

THE LATE MEDIEVAL HAMPSHIRE HOSPITALLERS

By FELICITY BEARD

ABSTRACT

The military order of St John of Jerusalem possessed estates throughout western Christendom, including their preceptory of Godsfield and Baddesley. Earlier papers discussed their arrival in Hampshire and traced the creation of their estates at Godsfield and North Baddesley as revealed by the surviving Godsfield cartulary. The development of the Milford and Woodcott estates was also examined. This paper will examine the organisation and economy of the Hospitaller estates in late medieval Hampshire.

INTRODUCTION

The Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England, brothers of St John, Hospitallers, and Knights of St John are alternative names for the same religious order. They are also referred to as ‘the brothers’ within the context of this article. Earlier papers discussed their arrival in Hampshire (Beard 2005) and the development of the Hospitaller estates at Godsfield and North Baddesley as revealed by the surviving Godsfield cartulary (Beard 2006; Beard 2009). The development of the Milford and Woodcott estates was also examined (Beard 2009).

It is extremely difficult to study the management of the estates of the order of St John. Whatever records existed of the central treasury are lost. So too are the accounts, including annual payments in cash to the Hospitaller treasury, known as responsions, of a third of the income from each preceptory, evidently compiled for the preceptories. Apart from the

1338 survey (Larking and Kemble 1857), there are a mere handful of ministers’ accounts, surveys and court rolls surviving for the 35 preceptories in England for the whole 300 years from the emergence of manorial records to the dissolution of the order. None of these survive for any of the Hampshire estates. Despite these crippling losses, some evidence was included in the charters entered in the Godsfield Cartulary, now British Library (BL) Additional Manuscript 70511, which also contains three rentals and customals for Baddesley and Milford [212–302]. There are also several leases in three surviving pre-Dissolution lease books (BL Lansdowne 200, BL Cotton Claudius E VI and TNA PRO LR 2/62).

None of the above sources provide a comprehensive view of the operation of the estate. We cannot, for example, locate the original leasing of the demesne with any accuracy. These documents are all specific to particular dates and are essentially static: evidence of change has to be deduced, and may be wrongly deduced. They are no substitute for the missing accounts. No full account of the organisation and economy can therefore be written. Historians have, however, to work with the material that exists, and this paper assembles the evidence that does survive for the Hospitallers in Hampshire.

The cartulary has been edited and calendared and is scheduled for publication in the near future in the Hampshire Record Series. References to documents in the cartulary are cited as numbers in square brackets refer to documents in the calendar. Thus [277] refers to the rental and custumal for North Baddesley, dated 1404.

Table 1 Preceptors at Godsfield and/or Baddesley

[1230–40]	Nicholas	Master Preceptor	G		[201]
[c.1265–72]	[anonymous]	Master	G		[47]
[c.1273–81]	Stephen de Breminghurst	Keeper Preceptor	G	+ 1 brother	[108] [112], [146] [151]
1282	Hilary of St Edmund	Preceptor	G		[159] [168] [169] [170]
1283–1305	Thomas Archer	Preceptor	G	+ 2 brothers	[49] [64] [110] [116] [119] [134] [163]
1312	Robert de Covesgrave	Preceptor	G	+ 1 brother	[36]
1314	Simon Launcelyn	Preceptor	G	+ 1 brother	[113]
1316	Simon Payable	?Preceptor	G		[124]
1325	William de Basing	Keeper	G		[185]
1332	[anonymous]	Master	B		[126]
1338	William Multon	Preceptor	G	+ 1 brother (chaplain)	(Larking & Kemble, 23)
1355	[anonymous]	Preceptor	B		[160]
1357	[anonymous]	Custodian	B		[161]
1388–1404	William Hulle	Preceptor	G	B	[188] [212] [254]
1458–9	William Tournay	Preceptor	B		[278]
1492	Robert Peck	Preceptor	B		(BL Lansdowne 200, f. 9v)

