

THE NUNS OF WINTNEY PRIORY AND THEIR MANOR OF HERRIARD: MEDIEVAL AGRICULTURE AND SETTLEMENT IN THE CHALKLANDS OF NORTH-EAST HAMPSHIRE

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ABSTRACT

Our knowledge of religious houses and estates in medieval England comes mainly from the study of the larger priories and monasteries as these generally have better surviving documentation. Using an unusually full and complete sequence of records from the Jervoise of Herriard collection, this article explores the working life of Wintney Priory, a small institution which, at the Dissolution in 1536, was the poorest monastery in Hampshire, and its manor of Herriard. This examination of agriculture, settlement and trade attached to the priory offers a different perspective on English religious houses and their estates and particularly contributes to our understanding of the religious and economic landscape of late-medieval Hampshire.

WINTNEY PRIORY AND HERRIARD

By the time of the Norman Conquest, Hampshire already had a collection of rich monasteries often founded by Anglo-Saxon kings and queens and each with a large number of great estates. These rich Benedictine houses were to remain until the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the sixteenth century. In addition, a few new monasteries were subsequently founded by the rich, by the king at Beaulieu, or by the bishop of Winchester at Titchfield, Selborne and Netley. These, however, were supplemented in the twelfth century by new foundations that were much more varied in their wealth and their organisation, and drew for their impetus and support on the next tier of land-ownership: the knightly class, or those who would subsequently be regarded as the gentry. Thus in the north-east of the county, small

priories attached to continental abbeys were founded at Andwell and Monk Sherborne, a hospitallers' preceptory was established at Godsfield, and a new Cistercian nunnery was created at Wintney (VCHH II; Caldicott 1989, 34–7; Hare 1999, 1–3; Beard 2005, 178–80).

Wintney Priory was founded by Geoffrey fitz Peter, the overlord of Herriard, between 1154 and 1171 (Caldicott 1989, 360), but owed much to the support of another gentry family, the de Herriards of Herriard and Sherborne. Thus Richard de Herriard was regarded by the priory as responsible for starting the rebuilding of the church in stone, as recorded in the priory's calendar of prayers (Caldicott 1989, 36). Various grants from land in Southrope, Herriard and Ellisfield were made to the priory and later formed the basis of its manor of Herriard. Richard's son and daughter-in-law gave 1½ virgates in Southrope and Esland to the priory. Although Matilda his sister and her husband, Richard de Sifrewast, challenged the grant, it was accepted. Matilda also gave the priory rent from 4 tenants in Southrope and all her land in Ellisfield. A Richard of Herriard gave four virgates and a half virgate. The latter comprised Haynhurst which grew to form one of the most frequently used blocks of arable land in the account rolls (*Cal. Charter Rolls* IV, 1912, 393–7). Another benefactor gave 6 acres in Southrope in a croft known as Hamcroft. Altogether, the calendar of the priory records the names of seven members of the de Herriard family among those benefactors who were granted obits or prayers for their souls (Caldicott 1989, 34–6, 186–7). Finally, in 1334, the family's successor, Thomas de Coudray gave the church of Herriard, its lands, its tithes and its advowson to the priory (*Cal Pat Rolls*, 1330–34, 1893, 527). Together these grants

formed the basis of the manor of Herriard Wintney, and remained with the priory until the sixteenth-century Dissolution.

Wintney was a small nunnery which, at the Dissolution, was the poorest monastery in Hampshire. Smallness and poverty seem to have been regular themes among the scant earlier references to the priory (Coldicott 1989, 44, 42, 122–3). When a group of royal commissioners came round to close it in 1536, they indicate that there were then 10 nuns, all of whom wished to remain as nuns, with two priests and 27 other servants (TNA SC 12/33/27). It possessed an income in the 1535 *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of £59–1s (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1810, 13) and, in 1536, was assessed at a clear value of £50 with £10 for the demesne. It then possessed goods, ornaments and plate worth £189, and lead and bells worth £28, and had both common and coppiced woodlands. Its buildings were small although the church and houses were in good repair apart from the tiling, and the kitchen and brewhouse were in great decay (TNA SC 12/33/27). Recent building had taken place with a new barn in 1498, but it was built with one display front and the rest of simple construction. (E. Robert, pers comm.). The church was probably small. A contract to reroof it, in 1415, involved payment to the two carpenters of only £22 plus maintenance and included a campanile on 4 posts suggesting the sort of timber bell towers being built within the nave of local parish churches at this time, but something much less grand than on more most monasteries (Salzman 1952, 492).

