

Some Differences between Manors and their Effects on the Condition of the Peasant in the Thirteenth Century¹

By J. Z. TITOW

FOR the study of the English peasantry in the late Middle Ages the fourteenth century is extremely important, since it was in that century that the two best things to have happened to the peasantry as a whole took place. The first half of the century saw the great famines of 1315-17, and the second half was overshadowed by the great plague of 1349 and its recurrences. It may seem callous to call disasters of such magnitude a "good thing." In terms of human suffering and misery they were indeed great tragedies, but seen in historical perspective they emerge clearly as the turning-points at which the downward trend in peasant prosperity was first checked and then decisively reversed. There was, of course, nothing new in people dying of epidemics, or from starvation following bad harvests; such happenings were commonplace throughout the Middle Ages. What was new was the scale of these disasters, and the point I am trying to make here is that the position was already so serious that nothing less than disasters of this magnitude could have had anything but a passing effect.²

At the root of the decline of peasant prosperity over the thirteenth century lies undoubtedly the great increase in population which occurred at the time. Professor Postan long ago expressed his belief that the rural population of this country in the thirteenth century was equal to that in the early eighteenth century and possibly even greater,³ and I fully subscribe to that view. But whatever may be argued about the magnitude of this increase in absolute terms, there can be very little room for argument, on existing evidence, as to the state of relative overpopulation prevailing at the time on a great many

¹ This article is based on the paper read at the Annual Conference of the British Agricultural History Society at Newton Abbot, 7 April 1961.

² I should perhaps make clear at this point that I see the condition of the peasantry as a whole over the thirteenth century as one of growing impoverishment unchecked until the great famines of the early fourteenth century and reversed only with the advent of the Black Death and subsequent epidemics.

³ View put forward at the Annual Conference of the Economic History Society in May 1949.

manors. Conditions differed, naturally, from place to place and manor to manor, but if one disregards small local variations due to a variety of causes it is possible to distinguish certain types of manors—or perhaps it would be more correct to speak of certain factors present on some manors and absent from others—which would noticeably affect the condition of the people living on them.

At least three lines of division spring to mind at once. It may be argued that peasants living on manors with an exclusively arable economy would be worse off than peasants living on manors with extensive opportunities for pastoral activities. On the latter the meagre income from land could be supplemented by the profits of sheep-farming or stock-raising. Personally, I do not believe that this aspect of peasant economy was ever of very great importance except, perhaps, in a few rather exceptional cases.¹

Another line of division would run between manors on which, by virtue of their location, large-scale emigration would be possible, and those on which it would not. By reducing the number of mouths to be fed such emigration would alleviate the lot of the remaining villagers, but in the thirteenth century emigration was very seldom on a sufficiently large scale to make any significant difference.

The most important division of all is a different one. Since in the thirteenth century the problem everywhere was one of too many persons chasing too few acres, the most important line of division would be between those manors on which new land was still available and those on which it was not—between the colonizing and non-colonizing manors.

It is not my purpose in this article to discuss differences in the condition of the peasants characteristic of all these major types of manor. What I intend to do is to examine the more important differences between colonizing and non-colonizing manors only, partly because I consider availability of land by far the most important factor in peasant prosperity, and partly because existing evidence for the Winchester estates is inadequate for the proper study of other manorial types. The method I propose to adopt is to discuss the conditions on the Somerset manor of Taunton, the most extreme case available to me of an anciently settled manor with no colonizable resources worth speaking of left to it by the middle of the thirteenth century, and to draw comparisons at various points with corresponding developments on the Berkshire manor of Wargrave and the Oxfordshire manor of Witney, the two most colonizing manors of the bishopric.

Out of the forty-odd manors regularly represented in the Winchester account rolls some twenty-six have custumals dating from about the middle

¹ Such as the economy of special regions, e.g. the Fenland.

of the thirteenth century. Taunton, Wargrave, and Witney are all among them. These custumals make it possible to examine the pattern of land-holding and thus provide a good starting-point for an investigation of the peasants' economic position. Statistics based on custumals, however, are subject to one important reservation. There can be no doubt that there has always been a great deal of land transference between peasants, either by permanent alienation or through short- and long-term leases. Since the custumals are not concerned with sub-tenancies the tenurial pattern depicted in them may not necessarily correspond with the pattern of actual occupation. It must therefore be borne in mind that the figures calculated on the basis of custumals may, and almost certainly do, underestimate the number of smallholders.

