

## Chapter 9

### Thirteenth-century baronies in Kent

After 1086, we have to wait a long time before we find another document giving us a view of the feudal landscape of Kent which is both detailed and approximately complete. To be precise, we have to wait until 1242, when the king demanded a subsidy – called (in the jargon of the time) ‘the aid for the king’s crossing into Gascony’ – to be paid by everyone who held land by knight’s service.

Like any lesser lord, the king had the right to demand an ‘aid’ from his men on certain special occasions – when his eldest son was knighted, for instance, or when his eldest daughter got married. Kings had exercised this right in the past, and would exercise it again in the future; what makes this particular aid important is the manner in which was collected.

On previous occasions, the demand had always been addressed to the king’s tenants in chief. The exchequer held them responsible for paying the money. (Those who had tenants of their own would collect a share of the money from them, as they would do from theirs, and so on down the line. But that was their business, not the exchequer’s.) Most recently, this was how ‘the aid for marrying the king’s sister’, charged at the rate of 320 pence for each knight’s fee, had been collected in 1235–6. In the account which appeared in the exchequer roll (*Book of fees*, pp. 569–70), each barony is covered by a single entry which gives only the minimum amount of information. The whole barony of Chilham, for example, is condensed into this:

Ricard fiz le rei (owes) 4800 pence for fourteen fees of ancient feoffment, plus one fee of recent feoffment, of the honour of Fulbert de Dovre.<sup>1</sup>

That corresponds with an entry in the account of ‘the aid for marrying the king’s daughter’, levied at the rate of 160 pence per fee, as far back as 1168 (GREx 1168, pp. 212–13):

Hugo de Dovre (owes) 2240 pence for (fourteen) knights of ancient feoffment. The same (Hugo) owes 160 pence (for one knight) of recent feoffment.

And that is based on Hugo’s reply to a writ sent out to each of the king’s tenants in chief in 1166, demanding a list of

<sup>1</sup> Ricard fiz le rei (d. 1246) was a bastard son of king Johan’s; he had acquired the barony by marrying Fulbert’s daughter (below, p. 251). The formulas *de veteri feffamento*, *de novo feffamento* date back to the early years of Henric II (see below): they distinguish fees created before 1135 (i.e. before the day when the first king Henric was alive and dead) from fees created in the time of the usurper, Stephan.

the names of each of this tenant’s knights (E 164/12, ed. Hearne 1728, pp. 55–6).<sup>2</sup> By the 1230s, the exchequer thus had good reasons for suspecting that its information was seriously out of date, even if the facts had been truthfully reported in the first place, and that the king might be losing money to which he was entitled.<sup>3</sup>

In 1242, the collectors were given new instructions. They were to inquire, hundred by hundred, which manors were held by knight’s service, and who was the tenant of each; and they were to demand payment, at the rate of 480 pence per fee, directly from this man. In a word, they were told to get to the bottom of things. Apparently they were under orders to stay away from the hundred of Milton, and from the lands of the archbishopric (which was in the king’s hands at the time); otherwise they seem to have carried out their investigations throughout the whole of Kent.

The account which the collectors drew up would have consisted of some hundreds of individual entries,<sup>4</sup> each of which (by analogy with later accounts) would have been worded something like this:

Shrewinghope lest. . . Felborough hundred. . . From Eudo de Sellingehelde, for half a fee in Chilham which he holds from Ricard fiz le rei, and which Ricard holds from the lord king, 240 pence.<sup>5</sup>

The original account, regrettably, does not survive. But there are two derivative versions of the text, produced inside the exchequer, which aim to put the information into a

<sup>2</sup> The text is garbled towards the end. It ought to read: *Summa xi mil’ et dim’, et super dominium meum ii milites et dim’*. *De nouo feodamento. Willelmus . . .* (The lords of Chilham had created fewer knight’s fees than the number of knights which they had to find for the king; so they had to make up the deficit out of their own resources. That is what is meant by the formula *super dominium meum*.) Hugo submitted a separate reply (pp. 253–4) relating to the share of a barony in Cambridgeshire which had come to him through his wife.

<sup>3</sup> Between 1172 and 1230, demands for *escuage* were dealt with in just the same way – charged to the king’s tenants in chief, and based on the numbers of knight’s fees reported in 1166. The distinction between an *aide* and an *escuage* was not sharply drawn: an *aide*, one might say, became an *escuage* if it was levied at the rate of so much for each *escu* (meaning ‘shield’), i.e. for each knight’s fee.

<sup>4</sup> By my reckoning, there are 348 entries in the surviving versions of this account. From a comparison with the account for 1253–4 (see below), I infer that the number of missing entries is probably close to 60 – perhaps 5 for Milton hundred, rather more than 50 for the archbishopric.

<sup>5</sup> The manor in question is Shillingheld TR 0654 in Chilham (Hasted 7:283). The occupant in 1166 was Elias de Silinghalde, who held half a knight’s fee from Hugo de Dovre. In this instance, therefore, the inquiry turned up nothing new.

form which will be useful for future reference. Some slight changes have been made in the wording of the entries:

Eudo de Sellingehelde holds half a fee in Chilham from Ricard fiz le rei, and Ricard holds it from the lord king.<sup>6</sup>

More significantly, the entries have been reorganized. In the same sort of way that the B text of the survey of 1086 was transformed into the D text, the entries derived from the collectors' account have been extracted from their cadastral frame, so as to be inserted into a feudal frame. In the earlier of the two surviving versions (*Book of fees*, pp. 654–70), the hundreds have disappeared but the division into lests is retained; in the final version (pp. 670–83) the lests have disappeared as well, and the fees belonging to each barony have been grouped together, in a loosely cadastral order. The barony of Chilham, for instance, has been reconstituted under the heading 'Fees of Ricard fiz le rei and Roesia his wife'. In order for this to be done, more than twenty entries had to be pulled together, from five different hundreds, in three different lests.

In putting itself to so much trouble, the exchequer was evidently working on the assumption that future aids would be collected in the traditional way, from the king's tenants in chief: the only difference would be that in future the assessments would be based on the facts ascertained in 1242. But that was not what happened. Subsequent aids, so far as we have any record of them, were collected in the same way as the aid of 1242 – lest by lest, hundred by hundred, directly from the tenant who was in possession.<sup>7</sup> From the exchequer's point of view, this reorganization of the text turned out to be a waste of time; from our point of view it was decidedly a change for the worse, because the loss of the cadastral frame makes it harder to identify the manors which are named. Nevertheless, with the help of other evidence, almost every entry can be put back into the right lest

<sup>6</sup> In fact both versions omit this last clause, letting it be taken for granted. That happens frequently but not always. Here is an entry which makes it explicit that the chain of tenure ends with the king: 'Michael de Hestingele holds three quarters of a fee there (in Hastingleigh) from the heir of Wilhelm de Turville, and he (holds it) from the earl of Leicester, and he (holds it) from the lord king.'

<sup>7</sup> Though I have made it a rule not to cite any evidence later than 1242 (except where it cannot be helped), I attach a list of these later aids, with notes of the documentation relating to Kent, in case the reader wishes to pursue this line of inquiry. (1) *Aide pour fille marier*, 240 pence per fee, collected in 1245–6. No surviving record. (2) *Aide pour faire fils chevalier*, 480 pence per fee, collected in 1253–4. A poor copy of a version of the account was printed by Greenstreet (1878). (3) *Aide pour fille marier*, 480 pence per fee, authorized by parliament in 1290 but not collected till 1302–3 (*Calendar of patent rolls 1301–7*, 76–7). Some version of this account appears to be represented by a seventeenth-century copy in BL Lansdowne 309, fos. 3v–13v. The heading was quoted by Greenstreet (1876, pp. 108–9), who also printed a few extracts (1877, pp. 376–9); the full text has yet to be published. (4) *Aide pour faire fils chevalier*, 480 pence per fee, collected in 1346–7. The collectors' account survives in the original (together with various copies and derivative versions); the full text was edited by Greenstreet (1876), and again by the PRO (*Feudal aids*, pp. 20–52). Except where the collectors had made some new discovery, each entry in this account was based on one of the entries in the account of the aid of 1302–3, which itself was based (or intended to be based) on the aid of 1245–6. So each entry may be said to encapsulate a hundred years of history.

and hundred. As for the entries which were deliberately omitted – principally those for the archbishop's knights – we know enough to guess what these entries would have said, if they had been included.

Bridging the gap between 1086 and 1242 is not an easy task. Until the end of the twelfth century, when the records of central government begin to proliferate, the evidence is thin at best, and very unevenly distributed. To trace the history of individual manors is practically impossible: a few isolated hints are the most that can be hoped for. Even to trace the history of the first-tier baronies can sometimes be very difficult. Quite often, one item of evidence may be all that stands between us and utter ignorance;<sup>8</sup> on occasion we can find no evidence at all, and guesswork is all that we are left with.

In the following paragraphs, I give outline sketches of the history of all the first-tier baronies which were represented in Kent. By and large I have not thought it necessary to cite the evidence in detail. Such as it is, it is mostly well enough known and well enough understood, and Sanders's (1963) book will point the reader in the right direction. Where footnotes occur in any number, that should be taken to imply that the standard accounts seem seriously defective to me, because they have overlooked or misunderstood some significant pieces of evidence. The small-scale maps are intended to give some idea of the extent of each barony, so far as Kent is concerned. They are, of necessity, simplified to some degree. Here and there, where the dots are tightly clustered, a small manor which could have been marked on the map has had to be omitted for lack of space; but I have not omitted any manor which can be recognized in DB-Ke.

My chief purpose is a simple one: to let the reader know what evidence exists which can clinch the identification of places named in DB-Ke, or in the other records of the survey of Kent. As soon as one starts discussing this evidence, however, one cannot help but notice how it bears on other questions. It is not my intention, now or ever, to write a comprehensive account of the feudal history of Kent; but there are two topics in particular which I have made a point of mentioning, wherever there is something to be said.

First, I have tried to explain how the system of castle-guard worked, with respect to the castles at Dover and Rochester. (There is, as far as I am aware, no indication that a similar system existed for the castle at Canterbury.) The arrangements in place at Dover were designed to provide the castle, all year round, with a garrison of no less than 22 knights. (I simplify slightly: full particulars are given below.) For each four-week spell of duty, four knights were supplied by the honour of the Constabulary, three each by the baronies of Averanches, Chilham, Arsic, Peverel and

<sup>8</sup> One neglected source, a sixteenth-century copy of an early twelfth-century list of the holders of land in Kent (Flight 2005), will, I venture to hope, not be neglected any longer.

Maminot, two by the barony of Port, and one by the barony of Crevequer. The arrangements concerning Rochester are not so well documented, but it seems that three baronies – Talebot, Patric, Stockbury – were expected to provide the castle with a small garrison, perhaps of four knights. By the time that any detailed information becomes available, both systems had become fossilized. Nobody performed the service that was theoretically due from them, in person or by deputy; all that was required was the payment of a sum of money. At Dover, ‘one knight’ (i.e. the service of one knight for four weeks) meant a payment of 120 pence (roughly 4 pence a day); at Rochester it meant a payment of 144 pence (roughly 5 pence a day).

