

CHAPTER TWO

THE PARISH OF UPTON-CUM-CHALVEY UNDER THE PRIORS OF MERTON

It was many years after the Conquest before Norman rule effected any great change in the way of life of the Upton villagers (1), although the barrier created by the difference in language lasted until the time of the Plantagenet Edwards. Some of the men of Upton may have found work when Windsor Castle was built — the Norman fort was completed by 1070 (2) — but the most direct effect was in 1086, when men of Upton went to the Hundred Court to give their evidence on the customs and dues of the manor to the Commissioners sent out by William the Conqueror for the compilation of the Domesday Survey.

This was intended as the basis for the taxation of his subjects, and as one embittered Saxon chronicler says:- 'So very narrowly, indeed, did he commission them to trace it out, that there was not one single hide, nor a yard of land, nay moreover (it is shameful to tell, though he thought it no shame to do it) not even an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine was there left, that was not set down in his writ'.(3)

The entry in Domesday Book describing Upton reads:-

'KINGS LAND. Opeton was Earl (4) Harold's vill. It is assessed at 18 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In the demesne are 2½ hides and there are 2 ploughs on it. There 19 villeins with 5 bordars have 15 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, and 1 mill worth 4 shillings. From fisheries (come) 1,000 eels. Meadow is there sufficient for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 200 swine. Altogether it pays yearly 21 pounds assayed (arsas) and weighed out. T.R.E. it used to pay 15 pounds by tale.' (5)

This entry meant, approximately, that the civil parish of Upton was a manor of King Harold assessed at 2,160 acres, of which 270 acres were worked as a home farm with the help of labour due from the peasant tenants. The sum of money mentioned would represent a value far greater than such figures in the present day, but there is now no known method by which the spending power of Norman coins can be computed. 'T.R.E.' is an abbreviation of the Latin for 'During the reign of Edward the Confessor'.

At the time of the Domesday survey there was no manor house, and Upton consisted solely of a few houses near the church, a mill and the spring in Springfield (now the grounds of Upton Towers). The village was surrounded by open fields marked out in strips, and this method of farming persisted during the period under the Priors of Merton. The last open fields did not disappear until the 19th century.(6)

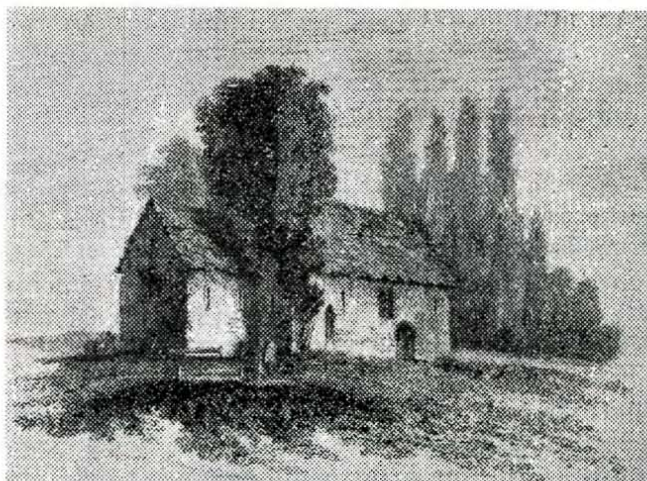
The cottages probably stood on practically the same sites as the older houses in Upton prior to the 1939-45 war; it is common knowledge that although houses are rebuilt over and over again, the sites are usually the same, and with the exception of roads which have been by-passed or straightened, the turns and twists of English roads follow the original tracks from which they have grown. A ditch dividing Upton from Datchet is mentioned in an enumeration of the bounds of the parish made in 1739 (7), which was presumably the site of the Saxon and Norman mills.

In addition to the summary in Domesday Book, full details of the manor were entered into the Roll of the Manor Court, in which the services performed by the villagers in lieu of rent were minutely specified. In course of time it was said the tenants owned their holding by 'copy of the court roll', and this roll formed their title deed, and then tenure was 'copyhold'. Many of the houses in Buckingham Gardens and Alpha Street were copyhold until the Property Act was passed in 1922.