The priory's landed possessions were few and, within this small estate, Herriard played a significant role, functioning together with the manor of Hartley as home farms to the nunnery, producing food for its consumption. It should be emphasised that the Herriard manor that is discussed in this article was the poorer ecclesiastical one, not the main lay manor of the village which was held successively by the Herriards, the Coudrays, the Paulets and the Jervoises. At the Dissolution, this manor of Herriard Wintney fell to William Lord St John and later Marquis of Winchester, a rising figure in the court of Henry VIII (*L & P Hen*, VIII, xi, 385 (3), TNA SC6/Hen VIII/

7415m1). It was held by his son John, and although it was proposed to sell it, in 1600, this had not occurred by 1603–7, and it remained in the hands of the Paulet family until 1851 when it was bought by the Jervoise family, lords of the main Herriard manor (*Abstracts of Inquisitiones post mortem*, 275 HRO 44M69 E1/2/144; E8/2/1/17;.E4/71; McKelvie 2015). The survival of this manor continued to be reflected in the tithe returns of 1842, in the land belonging to the Paulet Duke of Bolton as opposed to that of the Jervoise family. The two estates then respectively covered 9% and 83% of the tithable acreage of the parish (HRO 21M65 F7/115/1).

Among the rich family archive of the Jervoise family, is a long sequence of fourteenth-century manorial accounts which can shed much light on a poorly documented part of the county and on an even more poorly documented priory. Our knowledge of agrarian developments in the period is heavily dependent on such manorial accounts but these predominantly survive from the great estates, and above all from the great ecclesiastical estates such as those of the bishopric of Winchester and from Winchester cathedral priory. Herriard is likely to be more typical of other gentry estates and such good documentation from this type of estate, makes it particularly valuable as a comparison to these great ecclesiastical lords.

Quite why these records found their way into this family archive is unclear. The manor passed to William Paulet rather than his younger brother Richard. The latter had already acquired the main lay manor of Herriard as a result of his marriage to Elizabeth one of the heiresses to the Coudray family. It is difficult to envisage how these documents would have escaped the mass destruction of the archives of the main Paulet line after the siege and destruction of Basing House in 1643–5. Moreover, within the Jervoise collection is a substantial amount of other material related to Herriard and Wintney priory. It may be that Richard, who was one of the members of the local gentry responsible for carrying out the inspection and closure of the lesser monasteries in 1536, was able to collect these documents in the course of this process,

perhaps anticipating acquiring or running the rest of Herriard in the aftermath of the Dissolution. In reality the family would have to wait another 400 years before acquiring the land. Although the manor is not included in the first post-Dissolution accounts (TNA SC6 Hen VIII/3727 m3), this was probably a scribal error since its possession by the priory is recorded in another Court of Augmentations record and in a later deposition made by the last prioress (TNA SC6/Hen VIII/7415 m1; TNA E 178/2018). The archive consists of 45 account rolls, including a few duplicates, and a small group of court rolls. The account rolls were drawn up each year usually at Michaelmas (29 September) and record all the receipts of the bailiff or warden of the manor and all his expenditure in the previous year. Such records provide an essential source for the economic historian of the period, at a time when lords were frequently engaged in the direct cultivation of their land. They provide figures for sowing acreages and densities, and sometimes yields, the amount of grain and stock produced, what was done with these, and the sale price of grain and livestock. They record the costs of agriculture, the price of different types of labour, the cost of building repairs and the upkeep of equipment. They indicate the income and goods sent to the priory and the rent totals due to Wintney. Although the estate was very different in scale and development to that of the bishops of Winchester, an indication of the enormous amount of detail to be found on such manorial accounts can be seen in the translated bishopric accounts (*Pipe Roll, 1301–2; Pipe Roll 1409–10*).