Second, I have done what I can to elucidate the history of each barony during the reign of king Stephan (1135–54).<sup>9</sup> Drastic changes occurred during this period; but most of these changes were deliberately reversed, after 1154, following the death of Stephan and the accession of Henric II. In these circumstances, because the changes did not take permanent effect, we are all the more likely to be left in ignorance of them.

By 1138, the country was slipping into civil war. Gladly or not, people had to choose sides. Several Kentish barons renounced their allegiance to the king: they left the country, or at least they left Kent, and their baronies were confiscated. The king and his wife, queen Mathildis (countess of Boulogne in her own right), were, it seems, prepared to pay almost any price to maintain their lines of communication with the continent, and the man who benefited most was Willelm de Ipre (the bastard son of the younger son of Robert I, count of Flanders).<sup>10</sup> Nearly everything in Kent that the king had to give passed into Willelm’s possession: the city of Canterbury, the royal manors, the manors which went with the earldom of Kent, and at least two of the confiscated baronies as well (Ospringe, Chilham). If the barony built up by Willelm had descended to a son of his, that son would have been by far the most important man in Kent (and doubtless he would have aspired to the title of earl). But that was not to be.

Throughout the rest of Stephan’s reign, even in the critical year of 1141 (when the king himself was held prisoner, and the empress and her supporters were briefly in possession of London), Kent was little touched by the war. The machinery of government continued to function – but it functioned under a system of military rule, exerted by the king’s castellans: Willelm de Ipre at Canterbury, Radulf fiz le comte at Rochester,<sup>11</sup> Pharamus de Boulogne at Dover.

<sup>9</sup> An article by Eales (1985) is helpful in supplying the background, but seems to me to keep circling the subject without getting down to business.

<sup>10</sup> The article ‘William of Ypres’ in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) is Eales’s work again.

<sup>11</sup> Radulf’s identity has caused some bafflement (even his existence has been doubted), but I take him to be the same Radulf who is recorded elsewhere – the document in question is discussed by Round (1901, pp. 164–5) – as a son of count Eustachius III (which means that he must have been an illegitimate half-brother of the queen’s).

During the 1140s, Willelm de Ipre expressed the gratitude he felt for his newly acquired possessions by founding a Cistercian abbey; the site that he chose for it was the manor of Boxley (one of the manors belonging to the earldom of Kent).<sup>12</sup> At about the same time, the king and queen were planning the foundation of an abbey of Cluniac monks (on the model, no doubt, of the abbey of Reading, founded by Henric I), and the site that they chose was in Kent – the royal manor of Faversham.<sup>13</sup> (That manor had been given to Willelm de Ipre, but now he agreed to give it back to the king, in exchange for other land of equal value.) The first monks (who came from Bermondsey) arrived in 1148, though the buildings were far from finished at the time.<sup>14</sup> Dying within the space of two years (1152–4), the queen, her elder son, and her husband the king were all buried in the abbey church.

Once Stephan was dead, Henric II succeeded to the throne without opposition. Those barons who had supported the usurper were, by and large, allowed to keep their lands, so far as they could prove that they had been in possession (or that their predecessors had been) on the day when the first king Henric was alive and dead. Those barons who had been dispossessed by Stephan (or whose predecessors had been) were reinstated, on the same terms, with little or no delay. The monks of Faversham were allowed to keep that manor; though the king, before becoming king, had promised to respect their rights, there were, no doubt, some anxious moments before it became clear that this was one of the promises which the king meant to keep (GREx 1156:65). The monks of Boxley were kept in suspense a little longer, but then it was decided that they too should be allowed to stay (GREx 1157:102). As for Willelm de Ipre, the barony which he had built up was dismantled, not all at once but piece by piece, during the first few years of the new king’s reign. Chilham was given back to its rightful owner; the other lands were repossessed by the king.<sup>15</sup> Within four years or so, except at Faversham and Boxley, every trace of Stephan’s usurpation had been erased.

Many charters, very probably, were thrown away, at around this time, because they had become worthless. But some charters did survive – sometimes in places where one might hardly think of looking for them. There was, for example, an important file of documents relating to two parish churches in Kent preserved in the archive of the abbey of

<sup>12</sup> The Rochester annals date the foundation to 1143 (R3, fo. 29v). This was and remained the only house of Cistercian monks in Kent. The plan was recovered by excavation in 1971–2 (Tester 1974).

<sup>13</sup> Though the abbey was Cluniac in inspiration, archbishop Theobald required all links with the Cluniac order to be broken before he would bless the first abbot.

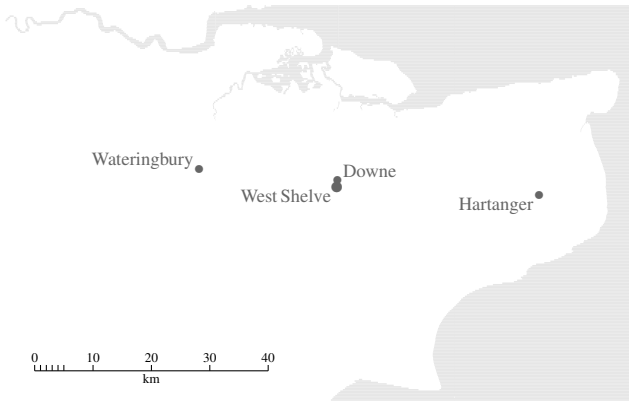
<sup>14</sup> In fact they were never finished – not, at least, on anything like the scale originally intended. The site was partly excavated in 1965 (Philp 1968).

<sup>15</sup> Some of them – Dartford, Hoo, Ospringe – were given to another Willelm, the king’s younger brother. He might also have aspired to be earl of Kent (there was even a time when it looked as if he might become king of Ireland); but he died, unmarried, in 1164, and his lands reverted to the king.

Saint Bertin, in the town of Saint-Omer. And it is – by the way – a curious fact that Edward Hasted was one of the last people to see the original charters (almost all of which were shortly to be destroyed). Fleeing from his creditors in 1790, Hasted settled in Saint-Omer; and, while he was there, he took the opportunity (as of course he would) to consult the abbey’s archive.

### Adam fiz Willelm

This is a puzzling case. From the 1230s onwards, it becomes clear that a few manors in Kent belong to a second-tier barony based in Hertfordshire, and that this barony owes a small amount of castleguard rent to Dover. I have no idea how this had come about. The first name to occur in connection with Dover is Adam fiz Willelm (d. 1236); but in Hertfordshire (not in Kent) the history of the barony can be traced back to a man of the same name who was a tenant of the bishop of Bayeux in 1086.



In 1242 the barony belonged to Simon fiz Adam (occ. 1241–53); his overlord was Walter fiz Robert (d. 1258). Of the manors in Kent, West Shelve was held in domain; the others were granted out. Downe and Hartanger owed castleguard at Dover; so did the manor of Graveley in Hertfordshire.<sup>16</sup>

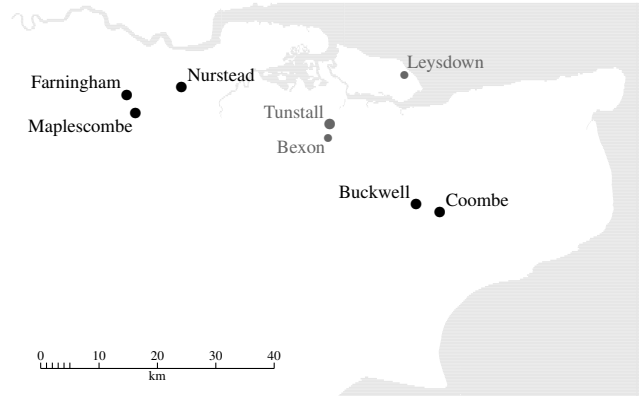
### Albigni, *see* Arundel

#### Arsic

The lands which in 1086 were held from the bishop of Bayeux by Wadard (including five manors in Kent) became the property of a family named Arsic. The head of the barony was at Cogges in Oxfordshire. After Wadard, the first recorded owner is Manasser Arsic (occ. 1101–10); it does not seem to be known who he was, or how he had got possession. His last male descendant was Robert Arsic (d. 1230). After Robert’s death, the inheritance was divided between his two daughters, Johanna and Alexandra, both of whom were to be married more than once. Their

<sup>16</sup> There was no rota. Each fee paid 10 shillings twice a year, at fixed dates. In the case of Hartanger, for instance, the rents fell due a fortnight before Christmas and a fortnight before Midsummer.

mother, Sibilla, was still alive, and so was their aunt Margareta (their father’s elder brother’s widow), and each was in possession of a share of the Arsic lands by way of dower. The manor of Cogges had just recently been sold (to Walter de Grey, archbishop of York), and nothing much was left, beyond the service from the knight’s fees.



This was one of the baronies which owed castleguard at Dover: for every 4-week spell, it was (in theory) required to supply three knights. The service was distributed among 18 knight’s fees (including the five in Kent): they were organized into six teams of three knights each, working on a 24-week rota.

The five manors in Kent which had belonged to Wadard were all granted out, before 1135, for one knight’s fee apiece. In unknown circumstances, before 1166, the Arsics got possession of a sixth manor, Tunstall, which they held from the barony of Port. There were assets in Sheppey which went with this manor, apparently including Leysdown church, which was given (perhaps sold) by Robert Arsic to the canons of Saint Radegund’s. Tunstall with all its remaining assets was sold in 1227 (to Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, and his wife Margareta).

As things stood in 1242, Johanna’s husband was Stephan Simeon, and Alexandra’s was Thomas de la Haye (d. 1246).

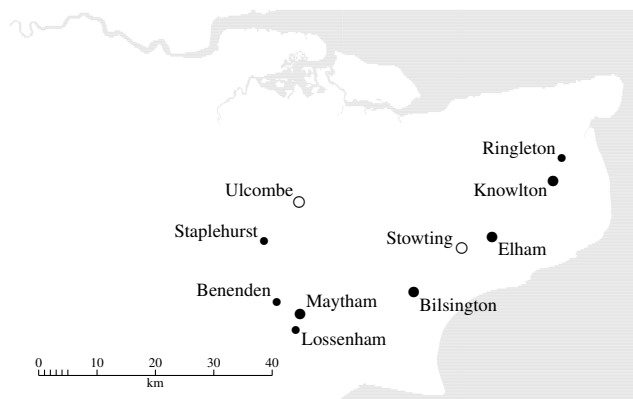
### Arundel

Three of the domain manors surrendered by the bishop of Bayeux in 1088 – Elham, Bilsington, Knowlton – were granted to Willelm de Albigni (d. 1139). It is likely that they were given to him almost at once; but the earliest evidence which proves that he had possession is a writ of Henric I dating from 1102×8.

By that time, half of Bilsington – the half which came to be called Over Bilsington – had set out on a separate trajectory. It appears that Willelm gave it to his daughter Olivia as her marriage portion.<sup>17</sup> By means unknown to me, it came to belong to Willelm de Courci (d. 1186); Robert de Courci (occ. 1189–1226) got possession in 1189 – but lost

<sup>17</sup> The parish church, which went with this half of Bilsington, was given by her husband, Radulf de la Haye, to the monks of Lessay.

it in 1204, when Over Bilsington was confiscated. After that, though not without difficulty, the earl of Arundel – Willelm de Albigni's descendant – recovered possession of the manor.



