

MARWELL WOODLOCK: THE CREATION OF THE MANOR AND ITS DESCENT, c. 1300–1920

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ABSTRACT

The manorial history of Owslebury in Hampshire, as published in the Victoria County History, was based mainly upon discontinuous material in the national archives. In consequence, the rise of the Woodlock family, the separation of their estate within the manor of Twyford with Marwell and the significance of the manor of Marwell Woodlock, have not been fully appreciated. The examination of considerably under-researched records of land transactions in Owslebury, Twyford and Upham, to be found in the archives of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, has gone a long way towards clarifying the misunderstanding.

INTRODUCTION

The *Victoria County History of Hampshire* records that the manor of Twyford with Marwell, which included the parish of Owslebury, was a 10th-century grant to the Bishop of Winchester (VCH III, 333). Its account of the subsequent history of this estate is not only incomplete, but also inaccurate in a number of respects. In particular, it fails to note how a major part of Twyford with Marwell, based upon the manor house at NGR SU 500 209, remained a manor under the direct lordship of the bishops of Winchester, while a substantial area, based upon the Marwell Hall site at NGR SU 508 217, became a manor or sub-manor known as Marwell Woodlock. The *Victoria County History* suggests that these names were alternatives for one and the same estate, but, regardless of its status, Marwell Woodlock was quite clearly a separate holding, with its own quasi manorial organisation; confusion between the two continues until the end of the account.

Since *The Register of Henry Woodlock* says of the

bishop that he was 'Born at Marwell, probably about the year 1250, with a Bishop for his lord and a college of priests almost under the same roof' (Graham 1940, vi), it appears that Rose Graham was also unaware of the distinction between the Woodlocks' estate and the centre of the episcopal manor.

The researchers for the *Victoria County Histories* did their work in London on the standard material available there, principally the royal archives among the public records; they did not use locally available resources, or pursue them in the repositories of successor institutions like the universities.

The so-called Twyne Transcripts in the archives of Corpus Christi College in Oxford contain 17th-century transcripts of original evidence of title for Marwell Woodlock, and thus provide a quite detailed early history of the manor. This paper sets out the picture revealed by those sources. They document the rise of the manor under the Woodlock family, and in doing so reveal a high degree of nepotism and a disregard of legislation relating to land tenure. They also record the subsequent passing of the estate to the Ernley and Benger families, and from them to the College. Series of other estate records demonstrate how the whole of the manor was then possessed by Corpus Christi for 350 years, and parts of it for more than 450 years.

Chapter 15 in Volume 12 of the Twyne Transcripts contains the three Fascicules relating to Marwell Woodlock, of which the first alone contains 56 Evidences; references have therefore been cited only for the more important events, and are shown thus: F1, Ev 3 [= Volume 12, Chapter 15, Fascicule 1, Evidence 3]. The same material also amplifies the history of the manor of Kilmeston

Plunkenet given in the *Victoria County History* (III, 323/4), including the period following the death of Joan, the widow of Nicholas Woodlock, and its descent through the Benger and Skilling families, a period for which the *Victoria County History* cannot account. The remaining chapters of the Twyne Transcripts augment the published histories of other manors in which Corpus Christi held land; examples include Volume 9, Chapter 8, which reveals that Shelley Farm in Eling was once the site of the manor there called Shelveley (Waight 1993), and Volume 10, which provides evidence that Bere in Warnford had been part of the manor of Preshaw with Lomer, rather than that of Warnford itself (Waight 1990). Correspondence has shown that the archives of at least four other Oxford colleges contain similar material relating to their estates, although perhaps not in such readily accessible form. All references in this paper are to documents in the Corpus Christi archives unless otherwise stated.

The estate records of the bishops of Winchester in the Hampshire Record Office contain material relating to the manor of Twyford with Marwell, but its history before or after the separation of Marwell Woodlock, including the period of use of the Marwell Manor Farm site as its administrative centre (VCH II, 332), is not discussed here.

THE CREATION OF THE MANOR, AND ITS DESCENT TO 1516

Close connections with the cathedral church of Winchester were held by the Woodlock family of Marwell, of whom Henry was the most eminent; he was the prior of St. Swithun's from 1295 to 1304/5, and bishop from 1304/5 to 1316 (le Neve, 47 & 45). His cousin Richard, who studied at Oxford and was a master by 1303, progressed rapidly, holding five rectorships between 1303 and 1311, and becoming a canon of St. Paul's in London in 1314 and a prebendary of Wherwell Abbey in 1318 (Emden, 2072). Nicholas of Marwell, subprior of St. Swithun's, was an older contemporary and relative of bishop Henry (Graham 1940, vi-vii), while Roger Woodlock, ordained in 1307, became rector of North Waltham in 1314 (Deedes, 633 & 639). On the lay side of the family,

Nicholas was the steward and bailiff of the bishop's manor of Merton in 1301/2 (Page, 81-2), while Sir Roger and Walter were both witnesses to charters made in the ecclesiastical court at Marwell between 1310 and 1313 (Graham 1940, 603, 621 & 691).

By 1365, Marwell Woodlock had all the attributes of a manor, including demesne, freehold and villein lands, and a manorial court, but the contents of the Twyne Transcripts reveal that it was no ancient manor, but a piecemeal creation of the 13th- and early-14th-centuries. The earliest recorded acquisition, attributed to 1243, was a freehold grant by William [of Ralegh], bishop of Winchester, to Roger and Margery Woodlock of lands in 'Marwell' (F1, Ev. 3). Further acquisitions from other freeholders were augmented by grants made directly by bishop John of Pontissara to members of the Woodlock family (F1, Evs. 1-9, 11-12). Many of the episcopal grants were exemplified by later priors of St Swithuns, and one such grant, to Nicholas Woodlock in 1295, was made for 'faithful service to us and our church' (F1, Ev. 10).