Upton was listed in Domesday Book under the heading of 'The King's Lands', so that it must have been after the compilation of the survey that the Conqueror granted Upton Manor to Hugh de Beauchamp, a Bedfordshire baron who already held the manors of Linslade, Soulbury, and Lathbury in Buckinghamshire. Upton Manor was subsequently granted by Payn de Beauchamp (presumably Hugh de Beauchamp's son) to the Augustinian Canons of Merton Priory, in Surrey. The Priory had been founded in 1114, and the charter by which Henry II permitted Payn de Beauchamp to give Upton to the Priory was dated 2nd February, 1156, and was signed by the King at Rouen. (8)

Payn de Beauchamp gave the manor to Merton Priory, and also made over to them the advowson of the church, and the tithes, with the exception of two parts of the tithe of his demesne and an acre of land, which his son Simon gave to the Benedictine Convent of Elstow in Bedfordshire (9). By Payn's grant, the Prior and Convent of Merton became not only the Lord of the Manor, but also the Rector of the church, and so responsible for performing the services there, or finding a substitute, who was usually called the Chaplain or Vicar. In the early days it was usual for the Rector to take all the tithes and pay the Vicar whatever he thought fit, with the natural result that the Vicar was often grossly underpaid. In 1179, the Lateran Council ordained that a proper proportion of the tithes should be given to Vicars, and directed the Bishops to see that this was done when they instituted a Vicar into one of these appropriated livings.

Like most of the churches in this district, Upton Church was apparently built at the beginning of the 12th century. The nave and tower of the present church were built about 1100, and the nave was lengthened and the chancel added about 1160, after the church came into the possession of Merton Priory.



4. *Upton Church in 1825*

The See of Dorchester was transferred to Lincoln in 1172, but nothing much seems to have been done to protect the rights of the Vicar of Upton until Hugh of Wells (d. 1235) (10) became Bishop of Lincoln in 1209, and gained for himself the name of a 'persecutor of monks' because he insisted on the monks paying their vicars an adequate fixed stipend. The reference to Upton in the Rolls of Bishop Hugh reads:-

'BELONGING TO THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF MERTON:- UPTONE — One chaplain suffices. The Vicarage consists in all obventions of the altar with all the small tithes of the whole parish, and with half a virgate of land and with a certain messuage suitable for the chaplain's manse, and with all parts of the tithes arising from vegetables throughout the whole parish, except the small tithes and gardens of the court of the Canons. The vicar shall pay synodals and the Canons shall provide the entertainment of the Archdeacon'.(11)

The rule that the Canons should provide the entertainment of the Archdeacon must have struck the monks as particularly galling, as the Archdeacon's visitations were made with a view to inquiring into the condition of the living before the induction of each new Vicar, and generally to protect the Vicars from unfair dealing on the part of their Rectors. The first inquiry of which there is a record relates to the appointment of Reinerus, who must have been inducted some time between 1209, when Hugh became Bishop of Lincoln, and 1220, when Simon, the first Vicar in Lipscombe's list, was appointed. The account reads:-

'BUKINGHAM:- UPTON — Reinerus, chaplain, presented by the Prior and Convent of Merton to the perpetual vicarage of Uptone, ordained by the authority of the Council, and after inquiry made by Master Th., Official of the Archdeacon of Bukingeham, through which, etc., was admitted and canonically instituted perpetual vicar therein'. An account of the living similar to the one quoted above then follows.(12)

On 11 June, 1212, another valuation was made:-

'Robert de Sacchet, Walter de Hundeswrth, Nicholas de Ecton, Richard de Eton, Walter de Wexham, and Elias de Wiredesbir (i.e. Wraysbury), priests, assembled in Wexham Church and made the following appraisement, on oath, of the Vicarage of Upton, viz:-

At the Lord's Nativity, the Purification, Easter and feasts, 30s.