B = [North] Baddesley

G = Godsfield

THE HAMPSHIRE HOSPITALLERS

There are a number of deeds in the Godsfield cartulary which provide the names of the officials, known variously as the preceptor, master, custodian or keeper, who were responsible for the administration of the Hampshire estates while residing at the preceptories of Godsfield and North Baddesley (Table 1). Thus Brother Nicholas (1230–40) [201] was called preceptor and master of Godsfield in the same document and Brother Stephen de Breminghurst (c. 1273–81) was designated as both preceptor [146, 151] and keeper [108, 112] of Godsfield, so these terms were evidently

interchangeable. In the 12th century, freedom from serfdom was the requirement for joining the order, but from the 13th century, knights had to be from knightly descent, and sergeants and chaplains had to be free men. However, a sergeant or chaplain who had the ability to perform administrative functions and take on responsibilities could hold authority over his knightly brothers and hold the position of preceptor (Forey 1992, 175, 181). The structure of the Hospitaller order was examined in a previous paper (Beard 2005, 176–7), as was the affiliation of the preceptories at Godsfield and North Baddesley (Beard 2009, 125–7).

Other personnel, who may have resided at the

preceptory, are given as witnesses to charters. Thus five brothers are named as witnesses: Brother John de Bestlehim (1273–80) [146], Brother Robert de Somerdebi (Somerby) and Brother Thomas de Glastyngberry (Glastonbury, 1305) [49], Brother William de Cotes (1312) [36] and Brother Richard de Seinteclow (St Lo, 1314) [113]. A clerk, John de Standon, who was probably clerk at Godsfield, occurs with Brother William de Cotes in 1312 [36] and was a witness again in 1314 [113]. The number of brothers residing at the preceptory at any given time was therefore probably no more than two or three. This is shown to be the case in the 1338 report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova when there were two brothers, Brother William de Multon who is designated as *s. preceptor* and Brother John Couffen, a chaplain, who had formerly been a Templar and was therefore in receipt of a pension of 6 marks from the Hospitallers (Larking and Kemble 1857, 23, 209). Larking suggests that the term *s. preceptor* may denote a sergeant-at-arms (Larking and Kemble 1857, lxiv). The size of the household, including brothers and lay members, was discussed in a previous paper (Beard 2006, 171).

The brothers did not necessarily remain at Godsfield or Baddesley for life. Two of the preceptors became priors of the Hospital in England at Clerkenwell. Thomas Archer, preceptor of Godsfield 1283–1305, became prior in 1321, and William Weston, preceptor of Baddesley and Mayne *c.* 1516–23 (Table 2), became prior in 1527 and was still serving as prior when Henry VIII dissolved the order in 1540. Simon Launcelyn, preceptor of Godsfield in 1314, was a brother at the preceptory of Slebech, Pembrokeshire in 1338 (Larking and Kemble 1857, 37). Robert de Somerdebi (Somerby) may have resided at Godsfield, but he was nominated attorney to Prior William de Tothale at various times from 1284 to 1301 (*CPR* 1281–92, 131; *CPR* 1292–1301, 581). He may only have been visiting the preceptory at the time that he witnessed a charter in 1305 [49]. He witnessed an indenture issued by William de Tothale *c.* 1311–14 concerning land in Little Maplestead, Essex, and he also witnessed two

other Essex charters from 1289 to 1297 issued at Melchbourne in Bedfordshire, where the Hospitallers held their general chapter from the mid-13th century until 1339 (Gervers 1982, 68, 102, 373). In 1338 de Somerdebi may have been a brother in the infirmary of the preceptory at Chippenham, Cambridgeshire, or perhaps preceptor of Clerkenwell (Larking and Kemble 1857, 80, 215). At times of crisis, the preceptor could be called up for military duty. Two Baddesley preceptors were involved in combat overseas during the 16th century. Their exploits were examined in a previous paper (Beard 2005, 176).

