

SHOPS AND SHOPKEEPERS IN MEDIEVAL HAMPSHIRE: EVIDENCE FROM FAREHAM AND HAVANT BEFORE THE BLACK DEATH

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses documentary evidence of shops and other commercial properties on the bishop of Winchester's estate before the Black Death, focusing on the southern Hampshire towns of Fareham and Havant. Both towns contributed to the region's growing commercialisation, and provided the bishop's mostly agricultural tenants with opportunities to trade or even to specialise in retailing. The paper also argues that Fareham's status as a borough may have contributed to the increasing separation between tenants of rural and urban property in the manor during the 14th century. By contrast at Havant, which remained an unprivileged market town, many tenant families pursued joint occupations as farmers and shopkeepers.

INTRODUCTION

Medieval towns were places where a wide range of goods and services were bought and sold, and by the 13th century even small provincial towns had permanent shops and temporary wooden stalls built in market-places and along the main shopping streets (Smith 1996, 465; Dyer 2002, 197–200; Dyer 2005, 146; Bailey 2007, 126–7). This article examines the documentary evidence for shops, stalls, and selds (a term with various meanings: see below) in the Hampshire market towns of Fareham and Havant in the 80 years before the outbreak of plague in 1348–9. Both places were situated within the relatively wealthy and highly commercialised south-eastern part of the county, where they lay no more than ten miles from the major urban centres of Chichester and

Southampton, and other smaller towns such as Portsmouth and Titchfield (Hinton 1996, 42–3; Dyer 2000, 755–7). Though not in the forefront of Hampshire's commercial development, both Fareham and Havant were affected by, and contributed to, the region's growing commercialisation, their inhabitants taking advantage of the opportunities afforded by trade to supplement their income from farming, or even to specialise in retailing (Hatcher and Bailey 2001, 121–73; Langdon and Masschaele 2006).

Fareham and Havant belonged to the bishops of Winchester in the Middle Ages, and information about the towns' commercial property is included in the Winchester pipe rolls, the name usually given to the bishopric's annual estate accounts (Page 2002, 11–14). These provide details not only of the shops' and selds' size and location but also the names of the people who owned them, some of whom can be identified as agricultural tenants with a few acres or larger holdings, for whom shopkeeping was probably only a part-time occupation. However, there were significant differences between those who kept shops in the two towns. At Fareham the holders of rural and urban property became increasingly distinct as the 14th century progressed, whereas at Havant many tenants had both farming and commercial interests until the eve of the Black Death. Also at Havant, women were more prominent among those holding shops, which may provide a further indication that tenants' trading activities were carried out alongside their family's employment in farming. An explanation for these contrasts, it is suggested, may lie in the institutional differences between Fareham (a



Fig. 1 Thomas Kitchen's Hampshire map of 1751, showing Fareham and Havant situated on the main road from Winchester to Chichester. [http://www.geog.port.ac.uk/webmap/hantsmap/hantsmap/kitchen1/kitlarg.htm, accessed 7 December 2009]

borough) and Havant (an unprivileged market town).

FAREHAM AND HAVANT IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Fareham lies in southern Hampshire about midway between Southampton and Portsmouth, close to where the Wallington River drains into Portsmouth Harbour (Fig. 1). A town was probably established there in the 12th century, although it was not recorded until the early 13th when three additional burgrave plots enlarged the urban area (Beresford and Finberg 1973, 118; Page 2005, 171). Throughout the Middle Ages the bishop of Winchester's manor of Fareham, which extended well beyond the town, was largely agricultural: in 1301–2, for example, large amounts of wheat and oats were sown alongside smaller quantities of barley, mixed grains, and legumes. Sheep were kept for their wool, cows' milk was made into cheese and butter, and there was a substantial herd of pigs. Annual rents from the manor's mostly rural tenants amounted to more than £29 (VCHH, 209–16; Page 1996, 222–31). However, in the same year the bishop also collected 6s. 8d. from the hire of the town's stalls and £1 for the use of its selds, possibly at the time of the three-day annual fair during the feast of All Saints (1 November), for which a charter had been granted to Bishop Peter des Roches by the king between 1227 and 1233 (Page 1996, 223; Letters 2003, I, 153). The amounts paid for the stalls and selds may have been fixed by agreement between the bishop and the burgesses. Certainly the sums collected in 1409–10 were identical, and it seems unlikely that they provide an accurate indication of the town's prosperity (Page 1999, 295). The ownership of individual selds was recorded from 1271, almost the earliest date at which the Winchester pipe rolls identify specific types of property, although shops were not mentioned until the second decade of the 14th century. Further details of both shops and selds are given below.

