lord's table during harvest, receiving no allowance of corn for that period;[6] perhaps the preparation of the harvest meals was a duty of the office. A cowman and shepherd were normally employed, but were dispensed with when no cows and sheep were kept on the demesne; when they had only a very few animals to look after their wages were reduced - for four months in 1310, for instance, when there were only five cows, the cowman was given a quarter of mixed corn every sixteen weeks instead of every fourteen.[7] A

1. Thus in 1305-06, wheat; 'Magistro carucatorum curie de Cuxham 1bus. per custodem' - MM 5828; similar entries occur in MM 5827 (the same year, fair copy) and in MM 5829, 5830 (for 1306-07).

2. The earliest roll to account for seed sown 'per talliam contra carucarium' is that of 1294-95 (MM 5812); such entries occur in most account rolls from 1327.

3. In 1309-10, 'In vno homine conducto ad caruc' dum carucarius fecit ciser' 2d.' - MM 5834.

4. 'Item liber' Alano daie per preceptum custodis 12d.' - MM 5813. In the account for 1289-90 are references to Rogerus daer' de Werplisgrou' - MM 5808; cf. the anonymous 'Husbandry', 'E vos deuet auer en chescun lu ou daerie est homme ou femme . . . E si il est homme si deit il fere toutes choses cum vne femme ifust' - Walter of Henley's Husbandry, p.72. But the Cuxham rolls usually refer to la daya.

5. E.g. in 1306-07, 'in ventilacione 25qr.6bus. auen' tritur' per famulos 2d. quia daya ventilauit medietatem videlicet pro 6qr.1d.' - MM 5830.

6. E.g.in 1327-28, mixed corn: 'In liberacione la Daie per annum exceptis 4 Septimanis in Autumpno quia tunc ad mensam domini 3qr.3½bus. que cepit quarterium per 14 septimanas' - MM 5850.

7. For the 17½ weeks from the Annuciation to the morrow of St James the cowman was given 1qr.0bus.3p. of mixed corn, 'videlicet in illa ora quarterium per 16 septimanas pro pancitate vaccarum' - MM 5834.

gardener was kept on the staff intermittently from 1298 to 1322; earlier there are references to one being occasionally employed, as in 1293-94, when one came from Oxford for three weeks.[1]

The famuli were paid partly in regular issues of mixed corn, partly by payments of cash and grain once or twice a year. The latter were in the nature of special premiums dependent on good service; in 1356, the 5s.0d. due to the shepherd at Michaelmas was withheld because he had failed to use the proper medicaments for the sheep.[2] The regular issues were more specifically a set wage for the work done; in 1298 no mixed corn was given to the gardener for eleven weeks before Whitsun, but this is explained by the entry of 3s.0¾d. for his expenses while he was ill - which suggests that he was then being fed at the lord's cost.[3] The shepherd - perhaps some of the other famuli as well - was apparently sometimes shared with other employers. From Whitsun 1289 to Annunciation 1290, and again in 1316-18, his issue of mixed corn was reduced from a quarter every ten weeks to one every sixteen, because he was tending other sheep besides the demesne flock;[4] references to 'his own sheep'

1. Wheat: 'in pan' ad ortolanum de Oxon' per 3 septimanas 2bus.' - MM 5811.

2. 'Et de stipendio bercarii ad eundem terminum nihil adhuc pro dampnis domino factis in bidentibus pro defectu vnct' et c'' - MM 5885; in 1320 the barley due to the shepherd at Michaelmas was similarly stopped ('bercarius nihil habuit pro transgressione facta') but not the wheat - MM 5844.

3. 'In expensis gardinarii existentis infirmi a die Jouis proxima ante festum sancti Gregorii usque Pentecost' per 11 septimanas et 2 dies 3s.0¾d.' - MM 5814.

4. In 1289-90 the reduced issue of corn was made 'uni bercario Custodienti oues ones proprios' - MM 5808 (the previous year's account, MM 5807, uses a similar phrase); in 1316-17 and 1317-18 a note was added to the entry of issue 'et non plus hoc anno quia custod' oues alienos' - MM 5840, 5841.

may even mean that he owned some sheep himself.[1] Certainly the wages of the famuli were supplemented by occasional gifts; at the Warden's visits they were nearly always given ale at the College's expense.[2] Of other perquisites there is little evidence, but we can hardly doubt their existence. A passage from the anonymous 'Husbandry' suggests that the reason why the dairy-assistant and cowman received a smaller issue of mixed corn than the other famuli was that they made some sort of private profit from the milk.[3] Another perquisite comes to light in the statement of the homage in 1356 that the land of the famuli was being ploughed with the demesne ploughs before the arable of the demesne itself;[4] this raises the larger question of the whole way of life of the famuli.

The famuli at Cuxham are once referred to as a household, or familia,[5] and they were certainly expected to live in the curia. This is shown by a court roll of 1336, when the reeve was put at mercy because two of them slept outside.[6] One of these may be identified

1. See the preceding note. In addition, the account for 1296-97 enters the payment of the tax of one-twelfth as '21s.6d. quia bercarius soluit ad idem 18d. pro ouibus propriis' - MM 5813; this suggests that he was still looking after sheep other than the demesne flock, although he was now being paid at the full rate.

2. In 1358-59 the gift is specifically in ale: 'dat' famulis diuersis vicibus in ceruisia 4d. precepto Custodis' - MM 5887. Earlier the gifts were larger; in 1313-14, for instance, the warden gave the famuli on different occasions, 3d., 2d., 3d., 2d., 2d. and 2d., the shepherd 2d. and the threshers 2d. and 2d. - MM 5838.

3. The dairy-assistant 'deit prendre a xvi semeyngnes le quarter pur le auantage ke il ad du blaunk la ou les autres serianz prenent a xii semeyngnes' - Walter of Henley's Husbandry, pp.72,74.

4. 'terra famulorum arratur cum caruc' domini vbi terra domini iacet frisca set ignorant si per Ballivum vel per concessum domini' - MM 5919.

5. In 1327-28 the death of seven capons immediately after being gelded is attested 'per visum tocius familie' - MM 5850.

6. 'Item dicit inquisicio quod 2 famuli domini iacent de nocte extra Curia domini Ideo Robertus prepositus in Misericordia' - MM 5908 mem.10. According to Postan, The famulus, pp.39-41, it was more usual for the famuli to live away from the curia; on the College's manor of Gamlingay (co.Camb.), however, the buildings of the curia included a domus famulorum - Lowry, 'The administration of the estates of Merton College', p.44.

with the Henricus Carucarius named in the account rolls as sowing the demesne arable for twenty years from 1327; he was presumably Henry le Dryuer, who in 1321 took over a cottage and 1½ acre of land for the lives of himself and his wife Margery.[1] The other may have been Hugh le Carter, who in 1329 held a cottage and curtilage,[2] and who in 1341 became the tenant of a half-virgate.[3] Both these holdings seem to have been normal cottagers' tenements; and indeed the presentment of the reeve in 1336 makes it unlikely that they were reserved for the famuli. It may, then, have been for the lands of famuli such as these, living on their own holdings, that the demesne ploughs were used in 1356.

But there is another possibility. In 1297-98, 4qr. of oats was allowed for meal for the pottage of the famuli for lack of a curtilage;[4] this suggests that normally a piece of land - perhaps part of the garden of the curia - would be put at their disposal. Some oatmeal, however, was regularly allowed to them; in some years the entry of oatmeal for harvest expenses specifically refers to the pottage of the famuli as well.[5] In 1289-90, 7bus. of peas was used 'as vegetables for the famuli';[6] there is no other such entry,

1. MM 5908 mem.7.
2. MM 5911.
3. MM 5913.
4. 'In farina ad potagium famulorum 4qr. hoc anno pro defectu curtillagii' - MM 5814.
5. E.g. in 1329-30, 'In farina Auen' facta ad expens' Autumpni et ad potagium famulorum' - MM 5852.
6. 'Et in legum' fam' 7bus. pisarum' - MM 5808; this is distinguished from the 9qr./3p. of peas 'ad mixturam famulorum'. /3 bus.

but it may mean that the famuli were entitled to some of the produce of the garden. They were not, however, simply provided with their food as part of their wage; when, in 1359, one of the ploughmen spent eight days mowing, the cost of his board 'at the lord's table' is specially entered on the account.[1] Of their communal life in the curia, whether those living there were all unmarried, there is no evidence, nor can we tell whether the long periods of service of Henry le Dryuer and Hugh le Carter were typical of the famuli before 1349.

The dislocation and shortage of labour caused by the Black Death is reflected in the payment of 1s.0d. to the famuli between April and June 1349 to encourage them to do the lord's business the better,[2] and, two years later, in the cost of putting up stocks for recalcitrant workers, as required by the Statute of Labourers.[3] It appears more directly in larger wages, especially in the first year or so after 1349 (see Illustration 26) and in many vacancies and changes among the famuli. In 1357-58 the bailiff's expenses in making an agreement with a new shepherd, John Leeflyf, came to 7s.3d.,

1. 'Et solut' J Alynote famulo domini falcanti in prat' domini per 8 dies videlicet in expensis eiusdem existentis ad mensam 2s. per diem 3d.' (altered by the auditors from 2s.8d., i.e. 4d. a day) - MM 5887. Cf. Postan, The famulus, p.41, where it is suggested that the allowance of corn for the potagium was simply for the mid-day meal in the busy seasons.

2. 'In dono famulis Manerii per vices vt melius facerent negocia domini 12d.' - MM 5875 mem.1.

3. In 1350-51, 'In factura delstokkes pro famulis rebellosis 9d.' - MM 5879.

besides part of his wages paid in advance,[1] but the next year he records the expenses of having John Leeflyf excommunicated for breaking his oath - presumably by failing to stay the stipulated term.[2] Maybe the difficulty of securing a shepherd led to the sale of the demesne flock that year.

Perhaps because of the many changes, the Cuxham accounts of this decade often record the full names of the famuli, thus giving some evidence of their origins. John Alynote and Walter Burdon, ploughmen, were probably sons of the villein tenants of the same names, and both belonged to families settled in Cuxham before 1349. Robert Alynote, another ploughman, was a brother of John,[3] and John's wife was dairy-assistant.[4] Robert Amy, who was first the carter, then a ploughman, probably came from outside, though a man of this name held land in Cuxham later.[5] William Ibatan, John Carter, a man named Bonde and 'the'ploughman called Giles' seem likewise to have been newcomers to the village. Before the Black Death there is no evidence at Cuxham of tenants' sons being employed in the curia. Roger Waleys, who was a ploughman on the demesne in 1291-92,[6] in the same year became the tenant of a half-virgate, but there are no earlier

1. MM 5886.

2. 'Et solut' pro 1 mandato Habendo et habito ad excommunicandum Johannem leeflyf' de fidelesione 15d. et pro eodem ad habendam litteram Offic' Archidiacon' directam Episcopo linc' vocatam vericacion' 8d.' - MM 5887.

3. The court roll of 1363 refers to 'Johannem Alinote et Robertum Alinote fratres Johanne Alinote' - MM 5921.

4. In 1356-57 mixed corn was issued 'in liberacione vxoris J Alynotte deye ibidem' - MM 5885.

5. Court roll, 1389: 'Item Robertus Amy cogn' tenere de domino natiue 1 acram terre' - MM 5923 mem.3. This may well have been the son of the famulus of the 1350's.

6. The account roll records the cost of hiring a ploughman 'per 6 vices in quibus Rogerus le Wales erat apud hybest' ad cariandum meremium' - MM 5810.

records of his family in the village, and he was probably a newcomer who made good. The only other famuli before 1349 mentioned by non-occupational surnames are the ploughman, John Meniggrom,[1] and Richard le Welsch who was almost certainly the same as Ricardus bercarius domini;[2] neither surname recurs in the Cuxham records.

Supplementing the famuli were the part-time hired workers. They can be divided into three groups. First there were those who performed special minor tasks on the demesne, and who were often paid in corn, like the famuli. Chief of these was the swineherd, who apparently tended the pigs of the whole village, for he is occasionally called porcarius ville.[3] His pay varied considerably - in 1301-02 he was given only 6bus. of mixed corn,[4] but in 1316-17, when the number of pigs on the demesne was no greater, he received 1qr.6bus., with a bushel each of wheat and barley; a note on the account explains that he was paid so much that year because there was so few pigs in the village, so that, presumably, he would get less from the other pig-owners.[5] Clearly the swineherd was part way to becoming a famulus, just as the shepherd was part way to being a freelance. Other villagers who were paid in cash or corn for special services.

1. See p.79 n.2.

2. Ricardus bercarius domini was amerced for trepass with sheep in 1331 (MM 5909 mem 4), Ricardus bercarius in 1333 (MM 5912), Ricardus le Welsch bercarius in 1334 (MM 5908 mem.10) and Ricardus le Welsch in April and September 1336 (MM 5908 mem.10). He was not one of the Waleys family; the court rolls consistently distinguish the two surnames.

3. See n.5 below.

4. MM 5819.

5. 'In liberacione vnius porcarii ville per annum pro custodia porcorum 1qr.6bus. et tantum hoc anno quia pauci porci fuerunt in villa' - MM 5840; a similar note follows the entry of his payment on the account for 1317-18 - MM 5841.

included the woman who made the malt,[1] a boy to help the shepherd at lambing-time,[2] a gooseherd,[3] and extra men for the ploughs or harrow.[4]

Secondly, there were the men hired for general agricultural work, mainly at harvest, and for threshing and hoeing (see Illustration 28). The use of outside labour at harvest was inevitable, and before 1349 it usually cost from £2/ to £3/ each year. For other work, however, its use declined after about 1320 - perhaps a sign of the efficiency of Robert Oldman's management. As much as 15s.0d. was spent on threshing in some years of the early fourteenth century, though the amount varied considerably; but from 1322-23 until the Black Death hired labour was used for threshing only in four years and the amounts then were small. Similarly, the amounts spent on hired labour for hoeing, first recorded in 1298-99, rose intermittently until about 1320, then decreased and stopped altogether between 1339 and 1349. There is no evidence who these casual labourers were.

Nor is there much evidence of the identity of the third group of hired workers - the craftsmen. Apart from the smith, whose services cost about £1/ a year before 1349, they were mainly the masons, carpenters, tilers and so on, employed on the buildings in

1. See p.56 n.6.

2. E.g. in 1312-13, 1qr. of mixed corn 'In liberacione vnius garcionis adiuuantis bercarium tempore agnilacionis et custodientis agnos post separacionem' - MM 5837.

3. Payments of from ½bus. to 2bus. of mixed corn to the custos aucarum or garcio custodiens aucas occur on most account rolls from 1299-1300 to 1320-21.

4. See, for example, p.67 n.2.

the curia, and the amounts paid to them varied greatly from year to year. The carpenter who built the new byre in 1312-13 came from Whitley, near Reading,[1] but the name of a carpenter employed in 1330-31, Richard de Chalgraue,[2] shows that skilled labour might be found closer at hand. Hugh Tector, who was at Cuxham in 1332-33 and 1333-34, may have been employed by the College to thatch roofs on several manors, for the cost of taking his bed from Cuxham to Cheddington is recorded.[3]

The final source of labour on the demesne was the customary tenants. The principal labour service was the two days' work a week provided by each holder of a half-virgate.[4] We have seen that the number of half-virgate tenements rose from six to thirteen between 1276 and 1293.[5] This doubled the number of customary services due, but they were exacted as fully as before, and although most account rolls contain entries of money received 'from works sold' - i.e. in lieu of labour services - the total work thus remitted rarely represented more than one tenant's contribution. The customary charge of 5s.0d. for remitting a year's week-work, or 1s.3d. a quarter, was clearly far less than the actual value of the work. The quarter-virgate that the reeve took over in 1323 owed half the services of a normal half-virgate; but every year we find Robert Oldman debiting himself with 2s.6d. 'from the works of the land that used to belong

1. 'In solucione facta carpentario de Wytele qui inueniet totum Meremium ad nouam boueriam et illam faciet 6 li. pro parte' - MM 5837. The next entry records the expenses of the reeve and another man 'euntium apud Rading' pro conuencione facienda cum carpentario pro dicta boueria et pro Meremio videndo'.

2. 'In dono per Custodem Ricardo de Chalgraue Carpentario 6d.' - MM 5853.

3. 'In expensis 1 hominis cariantis lectum Hugonis tectoris apud Chetyndon' vna cum expensis eiusdem Hugonis 3d.' - MM 5857.

4. See p.135.

5. See p.47.

to Joan Bowethecherech' instead of performing the services.[1]

Once, in 1328-29, the auditors insisted on a higher payment for works not performed;[2] afterwards the old rate continued unchallenged, but the rate that they tried to introduce, 10s.0d. for a year's week-work, probably represented about its real value. Attached to the court roll of 1329 is a schedule which values each type of work performed as a labour service,[3] while works accounts, showing how the labour services were used, survive for 1330-31 and 1332-33.[4] The evidence of these documents is tabulated in Illustration 27, which shows that each tenant's week-work was worth 10s.$6^2/3$d. in 1330-31 and 10s.$2\frac{1}{4}$d. in 1332-33. The works accounts show that from one-third to one-half of the week-work was used for threshing, the rest mainly for reaping, ditching and much-carting.

It is thus possible to calculate both the amount and the value of the labour services performed on the demesne. This enables us to compare them both with the hired labour, of which the annual value is known, and with the work of the famuli, which can be expressed in terms of working days. It is a pity that all three forms of labour cannot be expressed in a single unit, as only this could enable us to assess exactly their relative importance in cultivating the demesne; but the deliveries of corn to the famuli cannot be accurately valued, let alone any perquisites they received,

1. The sale of its works is first entered in the account roll of 1327-28 (these of 1324-26 do not survive) and occurs in every extant account until Robert Oldman's death in 1349. It is interesting to note that the remission of the reeve's rents and services applied only to his original holding, not to this additional property.
2. The amounts entered have been altered from 2s.6d. to 5s. and from 15d. to 2s. - MM 5851.
3. Schedule attached to MM 5911.
4. MM 5853; schedule attached to MM 5857.

and there is no way of telling how many days' work was put in by most of the hired labourers. As it is, the figures set out in Illustration 28 can only be approximately correct. We do not know how many days a week the famuli worked;an average of five seems a reasonable figure, allowing for Sundays, Christmas and other feast-days, but may be too small. In setting out the value of the labour services, no account has been taken of the customary payments in ale, food or cash that were made for some of them; their actual value to the College must have been a little less than the sums shown.

Despite these limitations, the figures in Illustration 28 are of some interest. This table gives details of each type of labour, first for fffteen months in 1276-77, then for the years 1289-90, 1293-94 and every fifth year to 1348-49, thereafter for every year for which full accounts survive. It shows that at the beginning of the period the customary workers did no more work than was done by hired unskilled labour, and only 30-40 per cent as much as the famuli. With the increase in half-virgate holdings in the early 1290's, the labour services rose and the unskilled hired labour fell proportionately; from 1293-94 to the Black Death labour services were normally worth from £6/ to £7.5s. a year, and general hired labour rather less than half this figure. But even now, in an area of heavy labour services and on a manor where they were nearly all exacted in full, their total was only from half to two-thirds that of the work done by the famuli, and represented about one-third of all the

agricultural work done on the demesne. The effects of the Black Death are clear; labour services virtually ceased, and the amount spent on hired labour rose to about £10 a year, while, probably because of the difficulties of finding famuli, the total work they performed gradually fell by nearly a half during the ten years after 1349.

The same table shows that the period 1293-1349 was one of maximum cultivation of the demesne; the total work done seems to have risen slightly between 1276 and 1293, and it certainly declined sharply after the Black Death, for the rise in labour costs must be taken into account. It is not clear whether this contributed to the decrease in crop-yields in this decade, nor how far both contributed to the College's decision to lease the manor; the possible connection cannot be ignored.

CHAPTER IV

THE MANOR AND ITS OUTSIDE CONTACTS 1271-1359

A. Cuxham and the Merton College estates

So far we have considered only the internal economy of the demesne at Cuxham. But it was by no means isolated or self-sufficient, and its contacts with the world around it are essential to a picture of the manor in this period. Most prominent in the records are, naturally, its relations with Merton College, and its place in the College estates.[1] Its geographical position is shown by Illustration 29, a map of the estates in the early fourteenth century. They were remarkably far-flung, including properties in Northumberland and Durham in one direction, and in Surrey and Kent in the other. Apart from Holywell, which was virtually the College's home-farm, Cuxham was the manor nearest Oxford.

Walter de Merton's plan for administering the estates was extremely simple. As set out in his Statutes they were the responsibility of the Warden, who was to visit them in person after each harvest to estimate the crop of grain,[2] and who, with the officers of the individual manors, had to answer for his charge at an annual Chapter of the whole College.[3] At first it was at these Chapters, then held late in July, that the reeves' and bailiffs' accounts were audited, but after about 1330 it became customary to

1. I have not attempted any general discussion of the College's administration of its estates in this period; see p.19.
2. Statutes of 1274 - Merton muniments, (Oxf.Hist.Soc.), p.25.
3. Ibid., p.24.

hold the audit separately.[1] The Chapter might be held either at Oxford or (though only occasionally after 1300) at one of the College's manors.[2] It was held at Cuxham at least twice; in 1296, for which the relevant account roll is missing, and in 1289, when its recorded expenses were 5qr. of wheat and ½qr. of currall for bread, 4qr.1bus. of oats for fodder, four piglets, two sides of bacon, 28 chickens, 15 geese and ten cheeses[3]. The Warden's autumn visitation seems also to have been an occasion for feasting, perhaps a general celebration of the end of harvest; this was the reap-goose (le ripgoos)[4] when in most years before 1334 from three to seven geese were eaten. In 1319 the whole company that had assembled for the audit, perhaps held at Cuxham that year, participated in the reap-goose; 17 geese were killed, including 12 from Cheddington which, with four sheep and two pigs, had been sent over specially for the occasion[5].

But the Warden's supervision was not limited to his statutory visitation. The expenses of his visits are usually entered as a single item on the account rolls, so that it is not possible to tell how often he was at Cuxham, but in 1293-94 he visited the manor nine times, in 1294-95 ten times, and in 1296-97 nine times again.[6] These were not all visits of inspection, of course; but even if he was passing through on other business the Warden would keep an eye on what was happening on the manor - as shown by his gifts, probably of ale, to the threshers or other workers doing specific jobs on

1. Lowry, 'Estates of Merton College', p.20.
2. Ibid, pp.19-20, 78-79.
3. MM 5807.
4. In 1332-33, for instance, three geese killed for the reap-goose are mentioned in the cash expenses of the Warden's visits: 'In expensis Custodis in sua visitacione 2bus. frumenti 1 Multon' 3 auc' de stauro In aliis expensis 20½d.' - MM 5856.
5. MM 5843; cf. Lowry, 'Estates of Merton College', p.215.
6. 'in expensis Custodis per 10 aduentus 5s.4¼d per 10 tallias' - MM 5812; similar entries are in MM 5811, 5813.

the demesne.[1] Sometimes the accounts state the purpose of his visits - in June 1355 and again in April 1358 he came to arrange for the repair of one of the mills.[2] Clearly the Warden exercised real, personal control of the College's property.

Others shared the work of supervision. The view of account, made at the manors apparently at any time between January and June, was taken by Fellows of the College.[3] And to supervise the harvest and the threshing at Cuxham there appeared sometimes a Fellow, sometimes an officer of the Warden.[4] The extent of this supervision varied according to the reeve's experience and trustworthiness, The first account of Robert Beneyt as reeve (September 1288 - July 1289) includes the expenses of Geoffrey Clericus staying at Cuxham for the whole period of 44 weeks;[5] the next year Walter de Cudintoun was at Cuxham during harvest and for 17½ weeks during threshing, and gave tallies both for the corn reaped and for the grain issuing from the barn.[6] In the following years the harvest and most of the threshing were similarly supervised and accounted by tallies, but in 1296-97 and 1297-98 there is no mention of supervisors;[7] thenceforth, until Robert Beneyt's term of office ended in 1311, the harvest was regularly supervised but the threshing only occasionally.

1. Thus, when passing through on his way from London in November 1315, the Warden's visit involved the expense 'datum herciator' in campo 1d.' - MM 5839.

2. 'pro reparacione Molendini disponenda' - MM 5883; a similar entry is in MM 5886.

3. E.g. in 1302-03: 'In expensis Magistri Ricardi de Hakeburne et Magistri Rogeri de Crossebi die sancti Gregorii pro visu compoti faciendo 20d. per 1 talliam' - MM 5821.

4. E.g. in 1307-08 the harvest was supervised by William, claviger custodis - MM 5833; in 1308-09 by Robert de Sancto Albano, a Fellow of the College - MM 5832.

5. They form a special paragraph of the account, MM 5807.

6. MM 5808.

7. MM 5813, 5814.

During Robert Oldman's first twelve years as reeve either one or a series of Fellows normally supervised the threshing, though as early as 1313-14 we see the reeve being told by the Warden to do the winnowing himself.[1] After 1322-23 threshing was usually unsupervised and the reeve accounted for the issue of grain without tallies or by tallies against the villeins who threshed it.[2]

It was not only as supervisors of the harvest or threshing that Fellows and College officials came to Cuxham. Lying on the way from Oxford to London and the College's Surrey estates, the manor had many visitors; the cost of their entertainment and of their horses' fodder is entered on the account rolls, and a list of these various comings and goings in a typical year forms Illustration 30. A regular entry is that of the bailiffs of the Surrey manors going to and from Oxford for the audit in July, while messengers from the Warden to other manors[3] and the passage of stock from one manor to another[4] are often mentioned. Less usual visits were those of the painter taking a picture of the Virgin Mary to the College in 1322,[5] and of John de Maldon with a sparrow-hawk in 1333.[6] Unusual too was the visit of John le Peyntour, who, although ale was provided for his servant, austerely confined himself to bread and water[7].

1. This seems to be the significance of the entry 'In expensis vnius garcionis venientis de Custode ad dicendum preposito quod deberet seipse ventilare' - MM 5838.

2. E.g. in 1344-45 the cotmowe at one end of the barn produced 36qr. 2bus. of wheat 'trituratis per opera per 10 tallias contra Custumarios' - MM 5870.

3. E.g. in 1305-06: 'In vno garcione eunte apud Maldone ad dicendum ballivo quod deberet venire pro compoto suo soluendo 2d.' - MM 5828.

4. E.g. in 1333-34: 'In expensis 2 hominum fugancium boues de Maldon' versus halywell' pan' et cas' de stauro In ceruisia 1d.' - MM 5858.

5. Fodder was supplied 'in prebend' equorum ballivi de Maldon' et pictoris de London veniencium cum imagine beate Marie virginis versus Oxon' et redeund'' - MM 5846.

6. Payment was made 'In expensis Johannis de Maldon' venientis versus Oxon' et redeund' portantis esperuer' - MM 5857.

7. In 1333-34, 'in expensis Johannis le peyntour pan' et aqua de stauro In ceruis' pro homine suo ½d.' - MM 5858.

As we have seen, the Warden often passed through Cuxham; unfortunately his destination is seldom mentioned, but he seems to have gone to London once or twice a year[1] - once, in 1301-02, to attend parliament.[2]

Occasionally the College would send people to stay ~~the~~ at the manor as its guests. Such were the two friars who were at Cuxham at Hocktide 1289[3], and the four scholars from Nun Hall who spent three weeks there in 1322.[4] In later times the College used Cuxham as a place of refuge when the plague was raging in Oxford, but there is no reference to this in the fourteenth century.[5] The earliest instance seems to have been in 1509, when any member of the College who wished might go to Cuxham to stay with the rector;[6] in 1548 the farmer of the manor was bound to receive the Fellows and Scholars whenever the Warden and seniors saw fit to send them, 'by reason of the plague or for other reasons',[7] and in the outbreaks of plague

1. In the two years from 25 July 1312, for instance, visits of the Warden to London are recorded in April and July 1313, in April 1314 and for four weeks in September 1313 - MM 5837, 5838.

2. His expenses at Cuxham while going 'versus parliamentum' and returning are recorded on MM 5819.

3. 'in expensis duorum fratrum minorum receptorum per preceptum custodis in holked' 6d.' - MM 5807.

4. Wheat: 'In expensis 4 scholarum de Nonnehall' per 3 septimanas in estate 3bus.'; they also consumed 1s.6d. worth of ale, 2d.worth of meat, one chicken and two cheeses - MM 5845, Nun Hall was the College's residence for the Founder's kin - V.C.H. Oxon., iii, p.98.

5. Brodrick, Memorials of Merton College (Oxf.Hist.Soc.), p.18, suggests that Cuxham was so used then, but gives no source for his statement.

6. Registrum annalium Collegii Mertonensis (Oxf. Hist.Soc.), p.392.

7. 'causa pest' vel aliis De causis prebendo eis tantum cubicula et alias Domos neccessarias et hoc quamdiu contigerit eos illic morari' - MM 1872.

in 1603 and 1625 arrangements were made for the whole College to retire to Cuxham.[1]

It was not only as a convenient stopping-place for travellers to London and Surrey that the College made use of Cuxham's position, lying below the Chilterns and mid-way between Oxford and Henley-on-Thames. Barrels of fish sent from London to the College would be brought by water as far as Henley, then taken on to Oxford by the Cuxham cart.[2] There are many references to the reeve buying wood for the College; in 1330-31, for instance, timber was bought for a house at Oxford - some, for 11s.11d. plus 5s.4d. for sawing, at Watlington, the rest, for 7s.3d. plus 2d. for felling, in the Chilterns (in Ciltr')[3] - but the local sources of timber will be discussed later. On this occasion, as usual, the wood was taken to Oxford by horses and carts from Holywell. Sometimes other things were bought to be sent to the College - in 1300-01 2bus. of peas and 220 eggs,[4] in 1331-32 three empty barrels.[5] In 1321-22 the reeve of Cuxham bought two horses at Abingdon for the manor of Holywell.[6]

1. Brodrick, Memorials of Merton College (Oxf.Hist.Soc.), p.65. Other colleges made similar use of their manors near Oxford; a lease of Toot Baldon by Queen's in 1568 refers to buildings which the College occupied in times of sickness in Oxford (Catalogue no.269 (1954) of Bernard Halliday, bookseller, of Leicester, item 943).

2. E.g. in 1335-36: 'In cariag' 12000 alle[c]/et 2 copularum fructuum de Lond' vsque Henle 2s.1d. In portag' eorundem 1d. In oneracione eorundem in carect' 2d. In car' eorundem de Henle vsque Oxon' 6d.' - MM 5900.

3. MM 5853.

4. 'In 2bus. pisarum albarum emptis et Missis Oxon' 12d.', 'In 220 ouis emptis ad mittend' Oxon' 11d.' - MM 5818.

5. 'In doliis vacuis emptis et missis apud Oxon' 3s.6d.' - MM 5855.

6. 'In 2 equis emptis apud Abyndon' pro Manerio de Haliwell'' - MM 5845.

But besides items bought specially to send to Oxford the reeve delivered to the College each year a substantial part of the produce of the demesne. In this Cuxham was like Cheddington and Holywell, but unlike the more distant manors of the estate.[1] Most of the deliveries were made to the Great Hall (magna aula) but small quantities were sent to the Warden's Hall (aula custodis); as in the Cheddington records the two are nearly always distinguished.[2] The chief commodity supplied was wheat; Illustration 18 shows that after 1300 10-21 per cent of each decade's produce was delivered to the College or to another manor. The other items regularly sent to the College were geese, chickens and doves.

At first most of these deliveries were entered simply on the dorse of the account roll in the paragraphs for grain and stock, but in 1330-31 the entries of four capons, ten hens and 102 doves sent to the Warden's Hall were altered by the auditors to appear as sales, so that the reeve had to account for the proceeds in the cash account on the front of the roll.[3] The prices varied and were presumably those current at the time.[4] After 1332-33 this system was applied to all poultry and doves sent to the College, but it was not extended to wheat deliveries until 1338-39; its adoption may reflect a change in the organization of the College's internal accounts. Earlier, however, a few deliveries to the College had been shown as sales - in 1278-79 the reeve accounted for 1s.10d. from 13 cheeses sent to Oxford.[5]

1. Lowry, 'Estates of Merton College', pp.215-216.

2. At Cheddington the Great Hall was referred to as the High Hall (alta aula) - ibid., p.215.

3. MM 5853.

4. E.g. in 1339-40 the reeve 'sold' in this way 8½qr. of wheat at 3s.10d. the qr., 14qr. at 3s.4d. and 14½qr. at 6s.0d. - MM 5865.

5. View of account, MM 5804.

Occasionally too, deliveries to the manor of Ibstone were entered in this way; thus, in 1357-58 a piglet and 1qr. of sprigg were shown as sold to the bailiffs of Ibstone, though 5qr. of wheat and 1qr. of vetch delivered to them in the same year were entered simply as deliveries against tallies.[1] After 1346-47 deliveries to the College almost ceased,[2] so that the lease of the manor in 1359 can hardly have affected the College's internal economy.

The purchase of goods for the College and other outside payments made by the reeve, besides the deliveries of produce to Oxford, make it virtually impossible to assess accurately the value of Cuxham to the College. On some of the account rolls, usually at the end of the cash account, and on some of the chapter accounts, have been added notes of the year's profit from the manor (proficuum manerii). This figure was worked out by the College, not by the reeve; it appears on the fair copies, but not on the drafts, of the account rolls for 1302-09, and the hand is usually neither the original scribe's nor the auditor's. How the figure was normally calculated is not clear. In 1303-04 it corresponds to the total cash charged against the reeve (excluding his arrears) plus the money he delivered to the College, minus the total of his expenditure (excluding cash delivered to the College) and minus also his debt at the end of the account; but for no other year does this calculation produce the figure given. Probably the value of produce delivered to the

1. MM 5886.

2. No wheat was sent to the College from Cuxham in 1347-59; the amounts noted as deliveries on Illustration 18 in this period consist only of wheat sent to Ibstone.

College was usually added to the cash profit, and there is reason to suspect that allowance was sometimes made for depreciation in the capital value of the stock.[1] But, however reached, the figures are of value as showing what the College itself considered to be its profit from Cuxham; they are set out in Illustration 31, together with the annual rents for which the manor was leased after 1359. Before the Black Death the recorded profits ranged from £25 to £65, and averaged just over £41. As would be expected, they declined after 1349; the only year for which a figure is given, 1354-55, sets them at £10.13s. The rents for which the manor was set to farm vary curiously - perhaps the lessee paid a greater or lesser sum on entry - but never exceed £20 a year. Against this decrease, of course, must be set the reduction in costs of supervision and the security of rents from a farmer instead of the hazards of direct management of the demesne; even so, the figures illustrate the decline in the profits of agriculture following the Black Death.

The College's calculation of its profits from a single manor illustrates how it administered most of its manors as individual units,[2] and did not try to make them economically interdependent. For a few weeks in the summer of 1317 the reeve of Cuxham ran the demesne of Cheddington, and entered on his account the cost of a new cart and the wages of the famuli;[3] again, in 1353-54 William de Elmden was bailiff of both Cuxham and Ibstone.[4] But in each case

1. On one account from Gamlingay or Cheddington, the proficuum manerii is given specifically 'praeter deteriacionem stauri' - Lowry, 'Estates of Merton College', p.166.

2. Mrs. Lowry (ibid., p.x) speaks of the manors of Gamlingay, Cambridge and Cheddington, with the property at Diddington, as forming a unit in the estate's administrative system, but her own account of the manors hardly bears out this description. The Surrey manors, however, may have been subject to some unified control; the Surrey steward (senescallus de Sotherie) probably did more than simply preside over the manorial courts there, for he is occasionally mentioned in the Cuxham accounts as accompanying the bailiffs of the Surrey manors to the audit of accounts.

3. MM 5841; the wages of the famuli for two or three weeks from 1 August, together with the reeve's expenses in visiting Cheddington, form a special paragraph at the end of the cash account.

the connection was merely a temporary expedient. The only trace in the Cuxham records of combining the produce of more than one manor for marketing is in the deliveries of wool from Cheddington to Cuxham, and these occurred only in five years: in 1320-24 and 1335-36.

Ibstone was the manor with which Cuxham had strongest ties; lying six miles away on the Chilterns, in an area still thickly wooded today, its economy was complementary to that of Cuxham, a parish without woodland and consequently short of timber, brushwood and rough pasture. There was an historical link between the manors, for both had belonged to the Chenduits, and in 1279 the tenants of Cuxham swore that they customarily performed carrying-services only as far as Henley-on-Thames, Wallingford or Ibstone.[1] But, although, as we shall see, much of the wood used at Cuxham came from Ibstone, more came from places outside the College estates. However, the Cuxham pigs may have been regularly sent to feed there; in 1332-33 the reeve reported that he had paid nothing for pannage because the pigs had been in the wood at Ibstone,[2] and this may have been the normal custom. Costs of pannage seldom occur in the accounts and in three cases when they do (in 1291-92,

4) See p.82.

1. 'Omnes Custumarii dicunt per sacramentum ipsorum quod non debent auerare bladum domini nisi apud Henle uel apud Walinggeford uel apud Ibeston non vlterius nec alibi solebant auerare' - MM 5906 mem.1.

2. 'Et nihil soluit pro pannag' porcorum quia ad siluam de Ibstan' - MM 5856.

1312-13 and 1319-20) are specifically for pannage at Ibstone. Sometimes the pigs went further afield; in 1297-98 and in 1305-06 the reeve enters the cost of driving them the forty miles to pannage at Malden.[1]

Other contacts with manors on the Merton estates were frequent but irregular. Livestock was often moved from one manor to another, either permanently, like the two affers that went from Cuxham to Ibstone and Farleigh in 1348-49,[2] or temporarily, like the cart-horse lent by Holywell to Cuxham in 1319-20 in place of a horse which the Warden had taken with him on a journey.[3] In 1297 one of the Cuxham carts was lent for service at Ibstone, being first fitted with a new axle;[4] in 1329-30 Hugh Carpentarius was paid at Cuxham for work he had done on new buildings at Holywell;[5] and in 1332-33 Roger, the College's bailiff at Basingstoke, spent a week at Cuxham to supervise the cider-making.[6] All these were occasional

1. In 1297-98, 'In fugacione 10 porcorum uersus Maldon' ad glanum et in sustentacione eorum per viam et Iterum In fugacione eorum domi et in eorum sustentacione per viam 12d. Item dat' pro pannagio eorundem 2s.11d. Item dat' porcario pro 1bus. bladi de liberacione sua dum fuit ad boscum 6d.' - MM 5814.

2. Affers: 'lib' Roberto ballivo de Ibbestan 1 Et lib' ballivo de Maldon' (struck out) Farleh' (inserted) 1' - MM 5875 mem.2.

3. 'In ferura vnius equi de haliwelle qui fuit in loco vnius equi carectarii dum equs carectarius fuit extra villam cum custode 3½d.' - MM 5843.

4. 'in carecta Manerii axanda in negociis de Ibestan 1d.' - MM 5813.

5. 'In solucione facta hugoni Carpentario pro factura vnius Noue domus apud Haliwell' ad tascham 16s. et 2bus. frumenti' - MM 5852.

6. 'In expensis Rogeri ballivi de Bascyngstok' existentis vltra facturam cyzer' per 7 dies 12d.' - MM 5856.

contacts, the result of chance circumstances and not of any deliberate attempt to integrate the economies of the College's manors. The economic life of Cuxham was tied far more closely to the surrounding region than to the Merton College estates.

B. Cuxham and its region.

The people from outside Cuxham who appear in the manorial court during the period provide a picture of some of its contacts with surrounding villages. Presentments for trespass with animals in the Cuxham fields and meadows include eight persons said to be from Easington, six from Brightwell Baldwin, four from Britwell, two from Watlington, two from Ascot near Stadhampton, and one each from Garsington, Milton amd Pyrton.[1] Pleas of debt against tenants of Cuxham were entered by Nicholas Persochay of Brightwell Baldwin in 1322,[2] and in 1331 by Robert Edekyn of Chalgrove and John Lylly of Henley-on-Thames.[3] Likewise, the lists of the reeve's debtors include, for instance, John Carnifex of Britwell, Henry Red of Henley,[4] and John le Fuller of Ascot.[5]

The account rolls confirm this picture of continual contact with the neighbouring villages. We are told that the 12 gallons of ale for the Warden's visitation in 1330 were bought at Watlington;[6]

1. These were not, of course, the only outsiders to be presented for trespass; there were many others whose home village is not specified.
2. MM 5908 mem.8.
3. MM 5909 mem.4.
4. Both in 1333: schedule attached to MM 5857.
5. In 1347: MM 5874 mem.2.
6. 'in expensis Custodis in sua visitacione post festum sancti Michaelis in 12 lagenis ceruisie emptis apud Watlyngton' 18d.' - MM 5853

in 1343-44 the reeve had a brass basin (olla enea) remade at Brookhampton.[1] Small tips to workers in the vills adjoining Cuxham are occasionally mentioned, such as 2d. in 1349 to the famuli of Pyrton, 'so that they shall not do damage with their ploughs in the lord's oats';[2] the bushel of wheat given to John, messor of Chalgrove, in 1336-37 may have been for a similar purpose.[3] At a higher level, we see the College purchasing the goodwill of the local magnate, Sir William Bereford, lord of Chalgrove and Justice of the Common Bench, with gifts of food,[4] with the provision of men for his harvesting,[5] and with the annual delivery of a bushel of wheat to his wife, Margaret de Chalgrove.[6]

1. 'In 16 libris eris ad 1 ollam eneam emendendam 4s.4d. prece libre 3¼d. In factura 16 librarum veteris eris in dictam ollam 12d. dando pro libra ¾d. In expensis prepositi tunc in factura dicte olle apud Brokhampton' 2d.' - MM 5869.

2. 'In dono famulis Manerii de Pyryton' ita quod non facerent dampnum cum carucis suis in Auena domini 2d.' - MM 5875 mem.1.

3. Wheat: 'in dono Johanni Messori de Chalgraue 1bus. precepto Magistri Johannis Wyly' - MM 5863.

4. E.g. in 1289-90, 'in exennio misso W. de bereford' 3¾d. in pane 15¼d. in vino' - MM 5808.

5. In 1300-01, 'in 3 hominibus locatis ad metend' cum domino W. de Bereford' per 1 diem' - MM 5818; a similar entry occurs in 1297-98 - MM 5814.

6. This was probably made every year from 1296-97 to 1300-01. For the identification of Margareta de Chalgraue with the wife of Bereford, see Carter, The Quatremains of Oxfordshire, pp.68-69.

It was shown in the last chapter how successful arable farming was at Cuxham in this period. It was thus sound policy to use as much of the land as possible for growing crops, even though this left the demesne without woodland and with insufficient pasture and meadow for its own needs. To supply these requirements the manor relied on outside sources, and we have seen how its pigs were sent for pannage to the Merton manors of Ibstone and Malden. For other animals pasture was sought nearer home; thus, in 1317-19 1s.0d a year was paid for grazing a horse in the park at Watlington.[1] But it was with Pyrton that the manor had the strongest economic links. Like Ibstone, Pyrton had an economy complementary to Cuxham's, for it contained woodland and surplus pasture; it also seems to have had an excess of labour at harvest, for nearly every year from 1289 to 1320 from one to four men (in 1320 two women) were hired from the manor of Pyrton to do their one day's harvest boon-work on the demesne of Cuxham instead.[2]

The pasturing of animals from Cuxham on the stubble of the Pyrton fields seems to have ~~had~~ been a long tradition, for Ralph Chenduit's agreement with Thomas Grele in 1241 probably simply re-stated an ancient custom: the lord of Cuxham might pasture four horses, twelve oxen, ten cows and a bull on any of the fields of

1. In 1317-18, 'In pastura empta in parco de Watlintone pro vno equo 12d.' - MM 5841; a similar entry occurs in the next year's account, MM 5842.

2. E.g. in 1304-05, 'In tribus hominibus conductis ad precarias de Pyriton' per 1 diem 6d.' - MM 5826. The rate paid varied between 1½d. and 2½d. each man.

Pyrton from harvest to Martinmas, and on the field nearest Cuxham he might keep them, together with 200 sheep, until the seed was sown; in return, the lord of Pyrton might pasture his animals in the fields of Cuxham from harvest to Martinmas only.[1] As late as 1501 Merton College was asserting its lessee's rights under this agreement,[2] and it was presumably in force during the intervening period. From 1296-97 onwards most of the account rolls record gifts, usually of 6d. or 1s.0d., to the hayward (messor, heywardus) of Pyrton. At first this was always on the orders of the Warden or supervisor, but later was paid without authority, until in 1333-34 a gift of 2s.0d. was allowed by the auditors only on the reeve's appeal;[3] the gifts then ceased, and in 1356-57 most of the bailiff's expenses in entertaining the manorial officers of Pyrton were disallowed.[4] These payments were not for entry to the pasture, which belonged to the College by right, but for special care and favoured treatment; in 1323-24 an entry of 1s.0d. 'for pasture bought in the common of Pyrton for the lord's animals' was altered by the auditors to 'for having special favour in the common of

1. MM 786; it is also entered in Placitorum abbreviatio, p.115. The form of the hearing before the royal justices- Ralph Chenduit accused Thomas Grele of having disseised him of his rights of pasture in Pyrton - may have been fictional and the action collusive, but it seems likely that it arose in a disagreement over an ancient custom.

2. Registrum annalium Collegii Mertonensis, (Oxf.Hist.Soc.), p.250.

3. The item has been struck from the petty expenses, but '2s. dat' ballivo (struck out) Messori de Pyryton (added subsequently)' has been allowed to the reeve at the end of the cash account - MM 5858,

4. The entries 'in expensis ballivi de Piryton' et Wardale iantium apud Cokusham In pane et ceruisia 11d. In carn' 6d. et 1 auca et 1 anate de stauro extra Et dat' ballivo predicto 1 par' caligularum prece 18d.' have all been struck from the cash account, but the duck and goose have been allowed, with the note 'allocatur hoc anno de gra'' in the stock account - MM 5885.

Pyrton',[1] and this is the phrase used in several other years' accounts. Occasional payments were made for actual pasture in Pyrton, but these seem to have been for additional rights beyond those of the agreement - several times it was described as pasture in the meadows.[2] A rather obscure note in the College muniments suggests that in the fifteenth century inter-commoning was also practised with Brightwell Baldwin,[3] but there is no other reference to this.

Besides pasture, Cuxham bought hay and wood from Pyrton. Illustration 32 shows the sources of these commodities recorded in the account rolls - also of building stone, for which only two quarries are actually named, Wheatley and Little Milton.[4] In the eighteenth century, Cuxham itself was said to provide good building stone,[5] and the fourteenth-century accounts include costs of getting stone locally; in 1344-45, 600 cartloads for the demesne dovecote and walls were dug presumably in or near the village.[6] Since the carriage of wood usually involved expenditure on extra labour and fodder, and often the loan of horses and cart from Holywell, the accounts nearly always name its source; but hay could normally be handled by the demesne cart, so the source of supply is only occasionally mentioned and the record is thus less complete.

1. 'In pastura empta in communa de Pyryton' pro animalibus domini 12d.' has been replaced by 'Item dat' pro fauore habendo in communa de Piryton' 12d.' - MM 5847.

2. Thus, in 1300-01 6d. was paid 'In dat' Messori de Piritone per custodem', and 6d. 'In pastura empta inpiritoun med' ad 3 boues ad vend'' - MM 5818.

3. MM 2820.

4. Miltone of the account roll for 1307-08 (MM 5833) is presumably Little Milton - cf. V.C.H.Oxon., ii, pp267-268, and Salzman, Building in England, (1952), p.131.

