A Classified List of Printed Original Materials for English Manorial and Agrarian History during the Middle Ages

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PREFATORY NOTE.

A LARGER body of material for the agrarian history of mediæval England is already in print than is commonly supposed; but it is scattered about in publications of very different kinds and dates. It has occurred to the Editor, therefore, that it would be of service to scholars to furnish them with a preliminary survey of this material, classified according to nature, date, and locality. There is this additional reason: that new interest is now being directed to the subject, and fresh documents are likely to be printed during the next few years in increasing numbers. It is surely desirable that, in selecting documents for this purpose, regard should be paid to previous efforts, and that those should first be chosen which belong to classes of material or refer to periods or districts before least satisfactorily represented. A list of the kind here presented will thus, it is hoped, indicate the lacunæ which most need to be filled.

The list was primarily intended to include only documents printed in whole or in large fragments. It excludes accordingly mere lists or calendars, as well as modern accounts in English which are anything other than literal translations. But the Compiler has so far departed from the original design as to add a list of text-books of manorial law, as well as another of manorial maps. It is believed that these will be useful to investigators, and that even an incomplete list may often be suggestive through mere juxtaposition.

It may be well to call particular attention, first, to the intentional omission of the contents of such great bodies of record as the Domesday Book and the Hundred Rolls, which are already
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indexed and easily utilized; and, secondly, to the fact that the Compiler of the list has been limited in her opportunities to the Harvard Library, which, although fairly rich in this department, has yet some grievous gaps.

The Compiler and Editor have not aimed at producing more than a "Trial List." By interleaving the little volume and inserting in the appropriate place the omissions that will certainly be found, and the additions which the next few years will bring, scholars will find it possible, it is hoped, to gain some advantage even from a list manifestly imperfect. The Editor need not assure any one who is conversant with the subject that the work has involved on the Compiler's part several months of assiduous toil, and the exercise of much scholarly discrimination.

W. J. ASHLEY.

May 24, 1894.
INTRODUCTION.

This pamphlet aims at providing students of the manorial and agrarian history of England during the Middle Ages with a list of some printed original materials that may be useful in their work. Some of the sources, however, from which students will draw are purposely omitted from these pages. To have made the list complete in this respect would have been needless, as well as laborious, since these sources are well known and are indexed. Among the works which might be looked for here, but to which no further reference is made, are the following:—

Domesday Book. This collection of inquisitions of estates throughout all England except the counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, Durham, and Westmoreland was finished in 1086. Two volumes were published in 1783 and two in 1816 by the English government. The fourth volume contains in its appendix the Exon Domesday, relating to the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, and supposed to be a transcript of the original returns of the commissioners from which Domesday was compiled; the Inquisitio Eliensis, a similar document relating to possessions of the monastery of Ely; and the Winton Domesday, an inquest taken between 1107 and 1128 concerning lands of Edward the Confessor in Winchester. The Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis contains the original returns made by the jurors of the county of Cambridge at the time of the Domesday inquest. It was published by Mr. N. E. S. A. Hamilton in 1876.

The Hundred Rolls, 1279, describe manors in Bedfordshire, Bucks, Cambridgeshire, Hunts, and Oxfordshire. They were printed by the Record Commission, 1818.
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In 1288 Pope Nicholas the Fourth granted to King Edward the Third, for six years, one tenth of the revenue of the Church. Between 1288 and 1292, royal commissioners made a valuation of ecclesiastical property, which served as a basis of taxation till Henry the Eighth's time. The inquisitions of these commissioners, known as Pope Nicholas's Taxation were published in 1802 by the Record Commission.

Nonarum Inquisitiones were taken by royal commissioners in 1341. A ninth of the corn, wool, and lambs in every parish had been granted by parliament to the king. The ninths were supposed to be equal to the tenths of Pope Nicholas's taxation; but when there was no such equality the true value of the ninths was to be collected. The parishioners declared the value of the taxable property, and explained discrepancies between the amounts of the ninths and the tenths. Their testimony incidentally throws light on the manorial history of the time. The inquisitions were published by the Record Commission, 1807.