When holdings recorded in the custumals are sorted out and those expressed in customary units (such as virgates and their fractions, and cotlonds) converted into acres, and all the tenants are grouped according to the totality of their holding, the following figures are obtained. At Taunton 56 per cent of the tenants had under 15 acres each and only 7·6 per cent more than 30 acres. At Wargrave 66·2 per cent of the tenants had under 15 acres each and 12·5 per cent more than 30 acres. At Witney some 73·6 per cent of the tenants had under 15 acres each and only some 5·3 per cent more than 30 acres.¹

On the face of it there does not seem to be very much difference between these manors, and such differences as there are seem to be in favour of Taunton. The figures show the same striking feature everywhere: a very high percentage of smallholders. The main difference between the two colonizing manors and Taunton is the higher proportion of tenants with only a few acres to their name on the former; 51·5 per cent of tenants with less than 5 acres apiece at Witney and 45·5 per cent at Wargrave as against only 13 per cent at Taunton. This was only to be expected, for at Wargrave and Witney, with new land being made continuously available, a great number of hitherto landless persons could receive some land and enter into our purview as tenants. On the non-colonizing manors, like Taunton, this was not possible, but the fact that the percentage of smallholders was there very much smaller does not mean that the land situation on such manors was healthier. Paradoxically, perhaps, it meant the opposite, for the number of landless peasants concealed behind the façade of tenancies and dependent on the tenants for their means of subsistence must have been on such manors very much greater. This brings out in a striking manner the greatest deficiency of custumals and rentals as guides to the general level of peasant prosperity. For the only valid

¹ There is some uncertainty as to the exact size of some rather substantial holdings.

criterion of the level of prosperity in a community whose wealth rests primarily, if not exclusively, on the utilization of land is the amount of land per head of population; but custumals, rentals, and similar documents completely disregard the landless elements of the community and give us only the total tenant population. They thus present a picture which is rosier than the reality. On manors like Wargrave or Witney, where about half the tenants had less than 5 acres apiece, the seriousness of the situation is quite obvious, but on a manor like Taunton the picture presented by the custumals creates an impression of much greater prosperity than there was in fact.

Fortunately this defect can be partly remedied. We do not know what was the total population of Wargrave or Witney, but it is possible to arrive at a pretty close estimate for Taunton. What is even more important, it is possible to demonstrate the magnitude of the population increase at Taunton over the thirteenth century and its effect on the level of peasant prosperity. It would seem from the evidence of the hundred-penny fines that between 1209 and 1311 the population of Taunton more than doubled itself, that about 1248 the amount of land per person was only some 3.3 acres, and that this had probably dwindled by about 1311 to some 2.5 acres per head at the most.¹ This represents a truly desperate state of affairs, and if it is remembered that there were great inequalities of distribution, the majority of the peasants must have been far worse off than these figures suggest.

What were the practical consequences of this situation? The most obvious one, of course, was that many peasants at Taunton must have lived on, or below, subsistence level. This comes out very clearly in the remarkable correlation between mortalities and years of bad harvests at Taunton.²

The second important effect of this acute land shortage was to make such land as was available extremely costly to obtain. Because there was no colonization land was extremely hard to come by, and competition for any vacant holding became so fierce that the landlord could raise the entry fines (and even the rents) higher and higher each time. This steep increase in the general level of entry fines, which in itself would be sufficient indication of an acute land shortage, is very much in evidence at Taunton, where they rose from a very low level at the beginning of the thirteenth century to £40 a virgate and 63s. 4d. per acre of the demesne land by the end of the century.

The situation was slightly alleviated by the considerable letting out of the

¹ J. Z. Titow, 'Some Evidence of the Thirteenth-Century Population Increase', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., XIV, 1961, p. 218.

² M. M. Postan and J. Z. Titow, 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., XI, 1959, p. 392.

demesne during this period, but the total amount of land so released over the period of the greatest population increase was not sufficiently great to be of much significance. Besides, we must not imagine that the letting out of the demesne was a form of poor-relief on the part of the lord. Quite often the lord was simply shedding unproductive land, and although land of good quality may at times have been let out to tenants, much of the land released must have been of very poor quality. The high price which demesne land at times commanded should be seen as indicative not so much of its quality as of the acute land shortage which would force peasants to take up land even if its productive capacity was almost, though not quite, worthless. The case of John le Porter, who in 1330 paid an entry fine of £13 6s. 8d. for 40 acres of demesne land, of which "20 had fallen out of cultivation and 20 could be sown, though it was not worth while for the lord to do so, for they were poor in themselves,"¹ illustrates this very well. That is why the palliative effect of the letting out of the demesne can easily be exaggerated.