5. Parochial collections (Oxf.Rec.Ser.), i, p.111.

6. 'In 600 carectatis petrarum fodiendis ad Columbar' et ad parietes Manerii 30s. et 6bus. frumenti' - MM 5870.

Hay was bought, however, sometimes at a cost of over £2, in most years up to 1341-42;[1] in the later accounts it is never mentioned - perhaps the demesne meadows at Cuxham had been extended, though there is no other evidence of this. As we might expect, much of the hay bought came from vills lying beside the Thame, and most of the wood came from the Chilterns. In the few entries where the type of wood is mentioned it is always beech;[2] it was bought sometimes already felled, sometimes standing, and appears as meremium or fusta for building and carpentry, virge for wattling, busca, lignum focale and fagett' for firewood. As the wood used at Cuxham often cannot be distinguished from that bought to be sent to Oxford or Holywell, all the sources of supply mentioned in the accounts have been shown on the map.

Illustration 33 shows where other items were bought for the Cuxham demesne. Abingdon was the manor's principal source of supply, especially for livestock, while Thame was also important. Little was bought from Wallingford - an interesting fact, since it was only five miles from Cuxham and had a bridge over the Thames,[3] whereas Abingdon lay at twice the distance, and to reach it the river had to be forded or crossed by ferry.[4] The rise of Abingdon and the decline

1. In every year for which the full account survives, except 1290-91, 1300-01, 1303-04, 1309-10, 1317-18, 1336-37, 1338-39 and 1340-41; in 1336-37 some was clearly brought from Holywell: 'In expensis ... (hiatus) circa car' feni de halywell' vsque Couxham 16d.' - MM 5863.

2. E.g. in 1304-05, 'In 10 fustibus de fago emptis in bosco de Pyritone ad caruc' et focale 6s,8d.' - MM 5826.

3. V.C.H. Berks., iii, p.521.

4. There are many entries of the payment of tolls at Culham, which may represent ferry charges; e.g. in 1331-32 the costs of buying two affers at Abingdon included 'In passag'/aque de Coulham per 2 vices 4d.' - MM 5855.

of Wallingford have been associated with the building of the bridges at Culhamford and Borford in 1416,[1] which diverted to Abingdon the traffic from London to Gloucester;[2] the Cuxham accounts confirm that Abingdon's ascendancy was earlier than this,[3] and the construction of the bridges must have been a result of the town's prosperity, not its cause. Before the late thirteenth century Wallingford was probably more important to Cuxham, for in 1279 the tenantry named it as one of the places to which they might have to carry the lord's corn;[4] but Illustration 34, a map of the markets for the manor's produce, shows that in only one year do the account rolls record that any corn was sold there.

By far the most important market for Cuxham's corn was Henley-on-Thames, whence presumably it was sent down the river to London. In the course of a year the reeve often made as many as twenty journeys there to sell corn - in 1300-01 he was given expenses for forty visits.[5] It is interesting that the attraction of the London

1. C.P.R. 1416-22, pp.33-34.

2. Thus, Accounts of the obedientiars of Abingdon Abbey, (Camden Soc.), p.xxvii; Beresford and St. Joseph, Medieval England: an aerial survey, p.181; Stenton, 'Communications', in Medieval England, i, p.207.

3. A similar picture of the decline of Wallingford in the thirteenth century is given by V.C.H. Berks., iii, pp.533-534, and by Lady Stenton in English society in the early middle ages (2nd edn.), pp.185-186.

4. See p.106 n.1.

5. 'in expensis prepositi per 40 dies apud hanle ad bladum vendendum 5s. in die 1½d.' - MM 5819.

market should have been so strong; no corn from Cuxham was sold in Oxford, though livestock was occasionally sold through the bailiff of Holywell. In the years when the reeve was paid for his deliveries of corn to the College the prices, presumably those current in Oxford, seem to be slightly lower than those for which he sold corn at Henley;[1] but as these deliveries are not dated an exact comparison is impossible.

Apart from Spanish iron, mill-stones were the only items regularly used on the manor which had a really distant origin; they probably came from Northern France or the Rhine valley[2] and were bought in Southampton (1305) and London (1330-31). In 1305 the stone was brought to Cuxham by the miller, with the carter and three horses;[3] but on the latter occasion five stones were bought, and a very full account is preserved of the expenses of bringing them by water to Henley, where they were bored, with costs of tolls at London and Maidenhead.[4] Earlier, in 1302-03, a mill-stone had been bought in Wallingford, and then a toll of 8d. had to be paid on leaving the town, besides a further 5d. at Crowmarsh for permission to take the

1. Thus, in 1339-40 wheat from Cuxham was sold to the College at 3s.4d., 3s.8d. and 6s. the quarter, and at Henley at 5s.6d., 6s. and 7s. - MM 5865.

2. Rogers, History of agriculture and prices, i,pp.504, 510; Bennett and Elton, History of corn milling, iii, pp.96-98.

3. 'In expensis Molendinarii carect' et 3 equorum carectariorum ad petendam 1 petram Molend'apud suthamtone per 5 dies et 5 noctes 6s.9d.' - MM 5828.

4. The transaction is described in detail in Rogers, History of agriculture and prices,i,pp.505-508.

cart onto the fields; presumably the road was so muddy that the heavy load would cause the cart to sink in.[1] Another curious reference to the difficulties of bringing purchases back to the manor is in 1313, when an ox which the reeve was driving from Abingdon escaped from him at Dorchester, and had to be chased for two days to Filkins, 25 miles away, before being recovered.[2] For the ox to get so good a start on its pursuers the reeve must have been spending the night at Dorchester on his way home.

In general, the more distant the journey the greater the expense and the more likely that it would be specifically entered on the account roll. This means that Illustrations 33 and 34 probably over-emphasize the more distant markets, and that in the many cases for which the accounts do not say where a particular article was bought or sold it was probably in Cuxham itself or a neighbouring village. There are a few indications of this. In 1309-10 three cows and a heifer were sold to John Carnifex of Britwell.[3] Hay was several times entered as bought from one of the

1. 'datum apud Craumers eo quod possent ire vltra camp' cum carecta 5d.' - MM 5821.

2. 'in expensis prepositi et vnius hominis cum eo ad petendum eundem bouem apud Abend' Mercham logewrthe bamtone Bradewelle et fileking et in patria per 2 dies quia perexit de eo apud dorkecestre 10½d.' - MM 5837.

3. MM 5834.

Cuxham villagers.[1] Between 1293 and 1297 large amounts of corn were sold 'in the curia',[2] and in 1343-44 1½qr. of wheat was 'sold in Cuxham'.[3] Economically, the manor was firmly fixed in its local setting.

C. Cuxham and royal administration

As the manor's contacts with royal authority usually involved expenditure, the reeves' account rolls probably give a fairly complete record of them. They certainly contain many such entries, of which the number and nature varied a good deal.

A recurrent item was the taxation of the movable goods of the demesne; these taxes were paid by the reeve and entered on the account roll, except in 1297, 1301 and 1304, when they were probably paid directly by the College.[4] There are occasional references to distraint for non-payment; in 1303 a royal bailiff drove eight cows to Oxford to pay for the tax of one-fifteenth,[5] and perhaps for

1. E.g. in 1313-14, 'in feno empto de sara le Wyte 20d.' - MM 5838.

2. E.g. in 1293-94 at least 58½qr. of wheat, 2qr. of currall, 3½qr. of barley and 13qr. of dredge were sold there - MM 5811.

3. MM 5869.

4. The various parliamentary subsides in this period are briefly listed by Willard, Parliamentary taxes, pp.9-11. The only non-parliamentary tax mentioned in the Cuxham records is the tallage of 1304; see p.120 n.2.

5. 'In expensis Ballivi herrantis die mercurii proxima ante translacionem sancti Thome per 1 noctem 3d. et incrastino fugauit 8 vaccas vsque oxon' pro xv^mo denario' - MM 5821.
The seizure and sale of the cows are also entered in the stock account on the dorse of the roll.

the same reason the manor was taken into the king's hands in 1297 - an incident which the accounts mention but do not explain.[1] Until 1336 each taxation was based on a fresh valuation of the property, and the accounts normally record the costs both of entertaining the assessors and of directly bribing them to return a low assessment. Usually these bribes are described simply as gifts to the assessors, but sometimes more specifically 'so that they might deal gently in their assessment',[2] or 'to have favourable consideration from their superiors when they hand over their roll'.[3] The College seems to have kept a close watch on the assessments; in 1301 the chief assessor's bribe was paid on the Sub-warden's authority,[4] and in 1313-14 the Warden was specially told of the assessors' arrival.[5]

The success of the use of bribery is shown by Illustration 35. Here the assessed value of the goods on the demesne has been calculated from the total tax paid and set out opposite the amounts paid in entertaining and bribing the assessors. As minor items of

1. 'in expensis custodis et sociorum suorum et aliorum quando Manerium seisitum fuit in Manu Regis 10s.1¼d. per tall' videlicet in prima dominica xl^{e}' - MM 5813.

2. In 1297-98, 'Dat' eisdem (i.e. taxatoribus) ad mite agendum in taxatione 4s.' - MM 5814.

3. In 1327-28, 10s. 'pro fauore habendo de suis superioribus in tradicione rotuli sui - MM 5850.

4. 'datum capital' taxator' per vicecustodem' 6s.8d. (disallowed by the auditors) - MM 5819.

5. 'In vno garcione eunt' apud chetindone in nuncio custod' pro xx^{mo} denario 2d.' - MM 5838.

ale, food and oats from the stock in hand have not been included, the actual expenses of the assessors' visits were slightly greater than the figures given. But the table shows clearly that money laid out in this way was money well spent. In 1294-95 the assessment was the highest recorded - over £60, probably representing the real value of the movables of the demesne - and its reduction at the next assessment to less than £13 can be directly ascribed to the lavish entertainment of the twelve assessors,[1] who consumed a pig specially fattened,[2] ten hens, two cheeses, bread made from 12qr. 5bus. of wheat, and over one pound's worth of other provisions. Entertainment of the assessors in this way was an officially permitted practice,[3] but later direct bribes became usual, and their increase after 1310, first to 6s.8d. then to 10s.0d., coincides with the reduction of the assessment from over £40 to as little as £12.10s. These bribes were probably about what would normally be paid by the owners of property worth as much as the demesne stock at Cuxham; in Warwickshire in 1323 the assessors were indicted for having accepted as bribes 'from the township of Radewy ½ mark, from Toneworth ½ mark, and from Ilmyndon ½ mark, and so from other townships, more or less,

1. 'In expensis 12 taxatorum duodecime 22s.8¼d.' - MM 5813. Willard, Parliamentary taxes, pp.54-59, describes the two systems used between 1290 and 1332 in appointing assessors and making the valuation.

2. Peas: ' . . . (hiatus) lardar' et in 1 porco crassando quem taxatores xij^me expend' ½ qr.' - MM 5813.

3. Willard, Parliamentary taxes, p.206, where the Cuxham rolls are cited as examples.

as the townships were larger or smaller'.[1]

Details of the falsification of the valuation are provided by the assessment of movables for the tallage of 1304,[2] which is reproduced as Document 4. Records of this sort are rare and its survival among the Merton College muniments is extremely fortunate.[3] The value of the document as a record of the property owned by the tenants at this time will be considered in the next chapter; here we will examine only its return of the goods on the demesne. Its accuracy can be checked by the account rolls' evidence of the stock actually held at the time, and the two lists are set out in Illustration 36. In the assessment the areas sown are given in statute acres as against the customary acres of the accounts,[4] while as the

1. Lay subsidy roll for Warwickshire of 6 Edward III, (Dugdale Soc.), p.97, quoting from an Assize Roll of 1323. The tax ($^{1}/_{15}$) payable in 1332 from the three villages named was 30s.8d., £5.18s.3d. and £6.10s. respectively (ibid., pp.24, 10, 13).

2. The assessment must have been for this tallage, which was ordered in February 1304 on cities, boroughs and royal demesne - Mitchell, Taxation in medieval England, pp.382-389. Cuxham would have become royal demesne when the honour of Wallingford passed into the king's hands on the death of Edmund, earl of Cornwall, in 1300. - V.C.H.Berks., iii,p.526.

3. MM 5905. Perhaps this copy was retained by Robert Beneyt as one of the assessors, and was taken over by the College in 1311 together with the draft account rolls from 1303-04 onwards (see p.12[illegible]). Few of these local assessment rolls have survived even among the Exchequer records; they are discussed in Willard, Parliamentary taxes, pp.66-68, where the present document is cited. Those for parts of Yorkshire in 1297 are printed from the public records in Yorkshire lay subsidy, (Yorks.Arch.Soc.), pp.1-115; one for Icklingham (co.Suff.), a manor of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, in 1290, survives in a contemporary copy in BM Harley MS. 645, ff.243^{b}-244.

4. See pp.48-49.

inventory was made early in the year - on 12 March - the dredge and barley entered on the account roll had probably not yet been sown.[1] Even so, the discrepancies between the two records are considerable. The valuations are likewise favourable, though not absurdly low - wheat, valued at 3s.0d. the quarter, was being sold from Cuxham that spring at 3s.8d. - 3s.11d.[2] No direct bribes to the assessors are recorded this year, and only a reasonable sum for their expenses - 1s.4d. for themselves and 6d. for their clerk's wages - but as the assessors were the reeve himself and John ~~de la~~ ate Grene, the principal free tenant in Cuxham, clearly no direct payment would be necessary to secure a favourable valuation. Like the account roll entries of taxation, this assessment demonstrates the unreliability of official tax returns as a source of information.

Tax assessors and collectors were not the only royal officials who were entertained, and sometimes bribed, at Cuxham. The account rolls contain many entries of meals and small gifts given to royal officers passing through the village - often with no further explanation. On one day in 1305, for instance, a goose, two hens, one shilling's worth of other food and ½qr. of oats went to the entertainment of the queen's officer, and a further 1½d. and ½bus. of oats in the expenses of the sheriff's clerk;[3] in 1316-17, 1s.0d. was given

1. See p.60. < p.60.

2. MM 5824. Willard, Parliamentary taxes, pp.138-141, considers that goods were generally undervalued.

3. 'in expensis homin' Regine die sabati proxima post festum sancti Clementis 12d. item 1 auc' 2 gallin' de stauro et ½ qr. auene In expensis cler' vicecomitis eodem die 1½d sine pane et ½ bus. auene' - MM 5828

to the king's bailiff on the morrow of St. Frideswide's day, and another 6d at Hocktide.[1] In the early part of the period there are many entries of visits by the bailiffs and sub-bailiffs of the honour of Wallingford, who were given small presents of wheat, up to about 2qr. in a single year;[2] for some reason, perhaps connected with the change of reeve in 1311, these entries cease after 1309-10. Clearly, however, any official whose favour the College thought worth gaining was sure of entertainment and presents from the manor.

But many royal officers were less welcome. Those who passed through with the king's horses or other animals were occasionally bribed to seek quarters elsewhere. Thus, in 1344-45, 1s.0d. was given 'to a servant of the king coming with 320 sheep so that he would not prolong his stay in the lord's manor',[3] and in 1350 two of the king's men coming with four horses were given 1s.6d. 'so that they would go away again quickly'.[4] The expense and trouble of having royal stock quartered on the manor probably also account for the gifts made to the keepers of the king's horses at

1. MM 5840.

2. In 1298-99, for instance, are entered the expenses of visits from the bailiff of the honour in July (3d.) and from the sub-bailiff in February (2d.) and the gift of a quarter of wheat to the bailiff - MM 5815.

3. 'In dono vni homini Regis venienti cum 320 Multonibus ita quod non traheret moram in Manerio domini 12d.' - MM 5870.

4. 'In dono 2 hominibus Regis venientibus cum 4 equis Mense Augusti vt cito recederent 18d.' - MM 5879.

Risborough.[1] But it was not only the officials coming with animals who were paid to stay away; gifts to the king's servants and men-at-arms testify to the danger that they constituted to private property and the impossibility of redress for their marauding or malicious damage. Thus, in 1320-21, 1s.0d. is accounted for as a gift 'to the lord king's men lest damage be done in the curia',[2] while in 1338-39, 8d.was given to some archers and, later, 1s.6d. to archers and other armed men.[3] Such entries occur quite often.

A more regular form of royal exaction was the requisition of the manor's cart (and carter) to carry the king's goods. References to this occur throughout the period, except between 1313 and 1331; the manor's position on routes from Henley to Wallingford and to Woodstock perhaps made it particularly vulnerable. In 1312-13 the manor had to meet the expenses of taking the king's bread and wine from Henley to Wallingford, and his oats from Britwell to High Wycombe;[4] in 1345-46 taking the king's wine from Henley to Woodstock on two separate occasions cost the College 7s.5d.[5]

1. E.g. in 1335-36, 'In dono Johanni le Ferour domini Regis custodienti equicium apud Ryzeburewe 12d. Item garcioni suo 3d.' - MM 5900.

2. 'In dono hominibus domini Regis ne dampnum fieret in Curia 12d.' - MM 5844.

3. 'Item solut' sagittar' 8d. Item solut' hominibus armatis et sagittar' alia vice 18d.' (both entries were disallowed by the auditors) - MM 5864.

4. MM 5837.

5. 'In expensis 3 hominum et 7 equorum in cariag' 1 dolei vini regis de Henle vsque Wodestok' 3s.5d.'; 'In expensis Carectarii Manerii et carectarii persone de Cuxham et 5 equorum per 3 dies et noctes Mense februarii in cariag' 1 dolei vini regis de Henle vsque Wodestok' 4s.' - MM 5871.

Sometimes, of course, the requisitioning officers could be bought off; in August 1349, gifts of 10d. in all saved the demesne's cart from being taken to carry beans from Stoke Talmage to Thame.[1] It was not only for the king's own household that this and other types of purveyance were made; between 1330 and 1350 officers of the queen, the prince of Wales, the earl of Cornwall and the earl of Lancaster all appeared at Cuxham as exactors of goods or services.

The most frequent form of royal purveyance at Cuxham was the enforced sale of corn. Its incidence was not regular. It is not mantioned at all until 1301-02, and only seldom before 1320-21; thenceforth it occurs regularly and on an increasing scale, reaching a climax in the late 1340's but ceasing altogether after 1350-51. The quantities of corn involved were sometimes very large; in 1344-45 84qr. 6bus. of wheat, 7qr. of currall and 10qr.5bus. of oats were sold in this way, in all about three-quarters of all the corn sold from the manor that year.[2] Sometimes the purveying officials were bought off,[3] and occasionally more elaborate measures were taken to avoid the sales; in 1343-44 someone was sent to Berkhamstead and Woodstock to get a letter so that the royal officers would not take the College's corn - he then had to go to Byfleet to recover 36qr.

1. 'In dono homini regis ita quod non haberet carect' domini Mense Augusti ad cariand' fab' de ~~stok~~ stok vsque thame 8d. et garcioni suo 2d.' - MM 5877.

2. MM 5870.

3. E.g. in 1342-43, 'In dono homini regine ita quod non caperet frumentum domini 3s.4d.' - MM 5868.

of wheat that had actually been taken.[1] The reason for avoiding these enforced sales whenever possible was not because the price was inadequate - the current market price was normally allowed - but because it was troublesome to recover the money. Payment seems usually to have been made by tallies which could be exchanged for cash only at certain places, presumably from the magnate's treasury officers. The accounts of the 1340's are full of the expenses of journeys 'to get money' (pro denariis petendis) for the corn that royal officials had taken; these quests took the reeve or his underlings to Berkhamstead, Byfleet, Chertsey, Guildford, London, Reading, Wargrave and Windsor, besides the less distant Henley, Oxford, Thame and Wallingford. The entries on the lists of reeves' debtors (see Document 7) show that payment might not be prompt; and in 1346-47 we see the reeve making an apparently fruitless journey to Reading, with two men, because there had been a rumour that payment was going to be made there for goods taken ~~from~~ for the queen.[2]

It is interesting that Cuxham should have suffered from these exactions in the 1340's rather than in the more turbulent times

1. 'In expensis 1 hominis euntis apud Wodestok' et Burkhampstede pro vna litera habenda ita quod homines regis et regine non caperent frumentum domini per 4 dies et etiam sequentis 36 qr. frumenti vsque Byflet donec dictum bladum fuerat Mensuratum et etiam exspectant (for exspectauit ?) t' dicti bladi per 8 dies 2s.' - MM 5869.

2. 'in expensis prepositi et 2 hominum suorum apud Radyng' quia clamor factus fuit quod fieret solucio ibidem pro bonis captis ad opus Regine 7d. In expensis equi prepositi tunc 1d.' - MM 5872.

twenty years earlier. It is probably a reflection of purely local conditions and of increased visits of royalty in the area - though only once, in 1349-50, when the king's sons were at Watlington,[1] are the royal persons themselves mentioned. The Cuxham records contain a few references to political events; in 1297-98 a royal officer was paid 1s.0d. so that he would not requisition the demesne cart to carry arms on the king's expedition to Scotland,[2] and in 1322 a court roll entry refers to a quarrel arising over the sale of goods of Hugh le Despencer the elder at Pyrton.[3] The local community in the middle ages was never far removed from the great men of the realm and events of national significance.

1. Oats were sold 'filiis regis in Mora sua apud Watlyngton'' - MM 5878.

2. 'Item dat' cuidam homini venienti cum Waranto de scaccario Regis ad carect' capiand' ad ducenda arma versus scotiam. ut ne caperet carect' Manerii 12d.' - MM 5814.

3. Robert le Deghere was accused of having damaged the reeve's and the Warden's interests by telling the men of Sir Henry le Tyebes 'quod Idem prepositus vendicionem rerum et bonorum in custodia dictorum hominum apud Pyryton' que quondam fuerunt domini hugonis le despencer senioris existencium perturbauit' - MM 5908 mem.6.

CHAPTER V

THE INHABITANTS OF CUXHAM 1240-1400

A. The free tenants

The Hundred Rolls show that in 1279 there were in Cuxham thirteen cottage tenements, eight half-virgates held by villeins (servi) and two free tenements - the messuage, half-virgate and 9 acres of Robert Serviens and the messuage and 3 acres 3 roods of Robert ate Grene.[1] This pattern of tenements was of recent origin. An earlier list of tenants survives in a copy on the back of a court roll of 1279 and is reproduced as Document 1. This probably dates from 1227-43, when Ralph Chenduit was lord of Cuxham; Robert de Hertmere, who sold his lands in Cuxham at that time,[2] is still shown as a tenant, but Thomas son of Roger of Britwell must have already relinquished to Ralph Chenduit his rights in a half-virgate.[3] Compared with this list the Hundred Roll entry shows a great reduction in the land let to tenants - from eight or nine virgates (the list is ambiguous)[4] to four and a half. This can be

1. Rotuli hundredorum, ii, p.758.
2. MM 785.
3. MM 787, 791.
4. The total of eight virgates may or may not include the virgate held by the rector; it is not clear whether the parcels of 4ac. mentioned at the end are meant to form, between them, an additional virgate.

connected with the increase in the area of the demesne already noted betweenthe terriers of the mid-thirteenth century and the account rolls of the late 1270's,[1] and it was probably part of the reorganization of the demesne that we have associated with Ralph Chenduit.[2]

The fact that this reorganisation is recorded in a series of charters points to another change that occurred between the time of Ralph Chenduit and 1279. At the earlier period there must have been many more free tenants in Cuxham. Besides Robert de Hertmere and Roger of Britwell, already mentioned, the rector was a tenant of free land (perhaps the virgate mentioned in Document 1) which he sold to Ralph Chenduit,[3] and so was Edric Caperun, who gave up his half-virgate in 1244;[4] so also were Ascelin of Pyrton, William de Anuers and Reginald Foliot, all tenants of land in Cuxham conveyed by charter in this period,[5] though neither they nor their successors can be identified in Document 1. Richard de Cimiterio, who appears there as tenant of a half-virgate, was at least personally free, for he witnessed charters in this period, as also did William le Neuman,[6] one-time tenant of the messuage which belonged to the

1. See p.53.
2. See p.25.
3. MM 848.
4. MM 789.
5. Ascelin of Pyrton, MM 790, 828, 829; William de Anuers, MM 888; Reginald Foliot, MM 846, 849, 851.
6. Both, for instance, witnessed MM 847, an exchange of lands between Ralph Chenduit and Walter Foliot the rector.

villein Henry Weylond in 1297,[1] and of the 3 acres 3 roods of free land which passed to Robert ate Grene on marrying William's daughter, Alice.[2]

These early free tenants did not all live at Cuxham. Edric Caperun did; when he surrendered his half-virgate to Stephen Chenduit in 1244, he was given for life the messuage belonging to it, and was promised an annuity of 5s.0d., plus 1s.0d. for shoes and 1s.0d. for Lincoln cloth, with a quarter of wheat every nine weeks and a new cloak (capa) every two years.[3] But Roger of Britwell and his son Thomas were probably absentee tenants, and Ascelin of Pyrton and his son Robert certainly were, for after the latter had sold their Cuxham tenement to Stephen Chenduit, Stephen re-granted it to Robert, son of Adam (the Robert Serviens of 1279) who had been the sub-tenant of Robert son of Ascelin;[4] Ascelin had also held land in Warpsgrove and Golder.[5]

The reduction of the free holdings in Cuxham may have begun with Ralph Chenduit's enlargement and consolidation of the demesne, but the process was not complete when the manor passed to Merton College. The view of account for September 1276- May 1277 includes

1. Custumal of 1297-98, 'Henricus Weylond tenet vnum Mesuagium quod fuit quondam Willelmi Le neuman' - MM 5899.

2. Custumal of 1297-98, 'Robertus atte Grene tenet vnum Mesuagium et tres acras dimidiam acram et vnam rodam terre que cepit cum Alicia filia Willelmi Le Neuman vxore sua in liberb Maritagio' - MM 5899.

3. MM 789.

4. In the charter of Robert son of Ascelin recording its sale to Stephen Chenduit the holding is described as 'illud scilicet tenementum quod Robertus filius Ade tenuit de me' - MM 790; its re-grant to Robert son of Adam is MM 829. MM 871 identifies Robert son of Adam with Robert Serviens; in this deed under the former name he grants to Robert ate Grene and his wife a messuage and 6½ac. which must have formed part of the holding entered on the Hundred Rolls as belonging to Robert Serviens

5. A charter of Richard Foliot which is dated circa 1225 by its editor, but which may be rather later, includes ½ac. in Warpsgrove 'que fuit de domo Roberti filii Ascelini de Periton' and 13ac. in Golder 'quas habui de dono Roberti predicti de Periton'' - Sandford Cartulary (Oxf. Rec.Ser.), i, p.116, (no.162).

customary renders from six villein tenants;[1] in September 1278 - March 1279 seven were accounted for,[2] and in the Hundred Rolls eight are listed. Since there is no trace of a reduction in the area of the demesne at this period,[3] it seems likely that we see here not the creation of two new tenements, but their conversion from free to villein tenure. The process concluded with the extinction of the free tenement of Robert Serviens. This occurred at some time between the Hundred Roll entry of 1279 and the custumal of 1297-98; his free half-virgate, as we shall see, became a villein holding, while the rest of the property, 9 acres and a messuage, passed to Robert ate Grene,[4] who, with his successors, was henceforth the College's only free tenant in Cuxham.

Eventually the College did take over the holdings of Robert ate Grene, but not until after 1528.[5] With them the College acquired some 80 deeds which show the history of the family and its property

1. MM 5803 mem.3: 3d. 'de Reddit' Intermino sancti Martini'; 6qr.1½bus. wheat 'de Churschec'; 3qr. oats 'de Reddit''

2. MM 5804: 3½d. 'de custumag' salis ad festum sancti Martini'; 7qr. 1bus.3p. wheat 'de custumar' ville'; 3½qr . oats 'de reddit' ville'.

3. See pp.47-48.

4. The 6½ac. conveyed by MM 871 (see p.129 n.4/) may comprise the entire holding of arable entered as 9ac. on the Hundred Rolls and the custumal of 1297-98, some of the strips being counted as half instead of as full acres; alternatively the remaining 2½ac. may have been transferred separately.

5. The deeds effecting the property's reversion to the College are MM 880, 886, 2563, 2564, 2569, 2572.

over these 250 years. Nearly half are title-deeds to lands and rents outside Cuxham which Robert ate Grene and his son John acquired between about 1280 and 1325; these properties are listed in Illustration 37, and their extent set out on a map. It is unlikely that this was all the property that the family then owned - for instance, when John ate Grene married Matilda daughter of Hugh Frelond of Watcombe, he probably acquired lands which would form the nucleus of his holdings in Watlington.[1] The deeds do show, however, how a freeman's estate might be built up from minute holdings spread over a wide area; the grants are nearly all of scattered acre and half-acre strips lying in seven parishes outside Cuxham.

There must have been many difficulties in running such an estate, subject to the crop rotations of several vills and not necessarily equally divided between spring-/and winter-corn fields and fallow; probably John ate Grene let at least the more distant holdings to sub-tenants and himself farmed only the lands in, say, Cuxham, Watlington and Britwell. There is little evidence of how he managed his property, but the fact that he owned oxen, which trespassed on the Cuxham demesne in 1303,[2] shows that he did farm some of his land himself - and probably on a larger scale, as we shall see, than any

1. John ate Grene's first wife is thus identified in MM 872, in which Robert ate Grene made the estate over to his son and daughter-in-law, 1300; the charters relating to the Grene properties include one of 1275, MM 841, concerning Hugh Frelond's right in at least one-third of a hide of land in Watlington. Later, John ate Grene married Matilda le Oldemannes of Cuxham - see p.80 n.2.

2. John ate Grene 'tenuit boues in prato domini ante fenum asportat'' - MM 5907 mem.6.

of the Cuxham villeins. There are more references to his activity as a sheep-farmer, and this may well have been his main source of profit. In 1302-03 the reeve accounted for 3s.0d. from sheep pasture in the fallow field sold to John ate Grene, and in 1303-04 for 1s.6d. from the same source.[1] In 1307-08, John ate Grene paid through the manor the tax of one-twentieth on his sheep folded with the demesne flock;[2] the 5s.0d. that he paid cannot have been for less than 50 sheep. His frequent presentments for trespass with sheep on the demesne rarely mention their numbers; but in 1313 20 sheep were concerned, while his son, John ate Grene the younger, was amerced for trespass with flocks of 40 (1346) and 100 (1355).[3]

John ate Grene's standing in Cuxham is shown by the extant tax returns, in which he is consistently assessed at about a third as much again as the wealthiest of the villein tenants (see Illustration 39). He had himself sub-tenants in Cuxham. One was almost certainly John Blak, whose appearance in the assessment of movables, 1304, (Document 4) as the owner of a horse, a steer and a house with an extra room (camera) cannot otherwise be explained; he may have occupied the house which formerly belonged to Robert Serviens, and which in 1388 a later John Grene leased to Robert Alynot for a term

1. In 1302-03, 'de pastur' bidentium in Warect' vendita Johanni atte grene per visum Johannis de seneckewrthe' - MM 5821; a similar entry for 1303-04 is on MM 5824.

2. 'Et de 5s. receptis de Johanne atte grene ad solucionem xx^me^ pro bidentibus suis que/in falda domini' - MM 5833. /sunt

3. MM 5908 mem.3, 5915, 5918.

of three lives, with three half-acres of arable in Watlington.[1] But there were other cottages on the family's holdings in Cuxham, probably occupied by part- or full-time employees; the court rolls record the amercement of Robert ate Grene in 1299 'for five of his cottagers (cotarii) who often took straw from the lord's fold and did other damage',[2] and of John ate Grene in 1315 'for his tenants (tenentes) who took the lord's stubble from his land'.[3]

The Black Death gave John ate Grene's son the chance to extend his holdings within Cuxham, and he seems to have taken over two messuages and half-virgates, but to have relinquished them soon afterwards.[4] In 1454, however, his successor held not only the two free tenements that had been Robert ate Grene's in 1297-98, but two messuages and half-virgates and two cottage holdings.[5] By this time the property had passed from the Grene family. The last owner to bear this name is called John Grene of Henley,[6] so that he must have moved from Cuxham, perhaps to pursue greater wealth in the borough.

1. MM 883.

2. 'Robertus atte grene vadiauit misericordiam pro quinque Cotariis suis qui sepius asportauerunt Straminem de falda domini et alia dampna fecerunt' - MM 5907 mem.5.

3. 'Johannes atte Grene ponit se in misericordia pro tenentibus suis quia asportauerunt stipulam domini de terra sua et etiam spinas et Tribul' super terram predicti domini fixos' - MM 5908 mem.4.

4. See p.156 n.3.

5. They are listed on the rental of 1454 as the holding of John Hunt - MM 5206.

6. He is so described in MM 874, 884, 2575.

When his daughter, Joan, sold the property to William Walden of Shirburn in 1415, it was described as lying in Cuxham, Watlington and Britwell;[1] probably the more distant holdings had been sold, and the estate consolidated by acquiring the additional tenements in Cuxham - 1 acre of meadow in Easington was added to it in 1421,[2]

William Walden came to live at Cuxham, and his will, dated 1427, of which the copy preserved at Merton College is reproduced as Document 12, directs that he is to be buried there. His bequests of farm produce included nine sheep, over 4qr. of barley from the coming year's harvest, and the wheat from a specified half-acre in Cuxham; among the domestic goods mentioned are six silver spoons and his best bed, with sheets and blankets, but the references to his plough and cart show that he had only one of each. The estate continued in his family, and the Richard Hall who relinquished it to the College a hundred years later was his great grandson.[3]

B. <u>The unfree tenants before 1349</u>

The Hundred Roll entry distinguishes two sorts of unfree tenant at Cuxham: the villeins who occupied half-virgate holdings, and the cottagers. The cottagers paid money rents of from 1s.2d. to 4s.0d. a year, and some were obliged to do up to six days' work on the demesne at harvest; later documents also ascribe to them the two customary

1. MM 884.
2. MM 877.
3. The family's genealogy can be worked out from the charters and court rolls of the period.

services of making and stacking hay on the demesne,[1] and moving the manorial sheep-fold when required.[2] The half-virgates on the other hand were held primarily by labour services; each villein had to provide a man to work on the demesne on alternate days throughout the year except on Saturdays, Sundays and certain holidays[3] - in fact the extant accounts of works show that this averaged just about two days' work a week. At harvest, he had to provide two men to work two days on the demesne, and one man to work one day; and although this too is not mentioned on the Hundred Rolls, he probably already had to plough and harrow one rood on the demesne.[4] In addition he had to pay various customary rents: at Michaelmas a quarter of wheat defined in the 1297-98 custumal as for seed, at Martinmas ½d. (saltsuluer), a peck of wheat, four bushels of oats and three hens (malthen), and at Christmas a cock, two hens and two loaves or 6d. (presentbred). The two forms of tenure continued unchanged until the Black Death with only slight modifications in the rents and services.

There survive several independent lists of the unfree tenants in this period: the Hundred Rolls of 1279, a list of tenants on several Merton College manors drawn up about 1296, the custumal of 1297-98 and a custumal contained in the court roll of 1329, while the villeins, but not the cottagers, are also listed in the assessment of movables

1. This is first mentioned in the custumal of 1297-98 - MM 5899.
2. See p.25.
3. In the custumal of 1297-98 the omission of some such phrase as 'alternis diebus' makes it seem that daily week-work was exacted, but this must be a clerical slip.
4. This also is first mentioned in 1297-98 - MM 5899.

for the 1304 tallage and the subsidy assessments of 1294-95, 1306 and 1316-17. Except the 1296 list of College tenants, and the assessment of 1304, all these lists show similarities in the order of the names, and it seems reasonable to suppose that this corresponds to the order of the tenements along the village street. The few but valuable topographical indications in the manorial records confirm this and provide further evidence. We can thus reconstruct the positions of the tenements in the village, for the half-virgate holdings with some certainty, but more tentatively for the cottages; this has been done in Illustration 38, where all the relevant evidence is set out.

The most striking feature of the siting of the tenements is that all but one of the villeins' messuages in 1279 were on the south side of the stream and village street, the same side as the church, the curia and the rectory. The cottagers lived some on the north side of the street, some in the turning beyond the church, and some in the holdings, already mentioned,[1] which lay beside the stream to the north-west of the present village. This suggests that the villein tenements were an older form of holding than the cottages, an hypothesis which is confirmed by the absence of cottagers from the entry of Cuxham in Domesday Book, by their paying money rents instead of labour services and by their owing none of the customary renders due from the villeins. It is noteworthy too that the reeves occasionally accounted for repairs

1. See pp. 33-34.

to cottages in the village,[1] but never for repairs to the villeins' buildings; that it was the villeins' responsibility to repair their own tenements accords with the general picture at Cuxham of the cottagers' economic inferiority but greater personal independence.

Between 1290 and 1293 five new half-virgates appeared at Cuxham; the eight villeins paying customary renders in 1290-91 had risen to thirteen by 1293-94.[2] The reeve accounted for the entry fines of four of these in 1290-91 and 1291-92;[3] the fifth was presumably entered on the account for 1292-93, now missing. The custumal of 1297-98 shows that not more than one of these can have been a newly created tenement; what had happened was that cottagers had taken over half-virgates of arable (each with an extra half-acre instead of a homestead) and were now doing the services of full villeins besides those that they were rendering already for their cottage holdings. These cottage rents alone were the highest in the village: from 2s.0d. to 3s.0d. a year, with six, or in one case four, harvest works.

1. E.g. in 1316-17, 'In vno homine conducto per 4 dies ad cooperiendum super duos cotagios ville 16d.' - MM 5840. In 1299-1300, fairly extensive repairs on cotagia Jolif et Clarice (MM 5816) probably coincided with changes of tenant.

2. Thus, the saltsuluer amounted to 4d. in 1290-91 (MM 5809), 5½d. in 1291-92 (MM 5810) and 6½d. in 1293-94 (MM 5811, where it is included in the total of £1.15s.4½d. from fixed rents).

3. 'Idem reddit compotum de 4 li.pro ingressu trium dimidiarum virgarum terre videlicet a Thoma bryan 2m. a Roberto Waldrigg' 2m. et a Henrico de Cuxham 2m.' - MM 5809; 'Item reddit compotum de 20s. de ingressu dimidie virgate terre a Rogero le Wales' - MM 5810.

One of theseetenements adjoined the garden of the curia, but the others all lay in the group of holdings north-west of the present village (see Illustration 38). If they are correctly identified with the sites visible on the air photograph (Illustration 6) they were probably rather larger than the other cottage holdings; on the other hand, they were on poorer land, used today only as rough pasture, and it seems possible, in view of the high rents, that the occupiers held with them small holdings - say 3 or 4 acres - in the arable fields.[1] This would help to explain how these new half-virgates were created without such a reduction in the area of the demesne that it would be immediately apparent from the amounts of seed sown (Illustration 13); to the strips already held were added the half-virgate which Robert Servien had held as a free tenant, and a little land from the demesne to make up the five half-virgates of 12 acres each.

The result of the creation of these half-virgates was, as shown in Illustration 28, a considerable increase in the labour services due on the demesne, with little reduction in the area of its arable. It was probably at the same time that the rents from some of the other cottages were raised, by increasing the cash payments - in 1297-98 Walter Lutepret was paying 3s.0d. a year for the same cottage that Thomas Lutepret had held for 2s.0d. in 1279 - and by exacting one or two harvest works from some of the cottagers who had not previously owed them - the total of such works rose from 26 in 1279 to 37 in 1297-98. Another

1. This admittedly is pure hypothesis; there is no direct evidence that any of the cottage holdings listed in the Hundred Rolls had any appurtenant arable strips, except that of Thomas Lutepret, whose 1½ac. is specifically mentioned.

sign of re-organization at this time was a small concession to the villeins, made in 1292 or 1293 - the reduction of the payment for presentbred at Christmas from 6d. each to 2d.[1] We may see these changes as the final stage in a process which had begun with the consolidation of the demesne arable and the reduction of the free tenants and which, ever some fifty years, had strenthened the position of the lord and of the demesne estate in Cuxham.

From 1293 until the Black Death there was no radical change in the organization of the Cuxham tenants and of their rents and services. From the court-roll records of entries and surrenders of tenements, together with the various lists of tenants and the notes of fines and heriots on the reeves' accounts, it is possible to work out the succession of tenants to all the holdings in the village. This shows that the half-virgate tenements were held by a custom of continued hereditary succession, presumably by primogeniture, though this is nowhere made explicit. In the first instance, however, the holding passed to the tenant's widow - indeed, there is no clear case in this period of its passing directly from father to son. She would take over the tenement without paying an entry fine, but she did have to pay a heriot for her dead husband; this was defined in the earliest extant court roll as the tenant's best beast, 'so that even if he only has a single animal, the lord shall have it'.[2] In 1316-17, however,

1. In 1291-92 the reeve accounted for '5s.6d. ll natiuorum de villa pro suis exeniis panis et seruicie ad natiuitatem domini' - MM 5810; in 1293-94, for '2s.2d. de ixen' panis et seruisie ad natiuitatem domini de 13 natiuis quorum quilibet 2d.' - MM 5811.

2. 'dominus habebit meliorem bestiam post obitum cuiuslibet tenentis domini custumarii (inserted) et quamvis non sit ibi nisi sola bestia dominus illam possidebit' - MM 5906 mem.1.

the reeve accounts for a brass bowl taken as a heriot, presumably because the tenant left no animals at all.[1] If the widow re-married her new husband would assume responsibility for the tenement; he would pay an entry fine on the marriage, and a heriot was due on his death, but not on the death of his wife, unless she survived him and thus regained tenure for herself. On the death of the widow or her surviving second husband, the tenant's son would succeed to the holding, and a further entry fine would be paid; it does not appear whether a second husband's heirs could have any claim to the holding, but probably not - in the manorial court in 1279 it was noted that William de Walderegge held his land in his wife's right, not his own,[2] so that this distinction must have been observed. A son's claim on a tenement must have been recognized during his mother's widowhood; all the rents and services due from Robert Beneyt's family holding were remitted throughout his term of office as reeve (1288-1311), although until at least 1297 the tenant was his mother, the widow Cecilia. If there was no son, a daughter would succeed to the whole tenement - sisters did not hold jointly.[3] Thus, when Alice the widow of Robert Beneyt died in 1343, she was succeeded not by either of her daughters Matilda and Joan, who had married outside the College estates,[4] but by her unmarried daughter Emma, whose

1. '2s. de vna olla enea veniente de heriett' Ade atte hethe vendita' - MM 5840. A brass bowl was likewise taken as a heriot on the Stonor manor at Watlington in 1363 - PRO SC2/197/71 mem.1.

2. 'Inquisicio facta per totam Curiam si Willelmus de Walderegge reddidit domino terram suam aut non. Et dicit Tota Curia quod non reddidit sursum domino terram suam . . . Et dicit Inquisicio quod fuit Ius vxoris sue et non hereditas sui' - MM 5906 mem.1.

3. The inheritance of villein holdings by co-heiresses is recorded at Hutton (co.Essex) - Feiling, 'An Essex manor in the fourteenth century', E.H.R., xxvi, p337.

4. Alice relicta prepositi was amerced for marrying her daughter Matilda outside the lord's domain in 1328 (MM 5909 mem.2) and made fine for the similar marriage of her daughter Joan in 1331 (MM 5909 mem.4).

entry fine allowed her to take a husband when she found one without further payment.[1] This is the nearest approach in the Cuxham court rolls to the entries found on other manors enjoining women tenants to take busbands;[2] there seems at Cuxham to have been no objection to female tenants - Emma's mother had held the tenement alone throughout the 32 years of her widowhood.

Women also appear as the tenants of cottage holdings, but in general the principles underlying succession to the half-virgates did not apply to the cottages. They were held not by customs common to them all, but by individual contract. Sometimes this might involve hereditary succession; in 1346 when Geoffrey Bourtoun died, his son Robert claimed his cottage holding as of right, because his father had entered it 'to be held of the lord by himself and his heirs', whereupon it was ordered that the court rolls should be searched to confirm his claim.[3] More often the tenure was specifically for a term of lives - for the tenant's own life alone, as Henry le Gardiner in 1341,[4] or for his own and his wife's lives, as Henry le Dryuer in 1321,[5] or for the lives of himself, his wife and his son, like Richard

1. 'Et habet licenciam per finem predictum pro marito capiendo cum viderit et c'' - MM 5914.

2. E.g. at Chatteris (co. Camb.) in May 1289 Agnes Seynpol paid the abbot of Ramsey 1s. 'ut habeat respectum usque ad festum sancti Michaelis ad eligendum sibi maritum' - Court rolls of the abbey of Ramsey, p.279.

3. 'dicit quod predictus Galfridus pater suus adquisiuit dictum Cotagium de domino sibi et suis tenendum de domino per certum redditum Et hoc voc' Rotulos Curie ad Warr' Et sic modo Idem Robertus habet diem ad proximam et c' Et interim scrutentur rotuli et c'' - MM 5915.

4. 'ad terminum vite dicti Henrici' - MM 5913. But as Henry's father Simon had held the tenement before him, he may have been the final tenant for a term of three lives.

5. 'ad terminum vite sue et Margirie vxoris sue' - MM 5908 mem.7.

Croume in 1343.[1] Fines for entry were far lower than those paid by the villeins, ranging from 10s.0d. to as little as 1s.0d., but they were normally due at every change of tenant, even on the succession of a widow; although one widow claimed that her husband's fine was to have covered both their lives,[2] this was not the usual practice. No heriots, however, were due from cottagers - a custom which the court stated categorically in 1330.[3]

At Cuxham there is no trace of the custom, found elsewhere, of a tenant relinquishing his holding to his son on the latter's marriage, and spending his old age in retirement.[4] This may, however, have happened in practice, though without legal formalities. In 1338, Adam Bryan,, who seems to have had no heirs, gave up the half-virgate that he had held since 1300 and retired to a cottage and croft, with 2 acres of arable granted to him in free tenure 'as an act of grace'.[5] And, although the evidence is not very clear, it seems that in 1313, on the death of John Bouechericheֿ, his widow Joan gave his half-virgate up to Elias Bouechericheֿ, presumably his son, and herself retired to the cottage which he had also held, but which now, with the addition

1. 'tenend' eidem Ricardo et Agathie vxori eius et Johanni filio eorum ad terminum vite eorum' - MM 5914.

2. 'Et venit Matilda relicta dicti Ricardi et dicit . . . (hiatus) vir suus in primis fecit finem pro quodam cotagio ad totam vitam suam et Matilda vxoris sue sed non invenitur rotulus curie' - MM 5907 mem.8. The rest of the entry is defective, but it seems that Matilda paid an entry fine of 3s.[illegible], to be refunded if her claim were substantiated.

3. On the succession of Alice, widow of John le Totere to a cottage tenement, 'non dabit heriettum nec aliquis Coterell'' - MM 5909 mem.1.