Havant is located in the far south-east of

Hampshire by Langstone Harbour, about two miles from the border with Sussex. The manor belonged to Winchester Cathedral Priory until 1284, when it passed into the possession of the bishops of Winchester. A market belonging to the monks was established there by permission of King John in 1200, but the manor's tenants (unlike those of Fareham) were not granted the privileges of burgesses and the medieval town did not acquire borough status (Letters 2003, I, 154). As at Fareham, however, the bishop's manorial income was largely derived from agricultural production and rural tenants' rents (Page 1996, 234–42). Nevertheless, the growing importance of the town is suggested by the change of the rural manor's name (in 1323) to Brockhampton, presumably to distinguish it from the increasingly urban Havant (Page 1999, xix).

SHOPS, STALLS, AND SELDS

Shops

The scribes who compiled the Winchester pipe rolls made a distinction between shops (Latin singular: *shopa*), stalls (*stallum*), and selds (*selda*). A shop was most likely a permanent structure, probably timber-framed, with a commercial and perhaps often also a domestic use (Keene 1985, I, 138; Stenning 1985). At Havant in 1305 Henry le Rotir held a house with a shop, and as elsewhere in medieval England the commercial part of the property probably occupied only the front room facing the street, with living space and storage facilities to the rear and in the storey above (Keene 1990, 36; Clark 2000, 64). Urban properties were often long and thin, to maximize the number of shops and other buildings with access to valuable and prestigious frontage along the main streets. Havant's shops included one measuring 8.2 m (27 feet) long by 2.7 m (9 feet) wide, another 11.9 m (39 feet) long by 4 m (13 feet) wide, and a third 15.8 m (52 feet) long by 5.2 m (17 feet) wide. These were quite substantial properties by contemporary standards, and it is likely that only a small part of the available space was used

to display the goods or services for sale and to have been accessible to customers (Keene 1985, I, 162; Keene 1990, 34; Smith 1996, 465).

Few references to shops appear in the Winchester pipe rolls before 1300, though the word was used elsewhere in the 12th and 13th centuries (Keene 1985, I, 138; Keene 1990, 31–2). In Havant around 20 separate shops were recorded between 1298 and 1343, although it is not clear whether all of them existed simultaneously. Most were mentioned only once, including the shop and curtilage in *Hamewollestret* (modern Homewell) which John le Horner surrendered to the use of John le Cutler in 1336, their names suggesting that they were involved in the selling (and perhaps making) of essential household goods, such as horn spoons and combs, and knives. However, as happened elsewhere, the compilers of the pipe rolls may not have used the word 'shop' consistently; in Winchester, for example, before 1350 shops were frequently described as *tenementa* (Keene 1985, I, 138). Thus, there is no record of John le Horner acquiring a shop, but in 1305 he paid a fine for a house formerly held by Isabella Tippe and her son John. Was this a separate domestic property, was part of the building already a shop, or was the house later converted into a shop by John le Horner? The evidence does not allow us to say.

The question of the terminology used in the pipe rolls is an important one, because there seems to be an under-recording of shops on the bishopric estate. If unacknowledged, this might lead us to underestimate the number of commercial properties in existence, which in turn would affect our perception of the success (or otherwise) of the market towns and villages established by the bishops of Winchester during the Middle Ages. At Fareham, for example, only six separate shops were mentioned between 1317 and 1348. One of these was probably built around 1341 when John Barrat took a plot of the lord's waste in the borough, only 1.2 m (4 feet) long but 4.2 m (14 feet) wide, which was specifically intended as the location for a shop. Many other shops may have been built on the burgages and plots which the pipe rolls suggest were the most common type of

property in the town. Thus, in 1333 a vacant plot measuring 2.1 m (7 feet) long by 2.1 m wide, occupied by Richard Walays, was a likely site for a shop, while the shop surrendered by Elias Smith in 1317 may have been built on the third of a burgage which a man of the same name acquired in 1289.