The Woodlock family had thus already acquired a considerable amount of freehold land in Marwell by 1305, the year in which Henry succeeded to the bishopric. The Twyne Transcripts reveal that, in the decade or so that followed, bishop Henry made further freehold grants of land in the manor of Marwell to Walter Woodlock (F1, Evs. 7, 17, 19, 20 & 21), and, although the precise relationship between the two men is not known, there can be little doubt that they, too, were close kinsmen. Episcopal nepotism was quite usual, and, as seen above, a number of kinsmen were presented to benefices, including pluralities, during Henry's authority; his grant of a wardship to his nephew, Sir Roger Woodlock, in 1314 was another example (Graham, 1924, 802). It is an inescapable conclusion, therefore, that the grants to Walter were acts of family patronage. They included land in Upham, which lay in the neighbouring Hundred of Bishops Waltham, showing that the acquisitions were not confined to the manor of Twyford with Marwell, and villein lands in Owslebury which had reverted to the bishop's hands 'on account of default of tenants'. It is possible that these were among the lands shown

by the bishopric pipe rolls of 1301/2 to have been 'drawn into demesne because of defaults of rent' (Page, 267); such a transfer of villein lands is paralleled by the incorporation of the customary tenancies of Shelveley in Eling into the manor of Wigley in 1545 (Letters & Papers, 1335/49), at which time the demesne lands were the freehold of Corpus Christi College (see above). Although some of bishop Henry's recorded grants were small, one, made in 1312, required payment of quit rents totalling 38s, and was clearly for a substantial amount of land (F1, Ev. 19).

The process of sub-infeudation, by which land was held in ever-descending levels of tenure from the Crown, and caused considerable loss of quit rent revenue to the king as ultimate overlord, had been abolished in 1290, when the Statute of *Quia Emptores* required that fee simple [freehold] grants were to be made by substitution of the grantee. In this way the ladder of sub-infeudation would gradually disappear (Simpson 1986, 54). Thus, not only had Henry Woodlock granted away land which he held purely by virtue of his office as bishop, but his grants had been in contravention of the Statute. Henry died on 29 June 1316 (Graham 1940, viii), and, just three days later, Walter Woodlock [not William, as stated in VCH] was granted a free pardon by Edward II for acquiring, 'without permission ... 1½ hides and 9 acres of land 3 acres of meadow 1½ acres of assart and 70 acres of waste within the manor of Marwell ... from Henry Bishop of Winton, who held it in chief from the King'; this was subject to 'rendering to the bishop 55s 4d for the lands and tenements in Marwell, and doing suit in the bishop's court at Marwell, as other free tenants do' (F1, Ev. 29 & Patent, 488). The amount of quit rent recorded in the pardon was considerably more than that accounted for in the preceding paragraph, but, although it is possible that original documents were lost before the Twyne Transcripts were made, the latter contain no other evidence of grants in Marwell by episcopal charter that would make up the difference. The timing of the pardon, which must have been drafted in the final days of the Bishop's authority, may be significant, and it is also noteworthy that no further episcopal lands appear to have been granted to the Woodlocks thereafter. Nevertheless, Walter remained in

favour with bishop Henry's successor, John of Sandale, and became deputy keeper of his parks and bailiff of four of his manors (Baigent, 124, 244 & 257).

No fine appears to have been levied for the royal pardon, which may have been given to a favoured subject merely to legalise the situation. Nevertheless, it confirmed the Woodlocks' freehold interest in the land, and it is conceivable that Walter would have marked this by building a substantial manor house. In fact, John Crook suggests that the fine medieval hall incorporated in the present Marwell Hall (Fig. 1) was constructed c. 1315-1325 (1993, 66).

Walter Woodlock was still engaged in land transactions in 1327, when Henry Arnys granted him further land in Marwell on payment of 40 marks (F1, Ev. 30), but his son Nicholas had inherited at least by 1346, when Arnys's widow quit-claimed the same lands to him (F1, Ev. 34). A reference made in 1365 to Nicholas's court at Marwell was the first in which Marwell Woodlock's status as a manor was mentioned (F1, Ev. 24). In January 1368, Nicholas Woodlock and his wife Joan enfeoffed 'Thomas of Hampton and Henry of London' of a messuage with its appurtenances in Marwell, Hensting, Brambridge, Owslebury, Baybridge and Upham, and were re-enfeoffed with the same lands by Thomas and Henry later in the same month (F1, Evs. 36 & 39). This resettlement, with remainder in tail to Thomas, the son of Nicholas and Joan, served to record and confirm Nicholas's title, and to bring all the Marwell Woodlock possessions together for the first time. The appurtenances included suit of the [wind]mill in the manor, together with rents 'both of free tenants and villeins'.