4. See Homans, English villagers of the thirteenth century, pp.144-159.

5. 'Ad Curiam istam venit Adam Bryan Natiuus domini et sursum reddit in manus domini vnam dimidiam virgatam terre quam prius tenuit in bondagio Et dominus de sua gratia concessit eidem Ade 2 acras terre tenend' ad terminum vite sue libere . . . Et dictus Adam tenebit 1 Cotagium cum Crofto de domino secundum consuetud' et c'' - MM 5913.

of 6 acres of arable from the demesne, was converted into a quarter-virgate tenement, owing half the services of a half-virgate.[1]

The principal difficulty in tracing the succession to peasant holdings anywhere in this period arises from the caprices of medieval surnames - a man might be known by two or three different names, of which none need be the same as his father bore. The evidence from Cuxham, a community small enough to make a detailed study possible, throws an interesting light on these practices. Illustration 38 shows that in 1300 at least four tenants bore names directly derived from the positions of their homesteads. Richard Est lived at the east end of the village and Richard Bouechericho beyond the church; Robert in le Hurne's house stood where there is a turn in the street,[2] and the chief tenement of Robert ate Grene and his son John was probably very near the Lower Green marked on the map of 1767 (see Illustration 10). On the other hand, William ate Heycroft and Henry Weylond probably did not take their names from the topography of Cuxham, and Adam ate Hethe certainly did not; they or their forbears must have brought the names with them from outside the village. This was probably also the case with Geoffrey Bouetoun (otherwise Geoffrey le Peyntor or, from the position he soon held, Geoffrey le Heyward), although his name was appropriate to the cottage holding that he entered in 1304. Certainly, whether by chance or by a general change in fashion, after this there appear at Cuxham no new surnames based on the topography of the village; instead of tenants

1. See p.48 n.2.
2. Like all turns in roads, it appears far sharper on the ground than on the map (see Illustration 8).

taking their names from their holdings, the new phenomenon appears of tenements being named after their owners, as Illustration 7 shows. An exceptional case is that of John ate Hethe, who having become lessee of Cutt Mill, first gave his family name to the mill itself, then adopted the re-named mill as his own surname; he is referred to successively as Johannes ate Hethe (1333), Johannes Molindinarius de le Hethemulle (1335) and Johannes atte Hethemull' (1343).[1]

In general, tenants' children seem to have started in life bearing their fathers' usual surname. In two cases, however, a name taken from the mother's christian name appears as an alternative; the son of Christina ate Heycroft, usually Robert ate Heycroft, is twice referred to as Robert Kyttin,[2] while the son of Alina in le Hurne, at first always Richard in le Hurne, eventually came to be Richard Alynote.[3] Often an occupational name would replace the family name; thus, Richard Oldman became Richard le Muleward (or le Mouner or Molendinarius).[4] And if a man entered a tenement by marrying a widow, he seems always to have assumed the surname of her first husband. Thus, the Robert Oldman who became reeve in 1311 was originally Robert Waldrugge, changing his name in 1296 when he married Agnes, widow of an earlier Robert

1, MM 5912, 5908 mem.10, 5914.

2. The tenement 'quod fuit Roberti Kyttin', which William Amy entered in 1353 (MM 5916) can be identified only with that which Robert ate Heycroft held before 1349.

3. Thus, he entered the tenement in 1328 as Richard in le Hurne (MM 5909 mem.2), but did fealty for it in 1329 as Richard Alynote (MM 5911).

4. His entry-fine for a half-virgate in 1318-19 is noted on the account roll as 'de Ricardo oldeman' (MM 5842), but it is always as Richard the miller that he appears on the court rolls.

Oldman;[1] after his marriage with Sarah widow of Robert le Wyte, Gilbert Bourdoun (otherwise Gilbert Bercarius) was often called Gilbert le Wyte, but not always,[2] and the Walter Burdon who took over the holding in 1354 may well have been his son. However, if a man married a woman who held a tenement not by the right of a first husband, but by inheritance from her parents or in her own right, he does not seem to have changed his name; either the wife took his name, as Christina daughter of Adam ate Hethe when she married William ate Heycroft,[3] or both kept the names they had had before marriage, like Alice Aumoner and her husband John le Totere.[4] Usually widows kept their husbands' surnames; but Matilda widow of Gilbert Aumoner appears as Matilda Gilberd,[5] while Alice widow of Robert Beneyt the reeve, towards the end of her long widowhood, assumed the picturesque and charming name of Alice Reueloue (i.e. Reeve-love) - perhaps a tribute to her constancy in not re-marrying.[6]

1. 'Robertus filius Walderuggh' Intrauit In tenementum domini et Recepit In vxore angnetem le Oldemanes' - MM 5907 mem.3. Earlier court rolls refer to Agnes que fuit uxor Roberti Aldeman, (e.g. in 1294, MM 5907 mem.1); the re-appearance of a Robert Oldman in 1297 (MM 5907 mem.4) must be connected with her re-marriage.

2. Thus in 1322 is recorded the suit of Nicholas Persochay 'uersus Gilbertum le Wyte et sarr' vxorem eius' (MM 5908 mems. 6 and 8); but in 1336 'preceptum est distringere Gilbertum Bordoun et sarram vxorem eius ad producend' Robertum le Whyte filium eiusdem sarre Natiuum domini ad proximam et c'' - MM 5908 mem.10.

3. The marriage was recorded in 1296 - MM 5907 mem.3; Christina is not mentioned again until 1321-22, when her husband died, but then and throug out her widowhood she is always Christina ate Heycroft.

4. It was as Alice Aumoner that she both entered a cottage in 1321 (MM 5908 mem.7) and did fealty for it in 1352 (MM 5916). John le Totere, who did fealty for the cottage in 1330 (MM 5911), died the same year, and it passed to his widow Alice without a fine (MM 5909 mem.1).

5. In the subsidy assessment of 1306 - PRO E179/161/10.

6. The name first appears in the court roll of 1343 preceding that recording her death - MM 5914.

Her daughter then became known as Emma Reueloue.

We have seen how three villeins in 1300 had surnames which must have originated outside Cuxham. One of these, Henry Weylond, also bore the name Henry de Cuxham;[1] this not only confirms that he had been living elsewhere (a villein would hardly be given the name of the village by his fellow-inhabitants) but also shows that he was returning to his former home. This may have been the case with some of the other apparent outsiders who took over holdings in Cuxham - such as Thomas Canon in 1316 and Richard Croume in 1343 - but there is no evidence for this. We have seen that the famuli of the demesne might advance to become tenants of cottages or half-virgates - but where the famuli came from we do not know.[2] However, we should not assume that the tenantry of Cuxham were a closely inbred corporation; it seems likely that they were recruited from outside the village as well as within.

Relations between the College and its Cuxham tenants were mainly good, and only one case of concerted opposition to the lord of the manor is recorded. This began in 1327, when the six tenants who held cottages as well as half-virgates refused to do the service of stacking hay, required of all cottagers, and were amerced 1s.0d. each;[3] the next year four of them again refused, and were amerced 6d.,[4] and it

1. He appears thus in the account roll for 1290 -91 (see p.137 n.3) and on the list of tenants about 1296 (MM 4122).

2. See pp.89-90.

3. 'Willelmus Walderugg Ricardus Molendinarius Adam Brian Thomas Canon Matill' a Bouechirch' et Robertus Waleys quia recusarunt tassare fenum in pratis domini post leuacionem eiusdem in misericordia' - MM 5909 mem.2.

4. MM 5909, mem.2.

was probably because of this dispute that in 1329 the tenants were all required to do fealty in the manorial court, their services being set out in full on the court roll. The entry-fines imposed by the steward were often reduced by the Warden; sometimes amercements were likewise reduced,[1] while in the account rolls there are many cases of direct gifts to the tenants. In 1312-13, for instance, after Joan Bouecheriche's house had burnt down, the Warden excused her from paying for the cow, killed in the fire, which had been her dead husband's heriot;[2] in addition he remitted the four bushels of wheat due from her as rent at Michaelmas and gave her a further quarter of wheat 'so that she might the better rebuild her house which was burnt down'.[3] The same account contains entries of gifts of a bushel of wheat each to Matilda de Turnestone, part of whose curtilage had been let to a new tenant, and to Matilda Aumoner, who was building a new house.[4]

One way in which the College helped its villein tenants is shown by entries which occur on about a quarter of the extant reeve's accounts. In years when corn was scarce and prices high the villeins would borrow wheat from the demesne granary, to be repaid either in cash or in kind after the harvest. Thus in July 1309, of 19qr.7bus.1p.

1. E.g. in the account roll for 1303-04, 'condonatum Henrico Weylond per custodem 7d. de amerciament' curie' - MM 5824.

2. 'Item condonatum Johanne bouecheric' per custodem 8s. pro vna vacca de herietto viri sui que combusta fuit in domo sua et vendebatur in compoto Anni preteriti' - MM 5837.

3. Wheat: ½qr. 'condonatum Johanne bouecheriche'; 'Item datum Johanne bouecheriche 1qr. per custodem vt posset Melius releuare domum suam que combusta fuit' - MM 5837.

4. Wheat: 'Item datum Matilde de turnestone 1bus. per custodem quia tinctor habuit medietatem curtilagii sui Item datum Matilde Amener per custodem 1bus. ad domum suam leuandam' - MM 5837.

of wheat remaining after the year's expenditure, 17qr.3bus. were 'in the hands of the customers of the village';[1] the next year's account includes the proceeds from 7qr.4bus. of this which were entered as sold at 7s.0d. the quarter - the remaining 9qr.7bus. must have been returned in kind.[2] These loans were probably for seed and may have occurred more often than the accounts indicate - it is usually only the returns in cash that are entered by the reeve, with the quaint phrase 'sold in a loan' (vendit' in mutuo).

The half-virgate holding consisted of about 12 customary acres of arable divided more or less evenly between the three fields. Thus, when Adam Brian's land was in the College's hands, from 1336 to 1340, the reeve entered its area for sowing as 4 or 4½ acres in the North Field, 3½ or 4 acres in the South Field and 3 or 4 acres in the West Field.[3] The assessment of movables in March 1304 (Document 4) shows that the villeins then each had 3, 2, or, in one case, 1 acres sown with wheat; the areas were in statute acres, and probably were favourably assessed in some cases.[4] Later the tenants seem to have grown some rye, for this is the most likely interpretation of sprygg', of which the reeve accounts for 6qr. from the tenants' lands in 1349;[5] a further 1qr.3bus. was among the unthreshed corn that Robert

1. 'Et remanent 19qr.7bus.1p. frumenti quorum in Manibus custumariorum ville 17qr.3bus.' - MM 5832.

2. 52s.6d. from 7qr.4bus. of wheat 'acomod' Custumariis ville in anno r' Edwardi secundo (interlineated) que remanent super compotum' - MM 5834.

3. MM 5863, 5864, 5865, 5866.

4. See p.121.

5. 'Sprygg' - Et de 6qr.4bus. (inserted but struck out) de exitus grangie de blad' Natiu' trituratis ad tascham sine tallia rasa mensura' - MM 5878. 2qr. of it was malted, and the next year the remainder was sold or mixed ~~as~~ with oats ~~with~~ as fodder.

Oldman left on his death, and was sold as sprig' et mixt' (i.e. mixtilio, maslin) at 5s.0d. the quarter (see Document 10). The high price and the position of the paragraph between the wheat and the barley confirm that this was some sort of rye; the word also occurs, as sperig, in a Watlington account roll of 1339, and may have been a local term.[1] But if the villeins' winter-corn differed from that sown on the demesne so also did the spring-corn. Vetch, not oats, seems to have been the principal fodder crop - indeed the four bushels customary render at Christmas is the only evidence that the villeins grew oats at all. In March 1304, 23 acres of vetch were already sown, compared with 30 acres of wheat; it may have been mixed with barley - bereuechicorn first appears on the reeve's accounts in 1347-48 as the crop from the land of Joan le Canon[2] - but Robert Oldman had some pure barley in his barn when he died (see Document 10).

The tenants' livestock, like their corn, differed from the demesne's. The assessment of 1304 lists the animals that each villein owned, and they have been tabulated in Illustration 39, with the added evidence of the heriots recorded in the reeves' accounts and the amercements for trespass on the court rolls. The villeins owned no oxen; instead they had affers, which were probably more generally serviceable animals. In March 1304 they were recorded as owning one each, but in January 1 Robert in le Hurne had been amerced for trespass with two horses[3], and

1. Bodl. Oseney Roll 108. Another local term for pure or mixed rye, rednot, appears at Wellingborough (co. Northt.) in 1322-23 - Wellingborough manorial accounts (Northants.Rec.Soc.), p.130.

2. See p.57 n.7.

3. 'Robertus in le hurne in misericordia pro dampno facto in blado domini cum duobus equis' - MM 5907 mem.8.

certainly by 1324 at least four of them had two horses each.[1] Only Robert Oldman ever had horses classed as cart-horses. It was probably normal for most of the villeins to own a cow, but sheep were less usual. In 1304 they appear only on the tenement of Richard Est; later, besides Robert Oldman, the only villein who trespassed with sheep was Gilbert le Wyte - and it is interesting to note that he is once called Gilbert Bercarius. It is possible that he had been the shepherd on the demesne; in that capacity, as we have seen, he might have tended sheep of his own besides the demesne flock.[2]

The assessment of 1304 contains the only information we have about the villeins' houses before the Black Death; it shows that they all had a second and perhaps further rooms (camere) valued at from 6d.to 6s.8d.[3] In 1357 the holding that had been Robert Oldman's comprised a hall with rooms and two barns, besides a smithy which will be discussed later;[4] in 1436 a tenant's barn was said to have three bays, each of 18 feet.[5] Orders for repairs on the fifteenth-century court rolls all seem to relate to timber-framed buildings; in 1458, for instance, Thomas Freman's hall was defective 'in the timber called enter-

1. Richard Est, Thomas Canon, Christina ate Heycroft and William Waldrugge were all amerced for trespasses in the lord's corn, each with two horses ↳ MM 5908 mem.9.

2. See pp.86-87.

3. Colvin, 'Domestic architecture and town-planning', in Medieval England, i, p.88, assumes that the more substantial villager's house would contain two rooms, in the middle ages as in the seventeenth century; Hoskins, The midland peasant, pp.284-285, shows that from at least the early sixteenth century two-roomed houses were common in Leicestershire.

4. 'Ad huc Thomas Marschal habet diem de concessione domini ad reparand' 1 aul' cum cameris 2 grang' et 1 fabric' competenter citra proximam' - MM 5920.

5. Thomas Freman, entering two messuages and three half-virgates, 'de nouo reparabit super dict' tenement' vnam grangiam de tribus spaciis vnde spacium de 18 pedibus' - MM 5925.

deyse and studtymbr' and roddes'.[1] Beside his homestead the villein would have a small enclosure; this might provide an orchard with pasture, such as William Waldrugge's,[2] or additional land for cows, such as Richard Est's.[3] Document 8, a list of the goods of Thomas Aumoner in 1349, is the only such inventory of the possessions of a Cuxham villein other than the reeve. It is interesting to compare this list with those of Robert Oldman in the same year (Documents 9-11) and with the will of William Walden eighty years later (Document 12); the more luxurious clothes and furnishings are absent, but the stock of tools and farm implements is surprisingly large.

Also tabulated on Illustration 39 are the entry-fines and royal subsidies paid by each villein. Taken singly each of these lists suggests wide variation in the wealth of the tenants - the amounts of tax paid, for instance, range from 8d. to 3s.0d. in 1294-95, and from 4d. to 2s.1d. in 1306. But when brought together it is clear that many of these variations are not consistent, and must reflect purely temporary circumstances; thus, Richard Bouechericheche paid more tax than any other villein in 1295, but ten years later was almost the lowest assessed, while in 1307-08 the Warden gave him a bushel of wheat because of his poverty.[4] Even so, three tenements stand out

1. 'Thomas Freman habet aulam suam ruinosam ad finem orientalem videlicet in meremio vocato Enterdeyse et studtymbr' et Roddes' - MM 5932. Studs (small upright timbers in the wall) and interties or tie-beams (transverse beams in the roof) are explained by Salzman, Building in England, pp.197,212.

2. In 1350-51 the bailiff received 6d. 'de pastura et pomis in Gardino Willelmi Waldrugg' venditis' - MM 5879.

3. In 1353-54 the bailiff received 6d. 'de 1 crofta terra dimissa ad seminandum que fuit Ricardi Eyst' - MM 5882.

4. Wheat: 'Ricardo Bouechericheche lbus. per custodem quia pauper' - MM 5833. Pauper need not mean 'destitute'; 'badly off' would probably be a better translation - cf. Raftis, Estates of Ramsey Abbey, p.293n, on the word mendicus.

as especially well-placed: those of the Heycroft family and of the successive reeves, Robert Beneyt and Robert Oldman. By his death in 1349 Robert Oldman must have been by far the wealthiest villein in the village,[1] while it is interesting to find, in 1322, that William ate Heycroft had been ploughing a fellow-villein's 3 acres of fallow, charging 6d. an acre;[2] but it is particularly significant that in 1315 it was the tenants of just these three holdings who had acquired free land outside Cuxham without the College's permission - Robert Oldman 3 acres, Alice widow of Robert Beneyt 2 acres and William ate Heycroft 1 acre. They were simply ordered not to alienate these lands on pain of forfeiture of their half-virgates; no fine or amercement was paid.[3] Thus, even on a classical manor such as Cuxham, at the height of the perio of demesne farming and with manorial and agrarian obligations fully enforced, the uniformity of condition of the servile tenants was more apparent than real, and there remained some scope, however restricted, for the exercise of enterprise and good fortune.

There is little doubt that the same was true of the cottagers, who, after all, had fewer obligations to the manor than the villeins had; but of their actual economic condition there is less evidence. Certainly they were far poorer than the villeins. Only one - Simon Gardiner in 1304 - was rich enough to be included on any of the extant tax assessments, and his goods were valued at only 2s.8d.,

1. See pp.80-82.

2. Christina ate Heycroft brought an action of debt against Gilbert Bercarius 'eo quod Willelmus ate Heycroft' quondam vir dicte Cristine aravit 3 acras terre ad Warect' de terra predicti Gilberti et Sarre vxoris eius' - MM 5908 mem.6.

3. See p.81 n.1. The entries for William ate Heycroft and Alice widow of Robert Beneyt immediately follow the entry for Robert Oldman on MM 5908 mem.4.

compared with the 8s.10d. of Roger Waleys, the lowest assessed of the villeins (see Document 4). No livestock is included in his assessment, and apart from Robert le Deghere, whose position will be discussed later,[1] the only cottagers amerced for trespass in this period were three who had allowed their poultry to stray.[2] It is likely, though, that the cottagers kept pigs; in 1304 the assessment of movables lists seven pigs and two piglets belonging to the villeins, but the previous autumn the reeve had admitted to the demesne stubble 22 pigs and 14 piglets and the following year 10 pigs and 15 piglets.[3] Certainly from 1352 to 1411, when tenants paying pannage were listed on the court rolls, the pig-owners included both sorts of unfree tenant.[4] Only one cottage tenement included open-field strips - 1½ acres; the others had crofts or curtilages where they presumably grew corn. The entries of repairs to cottages on the reeves' accounts - the fullest is given here as Document 5 - all seem to refer to wooden houses with walls of wattle and daub and thatched roofs.

There is no evidence that any of the unfree tenants at Cuxham supported sub-tenants on their lands before 1349.[5] The only exception is Richard Bouechericheˌ but after his death in 1309 the cottage that he

1. See pp.163-165.
2. Hugh le Carter and John ate Beche with hens in 1330 (MM 5909 mem.1), and Geoffrey Bouetoun with ducks in 1331 (MM 5909 mem.4).
3. MM 5824, 5826.
4. E.G. Stephen Burekebrok, who held a cottage in 1389 (MM 5923 mem.3), often paid pannage for a pig or one or two piglets between 1363 and 1391.
5. The practice of sub-letting small portions of a tenement to younger brothers or other relatives who were without a patrimony is exceptionally well illustrated in the 1357 rental of Palgrave (co.Suff.), a manor of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, which sets out full details of these sub-tenants - BM Add.MS. 14849, ff.52-56[b].

and his wife had held in addition to their own homestead was held directly of the College. But there are many references to the tenants' employees (ancille, famuli or manupasti). Some were casual labourers - in 1295 six villeins and two cottagers were amerced for harbouring strangers at harvest;[1] but others were permanent, such as the famuli of Robert Waldrugge and Gilbert Aumoner who pilfered barley while they were winnowing in the curia.[2] Indeed, it can only have been as an employer of labour that Robert Beneyt's widow Alice, who had no sons, was able to run her half-virgate for over thirty years, and to supply the week-work required on the demesne. It is probably reasonable, then, to assume that each unfree tenement supported, on the average, four persons aged fourteen or over, and that in January 1349 the adult population of the whole village, including the famuli of the demesne and the households of the rector, the Grene family and the two millers, must have been at least 110. This figure is probably an under-estimate.

C. The unfree tenants after 1349

The effects of the Black Death at Cuxham were immediate and lasting. Nearly thirty years later, in March 1377, the Poll Tax return lists only 38 inhabitants over fourteen years old,[3] only one-third of its probable population in 1348. But the immediate mortality may have been even greater. Of the twelve villeins of Cuxham in January 1349,

1. Each was amerced 'eo quod hospitauit extraneos in autumpno contra defensionem domini' - MM 5907 mem.3.

2. In 1299, 'Robertus holdeman et Gilbertus Aumener in misericordia quia famuli sui dum ventilauerunt ordeum domini magnam partem dicti ordei absconderunt in palea quousque perceptum fuerat per Granger''
- MM 5907 mem.5.

3. PRO E179/161/59 mem.2; the collectors' indenture provides the date - PRO E179/161/41. The manorial court rolls give no reason to suspect the omission of any inhabitants from the Cuxham Poll Tax return.

not one was alive at the end of the year;[1] of the eight cottagers not more than four can be shown to have survived until 1352.[2] The plague struck the village in the winter and spring of 1349. The account which closed in April 1349 lists five heriots, including those of Robert Oldman, who died about 20 March, and of his wife, who must have died after him;[3] his son John probably died in mid-April, and the account from then until 23 June contains five more heriots.[4] As elsewhere, the plague died down in the summer; there are no heriots on the succeeding account, from July to September.[5]

It is unfortunate that no court rolls survive between 1346 and 1352, so that evidence of the immediate effects of the plague has been lost. But in March 1352 its consequences were still fully apparent. Nine of the thirteen half-virgates were without a tenant, and so were two cottages, which had belonged to Henry le Gardiner and Richard Croume.[6] These two men were still living in the village, and were prospering, for the former in 1356 was paying 3d. in pannage for his pigs (i.e. for three pigs or six piglets)[7] while in 1353 the

1. The half-virgate of William Waldrugge had become vacant in 1348-49 (the reeve accounts for seed sown on it in 1349 - MM 5875 mem.1); it is not recorded who had succeeded to the half-virgates of Joan Canon and Elias Bouecheriche, who both died in 1347 or 1348, but these were among the tenements still vacant in 1352.

2. Besides Henry le Gardiner, Richard Croume and Robert Magote (see below) Alice Aumoner survived the Black Death (see p.145 n.4).

3. MM 5875 mem.2; the payment of wheat to Robert Oldman's son John for his work as bailiff began on 20 March and ended on 13 April.

4. MM 5875 mem.1.

5. MM 5877.

6. MM 5916; this records the tenants' renewals of fealty and lists the holdings still in the College's hands.

7. MM 5918.

latter was amerced for trespassing with a sow, four piglets and two horses.[1] They do not, however, appear as tenants in March 1352, and the only explanation seems to be that they had become sub-tenants of the freeholder, John ate Grene, who may have been offering arable holdings on more attractive terms than the College. One former cottager, however, had become a villein - Robert Magote, a relative newcomer to the village[2] - and another half-virgate had been taken up by John Lachford, whose name appears for the first time in the Cuxham records. John ate Grene himself had taken a lease of two of the half-virgates - those of the Waldrugge and Waleys families[3] - but there is no evidence that these homesteads were ever re-occupied; indeed, as they continued to be known by the names of the families that had held them in 1349 it seems probable that they were abandoned, and the messuages hereafter used simply as closes. It was, then, the Black Death that began the decline of the group of homesteads along the stream north-west of the present village - though it was probably not until the sixteenth century that the entire group was deserted. In some of the neighbouring villages and hamlets the Black Death had led to the abandonment of tenements on a larger scale.[4]

By 1352, then, the College had been more successful in finding new cottagers than half-virgate tenants. By May 1355, however,

1. The hayward's attachments: Ricardus Croume pro 1 equo in blado domini pleg' Henricus Webbe Idem Ricardus pro 1 equo al' attach' pleg' Johannes lacheford' Idem Ricardus pro 1 sue et 4 porcellis ibidem pleg' Johannes Benet' - MM 5916.

2. See p.83 n.1.

3. This can be the only explanation of their omission both from the holdings for which tenants did fealty and from those still in the College's hands in March 1352 - MM 5916. In 1363 the court roll records 'Adhuc remanent in man' domini 2 mesuagia et duas virgatas terre que quondam fuerunt Johanni atte Grene dimissa et c'' - MM 5921.

4. Beresford, Lost villages of England, pp.159-160, attributes the depopulation of Standelf in Pyrton directly to the Black Death; from the list he gives of depopulated villages in Oxfordshire (ibid., pp.379-383) it seems possible that the decline of Easington and of Golder in Pyrton also began at this time.

tenants had probably been found for all the vacant holdings.[1] The new villeins all seem to have come from outside Cuxham - there are no more cases of cottagers taking over half-virgates - and there are signs that at first they were not altogether satisfactory tenants. Some stayed only a very short time. In January 1353 John Benet entered the tenement formerly of Robert Oldman for the term of the lives of himself, his wife Juliana and his son Giles;[2] but the entry of Thomas le Marschal into the same half-virgate is recorded in December 1354.[3] John Dykere took over a half-virgate in the summer of 1353,[4] but two years later we see the College giving its other tenants short-term leases of the croft, curtilage and arable strips 'de Dykeres lond' or 'de terra Dikeres'.[5] Clearly the College was meeting the same difficulty in its tenants at Cuxham as in its bailiffs;[6] they were men from outside, who took the tenements because they were being offered at advantageous terms, but who, having no particular ties with Cuxham or the College, simply abandoned them when they saw a chance of greater advancement elsewhere. But the clearest case of a speculator profiting from the abnormal conditions is that of Thomas le Marschal. Fifteen months after taking over the tenement that John Benet had left, he was presented in the manorial court for having let the buildings get into disrepair, and for having sub-let the holding to his father, John Mareschal, without permission.[7] Meanwhile he had been several times

1. The last to be re-occupied was the quarter-virgate which had been formed in 1313 (see pp.142-143) and which was now taken by John Stouhard - MM 5918.
2. MM 5916.
3. MM 5917.
4. MM 5917.
5. MM 5918.
6. See pp.82-83.
7. 'Thomas Marschal habet domos suas ruinosas ideo in misericordia . . . idem Thomas tradidit Johanni Marschal' patri suo totam terram suam ad terminum 7 annorum sine licencia domini qui inde occasionat' est dicit quod non tradidit et c' prout et c' Et super hoc posuit se ad legem et habet diem ad proximam se xij^{a}' - MM 5918. He lost his case at the next court - MM 5919.

amerced for trespassing on both the demesne and the tenants' lands with a flock of 80 sheep.[1] Eight years later, a period for which no Cuxham records survive, we see him taking a lease of 6 acres of the Stonor manor in Watlington for the term of his life.[2]

After 1363 there is another gap in the series of extant court rolls. When the series begins again in 1377, the tenants seem to have settled down in the conditions which prevailed throughout the fifteenth century. There were normally no vacant holdings - except, probably, the former Waldrugge and Waleys messuages - and the tenants were families who were permantly settled in Cuxham. The rents and services due were the same as the College had asked in the 1350's, but there now seemed to be no shortage of people prepared to pay them. The cottagers' rents, indeed, were much the same as before 1349, but this was not the case with the tenants of the half-virgates. They now paid 9s.0d. or 10s.0d. a year as rent, but did no labour services except one day's hoeing on the demesne each year, one day's haymaking and two days' work at harvest.[3] All the customary rents - the renders of wheat ~~etc~~, oats, poultry and pence - had ceased; heriots soon became simply money payments fixed in advance,[4]

1. He was presented for trespass with this flock no fewer than six times at the court held in May 1355, when he is called Thomas Maresch' de Brightwell' - MM 5918.

2. His entry, as Thomas le Maschal de Couxham is recorded on the roll of Edward de Stonor's court at Watlington, 19 Oct. 1364 - PRO SC2/197/71.

3. E.g. the services of John le Calwe, who entered a half-virgate in 1354, were 'Redd' inde annuatim 10s. terminis consuetis Et operabit in Autump[no] per 1 diem cum 2 hominibus ad custus proprios et per 1 diem ad leuandum fenum domini cum 1 homine ad custus proprios et p[er] 1 diem ad sarculandum cum 1 homine ad custus proprios pro omnibus aliis seruiciis saluo sect' Curie' - MM 5917. The services of haymaking and hoeing are not mentioned in the court rolls after 1377.

4. The earliest case is in 1400, when the rector entered a half-virgate 'tenend' secundum consuetudines Manerii et herietabil' 5s.' - MM 5923 mem.7.

while entry fines were much reduced and the highest seems to have been 13s.4d. and 12 capons.[1] It is symptomatic of the change that the tenements, formerly rigidly organized and precisely denominated as half-virgates, were now sometimes referred to more loosely - and confusingly - as virgates or as 12-acre holdings (see Illustration 7). Thus, the holding of Richard Smewyne was called a half-virgate when he died in 1385,[2] but a virgate when it was taken over by John Eustace in 1388[3] and 12 acres when his successor, William Adams, died in 1407.[4]

The value of the rents from a half-virgate was thus far less than before 1349 - about 12s.6d. instead of £1, despite the general rise in prices. But if land was cheap, labour was not. Of the 21 men (omitting the two sons of John Alinot) on the Poll Tax return of 1377, three were definitely employees of the manor or the rector,[5] ten were definitely tenants and the remaining eight must have nearly all belonged to one of these categories. To run his holding, the tenant can have used no labour but his own and his family's, and the result must have been far less intensive cultivation than before. Certainly the tenant who did prosper had greater scope to expand his activities, and from about 1380, at Cuxham as elsewhere,[6] we see some of the tenants taking over a second half-virgate, which

1. Paid by John Kelly on entering a half-virgate in 1380 - MM 5922.

2. MM 5923 mem.6.

3. MM 5923 mem.4; the holding is identified as Smewynnes on MM 5923 mem.3.

4. MM 5924 mem.3; when he entered the holding the previous year it was described as formerly of John Eustas - MM 5924 mem.5.

5. I.e. Beneyt serviens Rectoris, Willelmus Ballius and Willelmus Dryuer'.

6. E.g. in Farnham Hundred (co.Hants.) immediately after the Black Death - Robo, 'The Black Death in the Hundred of Farnham', E.H.R., xliv, p.567; on the Crowland Abbey estates from about 1390 - Page, Estates of Crowland Abbey, p.123.

would probably be run with the help of sub-tenants or hired labour. But we may wonder whether the half-virgate holder of 1400 was better off either economically or socially than his predecessor of a century before. Certainly the servile obligations of the earlier age were in decay; but those obligations were only incidental to the tenure of land - and to be a landholder then must have been a more prized attainment and have carried greater prestige than it did after the Black Death. In 1300 it was the landless labourers, employed by villeins and cottagers, as well as by their lords, who formed the lowest stratum of the settled agricultural community; in 1400 it was the peasants themselves.

D. The village community

Not all the inhabitants of medieval Cuxham were fully occupied in agriculture. There were the two millers, there was for a time a fuller, there were the blacksmith, the manorial clerk, the ale-brewers. Leaving only the rector for consideration in the final chapter, we will see what record remains of these other activities.

Of the College's mill - Cutt Mill - there is a good deal of evidence. The costs of its upkeep entered on the account rolls show that it was a water-mill housed in a timber-framed building, with walls of wattle and daub and, at first, a thatched roof. Thus, purchases in 1306-07 included wood 'for the stodes of the walls', and laths for thatching-pins and for wattling the walls.[1] In 1321-22 and again in 1358 the mill-house was re-built, now with a tiled roof, like the new

1. 'In Meremio empto ad stodes parietum 9d. In virgis emptis ad preyes 3d. In virgis emptis pro parit' Wyndand' 6½d.' - MM 5830.

buildings in the curia.[1] It may also have been re-built in the late 1280's; in 1276-77 and in 1282 it was being let at £1.2s. a year,[2] but by 1288 the rent had doubled, and until 1349 was always from 10s.0d. to 12s.6d. a quarter.[3] Probably the College made the best bargain it could with each incoming lessee, and the increased rent may have been part of the same re-organization as the creation of the five new half-virgates. The millers were all of villein families. Adam ate Hethe, the first recorded, was then or later the tenant of a half-virgate. Robert Waldrugge, a younger son of a villein, was running the mill by 1295, and kept it on for at any rate some time after his marriage had brought him a half-virgate and the new name of Robert Oldman; his own son, Richard Oldman, who became a half-virgate holder in 1318-19, was called le Muleward, and the mill may have been kept in the family continually. But by 1335 John ate Hethe - possibly a son of Adam - had become a miller;[4] unlike his predecessors, he made milling his life-work, for after the Black Death, instead of taking one of the vacant half-virgates, he continued at the mill, and he was probably the John ate Hethe, molendinarius, who in 1364 leased a mill at Watlington for the term of his life.[5]

1. In 1321-22 the 'Expens' Molendini noui', totalling £2.0s.1d., included 8000 tiles and 150 crest' et hepetiel' - MM 5845; the rebuilding in 1358 was more extensive, and the carpenter was paid £5 for his part of the work alone - MM 5886, 5887.

2. In 1279, on the Hundred Rolls, the mill was valued at £1.3s. a year, but a rent of £1.2s. a year is entered on the account roll for Feb.-Sept. 1276 (MM 5803 mems.1 and 2) and the view of account for Sept.1276 - May 1277 (MM 5803 mem.3) and it was for this rent that it was let to Adam ate Hethe in 1282 (MM 5906 mem.2).

3. 10s.6d. in 1288-92, 10s. in 1293-1318, 11s.8d. in 1318-32, 12s.6d. in 1332-49.

4. See p.144.

5. Recorded in the court roll of Edward de Stonor's manor, 19 Oct.1364 - PRO SC2/197/71 mem.1.

But there was always a second miller in Cuxham, the tenant of the mill at the east end of the village; Robert Foliot had given it in pure and perpetual alms to the prior of Wallingford, who in the late thirteenth century was drawing 10s.0d a year from it,[1] but, probably between 1315 and 1331, it was acquired by the Stonor family,[2] and by 1492 the property was so improved that its farm was worth £2.10s. a year.[3] Its earliest recorded miller, Adam Molendinarius, is once called Adam Hondemuleward,[4] and the court roll of 1304 describes Geoffrey Bouetoun's building plot as lying next to the mill called hunde mulle;[5] it seems, therefore, that this mill was then a hand-mill - or had been within living memory - and it is interesting to find such a mill in commercial use in midland England at so late a date.[6] By 1310 it had been converted to a water-mill, for in

1. Rotuli hundredorum, ii, p.758.

2. In 1315, Adam Molendinarius acted as pledge in the manorial court for the prior of Wallingford's carter (MM 5908 mem.4), and in 1331 Ricardus molindinarius domini Johannis de Stonor' was amerced for trespass (MM 5909 mem.4). Neither entry, of course, constitutes proof of the ownership of the mill at the time.

3. Stonor letters and papers, (Camden Ser.), ii, p.184. In the same collection (i, pp.51-52) is a letter, dated circa 1450 by the editor, from Thomas Whitborne to Thomas Stonor, asking when he is to take over the tenancy of the mill at Cuxham; Agnes Whytborn' is mentioned on the Cuxham court roll of 1458 as a tenant at will - MM 5932.

4. In the subsidy assessement of 1294-95 he is called Adam Molendarius in the body of the list, but Adam Hondemuleward on the dorse - MM 2852.

5. 'Galfridus bouetun cepit de domino vnam placiam terre ad superedificandum iuxta Molendinum quod vocatur hunde Mulle' - MM 5907 mem.8.

6. There are, of course, many cases of hand-mills in domestic use at this time - e.g. Court roll of Chalgrave manor, (Beds.Hist.Rec.Soc.), p.38, and the cases cited by Bennett and Elton, History of corn milling, i, pp. 210-221. Lennard, Rural England, pp.280-281, considers the possibility that many of the mills of Domesday Book were hand-mills, and that in Devon and Cornwall water-power was then only just coming into use for grinding corn. Horse-mills are recorded possibly at Oxford about 1210 (Records of the Templars in England in the twelfth century, (Brit.Acad.), p.cxviiin) and at Watlington in 1492 (Stonor letters and papers, (Camden Ser.), ii, pp.183-184).

that year the miller was presented for doing damage by opening a sluice.[1] The miller by then was Adam son of the earlier Adam Molendinarius; he is once called Adam de Watlington and once (in the same document) Adam de Cuxham,[2] and it is clear that his interests extended outside the village, for in 1316 Robert le Deghere claimed that Adam had leased the mill to him for eight years, only to evict him after twelve months.[3]

Robert le Deghere was the first tenant of the fulling-mill which the College had built in 1312 - like Cutt Mill, a timber-framed building with walls of wattle and daub and a thatched roof.[4] Although the full building costs are not known,[5] it seems likely that it was a profitable investment for the College, as it produced 13s.4d. rent nearly every year until 1349. With it, Robert le Deghere, probably a newcomer to the village, took half of a cottager's curtilage as a site for building a house with a second room (vna domus et vna camera)[6]

1. See p.35. n.5.

2. In 1310, Adam de Coxham' facit se esson' uersus Robertum le Oldeman in placito transgressionis', but the plea itself is entered 'Robertus oldeman queritur de adam de Watlington' Molendinario . . . - MM 5908 mem.2.

3. ' . . . idem Ada venit contra conuencionem inter eos factam de vno Molendino cum pertinenciis in Cuxham prefato Roberto per prefatum Adam ad terminum 8 annorum dimisso. Idem Ada prefatum Robertum primo anno predictorum 8 annorum eum eiecit contra conuencionem predictam ad dampnum ipsius Roberti 20s. et contra pacem domini,'-MM 5908 mem.5.

4. The paragraph 'Custus domi Molendini fullonis' in 1312-13 begins 'In meremio empto ad domum Molendini fullonis 3s. In virgis emptis pro pariet' Wyndad' et pro preyes 2s.' - MM 5837.

5. The cost of the machinery was probably entered on the missing account roll for 1311-12.

6. His entry is recorded on the court roll of 1313, where the site is called una placia ad superedificandum de curtilagio Matilde de turnestone sicut mete et bunde decent; he was to pay the annual rent of 3s., while Matilda was to continue to do the other services due from the holding - MM 5908 mem.3.

and, in 1321, 3½ acres of arable at a rent of 5s.3d. a year.[1] The whole property passed in turn to his wife's second husband, John le Sherman (otherwise John le Herynger),[2] then to his own son, Richard le Deyere. But Richard was another inhabitant who had interests outside Cuxham; in April 1333 he paid for permission to stay away from the College domain until Christmas,[3] but he did not return until April 1336, when he re-entered the fulling-mill for the term of his life.[4] How long he in fact remained is uncertain; from 1344 to 1349 the reeve's unsuccessful petitions for allowance of part of the rent from the fulling-mill show that it was being let for short periods,[5] and after the Black Death no more is heard of it. But the Deyere family show again that the manorial tenant at Cuxham was barely hampered by his

1. MM 5908 mem.7.

2. Although Reaney, Dictionary of British surnames, sub Sharman, translates Sherman as 'a shearer of woollen cloth', I would take it to be synonymous with Herynger, ploughman (Middle English to erie, to plough), being the man at the (plough) share, the tentor caruce; his partner, the fugator caruce, produced the surname Driver. This may have been the Johannes seminator who gave tallies for the seed sown on the demesne on 1320-22 (MM 5844, 5845); we have seen that the sower was normally a ploughman (p.85).

3. 'Ricardus le Deyer' dat domino 6d. ita quod possit manere extra dominium domini usque festum Natal' domini proxim' sequens' - MM 5912.

4. He paid the arrears of rent and undertook to keep the mill in good condition for the term of his life; three villeins stood surety for him - MM 5908 mem.10.

5. He requested the allowance of 6s.8d. in 1344-45 (MM 5870), of 10s.0d. in 1345-46 and 3s.4d. in 1346-47 (MM 5872) and of 10s. in 1347-48, when he added 'quia nullus homo Wlt illud habere ad firmam quia debile' (MM 5876).

obligations to the College.

There is no positive evidence that there was a smithy in Cuxham before the Black Death. In 1354 Thomas le Marschal's entry-fine for the tenement that had been Robert Oldman's was noted on the Warden's own account as paid 'by the smith';[1] the inclusion of a workshop (fabricia) in a list of his buildings in 1357[2] and the name of his successor in Reuesplace in 1401 - Reginald Ferour[3] - confirm that either he or his father was carrying on this craft in Cuxham. Robert Oldman may for a time have been smith as well as reeve and miller, but his accounts give no clue to the identity of the faber who did so much work on the demesne ploughs, carts and draught animals.

The accounts tell us more about the reeves' clerks, who each year wrote the short-term accounts, the draft and the fair copy of the annual account roll. From 1321-22 until his death, Robert Oldman seems always to have employed one Robert de Chalgraue - probably the same as Robert ate Elme, who was his executor.[4] But earlier the work had been done by Robert Clericus, the son of Adam the prior of Wallingford's miller.[5] He appears on the assessment of movables in 1304 as the owner of some corn (but with no seed planted), a cow and a house with a second room valued at 5s.0d. - as much as some of the best of the villeins' houses (see Document 4). He

1. 'de fabro pro gersumm'' - MM 4150.
2. See p.150 n.4.
3. MM 5924 mem.4.
4. He is first mentioned in 1323-24 in the account of wheat: 'In liberacione Roberto de Chalgraue clerico ½qr. precepto Custodis et auditorum compoti' - MM 5847. The appearance of a new hand in the previous year's account (MM 5846) probably marks his appointment.
5. Thus, in 1308-09, 'Roberto clerico filio Ade Molendinarii pro stipend' sua aretro 5s. precepto Custodis' - MM 5832. It is difficult to tell whether several earlier references to Robertus Molendinarius relate to Robert Clericus or to Robert Oldman, who was lessee of Cutt Mill at this time.

does not seem to have held of the College, and may have been a tenant of the freeholder, John ate Grene. He was presumably a professional clerk, working in other villages besides his own, and it is interesting to see that a younger son of the miller could thus achieve a position of independence and relative prosperity.

No other craftsman or tradesman appears among the inhabitants of Cuxham, though many of the minor specialized tasks mentioned in the reeves' accounts - making ropes, drying malt and the like - must have been done by the villagers. The payments of tolsester - 1d. in lieu of a gallon of ale every time a tenant brewed for sale - show that most of the villeins occasionally sold ale; before the Black Death, Robert Oldman seems to have brewed most frequently,[1] but even in 1390 and 1391, when Robert Alynot made lump payments of 6d a year as a general brewer (communis brasiator), half a dozen other villagers paid for individual brewings.[2] Of the manorial office-holders, only the reeve seems to have been employed full-time. The positions of constable (constabularius) mentioned in 1346,[3] and of butcher (carnifex) who first appears in 1352 to certify the natural death of animals on the demesne,[4] were wholly honorary.

1. See p.80 n.1.

2. MM 5923 mem.2.

3. In a case in the manorial court concerning Robert ate Heycroft's dangerous dog, it was said that 'alias preceptum fuit eidem Roberto per ballivos domini et Constabular' ville amouere a tenemento suo dictum canem' - MM 5915.

4. The court roll contains the presentment of one ox dead 'expercussione' with the marginal note 'Carn'; a less ambiguous entry occurs in the record of the next court, in 1353 - both on MM 5916.

There seems to have been a hayward (messor) throughout the period, though it is only from 1315-16 that he received a regular stipend of from 1bus. to 6bus. of mixed corn.[1] This probably marked the beginning of Geoffrey Bouetoun's period of office; he held the position until his death in 1346, and was succeeded by his son Robert. Earlier, the office seems to have changed hands more often, as the names of several, probably all cottagers, are mentioned;[2] in 1296, William Champion was elected hayward by the whole vill[3] - the only election of any manorial officer to be entered on the Cuxham court rolls of this period.

There is no evidence of any administrative organization of the village besides the manorial courts - indeed, none was necessary, as vill and manor were so closely identified. There were never more than two meetings of the College's manorial court in any calendar year, and it was seldom held as often as this; between June 1306 and July 1310, for instance, it did not meet at all.[4] When there was so long an interval, the Warden carried out in person such business as the admission of new tenants, which could not be postponed indefinitely; thus, in 1307-08 the reeve accounts for £1 'received from John Bouecheriche for a fine of lands before the Warden'.[5] In July 1316

1. In 1276, ½qr. of wheat was given to a heyuard' (MM 5803 mem.2) or a messor (MM 5803 mem.1), but there are no such payments from 1288 to 1315. A heywardus was fed at the College's expense in harvest from 1301 to 1304 (MM 5819, 5821, 5824); he is distinguished from the ripereue, who seems to have been the harvest supervisor sent by the College.

2. Johannes Messor in 1279 - MM 5906 mem.1; Walter Pret, messor, in 1298 - MM 5907 mem.4.

3. 'Willelmus champion factus est messor per Electionem ville et per pleg' tocius ville' - MM 5907 mem.3.

4. The account rolls enter no profits from the court in these years, so that it is clear that no court roll has been lost.

5. 'Idem respondet de 20s. receptis de Johanne bouecheriche pro fine terre facto coram Custode' - MM 5833.

the court dealt with practically no business except the many causes of dispute between Robert le Deghere and Adam Molendinarius;[1] presumably it had been specially summoned because the quarrel was threatening the peace of the village. The conduct of the College's courts presents no unusual features. They were held by the steward (seneschallus) - there is no evidence that at Cuxham the Warden himself ever presided.[2] The affeerors, when named, were always two of the half-virgate tenants, except in August 1330, when one was the reeve, the other the hayward.[3] The sureties for persons amerced or making default were usually villeins, who sometimes acted as their own pledges; cottagers sometimes stood surety for each other, or for outsiders, and very occasionally were allowed to act as their own pledge,[4] but there is no case of one standing surety for a villein. One outsider occasionally stood surety for another, presumably when the steward could not find any College tenant willing to do so.[5]

1. MM 5908 mem.5; the only other business is a short item entered at the end of the roll.

2. Lowry, 'Estates of Merton College', p.96, says that the court at Gamlingay was sometimes held by the Warden; but the example cited of the Warden's expenses 'quando letificavit vicinos circa Gamlingeye' means surely that he entertained the neighbours with a feast, not that he judged them at a court leet.

3. MM 5909 mem.1.

4. Thus in 1295 three villeins and one cottager were amerced 'per proprium plegium' for harbouring strangers, but the entry of another cottager amerced for the same offence was altered from 'per proprium plegium' to 'per plegium Ad' Brian'; Adam Brian was a villein - MM 5907 mem.3.

5. E.g. John Crompeton's pledges in a suit against the Cuxham villein Robert in le Hurne in 1304 were John Faber de Eston and Walter Clericus - MM 5907 mem.8.

But besides the College's court at Cuxham, the tenants had to attend the honour of Wallingford's court leet and view of frankpledge. There survive none of its records earlier than 1432, when the court was held at Chalgrove for Cuxham and other neighbouring manors of the honour. Earlier references to it occur, however, in the records of the College's court; in 1306, for instance, all the Cuxham tenants who had been at the view of frankpledge were amerced for having lost rights of common through their presentment there.[1] There are some signs that the exact sphere of each court's jurisdiction was not precisely understood; at a mid-fifteenth century College court we find two villagers taking oath on entering tithing groups,[2] while the payments of tolsester for brewing, which cease in the College court rolls after 1411, re-appear in the fifteenth-/and sixteenth-century views of frankpledge - either a double payment had been made in the fourteenth century, or else the honour had successfully claimed this perquisite from the College.

There are a number of stray references to serious crimes of violence in Cuxham; in 1288 the reeve was allowed the rent due from Thomas Weler 'because his goods were in the king's hands after he had been killed',[3] while the reeve's next account includes fodder

1. 'Omnes custumarii de Cuxham presentes ad visum de Chalgraue quod delerent communam in quadam crofta que vocatur Mullecroft . . . (hiatus) et cognouerunt se Male fecisse ideo posuerunt' [se] in misericordia' - MM 5907 mem.8.