Confessions in Lent and Holy Week.

In tithes of flax, 10s.

Tithes of wool, lambs, pigs and geese, 10s.

Tithes of cows, calves, and geese cum albo vaccare, 10s.

All casual things (fortuita omnia) with the curtilage (except corn), 5 marks.

Excepting always the great and small tithes of the demesne of the Prior and Convent which they retain and from which the Vicar receives nothing. And to this appraisement of the Vicarage is added a half-virgate of land and a messuage'. (13).

Under this valuation, the Vicar would have a minimum stipend of 5 marks (equivalent to about £20 in present day money) (14), and if the benefice yielded more, his stipend would be increased. This, with the amount for 'Confessions', the half-virgate of land, and the messuage made up a good stipend for those days.

At the institution of the next Vicar, Simon de Gumecestre (Godmanchester) in 1232, the Archdeacon himself held the inquiry, and his report concludes:- 'Be it noted that the same Simon shall have there a suitable chaplain as his colleague until he is competent himself', (15) from which it may be deduced that Simon was then too young to be ordained. Cardinal Gasquet says 'A boy of seven, if he showed signs of having a vocation for the sacred ministry, might be made a cleric by receiving the tonsure. In 'rare instances' and under special circumstances, he might then receive an ecclesiastical benefice, and so get the wherewithal to live while he was studying to fulfil the duties attached to his office'. He would not receive priesthood before the age of 25. (16).

It is in the Plantagenet period that people in the parish are named in legal documents and charters, instead of collectively as a community. These references are all too few and inconclusive, but for the first time it is possible to speculate about personalities. The first to be named is Hemming (or Hamming) de Slo, who was fined in 1196, (17) owing to the escape of his bondman, (18) Walter Blunden. Did Walter run away from a natural desire to establish himself as a free man, or was Hemming a cruel master, who made his life unbearable ?

Were Osbert and William de Slo, who appear in a taxation list the following century, descendants of Hemming ? (19)

Was Richard de la Merke (20) feckless, or just unlucky, when he fell two years behind with his rent in 1223 ? He had to agree to provide three men every autumn to reap the Prior's corn for four days, and either to oversee the work himself, or send a representative to do so, so he must have been a man of some property. He may have considered himself lucky that the Prior agreed to provide food for the men and the overseer, and also remitted one year's rent owing to the Priory. (21)

Again, Ralf Gurgun of Eton, who had also fallen two years behind in his rent in 1242, agreed to pay it in future annually at Upton. Here again the Prior remitted a year's arrears, but Ralf apparently had the ability to raise the cash, and did not have to pay in kind, as Richard de la Merke had agreed to do. (22)

There is one example of the giving of lands in 'Chalveye and Upton' by Miles de Hasting' and Dyonisia, his wife, 'in pure and perpetual alms doing' to the Priory of Merton (23), but if any other landholders in the parish made similar gifts, they are not recorded. It is true there are numerous references to charitable gifts or court cases at Upton in early documents, but it is not always clear at first sight whether they refer to Upton in Stoke Hundred or Upton in Dinton, in the Hundred of Stone. Fortunately, there is 'internal evidence' by which they can be differentiated, as those which refer to Upton in Stoke Hundred invariably include a reference to the Prior of Merton, or to Chalvey, or both, or to 'Slo'.

As it frequently happened that individuals or monasteries were lords of more than one manor, it followed that many of these manors had no corresponding manor-house. In such cases, the manor was charged with a provender rent – which might mean as much as £100 or it might be yielded in kind as in the case of a ‘day’s farm’ – for example, Cheltenham had to furnish 3,000 loaves for the King’s dogs; and the Sheriff of Wiltshire received 130 pigs, 32 bacons, certain quantities of wheat, malt, oats and honey, 400 chickens, 1,600 eggs, 100 cheeses, 100 lambs, and 32 fleeces besides other things. (24)

In the case of an individual lord of the manor, the night’s fare was generally claimed when the lord was travelling and spent a night at his manor – a most useful provision, for the lord usually travelled with a considerable retinue, and inns as we understand them to-day did not exist. In the case of a monastery, where the monks were expected to stay within the walls of the monastery, the victuals were required at the monastery itself. Accordingly an overseer was appointed in the village to see that a due proportion of such food and drink as the village yielded was despatched promptly and in good condition.