It is also quite likely that the soil exhaustion from which much of the demesne land suffered extended to the tenants' holdings as well, and that the gravity of the situation brought about by rising population was further aggravated by the declining productivity of some of the peasant land. The fact that so much land which lapsed to the lord after the Black Death was not taken up at all, and that the proportion of lapsed holdings from which rent could not be raised was very high, may be held to support this supposition.

At Wargrave and Witney the population increase over the century must have been as high as, if not higher than, on the non-colonizing manors. But because land in considerable quantities was continually being carved out of the waste and added to the arable available to the tenants, there was, on these manors, nothing like the land hunger we have observed at Taunton. This is reflected in the entry fines on these manors. At Wargrave, although the highest fine per virgate ever paid was £12, there were only five fines above 66s. 8d. out of the total of 277 fines recorded over the period 1248-1348. At Witney there were no higher fines per virgate than 53s. 4d. At Taunton the average fine per virgate for the period 1283-1348 stood at £5 9s. 2d.; it was only 23s. 4d. at Wargrave and 24s. 2½d. at Witney, or 38s. 10d. and 40s. 4d. respectively when corrected for differences in the size of the virgate between Wargrave, Witney, and Taunton. The figures for Wargrave and Witney would be somewhat higher if they were corrected for differences in the fertility of the soil, for the average yield at Taunton was considerably higher

¹ Hampshire County Record Office, Eccl. Com. 2/159342. "De Johanne le Porter xiii lib. vi s. viii d. pro xl acris terre de dominico domini in Loscombe unde xx acre frisce et xx que seminari possunt et non est ad proficuum domini quia debiles in se."

than at Wargrave and very much higher than at Witney, but they would still not be anywhere near the average fine for Taunton.¹

The effect of colonization on the amount of money a peasant had to pay for available holdings is brought out even more forcibly by a comparison between Witney and Adderbury, a manor of comparable size though somewhat higher fertility, forming an administrative unit with Witney.² There was no colonization and no letting out of the demesne at Adderbury. Its rent roll, which in 1211 stood at £24 1s. 2d., rose by 1306 by only 34s. as against Witney's increase (in round figures) from £24 to £73 and Wargrave's increase from £25½ to £70 over the same period.³ The average fine at Adderbury was 73s. 4½d. per virgate as against 24s. 2d. at Witney; and while there were no higher fines at Witney than 53s. 4d. per virgate, at Adderbury fines between £4 and £6 13s. 4d. were the rule.

There was a very marked upward trend in the level of entry fines at Taunton from the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards, while the level of entry fines at Wargrave and Witney had hardly risen at all. This is unfortunately very difficult to demonstrate satisfactorily in figures because in the early part of the thirteenth century the size of the holdings was usually not specified and thus fines per virgate cannot usually be calculated. This is true of Taunton to about 1283, of Wargrave to about 1277, of Witney to about 1268, and of Adderbury to about 1283. But something of the trend can be seen, perhaps, if the averages of the highest fines in each year are considered for three periods: 1209-1232, 1233-1266, and 1267-1300. At Taunton these averages were: £1 19s. 6½d., £5 5s. 7d., and £7 3s. 7½d. At Wargrave they were: 33s. 3½d., 29s. 2½d., and 53s. At Witney: 30s., 42s. 6d., and 26s. 4½d. At Adderbury: 17s. 2½d., 52s., and 63s. 5d.

The most important difference, however, apart from the direct effect of the availability of land on the level of prosperity, lies elsewhere. Professor Postan has on various occasions drawn attention to the importance of widows in medieval peasant society. The account rolls for Taunton bring this out very clearly indeed. With no new land coming in, and the prospects of succeeding to the family holding open only to one, usually the eldest son, and

¹ Taunton: 867 entries 1283-1348 (complete coverage 1289-), virgate=40 acres, gross yield of wheat (as a multiple of seed) 1209-1350=5·3.

Wargrave: 277 entries 1248-1348 (complete coverage 1277-), virgate=24 acres, gross yield of wheat 1209-1350=4·2.