Table 1 is compiled using the deeds in the cartulary as a source until after 1458–9. In the deeds, the preceptors are described as either preceptor of Godsfield or Baddesley or of both Godsfield and Baddesley. This is given in column 4 and 5. The numbers of brothers who are witnesses to documents are given in column 6, and the sources are given in column 7.

A reorganisation of the Hampshire preceptory occurred after 1458–9, when William Tournay was preceptor of Baddesley [278], and before 1503 when Robert Pecke was preceptor of Baddesley and Mayne. The preceptory came to be amalgamated with the Dorset preceptory of Friar Mayne under one preceptor (Beard 2009, 127)

ECONOMY

The Hospitaller estates of Godsfield and North Baddesley were part of a network of estates across Europe that provided the financial support and reserves of manpower to enable the Hospitallers to assume a leading role in the defence of the Holy Land from the 12th century until 1291. The preceptory was an important link in the support to the Hospitallers' military and charitable activities. The annual payment in cash of a third of the income from the preceptory (responsion), was paid to the Hospitaller treasury to support the brothers in the East, who required a constant supply of men, horses and equipment, which had to be imported. After the fall of Acre in 1291, the Hospitaller

Table 2 Preceptors of Baddesley and Mayne

1503–14	Robert Peck	(BL Cotton Claudius E VI, f. 6, 125v)
1516–22	William Weston	(BL Cotton Claudius E VI, f. 158v, 186) [279] (King 1967, 90–1)
1524–30	Roger Boydell	(Sicluna 1949, 11, 66) (PRO LR 2/62, f. 3)
1531–9	Thomas Dingley	(Sicluna 1949, 18) (King 1967, 106)
1557	George Aylmer (at Queen Mary's restoration of the priories)	(King 1967, 110–11)

convent was based on Cyprus from where the brothers were expected to rescue the Holy Land. In 1309 the brothers set up their headquarters on the island of Rhodes, where they remained until driven out by the Turks in 1523. By 1338 the English preceptories were required to pay all their surplus revenues to the central English treasury (Forey 1992, 152). The value at that date of the responsions for Godsfield, Baddesley and Rownhams was £36 10s. 3d. This was the total income which remained after the deduction of expenses of £30 3s. 8d. from gross revenues of £66 13s. 11d. (Larking and Kemble 1857, 23).

In the late 12th and early 13th centuries, when the brothers acquired the land to create their estate at Godsfield, land was in short supply due to a rising population. They acquired land on the periphery of a series of local estates, on a hilltop that was probably thickly wooded and marginal to the existing holders, but not in the sense that it was incapable of effective and profitable exploitation. That they were able to develop their estate at this time points to their success in negotiating in the land market. The land they acquired was remote and least valuable to the donors, but the Hospitallers manipulated their holdings through exchanges to create a compact unit capable of economic exploitation. Once the brothers had acquired the land, they suppressed common rights of pasture over it. This was valuable demesne land from which they had been freed from the obligation of paying tithes by Innocent II (1130–43) (Riley-Smith 1967, 376) and

therefore exploited to the limit. The landscape changed as the brothers assarted part of their holding to create land suitable for cultivation. Evidence for assarting occurs in the charter of William St Martin dated *c.* 1220–7 whose grant of land begins at the brothers' assart [7]. The Hospitallers preferred to acquire property that was immediately capable of producing an income. In Essex, assarting by the brothers or their tenants is rare. However assarted land carried fewer obligations and was free from the customs associated with communal agriculture, and in Essex the brothers acquired some land recently assarted by someone else (Gervers 1982, lxxiv). Coates gives the 12th-century name for Godsfield as *Godefeld*, which he interprets as being OE meaning 'Goda's open land', changed to *Godesfeld* once the Hospitallers held the land (Coates 1989, 83). Goda's assart would have provided them with an immediate income. That some of the land at Godsfield was cultivated can be seen in the charters which refer to field names. When a field was on the slope of the downland, the action of the plough moved the earth downhill against the lower field boundary forming a terrace known as a lynchet (Rackham 1994, 74n). *La Lynche*, possibly a field name, occurs on the boundary of the brothers' pasture [12, 15]. The number of acres in cultivation cannot be ascertained until 1338, when there were 300 acres of cultivated land: 100 acres worth 4d per acre, 100 acres worth 2d per acre and 100 acres worth 1d per acre (Larking and Kemble 1857, 21). The valuation of the arable is based on the income