The Priors of Merton undoubtedly made use of this system. Their income from Upton was derived from the produce of the demesne lands and from the fines paid in the manorial court, and it was usual for convents to establish ‘a manse of their own’ in such villages. Upton Court must have originated in this way. (25)

Nothing is known with any certainty of the associations between the manor of Upton and the Priors of Merton in its early years. It is, however, fairly safe to conjecture that the Vicar appointed by the Priors, in their capacity of Rectors of Upton, lived in his own vicarage house, and that the manse was used by any of the monks who visited Upton on business. There was probably also a barn or granary, on or near the site now occupied by ‘Parkside’, 1, Upton Court Road, which was until recently known as Merton Grange. Here wheat and other less perishable forms of produce could be stored until needed, and there were fish ponds in the grounds of the manse which were used by the monks to provide other varieties of fish to vary the diet of eels provided by the fisheries at Black Potts.

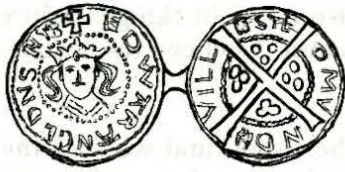
Various enquiries were held by Edward I and his successors in their endeavours to raise money, most of which add to our information about the parish. In 1278 the king held an enquiry through his kingdom to ascertain by what warrant his Tenants-in-Chief held their courts and privileges. We learn that the Prior of Merton, who held Upton by a charter granted by Henry II, was entitled to the fines of his tenants, even when the fines were inflicted in the king’s court, and was also entitled to the chattels of outlaws, which were usually the prerogative of the Crown. He was also exempt from suit to the Hundred and Shire Courts and the Sheriff’s ‘turn’ or progress through the Hundreds. He was not subject to the law of ‘murdrum’ (the murder fine), (26), did not have to pay bridge-toll or passage, and had always had the right to hang thieves on his manor (of Upton). (27)

In 1288 Pope Nicholas IV granted Edward I the first fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices – formerly paid to the See of Rome – for a period of six years, for the purposes of a Crusade. As a result, the great *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* P. Nicholas, completed in 1291, drew up a valuation roll of all benefices in the Kingdom, which formed the basis of secular taxation by English kings until the Reformation.

It was found that the Prior of Merton ‘has in Upton, in lands, rents, meadows, dovecotes and perquisitions of the court £12. 4s. 0d.,’ together with ‘fruits, flocks and animals valued at 13s. 2d.,’ and the ‘Church at Upton, a portion having been deducted, was valued at £13. 0s. 8d.,’ making a total of £26. 6s. 7d., equivalent to about £160 in present-day money, as far as it is possible to calculate. (28)

Two years later, in 1301, when the king was in need of money, he borrowed £50 from the Prior and Convent of Merton, who raised it from their tenants, Upton supplying 13s. 4d. (about £4). (29) The king’s consent (30) was granted to the Prior of Merton in 1304, enabling him to buy 15 acres of land in Upton from Richard de Kyngeston and ‘8 acres of land there’ from Peter atte Merke. (31)

A tangible relic of the reign of Edward II was found in Upton in 1887, when a silver penny was dug up in Richard Bentley's garden. (32)



5. *Obverse and Reverse of Edward II silver penny, found in the garden of The Mere, Upton Park*