Similarly, in the bishop's new towns, including Alresford, Overton, and Newtown (near Newbury), shops or other commercial properties may have been concealed behind less descriptive terms. At Newtown in 1306 John Copner took a plot in West Street which was 32.5 m (6½ perches) long and 5 m (1 perch) wide, while at Overton in 1344 John Kiggel (a name meaning a maker or seller of cudgels) fined for a plot of the lord's waste, 15.2 m (50 feet) long and 1.2 m (4 feet) wide, in order to enlarge his existing tenement. Both these plots lay within the built-up area of small planned towns which were relatively successful foundations before the Black Death, and the frontage of both plots may well have been occupied by shops (Beresford 1967, 445–7). Other places on the bishopric estate with shops included the Hampshire village of East Meon, where a shop beside the stile next to the churchyard was enlarged in 1339. At nearby Hambledon, where the bishop was granted a market charter in 1256, shops were mentioned from 1316 (Letters 2003, I, 154). A shop at Merdon in 1303 perhaps lay near Hursley along the main road from Winchester to Romsey (Hinton and Insole 1988, 76). Outside Hampshire, shops were mentioned at Farnham (Surrey), Ivinghoe (Bucks.), and Taunton (Somerset), though not always with the frequency that one might expect.

Stalls

A stall may originally have referred to a temporary wooden booth which was erected in the market-place or another convenient location for trading on particular days of the week. By the 14th century, however, many stalls had become semi-permanent features of the street scene, and were bought, sold, and inherited in the same manner as shops

(Clark 2000, 61–2). At East Meon in the 1320s at least three stalls were located alongside the shop next to the churchyard. At Hambledon, too, a 'covered stall' lay near the church, while another, measuring 3.6 m (12 feet) long and 1.8 m (6 feet) wide, had dimensions similar to some shops. Stalls were frequently associated with cottages at Hambledon, suggesting perhaps that they were wooden projections into the street in front of domestic properties (Keene 1985, I, 164; Clark 2000, 64–5). Stalls were not mentioned at Havant and were infrequently recorded at Fareham, perhaps because both towns had a relatively large number of shops and selds. Selds are discussed more fully below, but their close relationship to stalls is suggested by the fine paid at Fareham in 1326 by Richard Patenore (possibly meaning a patten or clog maker) who took a stall in the new seld, measuring 3.6 m (12 feet) long and 1.8 m (6 feet) wide. In the same year Robert le Tailor of Titchfield's shop at Fareham was said to contain four stalls.

Stallage, a rent paid for the hire of stalls, was collected on the bishopric estate in 1301–2 at Taunton, Hindon Borough (Wilts.), Overton, Witney (Oxon.), Fareham, Hambledon, and Alresford (Page 1996, 39, 51, 100, 144, 223, 298, 329). These rents suggest the existence of many more stalls than the few which can be shown to have changed hands through the payment of entry fines, and also the long periods of time for which they might be held. At Hindon, for example, in 1301–2 varying sums for stallage were collected from nine individuals, including Walter Juvedy and Robert Palmer (Page 1996, 51). Nearly 40 years later, in 1339 their stalls were acquired by Thomas Godwin, the only record of such an exchange in the borough before the Black Death. At Taunton some stalls were reserved to particular trades, including corn-dealers and fishmongers; another stall there was only 0.3 m (1 foot) long and 1.2 m (4 feet) wide, the smallest recorded on the estate. Stalls were mentioned, too, in the market-place at Bishop's Waltham, around which clustered a large number of cottages in the early 14th century. Many of these cottages probably combined domestic and retail functions, the

names of their occupiers in the 1330s suggesting the presence of bakers, carpenters, chapmen, charcoal sellers, cheese sellers, potters, smiths, soap sellers, and tanners (HRO, 11M59/E2/159512/1; Titow 1969, 87–8).