that would be received from the rent or farm of the land (Larking and Kemble 1857, xviii). The different values indicate different qualities of soil, and the last 100 acres was fallow, which may suggest that the brothers were managing a three field system. The later demesne was 500 acres (TNA PRO SC12/30/33). A map showing the development of the estate at Godsfield is given in a previous paper (Beard 2006, 163).

There are 2,584 acres in the parish of North Baddesley. Only one estate was recorded there in Domesday Book, comprising 2 hides and land for 4 ploughs. Between 1153 and 1180 the brothers apparently acquired all the land at North Baddesley [122] from Richard Labanc, whether exploiting it directly or letting it out. The brothers probably instigated the assart known as Newland, which by 1404 comprised 14 acres let to seven tenants and eight acres divided between two other tenants at 12d annual rent for a two acre plot [255, 257–62, 264, 267]. Newland was carved out of woodland and included woodland, much of which was still there in 1517. The tenants' holdings included a messuage and varying acres of land along with the parcels of wood. Seventeen acres of wood at Newland were let to tenants [282–5, 288–90].

North Baddesley is situated in the Hampshire Basin, where the soil of loam or sand is not very fertile. Although small amounts of wheat, oats and barley were cultivated, the land supported woods and plantations into the early 20th century (VCHH 3, 463). The land was originally largely or wholly woodland. Perhaps because it was not very fertile, there was no pressure to colonise it, clear it, and cultivate it. The most valuable use was to leave it as woodland. In 1338, the Baddesley estate had 100 acres of wood of large timbers, which were reserved for the repair of the preceptories at Godsfield, Baddesley, Ansty (Wiltshire) and of former Templar buildings including the preceptory at Templecombe (Larking and Kemble 1857, 22). Large trees were a very long term investment. The timber from North Baddesley was essential for the repairs, as in 1312 Edward II had cut down and sold considerable amounts of timber from the Templar estates for his own profit (Perkins 1909–10, 257). Flax and hemp

are recorded in 1341, when the tithes on these crops were assessed at 11s 6d (*Nonarum Inquisitiones*, 126). The place-name of Flexford [290] may have derived from the cultivation of flax in this area (Grundy 1921, 100). Where there was arable in 1338, the soil was more fertile than at Godsfield. 100 acres of arable were valued at 6d per acre compared with 4d per acre at Godsfield and another 60 acres were valued at 4d. This may be the acreage of the open field which is recorded in a lease of 1494 when the prior, John Kendal, granted a tenement, including rights in the open field (*campo*) to William Braytoft, Beatrice, his wife, and their daughter, Margaret Turgys for the term of their lives (BL Lansdowne 200, f. 24). It was divided into three portions of 100 acres, 40 acres and 20 acres all of which were in cultivation (Larking and Kemble 1857, 21). As the area of the demesne at North Baddesley is not known, it is not possible to compare this with the acreage of the parish.

The Domesday Survey records that North Baddesley was worth £10 before 1066; later 100s., and in 1086 it was worth 60s. The population included 4 villagers, 7 smallholders with 2 ploughs, and 7 slaves (Morris 29, 7). Some subsequent evidence of services due in the 15th and 16th centuries is provided by the rentals and custumals for North Baddesley [254–302]. It is a well known problem with these sorts of records that they record the services which are due, not whether they were exacted or commuted. By 1404 the population had increased significantly, and may have been even higher in the 13th century before onset of bad harvests, the Black Death and subsequent plagues of the 14th century. The rental reveals 12 tenants, each holding a messuage and at least 16 crofts, and six cottagers [254–76]. However this may represent only part of the whole Hospitaller estate, since the next rental in 1517 contains none of the same properties. By 1517 there were 14 tenants, each holding a messuage and/or tenement, and five cottagers on this land [279–300]. As the rentals and surveys were compiled to discover the number of holdings on the manor rather than the number of tenants, it is reasonable to suggest