The Twyne Transcripts contain no evidence of descent between 1367 and 1424, but material outside the College archive may be used to fill the gap. An *inquisition post mortem* into the estates of Nicholas Woodlock in 1371 (IPM XIX, 241), shows that his deceased son Thomas had formerly been married to Dame Eleanor, now Lady Eleanor of St. Amand, and that William Spershute, Nicholas's kinsman, was the next heir. Nicholas Woodlock's widow, Joan, appears to have held the Woodlock estates during her widowhood, and, in her will of 1398, she bequeathed



Fig. 1 Marwell Hall, the west front

the residue to Lady Eleanor for life (Kirby 1899, II, 480). Thus, in 1424, Lady Eleanor was able to demise Marwell Woodlock to Sir William Spershute, in advance of his inheritance, and for the term of her life, at an annual rent of £20 (F1, Ev. 41). Again there is a short gap before the Twyne Transcripts provide evidence that Sir William took up his estate; in 1456, Sir Thomas Browne (d.1460) and his wife Alice, 'formerly the wife of Sir William Pershut', demised 'all the lands which Alice holds as widow's dower' to Sir William Ernele and his wife Margaret, Henry Uvedale and his wife Margery, and Robert Benger and his wife Eleanor (F1, Ev. 46) – Margaret, Margery and Eleanor were the daughters and heirs of William Spershute, and Alice's dower was held of their inheritance [The spellings of William Spershute's name are diverse, Sparsholt, Preshute and Pershut being other variants, but his identity is quite clear from the context of the documents]. An undated

document entitled 'Erneleys Pedigree' (F3 Ev. 29) reveals that Margery Uvedale died without issue, and that the manor then descended through the other two sisters to John Erneley and John Benger, who held Marwell Woodlock equally in 1516.

ACQUISITION BY BISHOP FOX, AND TRANSFER TO CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE

Negotiations for the sale of John Benger's half of the manor, at '20 years clear value', took place in November and December 1516, the purchasers being Harry Saunders and William Holgyll as trustees of Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester (F1, Evs. 47–56) [Holgyll is represented in VCH as sole holder (III, 333)].

The purchase of John Erneley's half was not so straightforward. In February 1517 there was a secret meeting when Sir Lionel Norris, 'with grett labore', persuaded Erneley to sell it to him and his wife Anne. Documents were drawn up immediately, and Norris wrote to bishop Fox reporting the transaction, 'beseeching your Lordshippe not to bee miscontented in this doynge' (F2, Ev. 1-4), evidently suspecting that the bishop would not be entirely satisfied with his actions. In the event, Norris and his wife were not considered sufficient trustees by the bishop, who had further sale agreements made, and another series of documents was drawn up within the month (F2, 5-11). The new trustees were Richard Gardner, treasurer of Wolvesey, William Frost, the bishop's steward, and Thomas Welles, a local gentleman.

The 'purchase' by Lionel and Anne Norris had apparently created legal difficulties, and delayed formal transfer to Fox's newly-founded College of Corpus Christi in Oxford, for, in January 1520, it was necessary to document a transaction between them and the bishop (F3 Ev.2-4). In March of the same year, the complete manor was granted by the bishop to the President and Scholars (F3, Ev. 5), the documents confirming that the manorial land was dispersed in Marwell, Baybridge, Upham, Brambridge, Hensting and Owslebury.

Despite formal transfer to the College, disputes relating to the original purchases continued; trustees died, and it was necessary to appoint new ones, including Richard Wotton [Wotton is represented in VCH as a sole grantee of part of the manor (III, 333)]. Between 1521 and 1563, claims against the College by members of the Erneley and Benger families were settled and final concords agreed, so that it is not until the latter date that title could have been adjudged firm (F3, Evs. 6-28).

THE ESTATE AND ITS TENANCIES

The extent of the estate is set out by *Valor Ecclesiasticus* in 1534 (VE II, 245), in four estate maps of the Marwell Woodlock lands drawn by Thomas Langdon in 1615 (LM II 21-24), and by a 'De-

scription of the Estates' based upon those maps (Mc 13/1). *Valor Ecclesiasticus* confirms that Marwell Woodlock's lands lay dispersed in Owslebury, Brambridge, Baybridge, Hensting and Upham, and its values can be reconciled with rentals of the period (Ch 11/1-15). In its reference to the 'demesne lands', it shows that the Crown's agents regarded it as a manor, but, more importantly, it demonstrates the difference in status between the old manor of Twyford with Marwell and the relatively new Marwell Woodlock; the former was held by the bishop of the king, in chief, while the latter was held by Corpus Christi of the bishop, as a sub-fee.

Although Langdon's maps were not drawn until 1615, it is clear from the descriptions of individual leaseholds and copyholds that the enclosures depicted were precisely as they had been when purchased in 1516/7. Furthermore, given the absence of evidence of further additions or disposals after 1327, the picture created by the Twyne Transcripts strongly suggests that the College estate was just as the manor had been in the heyday of the Woodlocks. The Langdon Maps are marked with the names of all the tenants in 1615, and the tenancies can be identified continuously thereafter from the lease books and court records. Despite a number of tenants declaring College land to be their own during the tithe apportionment exercise, complete reconciliation may be achieved between Langdon's maps and the Owslebury, Twyford and Upham Tithe Maps and Awards of 1838/42 (HRO 21M65/F7/184, 237 & 238), when all of the original boundaries still existed [see Tables 1 and 2]. In this paper the locations of the Langdon Map insets are indicated in Fig. 2, showing how widely the lands of Marwell Woodlock were dispersed; a block of land on Woodlocks Down was no doubt the 'waste' mentioned in the pardon of 1316.