Selds

A seld is a term of uncertain origin and various meanings (Clark 2000, 83–4). In Winchester it was sometimes synonymous with 'shop', though at the city's St Giles's fair the word was used to denote long structures accommodating up to 50 traders in booths, which were described as windows. In Cheapside in London, on the other hand, the seld was usually an off-street bazaar (Keene 1985, I, 138; Keene 1990, 38). On the bishopric estate selds were found in considerable numbers at Fareham and Havant, and were mentioned less frequently elsewhere. About a dozen selds were recorded at Fareham between 1271 and 1328. Selds may have been smaller than shops, and were perhaps lock-up shops or permanent market stalls without domestic accommodation (Clark 2000, 67, 84). Thus, one of Fareham's selds measured just 3.6 m (12 feet) long and 1.8 m (6 feet) wide, another was 3.6 m long and 3 m (10 feet) wide, and a third 4 m (13 feet) long and 2.7 m (9 feet) wide. In the 1270s the bishop of Winchester was probably responsible for building selds in the borough, presumably as an investment, which were then leased or sold to tenants. Among those who held Fareham's selds in the late 13th century were John le Skinner and Simon Sharpe of Hambledon, the latter suggesting that traders were attracted to the borough from other parts of the bishopric estate. The 'new seld' mentioned in 1326 may also have been constructed on the orders of the bishop.

Havant's selds, of which there were around 20 between 1290 and 1349, were probably similar to those at Fareham. One measured 3.6 m (12 feet) long and 1.8 m (6 feet) wide, though another was larger at 60 m (12 perches) long and 4.9 m (16 feet) wide. Some selds were located next to the churchyard, while others lay surrounded by other properties along the street. In 1313 Henry Harting acquired a seld

next to John Cockett's seld (a name suggesting that he was a baker), while in 1314 Harting fined for a cottage, curtilage, and seld 'between the tenements formerly of William de Boys and Richard Goosebeard'. In 1293 William de Gosden and his wife Isabella surrendered to their kinsman Thomas de Gosden a seld which was situated 'at the head of William's messuage', implying that it lay on the street in front of the house. Finally, a seld belonging to John Smith in 1314 was called 'Middelshoppe', a description which calls for no further explanation. Elsewhere on the estate, at Bishop's Waltham in 1275 a seld belonging to William Smith lay in the market-place, while in 1289 two selds in the middle of the market at Overton were enclosed by Nicholas le Tailor, which may mean that they were given stone outer walls (Keene 1990, 38). Overton market was evidently flourishing by 1301-2, when the bishop collected rents from 16 selds and 32 stalls (Page 1996, 100). Selds were quite frequently mentioned in the early 14th century at the small market town of Ivinghoe (Bucks.), and less often at Farnham and in the suburbs of Taunton.

THE SHOPKEEPERS OF FAREHAM AND HAVANT

Fareham (Fig. 2)

In Fareham a total of 36 persons held one or more shops, stalls, and selds in the period 1271-1348, of whom 6 (17 per cent) were women. Some were probably newcomers to the town. Juliana of Fishbourne (Sussex), Richard of Newbury (Berks.), and Simon Sharpe of Hambledon are not known to have had family ties to Fareham, and nor do they appear to have held rural property there. Each of them held a single seld in the town although it is not known for how long, and the nature of their business is unclear. However, Fishbourne lay within the fertile coastal plain of Sussex, and surpluses of wheat, barley and legumes, and wool and meat from the region's large flocks of sheep, must have been commonly sold. With easy access to the town and port of Bosham,

as well as nearby Chichester, the inhabitants of Fishbourne must have been well used to trading, and it seems likely that Juliana would have reached Fareham by sea (Leslie and Short 1999, 38-9, 42-3). Newbury, on the other hand, was a centre of cloth production in the Middle Ages, while Hambledon was a highly commercialised manor producing wheat and barley for sale in local markets (Yates 2007, 81-3; Stone 2005, 207-9).

Robert le Tailor of Titchfield was another outsider, though in 1318 he inherited a shop at Fareham from his brother Geoffrey, who had acquired it the previous year, presumably with the intention of making and selling clothes (Watts 1958, 132). Robert remained in the town for eight years before surrendering the shop in 1326 to William Cook. Cook's origins are uncertain: a family of that name held a yardland (about 40 acres) of customary land in the manor in the late 13th century, but in 1327 a burgess called William Cook of Salisbury was also mentioned. The addition of a toponym may have served to distinguish William Cook of Salisbury from a local man of the same name, who acquired another shop in Fareham in 1327. In that year William Cook contributed the sum of 2s. 1d. to the lay subsidy on movable goods, considerably more than the median figure of 1s. 6¾d. for Fareham township (TNA, E 179/173/4, m. 14d). Cook was evidently a prosperous tradesman, who either died or left the manor in about 1333.