This archive provides a remarkably good coverage of the fourteenth century, from 1338 to the early fifteenth century. This was a time of considerable pressures and problems in the national agrarian economy. Already, before this sequence began, the economic and demographic growth of the previous two centuries had been dealt major blows by the famine of 1315–8 and the bovine pestilence of 1319 when nearby North Waltham had lost six out of eight oxen in the course of a single year (HRO 11M59/ B1/74). This was then followed by the devastation of the

Black Death. We cannot hope to provide an exact figure for its mortality, but the evidence suggests that something approaching half the population died. Moreover, the plague inaugurated a steady period of low population, with no dramatic growth until the sixteenth century. The demand for labour and goods were transformed. On the whole, and with the notable exception of the bishopric of Winchester pipe rolls, our documentary coverage for Hampshire in the fourteenth century is poor. Herriard provides a good sequence for a very different type of manor. As far as is known to the author, these manorial accounts have not been studied before.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MANOR OF HERRIARD WINTNEY (Fig. 1)

The manor of Herriard Wintney was an artificial creation that had developed by accumulation from three types of land: individual grants of tenements, newly colonised chalk downland, and the grant of the church and its advowson. The manor extended cultivation into the empty lands between the existing settlements of Herriard, Southrope and Ellisfield. A rental of 1329/30 records tenancies in la Hurst, Suthrope and Hulsefeld (Ellisfield) with 16 tenancies (HRO 44M69/E1/2/48). During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, population pressure led to the expansion of farming on the chalkland as elsewhere. Often such downland colonisation occurred at the edges of different parishes or manors as with the hospitallers at Godsfield (Hampshire) or on the similar downland landscape of the Marlborough Downs (Hare 1994, 162–3; Beard 2006, 162–9; Brown 2012, 77–84). Similarly at Herriard, some of the grants of individual tenancies formed the basis for the similar development of seigneurial demesnes on the chalk downland, at a time of growing agricultural expansion (Hare 1994, 162–3), as in the west of the parish. A detached tenancy on the downlands could have formed the basis for further expansion of arable farming. Thus the priory had been granted a half virgate in Haynhurst and subsequently this formed the most regularly recorded area of sowing in the

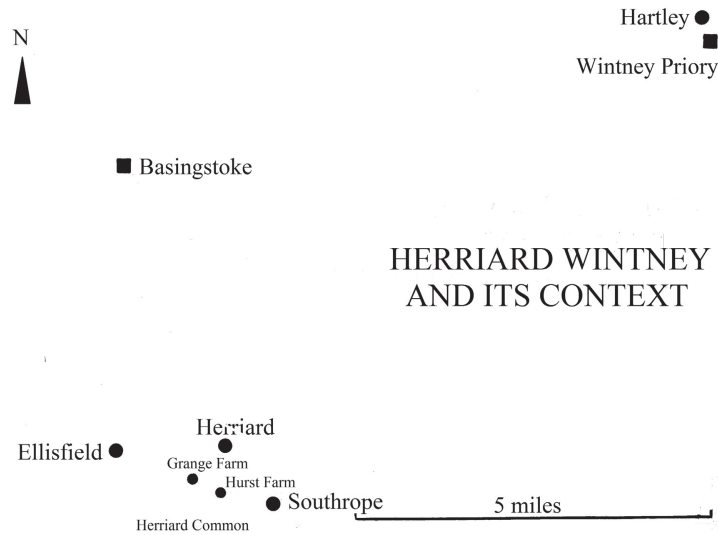


Fig 1 Location plan

accounts. Most of the surviving estate in the tithe returns for Lord Bolton's land (previously that of the priory) came in this area and with it Hurst farm and Grange Farm. Meanwhile his lands in Ellisfield were concentrated in the east of the parish between Grange farm and the road to Winslade (HRO 12M62/2). The irregular shape of the fields in the nineteenth century also suggests early enclosure of common downs, such as would have been needed to convert the half virgate into a substantial block of arable recorded in the accounts (HRO 21M65/F7/115/1 & 115/2). The prevalent place names in the record of sown areas also suggest enclosures rather than open fields. Some land was in Northfield, Longfeld and Ellisfield (the parish further west), but more commonly used were places like Haynhurst, Revescroft, and Hethelese. The prioress' farm was already described as the Grange of Herriard from 1329/30 and again in 1600 (HRO 44M69/E1/2/48, E8/2/1/17). In part therefore, the manor of Herriard was created by opening up the common pasture lands for seigneurial agriculture in this area of the Herriard/ Ellisfield border. Here we should envisage the creation of a farmstead, or grange, with enclosed fields rather than with strips among the open fields.