2. 'Ricardus Warner positus est in decenna et prestitit sacramentum Willelmus Carpenter positus est et c'' - MM 5930.

3. 'Item in allocacione redditus Thome Weler de termino beati Michaelis 18d. quia bona sua fuerunt in man' regis ipso occiso' - MM 5807.

for the horse of the coroner who visited the village in connection with the death of Robert Oldman.[1] It is a pity that we do not know more about Ellis Muleward of Cuxham, who in 1374 escaped from the honour's gaol at Wallingford while under sentence of death for theft.[2] Of the lighter side of village life, and the celebrations of the agricultural and Christian year we have only the most formal record - but when Robert Oldman's son John took a penny's worth of brushwood from the curia on the night of the Nativity of St John Baptist, 1340, we need not doubt that he was collecting fuel for the village's midsummer bonfire.[3]

1. Oats: 'in prebend' equ' Coronatoris quando R. eldeman decessit 1½bus.' - MM 5808. That violent death occurred relatively often in the medieval village is demonstrated by Hoskins, 'Murder and sudden death in medieval Wigston', Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society, xxi, pp.176-186.

2. C.P.R. 1374-77, pp.41,49.

3. 'Johannes filius Roberti prepositi intrauit Manerium domini nocte Natiuitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste et asportauit vnum lingnum busce precii 1d.' - MM 5913. The custom of midsummer bonfires is discussed by Homans, English villagers of the thirteenth century, pp.369-370.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCH, THE RECTORS AND THE GLEBE, 1240-1400

The amount of evidence available for the position of the Church in medieval Cuxham scarcely justifies its treatment in a separate chapter. References to the ecclesiastical buildings and property and to the incumbents are few and relatively uninformative.[1] But this can be no reflection of the importance of the Church in the village; quite apart from its primary function as the centre of the community's spiritual and social life, it owned what was, after the manorial demesne, the largest agricultural holding in the village.

No record of the Church in Cuxham is older than the church building itself. The pillars of its porch were carved in the twelfth century, and the fabric is probably at least as old, the principal windows being added or rebuilt in the fourteenth or fifteenth century (see Illustration 40). The earliest rector of whom there is any record is Walter Foliot; he must have been related to his namesake, the lord of the manor, and he held the living both before and after Ralph Chenduit acquired the manor at some date between 1227 and 1234.[2] Of his immediate successors we know nothing, and it is only after Merton College had acquired the living in 1271 that it is

1. But for the recent publication of Mr. Emden's monumental Biographical register of the University of Oxford, the information at our disposal would be sparser still.

2. He was witness to a grant by Walter Foliot, lord of the manor, of a virgate in Cuxham (MM 849) and was a party to two grants to Ralph Chenduit, besides witnessing two others in which Ralph was concerned (MM 847, 848, 850, 851).

possible to trace the complete succession of rectors; this has been done in Illustration 41, where they are listed down to 1500.

The College did not appropriate the living. Being near Oxford, it was probably considered best to keep the rectory intact, as a useful emolument for some specially favoured Fellow; its annual value was estimated at £7.6s.8d. in 1254, £5.6s.8d. in 1291, £7.7s.4d. in 1526 and £9.10s.5½d. in 1535.[1] The figure in 1291 at least was probably a favourable assessment, for the demesne alone produced tithes worth from £6 to £7 in the first half of the fourteenth century,[2] while in addition there were the tenants' tithes, worth from £2 to £3, and the profits of the glebe. The tithe corn was, we have seen, taken from the crop as it stood in the field after harvesting;[3] but the payment of tithe on all other demesne produce is entered on the reeves' accounts. Often the tithe was paid in cash instead of in kind - thus in 1301-02 the reeve's petty expenses include 9½d. for the tithe of nine calves that had been sold, 2¼d. for milk sold, and 3½d. for two calves and five lambs that remained on the manor.[4] Entries of oats and dredge bought from the rector may represent payment of cash instead of tithe corn.[5] Eggs were tithed only in

1. The valuation of Norwich, p.305; Taxatio ecclesiastica, pp.30, 40; A subsidy collected in the diocese of Lincoln in 1526 (Oxf.Hist.Soc.), p.254, Valor ecclesiasticus, ii, p.168. The last two figures are given after the deduction of allowed expenses.

2. The gross receipts of the demesne varied from £40 to £90, and averaged about £60 a year; these included rents and profits of court (worth about £5) from which no tithe was paid, but not produce delivered to the College or consumed on the manor, all subject to tithe.

3. See p.60.

4. 'Item datum pro decima 9 vitulorum venditorum 9½d. Et pro decima lactis venditi 2¼d. Et pro decima 2 vitulorum et 5 agnorum remanentium ad staurum 3½d.' - MM 5819.

5. Such entries occur twice: 8qr.2bus. of oats in 1329-30, when the demesne crop was 65qr.1bus.1p. in grain and 18qr.1bus.3p. in sheaves (MM 5852). and 1qr.2bus. of dredge in 1356-57, when the demesne crop was 12qr.5bus. (MM 5885).

Lent,[1] while lambs that had died young[2] and the wool of newly bought sheep were exempt from tithe.[3] But otherwise tithes were exacted in full, even of the fruit grown in the garden of the curia;[4] in the last two years of demesne farming at Cuxham, a tithe was paid of the rents of pasture leased for the year[5] - which may point to the conversion of arable to pasture closes.

Our earliest precise information about the rector's glebe at Cuxham is provided by the terrier of 1614;[6] it then consisted of 30 customary acres scattered in the open fields (see Illustration 3), with meadow and pasture rights. It seems likely that it was substantially the same in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and this may have been the virgate held by the rector that is mentioned in the list of tenants of about 1240 (Document 1); alternatively, this may have been land that the rector held of the manor on his own account - Walter Foliot the rector had held land in the village which he sold back to Ralph Chenduit for 12 marks.[7] Certainly between

1. This is specifically stated on many of the account rolls; e.g. in 1327-28, eggs: 'in decima 20 et non plura quia non decimantur nisi in quadragesima' - MM 5850.

2. In 1333-34, of 21 lambs born, only one was given as tithe 'et non plures in decima quia aliqui mortui fuerunt ante tempus decime' - MM 5858.

3. In 1346-47 three fleeces were given in tithe 'et non plures quia lana Multonum de Nouo emptorum non decimatur' - MM 5872. The same custom prevailed at Wigston Magna (co.Leic.) in the 16th century - Hoskins, The midland peasant, pp.135-136.

4. Thus, in 1353-54 the reeve accounts 'Et de 13qr. pomorum de exitu gardini deducta decima' - MM 5882.

5. In 1357-58, 'Et solut' Rectori pro decima pastur' vend' in alio compoto 6d.' - MM 5886; in 1358-59, 'In decima soluta pro pastur' supra vend' 17d.' - MM 5887.

6. Bodl. MS. Oxon. Archdeaconry Papers b.40, f.112.

7. MM 848.

1279 and 1349 the rectors had no land in Cuxham besides the glebe, but even so they were farming more than twice as much as a half-virgate tenant. In 1300 there is a reference to an ox belonging to the rector,[1] while on a number of occasions between 1327 and 1348 the rector's carter, with up to three horses, joined the demesne carter in taking corn or wood to the College or its other manors,[2] and even in doing royal carrying-service.[3] The rector kept cows, for in 1350 and 1351 he shared with the demesne the expense of keeping a cowman during the summer months;[4] probably, before the Black Death he had employed a full-time cowman of his own. And as in 1350 the cowman was paid by the ballivus rectoris, it seems that he had an employee in charge of the holding. The few references to the rectory buildings in this period mention fish-ponds fed a stream from the pond of the demesne curia,[5] and by 1504 at least, the rector had his own dovecote.[6]

Adam de Watlyngton, the first recorded rector after the College had acquired the advowson, had been a Fellow of the College (see Illustration 41); he probably resided at Cuxham and it may be significant that he is the only rector before 1351 to be mentioned by name

1. It was ordered in the manorial court that 'Magister Ada rector Ecclesie de Cuxham distringatur quia 1 bos inuentus fuit In blado domini et quia fregit parcum domini' - MM 5907 mem.5.

2. E.g. in 1339-40 1½bus. of oats were given to three horses of the rector used for carting brushwood to Oxford, while the carectarius rectoris was among the persons whose expenses were paid for the same work - MM 5865.

3. E.g. in 1345-46; see the passage quoted in p.123 n.5.

4. Thus, in 1349-50, mixed corn: 'In liberacione 1 vaccarii a xvj die Maii vsque xxvj diem Julii per 10 septimanas 2½bus. et non plus hic quia recepit medietatem liberacionis sue de ballivo rectoris de Cuxham qui cepit per 2 septimanas 1bus.' - MM 5878. A similar entry is on the next year's account - MM 5879.

5. In an undated agreement, Walter Foliot the rector granted Ralph Chenduit one acre in Cuxham, in exchange for one other acre and 'propter cursum aque extra vivarium suum usque in vivaria mea' - MM 847.

6. The rector was presented for encroachment in ploughing 'in quamdam Capitalem Acram subter Columbare Rectorie' - MM 5942.

in the records of the manor.[1] From 1322 until 1351 Cuxham can have seen little of its rectors. Two, John de Waneting and Robert de Tring, were successive Wardens of the College, to whom the living of Cuxham was merely a subsidiary emolument; the third, Walter de Burton, during his seven years as rector of Cuxham was a canon and subdean both of Wells and of York, besides acting as clerk to the bishop of Bath and Wells. To all three the bishop of Lincoln gave licence for study or non-residence,[2] and the cure of the parish must have been delegated to a chaplain; but although he must have been an important figure in the life of the village, he is only once mentioned in the manorial records - in 1334-35, when the reeve, on the Warden's orders, gave 26s.8d. as a loan to Dominus Ricardus capellanus de Cuxham.[3]

In 1351 a change occurred. The new rector, William de Elham, had been a Fellow of Merton for fifteen years, and when he was admitted to the living was second Bursar; but he seems to have given up his position in the College, and to have lived in the parish, for he held no other appointments and he had no licences for non-residence. Perhaps the College, beginning to experience the difficulties in managing the demesne that followed the Black Death, felt it advisable to have an experienced and reliable representative living in the village;

1. On court rolls from 1295 to 1300, as Magister Ada rector ecclesie de Cuxham - MM 5907 mem.3,4,5.
2. Emden, Biographical register of the University of Oxford, sub nom[redacted].
3. Note following cash total: 'Et 26s.8d. mutuatis domino Ricardo capellano de Cuxham precepto Custodis' - MM 5861.

ten years later he became the lessee of the manor.[1] Although in 1386 a chaplain, William Laurenc', is mentioned and probably lived in the rectory,[2] it is likely that his position was that of an assistant curate, for the rector, was then about seventy years old, and died the next year.

There is no evidence that any of William de Elham's successors farmed the demesne,[3] but they did continue one innovation of his incumbency. It was rather a return to earlier practice; in 1377 he took a twenty-year lease of three half-virgates in the village, of which probably one was deserted, while the other two were occupied by his sub-tenants.[4] From this time on there are many references to the rectors farming tenements held of the College in Cuxham; the survey of 1767 shows the rector holding two leasehold properties of some 55 acres besides the glebe,[5] while by 1848 his successor's holding had increased to over 80 acres.[6] And the immediate successors

1. MM 3100.

2. William Laurenc' capellanus sought the permission of the manorial court to continue to pass through the garden of the curia in going to and fro between the church and the rectory - MM 5923 mem.5. Cf.p.31 n .3.

3. It seems likely that the William Colyns 'de Cuxham in Comitatu oxon' housbandman', who leased the manor for twenty years from 1472 (MM 1874), was a relative of the rector, Richard Colyns; the court-roll entry of the rector's death in 1474 records that William Colyns, firmarius and vnus executorum rectoris, will answer for his debt of 2s. to the College - MM 5934.

4. 'Ad istam venit Willelmus Elham Rector ecclesie de Cuxham et cepit de domino 3 Mesuagia et 3 dimidias virgates terre vnde 1 vocatur Waldriches 1 vocatur Eliotesplace et alium vocatur Dikeres place' - MM 5922.

5. MM vol.5.30.

6. Bodl.Oxon. Tithe Apportionment E.52.

of William de Elham seem to have continued to reside at Cuxham; it was not until Thomas Lee became rector in 1474 that the living was held again in conjunction with other appointments. But the parish's proximity to Oxford and the close association of nearly all its rectors with the College probably meant that at no time did it have an entirely absent incumbent.

Many of the conclusions reached in this study of medieval Cuxham must have wider application and reflect the practices of many English communities of the period. But the strength of medieval local custom and the element of chance variation forbid us to do more than mention the probability. Only one general conclusion can safely be drawn; it is implicit in every aspect of medieval Cuxham that we have examined, but nothing points to it so clearly as the sparseness of the evidence for the church and the rectors. It is that no information from manorial records can be safely taken at face value, while least of all can we attempt to argue from their omissions. This is a negative and perhaps a commonplace conclusion, but its reiteration may not be without value.

EALDA
EGSAN FORD

SWAEFERÐES
WYLLES HEAFOD

Hecchelesdene

EALDA DIC

FILDENA WEG

Symmysdene

WUDU WIC
AET WYLLERES
SEAÐON

CUDAN HLAEWE (?)

ILLUSTRATION 1:

Pre-Conquest Cuxham

Scale, 6in.: 1 mile

Modern parish bounds with boundary lanes

Streams

300-foot contour

EALDA DIC — Names from charter of 995

Symmysdene — Names from terrier of 1447-48

ILLUSTRATION 2: The arable in 1767, showing the hedges and trees throughout the parish

Taken from the map and survey by William Chapman. The hedges and trees in the village area are shown in full in Illustration 5.