It was during the 50 years reign of Edward III that the long process of fusing the Normans and Saxons into a single race was finally completed, and England began to emerge as a distinct nation, with the French and Saxon languages blended into the English tongue, creating its own native literature, types and customs, with Chaucer (1340-1400) striking the new English note in the *Canterbury Tales*, which were the first to give full expression to the English sense of humour. (33)

Yet another valuation was made in 1342. Most of the local parishes were assessed at a lower rate than under the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas in 1288. The jury of parisioners at Farnham explained that the difference was the result of mildew; at Taplow, there had been floods, but at Upton John de Keynes, Nicholas le Forrester, Walter de Tappelowe, John le Frenssche, Symon le Clerk and Richard Sywet pointed out that a considerable part of the income derived by the Canons of Merton from Upton could be taxed for the papal 'Tenth', but was not liable for the royal 'Ninth'. (34)

The usual inquiry was held by the Archdeacon before the installation of Adam de Pinkney as Vicar in 1330. Robert de Cathell and five other priests, met at Wexham Church and testified on oath to the value of the Vicarage at Upton, which was practically the same as in 1212, although the details differed slightly. (35)

In 1392, Adam Tychsey obtained a licence from Richard II to lease to the Prior and Convent of Merton some property in Upton, of the value of 3s. 8d. per annum, to be held by him by the service of one red rose per annum. (36) The land included pasture for 11 plough-cattle.

THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

As the Middle Ages drew to a close, Henry VI laid the foundations of his College at Eton, and bought lands with which to endow it. He also leased from the Prior of Merton that portion of Upton which touched the Thames, where the mill and fisheries were, near the present Southern Region railway bridge. The licence for the alienation of land to Eton College was dated 5 June, 1443, and the description reads:-

'..... a weir on the river Thames in Upton, co. Buckingham of old called 'Bulokeslok', with the fishery and waters thereto pertaining, to wit, from the east corner of the land or close called 'le Werde' on the west side to the fishery in the river called 'Cokkeshole' on the east side with four 'heytes' (eyots), and all those lands, meadows, feeding grounds, pastures with torrents called 'Mychelmylwardeshay', 'Millepond', alias 'Milledam', and 'Cowpennyng', enclosed and lying by Eton between the Thames on the east and the way leading from New Wyndesore towards 'le Slough', on the west and between 'le Werde' on the south and the way leading from 'Spitelbrigge' (Beggar's Bridge) to Datchet on the north, and extending by the bank of the Thames from 'le Werde' 40 feet beyond 'Cowpennyng' on the east ... in exchange for 100s. yearly which the Abbot of Redyng renders to the Provost and college from a yearly farm for lands in Esthenrith, co. Berks. of the king's grant. Licence also for the provost and college to grant the said rent to the Prior and convent'. (37)

In the following year, the king obtained from the Prior the lease of the 'great tithes' of Upton, which had formerly gone to the Priory at Merton, (38) Burne points out:

'This leasing of the 'great tithes' to the king for the endowment of Eton College must I think, be the grounds for the statement in Phipps (39) that the right of presentation

to the Church at Upton “became the property of Eton College by an exchange many years before the Reformation”.

‘This statement, which has been repeated word for word by nearly everyone who has written about Upton, I have traced back to Lysons, who wrote his History of Buckinghamshire in 1813, but he does not give any authority. This is a pity, because I believe the statement to be wholly untrue.

‘There was no necessity for the advowson to be leased with the tithes, and we find the Prior presenting to Upton in 1520, so if he did part with the advowson it soon returned to him, and passed from him to the Crown when Merton Priory was dissolved’. (40)

The last great tax assessment of the Kingdom before the Reformation was carried out in 1523-4, and the Editors of the Subsidy Roll for the county of Buckinghamshire Anno 1524 point out that it provides ‘what may be likened to a Kelly’s Directory of Buckinghamshire ... (providing) the names of the generation that flourished immediately before the institution of parish registers in 1538, and (they) represent, for comparative purposes the local population returns for the close of the Middle Ages’. (41)

In rural areas like the parish of Upton all livestock and crops were enumerated. The separate amounts under each name were then totalled and recorded for the Chief Assessor, who compiled from them a summary, which recorded no more than the names of the tax-payers, and the amounts they paid. The assessments show that Bucks as a whole remained mainly agrarian. Most of the local squires and small freeholders paid their tax on goods ‘which can be regarded as evidence that the general level of husbandry was satisfactory’ (42) – but that Buckinghamshire was not a county of great wealth, like Suffolk.