Witney: 73 entries 1246-1348 (complete coverage 1283-), virgate=24 acres, gross yield of wheat 1209-1350=3·6.

² Both were usually under the same bailiff.

³ Hants. R.O. Eccl. Com. 2/159270B and 2/159321. Witney £29 os. 6d. and £73 4s. 5¾d., Wargrave £25 10s. 11½d. and £69 19s. 3¾d., Adderbury £24 1s. 2d. and £25 15s. 2d.

not all that good at that, marriage with a widow became a habitual way of acquiring a holding. A young man (young that is by medieval standards) wanting to set up a home of his own and tired of waiting for the paternal holding, or an inheritance from some distant relative without heirs of his own, would find in marrying a widow his only chance of deliverance. With luck she might be old enough to die after a reasonably short period of waiting, leaving him free to marry somebody young and attractive, for there can be little doubt that to the majority of men who married widows the widow's holding must have been her chief or only attraction. This led to what Professor Postan has often called the marriage fugue, the point-counterpoint situation, whereby a relatively young man married a woman considerably older than himself, after whose death, himself already an aged man, he would marry a girl very much younger than himself, who, in turn, on his death would still be young enough to re-marry perhaps twice or even three times. One of the effects of such a state of affairs, apart from its purely demographic implications, would be to make the eldest son's chances of succession to the paternal holding even more remote; for in a great many cases to succeed to the paternal holding he would have to outlive a young step-mother or a youngish step-father.

The practical result of this was that the family holdings had a way of wandering about, and the notion of a family holding passing down from father to son, from generation to generation, belongs to the same brand of fiction as that of the typical manor. A few schematic representations of some typical transmissions of holdings are given below. An additional factor contributing to this greater mobility of holdings, one which on the non-colonizing manors made the family rather than the individual the unit of landed wealth, was the restriction on acquisition of customary holdings by those who already held one such holding. Such restriction does not seem to have existed, or if it did was obviously not enforced, on manors where the supply of land had not as yet dried up.

On the colonizing manors the situation seems to have been quite different. The fact that there were very few marriages with widows and apparently next to no cases of widows remarrying more than once, and that the average number of marriages per 1,000 tenants was very much lower on the colonizing manors, must argue the absence of that great disparity in ages between the contracting parties in marriage which alone could have made it possible on manors like Taunton for a woman to go through two or three marriages in her lifetime, as against the usual one on manors such as Wargrave or Witney. As a result of this, on the highly colonizing manors succession to the family holding was left largely undisturbed and the family holdings seem to have

passed from father to son, usually via the widow, with far greater regularity.

It is rather difficult to give hard figures for the marriages of widows, for the total number of such marriages cannot be established with certainty. This is so because in a large number of cases in which a man paid a fine for marrying a woman with land her marital status is not specified. At Taunton such women can usually be traced back to the point of acquisition of their holdings, and when this is possible they almost invariably turn out to have been widows. At Wargrave traceable cases are very few, and the women in question usually turn out to have been daughters provided with land by their fathers or succeeding to their fathers' holdings. At Witney no such cases are traceable, and this might mean that they were mostly widows, since at Witney widows, it seems, did not have to pay a fine in order to retain the holdings of their deceased husbands. We thus have in each case two sets of figures; the minimum representing marriages with known widows and the maximum including as well all the marriages with women who may have been widows. With this important distinction that at Taunton the maximum figure was almost certainly the true one, at Wargrave the minimum was probably nearer the truth, and at Witney the real number may have been nearer the maximum than the minimum.

In terms of acquisition of land the figures are as follows. Of all the holdings acquired between 1270 and 1315 those obtained through marriages with widows constituted between 8.1 and 12.3 per cent at Taunton, between 0.4 and 1.3 per cent at Wargrave, and between 1.1 and 1.8 per cent at Witney. But if holdings of a few acres only (or fractions of an acre) are disregarded and only holdings of more than 5 acres considered, then the figure for Taunton rises to a possible maximum of 24 per cent. In terms of marriages, those with widows constituted between 21.6 and 32.6 per cent of all the marriages contracted at Taunton over the same period, between 4.6 and 14.8 per cent at Wargrave, and between 15.9 and 26.1 per cent at Witney. The figure for Witney is unexpectedly high but there is, I think, an explanation for it. Although at Wargrave and Witney the extent of colonization was almost identical in terms of absolute increase, there was a significant difference between them. Up to 1256 colonization on both manors took the form of a practically continuous stream of addition, the extent of reclamation (estimated on the basis of rent) being almost identical in each case; some 1,110 acres at Witney as against some 1,094 acres at Wargrave. The amount of land reclaimed between 1256 and 1306—when for all practical purposes reclamation may be said to have ended on both manors—was again practically identical: some 660 acres at Witney and some 680 at Wargrave. But while colonization at Wargrave still took the form of more or less con-

tinuous addition, at Witney it consisted of three great intakes of new land in 1285, 1293, and 1303, while only some 10 acres in all were reclaimed between 1256 and 1285.