Approximate scale, 9 inches: 1 mile

'////' - The arable of the manor farm
~~~~ - Hedges
}}} - Trees

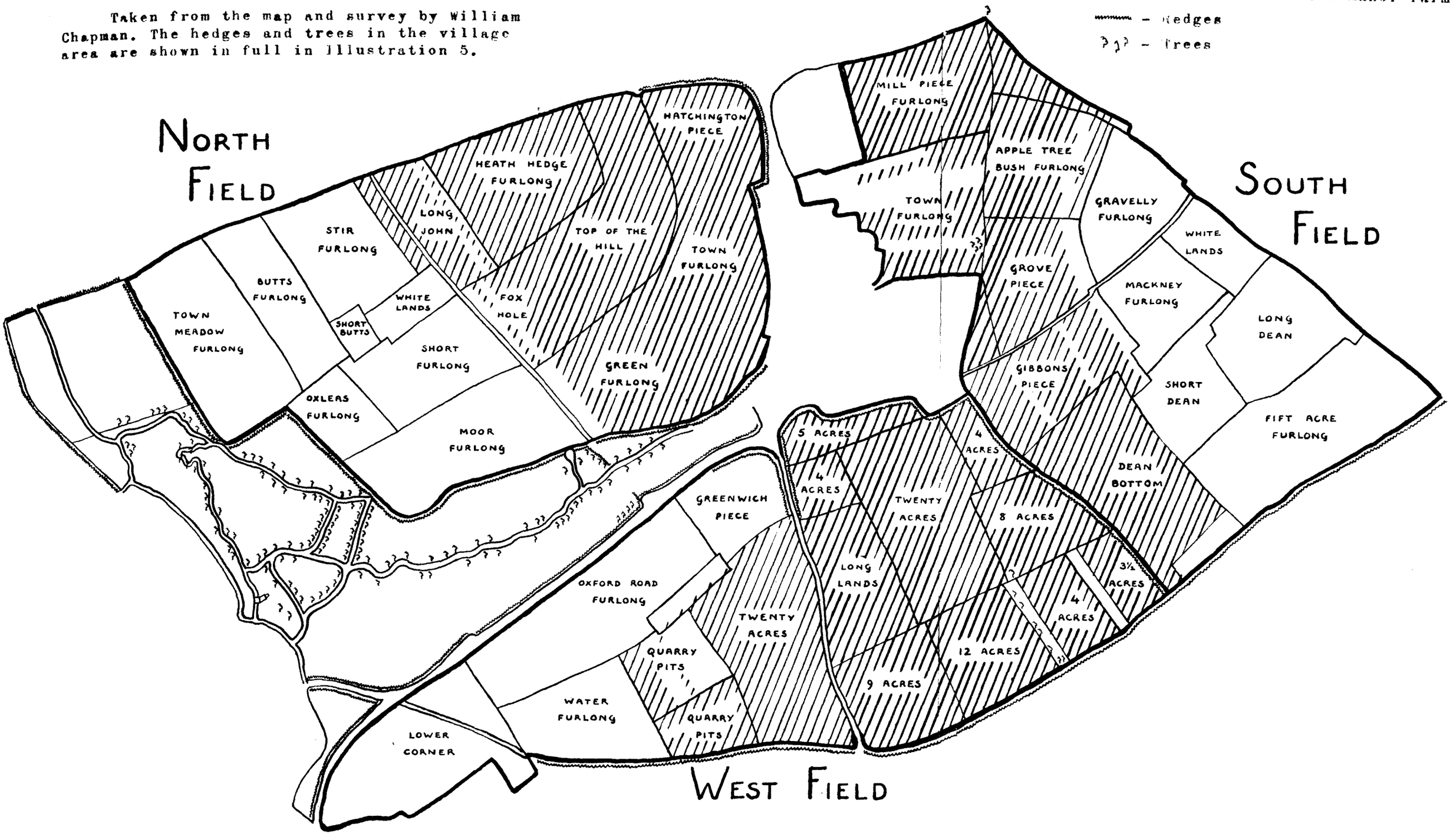
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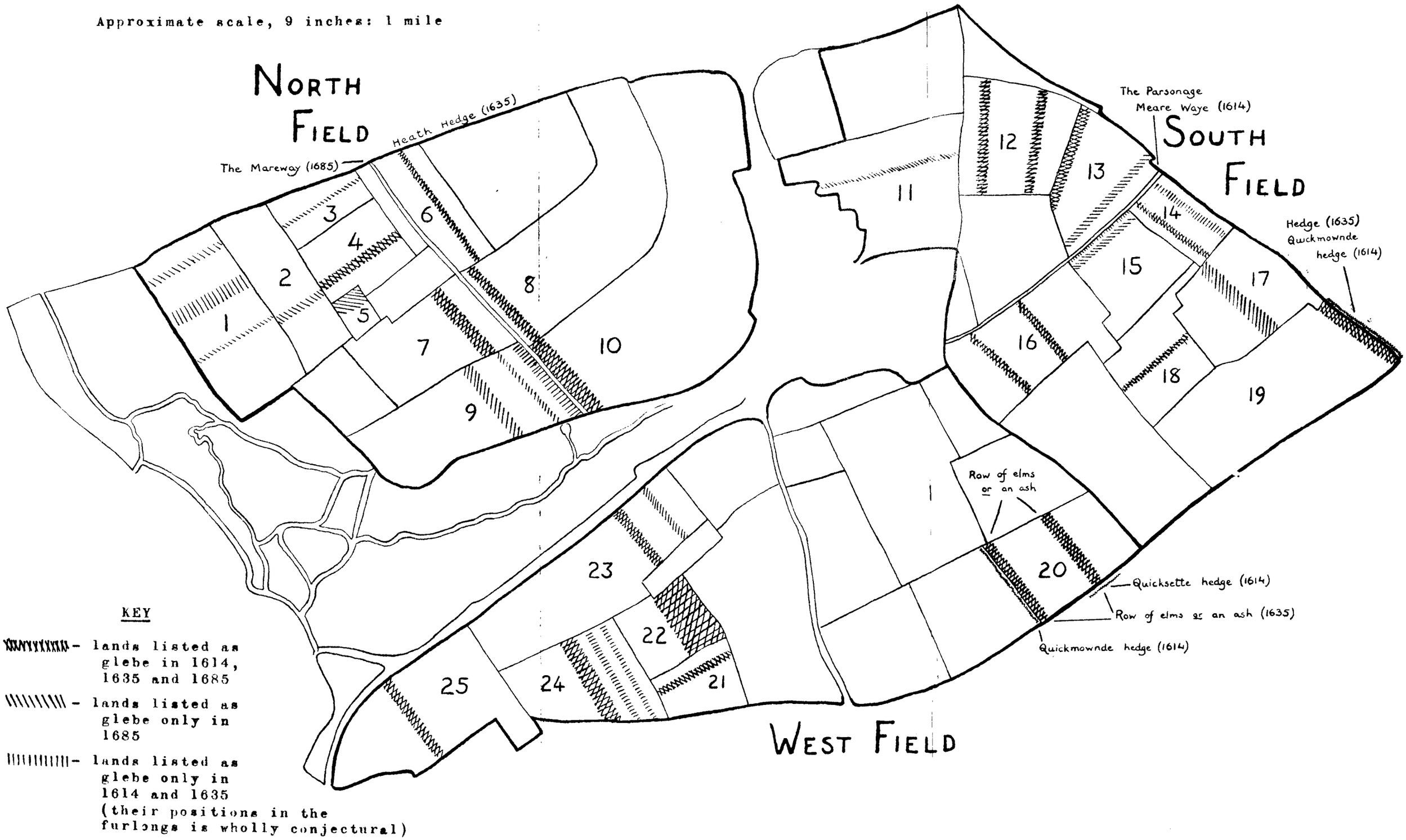
ILLUSTRATION 3: The arable fields in the 17th century

Based on the map by William Chapman, 1767, and the glebe terriers of 1614, 1635 and 1685.

Approximate scale, 9 inches: 1 mile



KEY

XXXXXXXXXX – lands listed as glebe in 1614, 1635 and 1685

\\\\\\\\\\ – lands listed as glebe only in 1685

|||||||||||| – lands listed as glebe only in 1614 and 1635 (their positions in the furlongs is wholly conjectural)

Ill.3 cont.

Furlong names from the 17th-century glebe terriers

Key to the map on the preceding page:

North Field

1. the meade furlonge (1685), Meade furlonge (1635), meade furlong (1614).
2. the Butt furlong (1685).
3. Stick furlong (1685).
4. Stir furlong (1685), Sturr furlonge (1635), Stur furlong (1614).
5. short Butts (1685).
6. Long John (1685), the long sandy furlong (1614).
7. Short furlong (1685), short furlonge (1635), Short furlong (1614).
8. foxhold (1685), furlonge called Foxhill (1635), ffoxall furlong (1614
9. more furlong (1685).
10. the greene furlong (1685), shotinge towards Moore gate (1635), shooting on the More gate (1614).

South Field

11. buttinge vpon the Towne (1685).
12. Appletree bush furlong (1685), belowe the apletree bush (1635), the furlong belowe the hauthorne bushe comonly called Appletree bushe (1614).
13. gravilie furlong (1685), Gravelepeece (1635), long gravell furlong (1614).
14. White lands (1685), White lands (1635).
15. Magnes (1685), Shorte gravell furlong (1614).
16. new close furlong (1685), the furlonge above the newe close End (1635), the grove ende furlong (1614).
17. Longdeane (1685).
18. Short deane (1685), shorte deane furlonge (1635), shorte deane furlong (1614).
19. fift acres (1685), fyftie acres (1635), the furlong called fiftye acres (1614).

West Field

20. fift acres (1685).
21. the picks (1685), the Picks (1635), the pickes (1614).
22. by the quarry pits Bush (1685), quarrye pitts peece (1635), the quarry pittes (1614).
23. the more furlonge (1685), Moore furlonge (1635), the More furlong (1614).
24. Water Furlong (1685), Water furlonge (1635), Water furlong (1614).
25. against Cutmill meade (1685), at Cutt Mill Lane End (1635), shooting vpon Cutmill lane ende (1614).

Unidentified furlongs:

North Field

at Well head (1635), at the Well heads (1614).

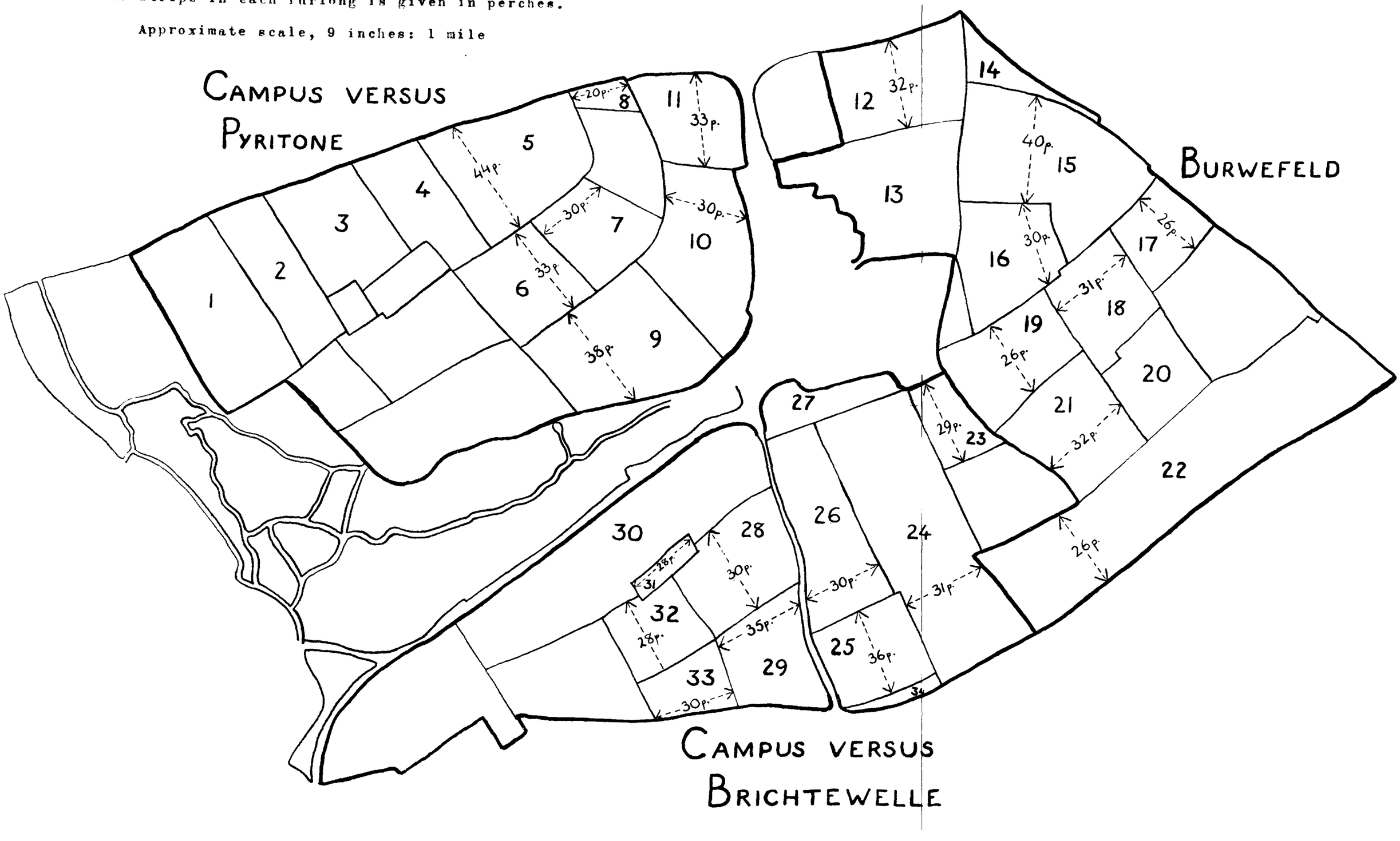
West Field

by the Towne side (1635), shooting on the high waye vnder the towne side (1614).

ILLUSTRATION 4: The arable fields in the middle ages

Based on the survey of William Chapman, 1767, and the demesne terrier of 1447-48. A key to the numbers is on the next page. The length of the demesne strips in each furlong is given in perches.

Approximate scale, 9 inches: 1 mile



Furlong names from the demesne terrier of 1447-48 and other medieval records

Key to the map on the preceding page:

North Field

1. Medforlong' (court roll, 1358).
2. Buttes (court roll, 1358); Stadium vocatum le Buttes (court roll, 1504- but this may refer to the furlong in the West Field, no. 27).
3. Sterfurlong' (deed, 1286-92 - MM 814); Storforlong' (court roll, 1358).
4. Longa forera (account roll, 1349).
5. cultura ex parte boreali de le doune (account roll, 1354-55); Forrura vocata downeforlong', Forrura vocata downefelde butt' in le peryton' mer' (1447-48).
6. foxseshole (account roll, 1316-17); Forrura vocata le Foxholis, Forrura vocata Foxhole (1447-48).
7. Forrura super le Hille abuttat in Foxholis, Forrura iacens super le hille butt' in le Foxhale (1447-48).
8. Forrura vocata le pekys in Hecchelesdene, Forrura iuxta Hechelesden' (1447-48).
9. Forrura super clausum Clement, Forrura super le Clement (1447-48).
10. Forrura que abuttat super le Hunt' grene, Forrura que Butt' super villam (1447-48).
11. Forrura que abuttat in le Watlynton' Feld', Forrura Butte in le Watlynton' feld' (1447-48).

South Field

12. Forrura vocata Milleforlong' (1447-48).
13. burwe haluaker (court roll, 1306); iuxta Milleforlong inter Hunt et Clement, Forrura inter terram Johannis Clement et Johannis Hunt (1447-48).
14. Forrura vocata pek' iuxta Bruttewell' Mer', Forrura vocata le pyk' iuxta brutewell' mer' (1447-48).
15. Forrura que iacet inter pek' et Clausum Manerii, Forrura que iacet a pyk vsque ad clausum Manerii (1447-48).
16. Forrura sub le persons busshe (1447-48).
17. Forrura vocata Whytelond' Buttyng' in le Symmysdone, Forrura vocata le Whitelond' abuttat in le symmesdene (1447-48).
18. Forrura vocata Whitelond', Forrura vocata le Whitelond' (1447-48).
19. Forrura super le garden' Manerii, Forrura super le Court gardeyn' (1447-48).
20. le Netherden' (court roll, 1338).
21. Forrura que abbuttat in le Symmysdene, Forrura que abuttat in le Symysdene (1447-48).
22. crafthum quod vocatur Fifthiacre (deed, 1227-43 - MM 847); Fyfty-acr' (court roll, 1358); Forrura vocata l. acr', Forrura vocata l. acres in le symysdene (1447-48).

West Field

23. Forrura que abuttat super Rectoream, Forrura que abuttat super Buttas Rector' (1447-48).
24. Welforlang (court roll, 1295); Forrura vocata Welleforlong' (1447-48).
25. Forrura vocata Crosforlong' abbuttat versus brutewell' pek', Forrura vocata Crosforlong' abutt' versus Brygh' well' (1447-48).

26. Forrura que iacet sub Welleforlong', Forrura iacens sub Welleforlong' alias Crofforlonge (1447-48).
27. Butte Rector' (1447-48); see also 3 above.
28. Middelforlong' (court roll, 1358); Forrura vocata Medylforlong' iuxta Regiam viam ex parte australi versus Brightwell', Forrura vocata Medilforlong' iuxta regiam viam ex parte australi que ducit versus Brigh'well' (1447-48).
29. Forrura vocata bell' turnyng', Forrura vocata the turnyng' of bell' the Fermo' (1447-48).
30. le More forlong (court roll, 1475); le More Forlong' (court roll, 1476); Moreforlong (court roll, 1477).
31. le quarrepittes, le quarripittes (1447-48).
32. Forrura vocata quarrepyttes, iuxta quaripyttes (1447-48).
33. Forrura vocata pyk' super le quarrepettes, Forrura vocata le pyk' super le quarrepittes (1447-48).
34. Pyxe iuxta crucem Bryghtwell' crosse (court roll, 1407); brutewell' pek' (1447-48).

Unidentified furlongs:

Bolnhale (court roll, 1358); bolne ale furlonge (court roll, 1496). The former reference shows that it lay in the South Field.

Cultura iuxta Bykensthorn' (account roll, 1354-55). As oats were sown on it in 1355, it probably lay in the North Field.

Dychefor Long (court roll, 1338), Dychforlong' (court rolls, 1352 and 1358). The last reference places it in the North Field; the 1352 reference does not specify the field, but since it concerns a trespass on corn, it is unlikely to have been in the West Field, which lay fallow that year. The 1338 reference places it in the West Field, and Thrwmwell-eforlong' in the North Field; it seems likely that they were accidentally interchanged, and that Thrwmwelleforlong' is in fact Well Furlong in the West Field (no.24) - there are three springs in the thicket above the Rectory. Dychforlong' is probably the later Moor Furlong in the North Field (no. 9 in Illustration 3).

Thrwmwelleforlong' (court roll, 1338) - see Dychforlong' above.

ILLUSTRATION 5: Map of the village, 1767

Taken from the map by William Chapman

Approximate scale, 1 inch: 100 yards

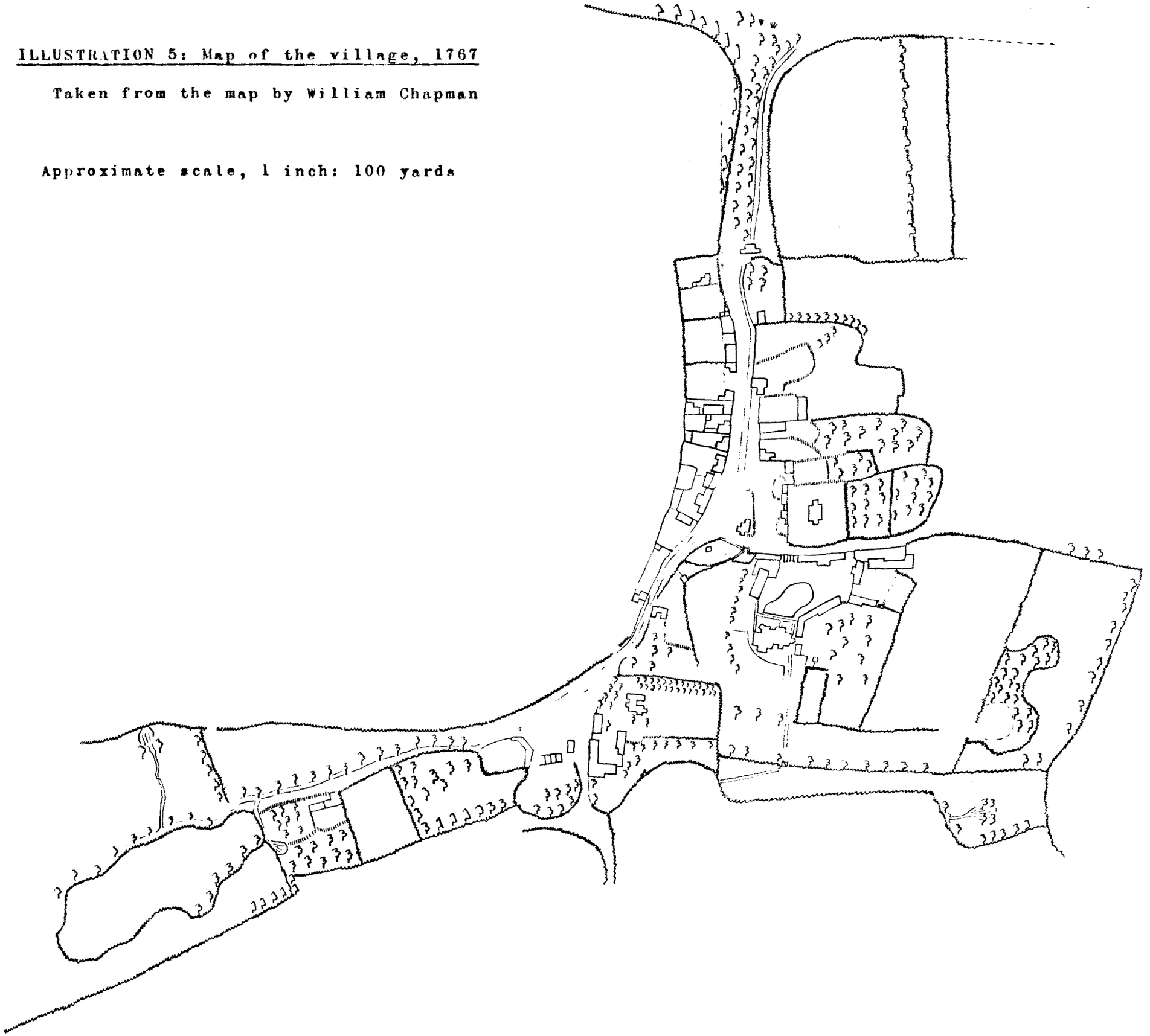


ILLUSTRATION 6: Air photograph of the northern half of the parish, Dec.1948.

The pond with outlet leading to the stream is not to be identified with that shown on the map of 1767, which lay about 100 yards to the south. The present pond was formed in the 19th century.

ILLUSTRATION 6: Air photograph of the northern half of the parish, Dec.1948.

The pond with outlet leading to the stream is not to be identified with that shown on the map of 1767, which lay about 100 yards to the south. The present pond was formed in the 19th century.

ILLUSTRATION 7: Names of tenements, 14th-16th centuries

Note: the reference in the final column is normally to the latest occasion that the family concerned is mentioned in the records; unless otherwise stated the context shows that they were or had been tenants of Merton College at Cuxham.

	Names	Date	Description of holding	Source	Tenant from whom name derived
I.	NAMES CLEARLY DERIVED FROM FAMILY NAMES.				
1.	terra Weylond	1318	—	MM 5841	Rob. Weylond (1319- MM 5842)
1.	terra que fuit Weylond	1318	—	MM 5842	
	terra Weylond'	1321	—	MM 5844	
2.	terra de Dykeres lond	1355	--	MM 5918	Joh.le Dykere (1354 - MM 5917); the name re-appears in the late 15th cent. as that of tenants of Cutt Mill (e.g.MM 5940 - 1488)
	terra Dikeres	1355	—	MM 5918	
	le Dykeres - place	1357	—	MM 5885	
	quondam Dyker's	1357	close	MM 5885	
	quondam Dykeres	1357	½-virgate	MM 5885	
	Dikeres place	1377	messuage & ½-virgate	MM 5922	
	le Dykers	1389	½-virgate	MM 5923 mem.3.	
3.	terra Burdon	1358	—	MM 5920	Walt. Burdon (1357 - MM 5920); Rob. Burdon (1436 - MM 5931). It seems likely that at least two distinct holdings are concerned.
	Burdons	1390	12ac.& cottage	MM 5923 mem.2	
	Burdons	1394	tenement	MM 5923 mem.1	
	Jugburdon'	1466	messuage & virgate	MM 5901	
	Yongburdon'	1474	messuage	MM 5934	
	Bordons alias young' (struck out) yug' bordons	1484	toft	MM 5902	
	Burdons	1504	toft	MM 5903	
	Burdons	1508	terra	MM 5944	
	Burtons	1509	½-virgate	MM 5945	
4.	Eliotesplace	1377	messuage & ½-virgate	MM 5922	Perhaps connected with Elias Bouecheriche (1348 - MM 5876)
	Elyottesplace	1388	messuage & 12 acs.	MM 5923 mem.4	
	Helyottes	1410	tenement	MM 5924 mem.1	
	Elyottorz	1411	messuage & ½-virgate	MM 5924 mem.1	

Names	Date	Description of holding	Source		Tenant from whom name derived
5. Waldriches	1377	messuage & ½virgate	MM 5922		Wil.Waldrugge
Alderych'	c.1445	messuage & ½virgate	MM 5930		(1348 - MM 5876)
Wallerygg'	1447	toft	MM 875		
Waldrygg'	1454	messuage	MM 5206		
Walrygge	1458	tenement & ½-virgate	MM 5932		
Walridges	1466	close	MM 5901		
Wall'riggis	1483	toft	MM 878		
Volrige	1484	½-virgate	MM 5902		
Walregge	1504	½-virgate	MM 5903		
6. Waleys	1389	½-virgate	MM 5923	mem.3	Rob.Waleys (1346 -
Wales	c.1445	messuage & virgate	MM 5930		MM 5915)
Waleys	1454	messuage	MM 5206		
Walleis	1483	toft	MM 878		
7. Bacons	1389	cottage	MM 5923	mem.3.	None found
8 Priours	1389	cottage & ½ac.	MM 5923	mem.3.	Ric.Priour (1363 - MM 5921)
9. Smewynnes	1389	½-virgate	MM 5923	mem.3.	Isabella Smewyn
Smewynes	1410	messuage & ½-virgate	MM 5924	mem.1	(1386 - MM 5923 mem.5)
10.Lacchefordes	1393	½-virgate	MM 5923	mem.1	Joh.Lacheford (1378 - MM 5922)
Lachefordes	1394	tenement	MM 5923	mem.1.	
Lacheford-esplace	1401	messuage & 12ac.	MM 5923	mem.7	
11.olim vocat' Calwesplace	1398	messuage	MM 5923	mem.7	Joh.Calow (1363 - MM 5921)
12.Carteresplace,	1398	cottage & 6ac.	MM 5923	mem.7	Ste.Cartere (1394 - MM 5923 mem.1)
13. Redlanusplace,	1398	cottage	MM 5923	mem.7	Joh.Redlane (1389 - MM 5923 mem.3)
14. Reuesplace	1401	messuage & ½ virgate	MM 5942	mem.4.	Rob.Oldman, reeve 1311-49½
15. Witteschyr' plac'	1439	tenement & virgate	MM 5928		Not found
Wiltshir' modo benett,	1458	tenement	MM 5932		
Wiltschyres	1458	tenement & ½-virgate	MM 5932		
16. Simyshowe	c.1445	messuage, 2ac & 1 yerd'	MM 5930		Tho.Symmes (1489 - MM 5941)

	Names	Date	Description of holding	Source	Tenant from whom name derived
	nuper Symmys	1504	messuage	MM 5903	
	Symmes	1509	messuage & ½-virgate	MM 5945	
17.	Thershers	c.1445	messuage	MM 5930	Joh.Thresher (1411 - MM 5924 mem.1)
	Threscher	1449	—	MM 5931	
	Therssher howse	1449	domus	MM 5931	
	Thressher-shays	1466	¼-virgate	MM 5901	
	Threschers	1484	¼-virgate	MM 5902	
	Threschers	1504	1 quarter' terre	MM 5903	
	l'Thrychhouse	1509	domus	MM 5945	
18.	quondam Wyrall'	c.1445	cottage	MM 5930	Not found
	Wyrall'	c.1445	cottage	MM 5930	
19.	Cowhell'	1454	cottage	MM 5206	Ric.Coughwell, witness to deed dated at Cuxham, 1415 (MM 884)
	Coffols	1502	messuage	MM 1849	
	Coffols	1504	messuage	MM 2581	
20.	Watermanis	1454	cottage	MM 5206	Wil.Waterman (1438 - MM 5926)
	Watermans	1502	tenement	MM 1849	
	Watermans	1504	tenement	MM 2581	
	Watermans	1527	cottage & garden	MM 885	
	Watermans	1528	tenement	MM 886	
	Watermans	1528	tenement & garden	MM 880	
	Watermannys	1528	tenement	MM 2569	
	Watermans	1528	tenement & garden	MM 2563	
21.	Harpershowse	1458	tenement	MM 5932	Wil.Harper (1487 - MM 5939)
22.	Moreys	1474	messuage & ½-virgate	MM 5934	Wil.Mores (1458 - MM 5932)
	Moreis	1466	½-virgate	MM 5901	
23.	Hodmans	1502	tenement	MM 1849	Joh.Hodman (1509 - MM 5945)
	Hodmans	1504	tenement	MM 2581	

II NAMES PROBABLY NOT DERIVED FROM FAMILY NAMES.

24.	Ovyn Hoyys	1436	—	MM 5925
	Ouen' hayse	c.1445	—	MM 5930
	Ovynheys	1454	cottage	MM 5206
25.	Hasch'heys	c.1445	toft	MM 5930
	Asshe heys	1449	croft	MM 5931
	Asshеheys	1466	close	MM 5901
	Ascheyes	1484	—	MM 5902
	Asscheheys	1504	—	MM 5903

	Names	Date	Description of holding	Source	Tenant from whom name derived
26.	Owclond'	c.1445	14ac.	MM 5930	
	Ow[tlond']	1454	14ac.arable, lac.meadow.	MM 5206	
	Owtelond'	1458	6ac.(part only)	MM 5932	
	lez Outlondes	1466	———	MM 5901	
	Outelondes	1474	13ac.	MM 5934	
	Owtlands	1484	arable	MM 5902	
	l'Outelandes	1496	13ac.	MM 4537b	
	Owtlond'	1504	arable	MM 5903	
	Outlondes	1509	13ac.	MM 5945	
27.	Greneheys	1447	messuage	MM 875	Perhaps connected with the Green family, free tenants in Cuxham, 13th-16th cent.
	le Greneheys	1466	close	MM 5933	
	le Greneheis	1466	———	MM 5901	
	Greneheys	1484	½-virgate	MM 5902	
	Greneheys	1504	———	MM 5903	
28.	Brandheys	1509	½-virgate	MM 5945	

ILLUSTRATION 8: Photograph of the village street, Jan.1960

The view is from the east end of the village; the stream runs in the deep ditch on the left.

CUXHAM CHURCH OXFORDSHIRE.

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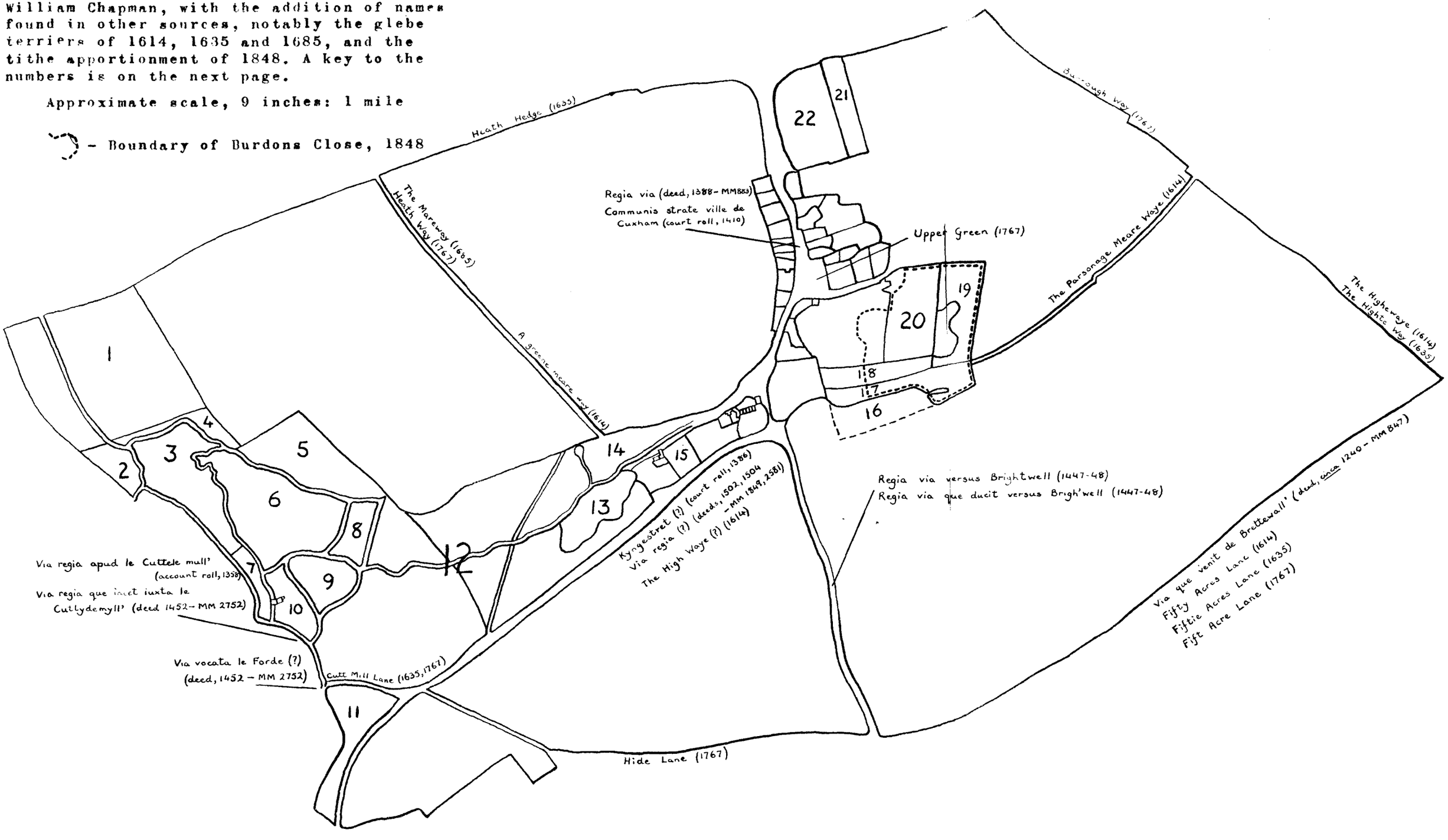
ILLUSTRATION 9: Aquatint by C.Tomkins and F.Jukes, 1796
Inset is a photograph taken from the same position, 1960.

ILLUSTRATION 10: Meadows, pastures, closes and roads

The map is based on that of 1767 by William Chapman, with the addition of names found in other sources, notably the glebe terriers of 1614, 1635 and 1685, and the tithe apportionment of 1848. A key to the numbers is on the next page.

Approximate scale, 9 inches: 1 mile

- Boundary of Burdons Close, 1848



Names of meadows, pastures, closes and roads

Key to the map on the preceding page:

Meadows

1. Cuxham meade (court roll, 1611); Comon Meade (1635); Townemeade (1685); Town Meadow (1767 and 1846); Town Mead (1848).
2. Paddock (1767).
3. Court Meadow (1767); Court Mead (1848).
4. Little Oxleys (1767).
5. le Oxlese (lease 1472 - MM 1874); Oxlese (lease, 1493 - Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis (Oxf.Hist.Soc.), pp.171-172); ky oxles (lease 1548 - MM 1872); Oxlees (lease, 1610 - MM 1873); Oxleys (1767); Ox Lease (1848).
6. Plash Meadow (1767); The Plash (1848).
7. Hog's Hays, Cutt Mill Hog's Hays (1767).
8. Sour Ale (1767 and 1848).
9. Sweet Ale (1767 and 1848).
10. Upper Close and Lower Close, Cutt Mill Upper Close and Cutt Mill Lower Close (1767).
11. Cutmill meade (1685); Cutt Mill Mead (1767).

Pasture

12. pastura domini vocata le More (court roll, 1323); Commune vocatum le More (court roll, 1506); le More (court roll, 1507); the moore (court roll 1611); the moor, the more (court roll 1612); The Common (1767).

Closes (for earlier forms of those marked with asterisks, see Illustration 7)

+13. Wallridge (1767).
14. Lower Green (1767).
+15. Greenwich Piece (1767); Greenwich Close (1848).
16. New Close (1848).
17. Long Close (1767).
+18. Burdens (1767).
19. The Grove (1767); possibly New Close (1635 and 1685).
20. Grass Close (1767).
21. New Close (1767).
22. Mill Meadow, Mill Piece (1767); Mill Close (1767 and 1848); possibly crofta que vocatur Mullecroft (court roll, 1306); le Mullecroft (account roll, 1356-57); le Mulncroft' (account roll, 1357-58); le Mullecroft' (account roll, 1358-59).

Unlocated names:

Meadows

placea prati iuxta Le Cottedemull' (account roll, 1353-54); separale domini iuxta molendinum Cuttedmylle (court roll, 1411).

pratum de Bolnhale (account roll, 1353-54); pratum in le bolenhale (account roll, 1356-57).
pratum domini vocatum Dychacr' (court roll, 1404).
Hales (leases, 1472, 1493, 1548 and 1610 - MM 1872-1874, Registrum annalium Collegii Mertonensis (Oxf.Hist.Soc.), pp.171-172).
pratum vocatum Morwlese (account roll, 1354-55); pratum dominicale in la Morwlese (account roll, 1356-57); pratum dominicale in le Morwlese (account roll, 1358-59).
Nortmede (court roll, 1298).
le Nywemede (account roll, 1358-59); pratum domini vocatum Newemed' (court roll, 1406).
pratum versus Pyryton' (account roll, 1353-54).
somer mead (court roll, 1612).

Pastures

pastura de folewelle (court roll, 1299); folewell' (account roll, 1323-24); Fullewell' (court roll, 1405).
holdepond, heldepond (account rolls, from 1301-02 to 1311).
Pastura de vpfelde (court roll, 1355).

Roads

le Cawsewey (court roll, 1507).
via vocata Fotewey for hors and harheys (inquisition, 1452 - MM 2752).

ILLUSTRATION 11: Conjectural plan of the curia, circa 1315

Approximate scale, 1 inch: 50 yards

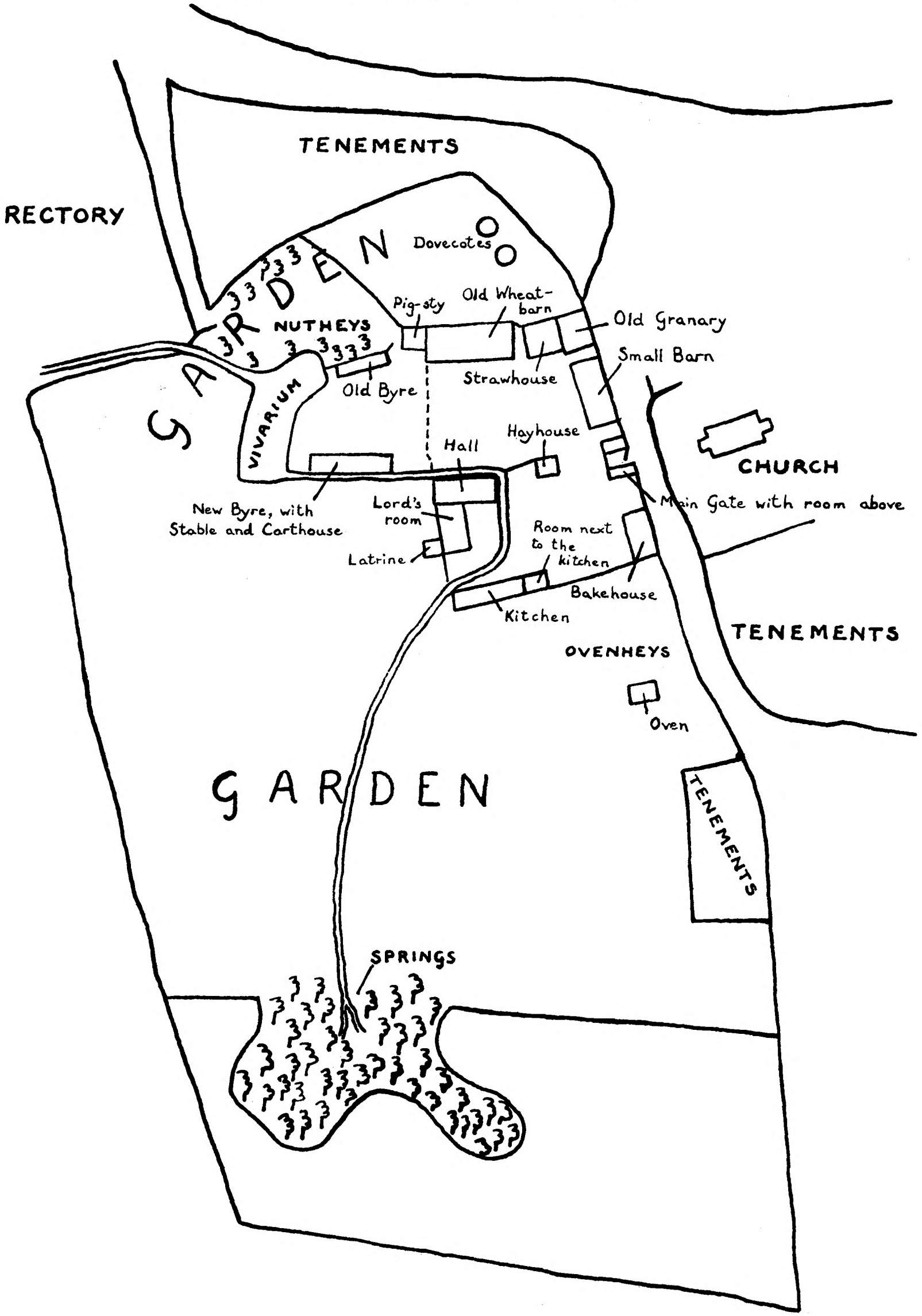


ILLUSTRATION 12: The buildings of the curia

Source: account rolls, including reeve's draft accounts, views of account and short-term accounts, 1276 to 1358-59 (the notes on each building give the years for which there are relevant entries); stock indenture, 1349, and list of stock on the account roll, 1358-59.

I - Domestic buildings

THE HALL - aula, magna aula

References: Full accounts for extensive re-building in 1293-94, 1331-32; other references in 1290-91, 1291-92, 1298-99, 1302-03, 1304-5, 1307-08, 1308-09, 1311, 1312-13, 1319-20, 1322-23, 1323-24, 1330-31, 1331-32, 1333-34, 1335-36, 1347-48, 1350-51, 1357-58.

Location: Adjoined the lord's room; between them was a gutter made of tin and lead with a tabula (?stone flag) below. It also adjoined the barnyard - in 1301-02 is a reference to a wall 'in curia grangie iuxta aulam'. In front ran a drain or ditch (fossatum ante ostium aule).

Construction: Stone foundations; timber-framed, with walls of wattle and daub, whitewashed; roof tiled (over 2500 tiles), though in 1304-05 repaired 'cum veteribus cindul''. No evidence of internal divisions, except perhaps that in 1311 a key was bought 'ad ceruram ostii (camere?) retro ostium aule'.

Contents: 1349 - 'Item in aula 1 long' tabul' . . . 6 long' tabul' fraxin' 5 paruas tabul' cum alio meremio 2 trendeles pro cyzera facienda 2 pelues 1 lauator 6 olleas eneas 1 patellam eneam 1 Mortar' cum pilo 1 tripodem 3 scalas'; 1359 - '2 (altered from 1) long' tabul' in aula (inserted)'.

THE LORD'S ROOM - camera, magna camera, camera domini, solar'

References: No extensive reconstruction recorded, but frequent references from 1291-92 to 1339-40 and also in 1347-48, 1356-57, 1357-58 and 1358-59.

Location: Adjoined the hall (q.v.) and an unidentified domus iuxta cameram domini. Lay east to west - reference to mur' in fine orientali camere domini in 1357-58. Behind ran a ditch or drain (fossatum retro cameram domini).

Construction: Formed only the upper part of the building - references to gradum magne camere made of wood. Building itself of stone, with a gable end (gabul', le gable); roof of shingles (over 7160 bought as replacements, 1296-1302). The surrounds of the door, at least, were made of freestone. Besides the magna fenestra fitted

with iron bars, there were windows in the gable, while a new window was made in 1336-37; all were apparently unglazed but had wooden shutters. The roof was fitted with a gutter of tin and lead at least where it adjoined the hall, and above the door. The door was fitted with a lock.

Contents: 1349 - 'Item in solar' 3 tabul' mensal' 1 tabul' fraxin' 2 cahedre 3 trescell' 3 forumulas'; 1359 - 'In camera 1 tapetum 1 mappa mensalis 1 manutergium 1 Cuua 1 peluis cum lauator' 2 oll' enee 2 vrciol' 1 patell' en' continens 3 lagenas 1 ost' in camera 2 tabul' mensales cum 2 paribus tristall' in camera', '1 alia cista in camera domini et forpic'. 1 triped''. /1

THE LATRINE - garderoba, latrina

References: 1297-98, 1298-99, 1307-08, 1308-09, 1319-20, 1350-51.

Location: Probably an adjunct to the lord's room, since it is the only other room to be roofed with shingles.

Construction: Fitted with window (aera, fenestra), probably with wooden shutters; shingle roof, with gutter.

THE ROOM ABOVE THE GATE - camera vltra portam, parua camera, solarium vltra portam, solarium porte

References: Extensive repairs to the roof, etc., in 1315-16; other references in 1293-94, 1297-98, 1299-1300, 1300-01, 1302-03, 1303-04, 1307-08, 1348-49.

Location: That it was above (not beyond) the main gate of the curia is shown by a reference in 1297-98 to 'magna porta sub camera predicta'.

Construction: Built apparently of stone, though in 1297-98 is a reference to its pariet' de bord', perhaps an internal partition; gable end (gable), repaired in 1307-08 with vna petra que dicitur somer and 23 feet of other stone; tiled roof. Gradum camere vltra portam made of wood; door fitted with a lock.

THE KITCHEN - coquina

References; 1291-92, 1293-94, 1298-99, 1300-01, 1302-03, 1304-05, 1305-06, 1307-08, 1309-10, 1312-13, 1316-17, 1330-31, 1347-48, 1348-49.

Location: Adjoined the room next to the kitchen.

Construction: Stone foundation; tiled roof. Wooden door, no mention of a lock.

THE ROOM NEXT TO THE KITCHEN - solarium juxta coquinam, solarium ad capud coquine, solarium

References: 1293-94, 1299-1300, 1309-10, 1311, 1312-13, 1346-47, 1350-51.

Location: Adjoined the kitchen, but not part of the same structure, since roofed with thatch, not tiles.

Construction: Thatched roof. Reference to wooden gradum solarii may refer to the steps to the lord's room.

THE DAIRY - daeria, dayeria, dayria, camera daye

References: 1308-09, 1327-28.

Location: Probably under either the lord's room or the room next to the kitchen, as there is no record of its roof repairs.

Construction: Door fitted with a lock.

Contents: In 1327-28 the multral' was repaired by the carpenter; 1349 - 'Item in daer' 5 formul' pro caseis faciendis 1 pail 1 Multral' 1 vetus ligamen ad carect' ferr'; 1359 - '1 cista in camera deye'.

THE BAKE-HOUSE - pistrina, domus pist'

References: Extensive repairs in 1320-21, 1321-22, 1322-23; other references in 1290-91 and 1306-07.

Location: No evidence.

Construction: Built of stone; tiled roof (9000 tiles bought for it, 1320-22). Wooden door, and probably one window, with shutters.

Contents: 1349 -'Item in pistrina 1 magnum lapidum pro cyzera facienda'.

THE CELLAR - cellarium

References: 1308-09, 1313-14.

Location: Probably under either the lord's room or the room next to the kitchen

Construction: Door fitted with a lock.

Contents: 1349 - 'Item in celar' 2 cuuas 1 doleum (vasii?) 1 alueum 1 vencilabium lingneum (ciddos?) fractos 5 hercias 1 seminile 1 vang' 2 (treun'?) 1 bussellum pro mensur' ferro ligatum 1 pec pro mensur' Item 1 Wys et basum molendini pro cyzera facienda vnde basus

(remitt'?) 2 sportos 22 claias ad ouile 1 cilic' ad torale debile 2 Furc' pro blado et feno furcandis 1 cyuera rotata 1 tumberell' pro fim' 1 lad ad carect''

OTHER BUILDINGS

domus iuxta cameram domini - doorway repaired by mason, 1335/-36; probably either the latrine or the room next to the kitchen.

II - Farm Buildings

THE OLD WHEAT-BARN - grangia, magna grangia, grangia pro frumento

References: Frequent references from 1276 to 1323-24.

Location: Lay east to west (though in 1294-95 its two parts described as the eastern and southern).

Construction: Stone foundations and perhaps stone walls (two cementarii spent a week working on the paries magne grangie, 1322-23) but more likely wattle and daub (magn' gadys and virge bought 'ad parietem grangie', 1289-90); thatched roof. Two doors - references to parua porta (1304-05) and magnum ostium (1322-23).

Contents: The magna grangia is identified with the wheat-barn by the grain estimate roll of 1272 and the account indenture of 1299. After circa 1326 it was probably used for oats - see notes on the oats-barn.

THE SMALL BARN - grangia minor, parua grangia, grangia pro auena.

References: Frequent references from 1296-97 to 1323-24.

Location: Probably lay north to south - thatching 'ex parte orient'' and 'ex alia parte' in 1296-97.

Construction: Thatched roof. Door with hanging lock.

Contents: The grain estimate rolls show that dredge, barley, peas and beans were normally stacked in the same barn as the oats. Probably either demolished or put to some quite different use after circa 1326 - see notes on the oats-barn.

THE OATS-BARN - grangia pro auena, vetus grangia, le chracch' grang'

References: Extensive re-building with additions in 1335-36; other references frequent from 1328-29 to 1358-59.

Location: This must be either the small barn or the old wheat-barn of the period before 1326; it was probably the latter. Before 1326 the two barns were usually distinguished as the large and the small barns; if the latter had been replaced by a still larger barn the old nomenclature would have continued naturally for the former, and the fact that after 1326 the two barns are only twice differentiated by size (in 1344-45 and 1358-59) suggests that it was the small barn that had been pulled down or converted to some other use, while the old wheat-barn, now the smaller of the two barns in use, was converted to an oats-barn.

Construction: Probably timber-framed (entry for carpentry on its walls 1338-39); thatched roof. In 1335-36 the reconstruction included building a porticus, with stone foundation, walls probably of wattle and daub and a tiled roof (8200 tiles and 250 crests and hepetyel).

THE NEW WHEAT-BARN - noua grangia, grangia pro frumento, grangia, magna grangia

References: Frequent references from 1328-29 to 1358-59.

Location: Lay north to south, probably with one end near the garden - reference to door 'ad finem grangie versus gardinum', 1349. At one end it probably adjoined a wall - the cost of thatching murus iuxta nouam grangiam is entered in 1328-29.

Construction: Tiled roof. More than one door; they were fitted with locks.

THE OLD GRANARY - granarium (to 1317-18), gallinarium, domus pro gallinis (from 1317-18)

References: 1293-94, 1302-03, 1305-06, 1307-08, 1312-13, 1318-19, 1319-20, 1338-39, 1342-43, 1349-50.

Location: No evidence.

Construction: Possibly had walls of boards - bordneyls were bought in 1305-06 for repairing them; roof apprently tiled (though in 1302-03 repaired with 350 sclat' and 6 crest').

Contents: When the new granary was built in 1317-18 the old was used as a hen-house - entry, in that year's account, 'In galinar' cooperiend' quod factum fuit de veteri granario'.

THE NEW GRANARY - granarium

References: Account of its construction, 1317-18; other references, 1319-20, 1323-24, 1330-31, 1341-42, 1342-43, 1343-44, 1347-48, 1350-51, 1353-54, 1357-58, 1358-59.

Location: No evidence.

Construction: Apparently built wholly of wood (13 cartloads were used) - no reference to stones for foundations or to wattle for walls, which were probably boarded; tiled roof (3000 tiles and 150 hupetywel). Door fitted with lock.

THE STRAW-HOUSE - le strauhus, domus foragii, domus straminis

References: 1300-01, 1304-05, 1312-13, 1315-16, 1317-18, 1318-19, 1320-21, 1323-24. In 1328-29 a special paragraph 'Custus Noue domus' records the cost of 27 raftr' bought 'ad domum pro palea inponend''; this may be the final item in the construction of a new straw house (the account roll for the previous year is missing) - there are no subsequent references to the straw-house, which would accord with its being newly re-built and thus in no need of repair.

Location: No evidence.

Construction: Reference to its submurus in 1312-13 suggests a stone foundation; timber-framed, with walls of wattle and daub; thatched roof.

THE HAY-HOUSE - heyhus, le heyhous, domus feni, domus pro feno, camera pro feno inponendo, solarium pro feno,

References: In 1320-21, under the heading 'Expens' noui edificii' are entered the expenses of vnum solarium pro feno, with additions in 1321-22 and 1322-23; it seems likely that these refer to an extensive reconstruction rather than to a completely new building, as there are no references to foundations or to the room below the hay-house, and the expenses of masons are 'ad emendandos parites dicti Solarii'. Other references, 1315-16, 1316-17, 1318-19, 1330-31, 1343-44, 1347-48, 1350-51.

Location: Occupied the upper part of a building; otherwise no evidence.

Construction: References before 1320-21 show that it had a thatched roof, was reached by a wooden stairway (gradum) and had a door fitted with a lock. As re-built it seems to have had stone walls, with a tiled roof (12000 tiles, 50 crests and 100 hepetiel) and probably a wooden floor - carpenter hired 'tabuland' nouum solarium'. Note payment of carpenter 'pro 8 copulis del heyhous plus quam fuit in conuencione' - presumably copula: tie-beam, not copula: bay.

THE STABLE - stabulum

References: 1339-40, 1347-48, 1356-57, 1358-59.

Location: May have adjoined or formed part of the new byre. In 1410 the homage presented that 'due spacie bouarie videlicet stabulum

pro equis carectariis et domus pro carect' inponend' subito in terram cecedit in defectu fundamenti eiusdem domus iuxta fossatum'; there had been difficulties over the foundation when the new byre was built - 'In submur' faciend' los.ld. et tantum pro fundamento petendo' (1313-14). All the references to the stable relate to its fittings except in 1347-48, in a list of buildings that the tiler had worked on, where it is mentioned immediately after the byre.

Construction: Tiled roof. Door fitted with lock.

Contents: Mangeres in stabul' were made by a carpenter in 1339-40.

THE OLD BYRE - domus vaccarum et boum (before 1312-13), either boscar boum or boscar vaccarum (after 1312-13), boueria, boscar

References: 1290-91, 1294-95, 1297-98, 1300-01, 1304-05, 1305-06, 1308-09, 1309-10, 1312-13; and possibly also 1313-14, 1342-43, 1350-51, 1351-52.

Location: No evidence.

Construction: Probably timber-framed; walls of wattle and daub; thatched roof.

Contents: Probably continued in use after the construction of the new byre in 1312-13; in 1351-52 repairs were made to the walls of both the boscar boum and the boscar vaccarum, but there is no way of telling which was which. Carpenters made praesepia boum (1313-14) in the byre - either the old or the new. and staciones vaccarum (1350-51)

THE NEW BYRE - noua boueria, boueria, boscar, either boscar boum or boscar vaccarum

References: Account of its construction, 1312-13 and 1313-14; other references in 1319-20, 1331-32, 1338-39, 1341-42, 1347-48, and possibly also in 1313-14, 1342-43, 1350-51, 1351-52.

Location: May have included the stable, q.v.

Construction: Stone foundation; timber-framed, probably with walls of wattle and daub; tiled roof (1500 tiles, 150 crests and hupetiwel). Two doors (probably double, or even four doors in all, as 8 hooks and hinges were bought for them in 1313-14), fitted with locks.

Contents: See the old byre.

THE CART-HOUSE - domus carectarum

References: Built in 1294-95; other references in 1311, 1319-20.

Location: Although built at the same time as a hen-house and pig-sty it was probably a separate building, as they are referred to (1294-95) as easdem domus, in the plural. Note that the court roll of 1410 (see the notes on the stable, above) suggests that part of the new byre built in 1312-14 was used as a cart-house.

Construction: Walls of wattle and daub; thatched roof.

THE PIG-STY - domus porcorum, porcar'

References: Built in 1294-95; other references in 1318-19, 1329-30.

Location: See the cart-house above.

thatched roof.

Construction: Timber-framed;probably boarded walls (wattling is specifically mentioned only of the cart-house in the building account); Fitted with door.

THE DOVECOTES - columbaria

References: One partially re-built in 1315-16, and again in 1323-24; a completely new one built in 1344-45, 1345-46. Other references in 1299-1300, 1307-08, 1311, 1317-18, 1357-58.

Location: No evidence. There were probably two from the beginning of the period of the accounts - in 1307-08 stones were bought 'pro emendacione 2 columbariorum'.

Construction: Apparently all built of stone; tiled roofs. Note references to purchase of clate (1315-16), virge (1323-24), 'pro le Steyring' Columbar''.

OTHER BUILDINGS

domus iuxta portam gardini - detailed account of its construction in 1306-07: timber-framed, walls of wattle and daub, roof probably thatched. No evidence to identify it with any of the buildings described above.

domus gallinarum - built, 1294-95, by carpenter, probably with thatched roof; no subsequent reference. From 1317-18 the old granary (q.v.), was used as a hen-house.

lardar' - in 1278-79, 2½d. was paid 'In 1 homine faciente Lardar' per 2 dies'; probably a temporary store-house dug in the ground - no subsequent reference.

domus que vocatur Malthus - repairs to its roof (thatched) entered in 1303-04; no other reference.

domus ouium - the cost of its hinges entered in 1322-23; no other reference. Perhaps the fold, or a room temporarily adapted for ewes during lambing.

ILLUSTRATION 13: Amounts of seed sown on the demesne, 1271-1300.

Source: account rolls from 1276 to 1299-1300, including reeve's draft account of 1276; view of account, 1278-79; chapter account 1277-79.

Season	Wheat qr.bus.p.	Barley qr.bus.p.	Dredge qr.bus.p.	Peas, beans & vetch qr.bus.p.	Oats qr.bus.p.	Total spring-corn sown. qr.bus.p.
1275-76		-	12.6.2.	2. 1.	44. 2	59. 1. 2.
1276-77	33. 1.	-	12.7.	1. 3.	40. 1.	54. 3.
1277-78	14. 4.2.	4.	2.2.	2. 4.	42. 3.	51. 1.
1278-79	24. 1.	2. 4.	5.2.	1. 1.	46. 7.2.	55. 6. 2.
1288-89		5. 4. 2.	8.6.	4. 2 (etc)		
1289-90		4. 3. 2.	7.6.	4. 3.	36.	52. 4. 2
1290-91	26. 7.2.	4. 7.	9.6.	4. 2. 2.	34. 6.	53. 5. 2.
1291-92	26. 3.	7. 1.	10.	4. 5.	23. 3.2.	45. 1. 2.
1293-94	26. 4.	3. 7.	-	3. 3. 2.	30. 4.2.	37. 6. 2.
1294-95	31. 6.	5. 1.	6.7.2.	3.	34.	49. 0. 2.
1296-97		4. 6.	7.6.	3. 5.	31. 6.	47. 7.
1297-98	27. 7.	5. 1. 2.	5.1.2.	1. 7. 2.	35. 2.	47. 4. 2
1298-99	29. 1	4. 3.	10.3.	1. 4 (etc)	29. 6.1.	42. 0. 1 (etc)
1299-1300	27. 4.	4. 3.	10. 5.	3. 7.	31. 2.2.	50. 1. 2.

ILLUSTRATION 14: Acreages sown on the demesne, 1271-1359.

Source: view of account 1278-79; account rolls from 1297-98 to 1358-59, including reeve's drafts.

Note: acreages underlined are those for which the field is not actually specified; areas in the wheat-field sown with barley because the wheat was waterlogged are marked with asterisks and excluded from the totals.

	1278-79	1297-98.	1298-99.	1299-1300.	1300-01.	1301-02.	
North Field:							
Wheat	106½			96			
Barley		10½			9		
Dredge		9			15½		
Oats		93			52		
Peas (unspecified)		2					
Pulse					7		
Beans							
Vetch		4½					
Total:	106½	119		96	83½		
South Field:							
Wheat			116			113	
Barley	7½						
Dredge	11½			26½			
Oats	...			70½			
Peas (unspecified)							
Pulse							
Beans				2			
Vetch				1			
Total	...		116	111½		113	
West Field							
Wheat		106¼			100		
Barley			10½			9	
Dredge			28			18	
Oats			59¼			64¼	
Pulse			5			9	
Vetch			(about 0¾)			1	
Total		106¼.	103½		100	101¼	

	1302-03.	1303-04.	1304-05.	1305-06.	1306-07.	1307-08.	1308-09.
North Field.							
Wheat	94¾			93¼			84¼
Barley		8¾					1
Dredge		24¼					
Oats		53½					
Peas (unspecified)		2¼					
Peas (grey)							
Pulse							
Beans		4					
Vetch		1					
Total.	94¾	93¾		93¼			85¼
South Field.							
Wheat			112½				
Barley				6½			9½
Dredge	18½			16½			17¾
Oats	79			80			76½
Peas (unspecified)				8			2
Peas (grey)							
Pulse							1½
Beans	2½			2			
Vetch	0½			0¼			0½
Total.	113		112½	113¼			107¾
West Field.							
Wheat		105¼					
Barley			10½				
Dredge			27				
Oats			58¼				
Peas (unspecified)			5				
Peas (grey)							
Pulse			4				
Beans							
Vetch			0½				
Lentils							
Total.		105¼	105¼				

	1309-10.	1310-11.	1311-12.	1312-13.	1313-14.	1314-15.	1315-16.
North Field							
Wheat							$4\frac{1}{2}$
Barley	$6\frac{1}{2}$			$11\frac{1}{2}$			$3\frac{1}{2}$
Dredge	$16\frac{1}{2}$			23			10
Oats	$55\frac{1}{4}$			$48\frac{3}{4}$			58 5/6
Peas (unspecified)	$6\frac{1}{2}$			$5\frac{1}{2}$			$10\frac{2}{3}$
Peas (grey)							
Pulse							
Beans							
Vetch	$0\frac{1}{2}$			$0\frac{1}{2}$		(about $0\frac{1}{2}$)	
Totaly	$85\frac{1}{4}$			$89\frac{1}{4}$			88 approx.
South Field							