that tenants holding more than one property sub-let their other dwellings to their relatives or to other villagers. In 1404, there may have been 34 heads of households compared to the four villagers, seven smallholders and seven slaves in 1086 (Morris 29, 7). Adding the heads of households of 1404 to those of 1517, there may well have been 53 heads of households in 1517. The total value of the rents alone for the 1517 estate was £11 12s. 4d. [301] compared to the total value of the estate in 1086 of £3. By 1404, many of the peasants were developing into substantial landholders or yeomen. Among them was John Shephurde who held a messuage and five crofts and was able to pay 13s 4d for rent [262]. Part of the rent may still have been paid in kind. Thus John Taylor paid a total of 7s 8d plus one cock and three hens for his three holdings. The tenants may still have been performing the various seasonal services attached to their holdings, although they were able to pay a fine in lieu of these apart from the work of harrowing in Lent [255]. The most valuable work was performed at harvesting. Each tenant worked, or provided a worker, for seven to ten days or gave 1d for each work. By 1517 when the services had been commuted, the custumal still records the services attached to each holding and the rent to be paid in kind.

As the two rentals and custumals for North Baddesley dated 1404 and 1517 clearly do not refer to the same properties, it is not possible to use them to make a valid comparison between 1404 and 1517. The rents are very low, and do not reflect the value of the property. In 1404, the value of the rent paid by the tenants at North Baddesley was £6 17s. 2d. [277]. In 1517, the sum of £11 12s. 4d. for rent was added to the *fraria* of £12 to give a total of £23 12s. 4d. [302]. The contribution from the *confraria* alone in 1338 was £26 13s. 4d. (Larking and Kemble 1857, 23). The *confraria* or *fraria* has variously been described as a voluntary contribution from the neighbourhood that was originally levied by papal bull for a particular purpose (Larking and Kemble 1857, xxx) or as a voluntary payment to the order by a fraternity. A fraternity consisted of laymen, who as *confratres* or associates, affiliated themselves vol-

untarily to the order and undertook to protect its interests. They were entitled to certain privileges such as freedom from payment of tolls and the right to be buried in a churchyard of the order. In return, they made an annual gift on 24 June – the feast of St John the Baptist (Rees 1947, 23). The rental and custumal for 1517 gives the names of the *confratres* together with the amount of the *fraria* which confirms the second interpretation.

In 1516, Richard Weston, the brother of the preceptor William Weston, was in receipt of the income from the North Baddesley preceptory. He was granted a three-year lease of the preceptories of Baddesley and Mayne for which he paid £29 14s. 9d. per annum for the first two years and £90 for the third year over and above the annual responson for Rhodes (BL Cotton Claudius E VI, f. 158v). The gross value of the North Baddesley estate in 1545 was £131 14s. 1d. There was a net income of £118 16s. 7d. in 1535. (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 2: 26). These figures are not strictly comparable as they do not relate to exactly the same sums and employ different accounting conventions

The rental and custumal for the former Templar manor of Milford records 26 tenants holding 53 properties in 1403. Possibly there were 53 heads of households [212–52]. This was a more populous manor than North Baddesley and presumably more valuable. However the rent yield was £2 5s. 5½ d. compared to £6 17s. 2d. for North Baddesley in 1404. The Milford manor did include eight salt pans which were held and worked by the customary tenants, excluding one held by the vicar of the church. The rent for these was paid in salt. Thus 29 quarters and 6½ bushels of salt were paid as rent [253]. The tithes on the salt-pans belonged to the monks of Quarr abbey. The Templars agreed to pay 20 measures (*schipambras*) of salt in lieu of tithes (*Sandford Cartulary*, f. 71c, 279). Presumably the Hospitallers were liable for this charge, but it was not recorded in the rental and custumal which only recorded what was due to them.