This, I think, explains the greater attraction of marriages with widows at Witney than at Wargrave, especially if it is remembered that of all the manors of the bishopric, except one, Witney had the lowest average yield. The high percentage figure, as such, may also be partly due to the fact that when samples are small, as is the case with Witney, relationships expressed as percentages of the total appear unduly large.

I would like to conclude with an example of an actual case which illustrates rather well a number of points: the wandering about of holdings, the importance of marriages with widows, the changes in the level of entry fines, and the effect of the prohibition on holding more than one customary tenement. The case chosen is that of Adam de Shordich of Taunton and his descendants (p. 10). Black lines indicate family descent, dots indicate holdings, and the dotted lines trace the descent of holdings. Numbers in brackets refer to the summary which accompanies the diagram. All spellings have been standardized and holdings other than the usual customary ones disregarded.

(1) 1237 (2/159285)¹ Adam of Shordich paid a fine of 6s. 8d. for an unspecified holding. In the custumal of c. 1248 he had $\frac{1}{2}$ -virgate and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of moorland (*more*).

(2) 1255 (296) Edith, widow of Adam of Shordich, paid a fine of 5s. for her husband's holding.

(3) 1255 (296) John of Halfnakede paid a fine of 66s. 8d. for the holding of Adam of Shordich with his widow.

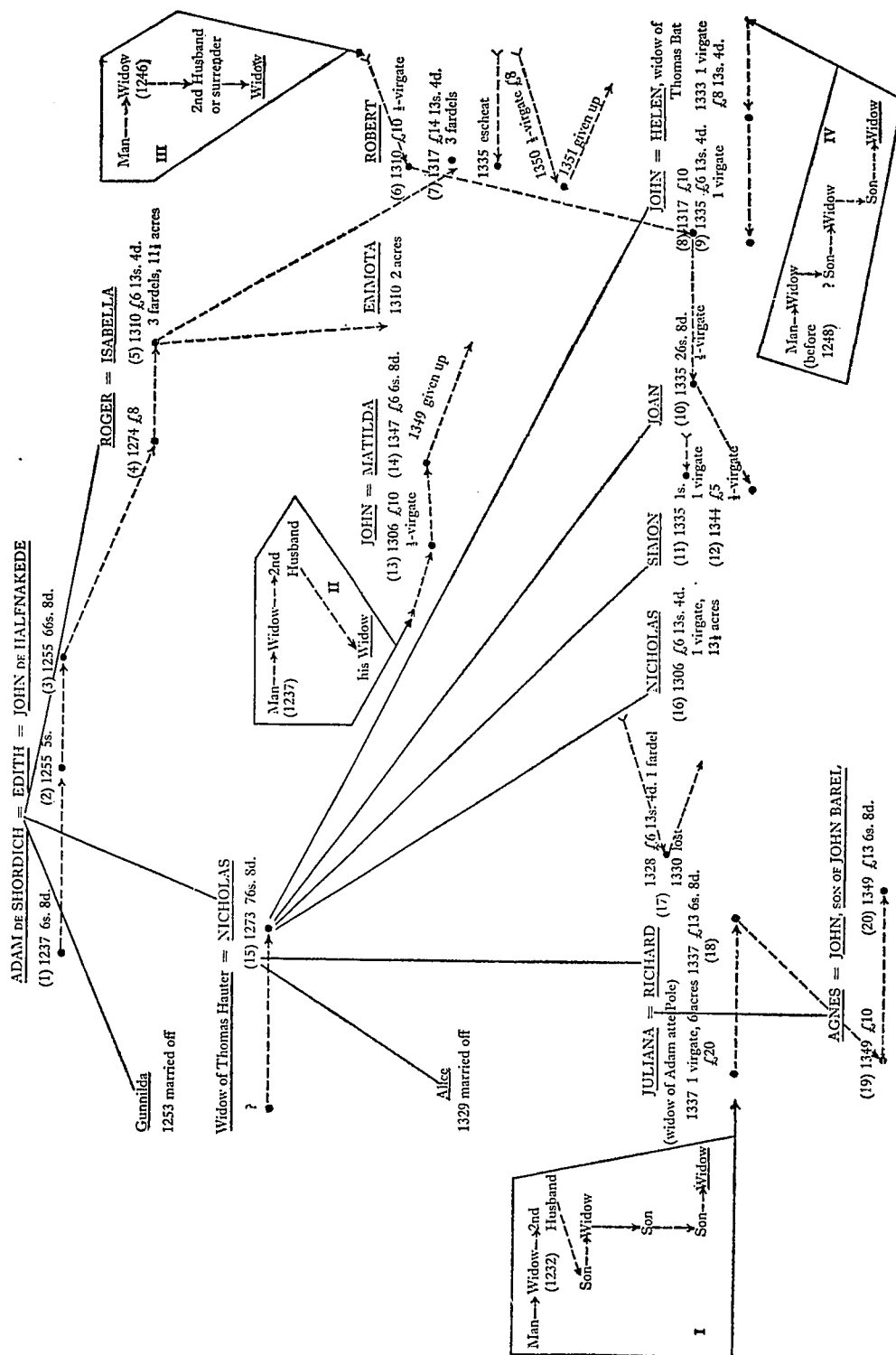
(4) 1274 (458 $\frac{1}{2}$) Roger of Shordich, step-son of John of Shordich, paid a fine of £8 for the whole of his father's holding but his mother was to retain half of it. It seems that John of Halfnakede after his marriage into the 'de Shordich' holding became known as John of Shordich. This is a very common practice.