Wheat		$102\frac{1}{4}$			$112\frac{1}{4}$		
Barley							
Dredge							
Oats							
Peas (unspecified)							
Peas (grey)							
Pulse							
Beans							
Vetch							
Total		$102\frac{1}{4}$			$112\frac{1}{4}$		
West Field							
Wheat	$102\frac{1}{4}$			$103\frac{1}{4}$			$103\frac{1}{4}$
Barley		9			$13\frac{1}{2}$		
Dredge		$16\frac{3}{4}$			$18\frac{1}{2}$		
Oats		$65\frac{3}{4}$			$59\frac{3}{4}$		
Peas (unspecified)		$8\frac{1}{4}$			10		
Peas (grey)							
Pulse		$3\frac{1}{2}$					
Beans							
Vetch		$0\frac{3}{4}$			1		
Lentils					$0\frac{1}{2}$		
Total	$102\frac{1}{4}$	104		$103\frac{1}{4}$	$103\frac{1}{4}$		$103\frac{1}{4}$

	1316-17.	1317-18.	1318-19.	1319-20.	1320-21.	1321-22.	1322-23.
North Field,							
Wheat		87½			87½		
Barley			4½			4	
Dredge			17			12¾	
Oats			55¼			64¾	
Peas (unspecified)			9			4¼	
Peas (grey)							
Pulse							
Beans							
Vetch			1¼			1	
Total		87½	87		87½	87	
South Field,							
Wheat	111½			88¼			80¼
Barley		4	(about	0½)*	4½		
Dredge		22½			19¾		
Oats		63			52¾		
Peas (unspecified)		20½			8½		
Peas (grey)							
Pulse							
Beans					1 5/6		
Vetch		1			1		
Total	111½	111		88¼	88⅓		80¼
West Field,							
Wheat			93¼			93¼	
Barley	7½	(about 2)*		4½			4
Dredge	17½			10½			16
Oats	64¼			70¼			68¼
Peas (unspecified)	12			7			4
Peas (grey)							
Pulse							
Beans							
Vetch	1			1			1
Lentils							
Total.	102¼		93¼	93¼		93¼	93¼

	1323-24.	1324-25.	1325-26.	1326-27.	1327-28.	1328-29.	1329-30.
North Field							
Wheat	87½						87½
Barley					4		
Dredge					22½		
Oats					48½		
Peas (grey)					5		
Peas (green)							
Peas (white)					4½		
Beans							
Vetch					2½		
Total	87½				87		87½
South Field							
Wheat						85¾	
Barley	5¼					2½	4½
Dredge	22						18
Oats	52¼						45½
Peas (grey)	5⅓						10¼
Peas (green)							1
Peas (white)							5½
Beans	2						2
Vetch	1½						1½
Total	88⅓					88¼	88¼
West Field							
Wheat					92¼		
Barley						4	
Dredge						15	
Oats						57	
Peas (grey)						9	
Peas (green)							
Peas (white)						7	
Beans							
Vetch						1¼	
Total					92¼	93¼	

	1330-31.	1331-32.	1332-33.	1333-34.	1334-35.	1335-36.	1336-37.	1337-38.
North Field.								
Wheat			87½			87½		
Barley	4			4			3	
Dredge	18			26			15½	
Oats	50½			48			51	
Peas (grey)	9			7			11½	
Peas (green)	1							
Peas (white)	3½						2	
Beans								
Vetch	1			2			1½	
Total.	87		87½	87		87½	87½	
South Field.								
Wheat		88¼			88¼			
Barley			8¼					
Dredge			20			26		
Oats			48¼			46¼		
Peas (grey)			10½			11½		
Peas (green)								
Peas (white)						3		
Beans								
Vetch			1½			1½		
Total.		88¼	88¼		88¼	88¼		
West Field.								
Wheat	...			93¼			93¼	
Barley		4½			4			
Dredge		20¼			16			
Oats		53			57¼			
Peas (grey)		14½			15			
Peas (green)								
Peas (white)								
Beans								
Vetch		1			1			
Total.	...	93¼		93¼	93¼		93¼	

	1338-39.	1339-40.	1340-41.	1341-42.	1342-43.	1343-44.	1344-45.	
North Field.								
Wheat	87½			86½			87½	
Barley		6½			6			
Dredge		24			19			
Oats		44			52			
Peas (grey)		8			8½			
Peas (white)		3						
Pulse								
Beans								
Vetch		2			2			
Total	87½	87½		86½	87½		87½	
South Field.								
Wheat			88¼			88¼		
Barley	10¼			} 25¾			24	
Dredge	19¼						6	
Oats	50¾			53½			49	
Peas (grey)	4			7¾				
Peas (white)	2½							
Pulse							1	
Beans								
Vetch	1½			1¼			2¼	
Total	88¼		88¼	88¼		88¼	88¼	
West Field.								
Wheat		91¾			91¾			
Barley		1½	9		1	8		
Dredge			13		0½	20		
Oats			54			55¼		
Peas (grey)			11			5½		
Peas (white)			2					
Pulse						3		
Beans								
Vetch			1¼			1½		
Total		93¼	93¼		93¼	93¼		

	1345-46.	1346-47.	1347-48.	1348-49.	1349-50.	1350-51.	1351-52.	1352-53.
North Field.								
Wheat			87½			82½		
Barley	29½			14¼				
Dredge				—				
Oats	43			—				
Peas (grey)	13			12½				
Peas (white)								
Pulse								
Beans								
Vetch	2			1½				
Total	87½		87½			82½		
South Field.								
Wheat		88			85½			
Barley			7½			15¾		
Dredge					1½	37		
Oats			40			14		
Peas (grey)								
Peas (unspecified)			12½			1½	1	
Pulse								
Beans								
Vetch			1¼					
Bereuechicorn.						5½		
Total		88	61¼		87	86¾		
West Field.								
Wheat	...			93¼				
Barley		8			8			
Dredge		7½			49			
Oats		58¾			36			
Peas (grey)		16½						
Peas (white)								
Pulse								
Beans								
Vetch		1½			1¼			
Total	...	92¼		93¼	94¼			

	1353-54.	1354-55.	1355-56.	1356-57.	1357-58.	1358-59.
North Field.						
Wheat	83			90		
Barley	4½	18			17	
Dredge		24				
Oats		11			—	
Peas (unspecified)					—[1]	
Peas (grey)						
Vetch		5				
Bereuechicorn		13¾[2]			—	
Total	87½	71¾		90		
South Field.						
Wheat						—
Barley	13½			42½		
Dredge	43					
Oats	6					
Peas (unspecified)	7					
Peas (grey)						
Vetch	7			—		
Bereuechicorn	10¾			28[3]		
Total	87¼					
West Field.						
Wheat		96			100	
Barley						} —
Dredge						
Oats						—
Peas (unspecified)						—
Peas (grey)						
Vetch						} —
Bereuechicorn						
Total		96			100	

1. i.e. peas & vetch mixed.

2. i.e. vetch. dredge & bereuechicorn mixed.

3. i.e. oats and bereuechicorn mixed.

ILLUSTRATION 15: Amounts of seed sown per acre

Source: account rolls, including reeve's draft accounts, from 1297-98 to 1357-58.

Note: 1, The amounts are given in bushels to the nearest peck; "+" and "-" indicate a remainder.
2. The figures are those actually given in the accounts, even though in a few cases these do not tally with the acreage and total seed sown; where the account gives the area sown, but no figure for the amount of seed per acre, this has been calculated and is put here in square brackets.
3. Where the figure on the account has been altered by the auditors the original figure is given here, followed by the amended figure in round brackets.

A. Customary Acres

	1297-98	1298-99	1299-1300	1300-01	1301-02	1302-03	1303-04
Wheat	[2¾]	2+	2¼+	[2¼-]	[2+]	[2¼+]	[2+]
Barley	[4-]	3½-	[4+]	[3½+]	[3½+]	[3½+]	[3½+]
Dredge	[4+]	3-	3¼	[4+]	[3+]	[3+]	[4+]
Oats	[3+]	[4+]	[3½+]	[4½-]	[3¾-]	[3+]	[3½+]

	1304-05	1305-06	1306-07	1307-08	1308-09	1309-10	1310-11
Wheat	[2+]	[2¼-]			2½-	2+	2+
Barley	[3+]	[4]			3½+	[3½+]	3+
Dredge	[3+]	[3½+]			3½+	4+	4-
Oats	[3¾-]	[3½+]			4-	4+	3½+

	1311-12	1312-13	1313-14	1314-15	1315-16	1316-17	1317-18
Wheat		2¼-	2¼+		2¼+	2¼-	
Barley		3½+	3+		[3½-]	3¼	3
Dredge		2½+	3½+		[4½-]	3½-	3½-
Oats		3¼+	3½+		3½	3½+	3½-

B. Measured acres

	1317-18	1318-19	1319-20	1320-21	1321-22	1322-23	1323-24
Wheat	2½-	2½+	2¾	2½+	2½-	2¾+	2½-
Barley		4	4	4	4	4-	3½+
Dredge		4+	4	3½+	3½+	3¾+	3½
Oats		3+	3	4+	3+	3+	3¼

	1324-25	1325-26	1326-27	1327-28	1328-29	1329-30	1330-31
Wheat				2½-	2½+	2½-	
Barley				3½	3½+	3¼+	4
Dredge				3½-	4 [1]	4-	3½+
Oats				3+	3½+	3½+	3½+

	1331-32	1332-33	1333-34	1334-35	1335-36	1336-37	1337-38
Wheat	2¾+	2½-	2¼+	2½+		2¼+	
Barley	3½-	3+	4	3½		3½	
Dredge	4-	4½(4)	3½-	4-	4	4+	
Oats	3½+	3½+(3+)	3½	3¼	3¼+	3+	

	1338-39	1339-40	1340-41	1341-42	1342-43	1343-44	1344-45
Wheat	2½+ [2]	2½+	2¾+	2½+	2½+	2¼+	2½+
Barley	4(3½+)	3½	4)	4-	3¾-	4	3½+
Dredge	4½+(4)	3¾	4+(4))		3¾-	4	3½+
Oats	4+	3¼+	3¼+	4+(3¼)	3½-	3¼+	4+

	1345-46	1346-47	1347-48	1348-49	1349-50	1350-51	1351-52
Wheat)		2¾+	2½+	2½+	2¾+	2¼+	
Barley)	3¾+	4	3½+		4	3½+	
Dredge)		4+	3½+		4	3½	
Oats	3½+	3¼-	4-		3¼+	3½+	

	1352-53	1353-54	1354-55	~~1355-56~~	~~1356-57~~	~~1357-58~~	~~1358-59~~
Wheat		2¼+(2½)	2½		~~2½~~	~~2¾~~	
Barley		4+(3¾)				~~4~~	
Dredge		4+(4)	3½+		~~4~~		
Oats		4(3½)	2+		~~4~~		

1. Oats, 1328-29: 'hoc anno tantum propter magnam humiditatem' - auditor's note.

2. Wheat, 1338-39: 'tantum hoc anno quia tempus seminis valde plùuiósum' - auditor's note.

C. Customary Acres

	1355-56	1356-57	1357-58	1358-59
Wheat		$2\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{3}{4}$-	
Barley			4	
Dredge		4		
Oats		4		

ILLUSTRATION 16: Areas of demesne arable, 13th cent. - 1767

Sources:
1. Mid-13th cent. (?). Note of acreages on dorse of court roll of 1282 - MM 5906 mem.2.
2. 1292-93 (?). Note of acreages, dated the 21st year of King Edward (Document 2) - MM 5892 mem.1. and vol.1.1,f.1.
3. 1317-47. Acreages sown on the demesne, as shown in Illustration 14.
4. 1447-48. Demesne terrier (Document 13) - MM vol.1.1, ff.1-2.
5. 1767. Survey by William Chapman - MM vol.5.30.

Note: The figures underlined are customary acres; all the others are measured acres.

	Mid-13th cent.(?)	1292-93(?)	1317-47.	1447-48.	1767
North Field demesne blocks in common fields	73ac.3r. 9ac.1r.	79ac.2r.	}87ac.2r.	}52ac.1r. 3p.	67ac.2r.3p. 5ac.1r.33p.
South Field demesne blocks in common fields		86ac.3r. 1ac.2r.	}88ac.1r.	}58ac.2r. 25p. + 7½ac.	55ac.3r.32p. 6ac.3r.10p.
West Field demesne blocks in common fields	79ac.2r. 3½ac.1r.	93ac.1r.	}93ac.1r.	}60ac.3r. 23p.	76ac.2r.8p . 5ac.2r.35p.

ILLUSTRATION 17: percentage of the spring-corn field sown with each crop.

Source: the figures set out in Illustration 14.

Note: 1. reduction of the figures to the nearest 0.1% means that their total for any one year varies from 99.8% to 100.1.
2. the percentages given in brackets in 1357-59 are approximations based on the amount of seed sown.

	1298	1299	1300	1301	1302	1303	1304	1305	1306
Barley	8.8%	10.1	7.6	10.8	8.9	8.4	9.3	10.0	5.7
Dredge	7.6	27.1	23.8	18.6	17.8	16.4	25.9	25.7	14.6
Oats	78.2	57.2	63.2	62.3	63.5	69.9	57.0	55.3	70.6%
Peas (unspecified)	1.7		2.7			2.7	2.4	4.8	7.1
Peas (grey)									
Peas (green)									
Peas (white)									
Pulse		4.8		8.4	8.9			3.8	
Beans			1.8			2.2	4.3		1.8
Vetch	3.8	0.7	0.9		1.0	0.4	1.1	0.5	0.2

	1307	1308	1309	1310	1311	1312	1313	1314	1315
Barley			8.8	7.6	8.7		12.8	13.1	
Dredge			16.5	19.4	16.1		25.8	17.9	
Oats			71.0	64.8	63.2		54.6	57.9	
Peas (unspecified)			1.9	7.6	7.9		6.2	9.7	
Peas (grey)									
Peas (green)									
Peas (white)									
Pulse			1.4.		3.4				
Beans			0.5						
Vetch				0.6	0.7		0.6	1.0	
Lentils								0.5	
Wheat									

Ill.17 cont.

	1316	1317	1318	1319	1320	1321	1322	1323	1324
Barley	4.0	7.3	3.6	5.2	4.8	5.1	4.6	4.3	5.9
Dredge	11.4	17.1	20.3	19.5.	11.3	22.4	14.4	17.2	24.9
Oats	66.9	62.8	56.8	63.5	75.3	59.7	74.4	73.2	59.0
Peas (unspecified)	12.1	11.7	18.5	10.3	7.5	9.6	5.5	4.3	
Peas (grey)									6.0
Peas (green)									
Peas (white)									
Pulse									
Beans						2.1			2.3
Vetch	0.6	1.0	0.9	1.4	1.1		1.1	1.1	1.7
Lentils									
Wheat	5.1								

	1325	1326	1327	1328	1329	1330	1331	1332	1333
Barley	4.6	4.3	5.0	4.6	4.8	9.3			
Dredge	25.9	16.1	20.4	20.7	21.7	22.6			
Oats	55.7	61.1	51.6	58.0	56.8	54.7			
Peas (unspecified)									
Peas (grey)	5.7	9.7	11.6	10.3	15.5	11.6			
Peas (green)			1.1	1.1					
Peas (white)	5.2	7.5	6.2	4.0					
Pulse									
Beans			2.3						
Vetch	2.9	1.3	1.7	1.1	1.1	1.7			

	1334	1335	1336	1337	1338	1339	1340	1341	1342
Barley	4.6	4.3		3.4		11.6	7.4	9.7	29.2
Dredge	29.9	17.1		17.2		21.8	27.4	13.9	
Oats	55.2	61.4		58.6		57.5	50.3	57.9	60.6
Peas (unspecified)									
Peas (grey)	8.0	16.1		13.2		4.6	9.1	11.8	8.8
Peas (green)									
Peas (white)				5.7		2.8	3.4	5.4	
Beans									
Vetch	2.3	1.1		1.7		1.7	2.3	1.3	1.4

	1343	1344	1345	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351
Barley	6.9	8.6	27.2	33.7	8.7	12.2		8.5	18.2
Dredge	21.7	21.4	6.8		8.1			52.0	42.7
Oats	59.4	59.2	55.5	49.1	63.7	65.3		38.2	16.1
Peas (unspecified)						20.4			16.7[1]
Peas (grey)	9.7	5.9		14.8	19.9				
Peas (green)									
Peas (white)									
Pulse		3.2	7.9						
Beans									
Vetch	2.3	1.6	2.5	2.3	1.6	2.0		1.3	
Bereuechicorn									6.3

	1352	1353	1354	1355	1356	1357	1358	1359
Barley			15.5	25.1		49.4	18.9	(38.3)
Dredge			49.3	33.5				
Oats			6.9	15.3			(21.1)	(22.9)
Peas (unspecified)			8.0			(11.6)[1]	(26.7)[1]	(32.1)
Vetch			8.0	7.0		(6.4)		
Bereuechicorn			12.3	19.2[2]		32.6[3]	(33.3)[4]	(6.8)[5]

1. i.e. peas and vetch mixed.
2. i.e. vetch, dredge and bereuechicorn mixed.
3. i.e. oats and bereuechicorn mixed.
4. i.e. dredge and bereuechicorn mixed.
5. i.e. vetch and bereuechicorn mixed.

ILLUSTRATION 18: Principal uses of each crop.

Source: account rolls from 1289-90 to 1358-59.

Note: The figures given are percentages of the total expended of each type of corn. At the top of each column is a note of the number of years in each decade for which a full record is available. 0: less than 0.5%; -: none at all.

WHEAT

	1290-1300 (6 yrs)	1300-10 (10 yrs)	1310-20 (8 yrs)	1320-30 (7 yrs)	1330-40 (7 yrs)
Seed	13	13	17	15	15
Delivered to College or other Merton manors	1	16	18	18	11
Sold as *frumentum*	67	48	43	43	58
Sold as *curallus*	3	6	1	1	1
Given to *famuli* (*frumentum*)	-	-	1	0	1
Given to *famuli* (*curallus*)	9	10	11	10	9
Total classed as currall	13	17	13	11	10

	1340-49 (8 yrs)	1349-51 (2 yrs)	1353-59 (3 yrs)
Seed	18	26	24
Delivered to College or other Merton manors	8	3	25
Sold as *frumentum*	54	39	26
Sold as *curallus*	2	7	-
Given to *famuli* (*frumentum*)	0	6	12
Given to *famuli* (*curallus*)	11	9	-
Total classed as currall	13	17	-

Ill.18 cont.

BARLEY

	1289-90 (1 yr)	1290-1300 (7 yrs)	1300-10 (10 yrs)	1310-20 (8 yrs)	1320-30 (7 yrs)	1330-40 (7 yrs)
Seed	11	25	18	18	16	16
Malted	5	7	49	63	60	33
Sold	66	37	14	3	7	28
Given to famuli	14	24	9	9	9	7

	1340-49 (7 yrs)	1349-59 (4 yrs)
Seed	26	55
Malted	18	4
Sold	18	-
Given to famuli	22	30

DREDGE

	1289-90 (1 yr)	1290-1300 (7 yrs)	1300-10 (10 yrs)	1310-20 (8 yrs)	1320-30 (7 yrs)	1330-40 (8 yrs)
Seed	24	20	20	24	23	28
Malted	2	6	21	19	5	8
Sold	65	52	15	3	15	27
Given to famuli	8	22	26	38	40	25

	1340-49 (7 yrs)	1349-59 (5 yrs)
Seed	30	47
Malted	11	3
Sold	12	17
Given to famuli	40	19

OATS

	1289-90 (1 yr)	1290-1300 (4 yrs)	1300-10 (10 yrs)	1310-20 (7 yrs)	1320-30 (7 yrs)
Seed	38	29	29	24	22
Sold	5	16	5	2	6
Fodder for demesne horses and cattle/	47	41	47	57	58

	1330-40 (8 yrs)	1340-49 (8 yrs)	1349-59 (5 yrs)
Seed	22	25	23
Sold	6	6	9
Fodder for demesne horsesand cattle	55	49	46

ILLUSTRATION 19: Allowances for heaped corn measures, 1353-59

Source: account rolls from 1353-54 to 1358-59.

Note: double underlining indicates an exact, single underlining an approximate, proportion of 32: 1.

(i) Additions to the issue

	1353-54		1354-55	
	Issue	'de cantell''	Issue	'de cumulo et incremento'
	qr.bus.p .	qr.bus.p.	qr.bus.p.	qr.bus.p.
Wheat	120.1.	3.6.	65.2.	2.1.
Barley	13.3.	0.3.1	14.6	0.4
Dredge	35	1.0.3.		
Oats			3.0	1.2
Peas	2.2	0.0.2	4.6	0.1.
Vetch	12.2	0.3	5.4	0.4.2
Bereuechicorn	18.1	0.4.2	17.0 [1]	1.6

	1356-57		1357-58	
	Issue	'de cumulo et incremento'	Issue	'de cumulo et incremento'
	qr.bus.p	qr.bus.p.	qr.bus.p.	qr.bus.p.
Wheat	85.1	7.6.1	85.7	[9.7.1?]
Barley	} 12.2	0.3	9.3	1.6
Dredge			28.2.1	3.1.3
Oats	23.	1.5.3	18.6.2	0.5
Peas				
Vetch				
Bereuechicorn				

	1358-59	
	Issue	'de cumulo et incremento'
	qr.bus.p.	qr.bus.p.
Wheat		
Barley	} 34.	2.2.
Dredge		
Oats	14.6	0.4
Peas	19.1	3.3.2
Vetch		
Bereuechicorn	8.2 [2]	0.4.3.

Ill.19 cont.

(ii) Additions to amounts sold

	1354-55 Amt.sold qr.bus.p.	'in cumulo' qr.bus.p.	1356-57 Amt.sold qr.bus.p.	'in cumulo' qr.bus.p.
Wheat	2.4	0.0.2	39.2	1.1.3
	13.0	0.1.1		
Dredge Oats			1.	0.0.1
Peas Vetch	2.0	0.0.2		
Peas & vetch Bereuechicorn	3.0[1]	0.0.2		

	1357-58 Amt.sold qr. bus. p.	'in cumulo' qr.bus.p.	1358-59 Amt.sold qr. bus. p.	'in cumulo' qr.bus.p.
Wheat	16.	0.4		
Dredge	10.	0.2.2/	10. 3.	0.2.2/
Oats	2. 2. 2.	0.0.2		
Peas			3. 2	0.0.3
Vetch			2. 0[3]	0.0.2
Peas & vetch	2.4	0.0.2		
	1. 5.	0.0.2		
Bereuechicorn			5. 2[2]	0.1.1.

1. i.e. dredge, vetch and bereuechicorn mixed.
2. i.e. vetch and bereuechicorn mixed.
3. entered on the account roll in the paragraph for dredge.

ILLUSTRATION 20: Annual crop yield per quarter sown

Source: account rolls from 1288-89 to 1358-59.

Note: the amounts of corn are given in quarters with decimals.

WHEAT

Harvest of:	1291	1294	1298	1300	1301
Amt. sown previous year	26.94	26.50	27.88	27.50	27.13
Issue (*frumentum* & *curallus*)	213.38	200.75	192.75	226.06	239.38
'Old grain' threshed next year					
Total issue	213.38	200.75	192.75	226.06	239.38
Tithe	23.71	22.08	21.53	25.12	26.60
Total harvested	237.09	222.83	214.28	251.18	265.98
Yield	8.8	8.4	7.7	9.1	9.8
Yield given on roll					

Harvest of:	1302	1303	1304	1305	1306	1307	1308	1309
Amt. sown previous year	29.75	28.13	27.50	28.88	25.13	28.19	28.63	26.31
Issue (*frumentum* & *curallus*)	196.97	173.81	180.75	172.06	193.81	181.19	140.00	147.50
'Old grain' threshed next year				49.38				
Total issue	196.97	173.81	180.75	221.44	193.81	181.19	140.00	147.50
Tithe	21.89	19.31	20.08	24.60	21.53	20.14	15.56	16.29
Total harvested	218.86	193.12	200.83	246.04	215.34	201.33	155.56	163.79
Yield	7.4	6.9	7.3	8.5	8.6	7.1	5.5	6.2
Yield given on roll								

(WHEAT, contd)

Ill.20 cont.

Harvest of:	1313	1316	1317	1318	1319	1320	1321	1322
Amt. sown previous year	28.13	32.53	31.25	28.50	29.78	30.34	28.13	28.63
Issue (frumentum & curallus)	182.63	115.13	163.75	162.22	97.88	148.88	150.53	131.19
'Old grain' threshed next year			14.25	51.53	18.37	40.06		24.56
Total issue	182.63	115.13	178.00	213.75	116.25	188.94	150.53	155.75
Tithe	20.29	12.90	19.78	23.75	12.92	20.99	16.73	17.31
Total harvested	202.82	128.03	197.78	237.50	129.17	209.93	167.26	173.06
Yield	7.2	3.9	4.1	8.3	4.3	5.9	5.9	6.0
Yield given on roll								

Harvest of:	1323	1328	1329	1332	1333	1334	1335	1339
Amt. sown previous year	30.50	27.88	28.50	30.63	26.63	27.50	29.75	32.00
Issue (frumentum & curallus)	130.50	177.88	143.00	162.19	203.13	176.50	166.94	111.50
'Old grain' threshed next year		11.50		14.00			18.00	4.00
Total issue	130.50	189.38	143.00	176.19	203.13	176.50	184.94	115.50
Tithe	14.50	21.04	15.89	19.58	22.57	19.61	20.55	12.83
Total harvested	145. 00	210.42	158.89	195.77	225.70	196.11	205.49	128.33
Yield	4.8	7.5	5.6	6.4	8.5	7.1	6.9	4.1
Yield given on roll		6 minus 7 qr.			$7\frac{1}{2}$	$6\frac{1}{2}$ minus . . .	6 plus 3qr 2b.	

(WHEAT, contd)

Ill.20 cont.

Harvest of:	1340	1341	1342	1343	1344	1347	1348
Amt. sown previous year	32.66	32.13	28.63	29.47	32.63	31.75	30.75
Issue (frumentum & curallus)	156.75	138.75	151.81	148.50	186.75	124.00	123,88
'Old grain' threshed next year	24.34						
Total issue	181.09	138.75	151.81	148.50	186.75	124.00	123.88
Tithe	20.12	15.42	16.87	16.50	20.75	13.78	13.76
Total harvested	201.21	154.17	168.68	165.00	207.50	137.78	137.65
Yield	6.2	4.8	5.9	5.6	6.4	4.3	4.5
Yield given on roll							

Harvest of:	1349	1350	1358	1359
Amt. sown previous year	30.50	31.25	33.91	26.50
Issue (frumentum & curallus)	145.97	106.34	97.91	144.00
'Old grain' threshed next year				
Total issue	145.97	106.34	97.91	144.00
Tithe	16.22	11.82	10.88	16.00
Total harvested	162.19	118.16	108.79	160.00
Yield	5.3	3.8	3.2	6.0
Yield given on roll,				

BARLEY

III.20 cont.

Harvest of:	1289	1290	1291	1297	1298	1299	1300
Amt. sown in spring	5.56	4.44	4.88	4.75	5.19	4.38	4.38
Issue	35.50	18.00	19.88	17.50	27.50	28.38	16.63
Tithe	3.94	2.00	2.21	1.94	3.06	3.16	1.85
Total harvested	39.44	20.00	22.09	19.44	30.56	31.54	18.48
Yield	7.1	4.5	4.9	4.1	5.9	7.2	4.2
Yield given on roll							

Harvest of:	1301	1302	1303	1304	1305	1306	1307	1308
Amt. sown in spring	4.13	4.13	4.25	3.88	4.13	3.25	3.50	3.56
Issue	30.06	20.13	26.50	15.38	24.19	13.50	15.44	20.75
Tithe	3.34	2.24	2.94	1.71	2.69	1.61	1.72	2.31
Total harvested	33.40	22.37	29.44	17.09	26. 88	15.11	17.16	23.06
Yield	8.1	5.4	6.9	4.4	6.5	4.6	4.9	6.5
Yield given on roll			6, plus 1qr.					

Harvest of:	1309	1310	1313	1316	1317	1318
Amt. sown in spring	4.38	3.00	5.06	1.50	3.03	1.50
Issue	23.56	12.75	29.63	5.81	13.81	10.81
Tithe	2.62	1.42	3.29	0.65	1.53	1.20
Total harvested	26.18	14.17	32.92	6.46	15.34	12.01
Yield	6.9	4.7	6.5	4.3	5.1	8.0
Yield given on roll						

(BARLEY contd) Ill.20 cont.

Harvest of:	1319	1320	1321	1322	1323	1328	1329
Amt. sown in spring	3.25	2.50	2.25	2.00	1.88	1.75	2.88
Issue	15.75	12.31	6.75	12.25	9.38	12.00	16.88
Tithe	1.75	1.37	0.75	1.36	1.04	1.33	1.88
Total harvested	17.50	13.68	8.50	13.61	10.42	13.33	18.76
Yield	5.4	5.5	3.8	6.8	5.5	7.6	6.5
Yield given on roll						6, plus 2 bus.	

Harvest of:	1330	1331	1332	1333	1334	1335	1339
Amt. sown in spring	1.94	2.00	2.00	3.25	2.00	1.75	4.13
Issue	9.13	11.50	8.38	22.25	10.47	8.00	24.94
Tithe	1.01	1.28	0.93	2.47	1.16	0.89	2.77
Total harvested	10.14	12.78	9.31	24.72	11.63	8.89	27.71
Yield	5.2	6.4	4.7	7.6	5.8	5.1	6.7
Yield given on roll				6½			

Harvest of:	1340	1343	1344	1348	1349
Amt. sown in spring	3.50	3.19	4.00	3.41	7.13
Issue	21.41	18.63	16.50	15.13	6.13
Tithe	2.38	2.07	1.83	1.68	0.68
Total harvested	23.79	20.70	18.33	16.81	6.81
Yield	6.8	6.5	4.6	4.9	1.0
Yield given on roll					

DREDGE

Harvest of:	1289	1290	1291	1297	1298	1299	1300	1301
Amt. sown in spring	8.75	7.75	9.75	7.75	5.19	10.38	10.63	8.00
Issue	29.88	32.88	65.94	30.13	24.25	58.13	62.94	43.00
Tithe	3.32	3.65	7.33	3.35	2.69	6.45	6.99	4.78
Total harvested	33.20	36.53	73.27	33.48	26.94	64.58	69.93	47.78
Yield	3.8	4.7	7.5	4.3	5.2	6.2	6.6	6.0
Yield given on roll								

Harvest of:	1302	1303	1304	1305	1306	1307	1308	1309
Amt. sown in spring	6.94	7.25	13.13	10.50	7.63	4.63	4.75	8.00
Issue	34.25	43.00	49.50	38.44	26.88	16.38	26.75	26.63
Tithe	3.81	4.78	5.50	4.27	2.99	1.82	2.97	2.96
Total harvested	37.06	47.78	55.00	42.71	29.87	18.20	29.72	29.59
Yield	5.3	6.6	4.2	4.1	3.9	3.9	6.3	3.7
Yield given on roll		6, minus ½ qr.						

Harvest of:	1310	1313	1316	1317	1318	1319	1320	1321
Amt. sown in spring	8.88	7.50	5.50	8.19	9.63	8.75	5.25	9.00
Issue	24.75	34.50	23.88	23.81	44.31	40.91	28.69	37.25
Tithe	2.75	3.83	2.65	2.65	4.92	4.55	3.19	4.14
Total harvested	27.50	38.33	26.53	26.46	49.23	45.46	31.88	41.39
Yield	3.1	5.1	4.8	3.2	5.1	5.2	6.1	4.6
Yield given on roll								

(DREDGE contd)

Harvest of:	1322	1323	1328	1329	1330	1332	1333	1334
Amt. sown in spring	5.72	7.63	9.47	7.50	8.94	10.00	10.00	11.00
Issue	30.06	26.00	48.50	21.81	21.00	34.25	34.50	48.25
Tithe	3.34	2.89	5.39	2.42	2.33	3.81	3.83	5.36
Total harvested	33.40	28.89	53.89	24.23	23.33	38.06	38.33	53.61
Yield	5.8	3.8	5.7	3.2	2.6	3.8	3.8	4.9
Yield given on roll			5, minus 16wks.3p					

Harvest of:	1335	1336	1339	1340	1341	1342	1343	1344
Amt. sown in spring	7.63	13.00	9.63	11.69	11.00	12.75	9.00	10.00
Issue	31.00	36.06	29.28	24.03	41.84	57.63	32.16	32.63
Tithe	3.44	4.01	3.25	3.78	4.65	6.40	3.57	3.63
Total harvested	34.44	40.07	32.53	27.81	46.49	64.03	35.73	36.26
Yield	4.5	3.1	3.4	2.4	4.2	5.0	4.0	3.6
Yield given on roll								

Harvest of:	1345	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1357
Amt. sown in spring	13.88	14.13	7.88	12.13	4.63	37.72	21.00
Issue	48.72	49.25	26.72	28.75	20.50	59.81	42.63
Tithe	5.41	5.47	2.97	3.19	2.28	6.65	4.74
Total harvested	54.13	54.72	29.69	31.94	22.78	66.46	47.37
Yield	3.9	3.8	3.8	2.6	4.9	1.8	2.3

OATS

Harvest of:	1290	1291	1297	1298	1299	1300	1301	1302
Amt. sown in spring	36.00	34.75	31.75	35.25	29.78	31.31	52.00	29.38
Issue	114.47.	102.13	90.50	128.47	71.38	104.13	70.00	87.75
Tithe	12.72	11.35	10.06	14.27	7.93	11.57	7.78	9.75
Total harvested	127.19	113.48	100.56	142.74	79.31	115.70	77.78	97.50
Yield	3.5	3.3	3.2	4.0	2.7	3.6	1.5	3.3
Yield given on roll								

Harvest of:	1303	1304	1305	1306	1307	1308	1309	1310
Amt. sown in spring	30.13	23.88	27.25	35.63	31.88	28.50	35.75	28.25
Issue	96.63	69.25	98.66	87.50	84.31	115.75	74.13	76.63
Tithe	10.74	7.69	10.96	9.72	9.37	12.86	8.24	8.51
Total harvested	107.37	76.94	109.62	97.22	93.68	128.61	82.37	85.14
Yield	3.6	3.2	4.0	2.7	2.9	4.5	2.2	3.0
Yield given on roll		3, minus 3qr.6b.						

Harvest of:	1313	1316	1317	1318	1319	1320	1321	1322
Amt. sown in spring	20.50	25.38	31.50	26.25	21.19	26.34	26.50	25.28
Issue	68.92	108.75	96.25	68.19	93.28	123.63	75.44	104.44
Tithe	7.66	12.08	10.69	7.58	10.36	13.74	8.38	11.60
Total harvested	76.58	120.83	106.94	75.77	103.64	137.37	83.82	116.04
Yield	3.7	4.8	3.4	2.9	4.9	5.2	3.2	4.6

(OATS contd)

Harvest of:	1323	1328	1329	1331	1332	1333	1334	1335
Amt. sown in spring	26.47	19.19	26.13	22.22	21.50	20.00	21.00	23.59
Issue	109.34	59.47	83.38	101.25	71.50	86.72	87.09	78.66
Tithe	12.15	6.61	9.26	11.25	7.94	9.64	9.68	8.74
Total harvested	121.49	66.08	92.64	112.50	79.44	96.36	96.77	87.40
Yield	4.6	3.4	3.5	5.1	3.7	4.8	4.6	3.7

Harvest of:	1336	1339	1340	1341	1342	1343	1344	1346
Amt. sown in spring	22.00	28.13	20.13	22.25	21.75	22.50	23.38	19.63
Issue	92.97	53.47	52.94	85.13	82.44	68.25	86.63	23.50
Tithe	10.33	5.94	5.88	9.46	9.16	7.58	9.63	2.61.
Total harvested	103.30	59.41	58.82	94.59	91.60	75.83	96.26	26.11
Yield	4.7	2.1	2.9	4.3	4.2	3.4	4.1	1.3
Yield given on roll	4½, plus 3qr.							

Harvest of:	1347	1349	1350	1357	1358
Amt. sown in spring	24.25	25.00	14.88	14.00	8.38
Issue	75.69	63.34	19.75	34.44	15.81
Tithe	8.41	7.04	2.19	3.83	1.76
Total harvested	84.10	70.38	21.94	38.27	17.57
Yield	3.5	2.8	1.5	2.7	2.1

PEAS (type unspecified)

Harvest of:	1290	1291	1294	1297	1303	1304	1305	1306
Amt. sown in spring	1.88	2.88	3.44	3.13	1.13	1.13	2.63	2.88
Issue	20.81	17.94	11.31	1.50	6.53	10.53	7.53	15.38
Tithe	2.31	1.99	1.26	0.17	0.73	1.17	0.84	1.71
Total harvested	23.12	19.93	12.57	1.67	7.26	11.70	8.37	17.09
Yield	12.3	6.9	3.7	0.5	6.4	10.4	3.2	5.9
Yield given on roll					6, minus 1 Ks.3p			

Harvest of:	1307	1308	1309	1310	1313	1316	1317	1318
Amt. sown in spring	0.50	2.63	2.00	1.50	1.50	3.25	4.13	6.53
Issue	4.25	12.25	6.63	14.38	12.13	19.13	16.44	22.56
Tithe	0.47	1.36	0.74	1.60	1.35	2.13	1.83	2.51
Total harvested	4.72	13.61	7.37	15.98	13.48	21.26	18.27	25.07
Yield	9.4	5.2	3.7	10.7	9.0	6.5	4.4	3.8

Harvest of:	1319	1320	1321	1322
Amt. sown in spring	2.81	2.63	3.19	1.50
Issue	14.75	17.13	14.63	0.75
Tithe	1.64	1.90	1.63	0.08
Total harvested	16.39	19.03	16.26	0.83
Yield	5.8	7.2	5.1	0.6.

Peas (Grey)

Harvest of:	1328	1329	1330	1331	1332	1333	1334	1335
Amt. sown in spring	1.56	2.81	3.63	3.13	4.66	3.50	1.97	4.22
Issue	5.00	27.13	10.38	20.00	24.22	7.31	14.13	17.59
Tithe	0.56	3.01	1.15	2.22	2.69	0.81	1.57	1.95
Total harvested	5.56	30.14	11.53	22.22	26.91	8.12	15.70	19.54
Yield	3.6	10.7	3.2	7.1	5.8	2.3	8.0	4.6
Yield given on roll				7, minus 1qr. 3bus.				

Harvest of:	1336	1339	1340	1341	1342	1344	1345	1346
Amt. sown in spring	3.91	1.50	2.25	3.25	2.88	2.50	3.13	4.56
Issue	13.00	4.09	12.81	5.66	5.00	8.25	11.13	19.00
Tithe	1.44	0.45	1.42	0.63	0.56	0.92	1.24	2.11
Total harvested	14.44	4.54	14.23	6.29	5.56	9.17	12.37	21.11
Yield	3.7	3.0	6.3	1.9	1.9	3.7	4.0	4.6

Harvest of;	1347	1348
Amt. sown in spring	5.13	4.94
Issue	18.25	14.88
Tithe	2.03	1.65
Total harvested	20.28	16.53
Yield	3.9	3.3.

PEAS (WHITE)

Harvest of:	1328	1329	1330	1331	1336	1339	1340	1341
Amt. sown in spring	1.41	1.97	1.88	1.13	0.88	0.75	0.88	1.50
Issue	4.63	10.13	6.13	3.63	3.00	2.44	4.03	4.13
Tithe	0.51	1.13	0.68	0.40	0.33	0.27	0.45	0.46
Total harvested	5.14	11.26	6.81	4.03	3.33	2.71	4.48	4.59
Yield	3.6	5.7	3.6	3.6	3.8	3.6	5.1	3.1

ILLUSTRATION 21: Average crop yields per quarter sown, 1289-1359

Source: the figures set out in Illustration 20.

Note: 1. In table (i) underlining indicates a figure based on yields for five years or less.
2. In calculating the average wheat yields the years between 1300 and 1349 for which the account of the year following is missing have been omitted, in case an issue of 'old grain' was recorded.

(i) Decennial average yields,

	1289-99	1300-09	1310-19	1320-29	1330-39	1340-49	1350-59
Wheat	8.3	7.8	5.2	6.3	6.7	5.2	4.3
Barley	5.6	5.8	5.7	6.0	6.6	4.8	-
Dredge	5.3	5.1	4.4	4.9	3.7	3.8	2.1
Oats	3.3	3.2	3.8	4.1	4.1	3.3	2.1
Peas (type unspecified)	5.9	6.3	6.7	4.3	-	-	-
Peas (grey)	-	-	-	7.2	4.7	3.7	-
Peas (white)	-	-	-	4.7	3.7	4.1	-

(ii) Overall average yields,

	CUXHAM 1289-1359	OAKINGTON, co. Camb. 1271-1320 (1)	OTTERY, co. Devon 1335-43 (2)	HURDWICK, co. Devon 1412-1537 (2)	NORWICH Cathedral Priory Estates (3)	9 manors of the bishop of Winchester 1200-1450 (4)	The anonymous 'Husbandry' (5)
Wheat	6.4	5.0	4.7	5.8	4.7	4.3	5
Barley	5.8	4.8			3.3	4.2	8
Dredge	4.4						6
Oats	3.1		Lge. 4.7 Sm. 3.8	Lge. 4.2 Sm. 5.7	2.8	2.7	4
Peas (type unspec.)	6.0	4.3			3.7		6
Peas (grey)	4.5						
Peas (white)	4.0	2.6					

(1) Page, Estates of Crowland Abbey, pp.329-30.
(2) Finberg, Tavistock Abbey, pp.110-115.
(3) Saunders, An introduction to the obedientiary and manor rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory, p.60. The figures given for peas is in fact for peas and beans mixed.
(4) Beveridge, 'The yield and price of corn in the Middle Ages', Economic Histor i, p.158. One-ninth has been added to the figures printed to allow for ti
(5) Walter of Henley's Husbandry, ed. E. Lamond (1890), pp.70,71.

ILLUSTRATION 22: The demesne livestock, 1271-1359.

Source: account rolls, including reeves' draft accounts, from 1276 to 1358-59; stock indenture, 1279; account indentures of 1290, 1291, 1294, 1295 and 1300; combined stock account, 1335.

Note: unless otherwise stated, the figures are of stock on demesne at the end of the year of account late in July.

	Feb. 1276	June 1276	March 1279	Sept. 1288	1289	1290	1291	1292	1293	1294
Carthorses	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3
Affers	4	5	4	5	4	4	4	6	4	4
Foals	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Oxen	12	12	13	18	18	17	16	14	16	15
Bulls	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Cows	-	-	9	10	10	10	11	11	11	9
Young cattle	-	-	4	2	3	5	3	-	2	4
Calves	-	-	-	2	3	1	-	3	2	3
Boars	22	24	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Sows			4	3	8	3	3	2	2	2
Pigs			-	11		2	8	-	6	4(?8)
Piglets	-	-	22	17	8	10	5	20	7	12(?8)
Ewes	-	-	-	-	12	11	9	4	14	7
Rams	-	-	-	-	23	44	42	38	44	3
Wethers	-	-	-	-						
Hoggasters	-	-	-	-	-	12	16		-	12
Lambs	-	-	-	-	12	9	7	5	13	5
Geese	8	7	3	4	4	5	8	7	8	8
Ganders			4	4	4	4	24			
Goslings			2	-	3	12		26	20	23
Capons	7	4	19(?18)	18	15	12	9	12	18	18
Cocks	12	27	2	36	3	2	3	3	4	5
Hens	27		9							
Pullets	-	-	-		14	11	19	7	11	17
					21	39	27	35	28	23
Drakes	-	-	-	18	3	4	10	9	8	8
Ducks	-	-	-		6	6				
Ducklings	-	-	-		8	13	10	2	18	8

Ill.22 cont.

	1295	1296	1297	1298	1299	1300	1301	1302	1303	1304
Carthorses	4	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3
Affers	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Foals	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	-	-	-
Oxen	15	16	14	14	12	17	16	16	13	14
Bulls	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Cows	11	11	11	11	9	9	11	13	12	11
Young cattle	5	5	1	-	2	5	6	3	3	4
Calves	2	1	1	3	3	3	1	2	2	2
Boars	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	2	2	2
Sows	3	2	3	3	2	1	1	2	2	2
Pigs	2	7	5	-	3	-	12	15	5	9
Piglets	17	12	6	11	6	4	15	7	15	2
Ewes	7	7	8	7	8	10	10	10	-	1
Rams	11	10	1	1	1	-	8	7	2	1
Wethers			9	9	8	9				
Hoggasters	5	6	-	6	6	6	6	6	1	-
Lambs	6	6	6	6	7	7	6	5	1	1
Geese	6	31	4	14	4	4	4	5	5	5
Ganders						2	32	1	1	2
Goslings	24			29	22	36		21	33	26
Capons	21	(?23) 6	2	14	13	2	12	8	24	18
Cocks	5	5	4	3	4	5	3	3	3	3
Hens	20	16	14	11	17	14	46	9	11	20
Pullets	27	53	27	32	17	44	18	51	31	47
Drakes	9	7	4	11	12	6	16	7	1	1
Ducks									-	-
Ducklings									-	-

	1305	1306	1307	1308	1309	1310	1311	1312	1313	1314
Carthorses	3	2	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	3
Affers	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Foals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oxen	15	14	13	12	13	12	15	16	15	16
Bulls	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1
Cows	10	9	9	11	10	5	10	11	11	10
Young cattle	2	5	4	6	8	9	5	4	5	5
Calves	3	1	4	3	4	2	2	3	3	2
Boars	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sows	2	-	-	1	1	1	2	2	1	1
Pigs	2	2	4	-	1	8	8	4	8	3
Piglets	18	-	-	8	11	12	17	12	2	6
Ewes	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	57	53	52
Rams	) 1	-	-	) 1	) 1	) 1	1	2	2	2
Wethers	)	-	-	)	)	)	45	63	55	58
Hoggasters	1	-	1	-	1	1	85	1	31	12
Lambs	-	1	1	1	1	1	3	36	42	14
Geese	5	4	3	4	4	4	3	3	4	5
Ganders	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2)	26	2
Goslings	22	20	27	24	29	26	25	16)		30
Capons	10	3	14	6	7	10	8	13	9	7
Cocks	5	2	3	1	2	2	2	3	6	6
Hens	6	14	9	1	8	)	26	32)	16	18
Pullets	20	25	24	12	19	)14	40	11)		30
Drakes	-	-	-	-	-	-)		2	2	2
Ducks	-	-	-	-	-	-)	14	6	6	6
Ducklings	-	-	-	-	-	-)		17	10	2

	1315	1316	1317	1318	1319	1320	1321	1322	1323	1324
Carthorses	3	2	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	3
Affers	5	6	5	4	4	4	6	4	4	4
Foals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oxen.	15	20	14	12	13	10	9	14	16	14
Bulls	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Cows	10	11	10	10	9	6	7	7	8	11
Young cattle	2	4	1	3	6	3	1	5	8	6
Calves	2	-	4	2	4	-	5	4	3	-
Boars	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-
Sows	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	-
Pigs	-	10	8	9	7	9	3	3	10	4
Piglets	15	8	11	12	7	8	5	-	-	-
Ewes	6	5	13	13	18	24	12	33	16	18
Rams	37	35	33	35	31	-	1	2	2	2
Wethers						29	21	25	24	25
Hoggasters	8	14	1	10	14	8	47	20	46	49
Lambs	-	1	10	14	12	16	8	21	14	14
Geese	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Ganders	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Goslings	26	17	16	11	19	14	22	10	21	18
Capons	17	2	3	4	1	13	18	9	13	25
Cocks	5	6	8	5	4	2	50	37	3	3
Hens	29	41	43	56	18	30			40	52
Pullets	27	30	20		26	9				
Drakes	3	1	2	2	2	2	2	10	1	1
Ducks	5	5	7	5	3	2	13		2	11
Ducklings	5	5				4				

Ill.22 cont.

	1327	1328	1329	1330	1331	1332	1333	1334	1335
Carthorses	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4
Affers	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3
Foals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oxen	14	12	14	12	16	16	14	17	16
Bulls	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-
Cows	6	8	10	9	10	11	9	10	9
Young cattle	7	3	4	-	3	2	1	3	3
Calves	1	4	3	3	2	1	3	4	2
Boars	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2
Sows	3	2	-	1	1	1	1	1	1
Pigs	4	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	6
Piglets	-	-	-	6	10	16	5	12	10
Ewes	25	26	27	28	26	20	21	20	17
Rams	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	-	1
Wethers	46	45	39	53	42	59	67	60	36
Hoggasters	28	17	23	31	33	34	36	27	11
Lambs	25	25	23	22	21	21	16	13	3
Geese	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	2
Ganders	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Goslings	17	20	32	14	15	14	12	9	8
Capons	4	11	18	10	16	21	34	22	24
Cocks	3	3(?4)	4	3	2	2	2	2	4
Hens	9	22(?21)	10	8	14	9	17	11	10
Pullets	16	12	13	12	33	40	45	45	24
Drakes	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ducks / Ducklings	13	19	16	14	14	12	13	10	8

Ill.22 cont.

	1336	1337	1338	1339	1340	1341	1342	1343	1344	1345
Carthorses	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	2
Affers	4	4	-	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Foals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oxen	19	15	12	13	14	15	12	14	17	12
Bulls	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Cows	13	10	9	11	9	10	9	9	8	6
Young cattle	4	5	6	6	7	6	4	4	4	6
Calves	2	3	3	4	2	-	2	2	3	3
Boars	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sows	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pigs	3	4	5	2	3	-	3	4	3	-
Piglets	12	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ewes	-	102	9	7	7	8	11	11	13	20
Rams	-		-	-	1	3	2	3	3	1
Wethers	-		104	97	98	67	34	31	24	18
Hoggasters	-		-	7	7	4	7	9	12	11
Lambs	-	-	8	6	5	7	6	9	8	15
Geese	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Ganders	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Goslings	10	15	28	18	18	13	14	13	16	13
Capons	25	29	28	20	22	19	22	23	30	18
Cocks	4	4	2	2	5	2	5	4	6	2
Hens	9	18	7	10	12	8	10	10	4	8
Pullets	28	17	24	45	34	27	17	22	12	19
Drakes	" 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ducks	" 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ducklings	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

	11 July						Sept.			
	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1353	1354	1355	1356
Carthorses	3	3	3	5	4	4	3	3	3	3
Affers	4	3	4	5	4	4	4	3	3	3
Foals										
Oxen	15	16	14	15	16	12	14	13	14	13
Bulls	1	-	-	1	1	2	1	2	2	1
Cows	6	9	7	10	11	11	9	8	7	-
Young cattle	6	6	4	4	3	2	2	3	1	-
Calves	2	1	2	3	3	2	2	4	2	-
Boars	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sows	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	2
Pigs	-	4	-	2	-	-	4	-	-	4
Piglets	6	-	-	6	5	-	-	-	-	3
Ewes	13	9	9					-	-	
Rams	1	-	1	143	125	101	79	-	-	108
Wethers	16	49	89					-	-	
Hoggasters	6	4	6				11	-	-	
Lambs	5	7	6	16	15	20	4	-	-	-
Geese	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	3	3	4
Ganders	1	1	1	2	1	1	3	3	3	2
Goslings	20	18	18	16	8	9	23	8	11	20
Capons	8	11	19	2	-	15	2	5	2	10
Cocks	2	2	2	7	2	1	3	2	-	1
Hens	8	11	7	8	8	5	5	4	-	6
Pullets	20	18	14	-	5	12	-	13	-	-

	1357	1358	1359
Carthorses	3	3	3
Affers	4	4	3
Oxen	14	14	12
Bulls	-	-	-
Cows	-	-	-
Young cattle	-	-	-
Calves	-	-	-
Boars	-	-	-
Sows	2	3	1
Pigs	1	10	7
Piglets	19	20	5
Ewes	148	-	-
Rams		-	-
Wethers		2	2
Hoggasters		1	-
Lambs	1	-	-
Geese	4	4	4
Ganders	2	2	2
Goslings	20	11	12
Capons	23	14	4
Cocks	1	1	2
Hens	7	7	5
Pullets	11	-	-
Drakes	2	1	1
Ducks	10	12	6
Ducklings			

ILLUSTRATION 23: Sales of grain and livestock products, 1290-1300

Source: account rolls from 1290-[redacted]91 to 1299-1300; chapter account, 1300.