Langdon's map of the demesnes (II, 21) shows that a large house, with formal gardens, existed on the site in 1615, and a cony park can be identified to the north and east of it; contrary to what is implied in the *Victoria County History* (III, 334), this park is not the bishops' park of Marwell, of which a part of the pale is identifiable about 1300 metres or $\frac{3}{4}$ mile to the south. Reference is made in the same map to 'two parcels of meadow at Fishwares

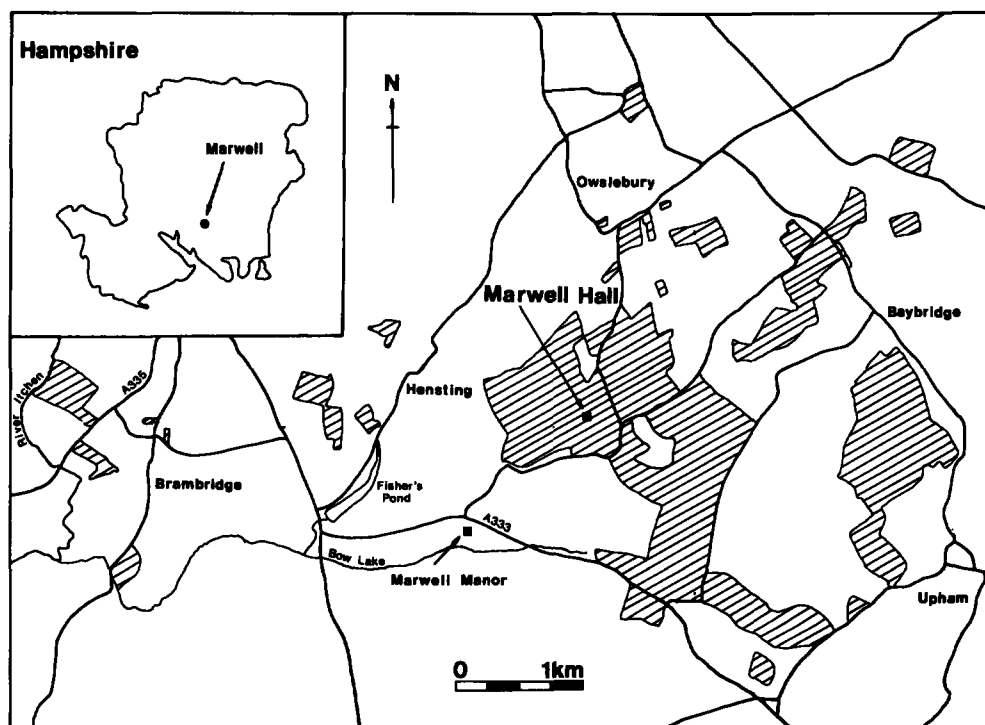


Fig. 2 Location map of the manor of Marwell Woodlock. The hatched areas, taken from the Langdon Map II, 21-24, define the components of the manor.

[fish weirs] called Twyfrithes that were not measured', and therefore not mapped; these closes, which have been identified from the tithe map and ultimate disposal in 1925 (LB 42/201), are included in Table 1, and are marked as '*Fish Pond (site of)*' near Fisher's Pond on the Ordnance Survey 6" map of 1870. Isolated within the demesne were two copyholds that still belonged to the old Marwell manor, or Lower Marwell as it was sometimes known. College copyholds occupied almost the whole of the frontage of the south side of the street in Owslebury, westwards from the church (LM II 23), and included one timber-framed building that survives today as 'The Farm House'; this house appears to have been built in the first half of the 17th-century, coincident with the admittance to the copyhold of Thomas Soane, the second son of an affluent yeoman (HRO 1613B65/1; Ch 11/12; HRO 1626Ad158; Ch 11/15).

The detail of the Langdon Maps is summarised in an undated, but apparently contemporary, 'Description of the Estates' (Mc 13/1). Langdon had calculated that Marwell Woodlock included approximately 235 acres held by 17 copyholders, but the major part of the estate, represented by around 743 acres of demesne lands, was available for leasing (Mc 13/1, 65-67). These early figures do not vary greatly from those calculated by the tithe apportionment surveyors 200 years later [see Tables 1 and 2], but the total of about 1000 acres cannot be reconciled with bishop Henry's grants; this supports the suggestion that the Woodlock estate was already of local importance by the time that he succeeded to the bishopric.

In addition to a little over 50 acres in Owslebury itself, the outlying lands in Brambridge, Hensting, Baybridge and Upham were all held by copyhold, and were all already individually enclosed (Mc

Table 1 Corpus Christi College leaseholds in the Tithe Maps and Awards for Owslebury, Twyford and Upham [HRO 21M65/F7/184/1–2; F7/237/1–2; F7/238/1–2.]