All of the other lands in Kent passed from Willelm to his son, Willelm de Albigni (d. 1176), first earl of Arundel. They were given by him to his daughter, Adelia, when she became the wife of Johan count of Eu (d. 1170). The count was already the owner of two manors in Kent – Stowting and Ulcombe – which were held from the archbishop; now he became the owner of two more manors, and also of the service from eleven knight's fees (all of which were old fees, i.e. fees which had existed since before 1135).

By the 1220s, the Albigni lands in Kent (except for Over Bilsington) were all in the possession of Johan and Adelia's granddaughter, Adelia countess of Eu (d. 1246). (She had been married once; but her husband died in 1219 and she stayed single after that.) When Adelia's daughter Mathildis got married, some of these assets – Nether Bilsington and most of the knight's fees – were given to her and her husband, Hunfrid de Bohun earl of Hereford (d. 1275).<sup>18</sup> The rest – Elham and a few of the knight's fees – continued to belong to the countess of Eu herself.<sup>19</sup>

Two subordinate holdings are large enough to be regarded as second-tier baronies. One was based on Knowlton; in 1166 it belonged to Alan Pirot, but its history before that is (at least to me) obscure. The other was based on Great Maytham in Rolvenden: this seems to be the holding which belonged before 1108 to Radulf de Chieresburh (identified as Willelm de Albigni's steward), in 1166 to Petrus de Cesaris burgo.

In 1242, most of the knight's fees in Kent were held from the earl of Hereford. Directly or indirectly, all of them were held from the countess of Eu, and by her from the earl of Arundel. Knowlton belonged to Radulf Perot; Maytham had been divided between two sisters, Orabilis and Helewis, the daughters and coheirs of Radulf de Meyhamme. At Stowting, one knight's fee was held from the

countess of Eu, and by the countess from the archbishop. At Ulcombe the countess's interest had just recently been bought out, and the tenant was now holding directly from the archbishop.

Aumale, *see* Marescal

### Averanches

The barony centred on Folkestone has a relatively well-recorded history, worked out in detail by Stapleton (1844). In 1086 it belonged to Willelm de Arques (*de Arcis*). With Willelm's daughter Emma it passed to Nigel de Muneville (occ. 1095);<sup>20</sup> with Nigel's daughter Mathildis it passed to Rualon de Averanches (occ. 1125–30), and then to Rualon's son, Willelm de Averanches (occ. 1142–76). Willelm stayed loyal to king Stephan,<sup>21</sup> but seems to have had no difficulty coming to terms with the new regime after 1154. From him the barony passed to his descendants. The male line ended with Willelm (d. 1236) – the son of Willelm de Averanches (d. 1230) – who died before coming of age; and the inheritance then went to his sister Mathildis, who was the wife of Hamo de Crevequer (d. 1263).

Though linked with Folkestone, the manor of Newington follows a different trajectory. It is missing from DB. In 1095 it belonged to Beatrix, the widow of Willelm de Arques; the next recorded owner is Manasser count of Guînes, the second husband of Beatrix's daughter Emma.<sup>22</sup> Like Willelm de Averanches, Ernard count of Guînes stayed loyal to king Stephan,<sup>23</sup> but came to terms with Henric II.<sup>24</sup> (He was staying at Newington when he died, in 1169.) His successors kept possession of the manor – of the whole of it till 1202, of half of it till 1223×7, when count Baldwin III was bought out by Hubert de Burgh.

Folkestone was one of the baronies which owed castleguard at Dover. For each four-week spell, it was required to supply three knights. The load was shared among 21 knights, organized in seven teams of three, working to a 28-week

<sup>20</sup> Nigel had some land of his own in Northamptonshire, where he was a tenant of the count of Mortain's. (That helps to explain why the knight's fees in Kent were claimed to be smaller than normal (below, note 25), as was agreed to be true for the fees created by the count.) He and Emma gave Folkestone church to the abbey of Lonlay.

<sup>21</sup> The empress promised to dispossess him in favour of somebody else; but she was never in a position to keep that promise.

<sup>22</sup> Manasser and Emma gave Newington church to the abbey of nuns founded by them in Guînes. Two churches dependent on Newington, Brenzett and Promhill, were covered by this grant.

<sup>23</sup> He witnesses a charter of Willelm de Ipre for the monks of Christ Church (Urry 1967, no. XIV). (The second witness is Radulf *fiz le comte* – not the son of *this* count (the wording does not say that), but rather, as I suppose, a son of the late count of Boulogne.)

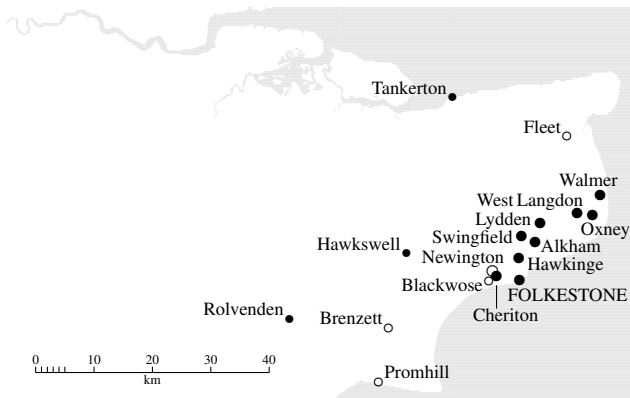
<sup>24</sup> A Premonstratensian house at Blackwose seems to have owed its foundation to count Ernard. Though its history is an almost total blank, there is proof that the house was in existence before 1154 (GREx 1169:110–11). At first it was a dependency of the abbey of Lavendon in Buckinghamshire; but eventually it was taken over by Saint Radegund's.

<sup>18</sup> They sold their part of Bilsington in 1237×40, but retained the service from the knight's fees for themselves and their heirs.

<sup>19</sup> Until she was dispossessed in 1244.

rota. It is at least roughly true to say that 15 of these fees were in Kent, six of them 'beyond the Thames'.<sup>25</sup>

There were two second-tier baronies, based on Swingfield and Cheriton respectively, but their early histories are obscure. At Swingfield the first recorded owner is Willelm de Auberville (occ. 1166–95);<sup>26</sup> he also held Westenhanger from the archbishop. Towards the end of his life, by means which I do not understand, he acquired a small share of the small barony of Stockbury,<sup>27</sup> in consequence of which he became a first-tier baron. At Cheriton the first recorded owner is Odo de Cheritone (occ. 1135–58). Coincidentally another share of the barony of Stockbury went to Odo's descendant Willelm de Cheritone (d. 1233); so he too became a first-tier baron.



In 1242 the barony of Folkestone belonged to Hamo de Crevequer.<sup>28</sup> Swingfield belonged to Willelm de Auberville (d. 1248), Cheriton to master Odo de Cheritone (d. 1247). Half of Newington was owned jointly by the earl and countess of Kent, Hubert de Burgh (d. 1243) and Margareta (d. 1259). (Count Baldwin was trying to get it back, but he did not succeed.)

## Boulogne

Eustachius II, count of Boulogne, having fought on the winning side in 1066, was rewarded with extensive estates in England. The count became the owner of scattered manors in several counties (among them Westerham and Boughton Aluph in Kent), but Essex is where the bulk of the lands and the head of the honour lay. Eustachius's wife, countess Ida, had a small number of manors in her own possession;

<sup>25</sup> The fees in Kent were claimed to be smaller than a normal knight's fee, and entitled to some discount accordingly. Some credence was given to this claim. In the scutage of 1218, for example, the barony was charged at a reduced rate for 15 fees, at the full rate for six 'beyond the Thames'. (Willelm de Averches seems to have been expecting a discount of 40 per cent; the Exchequer allowed him a discount of 37.5 per cent.)

<sup>26</sup> Willelm de Auberville founded the abbey of Langdon, giving it the churches of West Langdon, Walmer, Oxney and Lydden.

<sup>27</sup> The share for which Anfrid de Canci finished paying in 1186.

<sup>28</sup> Hamo remained in possession until he died, under the rule which the lawyers called the courtesy of England (because it did not apply in France). Then the barony was divided between his and Mathildis's four daughters.

in the records of the survey she seems to be assumed to be holding them directly from the king, independently from her husband.



When Eustachius died, he was succeeded as count by his eldest son, Eustachius III.<sup>29</sup> For several years, for as long as Willelm II was king, the new count was not able to get possession of his father's lands in England (perhaps because the king had not forgiven him for participating in the rebellion of 1088); but the next king was more amenable. In 1101–2, king Henric allowed the count to inherit his father's lands; he also arranged for the count to marry his own wife's sister Maria. When Eustachius's mother, countess Ida, died in 1113, he inherited her lands as well; and he enlarged the honour still further, after 1119, by buying some of the manors (Lillechurch in Kent was one) which had lapsed to the king after the death of Eudo the steward.

Eustachius III had no son: his heir was his daughter Mathildis. Shortly before he died in 1125, Eustachius arranged for her to marry king Henric's nephew, Stephan count of Mortain. Ten years later, Stephan became king of England. From the charters that she issued during the time that she was queen, it is clear that Mathildis had control of her own inheritance. Like any baron, she might ask the king to ratify some donation that she had made; but the donation was hers to make, if it came out of the assets of the honour of Boulogne.

Mathildis died in 1152, and the county of Boulogne and its English lands passed to her two sons successively: first to Eustachius IV, who died in the following year (and who, if he had lived longer, might have hoped to be the next king of England), and then to Willelm, who died in 1159. Like his brother, Willelm died childless, and the next heir was his sister, Maria, who happened to be a nun – abbess, in fact, of Romsey in Hampshire. She was brought out of the cloister and married to a younger brother of the count of Flanders; having borne two children, she retired from the world again. (Her thoughts about all this are not recorded, unless they find some echo in the poetry that she wrote.)

<sup>29</sup> The date of Eustachius II's death is uncertain. From references in version E of the English chronicle, I think it is clear that he died between 1088 and 1096, and that Eustachius III (away on crusade for three years after that) did not get possession of the English lands – still referred to then as 'his father's' – till after 1101.

Both of her children were girls: if either had been a boy, the future might have been different. In the event, once the honour of Boulogne had lapsed to the crown with the death of count Willelm, it never left the king's hands again. Its tenants were said (for as long as this language had any meaning) to be 'holding in chief of the king as of the honour of Boulogne'.

In the time of count Eustachius III, the manors in Kent were apparently held in domain. At Boughton Aluph, two serjeanties were created, the holders of which were required to serve the count as cook and falconer respectively; nothing is heard of these serjeanties before the thirteenth century, but their creation must go back to a time when the count was expecting to spend some of his time at Boughton, needing to be fed and amused while he was there. The parish churches of Boughton and Westerham were both given to the Cluniac priory of Le Wast, not far from Boulogne; an annual payment of 20 pounds out of the revenue from Boughton was given to the hospital of Saint Mary Magdalene in Boulogne itself.

Not much later, both manors were granted out. It is known that Westerham was disposed of by queen Mathildis; probably the same applies to Boughton Aluph.