	1290-91	1291-92	1293-94	1294-95
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
ANIMAL PRODUCTS:				
Livestock	4. 5. 7¾	5. 3. 7	3.19. 2½	3. 0. 8½
Sides of bacon	3. 1		3. 0	1. 7
Meat	6	8		
Doves	8. 0¾	6. 7¼	12. 4	13. 0¼
Hides	11		3. 4	1. 0
Wool		1.17. 4	9. 0	4. 5½
Cheese	1. 4. 8½	17. 1	2. 2. 5½	1. 6. 5
Butter	3. 5	3. 8	4. 1	6. 2½
Milk	6	2. 8½	1. 0	6. 0¾
Eggs	3. 1¼	1. 8¼		4.10
Total	6. 8.11½	8.13. 4	7.14. 5	6. 4. 3½
Corn products				
Grain	63.15. 5¼	56.13. 3½	75. 7. 2½	66.18. 4¼
Straw	2. 0	2. 0	1. 8	3
Total	63.17 5¼	56.15. 3½	75. 8.10½	66.18. 7¼

	1296-97	1297-98	1298-99	1299-1300
	£. s. d	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s, d.
ANIMAL PRODUCTS				
Livestock	6. 8. 1	3. 6. 7½	3.16. 0¼	4. 3. 6½
Sides of bacon	- - -	- - -	- - -	. . .
Doves	19.10	1. 0.2½	19. 7½	. . .
Hides	6	5	6.11	
Wool	5. 5½	7¾	17. 9	
Cheese	1.13. 5½	1. 7. 9½	1.12. 0	1.18.11
Butter	6. 0½	5. 7	5. 2¼	2. 7
Milk	10¼	1.10½	9	6
Eggs	2. 6¾	1. 3¾	1. 9	
Total	9.16. 9½	6. 4. 5½	8. 0. 0	6. 5. 6½
CORN PRODUCTS				
Grain	46.19. 7¾	46. 8. 0¼	48. 1. 7	40. 9. 2.
Straw	11		4	
Total	47. 0. 6¾	46. 8. 0¼	48. 1.11	40. 9. 2

ILLUSTRATION 24: List of reeves and bailiffs

Feb. 1268
Robert, ballivus - Letter ordering transfer of seisin of the manor, 1268, (MM 779); probably to be identified with the following.

To Feb. 1276 -
Robert son of Adam, serviens - Draft account, 1276, shows him handing over the manor's stocks of grain to Richard le Blunt. For the identity of Robertus filius Ade and Robertus Serviens, see p.129 n.4.

Feb.1276 - Sept. 1277
Richard le Blunt, prepositus - Account roll and draft account, 1276; as no arreragia are entered he must have taken up office in Feb. 1276. View of account, 1276-77; account indenture, 1277.

Sept. 1277 - March 1279
John Hest, prepositus -Chapter account 1277-79; view of account 1278-79; stock indenture 1279.

March 1279 -
Robert de Farendon - Stock indenture 1279 shows him taking office.

Sept.1288 - Jan. 1311
Robert Beneyt, prepositus - Account rolls, including draft accounts, from 1288-89 to 1310-11. Chapter accounts of 1290, 1293, 1294 and 1296 establish the continuity of the account for years for which the account rolls are missing, and the account roll for Jan.-July 1311 (paragraph for mixed corn) provides his surname. As no arreragia are entered on the account roll for 1288-89 it must have been his first account.

Jan.1311 - March 1349
Robert Oldman, prepositus - Account rolls from 1311 to 1348-49. The unchanging use of the surname is taken to prove continuity. He died probably about 20 March 1349 (cf. account roll for 1348-49, paragraph for wheat; list of stock, 1349); he was certainly alive on 8 Feb. when he returned a list of his debtors.

March - April 1349,
John son of Robert Oldman, ballivus - Account roll for 1348-49; he is called bailiff in the wheat paragraph, and in the paragraph of deliveries of cash is a reference to his executor, so that he presumably died in office.

April - June 1349
Thomas ate Grene, ballivus - Account roll for April-June 1349; stock indenture, 1349.

June-July 1349 —— Lecheforde apparently managed the demesne as a stopgap for this month; 'fuit apud Cuxham loco ballivi antequam dictus Hugo fuit ibidem' - Account roll for 1349-50, at the end of the cash account.

July 1349 - July 1350
Hugh ate Grene, ballivus - Account rolls for July - Sept. 1349 and 1349-50

July 1350 - Sept. 1352
John Sibford, ballivus - Account rolls for 1350-51 and July - Sept. 1352; petition for allowances, 1352.

before July 1353 - July 1354
William de Elmedene, ballivus - Account roll for 1353-54, which includes an entry of arreragia, so that he must have been in office before the accounting year began; petition for allowances, 1354.

Sept. 1354 - before Feb. 1356
Robert Magote, prepositus - Account roll for 1354-55, which contains no entry of arreragia, so that he presumably entered office when it opens, on 30 Sept.; petition for allowances, 1355.

Before Feb. 1356 - Summer 1356
William, ballivus - Court roll of 5 Feb. 1356 refers to deaths of stock both 'tempore Robert Magote' and ' In tempore Willelmi Ballivi'; court roll of 25 Nov. 1356 refers to 'att' Estiualia tempore Willelmi Ballivi'.

Late summer 1356
Dominus John Tuk (Fellow of Merton) apparently managed the demesne for some time immediately before Roger Poynaunt took office - perhaps as a stopgap; the account roll for 1356 - 57, which runs from 29 Sept., includes in its forinsec expenses payment 'pro stipendiis aut' are tro de tempore domini Johannis Tuk'.

Sept. 1356 - Sept. 1359
Roger Poynaunt de Hameldone, ballivus - Account rolls from 1356-57 to 1358 - 59; the first of these contains no entry of arreragia so that he presumably entered office when it opens, while the date of his leaving is shown by the paragraph for mixed corn in 1358-59.

ILLUSTRATION 25: Proportion of incrementum in spring-corn malt

Source: account rolls from 1300-01 to 1353-54.

Note: An asterisk beside the amount of incrementum indicates that the figure is an alteration by the auditors; the original amounts in these cases are listed at the end of the table.

	1300-01 qr.bus.p.	1301-02 qr.bus.p	1302-03 qr.bus.p.	1303-04 qr.bus.p.	1304-05 qr.bus.p.
Issue of spring-corn malt	19	15. 4	22. 2	26. 4	18
Incrementum	0. 7	0	1. 3. 2	1. 5. 2	1. 2
% increase	4. 6%	-	6. 5%	6.4%	7.0%

	1305-06 qr.bus.p.	1306-07 qr.bus.p	1307-08 qr.bus.p	1308-09 qr.bus.p	1309-10 qr.bus.p
Issue of spring-corn malt	23. 4	20	10	15. 4	15
Incrementum	1. 4. 2	1. 4/	0. 5. 2	1/	1
% increase	6.6%	7.5%	6.9%	6.5%	6.7%

	1310-11 qr.bus.p	1311-12 qr.bus.p	1312-13 qr.bus.p	1313-14 qr.bus.p	1314-15 qr.bus.p
Issue of spring-corn malt	16. 5. 2		19. 2. 2	26. 6	
Incrementum	0. 6		0. 6. 2	1. 1	
% increase	4.5%		4.2%	4.2%	

	1315-16 qr.bus.p	1316-17 qr.bus.p	1317-18 qr.bus.p	1318-19 qr.bus.p	1319-20 qr.bus.p
Issue of spring-corn malt	17. 2. 2	7. 2	10. 5. 3	19. 2	18. 6
Incrementum	0. 6	0. 2	0. 3	0. 7	0. 4
% increase	4.3%	3.4%	3.5%	4.5%	2.7%

	1320-21 qr.bus.p	1321-22 qr.bus.p	1322-23 qr.bus.p	1323-24 qr.bus.p	1324-25 qr.bus.p
Issue of spring-corn malt	11. 7. 2	7. 3/	7. 5	7. 7	
Incrementum	0. 3. 2	0. 2	0. 2. 2	0. 2	
% increase	3.7%	3.4%	4.1%	3.2%	

	1325-26 qr.bus.p	1326-27 qr.bus.p	1327-28 qr.bus.p	1328-29 qr.bus.p	1329-30 qr.bus.p
Issue of spring-corn malt			17/	7. 7	10. 0. 2
Incrementum			0. 4	0. 5+	0. 4
% increase			2.9%	7.9%	5.0%

	1330-31 qr.bus.p	1331-32 qr.bus.p	1332-33 qr.bus.p	1333-34 qr.bus.p	1334-35 qr.bus.p
Issue of spring-corn malt		16. 2	5. 2	5. 1. 2	9. 3. 3
Incrementum		0. 4	0. 1. 2	0. 1. 2	0. 4. 2 +
% increase		4.1%	3.6%	3.6%	5.9%

	1335-36 qr.bus.p	1336-37 qr.bus.p	1337-38 qr.bus.p	1338-39 qr.bus.p	1339-40 qr.bus.p
Issue of spring-corn malt	4. 7	6/		7. 7	9. 4. 2
Incrementum	0. 2	0/		0. 2	0
% increase	5.1%	-		3.2%	-

	1340-41 qr.bus.p	1341-42 qr.bus.p	1342-43 qr.bus.p	1343-44 qr.bus.p	1344-45 qr.bus.p
Issue of spring-corn malt	10. 4	8	9. 4	8	12
Incrementum	0	0	0	0. 2	0. 3
% increase	-	-	-	3.1%	3.1%

	1345-46 qr.bus.p	1346-47 qr.bus.p	1347-48 qr.bus.p	1348-49 qr.bus.p	1349-50 qr.bus.p
Issue of spring-corn malt	8/	8	3. 1	1. 3. 2	
Incrementum	0	0. 4+	0. 3	0. 0. 2+	
% increase	-	6.2%	12.0%	4.3%	

	1350-51 qr.bus.p	1351-52 qr.bus.p	1352-53 qr.bus.p	1353-54 qr.bus.p
Issue of spring-corn malt	2. 4			5. 4
Incrementum	0			0. 3+
% increase	-			6.8%

+ auditors' alterations as follows:

1328-29	originally	2 bus.	altered to	5 bus.
1334-35	"	2 bus	"	" 4½ bus.
1346-47	"	0	"	" 4 bus.
1348-49	"	0	"	" 0½ bus.
1353-54	"	0	"	" 3 bus.

ILLUSTRATION 26: The famuli - periods employed and rates of pay

Source: account rolls from 1276 to 1358-59; views of account, 1276-77, 1278-79.

Note: 1. Full evidence of periods employed and rates of pay is available only for Feb.1276 - May 1277, Sept. 1278 - March 1279, Sept. 1288 - July 1292, July 1293 - July 1295, July 1296 - July 1311, July 1312 - July 1314, July 1315 - July 1324, July 1327 - July 1337, July 1338 - July 1351, July - Sept. 1352, July 1353 - July 1354, Sept. 1354 - July 1355, Sept. 1356 - July 1359.

2. The rates of pay are for what appears to be a full year's service; payments of famuli employed for shorter terms are noted here only occasionally.

3. Unless otherwise stated the year is taken to be the year of account, from July to July.

Ploughmen - holders

Periods employed:

Two throughout, 1276-1359, except that none is mentioned on the account roll for July - Sept. 1352, and that one only was employed Jan. - July 1354 and Sept. 1356 - Feb. 1357.

Rates of pay:

	1276-1349	1349-50	1350-51	1353-59	
Mixed corn	1qr./10 wks.	1qr./10. wks.	1qr./10wks.	1qr./10wks.	1,2
Cash on 29 Sept.	-	5s.0d	14s.0d for 2.	5s.0d	
Cash on 25 March	2s.0d	2s.0d	one 2s.0d one 3s.6d	2s.6d.[1]	

1. In 1354-55 the reeve tried to account for a higher rate (6s.0d at Annunciation, 3s.0d. at Michaelmas); this was disallowed, but in 1356-57 6s.0d. at Michaelmas, challenged by the auditors, was allowed by the Warden.

2. Not paid to one holder in 1354.

Ploughmen - drivers

Periods employed:

Two throughout 1276 - March 1355, except that in July - Sept. 1352 only one is mentioned and was employed only for ten days; from March 1355 to July 1357 only one was employed, but in 1357 - 59 there were two.

Rates of pay:

	1276-1349	1349-51	1353-54	1354-55	1356-59 [4]
Mixed corn	1qr./10 wks.	1qr./10 wks.	1qr./16wks. to March 25 [1] 1qr./12 wks. from 25 March	1qr./10.wks. to 25 March 1qr./12wks. from 25 March [2]	1qr./12 wks.
Cash on 29 Sept.	-	4s.0d	one 3s.0d one 6s.0d	.....	3s.0d
Cash on 25 March	1s.6d	1s.6d	1s.0d	1s.0d [3]	1s.6d.

1. one driver was given 1qr./10 wks. from 25 July to 29 Sept.
2. as the account opens on 30 Sept. the Michaelmas payments were probably entered in the preceding roll, now lost.
3. one was paid 6d. 'et non plus quia per 5 dies infirm'.
4. one driver was given 1qr./10 wks. from 29 Sept. 1357 to 25 March 1358; in 1358-59 one had 1qr./10 wks. throughout the year, the other from 25 March to 22 July.

Carter

Periods employed:

One throughout, 1276-1351, with vacancies of 2 weeks and at least 3 weeks in 1349, and again from 25 July to 29 Sept. 1350; in July - Sept. 1352 none is mentioned, but subsequently one was employed 25 July - 29 Sept. 1353, 20 April - 3 Aug. 1355, throughout 1357-58 and for four weeks in the summer of 1358. A second carter was employed from 27 Jan. to 25 March in 1351.

Rates of pay:

	1276-79	1288-1349	1349-50	1350-51	1353-57
Mixed corn	1qr./16 wks.	1qr./10wks.	1qr./10 wks.	1qr./10 wks.	1qr./10 wks.
Cash on 29 Sept.	-	-	6s.0d	.... [1]	5s.0d
Cash on 25 March	-	2s.0d	2s.0d	2s.6d.	2s.6d.

1. no carter was employed this year before 29 Sept.

Cowman

Periods employed:

One throughout, Sept. 1278 - July 1355, with vacancies 1 Aug. - 29 Sept. 1349, 25 March - 16 May 1350, 25 July - 29 Sept. 1353 and 29 Sept. 1354 - 25 March 1355. None was employed in 1356-59

Rates of pay:

	Sept.-March 1278-1279	Sept.-April 1288-1349	April-March 1349-1350	May-July 1350	1350-51	1353-55
Mixed corn	1qr./12 wks. to Feb. 1qr./10wks. from Feb.	1qr./14 wks.	1qr./12 wks.[3]	1qr./16wks.	1qr./12 wks.	1qr./16wks.
Wheat on 29 Sept.	4bus.	3bus.[1]	.....	.....	———	.....
Barley on 29 Sept.	4bus.	3bus.[1]	.....	.....	———	.....
Cash on 29 Sept.	....	—	.....	.....	2s.0d.	.....
Cash on 25 March	....	1s.0d.[2]	1s.0d.	.....	1s.3d.	1s.0d.

1. not paid in 1288 and 1291; in 1290 replaced by 3bus. of dredge.
2. not paid in 1310.
3. reduced by auditors to 1qr./16 wks. for the period 11 July - 1 Aug.

Dairy-assistant

Periods employed:

One throughout, 1276 - 1358, with vacancies 30 Sept. - 20 Dec. 1354, for six weeks in Sept. - Oct. 1356, and 29 Sept. 1357 - 1 Jan. 1358; in 1358 - 59 one was employed only for 12 weeks in the year.

Rates of pay:

	Feb.-May 1276-1277	Sept.-March 1278-1279	Sept.-April 1288-1349	April-July 1349-1350	1350-51	1353-59
Mixed corn[1]	1qr./16 wks.	1qr./14 wks.	1qr./14 wks.	1qr./12 wks.	1qr./12 wks.	1qr./16wks.[4]
Wheat on 29 Sept.	...	4bus.	3bus.[2]	—	—	—
Barley on 29 Sept.	...	4bus.	3bus.[3]	—	—	—
Cash on 29 Sept.	...	—	—	4s.0d.	5s.0d.	4s.0d.
Cash on 25 March	8d.	...	1s.0d	1s.4d.	2s.0d.	12d.[5]

1 The dairy - assistant ate at the lord's table in harvest and during this period received no issue of mixed corn.

2. Disallowed in 1301.
3. 4 bus. in 1289; not paid in 1288, 1289 and 1310; disallowed in 1301.
4. 1qr./12 wks., 25 March - 25 July 1354.
5. 8d. in 1355, 6d. in 1358, when the dairy-assistant had not worked the full term.

Shepherd/

Periods employed:

One employed, as follows: for 12 weeks in Feb. - Sept. 1276; Sept. 1276 - March 1303; July 1304 - Nov. 1335; May 1337 - July 1351; July - Sept. 1353; Sept. 1356 - Sept. 1357; April - Sept. 1358.

Rates of pay:

	Feb. March 1276 - 1279	Sept. May 1288-1289	May March 1289-1290	March Mar. 1290-1316	Mar. June 1316 - 1349
Mixed corn	1qr./10 wks.	1qr./10 wks.	1qr./16wks.	1qr./10wks.[1]	1qr./12 wks.[4]
Wheat on 29 Sept.	1qr.	...	—	4bus.[2]	3bus.[6]
Barley on 29 Sept.	—	...	—	4bus.[3]	3bus.[6]
Cash on 29 Sept.	—	...	—	—	—
Cash on 25 March	—	1s.0d.	—	1s.6d.[1]	1s.6d.[5]

	July July 1349 -1350	July July 1350-1351	July Sept. 1353-1357	Apr.-Sept. 1358.
Mixed corn	1qr./10 wks.	1qr./10 wks.	1qr./10 wks.[7]	1qr./12wks. for 13 wks. 1qr./10 wks. for 10 wks.
Cash on 29 Sept.	5s.0d.	4s.0d.	5s.0d.	—
Cash on 25 March	—	2s.0d.	2s.6d.	3s.0d.

1. reduced to 1qr./14wks., with 8d. on 25 March, 29 Sept. 1302 - 25 Mar. 1303.
2. not paid in 1304.
3. not paid in 1291, 1304.
4. reduced to 1qr./16 wks., 25 March 1316 - 25 July 1318.
5. 1s.0d. in 1317.
6. not paid in 1320.
7. not paid in 1356.

Gardener

Periods employed :

One employed July 1298 - Sept. 1305, Oct. 1306 - Mar. 1308, Sept. 1309 - Mar. 1310, Mar. 1311 - July 1314, Nov. 1319 - July 1320, Feb. 1321 - Oct. 1322.

Rates of pay:

	1298-1320	1321-22
Mixed corn	1qr./10 wks.	1qr./16 wks.
Cash on 29 Sept.	3s.0d.[1]	(2)
Cash on 25 March	2s.0d.	

1. 1s.6d. in 1310.

2. In 1320-21, 3s.0d.'pro termino estivali'; in 1321-22, 2s.0d.'per annum'; in 1322-23, 2s.0d. 'pro termino Autumpnali'.

Illustration 27: Value of customary week-work, 1330-31, 1332-33

Sources: list of values of services included in the court roll of 1329 and works accounts attached to the account rolls of 1330-31 and 1332-33

Scale of values:

Day-works (digging, muck-spreading, threshing) - 1d., or 1½d. at harvest-time. Carrying with cart on demesne - 1½d., or 3d. at harvest-time.
Carrying-service with horse to other places - 1½d.
Plough-work (i.e. the ploughing boon-work) - 1½d.
Mowing - 2d.
Reaping (i.e. ½ac. a day) - 2d. for spring-corn, 3d. for wheat.

Works performed (excluding the ploughing boon-work):

	1330-31		1332-33	
	Number	Value	Number	Value
Reaping wheat	51	12s.9d.	51	12s.9d.
Reaping spring-corn	78	13s.0d.	63	10s.6d.
Threshing wheat	242	20s.2d.	324	£1. 7s.6d.
Threshing spring-corn	150	12s.6d.	127	10s.7d.
Mowing	33	5s.6d.	33	5s.6d.
Muck-spreading	12	1s.0d.		
Driving plough	21	1s.9d.	3	3d.
Harrowing	44	3s.8d.	50	4s.2d.
Digging ditches	110	9s.2d.	100	8s.4d.
Muck-carting	192	£1.4s.0d.	80	10s.0d.
Carrying-services			30	3s.9d.
Cutting stubble			200	16s.8d.
Miscellaneous	88¼	7s.4¼d.	30½	2s.6½d
	1021¼	£5.10s.10¼d.	1091½	£5.12s.0½d.

Number of tenants whose works accounted for: 1330-31 - 10½; 1332-33 - 11.

Value of the works of a single tenant: 1330-31 - 10s.6⅔d; 1332-33 - 10s.2¼d.

ILLUSTRATION 28: The demesne labour force

Source: account rolls from 1276 to 1358-59; view of account, 1276-77; entry for Cuxham on the Hundred Rolls, 1279; custumal, 1297-98; court rolls of 1304, 1326, 1329 and from 1352 to 1358; the values set out in Illustration 27.

Note: 1. The value of one half-virgater's week-work throughout the year is taken to be 10s.0d.; the values of the other works are calculated from the values set out in Illustration 27.

2. It is assumed that each famulus worked, on the average, five days a week throughout the year.

3. From 1348-49 the accounts do not give particulars of the cost of harvesting; the amounts paid to hired labourers for repaing have been calculated at 60% the total cost of harvest.

4. Changes in prices after the Black Death make it impossible to give a valuation of the customary works rendered from 1349-50 onwards.

5. Payments in corn were mainly of mixed corn before the Black Death, and of wheat, barley and oats after.

Ill.28 cont.

		1298-1339		1343-1344		1348-49	
Customary labou							
No. of ½-virgat		13½		13½		12½ for 9mos.	
						4 " 3mos.	
No. of cottager		9		12		12	
No. of week-wor		1300		1350		1037½	
Allowances			100		100		75
Works sold			50		125		37½
Total deductions		150	150	225	225	112½	112½
	d		£. s. d		£. s. d		£. s. d
No. of week-wor	0	1150	5.10. 0	1125	5.12. 6	925	4.12. 6
½-virgaters' ha	6	60	13. 6½	62½	13. 6½	62½	13. 6½
Cottagers' harv	8½	37	8. 6½	41	8. 6½	41	8. 6½
Ploughing boon-w							
	6	12	1. 6	12	1. 6	12	1. 6
Cottagers' stac	2	[14]	1. 0	12	1. 0	12	1. 0
Total cust.w	0½	1273	6.14. 7	1252½	6.17. 1	1052½	5.17. 1
		No. employed	Days' work	No. employed	Days' work	No. employed	Days' Work
Permanent famul							
Ploughmen		4	1040	4	1040	4 for 9mos.	
						3 " 3mos.	975
Carter		1	260	1	260	1 " 50 wks.	250
Cowman		1	260	1	260	1	260
Dairy-assistant		1	260	1	260	1	260
Shepherd		1	260	1	260	1	260
Gardener		1					
Swineherd							
Total works o			2080		2080		2005
	d	Corn	£. s. d	Corn	£. s. d	Corn	£. s. d
Unskilled hired							
Minor special s		1qr.1b	2p. 1.10½	2½bus.		1bus.	8
Hoeing					1. 6		5. 7½
Threshing & winn	11¼		2. 4. 5		3.13. 8		1.19. 1
Reaping & other	3½						
Gardening	4		8		7		
Other work	3						
Total value of			2p. 2. 6.11½	2½bus.	3.15. 9	1bus.	2. 7. 6½
hired la	11¾	1qr.1bu					

1349 - 1350

Customary labour

No. of ½-virgates	4 for 3 mos. 1 for 9 mos.	
No. of cottagers owing works	2	
No. of week-works due	175	
Allowances		
Works sold		
Total deductions	0	0
No. of week-works performed: value	175	£. s. d.
½-virgaters' harvest-works: value	20	
Cottagers' harvest-works: value	6	
Ploughing boon-works: value	1	
Cottagers' stacking hay: value	3	
Total customary works: value	205	

Permanent famuli

	No. employed	Days' work
Ploughmen	4 for 46 wks. 5 for 6 wks.	1070
Carter	1 for 26 wks. 3days.	133
Cowman	1 for 28 wks. 1day & 10 wks. ½-time	166
Dairy-assistant	1	260
Shepherd	1	260
Gardener		
Swineherd		
Total works of famuli		1889

Unskilled hired labour

	Corn
	£. s. d.
Minor special services on the demesne	3. 5
Hoeing	8. 8
Threshing and winnowing	4. 3. 3½
Reaping and other harvest work	6. 7. 6
Gardening	
Other work	1. 9.10
Total value of unsilled hired labour	12.12. 8¼

	1350 - 1351	1353 - 1354
Customary labour		
No. of ½-virgates	4	8
No. of cottagers owing works	9	9
No. of week-works due		
Allowances		
Works sold		
Total deductions		
No. of week-works performed		
½-virgaters' harvest-works	8	16
Cottagers' harvest-works	9	9
Hay-making works	4	9
Hoeing works	4	9
Total customary works ~~value~~	25	43
	No. employed / Days' work	No. employed / Days' work
Permanent famuli		
Ploughmen	4 1040	3 for 29 wks 2days, 4 for 22 " 5 " 895
Carter	1 for 43 wks 1 for 8 wks 253	1 for 9 wks 3days 48
Cowman	1 260	1 for 42 wks 3 " 213
Dairy-assistant	1 260	1 260
Shepherd	1 260	1 for 9 wks 3 days 48
Gardener		
Swineherd		
Total works of famuli	2073	1464
	Corn £. s. d.	Corn £. s. d.
Unskilled hired labour		
Minor special services on the demesne		5. 3.
Hoeing		13. 6
Threshing & winnowing 5qr.6bus.3½p.	6. 9	2.14. 5½
Reaping & other harvest work	6. 4. 7	5.12. 4
Gardening	1. 0	
Other works	4. 0	3. 8½
Total value of unskilled hired labour 5qr.6bus.3½p.	6.16. 4.	9. 9. 3

	1357 - 1358		1358 - 1359	
Customary labour				
No. of ½-virgates	12 for 9 mos. 13 for 3 mos		13	
No. of cottagers owing works	9		9	
No. of week-works due				
Allowances				
Works sold				
Total deductions				
No. of week-works performed				
½-virgaters' harvest-works	24		26	
Cottagers' harvest-works	9		9	
Hay-making works	11		11	
Hoeing works	11		11	
Total customary works ~~value~~	55		57	
	No. employed	Days' work	No. employed	Days' work
Permanent famuli				
Ploughmen	4	1040	4	1040
Carter				
Cowman				
Dairy-assistant	1 for 39 wks.	195	1 for 12wks.	60
Shepherd	1 " 13 wks.	65	1 for 10wks.	50
Gardener				
Swineherd				
Total works of famuli		1300		1150
	Corn	£. s. d.	Corn	£. s. d.
Unskilled hired labour				
Minor special services on the demesne	7bus.2p.	9	6bus.	
Hoeing		5.10¾		4. 9
Threshing & winnowing.	17qr.7bus.2p.	19. 1½	8qr.3bus.1p.	9. 1¾
Reaping and other harvest works		6. 0.11		6. 4. 2
Gardening				
Other work		4. 8½		12. 9
Total value of unskilled hired labour	18qr.7bus.	7.11. 4¾	9qr.1bus.1p.	7.10. 9¾

ILLUSTRATION 29: The Merton College estates, 1274

Places underlined are those where the College had lands; other places named are those where the College had advowsons only.

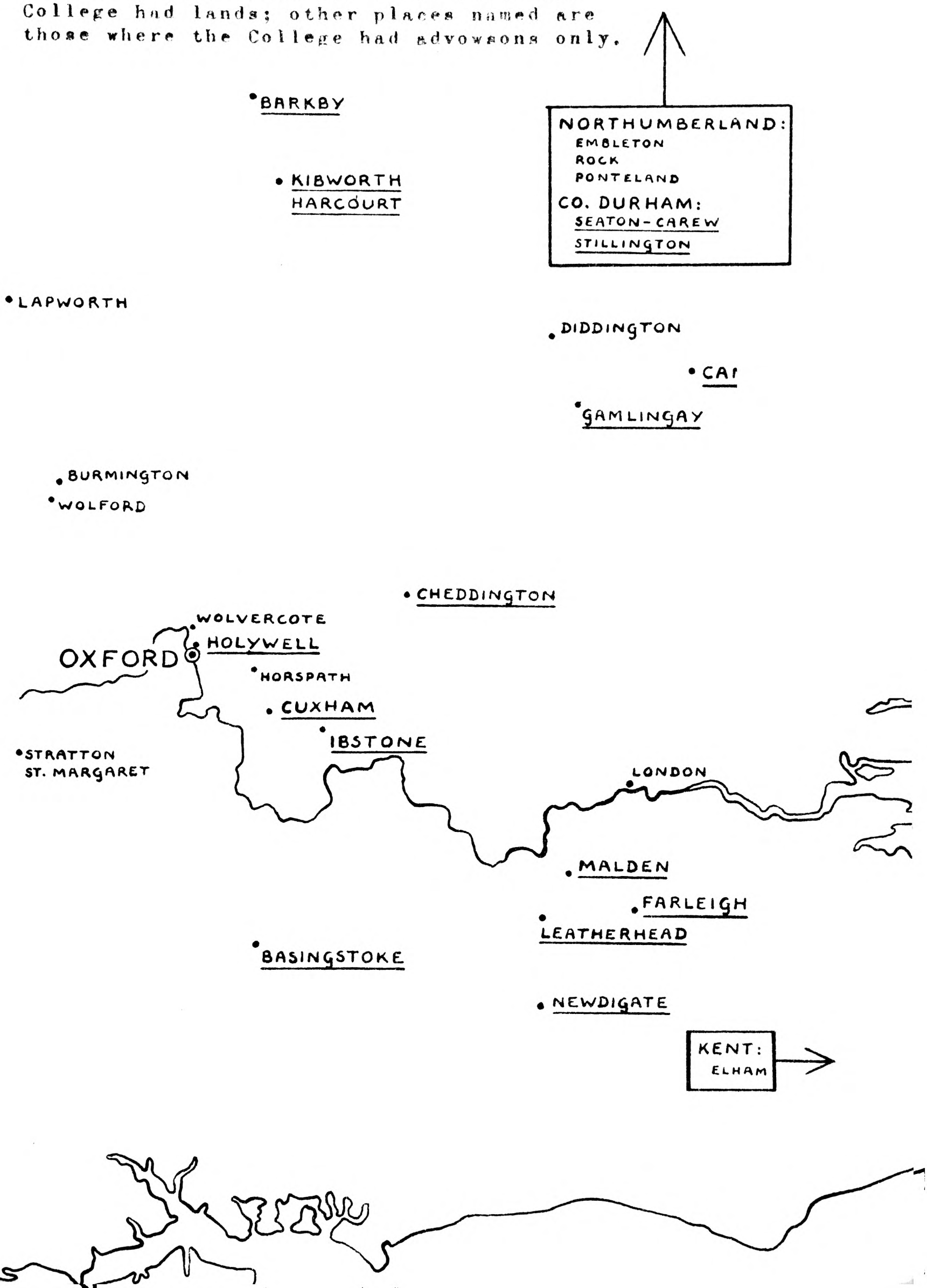


ILLUSTRATION 30: Visitors to the manor, 26 July 1316 - 26 July 1317

Source: account roll, 1316-17.

1. Datable entries

1316	
26, 27 July	Steward holding courts at Cuxham and Ibstone.
end of July (?)	Bailiffs of Maldon, Leatherhead and Farleigh going to Oxford, for the account.
early August (?)	Bailiffs of Maldon, Leatherhead and Farleigh returning from Oxford.
9 August	Mr. William Bolmer going to Leatherhead with another Master.
August (?)	Mr. William Bolmer returning from Farleigh.
27 September	Three horses brought from Cheddington for carting timber.
circa 29 September	Mr. Alan de Chirdone going to London.
circa 7 October	Bailiff of Leatherhead going to Oxford.
October (?)	Bailiff of Leatherhead returning from Oxford.
October (?)	Mr. Alan de Chirdone returning from London.
20 October	Warden returning from London.
23 October	Three horses taken back to Cheddington.
17 (?15) December	Sir Stephen Chenduit.
circa 21 December	Four Masters going to Reading Fair.
late December	Four Masters returning from Reading.
1317	
27 January	King's men came from Oxford to seal the barn door; his boy stayed two days, then another boy stayed two days.
end of January (?)	Mr. Adam de Linstede, with John de Odiham, going to London.
6 February	Mr. Adam de Linstede returning from London.
circa 16 February	Edmund de Bereford, with John de Odiham, going to Aylesbury.
18, 19 March	Two boys coming for wheat for the Warden.
circa 12 April	Warden stayed five days.
29 June	Mr. Robert de Babintone going to London.
July	Mr. Robert de Babintone, with William de Mercham, returning from London with two horses.

2 Undatable entries

Visits of Peter de Waneting**e**, John de Odiham, Mr. John de Cumbe, Mr. Walter de Burtone, and Mr. John de Croftone, to supervise threshing.

Visits of Peter de Waneting**e** and Mr. William Bolmer, to supervise the harvest.

Carters of Holywell, several times, getting timber from Bradfield (?) and Aldermaston.

Carters of Holywell, getting brushwood for the Great Hall.

Two men going to Mald**e**n to collect pigs.

Two men coming from Oxford to take back a barrel of wine.

Carters of Holywell, coming for wheat (four times) and oats (once).

Mr. John de Cumbe returning from his home ('de patria sua').

Mr. William Bulmer coming from Gleham, and, on another occasion, going to Gleham.

Man or men coming from Scotland to the King.

King's bailiff, several times.

ILLUSTRATION 31: Recorded profits and rents from the manor, 13th-17th centuries

(i) Profits of demesne agriculture, 1271-1359

Year	Amount £. s. d.	Source
1291-92	(20.14. 7¾)	account roll
1294-95	illegible	account roll
1297-98	44.14.10	account roll
1298-99	43. 0. 2	account roll
1299-1300	48.11.11¼	chapter account
1300-01	54. 4. 2¾	account roll
1301-02	48. 2. 2½	account roll & chapter account roll
1302-03	43. 2.10¼	account roll & chapter account roll
1303-04	37.17. 1¾	account roll & chapter account roll
1304-05	25. 5.11	account roll & chapter account roll
1305-06	40.16. 0	account roll
1306-07	31.11.11	account roll
1307-08	35.10. 8¼	account roll
1308-09	35.15. 6¼	account roll

Year	Amount £. s. d	Source
1313-14	36.13. 4¾	account roll
1316-17	64.18. 0	account roll
1328-29	49. 0. 6¼	account roll
1332-33	29 [...]	account roll
1333-34	(56. 8. 6¼?)	account roll
1338-39	25. 2. 4	account roll
1341-42	[..]2. 8. 2	account roll
1343-44	34.12. 6	account roll
1344-45	illegible	account roll
1354-55	10.13. etc.	account roll

(ii) Rents paid by lessees, after 1359

Year	Amount £. s. d	Source
1361-68	20. 0. 0	Lease.1361(MM3100)
1420-24(?)	18. 0. 0	Lease,1420(MM3002)
1424-25	6. 0. 0	Lease,1424(MM2856)
1472-92	16. 2. 2	Lease,1472(MM1874)
1493-1513	8. 0. 0	Registrum annalium (Oxf.Hist.Soc),p.171
1513-21	20. 0. 0	Registrum annalium (Oxf.Hist.Soc)p.438
1548-65	8. 0. 0.	Lease,1548(MM1872)
1565-	8. 0. 0	Notes of leases(MM 3114)
1611-32	5. 6. 8[1]	Lease,1610(MM1873)

1. plus 4qr.0bus.2p. of wheat and 5qr.2bus. of barley malt a year.

ILLUSTRATION 32: Sources of hay, stone and wood mentioned in Cuxham account rolls, 1276-1359

Scale, 1 inch: 2 miles

H - Source of hay

S - Source of stone

W - Source of wood

* - Indicates frequent references in the period mentioned

- Land above 400 feet

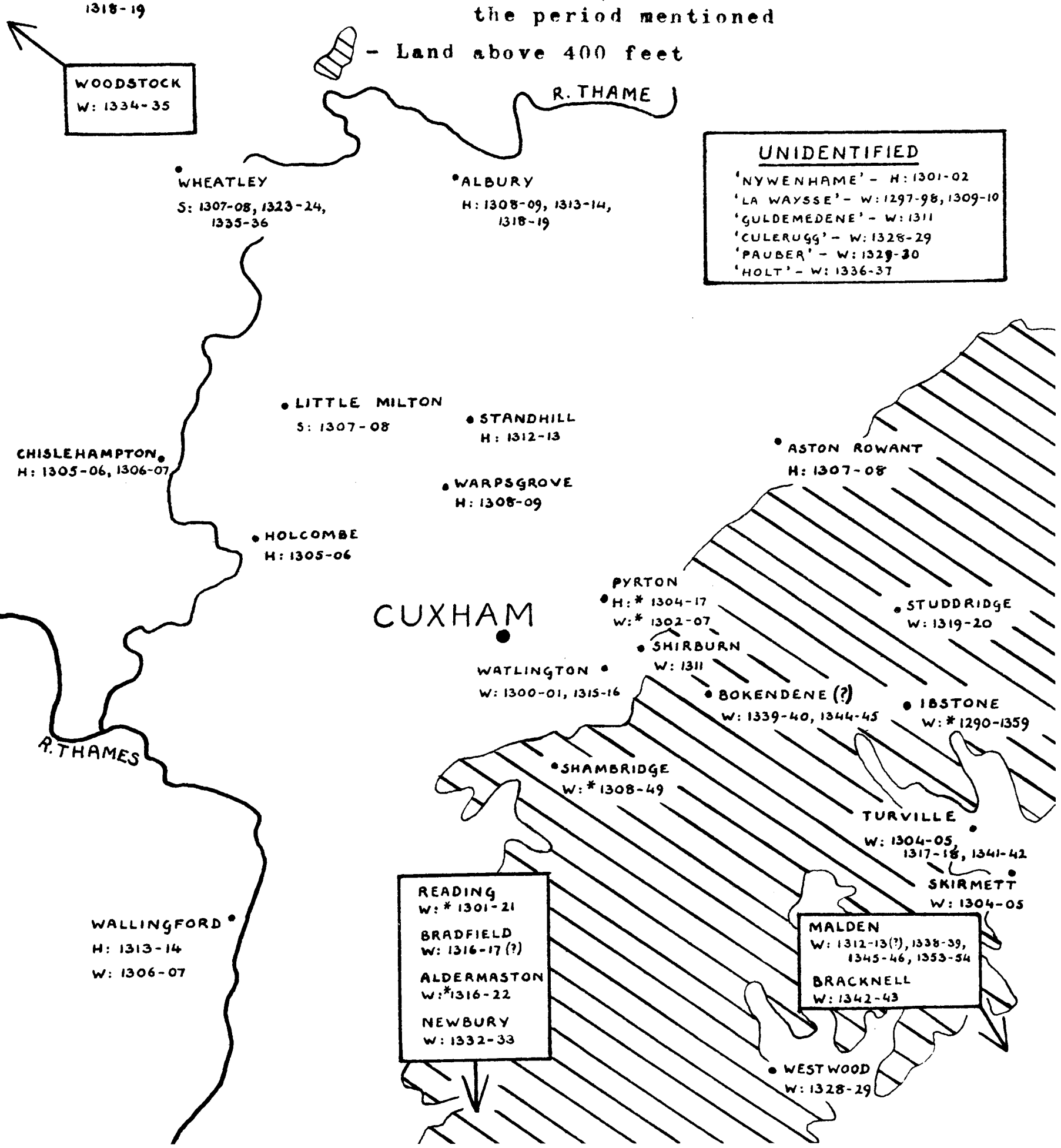


ILLUSTRATION 33: Sources of produce bought for the demesne at Cuxham, 1271-1359

◉ Places where there was a fair, mentioned in the Cuxham records

• Other sources of supply

* Indicates frequent purchases in the period mentioned

ILLUSTRATION 34: Places where produce from Cuxham was sold, 1271-1359

* Indicates frequent sales in the period mentioned

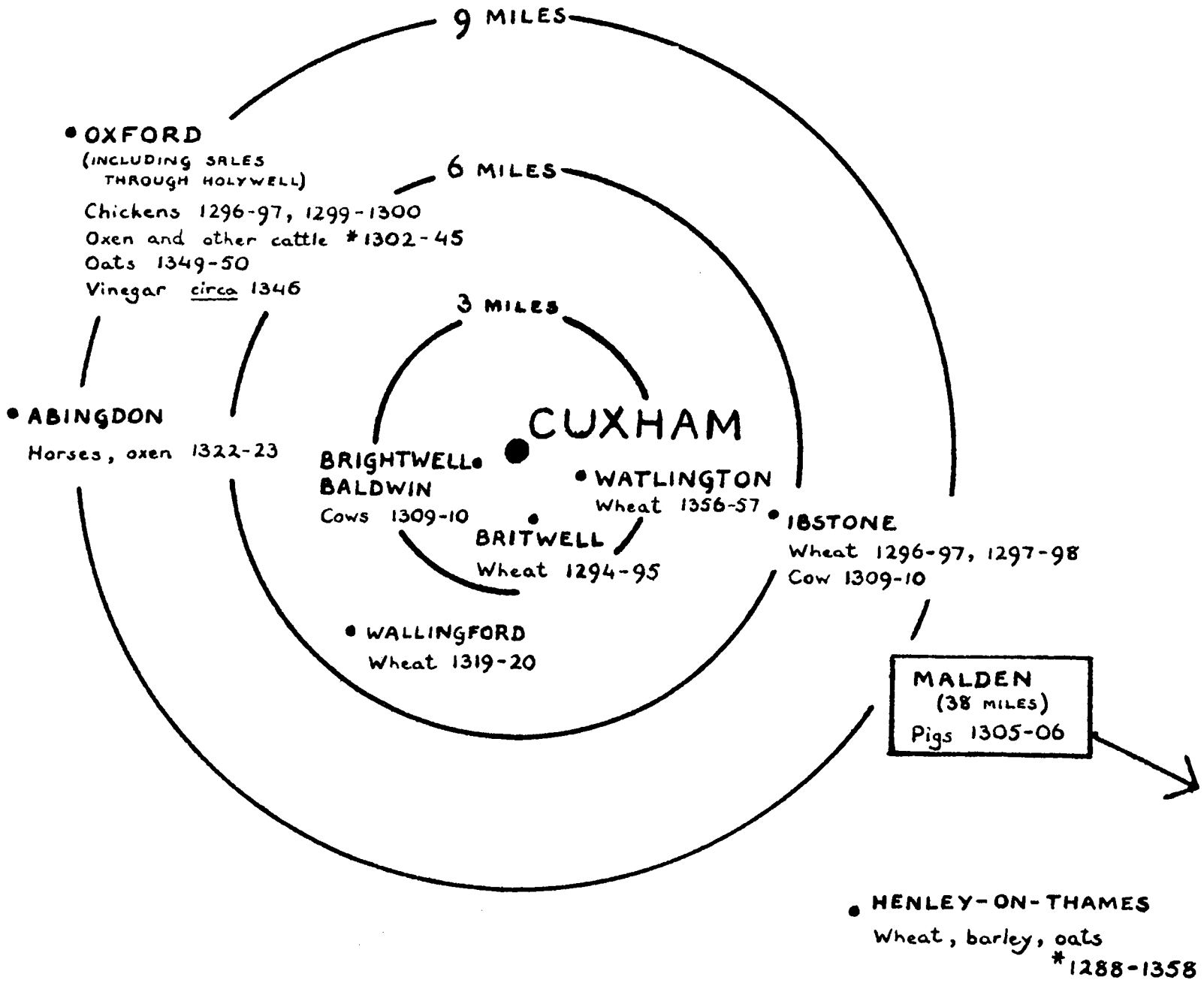


ILLUSTRATION 35: Valuations of the demesne for taxation and bribery of the assessors, 1291-1337

Source: account rolls; tax assessment of 1304.

Note: 1. Besides the cost of entertainment entered here, fodder was normally provided for the assessors' horses.
2. The dates in the first column are those of the year of account in which the costs are entered

Year	Tax paid	Rate	Assessed value	Direct bribes	Entertainment
	£. s. d		£. s. d.	£. s. d	£. s. d
1291-92	2.18. 3	1/15	43.13. 9	-	9. 6¾
1294-95	6. 1. 2	1/10	60.11. 8	-	8. 6¾
1296-97	1. 1. 6	1/12	12.18. 0	-	1. 2. 8¼ 12qr.5bus.wheat 1 fat pig, 10 hens, 2 cheeses
1297-98	not known	1/9	-	5. 0	2. 5
1301-02	not known	1/15	-	6. 8	7. 6¾
1303-04			20.19. 5	-	1.10
1306-07	1. 4. 3	1/30	36. 7. 6	1. 0	1. 0½
1307-08	1.16. 0	1/20	36. 0. 0	3. 0	2. 7½
1309-10	1.15. 0	1/25	43.15. 0	3. 2	2. 3
1313-14	1. 4. 9	1/20	24.15. 0	6. 8	1. 0½
1316-17	1. 8. 0	1/16	22. 8. 0	6. 8	7½
1319-20	1. 0. 0	1/18	18. 0. 0	6. 8	-
1322-23	1. 5. 0	1/10	12.10. 0	10. 0	1. 0
1327-28	16. 4	1/20	16. 6. 8	10. 0	8
1332-33	1. 0. 0	1/15	15. 0. 0.	3. 4	2. 0
1334-35	1. 3. 4	1/15	17.10. 0	-	-
1335-36	15. 0[1]	½ of 1/15	22.10. 0	-	-
1336-37 & subsequently	1.12. 0	1/15	24. 0. 0	-	-

1. Probably in error for 16s.0d.

ILLUSTRATION 36: Assessors' list of goods on the demesne, 1304

Source: draft account roll, 1303-04; tax assessment, 1304.

Note: 1. In the list of stock on demesne according to the account roll, it is not always possible to give the exact figure at the time of the assessment (12 March); in these cases the minimum figure is given.

2. The account roll's acreages are in customary acres (about $\frac{2}{3}$ statute acres); the assessment roll presumably uses statute acres; the barley and dredge entered on the account roll had probably not been sown when the assessment was made.

1. Livestock

	Assessment Roll	Account Roll		Assessment Roll	Account Roll
Cart-horses	2	3	Sows	-	2
Affers	2	4	Pigs	6	9
Oxen	12	12	Adult sheep	-	1
Bulls	1	1	Adult geese	3	at least 6
Cows	4	12	Capons	8	at least 7
2-&-3-year cattle	4	4	Cocks & hens	-	at least 8
Yearling cattle	2	2	Ducks	-	1
Boars	-	2			

2. Seed sown

	Assessment Roll	Account Roll
Wheat	60 ac.	105 ac. 1r.
Barley	-	8 ac. 3r.
Dredge	-	24 ac. 1r.
Oats	25 ac.	53 ac. 2r.
Peas	2 ac.	2 ac. 1r.
Beans		4 ac.
Vetch	-	1 ac.

ILLUSTRATION 37: Lands of the Grene family, early 14th century.

(i) List of property acquired by extant deeds

Date	Place	Property	Deeds
circa 1290	Watlington	2ac.arable	MM 827, 867-870
1297	Watlington	1ac. arable	MM 816, 852
~~1306~~ 1304	Benson	Unspecified lands and tenements	MM 2363
	Brightwell Baldwin		
	Britwell		
	Chalgrove		
	Ewelme		
	Watlington		
1306	Watlington	½ac.arable	MM 854
1316	Brightwell Baldwin (incl.Cadwell)	4½ac.arable	MM 838-840, 860 861, 863,864,866
	Chalgrove	1ac. arable	MM 838,862,866
	Ewelme	2½ac. arable	MM 838,865,866
	Watlington	½ac.arable	MM 831
1317	Britwell	4½ac.arable	MM 845
	Watlington	5ac.1r.arable	MM 845
circa 1317	Watlington	1ac.3r.arable	MM 832
1320	Chinnor	Unspecified lands & tenements	MM 2556, 2557
1324	Watlington	1ac. arable	MM 836
	Watlington and Britwell	20s. annual rents	MM 835

[These rents probably included those from 9½ac. in Watlington and Britwell, which were confirmed by deeds of 1325 (MM 834) and 1333 (MM 873)]

(ii) The extent of the property in 1325

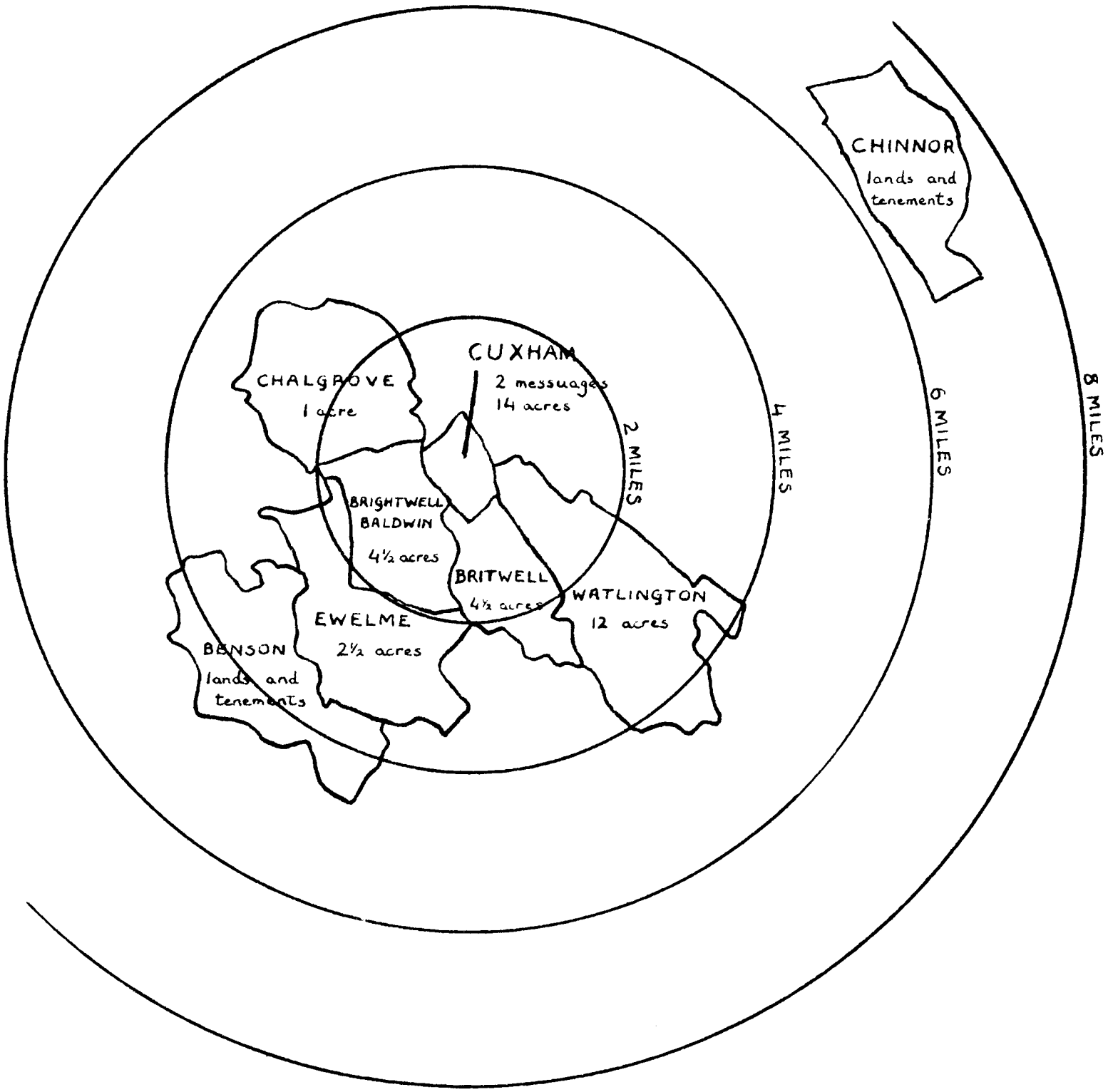


ILLUSTRATION 38: The positions of the tenements, 1279-1349

Notes: 1. The plan indicates merely the relative positions of the tenements; their sizes and shapes are mostly conjectural
2. The positions of the villeins' tenements are fixed with some certainty; the other tenements, especially the cottages, are open to greater doubt.

Key to the numbers on the map and the list following it:

Free tenants

A - Grene (capital messuage)
B - Grene (formerly Serviens)

Eleemosynary tenants

a - Cocus
b - Prior of Wallingford's mill

Villeins

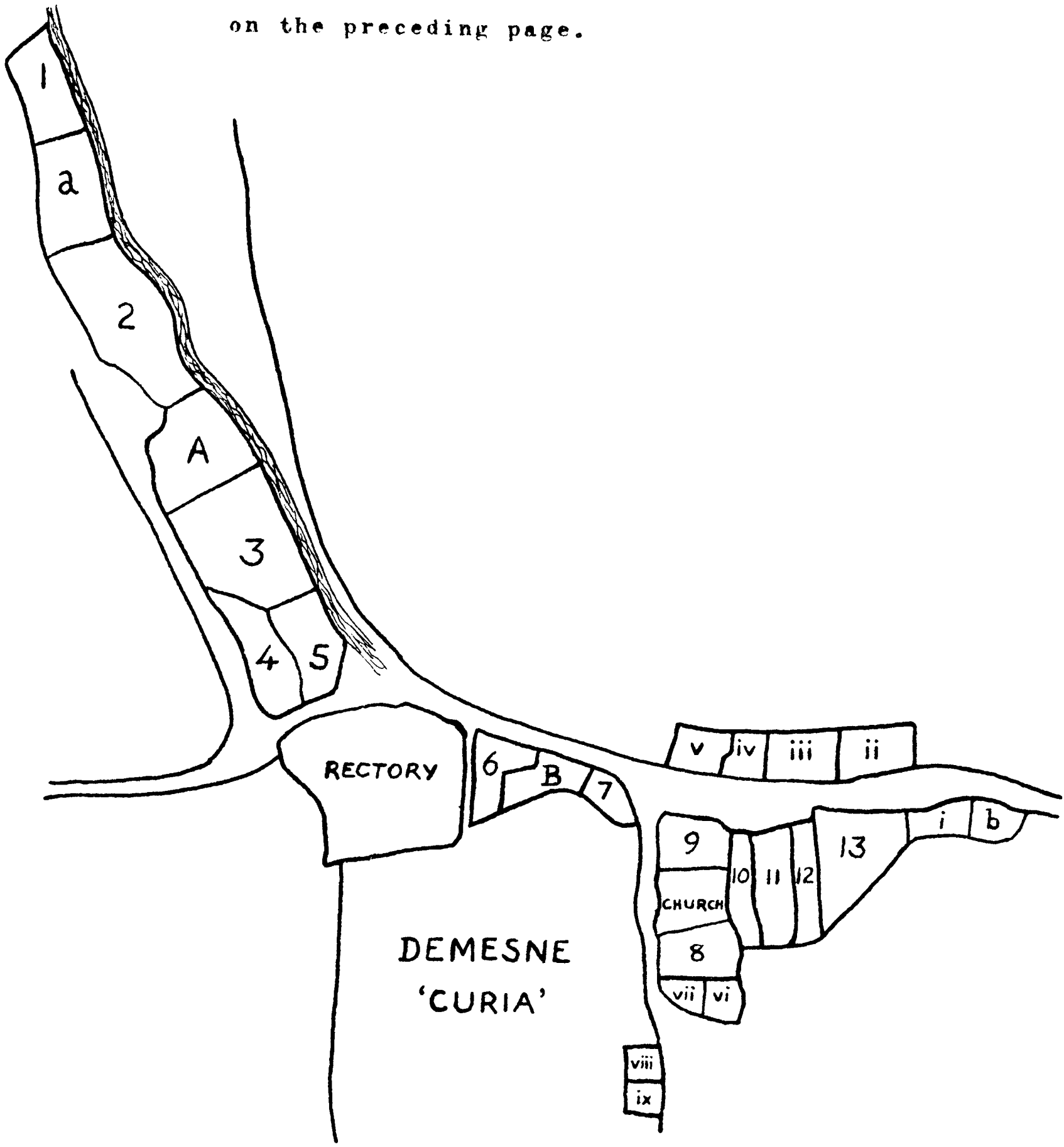
1 - Waleys
2 - Waldrugge
3 - Weylond-Muleward
4 - Brian-Carter
5 - Heycroft
6 - Oldman
7 - Hethe-Canon
8 - Eva-Bouecheriche
9 - Gilbert - Aumoner
10 - Cecilia-Beneyt-Reueloue
11 - Hurne-Alinot
12 - Wyte-Burdon
13 - Est

Cottagers

i - Bouetoun
ii - Turnestone-Deyere
iii- Matilda-Aumoner-Totere
iv - Claricia/Stoylepe-Maucorneys
v - Lucepret-Dryuer
vi - Syrburn-Jordan-Carter
vii - Eva-Bouecheriche
viii - Jolif-Gardiner
ix - Sawyere-Croume

The positions of the tenements, 1279-1349

The key to the letters and numbers is on the preceding page.



The orders in which the tenements are listed are as follows:

Hundred Rolls, 1279:

13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 6, 7, v, -, vii, vi, 4, 2, viii & ix (?), -, 3, iii, a, iv, iv, b, A, B.

Tax assessment, 1295:

2, A, 1, 3, 4. 7, 6, b, 13, 10, 9, 8.

List of College tenants, circa 1296:

A (?), 12, 6, 8, 7, b, 10, 9, 13, 4, 3, 2, 5, iii, viii, iv, iv, vi, ix, v, -.

Custumal, 1297-98:

b, A, B, a, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 6, 8, 7, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, ii, iii, iv, iv, v, viii, ix, vi.

Tax assessment, 1304:

11, 1, 7, 12, 13, 5, 3, 8, 2, 4, 6, 9, b.

Tax assessment, 1306:

2, A, 1, 4, 5, 7, 6, b, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8.

Tax assessment, 1316-17:

2, 1, 4, 5, 7, ii, b, 13, 12, 10, 11, 6, A.

Court roll, 1329:

2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 6, 8, 13, 12, 5, 1, v, iv, i, viii, ix, vii, vi, A, & B.

Supplementary evidence:

The Prior of Wallingford's mill stood at the east end of the village, and Geoffrey Bouetoun's cottage was built on an adjacent plot (see p.32).

Geoffrey Bouetoun's cottage also adjoined the Est tenement - Richard Est gave 6d. for an enquiry 'de quadam haycia que est inter ipsum et Galfridum boueton' (Court roll, 1306).

The sale of herbage from a ditch 'retro curtillagia villanorum' suggests that the villeins' tenements were largely grouped together (account roll, 1300-01).

The amercement of Joan and Elias Bouecheriche and Thomas le Sawyere for making a path across the lord's corn to go to Watlington suggests that they lived to the south of the church, as only from this part of

the village would it be a short cut to cross the fields (court roll, 1315).

At least one cottage lay beyond the demesne oven, for the reeve accounts for sawing timber 'pro cotag' vltra furn''; the same account includes the cost of repairs to cotagia Jolif et Clarice (account roll, 1299-1300).

The Hethe tenement adjoined the curia, for the reeve accounts for repairing walls 'inter curiam et domum Ade atte hethe' (account roll, 1297-98).

The Grene tenement (formerly Serviens) was described as 'Inter tenementum quod Robertus Filius Ricardi aliquo tempore tenuit et tenementum domini de Cuxham' when Robert atte Grene acquired it circa 1290 (MM 871), and as 'iuxta tenementum Roberti Olderman versus occident', et campum Gardini de Mertonhalle ex parte boriali, in longitudine iuxta Regiam viam' when it was leased in 1388 (MM 883; cf p.45 n.5).

Deeds of 1447 and 1483 show that to the north-west of the present village the tenements, from north to south, were (i) Waleys, (ii) a tenement belonging to the Hall family (successors of the Grene's), (iii) Wallrugges, (iv) another tenement of the Hall family, (v) Greneheys (see pp.33-34).

The Weylond and Heycroft tenements adjoined - an inquiry was made in 1310 as to which a certain ditch or pool (fovea) belonged to (court roll, 1310).

The Aumoner and Turnestone cottages adjoined - it was presented that 'Ingeleys destruxit quandam hayam que fuit inter ipsam et Ricardum de Tornestone' (court roll, 1294)

ILLUSTRATION 39: Relative values of the free and villein tenements, 1271-1349

Source: tax valuations from the assessments in Merton College and the Public Record Office; entry fines and heriots from the account and court rolls; stock in 1304 from the tax assessment; pleas of trespass from the court rolls.

Note: The ½-virgates formed in 1290-94, which owed cottagers' as well as villeins' services, are marked with asterisks.

Type of teneme		Select pleas of trespas
Free (2 ness., l		20 sheep (1313), 40 sheep (1346) oxen (1303), 2 affers (1343)
Unfree:		
½ virgate & co (1	1 pig, 3 hens	2 horses (1341), 2 affers (1343)
½ virgate+ (13	4 hens	2 horses (1341)
½ virgate 34		cart (1322), horse (1341)
½ virgate)	1 bouicul', 2 piglets, 3 hens	2 horses (1324), 2 affers (1343)
½ virgate+	1 pig, 2 geese,	2 horses (1324, 1341), 2 affers (1343)
½ virgate		
½ virgate 13s	1 bouicul', 1 calf,	cart (1322, 1329), 2 horses (1324)
½ virgate (1	1 pig	2 horses (1304)
½ virgate	icul', 2 pigs, 4 hens,	4 horses (1341), 4 affers (1343), sheep (1315, 1323, 1324, 1343, 1346)
½ virgate+ d.		cart (1300), 2 horses (1324), 6 pigs (1329) 9 geese (1346)
½ virgate+ .(	3 hens	
½ virgate+ .0	1 pig, 3 hens	2 affers (1326), 2 affers (1329), 2 horses (1341), sheep (1324, 1326, 1331, 1333)
½ virgate 31	3 hens	

ILLUSTRATION 40: Photographs of the church, Jan.1960

(i) The church from the north-west.

(ii) The doorway at the west end of the church

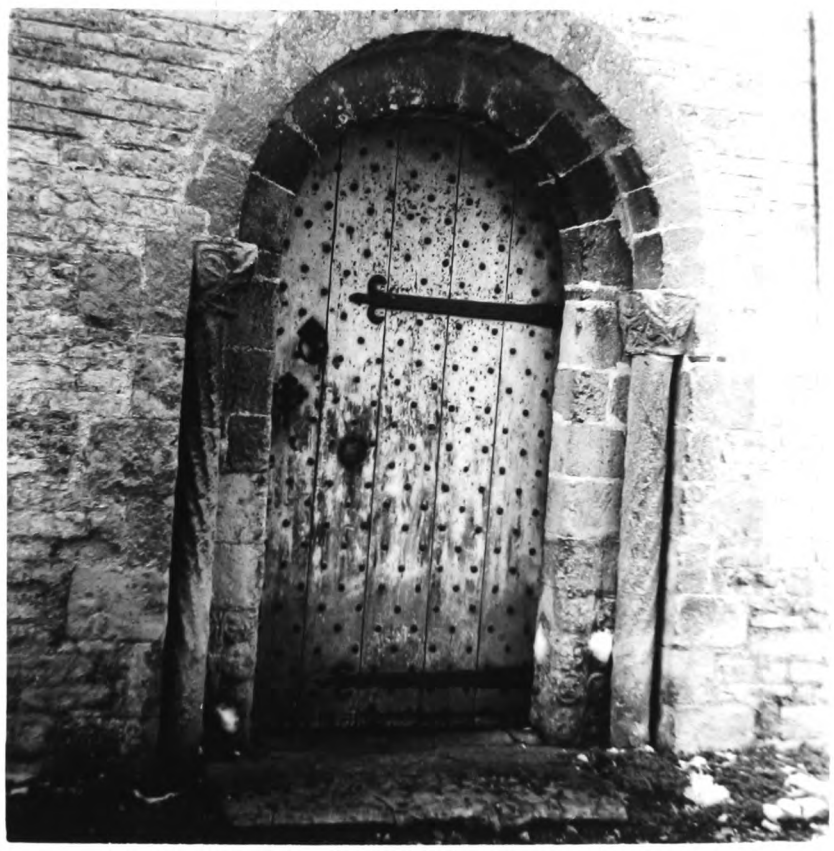


ILLUSTRATION 41: List of rectors before 1500 Ill.41.

Source: Emden, Biographical register of the University of Oxford; bishops' registers in Lincoln Diocesan Record Office; and as given below.

Dates	Names	Career in Merton College	Other positions held concurrently
In office both before and after Ralph Chenduit's acquisition of the manor, between 1227 and 1234 (party or witness to various grants, MM 847-851)	Walter Foliot	-	-
In office by Nov. 1295 (presentment on court roll); died before Oct. 1322	Adam de Watlyngton,	Fellow in 1280-81, and still in 1286	-
Admitted Oct. 1322; resigned 1328	John de Waneting	Fellow 1299; Sub-warden 1296-99; Warden 1299-1329	Warden of Merton; rector of Kibworth Harcourt (co.Leic.) and, from 1327, of Cogges (co.Oxon.)
Admitted 1328; resigned by April 1335	Walter de Burton	Fellow 1312; 1st Bursar 1321-22; 3rd Bursar 1322-23, 1327-28.	Canon (from 1331) and (to 1334) sub-dean of York; canon (from 1329) and sub-dean (1334-35) of Wells; clerk of the bishop of Bath and Wells.
Admitted April 1335; died by July 1351	Robert de Tring	Fellow 1313; 2nd Bursar 1322-23; 3rd Bursar 1324-25; Sub-warden 1329; Warden 1329-51	Warden of Merton; rector of Kibworth Harcourt from 1349.

Ill.41 cont.

Dates	Names	Career in Merton College	Other positions held concurrently
Admitted Dec. 1351; died by Dec. 1387	William de Elham.	Scholar 1335; Fellow 1336-37; 2nd Bursar 1351-52	-
Admitted Dec. 1387; died by March 1425	Thomas Chilmark	Fellow 1381-82	-
Admitted March 1425; resigned by Sept.1431,	Robert Holywell	Bachelor 1417; Fellow circa 1420	-
Admitted Sept. 1431; vacant by 1438	John Resson	-	-
Presented 1438; died by March 1474	Richard Collyns	Fellow 1434	Rector of Hampton Poyle (co. Oxon.), from 1466
Admitted March 1474; died March 1502	Thomas Lee	Scholar 1457; Fellow 1462; 1st Bursar 1466-68; 2nd Bursar 1469-70	Rector of Farleigh (co. Surrey), of Wolford (co. Warw.) from 1479, and of Milton Bryan, (co. Bedf.) from 1481,

DOCUMENT 1: List of tenants, 1227-43

From MM 5906 mem.1,

Memorandum quod Cuccusham defenditur pro vno feodo et pertinet ad virgatam terre 2s.10d.