The Valor Ecclesiasticus, a survey and valuation of the ecclesiastical property of England and Wales, was drawn up in 1535. It was printed by the Record Commission, 1810-1834.

No attempt has been made to extract from the Statutes of the Realm (1235-1713) printed by the Record Commission, 1810-1822, from the Rolls of Parliament (1278-1503), printed, 1767, by the English government, or from Rymer's Foedera (1066-1654), newly edited (as far as the year 1383) by the Record Commission, 1816-1869, portions bearing upon manorial history.

Since the purpose of this pamphlet is to assist primarily those who are studying manorial history from the economic standpoint, such works as the Testa de Nevil, compiled probably temp. Ed. II. from inquisitions taken during earlier reigns, printed by the Record Commission, 1807, and Kirkby's Quest, a survey of knights' fees made temp. Ed. I. (printed for Yorkshire by the Surtees Society, 1867, for Somerset by the Somerset Record Society, 1889, and for Dorset in the new edition of Hutchins's Dorset), do not come within its scope.

Many documents of the first half of the seventeenth century have been included in the list, since they help to explain earlier
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conditions; but documents of later date have not been referred to. Hence no mention is made of the Parliamentary Surveys (1649 et seq.) of property which had formerly belonged to the Crown. The Parliamentary Surveys for the county of Sussex have been printed in the "Sussex Archæological Collections," beginning with volume twenty-three.

Among the classes of documents that are omitted are grants, charters, and leases, and inventories and household books such as that of Finchale Priory (Surtees Society, 1837), which, amid a mass of other matter, often give information regarding farm-stock, produce, and prices. Account rolls and rentals are not included when the returns from estates are lumped together, or given in no detail. Records of proceedings before manorial courts only are inserted. Final concords, therefore (for which see Salt Archæological Society publications, volume three et seq.), and in general, pleas relating to freeholds are not noticed here; and collections of judicial decisions of the king's court giving the law of villeinage, such as the Placitorum Abbreviatio (Record Commission, 1811), Northumberland Assize Rolls (Surtees Society, 1891), Bracton's Note Book, and the Year Books (Rolls Series), are also excluded.

Inquisitions post-mortem (see especially York Archæological Association, "Record Series," volume twelve, Lancashire and Cheshire "Record Society," 1880, 1887, and 1888, and the publications of the British Record Society) were inquests concerning the property of a lately deceased tenant-in-chief, or other tenant holding lands that were in the king's hands. Their purpose was to ascertain the feudal rights accruing to the king; and one of the articles of inquiry pertained to the land of which the deceased died possessed. Sometimes the amount of land is given in round numbers which can be only approximate, and often the inquisitions are devoid of interest to the student of economic conditions; on the other hand, these inquests frequently include manorial extents, and describe not only the land, but the tenants, their services and holdings. Inquisitions of this latter class are alone inserted in this list. Inquisitions post-mortem, as well as inquisitions ad quod dampnum, end in 1645. Inquisitions ad quod dampnum, which
begin in Edward the Second's reign, are inquests to ascertain whether petitions, as, for instance, petitions to alienate land, may be granted without damage to the king or any one else. Whenever these have seemed of sufficient interest they have been referred to.

The earliest documents of this list are of the twelfth century. They concern the estates of great religious houses, and seem to be modelled after "Domesday Book." Doubtless, as in the case of Burton monastery, these accounts of lands, tenants, rents, and services were drawn up that the heads of such houses might know the amount of revenue due to them. They were to the heads of religious houses what "Domesday" was to the king. The documents of this time exhibit little variety. They are not divided into classes, nor drawn up by special officers as part of their regular duties, nor do they bear the titles, so familiar later, of *compotus, extenta,* or *supervisus.* Briefly, they do not seem, as do the documents of the next century, to be a necessary part of the manorial system.

With the thirteenth century a great increase takes place both in the number and in the variety of manorial documents, and from this time they naturally fall into the following distinct groups:—

1. **Account Rolls.** Under this heading come the *compoti* and *rotuli* of the *propositus, ballivus, bursarius,* or later, of the *collector redituum,* and *firmarius.* These rolls state the income accruing to the lord of the manor from fixed rents and farms, sales of works, sales of pasturage and grain, perquisites of courts, and the like, as well as the outgo incident to carrying on the estate,—expenses of ploughing, reaping, and sowing, and repairing implements and buildings. On the backs of these rolls, memoranda of farm-stock, works of tenants, and other matters, were often jotted down.