Lillechurch became the endowment of a small community of nuns.<sup>30</sup> Like some other small religious houses, the priory here was juxtaposed to an existing parish church. Inconveniently, the church had been given to the monks of Colchester (presumably by their founder, Eudo the steward), but queen Mathildis was able to get it back by arranging an exchange. The first prioress was Mathildis's daughter Maria, who had come over to England accompanied by a party of nuns from the abbey of Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt in Brittany, which, presumably, is where she had been completing her education (and learning the Breton folk-tales which she turned into French verse).<sup>31</sup> Though Maria moved on within a few years, becoming abbess of Romsey (see above), the priory of Lillechurch continued to exist – as a dependency of Saint-Sulpice until the 1230s, independently after that.

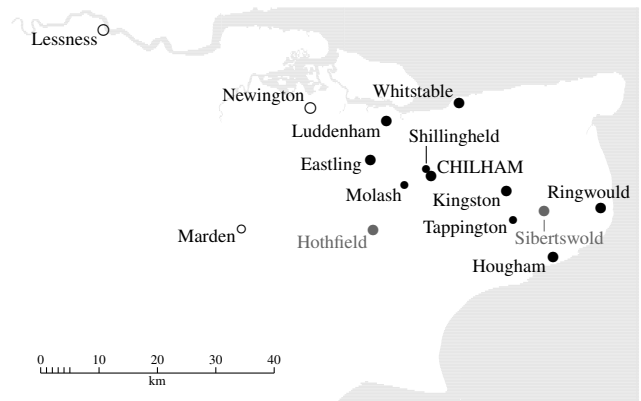
In 1242 the honour was in the king's hands. Robert de Canville (d. 1291–2) held Westerham for two knight's fees; he also owned Fobbing in Essex. Elias de Boutone (d. 1247) held Boughton Aluph for one knight's fee. (He was the son of Alulf de Boutone (d. 1214×17), from whom this Boughton took its distinguishing name.)

<sup>30</sup> A few years earlier, Mathildis had promised to give Lillechurch to Willelm de Ipre, in exchange for Faversham; but that exchange did not take place – or, if it did, was renegotiated soon afterwards.

<sup>31</sup> Here I am assuming, *en passant*, that Stephan and Mathildis's daughter was the poet known to historians of French literature as 'Marie de France'. The identification was suggested (but not as strongly as it might have been) by Knapton (1978).

## Chilham

Chilham in 1086 was held from the bishop of Bayeux by Fulbert (occ. 1086–1120) – sometimes called 'de Chileham', sometimes 'de Dovre' (a name which seems to be derived, not from Dover, but from a place in Normandy, now Douvres-la-Délivrande). After 1088, Fulbert remained in possession, holding directly from the king. He was succeeded by his son, Hugo de Dovre (occ. 1127–70), sometimes called 'de Chileham' or 'son of Fulbert'. Hugo was dispossessed by king Stephan, and all or some of his lands (probably all of them) were given to Willelm de Ipre.<sup>32</sup> After 1154, Willelm was dispossessed in his turn, and Hugo recovered his inheritance.<sup>33</sup> When Hugo died, in 1170–1, the barony passed to his nephew, Johan de Dovre (d. 1189–90);<sup>34</sup> from him it passed to his son, Fulbert de Dovre, who came of age in 1198 and died in 1202–3, leaving one daughter as his heir.



Apart from the barony of Chilham itself, the lords of Chilham held Hothfield from the archbishop, Sibertswold from the abbot of Saint Augustine's. Johan de Dovre's wife Roesia (d. 1211–12) was a daughter of the eldest son of Ricard de Luci (d. 1179).<sup>35</sup> Eventually that meant that her granddaughter, also named Roesia, inherited a share of Ricard de Luci's lands, which included two manors in Kent, Lessness and Newington; but the story is a complicated one, and – since it has no particular relevance – I refrain from telling it here.

This was another barony which owed castleguard at Dover. The load was shared among 15 knights, organized in five teams of three, working to a 20-week rota.

<sup>32</sup> We only know this because Willelm de Ipre gave Chilham church to the monks of Saint Bertin; and we only know that because Hugo de Dovre, after being reinstated, allowed the donation to stand – though of course he represented it as his own donation, ignoring Willelm's existence.

<sup>33</sup> He also got possession of his wife Mathildis's inheritance, a share of some of the lands which had belonged to her brother, Willelm Pevrel (below, Peverel of Dover).

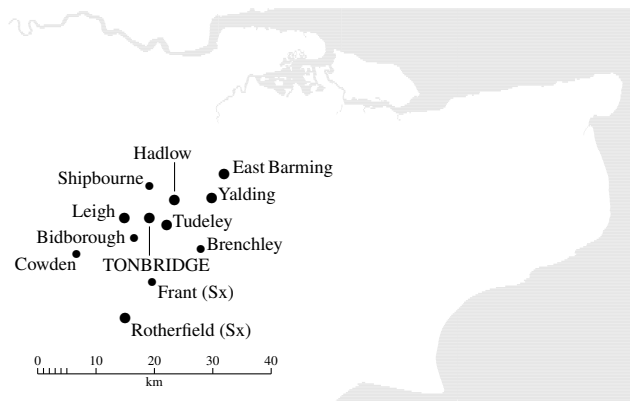
<sup>34</sup> The youngest son of Hugo's younger brother, Willelm de Dovre (occ. 1141–5).

<sup>35</sup> Ricard de Luci founded the abbey of Lessness, giving it the western half of this manor and two parish churches which were his to give, Newington and Marden. (Not Lessness church itself, which already belonged to the canons of Holy Trinity, London.)

In 1242 the barony belonged to Fulbert's daughter Roesia (d. 1261) and her husband – a bastard son of king Johan's, Ricard fiz le rei (d. 1246). (He was sometimes called 'de Chileham', occasionally 'de Warenne', that being his mother's name.) It seems that they were living separately by this time. Roesia held half of Lessness in domain (the half which did not belong to the canons of Lessness). The manor of Newington had also been split in half: one portion was owned by Roesia's nephew Gaufrid de Luci (d. 1252), the other by the heirs of Roesia's grandmother's sister.

## Clare

All of the lands which in 1086 belonged to Ricard son of count Gislebert continued with his descendants. Only a small proportion of these lands lay in Kent: Tonbridge with its castle and lowy, and a handful of other manors, none very far from Tonbridge, two of which had been held by Ricard from the bishop of Bayeux.<sup>36</sup> Ricard's great-grandson, Gilebert (d. 1152), was made an earl by king Stephan: he used the title earl of Hertford, sometimes earl of Clare. (He fell out with the king in 1147, but the estrangement did not last long.) When he died, the honour passed to his younger brother, Roger earl of Hertford (d. 1173).<sup>37</sup>



Two generations later, the descent of the earldom of Hertford intersected with that of the earldom of Gloucester. Gilebert de Clare (d. 1230) inherited both earldoms, Hertford from his father, Gloucester from his mother. His title was earl of Gloucester and Hertford; less formally he was often called the earl of Gloucester, sometimes the earl of Clare. (It was known well enough, by the people who needed to know, that these titles all referred to a single person.)

When the earl died in 1230, his son and heir was only eight years old. Assuming that the son remained alive (as in fact

<sup>36</sup> The manor of Rotherfield in Sussex, forfeited by the bishop of Bayeux in 1088, was shortly afterwards acquired by Ricard's son Gislebert (R1, fo. 182v = Davis 1913, no. 450).

<sup>37</sup> Roger's son, Ricard earl of Hertford (d. 1217) was the founder of Tonbridge priory. By an arrangement negotiated with the pope in 1191, the priory was exempted, not just from the bishop of Rochester's jurisdiction, but also from the archbishop's. In the earl's view, so I suppose, it seemed right for the priory to have a special status, consonant with the special status enjoyed by the lowy of Tonbridge.

he did), this meant that both honours would be in the king's hands for the next thirteen years (except for the share assigned to the late earl's widow by way of dower). The vultures soon started arriving. In 1235 the archbishop of Canterbury got a charter from the king which granted him custody of Tonbridge and Brasted during the heir's minority – not just on this occasion, but on any similar occasion in the future. Brasted was part of the honour of Gloucester and had always been held from the archbishop, since before 1086; archbishop Edmund was within his rights to ask for the custody of it.<sup>38</sup> But the archbishop had no right whatever to ask for the custody of Tonbridge. It was outrageous of him to apply for it, outrageous of the king to grant it. In effect, this charter meant that the earl was now the archbishop's tenant, not the king's, so far as the lowy of Tonbridge was concerned. Assuming that the archbishop remained alive, the earl would be obliged to come to terms with him before he could get possession of this portion of his inheritance. Fortunately for the earl, the archbishop did not remain alive. He died in 1240. Tonbridge fell back into the king's hands; and it stayed there long enough for the earl to get full possession in 1243, while there was still no archbishop to interfere. (The earl realized, no doubt, that eventually he would have to come to terms with the new archbishop; but now he would be negotiating from a position of strength.)<sup>39</sup>

In 1242, the honour of Clare was still theoretically in the king's hands; but it appears that the earl of Gloucester had already been put in possession, even though the formal transfer could not take place before August 1243.

## Constabulary

The honour of the Constabulary, as it was defined in the thirteenth century, coincided very nearly with the vast assemblage of lands in England – in Kent, Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk – acquired by Hugo de Montfort in the aftermath of 1066. Hugo had served the duke of Normandy as one of his hereditary constables; he was to serve the king of England in the same capacity. From him, the office and the lands which went with it descended to his son, Robert de Montfort.<sup>40</sup> Falling into disgrace, Robert was dispossessed in 1107, and the inheritance passed to his sister, Adelina, with whom it was granted out twice: firstly to Simon de Molins (occ. c. 1120), secondly to Robert de Ver (occ. 1127–51).<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Even in this respect, however, I am doubtful whether he could cite any favourable precedent. In 1183, after the death of a previous earl of Gloucester, it is clear that the king got custody of Brasted – and kept it.

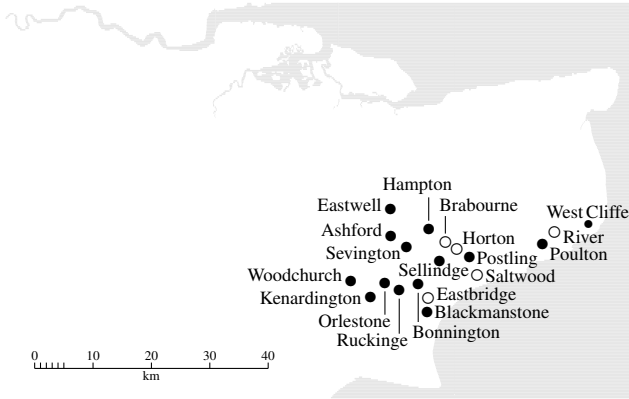
<sup>39</sup> An agreement was finally worked out in 1258. The earl was not exactly the innocent victim of other people's machinations. By questionable means, his great-grandfather had acquired the hereditary bailiffdom of the hundreds of Littlefield and Watchlingstone, and the earl was stealthily annexing both hundreds to the lowy of Tonbridge. There are several reports about this in the hundred rolls; the men of Wrotham hundred seem to have been best informed.

<sup>40</sup> It was Robert who gave Saltwood church to the monks of Le Bec.

<sup>41</sup> Robert de Ver and Adelina were the founders of the Cluniac priory at Horton.