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Field nos</i>	<i>Holding</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Occupier</i>	<i>Extent [a. r. p.]</i>
Owslebury	411, 414, 420–1, 424, 427, 451–2, 455, 478, 490, 493–494, 851	Part of the demesnes, including the Hall	CCC and their tenant Walter Long	Walter Long	194. 1. 11
Owslebury	197–201	Part of the demesnes	CCC and their tenant Walter Long	William Woodward	33. 2. 33
Owslebury	159–165, 167–172	Part of the demesnes	CCC and their tenant Walter Long	John Shetler	75. 1. 25
Owslebury	415, 417, 422–423, 425–426, 450, 453–454, 456–465, 473b, 474b, 475, 477, 495–501, 523, 525–526, 583	Part of the demesnes	CCC and their tenant Walter Long	John Chandler	267. 3. 36
Owslebury	412–413, 432–434	Part of the demesnes	CCC and their tenant Walter Long	Charles Hide	69. 3. 24
Owslebury	416	Part of the demesnes	CCC and their tenant Walter Long	William Harfield	0. 1. 10
Owslebury	466–467, 472	Part of the demesnes	CCC and their tenant Walter Long	Joseph Lowndes	23. 2. 8
Owslebury	670–671*	Part of the demesnes	CCC and their tenant Walter Long	John Tigwell	13. 2. 6
Twyford	485, 492–494	Part of the demesnes	CCC	Henry Powell	12. 1. 2
Upham	188–198	Part of the demesnes	Mrs Alice Long	John Shittler	73. 2. 15
<i>Total acreage of the demesne lands</i>					764. 2. 10
Owslebury	777–778	Temple's Tilehouse	CCC	Michael Stratton	14. 1. 35
<i>Total acreage of the leasehold lands in all parishes</i>					779. 0. 5

* These are the two parcels of meadow at 'Fishwares'

13/1 & LM II 21–24); a custumal of 1663 records that there was no common of pasture belonging to the customary tenants of Marwell Woodlock (F/3/3/3, 26). By custom of the manor, copyholds might be held for the term of three lives, with the

additional provision that the widows of husbands who had died seised were entitled to widows' estate (F/3/3/3, 144). Five of the copyhold rents included elements in kind, viz. a cock and three hens, as 'churchettes' [church scot (Latham 1965,

Table 2 Corpus Christi College copyholds in the Tithe Maps and Awards for Owslebury, Twyford and Upham [HRO 21M65/F7/184/1-2; F7/237/1-2; F7/238/1-2.]

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Field nos</i>	<i>Holding</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Occupier</i>	<i>Extent [a. r. p.]</i>
Owslebury	136-137, 203-204, 215, 218 [in Baybridge]	Copyhold No. 1	CCC	William Woodward	23. 0. 26
Owslebury	130-132 [in Baybridge]	Copyhold No. 2	CCC	William Woodward	11. 3. 4
Owslebury	115-118, 121-124 [in Baybridge]	Copyhold No. 3	CCC	John Pearce	26. 2. 33
<i>Total acreage for Baybridge</i>					61. 2. 23
Owslebury	249-250	Copyhold No. 4	Joseph Froud	Joseph Froud	0. 3. 26
Owslebury	227, 229, 247-248, 338, 448-449	Copyhold No. 5	Cornelius Butcher	Cornelius Butcher	13. 2. 11
Owslebury	242-243	Copyhold No. 6	CCC and their tenant Caleb Owton	Caleb Owton	2. 1. 27
Owslebury	223, 225, 228	Part Copyhold No. 7	Hon. John Carnegie	Benjamin Boyes	9. 1. 24
Owslebury	303	Part Copyhold No. 7	Hon. John Carnegie	William White	6. 1. 0
Owslebury	266	Part Copyhold No. 7	Hon. John Carnegie	Rev. Charles Maberly	0. 0. 39
Owslebury	255	Part Copyhold No. 7	Hon. John Carnegie	Hon. John Carnegie	0. 1. 28
Owslebury	236*	Part Copyhold No. 7	Hon. John Carnegie	Benjamin Boyes	1. 1. 1
Owslebury	257**	Part Copyhold No. 7	Rev. Chas. Maberly, perpetual curate	Rev. Charles Maberly	1. 2. 25
Owslebury	334, 436-438, 447	Part Copyhold No. 8	George Fort	Ann Crosswell	7. 2. 39
Owslebury	244	Part Copyhold No. 8	George Fort	Alexander Forbes	2. 2. 13
Owslebury	Part of 323	Part Copyhold No. 8	Benjamin Boyes	Benjamin Boyes	c 3. 0. 0
Owslebury	245-246	Copyhold No. 9	John Tigwell	James Mariner	1. 2. 5
Owslebury	440-441	Copyhold No. 11	CCC and their tenant W. Long	Charles Hide	2. 3. 3
<i>Total acreage in Owslebury</i>					53. 3. 1

Upham	367–369, 373–376, 397–399	Copyhold No. 12	CCC and their tenant Mrs. William Carver Oswin		38. 1. 21
Upham	199, 291–292, 303–304, 314–315, 366	Copyhold No. 13	CCC and their tenant Mrs. William Carver Oswin		43. 2. 11
<i>Total acreage for Upham</i>					<u>81. 3. 32</u>
Owslebury	757, 790–795 [in Hensting]	Copyhold No. 14	CCC	George Carter	10. 0. 24
Owslebury	786–787, 801 [in Hensting]	Copyhold No. 15	John Talbot	Michael Stratton	<u>8. 0. 1</u>
<i>Total acreage for Hensting</i>					<u>18. 0. 25</u>
Twyford	592 [in Brambridge]	Part Copyhold No. 16	Hon. Charlotte G H Craven	Hon. Charlotte Craven	1. 1. 29
Twyford	516, 528, 530–531 [in Brambridge]	Part Copyhold No. 16	Hon. Charlotte G H Craven	Richard Soffe	6. 3. 2
Twyford	556 [in Brambridge]	Part Copyhold No. 17	Hon. Charlotte G H Craven	Richard Soffe	0. 1. 26
Twyford	548 [in Brambridge]	Part Copyhold No. 17	John Maidment	James Young	<u>0. 1. 39</u>
<i>Total acreage for Twyford</i>					<u>9. 0. 16</u>
<i>Total acreage of the copyhold lands in all parishes</i>					<u>224. 2. 17</u>

* TM236 had been part of Copyhold No. 10, now extinguished. Other parts of Copyhold No. 10, to the south of Marwell Hall, had been incorporated into the demesnes.