(5) 1310 (325) Isabella, widow of Roger of Shordich, paid a fine of £6 13s. 4d. for 1 messuage, $\frac{1}{2}$ -virgate, 1 fardel, and $11\frac{1}{2}$ acres which were her husband's. The original $\frac{1}{2}$ -virgate holding of Adam of Shordich must have been increased by an additional fardel between 1248 and 1310. The most likely supposition is that John of Halfnakede who married Adam's widow in 1255 (3 above) probably had a holding of 1 fardel at the time.

(6) 1310 (325) Robert of Shordich, son of Isabella, paid a fine of £10 for 1 messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ -virgate surrendered in his favour by Margery, widow of Adam Fouke (for the provenance of this holding see inset).

(7) 1317 (331) Robert of Shordich paid a fine of £14 13s. 4d. for 1 messuage and 3 fardels which were his mother's. But Robert already had a holding acquired in 1310 (6 above), so he now disposed of that holding in favour of John, son of Nicholas of Shordich (8 below). Robert also paid a fine of 40s. in 1335 (346) for an unspecified holding which had escheated to the lord.

¹ The full reference is: Hants. R.O. Eccl. Comm. 2/159285. Henceforth only the three significant (final) figures are quoted.



He also paid a fine of £8 in 1350 (359) for 1 messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ -virgate of a dead tenant, but surrendered it in 1351 (360), the new tenant paying 53s. 4d. for it.

(8) 1317 (331) John, son of Nicholas of Shordich, paid a fine of £10 for the $\frac{1}{2}$ -virgate which Robert of Shordich (7 above) surrendered in his favour.

(9) 1335 (346) John, son of Nicholas of Shordich, married Helen, widow of Thomas Bat, paying a fine of £6 13s. 4d. for her with 1 virgate of land (for the provenance of this holding see inset). But he already had a holding which Robert of Shordich surrendered in his favour in 1317 (8 above), so he now surrendered that holding in favour of Joan, his sister.

(10) 1335 (346) Joan, daughter of Nicholas of Shordich, paid a fine of 26s. 8d. for the $\frac{1}{2}$ -virgate which her brother John surrendered in her favour. She died in 1344, and the holding went to her brother Simon (12 below).

(11) 1335 (346) Simon, son of Nicholas of Shordich, paid a fine of 1s. for 1 messuage and 1 virgate at Otterford which was surrendered in his favour. Otterford holdings were notoriously bad, hence the ridiculously low fine. The very poor quality of the holding must have been the reason why he did not have to surrender this holding in 1344.

(12) 1344 (354) Simon, son of Nicholas of Shordich, paid a fine of £5 for 1 messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ -virgate vacant on the death of his sister Joan (10 above).