When war broke out, Robert stayed loyal to king Stephan: he was frequently in attendance on the king, up until 1151, which presumably is when he died. His wife was apparently already dead, never having had any children; so the question arose as to who now had the strongest claim on the inheritance.



Two claimants came forward. One was Gislebert de Gant (d. 1156), who could prove (if I understand the case correctly) that he was the grandson of a sister of Hugo de Montfort's. The other was Henric de Essex, who could prove (I think) that his mother was a sister of Adelina's, previously overlooked. On that reading of the evidence, Henric was the nearer heir.<sup>42</sup> In the short run, nevertheless, it was Gislebert de Gant who got possession; and he remained in possession for long enough to give away large parts of the domain.<sup>43</sup> But Henric de Essex succeeded in ousting him, and was in possession of both the office and the honour before the change of regime in 1154. Nine years later, Henric was dispossessed – in circumstances so ignominious that the honour seems to have reverted to the king absolutely. No other descendant of Hugo de Montfort's was ever allowed to have it.<sup>44</sup>

The lands in Kent formed a compact group, deliberately clustered (so it seems) around Hugo's own castle at Saltwood. This choice of a site for the castle proved to have been unfortunate, because Saltwood was one of the places

<sup>42</sup> In fact, under the rules which applied in the thirteenth century, he would already have been in possession of the whole honour: Adelina would have got only half of it, and her husband would have lost this half as soon as Adelina died. But the rules were more flexible in the twelfth century; or at least kings tended to act as if they were. In this particular case, the king might have taken the view that the honour could not be divided because it was linked with the constableness: he would not want two halves of a constable; nor would he want one constable with only half the estate.

<sup>43</sup> A fact which emerges – as Round observed – from a schedule attached to the exchequer roll for 1169. Quite possibly the schedule understates the case. There may have been other grants made by Gislebert which fail to appear on this list because they had been revoked, by Henric de Essex before 1163, or by the king since then.

<sup>44</sup> It was subsequently granted out from time to time, but not with permanent effect. For one period (between 1189 and 1217) it belonged to the counts of Le Perche; that is why, in the thirteenth century, the honour is often referred to as the honour of Le Perche. It was also called the honour of Hagenet – a perverse French spelling for Haughley in Suffolk, regarded as the head of the honour.

which archbishop Lanfranc began trying to recover for the church of Canterbury. The sensible solution would have been for Hugo to give the archbishop some land in exchange; instead it was agreed that he should hold the land as the archbishop's tenant, owing him four knights' service, and that was a recipe for trouble.<sup>45</sup>

By the mid thirteenth century, the domain manors had all become separated from the honour. Saltwood was back with the archbishop; Brabourne had been given to the count of Aumale (below, Marescal); River (mostly) belonged to the abbey of Saint Radegund's, Eastbridge to the Maison-Dieu of Dover. What remained were the knight's fees, of which there were roughly 21 in Kent, out of a total of 58 or so.<sup>46</sup> Presumably there had once been a time when the fees in Kent were expected to provide a garrison for Saltwood castle; but nothing is heard about that. They were certainly expected to help in defending the king's castle at Dover. Castleguard rents were payable there by the entire honour, which, for this purpose, was reckoned to consist of 56 knight's fees:<sup>47</sup> the fees were organized into 13 teams, nine of four knights each and four of five. It looks as if a 56-week rota (14 teams of four) had been modified to make it coincide with an ordinary financial year.<sup>48</sup>

In 1242 the honour of the Constabulary (or of Hagenet, or of Le Perche) was, as much as was left of it, in the king's hands.

### Crevequer

On the death of Haimo the sheriff, after 1114, the large estate which he had built up was divided into two portions. One portion went to the earl of Gloucester, whose wife is known to have been Haimo's niece. The other portion, possibly retained by the king for a while, was sooner or later granted to Robert de Crevequer (last occ. 1140), whose wife Roesia was (so I suppose) another niece of Haimo's. He was certainly in possession by 1129.<sup>49</sup> Haimo had also held a number of manors from the archbishop, in return for six knights' service; these manors were similarly shared out between the earl and Robert.

<sup>45</sup> Far more complicated, but less well recorded (the only evidence consists of casual remarks in DB), was the business of deciding exactly which pieces of land fell inside Hugo's division, exactly which fell outside, in the feod of the bishop of Bayeux.

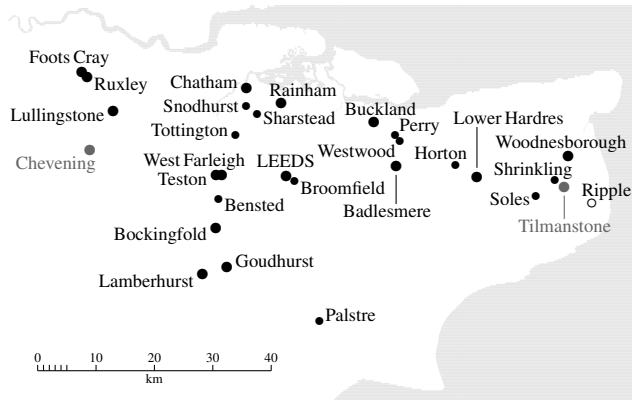
<sup>46</sup> *Book of fees*, pp. 1464–6, a list put together in 1232–3.

<sup>47</sup> There was also an odd shilling, probably a rent of some other kind absorbed into the list of castleguard rents via the fiction that it represented one-tenth of a knight.

<sup>48</sup> For as long as the system was performing its original function, a 52-week rota would be the very thing to avoid, because it would mean, for instance, that the knights who have to spend Christmas at Dover this year will have to do the same next year, and forever. With any other multiple of 4, the spells of duty travel around the year, and in the long run any hardships are evenly shared.

<sup>49</sup> Robert de Crevequer founded an Augustinian priory on part of the manor of Leeds. The priory was in existence before 1136; its records are an important source of information concerning the Crevequer family and their tenants.

Robert de Crevequer stayed loyal to king Stephan. He and his brother Elias (d. 1162) found a new sphere of activity in Suffolk, where they were given the manor of Mildenhall, to look after, or perhaps to keep. After 1154, Robert's son Daniel de Crevequer (d. 1177) lost his lands for a while; but he was back in possession by 1156, though only of the lands in Kent. (The Crevequer connection with Mildenhall lasted until 1163, but was broken off after that.)<sup>50</sup>



The barony consisted of 14 knight's fees (not counting the service of three knights owed to the archbishop). Two further fees, said to have once been owned by Robert de Crevequer, were claimed by his descendants; but the claim was not made good.<sup>51</sup> Ruxley and Badlesmere might perhaps be regarded as second-tier baronies; but I doubt whether either would meet the definition (unless it were framed so loosely as to be meaningless) before the late thirteenth century.

To a limited extent, the barony of Crevequer owed castle-guard at Dover.<sup>52</sup> It seems clear that the lands on which this liability lay were the lands which in 1086 had belonged to Ansfid Masleclerc.<sup>53</sup> After 1088, Ansfid became a tenant of Haimo the sheriff's, owing him (so it seems) the service of five or six knights; after Haimo's death, these five or six knight's fees were all included in the share of his estate which became the barony of Crevequer. At some later date (before 1166), Ansfid's lands were split into three portions (presumably because they were divided among three daughters), and each portion had to pay a corresponding share of the castle-guard rent due to Dover.

<sup>50</sup> While it lasted, it caused friction with the monks of Battle, who were the owners of Mildenhall church.

<sup>51</sup> One fee each for Nashenden and West Barming. In 1242 they were both held directly from the king.

<sup>52</sup> The arithmetic is odd: from one four-week spell to the next, the rent alternated between 120 pence (for one knight) and 80 pence (for two-thirds of a knight). Though the total number of fees is equal to five, the payments were stretched out over a 24-week rota. Probably this means that the number of fees had been reduced from six to five before Ansfid's lands were partitioned (see below).

<sup>53</sup> One item on the list, *Rokesle*, seems to be an exception; but I think that it refers to the Ruxley family (which acquired a share of Ansfid's lands), not to Ruxley itself. (In other words, I take it to be a shorthand expression for 'the heir of Robert de Rokesle'.) Another item, Ripple, is also something of a puzzle; I refer to it in the commentary (above, p. 187).

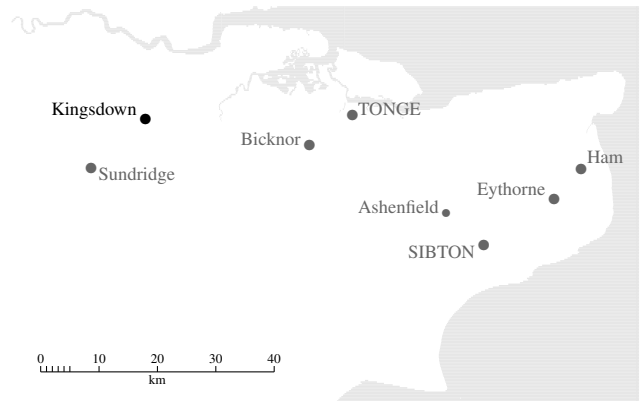
In 1242 the barony belonged to Hamo de Crevequer (d. 1263). Through his wife Mathildis (his second wife, not the mother of his heirs), he also had possession of the barony of Folkestone (above, Averanches).

Eu, *see* Arundel

Eudo the steward, *see* fiz Gerold

fiz Bernard

Tonge was a second-tier barony included in the barony of Port (see below). Its first recorded owner, Radulf Picot (d. 1165), was a man of some note. He served as sheriff of Kent under both Stephan and Henric II, till being superseded after December 1160. (He incurred a heavy fine then, another in 1165.) In 1156–7 he was given the manor of Kingsdown,<sup>54</sup> in return for the service of half a knight, and that was enough (if the king chose to insist on his prerogative) to make him a first-tier baron.



Radulf's heir was his daughter, Eugenia (last occ. 1201).<sup>55</sup> Her first husband was Willelm Malet (d. 1170), with whom she had no children.<sup>56</sup> Her second was Thomas fiz Bernard (d. 1184), with whom she had three sons and one daughter (facts which were put on record in 1185, because by then her status as a marriageable widow made her a person of interest to the king). This marriage united Tonge with the group of manors – principally Sibton in Lyminge – which were held by Thomas from the archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>57</sup>

In 1242, this barony was waiting to be inherited by the heir of Radulf fiz Bernard (d. 1238). Custody of the lands had

<sup>54</sup> The place in Axstone hundred. The consequent deduction appears in the exchequer roll for 1157 (GREX 1157:101).

<sup>55</sup> It turned out that she was not his only daughter. An elder daughter, Adelia, appeared out of nowhere in 1190, demanding a share of the inheritance. But she seems to have been dead by 1203, and her share was reunited with Eugenia's.