** This piece of land, on which the parsonage was built, appears to have been donated to the church by Alice Long, to whom it had been sold in 1833 for the redemption of the Land Tax (LB 34/25). Such a sale was the only justification at that time for disregarding the College statute on the alienation of land.

ix & 83]). Courts Baron were held with decreasing frequency, to the extent that the Homage reminded the Steward in 1714 that 'By a former custom a court ought to be held once in three years' (F/3/3/4, 136). By this time view of frankpledge had ceased, the court books were only recording copyhold transactions, and any suggestion that courts were being used to deal with domestic matters had now disappeared; timber for repairs, now becoming a scarce commodity, was now being authorised by the bailiff rather than the court. The rentals and court rolls that survive from before 1649, when court books were introduced, are discontinuous, but they are sufficient to show that there had been no changes in the composition of the copyholds since the land had been purchased (Ch 11/1-15); from 1649 there is a continuous record of the court sessions until the last entry was made in 1890 (F/3/3/1-10). There is some evidence, however, that tenants were being admitted, and reversions granted, by direct application to the college at Oxford between sessions.

In most cases, there was continuity of tenure within families for long periods; the Charker family, for instance, held one of the copyholds at least from 1567 to 1806. Not only were many of these yeomen, but some also held copyholds in the old, episcopal manor (LM II, 21 & 23), and these families appear to have been exploiting the land themselves. Such was the fall in value of the fixed copyhold rents, however, that a new class of customary tenant, including absentee gentlemen, appeared in the court books around 1800. There is evidence that, having bought out the old holders, some of these tenants were using the land as an investment, or were aggregating the land with other estates as pleasure grounds. A typical succession of tenants in one of the copyholds is shown in the Appendix: this copyhold, which survived until 1920 and was the one on which the surviving timber-framed house was erected, appears always to have been occupied by the tenant.

Freeholds of 6d, 2s, 10s and 14s respectively are mentioned in rentals of c. 1567 (Ch 11/2-3), but only two of them are identifiable in the Langdon Maps. They appear sporadically in later documents, when one is seen to have been held by successive rectors of Owslebury. All had disappeared from the court books by 1770 except the

largest, which is listed in the 'Account of the Estates' of 1881 as containing a little over ten acres; it was then described as a copyhold of inheritance, but still at the annual rent of 14s (F/1/1/2).

There were two small leaseholds, a house called 'Frethys' and a manufactory of tiles called 'Temple's Tilehouse', and these appear to have been amalgamated at an early date. The major lease, however, was of the 'scite of their Manor House of Marwell Woodlocke ... with all the Demean Lands, Closes, Meadows, Pastures, Waters, Warrens of Conys, Pannage of Swine and all other commodities of the Demeans'. Lionel and Anne Norris were rewarded for their part in the purchase of the manor by the lifetime grant of a lease in 1520 (Ch 14/3), and an unactioned counterpart of 1534 shows that Richard Cromwell was to become tenant on their decease (TT 30, p. 58). Nevertheless, in a letter to the President that was incompletely dated, but probably early in 1537, Henry VIII put pressure upon the college to grant the lease to his brother-in-law, Henry Seymour, who had already compounded with the Norrisses and with Cromwell for their interests in Marwell Woodlock (TT 30, p. 329). The leasehold was formally granted at Michaelmas 1537 (LB 1, 38), and remained in the Seymour family at least until Edward Seymour's grant in 1633 (LB 7, 200). From that date, tenure by individuals and families can be traced continuously to 1810, when a licence to assign transferred the lease to William Long (LB 30/292). Despite the references in the *Victoria County History* (III, 333), nothing has been found to associate the Mildmay family with Marwell Woodlock or its Hall. It was the bishop's manor, together with the advowson, that was granted to the Seymours in 1551 and subsequently passed to the Mildmays; some confusion may have been caused by the Seymours' simultaneous tenure of the demesne lease of Marwell Woodlock.

DEVELOPMENTS AFTER 1800, AND THE DISMANTLING OF THE MANOR

Such was the security offered by their leases, that college tenants throughout Hampshire had long felt able to construct or refashion substantial build-

ings on Corpus Christi land (Waight 1996, 175). The Marwell Woodlock lease was an exceptional example of this, for, in 1817, William Long engaged in extensive, and expensive, additions and alterations to the manor house [John Crook has shown that a medieval hall, with as-yet undated cross-wings, was incorporated by Long into the Hall that now forms the administrative building of Marwell Zoological Park, and dates it to the first quarter of the 14th century (1993, 41 - see above)]. Such a large investment required protection and, on renewal in 1820, Long turned the lease over to trustees (LB 31/355).

Although the whole of Marwell Woodlock, including Woodlocks Down, had been enclosed since the foundation of Corpus Christi, the Owslebury enclosure award of 1861 (HRO Q23/2/107/1-2), provided some additional benefits. Exchanges were made under the award, the result of which was a slightly more compact arrangement of closes within the demesne and copyholds. Furthermore, despite the fact that its customary tenants had no rights of common (F/3/3/3, 26), the college received an allotment of around 100 acres of former common land in Owslebury. Another, private, exchange took place at Baybridge in Owslebury in 1884 (Ch 20/1), complementing the effects of enclosure.