(13) 1306 (321) John, son of Roger of Shordich, paid a fine of £10 for 1 messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ -virgate surrendered in his favour by Agnes, widow of William de Tobrigge (for the provenance of this holding see inset).

(14) 1347 (357) Matilda, widow of John de Tobrigge, paid a fine of £6 6s. 8d. for 1 messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ -virgate which were her husband's. It seems that John, son of Roger of Shordich, became known as John de Tobrigge after marrying into the 'de Tobrigge' holding (13 above). She surrendered this in favour of Joan, daughter of John Oseborn, who paid £7 for it in 1349 (358).

(15) 1273 (301) Nicholas, son of Adam of Shordich, paid a fine of 76s. 8d. for the widow of Thomas Hauter with her land. He may have subsequently married again. He also acquired some demesne land in various years.

(16) 1306 (321) Nicholas, son of Nicholas of Shordich, paid a fine of £6 13s. 4d. for the half of 1 messuage, 1 virgate, 6 acres of land, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres of moorland (*more*) which were his father's, and was to have the other half after the death of his mother.

(17) 1328 (340) Richard, son of Nicholas of Shordich, paid a fine of £6 13s. 4d. for 1 messuage and 1 fardel surrendered in his favour by Cecilia Berewe, a widow. She had previously recovered this holding from (*recuperavit versus*) William Palmer who, in turn, recovered it from (*recuperavit versus*) Richard in 1330.

(18) 1337 (348) Richard, son of Nicholas of Shordich, paid a fine of £13 6s. 8d. for Juliana, widow of Adam atte Pole, with 1 messuage, 1 virgate, and 6 acres of land.

(19) 1349 (358) Agnes, daughter of Richard atte Pole, paid a fine of £10 for 1 messuage, 1 virgate, and 6 acres of land which were her father's, who seems to have died in the plague. From the description of the holding in question it seems certain that Richard became known as Richard atte Pole after marrying into the 'atte Pole' holding.

(20) 1349 (358) John, son of John Barel, paid a fine of £13 6s. 8d. for Agnes, daughter of Richard atte Pole, with her land.

INSET I:

?

RICHARD DE POLA

1232 (282) Mabillia, widow of Richard de Pola, 33s. 4d.

1232 (282) Thomas de Pola £4 6s. 8d.

1245 (287) Walter de Pola £13 6s. 8d.

1273 (301) Alice, widow of Walter atte Pole, 30s.

? Hugh atte Pole gets main holding from his mother.

1321 (334) Adam atte Pole, son of Hugh, £20.

1337 (348) Juliana, widow of Adam atte Pole, £20.

INSET II:

1237 (285) JOHN DE TOBRIGGE 26s. 8d.

1258 (293) Agnes, widow of John de Tobrigge, 5s.

1258 (293) William le Cheleward 33s. 4d.

1288 (310) Agnes, widow of William de Tobrigge (William le Cheleward must have become known as William de Tobrigge after marrying into the 'de Tobrigge' holding), 26s. 8d.

INSET III:

? WILLIAM FOUKE

1246 (288) widow of William Fouke, 4s.

1246 (288) Adam de Chilewardeswode (must have become known as Adam Fouke after marrying [?] into the Fouke holding) 13s. 4d.

1308 (323) Margery, widow of Adam Fouke, 46s. 8d.

INSET IV:

bf. 1248 WALTER BAT

1275 (302) Claricia, widow of Walter Bat, 26s. 8d.

? William Bat, probably her son.

1309 (324) Claricia, widow of William Bat, £5.
(Claricia Battes)

1331 (343) Thomas le Bat, son of Claricia, £20.

1333 (345) Helen, widow of Thomas Bat, £8 13s. 4d.

SOME EXAMPLES OF TRANSMISSION OF HOLDINGS AT TAUNTON

1. *Radulphus Dawe* → Widow 33s. 4d.

(bf. 1274 $\frac{1}{2}$ -virgate)

↓
Son £12 → Widow → 2nd Husband
£4 13s. 4d. £8

↓
Daughter → Husband (1350)
£5 6s. 8d. £7 10s. 0d.

2. *Walter Cone* → Widow (1286)
66s. 8d. 5 fardels

↓
surrendered to a
Man £6 13s. 4d. → Widow
£20

↓
surrendered
to a Man → Widow → 2nd Husband (1347)
£26 13s. 4d. £11 £20