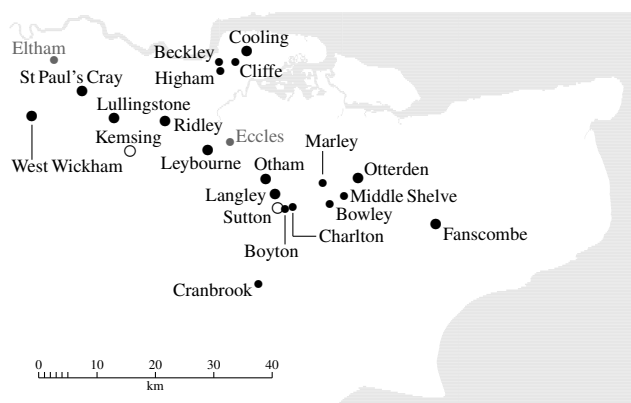
<sup>56</sup> In an absent-minded moment, Round assumed that Eugenia was the mother of Willelm's son Gilbert Malet (d. 1195), but that cannot be true: Gilbert must have been the son of a previous wife of Willelm's. It appears that he and his stepmother were of nearly the same age.

<sup>57</sup> By marrying judiciously, the fiz Bernards were able to acquire some further property in the course of the next two generations; I have not marked these acquisitions on the map.

been granted to Imbert le Pugeis, who was or became the second husband of Radulf's widow Johanna.

### fiz Gerold

After the death of Eudo the steward, in November 1119, his vast estate fell into the hands of the king. In Kent it included all the manors which in 1086 had been held from the bishop of Bayeux by Adam fiz Hubert, Eudo's brother, or by Goisfrid de Ros. Small portions of the honour were subsequently granted out: one batch of manors went to the count of Boulogne (see above), another to Hamo de Seint Cleir (below, Lanvalei).<sup>58</sup> But the bulk of it remained intact, and in the king's hands, till after 1154.<sup>59</sup>



In 1155, the new king gave most of the honour to Warin fiz Gerold (d. 1158), one of the household officials whom he had brought over from Normandy; he also made Warin a chamberlain of the exchequer.<sup>60</sup> A few years later Warin died – and what happened next is involved in much obscurity. We know that Warin left a widow (see below). We also know that Warin left an heir: his name is uncertain, but his existence is proved by a charter of Warin's brother, Henric fiz Gerold.<sup>61</sup> We know that the heir was male; we know that his relationship with Warin was closer than a brother's; therefore he must have been Warin's son.<sup>62</sup> We do not know

<sup>58</sup> Similarly, when the king was minded to make a donation to the canons of Leeds, he gave them Chart Sutton church (Johnson and Cronne 1956, no. 1942).

<sup>59</sup> A charter issued by the soon-to-be king, Henric duke of Normandy, granted the entire honour, in Normandy and England, 'to Robert son of the earl of Gloucester, my kinsman' (Crouch 1988). This Robert, I take it, was earl Robert's younger son (brother of the present earl), whose existence (and whose legitimacy) is vouched for by a charter of his mother's (Patterson 1973, no. 171). But in any case this charter was only a promise, so far as the lands in England were concerned, and the promise was not kept. The most puzzling fact, it seems to me, is the fact that this charter survived.

<sup>60</sup> The king's charter is printed by Richardson and Sayles (1963, p. 437).

<sup>61</sup> In or soon after 1158, fulfilling a bequest of Warin's, Henric donated some land in Sutton to the monks of Rochester (R2, fos. 143v–4r). The charter is carefully worded: the king has authorized Henric to act, but the monks are to understand that some other land of equal value may eventually be substituted for this, at the discretion of 'the king or my brother Warin's heir'.

<sup>62</sup> Or possibly his grandson. He may perhaps have been under age at first, but that is not the whole story. There is some secret here which nobody

when he was born, or how old he was when his father died; no later than 1166 he was old enough to get married. He had two children, both boys, born in 1167 and 1173 respectively. And he was dead by 1183, when his widow Mathildis incurred a debt at the exchequer 'for having her land and the custody of her son's land'.<sup>63</sup>

Meanwhile, ever since Warin's death in 1158, somebody had had to fill his place in the exchequer. His brother, Henric fiz Gerold, took over at first; when Henric died, in 1173–4,<sup>64</sup> he was succeeded by his son, Warin fiz Henric. Though no hint of this can be found in the exchequer rolls, I think it has to be concluded that Henric was deputizing for his nephew, Warin for his cousin. In 1166 it was Henric who submitted a list of the knight's fees belonging to this barony; in 1168, when this list and the others like it were used for levying an aid of one mark per fee, it was Henric who incurred the debt.<sup>65</sup> While Henric was alive, the entry was carried forward from year to year without anything being paid; but the debt was later transferred to his son, and he was required to start paying.<sup>66</sup> Off the record, I suppose, it was understood that he was making the payments on behalf of his cousin; when his cousin died, the payments ceased.

The cousin's widow, Mathildis de Caisnet, was an heiress in her own right. That is why she appears in a list of marriageable ladies drawn up in 1185; and that is where we learn about her sons, 18 and 12 years old. The elder son would come of age in 1188: he would expect to inherit his father's land then, his mother's land when she died. The younger son was not of much interest to anyone at the time.

A man named Henric fiz Gerold makes his first appearance in the exchequer rolls in the roll for 1190.<sup>67</sup> He was charged scutage for a block of 53 knight's fees (minus a fraction), which, though not named, is sure to be the honour of Eudo the steward. He is given the title chamberlain; and the exchequer assumed at first that this debt would be written off because Henric was entitled to 'the liberty of the exchequer'. Then it had second thoughts and charged him with the debt; but no money was actually paid.<sup>68</sup> This Henric's

saw fit to share with us. My guess would be that Warin's heir was (legally speaking) an idiot – not capable of performing his duties at the exchequer, nor of managing his own affairs.

<sup>63</sup> GREx 1183:103, under Oxfordshire. The remainder of this debt was charged to Warin fiz Gerold in 1199 (below, note 70).

<sup>64</sup> This is when Henric's name is replaced by his son's in the sequence of entries relating to Sparsholt in Berkshire (GREx 1174:112). Sparsholt is one of the properties which had been granted to Warin fiz Gerold in 1155 (above, note 60); apparently it must have been taken away from Warin's heir and given to Henric instead.

<sup>65</sup> GREx 1168:38, under Essex and Hertfordshire.

<sup>66</sup> Warin fiz Henric cleared most of this debt between 1178 and 1182. The remainder was charged to Warin fiz Gerold in 1199.

<sup>67</sup> Here and later, I think that fiz Gerold should be read as a surname, not as an indication that his father's name was Gerold.

<sup>68</sup> GREx 1190:109, under Essex and Hertfordshire. In 1192 the debt was transferred to Warin fiz Henric (GREx 1192:170), but still no money was paid; and then finally it was transferred to Warin fiz Gerold.

first appearance turned out to be his only appearance. I take it that he was Mathildis's elder son, of age by 1190 (as we would expect him to be), but dead by 1192.

A man named Warin fiz Gerold (not called chamberlain) makes his first appearance – the first of many – in the roll for 1194. He was charged scutage for a block of 54 knight's fees (minus a fraction), explicitly called 'the feod of Eudo the steward'.<sup>69</sup> From here onwards, we are back on solid ground. Warin fiz Gerold (d. 1216) was Mathildis's younger son, just recently come of age.<sup>70</sup>

Two manors in Kent, Kemsing and Sutton (i.e. Sutton Valence), are known to have been held in domain by Warin fiz Gerold (d. 1158). Kemsing was part of the dower assigned by Warin to his wife, in case she should survive him, as she did. (She was still alive in 1166.) In the normal course of events, the manor would revert to her husband's heirs on her death; but that is not what happened. By 1169, Kemsing was in the king's hands, and was expected to remain there (GREx 1170:160). The history of Sutton is less clear;<sup>71</sup> but it certainly began by belonging to Warin,<sup>72</sup> ended by belonging to the king. By 1200, both manors had been granted out again (below, Marescal), and their trajectory never re-converged with that of the fiz Gerold inheritance. The loss of these two domain manors is (so I imagine) part of the mystery surrounding Warin's heir.<sup>73</sup>

The number of knight's fees in Kent was probably about 16, slightly below one-third of the total number. Most of these fees are accounted for by two second-tier baronies. One was based at Cooling: it belonged to a family which used the surname le Botiller (*pincerna* in Latin), already established here in about 1090 (doc. 14). The other was based at Leybourne: its early history is obscure, but its owners became important men in the thirteenth century.

In 1242 the honour belonged to Margeria de Reviere (d. 1252), the daughter of Warin fiz Gerold (d. 1216). (The surname she used was that of her first husband, Baldwin de Reviere (d. 1216), the father of her son. As for her second husband, she seems to have preferred to forget him.) Apart from the manors which were held directly from the king, some part of Eltham (I do not know which part) was held from the earl of Gloucester, and Eccles was held from

<sup>69</sup> GREx 1194:37, under Essex and Hertfordshire. Payments were made in this and the following year.

<sup>70</sup> Mathildis herself disappears from the record after 1192. She was certainly dead by 1199, when Warin was charged with two debts which she had failed to pay off – explicitly 'his mother's' debts (GREx 1199:229, under Oxfordshire).

<sup>71</sup> Unlike Kemsing, it is not mentioned by name in the charter of 1155 (above, note 60).

<sup>72</sup> As is proved by Henric fiz Gerold's charter for Rochester (above, note 61).

<sup>73</sup> In other words, I suspect that these manors were the price which had to be paid in order to preserve the rest of the inheritance for the next generation.

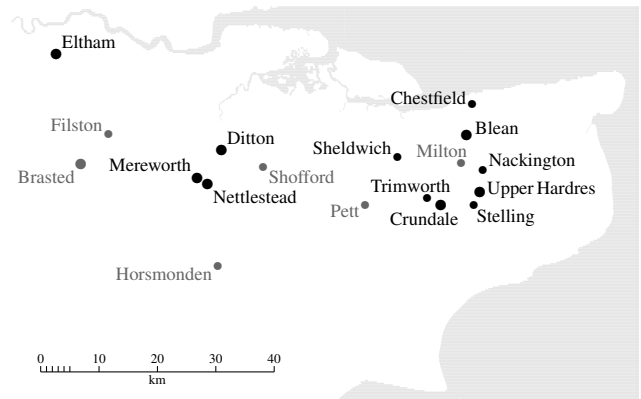
Warin de Montchenesi (below, Talebot). Cooling was waiting to be inherited by the heir of Willelm le Botiller; Leybourne belonged to Roger de Leiburne (d. 1250).

Fobert de Dovre, *see* Chilham

Folkestone, *see* Averanches

## Gloucester

The property in Kent and Surrey which came to be included in the honour of the earl of Gloucester had all belonged previously to Haimo the sheriff – the younger Haimo, that is. On his death, somewhere between 1114 and 1129, the lands that he held from the king were divided half and half. One portion went to Robert earl of Gloucester (d. 1147), the husband of Haimo's brother's daughter Mabilia (d. 1157); the other portion went to Robert de Crevequer (see above). (The lands which Haimo had held from the archbishop were divided in the same way.) After 1138, the earl was in rebellion against king Stephan. It seems safe to assume that the king dispossessed him, so far as he was capable of doing so (as he would have been in Kent and Surrey); but the earl's son and successor, Willelm earl of Gloucester (d. 1183), was back in possession by 1157.



Two manors, Eltham and Brasted, seem always to have been held in domain; the remainder were granted out. In 1166 the earl reported that he had 22 knight's fees (and a fraction) in Kent and Surrey. It is probably close to the truth to say that there were 13 fees (and a fraction) in Kent, nine (and a fraction) in Surrey.