As was the case in other university colleges, Corpus Christi had been prevented by its statutes from permanently alienating land during the 300 years of landlordship up to the mid-1800s; agriculture had moved on considerably, and the management of its dispersed estates must have become very difficult by that time. An act of parliament of 1858, empowering all university colleges to sell land and grant leases at rack rent (Shadwell 1912, 217), relieved the situation, and the more isolated pieces of land in Brambridge and Hensting, which were part of copyholds that had already been extinguished, were sold almost immediately (LB 38/251, 308 & 467).

The lease of Marwell Hall and the demesne lands was renewed by the Longs' trustees in 1862, and assigned to R E W P Standish in 1868 (LB 38/170 & 39/5); given the beneficial nature of college leases (Waight 1996, 174-176), the lessees would have been quite content to continue under the old system. The 20-year term was due to

expire in 1882, and it so happened that Corpus Christi was reviewing its finances in that year, with a view to setting up four chairs within the university at Oxford. In February 1882 a college meeting instructed the bursar to make 'the best arrangement' for letting the property at Marwell on the falling in of the lease, and, on 27 May in the same year he was authorised to continue negotiations for the sale of the Hall and demesnes to Pery Standish (B/4/1/9). The minutes do not reveal the details of what was said at the meetings, but it seems likely that the Society felt that the time had come to put an end to what, for the lessees, had been a very advantageous arrangement; with the 1858 Act behind them, they were at liberty to refuse to renew the lease and introduce a rack rent. In the event, Standish purchased the freehold for £16,000 on 1 November 1882 (LB 40/445).

A number of other copyholds had fallen in, and had been converted to leaseholds at rack rents by the College, but seven still existed in 1881, with rents remaining just as they had been in the 16th Century (F/1/1/2). Two actually lingered until the last 'lives' died in 1914 and 1920, and were extinguished just a few years before the complete abolition of the system in 1925 (Simpson 1986, 288). The 'Churchettes' had long been commuted to cash payments, but the entry in the 'Account of the Estates' relating to the extinguishment in 1920 was noted 'Rent 16s 0d ... Rent 14s 8d, Cock & 3 Hens, Heriot Best Beast' (F/1/1/2-6).

Further reorganisation took place as the last of the copyholds fell in, and there were even purchases of small pieces of land to fill gaps. Several recognisable farm estates were created as a result, and these were evidently regarded as viable economic propositions, since they were retained for many years. It was not until 1960 that Corpus Christi College sold Marwell, Lower Whitefloods and Whaddon Farms (LB 45/100; 46/38, 57, 58 & 69), leaving a single piece of land in Upham, and in 1987 the title of the lordship itself was sold to a member of the Marwell Zoological Society (Ch 26/225). The Upham piece, confined by the same boundaries that had existed when it formed part of John Penton's copyhold in 1615, was finally sold in 1993 (Conveyances, 63), and with it the college's remaining interest in the manor of Marwell Woodlock.

APPENDIX

*The Manor of Marwell Woodlock, Copyhold No. 5. in the records of Corpus Christi College
A messuage [now 'The Farm House'] and 13 acres in Owslebury. Rent 14s 8d + 1 cock + 3 hens.*

<i>Date of court</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Lives</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Fine (F) or Heriot (H)</i>
1523 (Rental)	Ch 11/4	William Franklen was the tenant at a rent of 14s 8d. plus 1 cock and 3 hens	T	
U/D (Rental) pre-1567	Ch 11/3	William Frankelin was the tenant at a rent of 14s 8d. plus 1 cock and 3 hens	T	
1567 (Rental)	Ch 11/2	William Stratford was the tenant at a rent of 14s 8d. plus 1 cock and 3 hens	T	
1615 (Langdon Map)	II 23	Widow Stratforde was the tenant in 1615.	T	
1623 (Rental)	Ch 11/10	Widow Stratford was tenant.	T	
U/D (Rental) c1626	Ch 11/12	Annis Stratford was tenant*	T	
U/D (Rental) c1648	Ch 11/15	Thomas Sone was tenant. [†] The rental is noted '3 days work', the only such note to be found.	T	
19 Apr 1650	F/3/3/1 p.24	Thomas Soane	T	
		Edward Soane [son of Thomas]	R	
		Moses Soane [son of Thomas]	GR	
11 Oct 1667	F/3/3/3 p.74	Thomas Soane surrendered. [‡]	S	H 15s 0d
		Edward Soane	AT	
		Mosis Soane, bro. of Edward	R	
		John Soane, son of Edward	GR	F £2 0s 0d
25 Apr 1692	F/3/3/4 p.61	Edward Soane [§]	T	
		John Soane	R	
		Daniel Soane, son of John	GR	F £6 0s 0d
27 Apr 1719	F/3/3/4 p.179	Edward Soane	D	H a bed worth 5s 0d
		John Soane, son of Edward, next taker	AT	