A third element in the priory's endowment was the parish church and its lands and endowments which were granted in 1334. This had been assessed at £8 in 1291 making it one of the poorer churches in the Deanery of Basingstoke (*Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, 212). In similar cases, the ecclesiastical lord, in this case Wintney priory, would receive the land and tithes but part of his new income would be set aside as a permanent endowment for the vicar. The new ecclesiastical lord would nevertheless end up with a financial benefit. A similar grant to the priory was made of Sparsholt church in 1238 (*Cal Charter Rolls*, IV, 394), but we know nothing of the specific arrangements made for Herriard. Nevertheless the accounts record two barns, one for the demesne and one for the tithes. In addition two accounts for the parsonage for 1343 and 1356 (HRO 44M69/A1/3/5 m. 1 & 2) show something of its own distinctive characteristics. There was little arable (about 10 acres) but the tithes generated considerable sales of grain with £7.12.10d in 1343. The parson evidently made good use of the common pastures, possessing about 100 ewes and 12 cows. In 1343 all the new lambs were sold in the course of the year (HRO 44M69/A1/3/5m1), but in 1350 flocks of 79 and 55 immature sheep were maintained (HRO 44M69/A1/3/5 m2). Sub-

sequently the parsonage was incorporated into the main manor.

Herriard Wintney and the manor of Hartley Wintney served the priory as home farms, producing food for the priory and its household. This role as a food supplier for the lord may have produced a more conservative management than if the manor had been predominantly viewed as a producer of cash. We can see something of the officials of the monastery and of the male priests required for its smooth running, despite the potential dangers of scandal that their presence might generate (Coldicott 1989, 100). Brother John was cellarer from 1337/8 to 1352/3, Brother Gilbert atte Fourde was keeper of the manor from 1337/8 to 1356/7 with the exception of 1351/2 to 1354/5 when the position was held by brother John atte Wodeputte. A brother William was recorded in 1339 (HRO 44M69/A1/3/4 m6). Their names are not recorded in later accounts. One account in 1419 records the presence of a cellaress (HRO 44M69 A1/3/5 m3), although in some other cases the gender of the cellarer may have been concealed by the abbreviated Latin. Herriard regularly produced meat for the nuns and their household. This becomes more obvious in the latter part of the period when it was recorded where the food was sent. Thus in 1397 the cellarer received an ox, 12 wethers, 35 ewes, 8 pigs, 1 piglet, 8 geese, 2 goslings, 10 capons 19 hens, 12 chicken and 500 eggs. In addition wheat and oats were dispatched to the cellarer. Although sometimes the milk of ewes and cows was leased out, the milk could also be converted to cheese and sent to the priory.

Although the manorial accounts cease in 1419 and we have no direct evidence thereafter, the manor's role as a food producer for the priory may have led to a continuation of demesne agriculture, despite the general trend for lords to cease cultivating their demesnes directly. This is suggested by the questioning of the last prioress, Elizabeth Martin, in 1572, when she referred to the grange at Herriard with all the land and with both husbandry and dairy there. She also referred to land, tenements and rents in Ellisfield and Herriard (TNA E178/2078).

The large quantity of our documentation allows us to see something of the changes that were occurring in fourteenth century agriculture. Some were the product of forces beyond the priory's control such as plague, but others reflected management decisions, whether to expand, contract, or to shift the balance of production from arable to pasture. Broadly speaking we may discern four phases in economic development on this manor, although these were not uniform. The period of the 1330s and 40s was one of stability, followed by a period of instability, difficulty and experimentation in the aftermath of the Black Death. By the 1380s recovery had occurred and the last decades of the century provided a period of resilience and peak production. In the early fifteenth century, after 1405, instability of production returned and our documents cease soon afterwards.

As a newly developed manor, its tenants were not burdened with heavy labour commitments. The customary tenants were required to work at harvest and at sheep washing, when

Table 1 Herriard crops as a percentage of the sown acreage

	<i>No of sowings</i>	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Bere</i>	<i>Barley</i>	<i>Oats</i>	<i>Dredge</i>	<i>Vetches and pulses</i>
1338-48	10	30.9	14.7	3.9	47.0	0.0	2.9
1349-54	5	33.6	11.5	7.6	39.1	0.0	6.9
1355-65	3	42.7	8.2	6.7	35.1	1.6	3.7
1386-1405	7	31.9	2.8	9.8	49.6	1.6	2.2
1419	1	44.4		15.9	39.7	0.0	0.0