In 1242 the honour of Gloucester was waiting to be inherited by Ricard earl of Gloucester and Hertford (d. 1262), who would not come of age till August 1243. The knight's fees in Kent, however, had all been included in the package of assets granted to Ricard's mother Isabella by way of dower. Though Isabella was dead by now (she died in 1240), her second husband, Ricard count of Poitou and earl of Cornwall (d. 1272), was entitled to keep possession of her dower for his own lifetime, by the rule called the courtesy of England. He did certainly still have possession in 1242 (but appears to have relinquished it soon afterwards).

Guînes, *see* Averanches

Hagenet, Haughley, *see* Constabulary

### Lanvalei

A small batch of the manors which had lapsed to the king on the death of Eudo dapifer (above, *fiz* Gerold) was used to form a barony for Hamo de Seint Cleir (occ. 1130). The package included one manor in Kent, East Chalk. This is the barony which later came to belong to Willelm de Lanvalein (d. 1180), who acquired it by marrying Hamo's granddaughter. Willelm was in possession by 1156.



In 1242 East Chalk belonged to Johan de Burgh (d. 1275), whose wife Hawisia was the daughter of Willelm de Lanvalei (d. 1215).

### Leicester

In circumstances of which I know nothing, two manors in Kent came to belong to a second-tier barony based at Weston Turville in Buckinghamshire, which itself was part of the honour of the earl of Leicester. The Leicester connection can be traced back to about 1120, but I have no detailed information earlier than an entry in the exchequer roll for 1219.

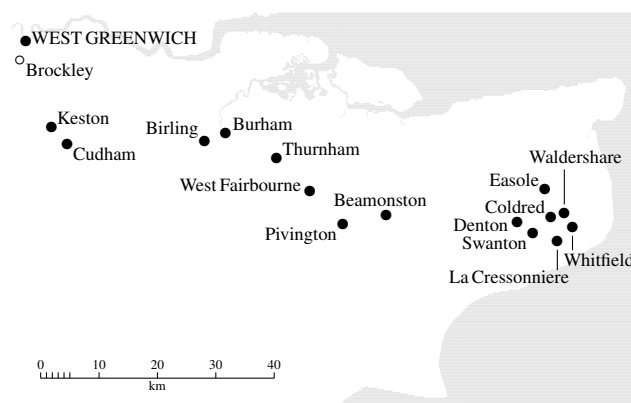


In 1242 the manors in Kent were held by their tenants from Simon de Turville (or 'from the heir of Willelm de Turville'), and by him from the earl of Leicester, Simon de Montfort (d. 1265).

Luci, *see* Chilham

### Maminot

By 1100, the lands which in 1086 were held from the bishop of Bayeux by two or three related men – Radulf de Curbespine, Gislebert Maminot bishop of Lisieux, and possibly another Gislebert Maminot (whom the DB scribe seems to regard, rightly or wrongly, as a different person from the bishop of Lisieux) – had coalesced to form a single barony, held directly from the king. The first recorded owner is Hugo Maminot (occ. 1100–1). It is not known when he died; probably the barony was in the king's hands for some time before Hugo's son, Walkelin Maminot (first occ. 1131), was old enough to inherit.<sup>74</sup> In or soon after 1138, Walkelin was dispossessed by king Stephan; whether his lands were kept by the king or given to somebody else, is, again, not known. Soon after the accession of Henric II, Walkelin was reinstated: he was certainly back in England, presumably back in possession, by 1155.



We can be sure that Walkelin died in 1170.<sup>75</sup> What happened next (I think) is that his widow kept possession of the estate – the whole of the domain, not just the portion to which she would be entitled by way of dower. The widow, Juliana, was a woman with powerful connections. She was a sister of Alberic de Ver earl of Oxford (d. 1194). Before becoming Walkelin's wife, she had been married to Hugo Bigod earl of Norfolk (d. 1177); though that marriage had been (so we have to infer) dissolved, Juliana was still allowed to call herself countess, and it was her son, not the son of Hugo's second wife, who eventually inherited the earldom. When she married Walkelin, she was (I think)

<sup>74</sup> That Walkelin was Hugo's son is proved by evidence from Rochester (R3, fo. 82v). It is often said that there were two men named Walkelin Maminot, father and son. The only basis for this statement is a one-line entry in the Bermondsey annals – a late and far from perfectly reliable source – mentioning a donation made, supposedly in 1157, by 'Walkelin Mammynot son of Walkelin Mammynot' (ed. Luard 1866, p. 440). Possibly this can be accepted as proof that Walkelin had a son; but it certainly does not suffice to prove that the son ever had possession of the whole barony. (For a start, it fails to prove that he was legitimate.)

<sup>75</sup> More precisely, between June and September 1170. This can be deduced from the sequence of entries in the exchequer rolls relating to the lestage of Hastings (the collection of which had been subcontracted to Walkelin since 1158). There is other evidence which goes to prove that Walkelin was dead before 1176 (see below).

given joint ownership of the estate, on terms which meant that Walkelin's heirs would not inherit till after she was dead.<sup>76</sup> This sort of arrangement, though not uncommon in the thirteenth century and afterwards, seems to have caused some bafflement at the time, at least inside the exchequer. As late as 1177, somebody was paying off the debts which Walkelin had left unsettled, and the fact that he had been dead for some years made no difference to the wording of the entries that appear in the exchequer rolls. Juliana was certainly still alive in 1185, probably dead by 1190.<sup>77</sup>

By that time, the exchequer had finally recognized the existence of 'the heirs of Walkelin Maminot'; by 1194 it was treating Galfrid de Sai (d. 1214) as their representative.<sup>78</sup> Galfrid's claim on the barony came through his wife, Adelidis. How she was related to Walkelin is not spelt out; but it seems to have been recognized, by those who knew the facts, that she was undeniably his heir (or one of them). Her first husband was Hugo de Periers (d. 1176);<sup>79</sup> by 1180 she was married to Galfrid de Sai. By 1194 Adelidis and Galfrid had got possession of the barony of Maminot, and from that point onwards its history is clear.<sup>80</sup>

The barony owed castleguard at Dover, supplying three knights for each four-week spell of duty. The load was shared among 24 knights, organized in eight teams of three, working on a 32-week rota. As nearly as I can count them, there were 15 knight's fees in Kent; the rest were widely scattered, from Sussex to Northamptonshire.<sup>81</sup> Among the subordinate holdings, none comprising more than three knight's fees, Thurnham is the only one which might be regarded as a second-tier barony;<sup>82</sup> but it was cut up into five pieces after the death of Stephan de Turneham (d. 1214).

<sup>76</sup> Countess Juliana and her steward, Michael de Turneham, founded a Premonstratensian house at Brockley in about 1180; her charter is printed by Caley and Ellis (1817–30, vol. 6, p. 913).

<sup>77</sup> Her death, I take it, is what triggered the litigation between Michael Belet and Galfrid de Sai reflected by an entry in the exchequer roll for 1190.

<sup>78</sup> As late as 1199, however, the exchequer was still doubtful whether Galfrid de Sai was accountable for the entire barony.

<sup>79</sup> A donation to the canons of Combwell by one of the Maminot tenants was made 'with the assent of my lord Hugo de Periers and his wife Adelidis' (Faussett 1866, p. 197). (This charter proves that Walkelin Maminot was already dead.)

<sup>80</sup> As for the canons of Brockley (see above), they seem to have been made an offer they could not refuse. Galfrid would let them keep their land; he would even be willing to give them West Greenwich church; but he would not let them stay where they were. By 1208 they had removed themselves from Brockley and settled at Bayham instead, on a site provided by Robert de Turneham (d. 1211).

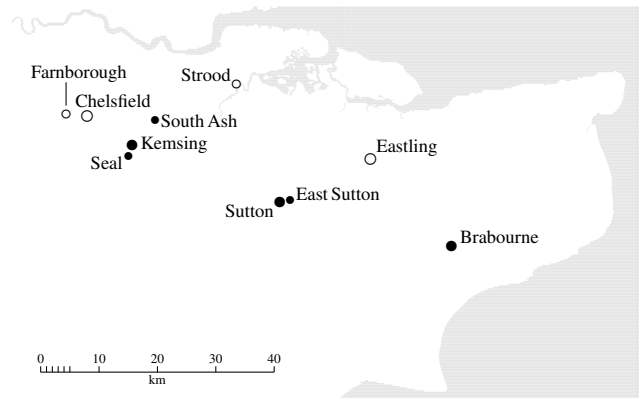
<sup>81</sup> Outside Kent, the places which shared the load were Leckhampstead in Buckinghamshire (1 knight), Kimpton in Hertfordshire (2), Gayhurst in Buckinghamshire (1), Hartwell in Northamptonshire (2), Brandeston in Suffolk and Hatcham (in Deptford) in Surrey (2), and Brettinghurst (in Camberwell) in Surrey (1).

<sup>82</sup> Robert de Turneham (d. 1195) was the founder of the abbey of Combwell, in existence by 1168. (It was downgraded to a priory later.) Many of Combwell's early charters survive as originals, often with the seals still attached. They were printed by Faussett (1862–72).

In 1242 the barony belonged to Willelm de Say (d. 1272), the grandson of Galfrid de Sai and Adelidis. He also owned the barony of Patric, which had been acquired by his father (see below).

## Marescal

Three large manors in Kent which happened to have lapsed to the king were acquired by Baldwin de Bethune (d. 1212), called count of Aumale because he was married to the countess. Two of these manors, Kemsing and Sutton, are known to have belonged to Warin fiz Gerold (d. 1158); it is a puzzle to know how they had come to belong to the king, rather than to Warin's heirs (above, fiz Gerold). Brabourne is in a different case: this was part of the honour of the Constabulary, forfeited in 1163, and the king could do as he pleased with it. Probably the grant was made in 1197; certainly Baldwin was in possession by 1199.



Baldwin's heir was his daughter Alicia,<sup>83</sup> the wife of Willelm Marescal (d. 1231). Apparently the manors in Kent must have been regranted to Willelm, on terms which meant that they would pass to his heirs, whether or not they were his wife's heirs too. Willelm succeeded his father as earl of Pembroke in 1219. Alicia had died by then, without having any children; and in 1224 he got married again, to the king's sister Alienora. The marriage settlement guaranteed her possession for life of a share of the Marescal estate, including the manors in Kent.

Willelm's father, Willelm Marescal (d. 1219), by acquiring the earldom of Pembroke in 1199, seems also to have acquired a claim to the overlordship of the second-tier barony of Chelsfield. This is another puzzle. Around 1120, Chelsfield belonged (as it would be expected to belong) to Patric de Caources (the successor of Ernulf de Hesding, who owned it in 1086). Some twenty years later, however, when a donation was made to the monks of Reading by a Chelsfield tenant, the grant was confirmed in the first place by Ernulf de Chelsfeld, in the second place by Gilebert earl of Pembroke (d. 1148–9).<sup>84</sup> If Ernulf became the earl's man in the time of king Stephan, as appears to be the case, it is

<sup>83</sup> His wife the countess's heir was her son by a previous marriage.