The Towne of Upton cum Challvey (43)

Mistress Margaret Bulstrode, widow	L	£60	
George Woodward, gent		£48	
Henry Norwode	W	£1.	6s. 8d.
William Copeshrowe	W	£1	
Roger Urlyon (i.e., Urlwyn or Erlewyne)	L	£10	
William Stonyng	W	£1	
William Bartelett		£5	
Reynold Bartelett		£2	
Philip Grome		£5	
John Grome	W	£1	
Robert Thedam		£10	
John Hyde	W	£1	
Henry Alen		£1	
Robert Manfyld		£12	
Walter Wakeman		£3	
Richard servant with Robert Manfyld	W	£1.	13s. 4d.
Christopher Cary	L	£5	
John Bartelet		£2	
John Taylor	W	£1	
John Poope	W	£1	
John Grome		£2	
William Huddislen		£2	
Edward Byshope		£3	
William Browne		£1	
John Grove		£1	
William Collis		£1	
Richard Besothe		£1	
Christopher Carter	W	£1.	6s. 8d.
John Clerke	W	£1.	6s. 8d.
Richard Sadyllar		£1	
Gilbert Inwode		£18	
John Mychell	W	£1.	10s. 0d.

Thomas Spencer	W	£1. 6s. 8d.
Walter Fylby		£6
Roger Fylby		£6
Hugh Fylby		£4
John Reede in annuyte for terme of lyffe by yere		£4
Nicholas Coke		£5
John Bartlet		£2
John Fylby		£2
John Pytt		£2
William Wode		£2
William Sadyller		£2
Edward Fylby		£1
John Alen		£1
William Welles		£1
John Cyrkeby		£1
Richard Saunder		£1
John Ayer		£1
Walter Pytt		£1
William Underwode		£1
Thomas Smythe		£1

Sum. £9. 8s. 10d.

(Note: L refers to Lands, and W to Wages. Where neither are specified, the amount refers to goods).

Income from land was taxed at 1/- in the pound. Goods to the value of £20 and upwards paid 1/- in the pound. Goods worth £2 and upwards to £20 paid 6d. in the pound. Goods less than £2, and those aged 16 years and over in receipt of wages to the yearly value of £1 paid 4d.

The assessments were on land or goods, whichever would produce the larger amount of tax.

Aliens paid double rates. (44)

Although this assessment gives disappointingly little about individual properties, it is of interest when compared with the more detailed survey of 1547 (see pp. 29-32).

In 1532, the Prior of Merton, apparently foreseeing the Dissolution of the monasteries, leased his rectories and manors to private individuals, in the hope of saving something from the wreck of monastic prosperity. In two indentures, dated 7 September and 4 November, 1532, the property comprised of the site of the manor-house of Upton, the demesne lands, the manorial service of the villagers and various tithes, together with the property on the riverside, previously leased to Henry VI for the endowment of Eton College, was leased to Roger Erlewyn (or Urlwyn) for a term of 50 years, (45) at an annual rent of £20. (46)

The Prior's foresight proved unavailing, for on 15 April, 1538, Henry VIII took possession of the manor. It may be noted that during the 382 years of their rule, the Priors unflinchingly collected the tithes, but there is no record that they ever did anything for the parish, apart from building the church, and providing a Vicar as economically as possible !