Table 2 Herriard: average cropping in acres

	<i>No of years</i>	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Bere</i>	<i>Barley</i>	<i>Oats</i>	<i>Dredge</i>	<i>Vetches etc</i>	<i>Total</i>
1338–48	10	41.3	20	5.3	64.5		3.8	134.9
1349–54	5	36.8	12.9	8.1	43.6		7.6	109
1355–65	3	27.7	6.3	4.3	23.3	1.0	2.6	64.2
1386–1405	7	52.4	5.1	16.1	81.2	2.6	3.0	160.4
1419	1	33.5	0	12	30	4	0	75.5

all labour was required, and for which they were rewarded with bread, ale and meat, fish or cheese (for example, HRO 44M69/A1/3/4 m31). These numbers, however, fell from 16 in 1348, to 11 in 1350 and 8 in 1354. Subsequently such customary works were commuted into cash, (HRO 44M69/A1/3/4 ms 18, 23, 28). Most of the labour requirements were provided by a group of permanent farm servants or *famuli*, who were rewarded with stipends and food. There were ploughmen, drivers, a carter, usually two shepherds, a swineherd and a dairymaid. Numbers were reduced as the population shrank and labour became more expensive, with 10 in the 1330s and 1340s (but 13 in 1345) dropping to about 7 from the 1350s onwards. Increasingly specific tasks were put out to wage labour, as was threshing by 1348.

The tenants also benefitted from declining rents. The account rolls record the rent totals, which usually generated an annual net income of about £6. Not all rents could always be collected, and there was a significant fall in rents in the later fourteenth century. By 1386 the decayed rent entry had risen to £1 6 8d. Between 1405 and 1419, the rents and losses were incorporated in a new rent total of £5.1s 9d, but still a further decay of 1s occurred (HRO 44M69/A1/6 m7; 5m3).

THE AGRICULTURE OF THE MANOR

Arable farming

Arable farming was a key part of the rural economy for the manor and for the nunnery. Herriard showed a pattern of cropping char-

acteristic of the poor soils of the downland plateau. Elsewhere in the chalklands, as in riverine valleys such as those of the Test and Itchen, spring barley was an important crop. But here on the poor soils of East Hampshire, of upper chalk, or on the superficial layer of clay with flints, the crops were restricted. Here, little such barley was grown and arable was dominated by a combination of wheat and oats (Table 1). The situation at Herriard was typical of the area as shown on the estates of the cathedral priory and the bishopric, as at nearby North Waltham (HRO/97M97 C1; HRO 11M59 B1 136, 143; B2/26, 1–3; Hare, 2006, 195–6). Berecorn was a winter barley crop. Vetches, peas and beans were grown on a small scale and fed to the livestock or occasionally mixed with the food liveries of the *famuli* (Table 2).

We can also see something of the trends. From 1338–48 the sown acreage averaged consistently about 135 acres. An earlier account (HRO 44M69 E1/2/48) and the two earliest accounts in our sequence for 1338 and 1339 suggest that the acreage was reduced before 1348. It sunk further in the aftermath of the devastation of the Black Death, reaching an average of 64 acres between 1355 and the mid 1360s. The subsequent revival reached a peak from 1386 to 1405, when it averaged nearly 160 acres. This reflected the relative stability on estates like those of the bishopric of Winchester, but was not typical of the country at large (Farmer 1977, 561–2). The acreage then dropped substantially, and a damaged account from 1418 provides partial reinforcement that the low figure of 76 acres in 1419 was not an aberration. The absence of account rolls

Table 3 Herriard: sheep flocks (nf = no figure)

	<i>No. of years</i>	<i>Wethers</i>	<i>Rams</i>	<i>Ewe</i>	<i>Immature</i>	<i>Total sheep</i>
1335–44	10	106.1	2.1	89.5	56.1	253.8
1345–54	10	130.9	4.2	121.5	63.6	320.2
1355–65	5	77.2	2.6	69.8	46.6	196.2
1385–94	5	294.4	6.2	225.2	118.8	644.6
1396–1405	7	262.7	5.3	223.9	155.4	647.3
1416–17	2	89.5	3.5	59	74	226
1418–19	2	nf	5	97.5	nf	176
1421–26	6	nf	nf	nf	nf	132.2

means that we cannot establish clearly what was happening thereafter.