It is apparent from the list of printed documents of this class that only isolated and scattered examples of account rolls are accessible to the student who is restricted to the use of published material. In Maclean's "Trigg Minor," however, some half-
dozen may be found, and in Rogers' "Agriculture and Prices" there are several.

2. Court Rolls begin to appear at about the same time as manorial accounts, that is, before the middle of the thirteenth century. To students of economic history this class of documents is of prime importance, for it throws light on the relations of the peasantry to their lords and to the land. Very few court rolls have as yet been printed.

In the volume edited by Professor F. W. Maitland for the Seldon Society (1889), however, most valuable early material of this kind may be found.

3. Printed Extents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are comparatively abundant. A document commonly assigned to 4 Ed. III. (1276) prescribes the subjects and order of inquiry. Buildings; acreage and value of demesne, meadow, pasture, and foreign pasture, parks and demesne woods and foreign woods; pannage and herbage; mills and fisheries; freeholders and their lands; customary tenants, their holdings, works, customs, and fixed rents; cottagers, and their curtilages; perquisites of courts; patronage of churches; heriots; fairs; markets; customs, services, and foreign works and customs; fines and reliefs, — are all matters that come within the scope of the manorial extent. Extents were usually drawn up by "ancient and sage tenants," "true and sworn men." Walter of Henley, writing in the thirteenth century, advises landlords to have extents made yearly, and yearly views of account taken. This, he says, is necessary to protect them from dishonest bailiffs on the one hand, and from tenants who will wish to "deny services" on the other. Religious houses seem to have been particularly careful in the management of their estates and in preserving their manorial records. One of the regulations of the Monastery of Gloucester required bailiffs to write their accounts on rolls of parchment and to put the proper titles to the documents.¹ The typical extent, then, describes the lands as well as the tenants of the manor; but there are other documents of the thirteenth century and later that deal with the tenants alone. They give the names of the tenants, the holdings of each, the

¹ Gloucester Cartulary, iii. 216.
rents and services due from each, and the customs of the manor. They are: —

4. **Rentals and Customaries.** Their Latin titles read somewhat as follows: "redditus, consuetudines, et servicia," "consuetudines mancrii," and so forth. In the earlier part of the period covered by the list no line can be drawn, as a rule, between the rental and the customary. The customs of the manor consist largely in the customary rents of labor or of money due from the tenants. Still, even at this time, these documents sometimes contain general statements as to the duties of manorial officers, or with regard to such matters as alienation of land. But later rents are no longer dependent upon custom, but are fixed; they no longer are in services, but in money; and rental and customary are documents of quite different kinds. By the sixteenth century the rental is a list of names of tenants with the payments due from each, while the customary is a statement in general terms of the rights or duties of classes of tenants (not of individuals) or of officers. Customaries seem to have been written in English for some time before Latin ceased to be the language of "Account Rolls," "Court Rolls," and "Rentals." Since many of these English records bear the title of "customary," and some of the Latin ones that of "custumarium," and since almost no document styled "customal" has come within my notice, I have adopted the former word.

5. Documents entitled "**supervisus**" have been placed among the rentals in this list except when the survey concerned the customs of the manor, when it naturally finds a place under the head of "customaries." Besides being virtual rentals or customaries, some of these surveys give in detail the bounds of the manor and of each of its fields.

The classes of documents previously enumerated originated within the manor. **Subsidy Rolls** (Henry III. — William and Mary), though not manorial in origin, yet throw much light on the population,—not on their numbers only, but sometimes on their occupations and property as well. From 4 Richard II., however, to 14 Henry VIII., most of the rolls supply no names.
Since the list is based almost exclusively upon an examination of books in the library of Harvard University, in the Boston Public Library, and in the Boston Athenæum, it can, of course, have no pretensions to completeness.

The compilation has been prepared under the constant supervision of Professor W. J. Ashley, whom the Compiler wishes to thank for much generous assistance.
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