Other families holding commercial property at Fareham included several who were customary tenants of the manor. Ralph Creed (d. 1299) took possession of a seld in 1271, but in the same year he also inherited from his father a ferling (about ten acres) of customary land in Cams. The joint pursuit of retailing and farming which this combination of holdings suggests was not unique, but it may not have been typical. Certainly after his death Ralph's property was divided, presumably because his widow could not manage both holdings alone. The seld and other urban property which Ralph had acquired in 1283 were probably part of the burgage which his widow Juliana surrendered to Geoffrey Brown in 1303. After Juliana's own

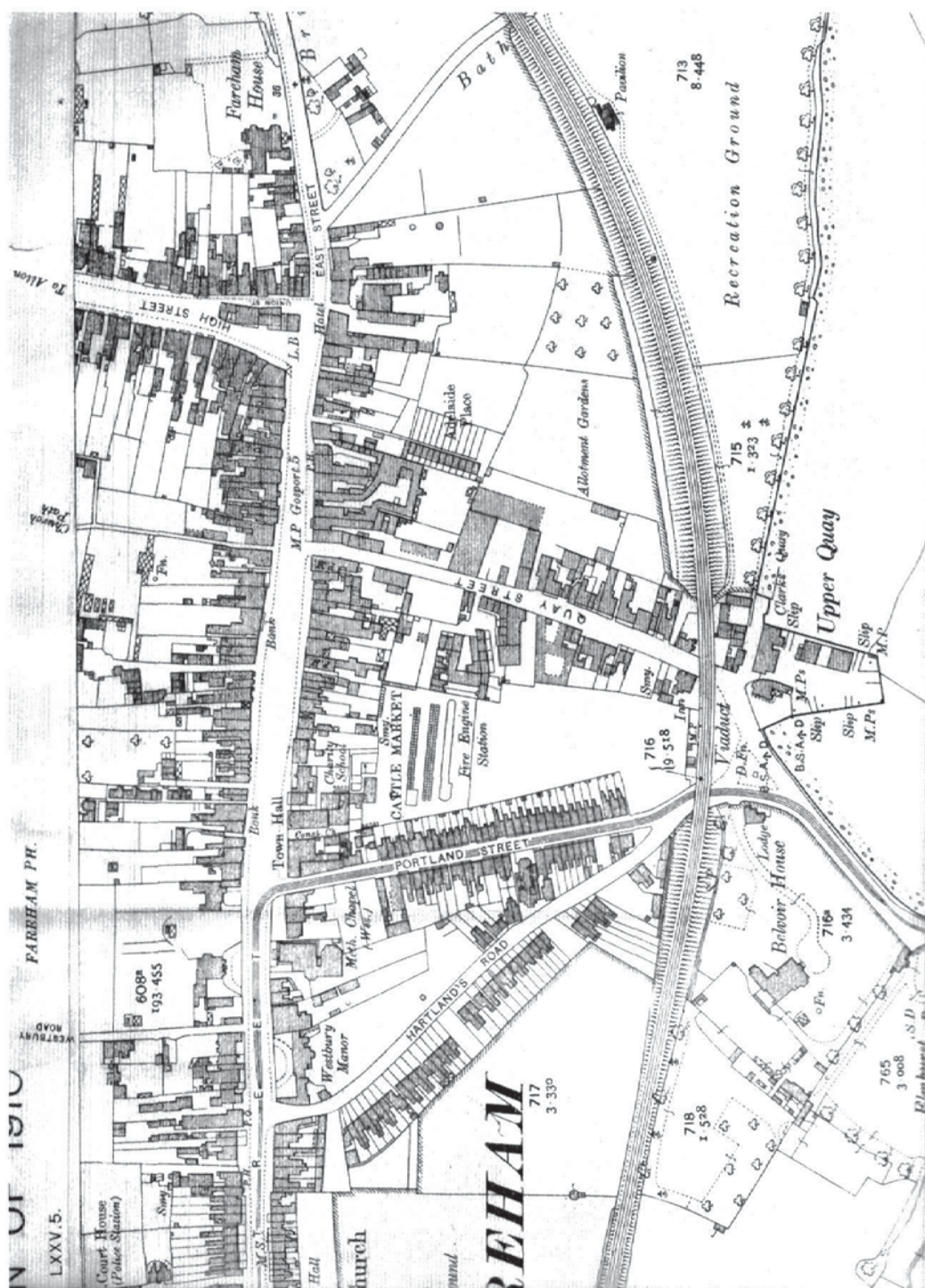


Fig. 2 Fareham town centre in 1910. The medieval market-place was probably located at the junction of High Street and East Street, where the roads were at their widest. Narrow burgage plots run back from these main roads, the frontages of many of which would have been occupied by shops. [OS Map 1:2500, Hants. LXXV.9 (1910 edn)]