Sheep

The agriculture of the Hampshire chalklands was characterised by large-scale sheep farming, as on the great estates of the bishop, the cathedral priory or that of the duchy of Lancaster. These well-documented estates supported demesne flocks of over a thousand sheep on a single manor, as at East Meon, Crawley, Easton, and Chilbolton (Hare 1994, 160–1; Hare 2006 196, 202–7). At Herriard flocks were much smaller but still large, ranging generally from 250 to 700. Comparable flocks of around 500 sheep were also found in this area at Froyle and North Waltham (BL Add Chart 17480–17511; HRO 11M59/ B1/136, 143; B2/26/1–3). Sheep provided wool, meat, milk and their manure was a self-spreading fertiliser. They were thus integrated in the mixed farming of the estate. The sheep were organised into a breeding flock and a wether flock (the castrated sheep kept for their wool), and there were generally two different shepherds. The large number of references allows trends to be established with confidence. The first decade 1335–1344 provides a base for later comparison with an average flock of 254 sheep and both a breeding and wether flock (Table 3). Numbers rose in the following decade reaching a peak

in 1349–53 (331–49). The flock size fell in the later 1350s and early 1360s reaching the smallest size in 1364 & 1365 (85, 123). This fall occurred in both the breeding and wether flock and suggests a conscious decision by the estate managers. Recovery was underway by 1385, and this led to the period of the largest flocks, averaging well over 600 from the 1380s to the early years of the fifteenth century, with a peak of 810 in 1393. This growth of production is of particular interest since it parallels what was happening on two of our major and well-documented estates, namely those of the bishops of Winchester and the cathedral priory (Hare 2006, 202; Stephenson 1988, 385–6). The growing demand for wool for the manufacture of cloth was thus reflected in the estate policies of Hampshire lords, with a relatively minor member of the county gentry like John Champfor possessing 3354 sheep in six settlements, largely in this area (BL Add Ch 26869). Here at Herriard, there was also a growing readiness to move flocks from manor to manor, as on the estates of the cathedral priory, where inter-manorial movements as well as flock sizes had reached a peak by the 1390s. The opportunities for such movements were clearly much smaller at Herriard than on the great estate, but occasionally the lambs were sent wholesale to the bailiff or reeve of Hartley (Wintney), as in 1387, 1394 and 1405, while in 1396/7, Herriard received 85 hogasters from the bailiff of Hartley and

Table 4 Herriard: other livestock

		<i>Horses</i>	<i>Oxen</i>	<i>Bull</i>	<i>Cows</i>	<i>Immature cattle</i>	<i>Pigs</i>
1336–1348	13	8.5	13.6	0.2	7.8	8.1	21.9
1349–54	9	6.8	16.2	0.5	10.8	5.2	22.8
1355–65	5	4.6	14	0.6	5.6	6.8	15
1385–94	5	4	17.6	0.4	7.8	4	16.6
1396–1405	7	3.7	17.1	0.9	8.4	11.9	32.0
1416–7	4	3	7.3	1.3	5.3	3.5	5.8

sent 130 and 72 wethers to the farmer of the demesne at neighbouring Lasham. Gradually in the period after 1405, the estates changed policies. Sheep were maintained until at least 1426. In the early 1420s, the documentation is more summary and the numbers more erratic, but flock numbers clearly fell. They had already fallen dramatically by 1416/7, and fell further to 132 in the early 1420s. This probably reflected a wider shift from the lord being engaged in direct cultivation to leasing out their land.

Wool provided a cash crop but this was frequently simply recorded as being sent to Wintney where, no doubt it was hoped that a better deal could be negotiated for the wool of the whole estate, as in 1365, 1386 and 1399 (HRO 44M69/A1/3/4m31; 6 m1; 6 m5). In the early part of the period, the wool was recorded as being sold, although this might have concealed a central estate sale. The sheep also produced a variety of other cash products, such as hides, milk and meat.

Other livestock

In addition to its sheep flocks, the manor maintained a range of other livestock (Table 4). These performed various functions. As we have seen, the manor provided food for the nunnery. Pigs, sheep and poultry were regularly sent to the nuns, and occasionally cattle. A breeding herd supplied replacement oxen to power the ploughs and other

farming implements. Finally livestock could also generate cash, although only the sale of wool was a major element. While cattle numbers tended to remain stable, there were also times, as in the 1350s, when changes of management policy seem to have occurred. In the aftermath of the Black Death in the later 1350s and early 1360s, the size of demesne agriculture had severely shrunk, and this had included the herds of cattle and pigs. Nevertheless, cattle numbers remained at broadly their pre-Black Death figures until 1405, but then fell in 1416–19.