NOTES

1. Loyn, op. cit., gives a good résumé of the gradual changes after the Norman Conquest. For an account of everyday life in Norman and succeeding periods see *A History of Everyday Things in England* by Marjorie and C.H.B. Quennell (Batsford, 1918)
2. T. & D. Vol. I, p. 21
3. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 1086 (Dent's Everyman Edition, p. 163)
4. King Harold is always referred to as 'Earl' Harold in Domesday Book, as William the Conqueror claimed to be the rightful king
5. V.C.H., Vol. I, p. 232. Burne, Footnote p. 25, points out that the second half of the Domesday Book extract in Phipps, p. 6, relates to another Upton, in Dinton (See V.C.H. Vol. I, p. 260)

6. For details of the enclosures, see the chapter on Agriculture
7. Quoted by Burne in Appendix IX, p. 97
8. Heales, p. 18
9. See Phipps p. 65-66 for details of the connection between the parishes of Upton-cum-Chalvey and Bugden (now Buckden), four miles north of St. Neot's, Huntingdonshire. Both parishes afforded part of the endowments of Elstow, Bedfordshire
10. Not to be confused with St. Hugh of Avalon (1135?–1200), Bishop of Lincoln 1186–1200
11. LincolnP., Vol. I, p. 198
12. *ibid.*, Vol. II p. 50
13. Heales, p. 67
14. Information supplied by the Dept. of Medieval and Later Antiquities, British Museum, and Lloyds Bank, Slough, both of whom stress that such estimates cannot be more than approximate, and quite small sums, by our present standards, could represent real hardship in taxation, at a time when money was not so freely available.
15. LincolnP., Vol. II, p. 84
16. Cardinal Gasquet, *Parish Life in Medieval England* (first published 1906) 6th edition, 1929, p. 77
17. C.P.R., p. 109; 42-44, vii 0/51
18. Under feudal law, bondmen were tied to the soil, and if one escaped and was not recaptured, his master had to pay a fine to the lord of the manor.
19. V.C.H., Vol. III, p. 301
20. The name is derived from the OE. *Mearc*, meaning a boundary. It has always been just on the boundary between the parishes of Slough and Datchet. The name is shown as *Mirk* on the 6 in. Ordnance Survey map, and as *The Myrke* on the most recent maps of Slough
21. F. of F. p. 50, No. 18
22. *ibid.* p. 81, No. 3
23. *ibid.* p. 101, No. 4
24. Maitland, p. 146
25. *ibid.* p. 319-20
26. *Murdrum*:— 'If a person was slain and the slayer was not produced, then the Hundred was fined, unless the kinsfolk of the dead man could come and ... prove him to be an Englishman by birth'. (Pollok and Maitland, *History of English Law*, Vol. I, p. 558). This was a law designed to protect Normans against the Anglo-Saxons, the fine being levied only when the dead man was a Frenchman
27. *Placita de Quo Warranto* (P.R.O. Cal. p. 85)
28. *Taxatio* (P.R.O. ed. p. 33)
29. Heales, p. 188
30. The Statute of Mortmain passed in 1279 made it unlawful for the Church to acquire further property without the king's consent, in an attempt to curb the ever-growing expansion of Church lands
31. Heales, p. 191. Heales does not give the name of Peter atte Merke, this additional information being recorded in the Calendar of Patent Rolls, 32 Ed. I., P.R.O.
32. Shown to me by Richard Bentley
33. For this and all succeeding periods, see G.M. Trevelyan, *English Social History* (1942) for the background of social development
34. *Inquisition, Non.*, P.R.O., Cal. Ed. III
35. Heales, p. 250
36. *ibid.*, p. 281
37. Calendar of Patent Rolls, 21 Henry 6/1443. P.R.O.
38. T. & D., Vol. I, p. 341
39. Phipps, p. 59
40. Burne, p. 39
41. S.R.B., Introduction, p. ix
42. *ibid.*
43. *ibid.*, pp. 26-7
44. *ibid.*, Notes on the transcript, p. xvi
45. Burne, p. 51 and Phipps, p. 43
46. V.C.H., Vol. III, p. 315