death in 1309 the ferling was inherited by Ralph's daughter Margery, who sold it in 1316 to William de Illey, a taxpayer of Cams in 1327, who contributed the relatively large sum of 3s. 4d. (TNA, E 179/173/4, m. 14d).

Like Ralph Creed, Henry Barrat (d. 1313) held both customary land in the manor and burgages in the town in the late 13th century, and he too probably combined retailing and farming. However, his property was also broken up in the years following his death. Henry's widow Christina, who remarried in 1316, retained the customary land, which was inherited by her (and Henry's) son Thomas on her own death in 1342, while John Barrat took possession of two of his father's burgages in 1319. To these John added a seld in 1328 and a shop in 1341, which were presumably part of the 3½ burgages inherited by his daughter Edith in 1349. But John Barrat does not seem to have held any customary land, suggesting that by the mid 14th century there was a much clearer distinction than in the late 13th between those who held customary land and those with shops and burgages in the town. In Fareham, on the eve of the Black Death, farming and retailing appear to have become increasingly separate, perhaps even specialised, occupations.

Havant (Fig. 3)

The evidence from Havant presents a somewhat different picture. A total of 91 persons held one or more shops, stalls, and selds in the town in the period 1290–1349, of whom 23 (25 per cent) were women. As at Fareham, some were probably outsiders, including Richard Bosham (possibly a resident of the Sussex port) who surrendered a shop in 1298, and Walter of Winchester who took a seld in the town in 1303. However, most of Havant's shopkeepers were probably local men, a number of whom were much more actively engaged in buying and selling land than their counterparts in Fareham, and who were most likely smallholders for whom shopkeeping offered a welcome additional source of income. For example, Stephen of Drayton (a coastal settlement in Farlington parish about 2 miles

west of Havant) purchased 5½ acres in the manor in six separate transactions in the years 1288–90. Most of the land lay outside the town in Puckland (*Pukelonde*), Ryefield (*Ryfeld*), and Sheepland (*Schupelonde*), though he also bought a small plot next to Havant churchyard. Then, in 1298, Stephen acquired half of Richard Bosham's shop, and (unlike his earlier transactions) he did so jointly with his wife Isabella, who may have been expected to run it while her husband worked on the land. The Draytons appear to have maintained their property until 1305 when Stephen surrendered the shop, and from 1310 he began to dispose of his rural property in the same small parcels in which he had bought it. Stephen already had grown-up children in the 1290s and may have been in his sixties when he finally retired around 1313.

Another smallholding family with commercial interests was the Gosdens. In the late 13th century Thomas de Gosden and his wife Christina had around 2½ acres in the manor and a seld in the town, which they surrendered in three parcels between 1310 and 1316. Two acres were acquired by William Neave, who also occupied the seld called 'Middelshoppe' in the town, and who held other small parcels of rural and urban property. He contributed 2s. to the lay subsidy of 1327, twice the median figure of 1s. for Havant township, suggesting that small-scale farming and retailing could be successfully and prosperously combined (TNA, E 179/173/4, m. 10). Another of Havant's taxpayers was John Morville, who paid 1s. He was a member of a large family of customary tenants with land to the north of the town at Leigh. Two men called John Morville died in the 1340s, each of them leaving a yardland (about 40 acres) to their wives Agnes and Margery. In addition, John and Margery held two shops in the town which they surrendered together while John was still alive in 1343. One of those shops was perhaps occupied in the 1320s by John Morville the younger, a baker, who also held a small amount of land in the manor's fields. John Morville the baker sold land to the Bacons, another family with both rural and urban property, whose name suggests



Fig. 3 Havant town centre in 1909. Note the long thin burgage plots running back from the main streets. A shop in Homewell near the church was mentioned in 1336. [OS Map 1:2500, Hants. LXXVI.11 (1909 edn)]

that they may have been pork butchers. Matthew Bacon died in the plague year of 1349 when his daughter and her husband inherited a seld in Havant, a yardland in Hayling, and 1½ yardlands in Brockhampton.