Both cows and ewes produced milk, and the manorial staff regularly included a dairymaid. Sometimes as in 1354, 1394 and 1405 the milk was leased out but at other times, as in 1387, the milk was converted into cheese which was then consumed on the manor, especially during harvest time, or sent to the priory and its household. In this year, of 99 cheeses, 36 went to the harvesters, 26 were sold, 21 went to the cellarer, 10 were for tithes, and 4 were given as a reward to those engaged in washing the sheep (HRO 44M69/A1/3/6 m2). The productivity of the cows was reflected in their greater value for leasing, with cows leased for 3s each and ewes between 1d or 2d (HRO 44M69/A1/3/4 m28, 29; 3/6 m3). Pigs were a regular element in downland agriculture (Hare, 2006, 207–8; Hare 2011, 50–1, 70–1). At Herriard, production like that of cattle initially fell in the second half of the fourteenth century, but then recovered in the late

1380s and early 1390s, reaching a peak around 1400. In this aspect of farming, Wintney showed a similar period of high production as the much greater estate of the Cathedral Priory.

The manor also maintained poultry, both hens and geese. Altogether there were about 30 to 40 in the 1330s to 1360s, with generally more geese than hens. Numbers rose in the period 1387 to 1404, ranging from 64 to 112 with in some years a predominance of geese and in others more hens. Egg production showed a similar growth in the latter part of the century. Thereafter numbers fell and the four years 1416–19 provided a combined average of 43 geese and hens. Much of the poultry and eggs went to the table of the nuns and their household, although a substantial number of eggs remained on the manor as refreshments provided at harvest time.

CONCLUSION

The manor of Herriard contrasts with the great Anglo-Saxon grants to other ecclesiastical landlords that so dominate the documentation for Hampshire's medieval agriculture. Here instead of a wholesale grant of land, we have a manor which emerged from a combination of bequests of individual tenancies, expansion in the period of colonisation in the twelfth and thirteenth century, and was then further enhanced by the grant of the lands and rights of the parish church. Despite its very different history, the manorial economy reflected the regional and geographical characteristics of the area. Above all it was characterised by the large sheep flocks and by the predominance of wheat and oats in its arable farming. Moreover, the very full accounts allow us to discern various short-term trends. There was a period of stability in the 1330s and 1340s, followed by a period of contraction in the 1350s and 1360s, no doubt linked to the impact of the Black Death, but not immediately following it. By 1385, the priory was rebuilding both its arable and pastoral sectors and, here as elsewhere in Hampshire showed a resilience and stability in the later fourteenth century

that was not typical of many parts of England. This stability remained until at least 1405 but, in the course of the next decade, contraction and discontinuity seemed to take over. There is much that must remain in mystery, but the fortuitous survival of this remarkable collection of fourteenth-century manorial accounts can shed much light on a neglected part of Hampshire's medieval countryside, and provide useful comparison to the more prestigious and better documented estates elsewhere in the county.

NOTE ON THE SOURCES AND TABLES AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The sources: HRO/44M69 A1/3/4, A1/3/5, A1/3/6, A1/3/7 are in the Jervoise of Herriard collection at Hampshire Record Office. This article is based on this important group of documents. References are given to individual accounts where appropriate, but where several years are referred to, no reference has been given. The membrane numbering on the top of the membranes has been used.

The account HRO 44M69 /E1/2/48 m1 is an earlier account than the rest of the sequence and with a damaged heading for 13[?]. Because of this lack of accurate dating it has not been included in the tabulations. It does not include any livestock. HRO 44M69 A1/3/5 m3 has a damaged heading, is included in a file of Herriard accounts and has hitherto been described as belonging to Herriard. On internal evidence this is evidently an account for the manor of Northleigh (Oxon) belonging to Netley Abbey which interestingly was also acquired by William Paulet at the Dissolution (Hare, 1994, 213–7).

The tables summarise the annual statistics recorded on the account rolls. Each account provides a single figure for each crop but two figures (at the start and end of the accounting year) for each animal.

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