Memorandum quod dominus habet in manu sua 8 virgatas terre. scilicet una virgata terre de Roberto de Hertmere et una virgata de terra . . . de Edrich Caperun dimidia virgata de Ricardo de simiter' dimidia virgata De Ricardo le Vyte dimidia virgata de . . . fil' Matilde. dimidia virgata. De Ricardo le Kene dimidia virgata. De Willelmo le Engleys. dimidia virgata De . . . la More. dimidia virgata terre. De Willelmo de Walderegge dimidia virgata terre. De Henrico de Bryte[well'] . . . virgata terre. et 6 acre de la Cuttedemelle. et 6 acre de Laurent Marescollo. Et 4 acre de Ricardo filio (Johannis?) . . . Et 4 acre de Miles le rede. Et persona tenet vnam virgatam terre que debet scutagium omnibus temporibus quando currit.

DOCUMENT 2: Note of the areas in demesne, mid-13th cent.

From MM 5906 mem.2

In Campo versus puryton vbi spina situatur sunt de dominico 73 acre dimidia et 1 roda

In Campo comuni sunt 9 acre et vna roda et mensurantur

In Campo versus Brychtewelle iuxta domum Rectoris de dominico 79 acre dimidia

Item in Campo comuni sunt 3 acre dimidia et 1 roda sicut iacent et non mensurantur

Summa 86 acre

DOCUMENT 3: Note of the areas in demesne, 1292-93 or 1347-48

MM 5892 mem.1; variations in the copy found at the beginning of MM vol.1.1 are given in the footnotes.

Cuxham in terr' in dominico[1]

In Campo[2] qui discitur[3] Burwefeld'[4] uersus[5] Brutewelle[6] sunt 86 acre dimidia et 1 roda Mensurate Et in Campo[7] exteriori sunt due acre et dimidia sicut iacent non mensurate que estimantur ad vnam acram et dimidiam

In Campo[8] iuxta Campum[9] de Pyrytone[10] 79 acre et dimidia Mensurate

In Campo[11] versus Britthewelle[12] sunt 93 acre et 1 roda Mensurate

Summa 261 acre[13]

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1. Coxhamm terre in dominio
2. In primis in campo
3. dicitur
4. Burowefeld
5. versus
6. Brutewell'
7. campo
8. Item in Campo
9. campum
10. Pyryton'
11. Item in Campo
12. Bruttewell'
13. Adds Data anno regni regis Edwardi xxj^{o}

DOCUMENT 4: Assessment of Movables, March 1304

MM 5905

Rotulus omnium bonorum villate de Cuxham taxat' ad festum sancti Gregorii pape Anno regni regis Edwardi filii Regis Henrici xxxij^{o} per Johannem de la grene et Robertum Beneyt ad hoc iuratos qui dicunt per sacrament' quod

Robertus in le hurne habet unum affrum prec' 3s. 1 vaccam prec' 4s. 1 porcul' prec' 6d. Item 3 acras seminatas de frumento prec' 6s. prec' acre 2s. Item 2 acras seminatas de vessibus prec' 2s. prec' acre 12d. Item camer' prec' 18d. Item utencil' prec' 8d.

Summa 17s.8d.

Rogerus le Waleys habet 1 affrum prec' 2s. 1 porcul' prec' 6d. 3 gall' prec' 3d. duas acras seminatas de frumento prec' 4s. 1 acram seminatam de vessibus prec' 12d. Item camer' prec' 6d. Item utencil' prec' 7d.

Summa 8s.10d.

Ad' atte Hethe habet 1 affrum prec' 2s. 1 vaccam prec' 4s. 1 porcul' prec' 8d. Item 3 acras seminatas de frumento prec' 6s. Item 2 acras seminatas de vessibus prec' 2s. Item dimidium quarterium puls' prec' 10d. Item camer' prec' 4s. 8d. Item 1 ollam eneam prec' 18d. 1 patell' prec' 4d. Item 2 aucas prec' 6d. 3 gall' prec' 3d. Item 2 pernas baconis prec' 16d. Item utencil' prec' 2s.1d.

Summa 26s.2d.

Robertus le Wyte habet 1 affrum prec' 2s. 1 vaccam prec' 4s. 3 gall' prec' 3d. 3 acras seminatas de frumento prec' 6s. 2 acras seminatas de vessibus prec' 2s. Item camer' prec' 12d. Item utencil' prec' 17d.

Summa 16s.8d.

Ricardus est habet 1 affrum prec' 3s. 1 vaccam prec' 4s. 1 bouiculum prec' 2s. 2 porcellos prec' 6d. Item 8 bidentes prec' 5s. & 4d. prec' cuiuslibet 8d. Item 4 hogast' prec' 16d. Item dimidium quarterium puls' prec' 10d. Item 2 acras seminatas de frumento prec' 4s. Item 2 acras seminatas de vessibus prec' 2s. Item camer' prec' 6s.8d. Item 1 ollam eneam prec' 12d. Item 3 gallinas prec' 3d. Item 2 pernas baconis prec' 20d. Item vtencil' prec' 17d.

Summa 34s.

Willelmus atte Heycrofte habet 1 affrum prec' 3s. 1 vaccam prec' 4s. 1 bouiculum prec' 2s. 1 vitulum prec' 12d. 5 gall' prec' 5d. Item 1 quarterium puls' prec' 20d. Item 3 acras seminatas de frumento prec' 6s. 3 acras seminatas de vessibus prec' 3s. Item cameram prec' 4s. Item 1 ollam eneam prec' 16d. Item 1 patell' prec' 4d. Item 1 carectam prec' 12d. Item 2 pernas baconis prec' 18d. Item vtencil' prec' 2s. & 3d.

Summa 31s.2d.

Henricus Weylond 1 affrum prec' 2s. 1 vaccam prec' 4s. 1 porcul' prec' 6d. 3 gall' prec' 3d. Item 1 acram seminatam de frumento prec' 2s. Item 2 acras seminatas de vesse prec' 2s. Item cameram prec' 12d. Item 1 carectam prec' 6d. 1 pernam baconis prec' 8d. Item vtencil' prec' 7d.

Summa 13s.6d.

Ricardus bouecheriche habet 1 affrum prec' 2s. 1 vaccam prec' 4s. 1 porcul' prec' 6d. 3 gall' prec' 3d. Item 1 bussellum fab' prec' 3d. / Item 2 acras seminatas de frumento prec' 4s. Item 2 acras seminatas de vess' prec' 2s. Item cameram prec' 18d. Item 1 ollam eneam prec' 12d. 1 patell' prec' 3d. 1 carectam prec' 8d. Item vtencil' prec' 18d.

Summa 17s.11d.

Willelmus Walderugge habet 1 affrum prec' 2s. Item dimidium quarterium puls' prec' 10d. Item 3 acras seminatas de frumento prec' 6s. Item 1 acram seminatam de vess' prec' 12d. Item cameram prec' 2s. Item 1 ollam eneam prec' 12d. 1 patell' prec' 4d. Item 1 pernam baconis prec' 9d. Item vtencil' prec' 16d.

Summa 15s.3d.

Adam Brian habet 1 affrum prec' 4 (written over 3) s. 1 vaccam prec' 4s. 4 gall' prec' 4d. 2 bussellos puls' prec' 5d. Item 3 acras seminatas de frumento prec' 6s. Item 2 acras seminatas de vess' prec' 2s. Item cameram 18d. Item vtencil' prec' 16d.

Summa 19s.7d.

Robertus Holdeman habet 1 affrum prec' 5s. 1 bouiculum prec' 3s. 2 porcul' prec' 16d. 4 gall' prec' 4d. Item 3 bussellos drag' prec' 9d. Item 3 acras seminatas de frumento prec' 6s. 2 acras seminatas de vess' prec' 2s. Item cameram prec' 3s. Item 1 ollam eneam prec' 12d. 1 patell' prec' 4d. Item 2 pernas baconis prec' 18d. Item vtencil' prec' 23d.

Summa 26s.2d.

Gilbertus Ammener habet 1 affrum prec' 3s. 1 vaccam prec' 4s. Item 2 bussellos vescarum prec' 5d. Item 2 acras seminatas de frumento prec' 4s. Item 2 acras seminatas de vess' prec' 2s. Item cameram prec' 12d. Item 1 carectam prec' 8d. Item vtencil' prec' 13d.

Summa 16s.2d.

Johannes le Blak' habet 1 affrum prec' 18d. 1 bouiculum prec' 2s. Item cameram prec' 12d.

Summa 4s.6d.

Ad' Molendinarius habet 1 acram seminatam de frumento prec' 2s. Summa 2s.

Simon gardinarius habet dimidium quarterium frumenti prec' 18d. 1 pernam baconis prec' 8d. Item cameram prec' 6d.

Summa 2s.8d.

Robertus clericus 1 quarterium frumenti prec' 3s. 2 quarteria ordei prec' 5s. prec' quarterii 2s.6d. 1 quarterium auene prec' 16d. Item 1 vaccam prec' 4s. Item cameram prec' 5s.

Summa 18s.4d.

(marginal note:) Summa tocius
13li.10s.7d.

In Manerio de Cuxham sunt 30qr. frumenti prec' 4 li.10s. prec' qr. 3s. Item 5 qr. ordei prec' 12s.6d. prec' qr. 2s.6d. Item 8qr. dragei prec' 16s. prec' qr. 2s. Item 2 qr. puls. prec' 3s.4d. prec' qr. 20d. Item 5qr. auene prec' 6s.8d. prec' qr. 16d. Item 2 equi carectarii prec' 13s.4d. Item 2 affri prec' 8s. Item 6 boues prec' 40s. prec' cuiuslibet 6s.8d. Item 6 boues prec' 34s. prec' cuiuslibet 5s.8d. 1 taurus prec' 5s. 4 vacce prec' 16s. prec' cuiuslibet 4s. 4 bouicul' prec' 12s. prec' cuiuslibet 3 Item 2 vituli superannati prec' 2s. Item 6 porcul' prec' 3s. prec' cuiuslibet 6d. Item 3 auce prec' 9d. Item 8 capones prec' 16d. Item 1 carecta ferr' cum harnes' prec' 5s. Item 1 olla enea prec' 18d. 1 patell' prec' 12d. Item 60 acre seminate de frumento prec' 6 li. prec' acre 2s. Item 2 acre seminate de puls' prec' 2s. Item 25 acre seminate de auena prec' 25s. prec' acre 12d. Item vtencil' prec' 12d.

Summa 20 li.19s.5d.

(note on dorse:) (Rotulus?) omnium bonorum villate de Cuxham anno regni regis Edwardi xxxij^{o}

DOCUMENT 5: Account of building cottages, 1320-21

From MM 5844

Expense nouorum cotagiorum in vill'

Idem comp' in 54 raftris emptis ad 2 noua cotagia in vill' 5s.8d. In stipend' carpentar' facient' predicta cotagia ad tascham 13s.4d. 2bus. frumenti In stipendio vnius hominis ad Wateliandà et ad tegenda predicta cotagia ad tascham 8s. 1bus. frumenti In virgis proprayes et pro muris dictorum cotagiorum emptis 2s. In 9 bordis sarrandis ad ostia 4d. In factura Murorum dictorum cotagiorum 3s. In 8 bordis emptis ad ostia 20d. prec' cuiuslibet 2½d. In 300 clauis ad bord' emptis 15d. In 6 gumphis et 6 vertiuellis emptis 18d.

Summa 36s.9d.

DOCUMENT 6: Reeve's petition for allowances, July 1346

Schedule attached to MM 5871

Peticiones Roberti le Oldeman prepositi de Cuxham de rebus sibi oneratis et disallocatis super compotum suum Anno xx°

Idem petit alloc' de 14d. de 2bus. frumenti liberatis vni carpentario emendanc' Molendinum Fullonis Et de 7d. de 1bus. frumenti liberato tectori tegenti dictum Molendinum (struck out) Et de 16d. de 4bus. Auene dis super compotum suum in farina Auene ad potagium famulorum Et de 10s. oneratis super compotum de firma Molendini Fullonis plus quam recepit Et de 12s.4½d. in expensis factis circa emendacionem eiusdem Molendini (struck out) Et de 12d. datis homini principis ita quod non caperet fenum domini in prato Et de 3s. datis homini regis ita quod non ce caperet fenum domini in Manerio Et de 2s. datis homini regis ita quod non haberet 7 pullanos regis stantes in Manerio Et de 4d. in expensis eiusdem hominis Et de 3s. datis Johanni Bourton' homini principis ita quod non caperet Auenam domini Et de 12d. datis garcioni eiusdem Johannis Bourton' Et de 8d. in expensis eorundem per plures suos aduentus Et de 18d. datis dauid Brun homini regine ita quod non caperet nisi 5qr. Auene Et de 5d. in expensis eiusdem dauid Et de 6d in expensis hominis regine veniencis pro frumento capiendo Et de 6d. datis garcioni eiusdem hominis Et de 6d. in expensis 4 hominum regine morancium cum 3 equis per 3 dies Et de 2s. datis eisdem hominibus ut cito recederent Et de 6d. in expensis 4 hominum Johannis Ferers morancium cum 4 equis Et de 3s.4d. datis puruisori regis ita quod non caperet Auenam ad cariandum apud Tame Et de 6d. datis garcioni eiusdem Et de 2s. datis Crayli homini regis ita quod non haberet 15 equos stantes in Manerio domini Et de 3s.4d. datis clerico Rad'i pledour ita quod non caperet Auenam domini ad cariandum vsque Henle Et de 3s. datis homini regis ita quod non caperet pisas et Auenam domini ad cariandum London' Et de 12d. datis clerico

Mareschalli regine In expensis eiusdem clerici cum 3 garcionibus 3d. In expensis 1 armigeri regine 1d. Et de 12d. datis homini regine antequam habui proteccionem Et de 3s.4d. datis homini principis ita quod non caperet 12qr. frumenti Et de 12d. datis garcioni eiusdem Et de 2d. in expensis 2 poletariorum et 3 (altered from 2) garcionum suarum

de isitis datis hominibus regis et expensis eorum allocatur eis 20s. et 16d. de 4bus. auene (added in a different hand)

Summa

DOCUMENT 7: List of the reeve's debtors, February 1349

MM 5874 mem.6

Debita que debentur Roberto le Oldeman prepposito de Cuxham super visum compoti sui viij die Februarii anno xxiij°

Ricardus Eyst de Cuxham debet	-	8s.2d.
Gilbertus Bordon	-	4s.
Robertus Heycroft'	-	3s.7½d.
Emma le reueloue	-	2s.4d.
Ricardus Molindinarius	-	17s.0½d.
E[mm]a Aumoner	-	2s.10½d.
Willelmus Wauldrugg'	-	3s.10d.
Hugo le Cartere	-	2s.11d.
Ricardus Alynot	-	3s.8½d.
Julianus Bouech'	-	2s.3d.
Robertus Waleys	-	12s.5½d.
Ricardus Croume	-	6d.
Henricus carucarius	-	6d.
Alicia Aumoner	-	6d.
Henricus le Gardiner	-	6d.
Almaricus bercarius	-	6d.
Robertus Magote	-	9d.
Robertus Messor	-	6d.
Robertus Magote de Fine terre sue	-	6d.
Johannes ate Grene preter amerciamentum	-	17d.
Johannes Wale[y]s	-	. . .
Johannes le Mareschal	-	7s.1¼d.
Christina ate Heycroft' de antiquo	-	3s.4d.
Gilbertus Bourdon'	-	3s.4d.
Robertus le oldeman	-	3s.4d.
homagium de antiquo	-	3s.4d.
Ricardus le deyere per 1 talliam	-	23s.3½d.
Idem Ricardus	-	26s.8d.

Idem Ricardus	-	12s.4½d.
Johannes le Fullere de Ascote	-	8s.6d.
Robertus Waleys et Ricardus Eyst	-	4s.
Amissia okeslade	-	5s.6d.
Edwardus rex phelipp' regina Edwardus princeps Johannes Comes quondam Cornubie de antiquo	-	15li.6s.5d.

respicite in tergo

(dorse:)

Edwardus rex pro 9qr. Auene anno xix°	-	. . .
Edwardus princeps pro feno et litera anno xx°	-	5s. ...
Idem Edwardus princeps pro 3qr. frumenti anno xx°	-	12s.
Idem Edwardus ~~princeps~~ pro 10qr. Auene	-	16s.8[d.]
Willelmus Taleworth	-	23s.
Ricardus Moton	-	12s.
Willelmus le daie	-	2s.
Hugo de Berewyk'	-	3s.
Johannes Sprewel	-	. . .
Willelmus Sprewel	-	. . .
Henricus le p[ar]ker de Henle	-	3s.
Walterus de preston'	-	7s.
thomas le Fuller' de Wanebur'	-	7s.
Robertus Waleys de amerciament'	-	17d.
Idem de amerciament' Curie	-	7s.
Edwardus rex pro 3qr. frumenti anno xxij°	-	20s.
E. princeps pro 21qr.5bus. frumenti anno xxij°	-	8li.9s.8d.
Idem pro 5qr. Auene	-	13s.4d.
Idem pro litera	-	4s.
Ricardus le deyere	-	10s.
thomas Cucsetre de Henle	-	6s.8d.

Summa 39li.15s.4d.

DOCUMENT 8:List of the goods of Thomas Aumoner, villein, April 1349

From schedule attached to MM 5878

Item lib' eidem Hugoni die suprascripta de bonis ad domum Thome Aumoner 1 mangna cista 2 minores ciste 2 bossell' ligat' ferro Item dimid' bussell' non ligat'. Item 1 tangard' ferro ligat'. 1 vang' 1 tribula 1 candelabr' 1 knedtrow. 1 Mortarium cum pilo. Item in solario 2 ciste cum seruris et clauibus 1 fogenet' 1 sella debilis 1 (unatica?) debilis 1 olla cum vreol' 3 patelle cum 2 patellis (frixor'?) 1 quarterium 1 (Auncer'?). 1 vomer' cum cultr'. 1 Sithe. 4 falses. dimidia libra canabi purati 1 hachet 1 sarra . . . 2 (sturpirnes?) 2 malliol' 1 Auger 1 palet' 1 chisel. 1 (lyird?) 1 par (ferr'?) 1 ferr' pro furc' fimar'. 1 pykfork 1 (hethel'?) 2 corde pro carecta liganda 2 sacc'. 1 tripod' 1 sella pro carecta. 1 par traicium cum coler' 1 truelle 2 serure iacentes in cista. 1 mappa 1 manuterg[ium] 1 supertunica furata. 1 capic' duplicat' 2 tunicé 1 a-... 2 Wolcomb[e]s. 1 bona forewynschouele 2 patelle cum quarterio nullius valoris 1 carecta 2 rote pro car[ect']. 1 cribra. 1 riddel. 2 rakes Item noua latera bona pro 1 scala. 1 draye pro carecta 1 paruum doleum 1 scala 1 hercia Item 1 carectata straminis

DOCUMENT 9: First account of the goods
of Robert Oldman, reeve, 1349-50

MM 5874 mem.4

56 oues et 11 agni Roberti prepositi appreciantur ad 22s.4d. prec' capitis 4d. Item 1 sus et 2 porculi ad 4s. Item 1 bouettus ad 4s. 1 vacca cum vitulo ad 4s. 1 vacca feta ad 4s. 1 iuuenca ad 3s.4d. 1 bouiculus ad 20d. Item 1 olla 2s. 1 vr'olus 6d. 2 patelle cum tripode 12d. Item 1 peluis cum lauatore 8d. Item 1 carecta ligata ad 4s. Item tapetum cum linthiaminibus 3s.4d. Item 4 perne baconis 1 carcas' 5s.4d. Item 10 casei 7½d. Item cep' cum pinguedine 2s.6d. Item 1 pannus canab' 9d. Item 1 tapetum 3d. Item in pannis. supertunic' et aliis 13s.4d. Item 1 mappa 18d. 1 manitergium 6d. Item 1qr, mixtil' in cista 8d. Item 35 libre lane Item 4qr.6bus. brasii Item 6 rusce ad 9s. Item 1 auca cum (multis?) pulcinis

DOCUMENT 10: Second account of the goods
of Robert Oldman, reeve, July 1351

Schedule attached to MM 5879

Recept' de bonis Roberti Oldeman Anno regni regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum xxv^to^ pro arreragiis suis

Vend' bladi

Idem respondet de 13s.4d. de 2qr. frumenti venditis Et de 20s.3d. de 3qr.3bus. frumenti venditis prec' qr. 6s. Et de 6s.10½d. de 1qr.3bus. spryg' et Mixt' venditis prec' qr. 5s. Et de 9s.7d. de 2qr.7bus. ordei venditis prec' qr. 3s.4d.

Et de 22½d. de 5bus. bras' venditis prec' bus. 4½d.

Summa 51s.11½d.

Et de 12d. de 1 coffra vendita que fuit in tofto ballivi Et de 6s.4d. de 1 Roba de Moret' vendita Et de 3s.6d. de 1 tunica et 1 courtepi de bluet venditis Et de 8d. de 2 Mappis venditis Et de 3s.8d. de 32 libris Lane venditis Et de 5s.4d. de 1 tapeto 1 (kych'idos?) 4 Whtel' venditis Et de 4d. de 4 libris vnct' venditis Et de 5d. de ferr' pedal' ad carucam vendit'

Summa 21s.3d.

Summa totalis 73s.2d.(altered from 1½d.)

In tritur' bladi vt extra 4s.1d. In vent'
Summa 4s.1d. Et sic debet 69s.1d. (added in another hand)

(dorse:)

frumentum

Idem respondet de 6qr.5bus. frumenti de exitu grangie prepositi trituratis ad tascham rasa mensura sine tallia

Summa 6qr.5bus.

De quibus in vendicione vt infra 5qr.3bus.

Summa 5qr.3bus. Et remanent 1qr.2bus.

Srygg'

Et de 1qr.3bus. receptis de exitu trituratis ad tascham rasa mensura sine tallia

Summa 1qr.3bus.

Et in vendicione vt infra 1qr.3bus.

Summa vt supra Et equ'

Ordeum

Et de 3qr. ordei de exitu trituratis ad tascham rasa mensura sine tallia

Summa 3qr.

De quibus in vendicione 2qr.7bus.

Summa 2qr.7bus. Et remanet 1bus.

Puls

Et de 1½bus. de exitu de domo (iuxta?) le (Wockern'?) prepositi et alium puls in aliquis domibus non trituratum

Summa 1½bus. Et remanent

Braseum

Et de 1qr.7bus. de rem'

Summa 1qr.7bus.

De quibus in vendicione 5bus.

Summa 5bus. Et remanent 1qr.2bus.

DOCUMENT 11: Third account of the goods
of Robert Oldman, reeve, July 1352

Schedule attached to MM 5880

Recepcio bonorum Roberti oldeman Anno regni regis Edwardi tertii post Conquestum xxvj

. . .
. . .
. . .

vend' bonorum

Et de 12d. de circul' ad vasa lingnea vendit' Et de 8d. de 2 scabellis venditis Et de 1½d. de 1 forma vendita Et de 6d. de 1 (inserted in a different hand) tuell' vendit' Et de 22d. de 1 tunica rubea de say vendita Et de 8d. de 1 tunica grisea de yryssch' vendita Et de 2s.8d. de 1 pelui cum lauatore vendito Et de 5s.3d. de 1 rub' roba vendita Et de 11d. de 1 rub' courtepye vendit' Et de 12d. de 1 perna baconis vendita Et de 4d. de 2 Jugis venditis Et de 9d. de 3 Instrumentis cementar' venditis Et de 2s.1½d. de 1 lanugio et 1 (umena?) venditis (added subsequently)

Summa 17s.10d. (added subsequently)

Et ballivus liberauit vsque Oxon' 2 ollas eneas et 1 vrciolum que fuerunt Roberti le Oldeman et sibi liberata per Indenturam (added in a different hand)

Summa totalis 26s.10½d. (altered, in a different hand, from 9½d.)

Et residuum bonorum non venditorum habet ballivus per Indenturam (added in a different hand)

(dorse)

De Bonis Roberti oldeman

Frumentum

Idem respondet de 1qr.2bus. de Rem'

Et in vend' vt infra 1qr.2bus.

Et equ'

Pise

. . . de Rem'

Et in vend' vt infra 1½bus.

Braseum

. . . de 1qr.2bus. de rem'

Summa 1qr.2bus. Brasei

. . . in sustentacione porcellorum et gallinarum Manerii 2 bus.

Summa 2bus. Et remanet 1qr. brasei nullius valoris

DOCUMENT 12:Will of William Walden, free tenant, March 1427

MM 881

In dei nomine Amen Anno domini Millesimo CCCC^{mo} xxvj^{to} t tercia die Mensis Marcii Ego Willelmus Waldene sanus mente sed eger corpore condo testamentum meum in hunc modum In primis lego animam meam deo beate Marie et omnibus sanctis et corpus meum ecclesiastice sepulture in cimiterio ecclesie parochialis de Cuxham Item lego ecclesie parochiali de Cuxham ad sustentacionem luminarii coram summa cruce tantum de (struck out and expuncted) tantum de ordeo quantum valet medietas vnius acre germinar' vno anno (inserted) que medietas anno suprascripto sufficienter coletur ex meis sumptibus propriis ita tum quod custodes dicte ecclesie satisfaciant pro messura. Item ad reparacion (struck out) innouacionem luminis crucifix erga festum Pasche proximo iam venturum 2 modios de brasio. Item vnumquodque trium luminarium in dicta ecclesia videlicet crucifi[cis] beate Marie et sancti Nicholai 2d. Item lego Johanni filio meo optimum lectum meum videlicet optimum coopertorium cum toorali eiusdem secte optimum par lodicum. optimum par linthiaminum Item lego eidem Johanni optimam meam ollam eneam. optimam patenam cum optimo catabo meo sciam vnam aliam ollam (miswritten and struck out) ollam eneam mensur' vnius lagene cum vrceolo eneo de mensura medietatis lagene. Item optimam mappam meam cum tuello optimo Item pelmin (for peluem ?) eneam cum linacro Item tria cocliaria argentea. Item lego Male (struck out and expuncted) Matilde filie me tria cocliaria. argentea. vnam ollam (struck out and expuncted) Patenam (inserted) eneam proxim' secundum (struck out) secundam post superius legatam Item duabus ne (struck out) filiabus eiusdem Matilde duas oues videlicet vnicuique earum vnam et medietatem vnius quarterii ordei Item lego dicto Johanni filio meo aratrum cum omni apparatu et bigam

cum toto apparatu extra equis Item lego Allicie famule mee vnam mappam cum tuello et vnum par linthiaminum et (added at the end of a line) quarterium ordei (interlineated) Item lego rectori ecclesie parochialis antedicte vnam medietatem acram frumenti que acra situatur proxima ad villam inter duas medias acras Willelmi Bayly. Item duabus filiabus (inserted) Thome Wyttynge filii vxoris mee duas oues et vnum quarterium ordei. Item Katerine Jacat duas oues et quarterium ordei. Item Ricardo Bayly de Aston' knaict vnam ouem Item Johanni filio Allicie vxoris mee duas oues et [illegible] 1 quarterium ordei Item Roberto puero meo 4 modios ordei cum toga mea cotidiana de Russet Volo tum quod grauimina superius legata no (struck out) soluantur de fructibus iam venturis (struck out) iam pululantibus in agro cum ducti fuerint in horreum in autumpno. Omnia vero bona mea mobilia superius non legata preter ea que vxoris mee erant antequam eam duxi in vxorem debitis meis persolutis lego Johanni filio meo et Allicie vxori mee inter eos per equales porciones diuidenda. ita quod omnia que erant dicte Allicie antequam eam duxi in vxorem sibi remaneant propria et integra. Huius autem testamenti mei executores ordino et constituo Alliciam vxorem meam et Johannem filium meum et Johannem Hunte (inserted) ita quod dicta Allicia sit principalis executrix vt ipsi inde ordinent et disponant secundum quod eis visum fuerit saluti anime mee melius expedit'; Superuisorem autem ordino et constituo Johannem Walcleyn de Ouerton' (possibly added subsequently)

DOCUMENT 13: Demesne terrier, 1447-48

Written on two leaves at the beginning of MM vol.1.1. All the alterations and insertions noted below have been made in a different but contemporary hand.

Cuxham in (inserted) campo qui dicitur Borowefeld' versus brutewell' anno regni fegis henrici vj^{ti} xxvj^{to} (added)

Forura vocata Milleforlong' continet 7 acras et dimidiam Item Mensur' est in longitudine 32 pertic' et in latitudine 28

Forrura vocata pek' iuxta Bruttewell' Mer' continet 1 acra et dimidiam . . . (illegible erasure) Mensur' . . . (erasure)

Forrura que iacet inter pek' et Clausum Manerii continet 18 acras et dimidiam et (written over an erasure) mensur' in l longitudine 40 pertic' et latitudine 60 pertic'

Forrura super le garden' Manerii continet 9 acras et dimidiam et (written over an erasure) Mensur' in longitudine 26 pertic' et in latitudine 31

Forrura sub le persons busshe continet 10 acras et dimidiam et (written over an erasure) Mensur' in longitudine 30 pertic' et latitudine 34

Forrura vocata Whytelond' Buttyng' in le Symmysdone continet 7 acras et dimidiam et (written over an erasure) Mensur' in longitudine 26 pertic' et in latitudine 40 pertic'

Item Forrura vocata Whitelond' continet 8 acras et dimidiam Item in (struck out) et (inserted) Mensur' in longitudine 31 pertic' et in latitudine 33 pertic'

Forrura vocata l.acras continet 17 acras et (written over an erasure) Mensur' in longitudine 26 pertic' in latitudine 60 pertic'

Forrura que abbuttat in le Symmysdene continet 14 acras. Item in (struck out) et (inserted) Mensur' in in longitudine 32 pertic' in latitudine 20 pertic'

Item iuxta Milleforlong' inter (inserted) Hunt et Clement 6 (altered from dimid') acr'

Campus iuxta (inserted) Pyryton'

Forrura que abuttat in le Watlynton' Feld' continet 10 acras et dimidiam Item Mensur' in longitudine 33 pertic' et latitudine 30 pertic'

Forrura super clausum (inserted above an illegible erasure) Clement continet 13 acras et dimidiam Item (struck out) et (inserted) Mensur' in longitudine 38 pertic' et latitudine 40 pertic'

Forrura vocata le pekys in (inserted) Hecchelesdene continet 3 acras Item (struck out) et (inserted) Mensur' in longitudine 20 pertic' et latitudine 9 pertic'

Forrura vocata downeforlong' abuttyng in pyryton' Mer' continet 19 acras et dimidiam Item mensur' in longitudine 44 pertic' et latitudine 59

Forrura vocata le Foxholis continet 4 acras. Item (struck out) et (inserted) in (expuncted) Mensur' in longitudine 33 pertic' et in latitudine 9 pertic'

Forrura super le Hille abuttat in Foxholis continet 9 acras et dimidiam Item (struck out) et (inserted) Mensur' in longitudine 30 pertic' in latitudine 39 pertic'

Forrura que abuttat super le Hunt' grene continet 19 acras Item (struck out) et (inserted) Mensur' in longitudine 30 pertic' in latitudine 53 pertic'

In (inserted) Camp' iuxta Brutewell'

Forrura vocata Crosforlong' abbuttat versus brutewell' pek' continet 10 acras et (inserted) Mensur' in longitudine 36 pertic' in latitudine 36

Forrura vocata bell' turnyng' continet 13 acras Item (struck out) et (inserted) mensur' in longitudine 35 pertic' et in latitudine 34

Forrura vocata quarrepyttes continet 4 acras Item (struck out) et (inserted) Mensur' in longitudine 28 pertic' et in latitudine 13 pertic'

Item 2 acre in le quarrepittes in Mensur' in longitudine 28 pertic' in latitudine 7 pertic' et dimidiam

Forrura vocata pyk' super le quarrepettes continet 4 acras. Item Mensur' in longitudine 30 pertic' et latitudine 13

Forrura que iacet sub Welleforlong' continet 14 acras Item Mensur' in longitudine 30 pertic' in latitudine 51 pertic'

Forrura vocata Medylforlong' iuxta Regiam viam ex parte australi versus Brightwell' (altered from Brutwell') continet 7 acras Item (struck out) et (inserted) Mensur' in longitudine 30 pertic' et in latitudine 29 pertic'

Forrura vocata Welleforlong' continet 30 acras Item in Mensur' in longitudine 31 pertic' in latitudine 102 pertic'

Forrura que abuttat super Rectoream continet 6 acras Item (struck out) et (inserted) in Mensur' in longitudine 29 pertic' in latitudine 24

Data anno regni regis Henrici vj^{ti} post conquestum vicesimo sexto

Cuxham de terris dominicalibus Campus qui dicitur Burgh'felde versus Brutwell' non Mensuratus

Forrura vocata Milleforlong' continet - 7 acras et dimidiam
Forrura vocata le pyk' iuxta brutewell' mer' continet - 1 acram et dimidiam
Forruma que iacet a pyk' vsque ad clausum Manerii continet - 18 acras et dimidiam
Forrura inter terram Hohannis Clement et Johannis Hunt continet - dimidiam acram
Forrura sub le persons busshe continet - 10 acras et dimidiam
Forrura super le Court gardeyn' continet - 9 acras et dimidiam
Forrura vocata le Whitelond' abuttat in le symmesdene continet - 7 acras et dimidiam
Forrura vocata Whytelond' continet - 8 acras et dimidiam
Forrura vocata 1.acras in symysdene continet - 17 acras
Forrura que abuttat in le symysdene continet - 14 acras
Summa acrarum 95 (altered from 81) acre

In (inserted) Camp' iuxta Campum de peryton'

Forrura Butte in le Watlynton'feld' continet - 10 acras et dimidiam
Forrura super le Clement continet - 13 acras et dimidiam
Forrura iuxta Hechelesden' continet - 3 acras
Forrura vocata downefelde butt' in le peryton' mer' continet - 19 acras et dimidiam
Forrura vocata Foxhole continet - 4 acras
Forrura iacens super le hille butt' in le Foxhale continet - 11 acras et dimidiam
Forrura que Butt' super villam continet - 19 acras
Summa acrarum - 81 acras

In (inserted) Camp' iuxta campum Brygh'well'

Forrura vocata Crosforlong' abutt' versus Brygh'well' continet - 10 acras

Forrura vocata the turnyng' of bell' the
Fermo' continet - 13 acras
Item iuxta quaripyttes - 3 acras et dimidiam
Item 2 acre iacentes apud le quarripittes -
Forrura vocata le pyk' super le quarrepittes - 4 acras
Forrura iacens sub Welleforlong' alias
Crofforlonge continet - 14 acras
Forrura vocata Medilforlong' iuxta regiam viam ex
parte australi que ducit versus Brigh'well'
continet - 7 acras
Forrura vocata Welleforlong' continet - 30 acras
Forrura que abuttat super Buttas Rectoris
continet - 6 acras

Summa acrarum - 88 acre et dimidia

Data anno regni regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum Vicesimo Sexto

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ABSTRACT

Cuxham is a small parish, less than a square mile in extent, lying twelve miles south-east of Oxford. Historically, it is a perfect example of the classical midland manor, in which vill, parish and manor coincide, forming a single economic and social unit. Since 1271 it has belonged to Merton College, which possesses an abundance of records of Cuxham; although later material has also been used, the present study is concerned mainly with the period before 1400, for which the surviving evidence (especially the account rolls and court rolls) is outstanding. Since it is intended as a contribution to general historical knowledge, most attention is paid to problems which seem to be of general relevance, likely to apply to other places besides Cuxham. A great deal of the evidence is embodied in the tables, maps and diagrams grouped together at the end, and much of the thesis takes the form of a commentary on these Illustrations. Only a few documents are reproduced, but full illustrative extracts are given in the footnotes.

The introductory chapter opens with an account of the parish's early history; it is shown that its woodland was cleared first from the valley, then from the higher ground, and that by 1086 nearly all the land had been converted to arable. There follow an account of the ownership of the manor before it passed to Merton College,

and a detailed discussion of the sources for its history. The next chapter is a general account of the parish's topography and place-names. The village arable was regularly tilled on the three-field system until 1846; starting from a survey of 1767, it is possible to reconstruct partial maps of the fields in the seventeenth and fifteenth centuries, although the names of many furlongs changed from one generation to another. The demesne arable did not lie in scattered strips like the tenants' lands, but in compact blocks formed probably in the early thirteenth century. The plan of the village has changed little since the middle ages; the manor farm, the rectory and the two mills all occupied the same sites then as now. There is a short discussion of the names given to the tenements in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, of which some survive as the names of closes.

Turning then to medieval Cuxham, the chapter on the manorial demesne, 1271-1359, opens with an examination of the curia, its buildings and their construction and use. This is followed by an account of the demesne arable. It is shown that for most of this period its area remained static, and that the apparent changes shown on the account rolls occur because areas are there given sometimes in statute, sometimes in customary acres. After the Black Death, however, parcels of the demesne were let out to the tenants, at first for short terms, but later on a permanent basis. Wheat was the demesne's principal cash crop, while the spring-corn field was sown mainly with oats, barley and dredge. The proportion of each type of corn sown, the uses to which each was put, the times of sowing and the annual yields - which were extremely high - are all discussed;

this involves an examination of the various 'increments' of corn, for which the bailiffs had to answer after the Black Death, and in particular of the system of heaping every eighth bushel, which is described by Walter of Henley, and which is shown to have originated in the agreements made with the hired threshers. A brief survey of the livestock and equipment is followed by an account of the management of the demesne. From 1288 to 1349 this was in the hands of only two successive reeves; they are shown to have been men of substance, occupying a post of trust and responsibility. The account rolls' evidence of their mounting debts to the College is shown to belie their actual financial position, for these sums were balanced by money due to them from other sources. Cuxham also provides a good deal of evidence of the sort of perquisite that the office brought to the reeves. From 1349 to 1359 there were no fewer than seven bailiffs or reeves at Cuxham; conditions after the Black Death clearly made it difficult for the College to find satisfactory managers, and this may have been the cause of the manor's being leased to farmers from 1359 onwards. The chapter concludes with an account of the demesne labour force: the famuli, the occasional hired labourers and the customary tenants' labour services. It is shown that even before 1349, when heavy labour services were being exacted in full, they provided only about one-third of all the work done on the demesne; most of the rest was done by the famuli. After the Black Death, labour services virtually ceased, and the number of famuli gradually fell, while amounts spent on outside hired labour rose proportionately.

The next chapter deals with the manor's outside

contacts from 1271 to 1359, and gives first an account of its position in the Merton College estates. Its contacts with the College's other manors were frequent but irregular; although the manor was closely supervised by the Warden and Fellows, it was administered as a single independent unit. The College's records of the manor's profits are discussed, also the deliveries of produce from Cuxham to the College, which were sometimes entered on the accounts as sales. But Cuxham's position in its region was probably more important to its economy than its links with other Merton manors. It had rights of intercommoning with at least one neighbouring parish, while the demesne was dependent on local sources outside Cuxham for all of its timber and brushwood, and for some of its hay. Abingdon, not the more accessible Wallingford, was the manor's principal source of supply for livestock and other items, while Henley-on-Thames was its principal market for corn, which was presumably sent down the river to London. Two aspects of the manor's contacts with the royal administration are examined in detail: the assessment of the demesne for taxation, with the use of bribery and its success; and royal exactions in the shape of the requisition of the demesne's cart and the enforced sale of corn, from which Cuxham suffered most in the 1340's, and which gave the reeve much trouble in securing payments.

The next chapter is concerned with the tenants and other inhabitants of Cuxham from 1240 to 1400. From about 1290 there was only a single free tenant; an account is given of this family's history and of its properties, scattered in at least seven parished besides Cuxham. The obligations of the unfree tenants - villeins

and cottagers - are examined, and it is shown that the second half of the thirteenth century saw the position of the lord of the manor in Cuxham considerably strengthened. A reconstruction of the locations of the tenants' holdings points to the villein tenements having an older origin than the cottages; and the distinction between the two classes of peasant is borne out by differences in the customs of succession and in economic status, which are both described in detail. It is interesting to note that the tenants' livestock and crops differed considerably from those of the demesne; horses were used instead of oxen, rye was grown as well as wheat, and vetch, not oats, was the principal fodder crop. The peasants' use of surnames is examined; it is shown, inter alia, that a man marrying a tenant's widow would take the surname of her first husband. Before 1349 many of the peasants were employers of labour, but there is no sign of this after the Black Death, which caused many changes at Cuxham besides great immediate mortality. One or two tenements were never re-occupied; the rest were filled by 1355, but were held at far lower real rents than before. Even so, it is suggested that the Black Death probably resulted in a lowering of the economic and social status of the peasants at Cuxham. The chapter concludes with an account of the village's other inhabitants, paying particular attention to the management of the two corn mills (of which one was probably still a hand-mill until after 1300) and the fulling mill.

The thesis closes with a short account of the church, the rectors and the glebe, for which very little

medieval evidence survives. No general conclusion can be put forward; any value the Cuxham material may possess lies in the light it throws on many small but important details of English rural life in the fourteenth century.