Havant's shopkeepers thus included a number of smallholders and larger customary tenants who combined their farming and commercial interests, but as at Fareham, there were also families who appear to have followed a more exclusively urban lifestyle. In 1292 Richard Coleman and his wife Juliana took a messuage in the town 'beside the market' which John Smith had formerly held. Over the following 20 years or so, Richard Coleman built up a portfolio of urban properties, including a garden and a plot 12 m (40 feet) long and 0.45 m (1½ feet) wide, while in 1316 he acquired the third part of a shop. However, even Richard held some rural property, including a marsh in Hayling called 'Swanesheye', which he may have used for grazing livestock or for some other activity connected with his business in town. A similar but more extensive portfolio of properties was held by Henry de Harting, who may have originated from one of the Sussex villages of that name about ten miles north-east of Havant. He was Havant's wealthiest taxpayer in 1327, contributing the very substantial sum of 10s., although there is little indication as to the source of his wealth. Like Richard Coleman, he held a few pieces of land in the surrounding fields, in which he may have grown crops or grazed livestock. He probably also received income from sub-letting some of his urban properties, a practice engaged in by others in the town, including Richard Morville, who in the late 13th century sub-let houses to Philip Butcher and Richard Fox, and whose successor John Morville still received 2s. 4d. annual rent from the Fox family in 1337.

In contrast with Fareham, therefore, the distinction between rural and urban tenants did not become noticeably more marked at Havant in the 60 years before the Black Death. Customary tenants such as Godfrey Thorn, who held half a yardland in the manor on his death in 1345, also acquired a shop in the town in

1305, which he surrendered to his son William in 1338, and a seld which his granddaughter Alice inherited in 1349. The explanation for this apparent divergence in tenurial structure at Fareham and Havant is unclear, but may be related to the institutional differences between the two towns. Fareham's status as a borough, and the right of its inhabitants to hold property by 'burgage tenure', a form of freehold, may have encouraged the development of a distinctively urban culture in which the townsmen defended their privileges, and trades and crafts were practised separately from agriculture (Britnell 2006, 134–5, 156–9). The increasing separation of the manor and borough at Fareham was even acknowledged by officials of the bishopric of Winchester, who introduced into the pipe rolls sub-headings relating solely to the town (Page 1999, 297). At Havant, on the other hand, where the townsmen had no special privileges, the opportunities and incentives for the development of a rural-urban divide were perhaps less intense, notwithstanding the change of the rural manor's name to Brockhampton.

CONCLUSIONS

By the early 14th century the bishop of Winchester's estate included around a dozen towns, from many of which distinctively urban dues such as seldage and stallage were collected. The Winchester pipe rolls contain a significant amount of information relating to commercial properties in these towns, but there can be little doubt that the specific terms for shops, stalls, and selds were inconsistently used. Many premises that were employed (if only part-time) for trading goods and services are likely to be hidden behind less descriptive words, including burgage, cottage, house, and plot, and it is only with some difficulty that their retail function can be recovered from the records. The estate officials who drew up the accounts on which the pipe rolls are based were particularly careful to distinguish commercial properties at Fareham and Havant, though even in those towns there

were lapses. Little indication is given in the pipe rolls to explain these inconsistencies in recording practice, and the extent to which the documents reflect real differences in the numbers of shops, stalls, and selds in individual towns is unclear.

In the 14th century Fareham and Havant were small market towns, and both were unremarkable in terms of wealth and status. In 1334 Fareham's assessment for the lay subsidy was only £12 6s. 10½d., while Havant's was £44 1s. 3d. Among the bishop's other Hampshire towns, Bishop's Waltham was assessed at £30 10s., New Alresford at £49 15s., and Overton at £54 10s. (Glasscock 1975, 112, 116–18, 121). These figures suggest that shops, stalls, and selds were as likely to have been kept at those towns as they were at Fareham and Havant, and only different recording practices make it difficult to identify them. Within the bishopric's estate structure, Fareham and Havant both lay within the bailiwick of East Meon. Also included in the bailiwick were the villages of East Meon and Hambledon, where (as we have seen) several commercial properties were mentioned, and taken as a whole the bailiwick accounts for a large proportion of surviving references to shops, stalls, and selds in the pipe rolls. South-east Hampshire was notable for its wealth and trading connections in the Middle Ages (Hinton 1996, 42–3, 50–1). The dominant towns in the area were Portsmouth, Portchester, Titchfield, Wickham, and Emsworth, all of which were worth more than Fareham and Havant in 1334, while Southampton lay only a few miles to the west (Glasscock 1975, 110, 116, 121). Perhaps the greater commercialisation of the region encouraged the bailiwick's officials to record with greater precision than elsewhere the different types of commercial property on the manors under their control.