It is likely that the Hospitallers were involved in the rearing of sheep, which was an important activity on the Hampshire downs. Sheep may

have been used to manure the arable land. Godsfield is situated in the vicinity of New Alresford, which was one of the ten greatest wool markets in the country by the 14th century and the centre for the collection of wool from the downland east and north-east of Winchester (Hughes 1994, 199). The greatest number of sheep deduced from the cartulary is 205, which the brothers were authorised to pasture by the de Andelys before 1270 [5]. A larger number were implied in 1338 when there was pasture for 900 sheep at 1d per head worth 75s at Godsfield. Sheep rearing was not confined to the downland as there were also 400 sheep at 1d per head worth 33s 4d at North Baddesley (Larking and Kemble 1857, 21–2). The value of the tithe for sheep in the common at North Baddesley in 1341 was 5s (*Nonarum Inquisitiones*, 126). The size of flock compares not unfavourably with the flocks of other lords. In the peak years of the 13th century, three manors of the bishop of Winchester, at Overton, Hambledon and Bishop's Waltham, each had over 1,000 sheep (Hare 1994, 160). Whether the 1,300 sheep belonged to the brothers is not certain. Since they are recorded as income in 1338, they may have been grazing on the brothers' land for a fixed per capita rate. There is no possibility of deducing the actual size of the brothers' flock, or that they owned the sheep grazing on their pasture, during the period from the 12th to the 16th centuries.

The brothers were also pursuing a policy of excluding others from their common at Godsfield. During the priorate of Robert de Manby [1247–50; 1257–62], Adam Franklin received pasture, for which he paid 3s, for giving up his right of common in Bugmore Wood and in *la Doune* [16]. In 1312 Robert de Tickhill [15] and John French [12] gave up their right of common in the brothers' wood called Bugmore and in *la Doune*. That the brothers were trying to suppress common rights signifies their control over their compact estate of Godsfield and Swarraton. In 1272, the brothers enclosed their closes at Baddesley and Rownhams. Thomas Peverel relinquished his and his tenants' rights of common which he and his ancestors were accustomed to have

there. He was paid 60s [130, 131]. Part of the enclosure and its bank may be the enclosure on Baddesley Common known as the prior's inclosure in 1588 (HRO Copy/390/1–2). Having the right of common sometimes involved the brothers in litigation in the court of Common Pleas. From 1226–9, they were in dispute with Michael de Otterbourne over rights in their land at Bradley (*CRR*, 12, 2388; *CRR* 13, 443, 1547, 1919). Bradley lies 5 km due east of Preston Candover at grid reference SU 63 41. No land in Bradley is recorded in the cartulary.

A large proportion of the grants to the brothers were of small parcels of land scattered throughout Hampshire. The brothers, with limited manpower, preferred to lease these for rent rather than to exploit them directly. Thus three acres in Houghton were leased to Stephen le Bloare in 1273–81 for which, on the decease of Stephen and his heirs, a third of all their goods as heriot were to remain to the brothers [146]. When the brothers received grants of rents, these were probably collected in the parish church. Thus Richard Gervays' gift of 12d rent from a messuage in Candover was to be paid to the brothers at Godsfield, or their official, at the parish church on the feast day of his fraternity [19]. Richard was a *confrater* of the order. There was apparently a minister appointed to collect the rents on the Isle of Wight. Thus in 1325 Thomas de Vaux was to pay 12d to the preceptor, William de Basing, or to his official at Shorwell [185]. Not all the small parcels of land were leased. Presumably an agent was appointed to oversee their management. A map of Hospitaller lands in Hampshire is given in a previous paper (Beard 2005, 179).