<i>Date of court</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Lives</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Fine (F) or Heriot (H)</i>
25 Apr 1734	F/3/3/5 p.24	Daniel Soane, son of John	R	
		Samuel Soane (20), son of John, bro. of Daniel	GR	F £6 0s 0d
		John Soane	T	
9 May 1739	F/3/3/5 p.65	Daniel Soane	R	
		Samuel Soane (13)	GR	F £6 0s 0d
		John Soane	D	
		Daniel Soane, son of John	AT	
		Samuel Soane	R	
28 Nov 1744	Ch 17/2	Elizabeth Soane (9)	GR	F £6 0s 0d
		A letter from bailiff Benjamin Light to the College President shows that Samuel Soane had died	D	
15 Oct 1746	F/3/3/5 p.116	Daniel Soane	T	
		Elizabeth Soane surrendered, with regrant:	S	
		Frances Bone (24), wife of George Bone	GR	F £6 6s 0d
		Elizabeth Soane	GR	
1748 (Desc'n of the Estates)	Mc 13/1	Daniel Soane was the tenant in 1748	T	
21 Nov 1752	F/3/3/5 p.154	Daniel Soane, Frances Bone and Elizabeth Soane all surrendered with regrant:		
		Joseph Page (38), wheelwright of Owslebury**	GRAT	F £9 9s 0d
		Joseph Page (10), son of Joseph	GR	
28 Apr 1784	F/3/3/6 p.251	Mary Page (5), dau of Joseph	GR	
		Mary Page	D	
		Joseph Page the elder surrendered for himself and for Joseph Page the younger, regrant:	S	
9 Aug 1793	F/3/3/6 p.430	Joseph Page the elder	GRAT	F 14s 0d
		Charles Guy	GR	

<i>Date of court</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Lives</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Fine (F) or Heriot (H)</i>
10 Aug 1796	F/3/3/7 p.55	Joseph Page the younger Joseph Page the elder Charles Guy next taker Joseph Page Joseph Guy (5), son of Charles	GR D AT R GR	F £16 16s 0d
27 Jul 1813	F/3/3/8 p.16	Joseph Guy Charles Guy Joseph Page Cornelius Butcher	D T R GR	F £52 10s 0d
8 Jun 1836	F/3/3/8 p.410	Charles Guy Joseph Guy (sic) Proclamation for Cornelius Butcher, the only life, to come, but he did not	D D	
11 Aug 1838	F/3/3/9 p.87	Ann Guy (Widow of Charles), was admitted for her widow's estate Cornelius Butcher ^{††} George Butcher (9) son of Cornelius Butcher Augusta Caroline Butcher (9 sic) dau. of Cornelius	AT R GR GR	} F £95
1840/1 (Tithe Map & Award)	HRO 21M65/ F7/184/1	Cornelius Butcher was shown as both 'Owner' and Occupier, although he was in fact the copyholder.	T	
1835 – 1856 (Agents' Accounts)	Ch 9/73–95	From Michaelmas to Michaelmas 1834 to 1856 the total income from the Owslebury copyholds had remained the same. This copyhold had therefore remained intact.		
1860/1 (Enclosure Map & Award)	HRO Q23/2/107	Cornelius Butcher was shown as the college's tenant. He died during the enclosure process and his widow's name, Sarah, was substituted.	T	

<i>Date of court</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Lives</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Fine (F) or Heriot (H)</i>
1856 – 1867 (Agents' Accounts)	Ch 9/96–106	From Michaelmas to Michaelmas 1856 to 1867 there was no change in the total income from the Owslebury copyholds. Mrs Butcher was noted as tenant at 14s 8d + 2s in 1867.	T	
1881 (Account of the Estates)	F/1/1/2	George Butcher (51) was the tenant and Augusta Butcher (49) was in reversion. ^{††} The rent was 16s 8d.	T	
1889 (Account of the Estates)	F/1/1/3	Tenant George Butcher (59), Augusta Butcher (57) in reversion. Rent 16s 8d	T	
1899 (Account of the Estates)	F/1/1/4	Tenant George Butcher (69). Rent 16s 8d	T	
1912 (Account of the Estates)	F/1/1/5	George Butcher (80) was tenant. ^{§§} The rent was still 16s 8d, but a break-down showed it as 14s 8d plus a cock and three hens, with a best-beast heriot	T	

In the 'Status' column: T = Tenant; AT = Admitted as Tenant; GR = Granted a Reversion; R = Reversioner [continuing]; D = Dead; S = Surrendered. All spellings are as in the original documents.

* An inventory of Anne Stratford's estate was made in 1626 (HRO 1626Ad158).

[†] Thomas Soane was the second son of Edward Soane, an affluent yeoman farmer who died in 1613 (HRO 1613B65). It seems likely that the surviving timber-framed house was built at about the time of his admittance.

[‡] His father's will (HRO 1613B65) had shown that Thomas was not yet 16 in 1613, and he was therefore elderly by 1667. He died in 1686 (HRO 1686P20).

[§] Moses had died before 1686 according to his father's will (HRO 1686P20).

^{**} A brick-built extension to the timber-framed house bears a plaque 'I P 1762'.

^{††} There was a Conditional Surrender by Cornelius Butcher in respect of a mortgage of £200 from Edward Hopkins, with reversion to Cornelius and the other lives.

^{‡‡} There had been no further entries in the Court Books. Augusta was still shown by her maiden name, although she had apparently married - see final entry.

^{§§} An added note shows that Butcher died 12 Sep 1920. The copyhold was extinguished with his death, and the house and land included in a sale to Raymond Livingstone 27 May 1921. The conveyance documents (LB 42/425) show that Livingstone was Augusta Butcher's son.

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Abbreviations

HRO, Hampshire Record Office
 IPM, *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*
 LB, Lease Books
 Letters & Papers, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*
 LM, Langdon Maps
 Patent, *Calendar of Patent Rolls*
 TT, Twyne Transcripts
 VCH, *Victoria County History*
 VE, *Valor Ecclesiasticus*

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