The terms for shops, stalls, and selds do not seem to have been interchangeable, and probably referred to different types of structure with slightly different functions. A shop is likely to have included domestic accommodation and storage facilities, a stall may have been a kind of pentice which projected from

a wall or building, while a seld was perhaps a lock-up shop. Each came in a variety of shapes and sizes, but most were long and thin, and must often have been built to fit vacant plots in crowded market-places and along busy shopping streets. A few were located next to churchyards, and may have been vestiges of the ancient practice of holding churchyard markets (Blair 2005, 335). Excavations in small towns across the country have found material evidence of a range of trades and crafts, often in characteristic narrow plots behind closely packed street frontages (Dyer 2003). However, shopkeepers in towns such as Fareham and Havant mostly sold cheap, everyday goods and services, and men like John Morville the baker and Robert le Tailor of Titchfield are unlikely to have accumulated great wealth or to have left behind much evidence of their activities. Nevertheless, archaeology has the potential to reveal more about the size, layout, and occupational structure of the county's small towns and market villages.

During the 14th century, Fareham's shopkeepers became increasingly based within the town and few held rural property in the manor. In the absence of a detailed survey, this division between town and country is not easy to demonstrate. However, in 1349, when a large proportion of the population was killed by the Black Death, a total of 82 transfers of land were registered in Fareham manor court. Of these, 39 (48 per cent) concerned burgages in the town, while 43 (52 per cent) related to land in the manor's rural settlements. Only three individuals have been identified leaving both urban and rural property to their successors: Robert Wade inherited from his brother John a burgage and a cottage with purpresture in Dean; John Hook was heir to his uncle Robert's 1½ burgages in the town, and two houses, a cottage, and 1½ yardlands in Dean; and Hugh Frances left to his daughter Alice half a burgage and a ferling in Pokesole. These were the exceptions, and the evidence suggests that by 1349 the overwhelming majority of Fareham's inhabitants held either rural or urban property, and that they rarely mixed the two.

By contrast, at Havant there was a much greater overlap between tenants holding customary land in the fields and those with shops and selds in the town, as the examples already given of John Morville, William Neave, Godfrey Thorn, and others make clear. The lack of burgage tenure and borough status at Havant may have made it easier for such tenants to combine rural and urban property and to pursue both farming and trading interests. Land in the manor was held on the same terms as that in the town, and, unlike at Fareham, no legal or tenurial distinction was made between burgesses and villeins. The separation of these groups at Fareham, on the other hand, was made explicit in 1349 when John Hook inherited his uncle's burgages. A note was inserted into the pipe rolls to the effect that John was the bishop's villein and therefore his rent in the borough was to be included in a separate section of increments in the accounts. The implication of this record is that (by this date) it was relatively unusual for villeins to join the ranks of the burgesses, and that estate officials were careful to highlight their names.

NOTE ON SOURCES

The main source of documentary evidence for this paper is the section headed 'Entry and marriage fines' in the Winchester pipe rolls. Information from the pipe rolls about tenants' property in the period 1263–1349 was entered into a computer database by the author between 1996 and 1999 as part of a project called 'The Peasant Land Market in Southern England, 1260–1350', funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (award number R000236499). Further information about the project and public access to the database is available from the Arts and Humanities Data Service (<http://www.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/collection.htm?uri=hist-4086-1>, accessed 16 October 2009). The database is searched by manor and year. Therefore, references to individual pipe rolls and membrane numbers are not provided in the text.

This paper was written in 2009, before the publication of Mullan and Britnell 2010 which makes brief references to shops at Fareham, Havant, and elsewhere on the bishop of Winchester's estate in the Middle Ages (p. 55).

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