SPIRITUALITIES

The Hospitallers were exempt from the authority of the local bishop and were under the direct protection of the papacy. The pope gave them certain privileges which gave them freedom from Episcopal control. One of the many benefits gained by the brothers was that no bishop could pronounce a sentence of

Table 3 The valuation of the spiritualities of the diocese of Winchester based on the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas IV in 1291 (Wykeham's Register, 1, Appendix 1, 369, 370, 376, 377)

<i>East Parley</i>	<i>Deanery of Forde</i>	<i>under value</i>	
[North] Baddesley	Deanery of Southampton	valuation £5	tenth 10s
North Charford	Deanery of Forde	valuation 13s 4d	tenth 16d
Swarraton	Deanery of Alresford	valuation £4 6s 8d	tenth 8s 8d
Woodcott	Deanery of Andover	valuation £4 6s 8d	tenth 8s 8d

excommunication or lay an interdict upon their churches which allowed them to celebrate the divine offices, provided that the church doors were shut and no bells were rung, at times of a general interdict. The bishop retained the right to consecrate altars and churches and ordain Hospitaller priests (Riley-Smith 1967, 375).

The churches of North Baddesley and Woodcott were appropriated by the Hospitallers in 1304. After appropriation, the prior assumed the place of the rector, and claimed the revenue usually maintaining a vicar to the living when it became vacant. He normally retained the great tithes while the small tithes were assigned to the vicar. The vicar, himself, would pay a small sum as a pension in recognition of the rectoral rights of the Hospitallers in the parish (Rees 1947, 36–7). In the valuation of the spiritualities of the diocese of Winchester based on the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas IV in 1291, [North] Baddesley in the Deanery of Southampton was valued at £5 (Table 3). Woodcott in the Deanery of Andover was valued at £4 6s. 8d. (Table 3). Neither is of the value to provide sufficient surplus income normal in such appropriation. The revenue from the church at North Baddesley is not given as part of the income of the Godsfield preceptory in 1338, which suggests that this went direct to the convent at Clerkenwell (Larking and Kemble 1857, 21–2). The Hospitallers also held the advowsons of the churches of Swarraton and North Charford and the chapel of East Parley. They did not get the income of the churches,

but as patrons, they were able to present those who were of use to them to the benefices. Presumably, the churches were considered too poor to yield an income sufficient to compensate for the considerable cost of appropriation, although the value of Swarraton church was £4 6s. 8d., the same value as the appropriated church of Woodcott.

CONCLUSION

The Hospitallers never had more than two or three brothers residing at their preceptory of Godsfield and Baddesley. As a minor religious house, with only a net income of £118 16s. 7d. in 1535. (*Valor Ecclesiasticus* 2: 26), the preceptory would have counted as one of the lesser houses having less than £200 net income in 1536 and qualified for dissolution if it had been a monastery. However at the time of the 1338 survey (Larking and Kemble 1857), it is shown that the estates were profitable and able to support a household of 10 people as well as generate responsions of £36 10s. 3d. after the deduction of expenses of £30 3s. 8d. from gross revenues of £66 13s. 11d. (Larking and Kemble 1857, 23). During the late 12th and early 13th century, the brothers at Godsfield had consolidated their land holdings by judicious exchanges with their patrons and had built up an estate of valuable demesne land, free from tithes, and therefore exploited to the limit. At North Baddesley, the brothers suppressed the common rights

of Thomas Peverel and his tenants on their common and enclosed the land so that they could exploit the grazing for themselves [130, 131]. The brothers also acquired valuable woodland on their Baddesley estate which in 1338 enabled them to supply 100 acres of wood of large timbers which were reserved for the repair of the preceptories at Godsfield, Baddesley, Ansty in Wiltshire, and former Templar buildings (Larking and Kemble 1857, 22). The brothers were able to exploit their Hampshire lands to create enough income to support their defence of the Holy Land from

the late twelfth century until 1291, their occupation of Rhodes from 1309 to 1530 and later their occupation of Malta until the order was suppressed in 1540 by Henry VIII.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper was researched as part of my MPhil thesis at King Alfred's College (now the University of Winchester) and I would like to thank Professor Michael Hicks for guiding me with immeasurable inspiration.

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Author: Felicity A Beard BA, M.Phil, 15 Kings Ride, Blackfield, Southampton SO45 1ZN

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