<sup>84</sup> These charters are printed by Kemp (1986, nos. 249–50).

hard to see how the earl's claim to the overlordship could be maintained. In the short run it was not: by 1166 we find Ernulf's son, Simon de Chellesfeld, listed among the men of Patric de Caources's grandson, Pagan de Montdublel. But eventually, somehow, the Pembroke claim was made good.

In 1242, the Marescal property in Kent was all held by Alienora's second husband, Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester (d. 1265); it would not revert to the Marescal heirs till Alienora was dead (she died in 1275). Chelsfield, by this time, had been divided into three portions; the respective tenants all answered to the earl of Leicester.

Montchenesi, *see* Talebot

### Moubrai

Two manors in Kent which were owned by Hugo de Port in 1086 ceased to belong to the barony of Port. It is known that they were held by Willelm Patric (d. 1174), and, for a time, by Willelm's son and heir, Ingelram Patric (d. 1190–1); but it was Willelm's youngest son, Eudo Patric (d. 1212–13) who eventually got possession of Ash, and he or his heirs got possession of Ryarsh too. Those are the known facts. What they appear to mean is that Willelm Patric was married twice, and that Ash and Ryarsh were the marriage portion which came with his second wife – hypothetically a sister or daughter of Johan de Port (d. 1168). His eldest surviving son would inherit the barony of Patric; but Eudo, as the son of this second wife, would stand to inherit his mother's marriage portion.<sup>85</sup>



It is something of a surprise to find that Ryarsh and Ash paid castleguard rents to Rochester. Presumably they incurred this charge while they were in the possession of Willelm Patric, even though, strictly speaking, they were not part of his barony.

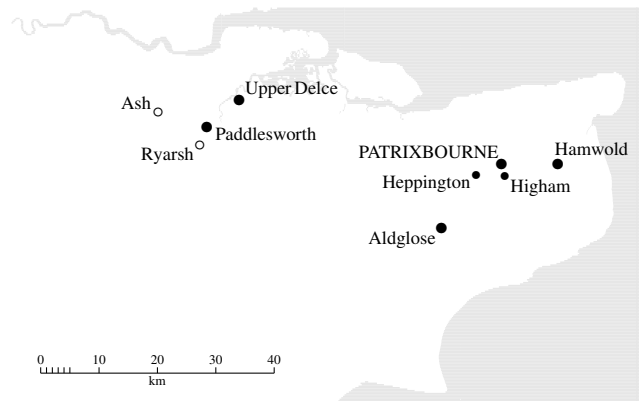
In 1242 both manors belonged to Roger de Moubrai (d. 1266), who was the grandson of Eudo Patric's sister Mabilia. Ryarsh was still held in domain; Ash had been granted out.

<sup>85</sup> Possibly Paddlesworth was part of the same package, but it did not pass to Eudo or Eudo's heirs.

### Patric

Patricbourne became the head of a small barony, the early history of which is even more than usually obscure. Before it had any connection with the name Patric, it seems to have passed through the hands of at least two previous owners.

One item of evidence associates Walter Tirel with Upper Delce (R1, fo. 194v); another item associates Tirel de Maineres with a holding in Kent (assessed at 15.875 sulungs altogether) which has to be what later became the barony of Patric (Flight 2005, p. 371). In a twelfth-century list of parish churches, Patricbourne itself is called 'Tirel's Bourne' (above, p. 231). These are just pieces of a puzzle; how they fit together can only be conjectured. It is possible that Tirel was a nephew (or grandson) of Walter Tirel, named after his uncle (or grandfather), but that is just a guess. What we do know for certain is that Tirel de Maineres was dispossessed of whatever land he owned in England, in or soon after 1124.



Within the next few years, Willelm Patric (d. 1174) was, for a price, given the lands which had been confiscated from Tirel. He was certainly in possession by 1129; with a possible interruption in the time of king Stephan, he remained in possession until the 1170s. He also acquired, perhaps by marriage, two manors in Kent which did not become part of the barony of Patric (above, Moubrai), and possibly Paddlesworth, which did.

At the time of his death, Willelm had been dispossessed, because of his involvement in the rebellion of 1173–4; but eventually the barony was recovered by his second son, Ingelram Patric (d. 1190–1). When Ingelram died, the inheritance was divided between his two daughters. Their respective husbands, Radulf Teissun and Johan de Praels, were dispossessed in 1204–5,<sup>86</sup> and within the next few years the whole barony came to belong to Galfrid de Sai (d. 1230). (Galfrid's father, Galfrid de Sai (d. 1214), was holding the barony of Maminot in right of his wife (see above); upon his death, the younger Galfrid got possession of that barony too.)

<sup>86</sup> Johan de Praels had given his half of the manor of Patricbourne, including the church, to the canons of Beaulieu in Normandy. For a price, they were allowed to keep it.

The barony owed castleguard at Rochester, for which purpose it was reckoned to consist of 15 knight's fees (representing a rent of 9 pounds).

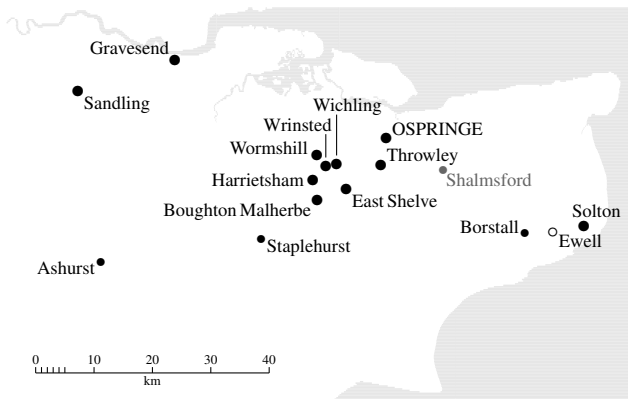
In 1242, the barony was owned by Galfrid's son, Willelm de Say (d. 1272), who also owned the barony of Maminot. The record does not distinguish between Patric and Maminot fees; with the help of other evidence, however, most fees can be assigned to one barony or the other.<sup>87</sup>

Pembroke, *see* Marescal

le Perche, *see* Constabulary

### Peverel of Dover

Willelm Pevrel (occ. 1100–30), called 'of Dover' to distinguish him from two other men of the same name, was the eldest of three brothers who all became settled in England. Willelm got possession of the lands, mostly in Kent, which in 1086 belonged to Herbert fiz Ivo, to Herbert's nephew Hugo, or to a man named Herfrid, who seems also to have been connected somehow (possibly by marriage) with Herbert. After 1088, Herfrid retained his lands (chiefly Throwley in Kent and Gattton in Surrey) but became Willelm Pevrel's man.



For a short time, the barony was held by Willelm Pevrel's nephew and namesake; but he was dispossessed, in or soon after 1138.<sup>88</sup> (It happens to be known that Herfrid's son Hamo was also dispossessed.)<sup>89</sup> The whole barony seems then to have been given to Willelm de Ipre.<sup>90</sup> After 1154, Willelm de Ipre was dispossessed in his turn, and the barony

<sup>87</sup> But I am not sure about Paddlesworth or Hamwold.

<sup>88</sup> His heirs were eventually able to recover the lands which the younger Willelm had inherited from his father, Pagan Pevrel, and from his uncle Hamo, but not of the lands which had belonged to his uncle Willelm. I take this to mean that Willelm was given possession of the former lands by king Henric, of the latter by king Stephan.

<sup>89</sup> That he joined the rebellion is proved by his appearance as a witness in a charter of Willelm Pevrel's (Rees 1975, no. 25). Hamo fiz Herfrid was sometimes called Hamo de Trulege, sometimes Hamo de Gattone.

<sup>90</sup> Willelm de Ipre gave Throwley church to the abbey of Saint Bertin. As in the case of Chilham church, it should be remembered that we only know about this because Hamo fiz Herfrid, after being reinstated, allowed the donation to stand.

was given to yet another Willelm, the younger brother of king Henric II. He died in 1164. The barony fell back into the king's hands, and on this occasion it stayed there. It came to be called the honour of Peverel of Dover.

One of the manors in Kent, Ewell, ceased to be part of the barony when it was given to the Templars. (In fact, it was given twice: by the elder Willelm Pevrel and by Willelm the king's brother. Presumably this means that the Templars lost it for a time, but then managed to persuade the king's brother to let them have it back.) Ospringe was held in domain; the other manors were all granted out.

When people spoke of the honour of Peverel of Dover, they did not always mean exactly the same thing; but usually they meant the knight's fees which owed attendance at the court of Ospringe, or (a little more narrowly) the knight's fees which owed castleguard at Dover. As to that, the barony was expected to supply three knights every month; the workload was distributed over 15 knight's fees, organized in five teams of three,<sup>91</sup> working to a 20-week rota. Most of these fees were in Kent; the rest were in Surrey, Essex and Buckinghamshire.

In 1242 the honour was still in the king's hands. Throwley belonged to Robert de Gattone (that having become, by now, the usual surname).

### Peverel of London

Two manors in Kent which in 1086 belonged to Ansgot de Rovecestre did not pass to his descendants. Instead they became merged with the package of lands, mostly in Essex, which in 1086 belonged to Rannulf Pevrel. It is not known how this happened. One guess might be that Ansgot married his daughter to Rannulf's son, giving her these two manors as her marriage portion; but there are other imaginable explanations. At all events, the entire holding lapsed to the king on the death of Rannulf's son Willelm. It came to be known as the honour of Peverel of London.



The manors in question are Beckenham and Stoke (i.e. the portion of Stoke which did not belong to the church of

<sup>91</sup> Something had gone wrong, however, and one team consisted of only 2.25 knights.

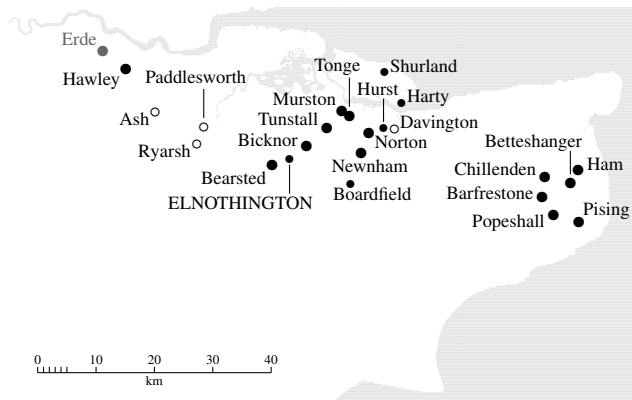


Rochester). Half of Beckenham (the northern half) seems to have been held in domain until being granted out by Henric II: the first recorded owner is Willelm fiz Erneis (occ. 1168). The other half of Beckenham (the half which came to be called Langley Park), together with Stoke, became the property of a family whose name, in its earliest appearance, is *Malesmæins* (R1, fo. 186r); I take that to mean *mal es meains*, ‘pain in the wounds’. (But thirteenth-century scribes spell the name in various ways, not seeming to know or care about its etymology.) That surname attached itself to the manor in Stoke.

In 1242 the northern half of Beckenham was held from the king for one knight’s fee by Ricard de la Rokele (d. 1277). (In modern spelling the name would be ‘de la Roquelle’; in Latin it is ‘de Rupella’.) One fee in Stoke and half a fee in Beckenham were held by Henric Malemeins (occ. 1227–62) from his cousin Johanna’s husband, Willelm Aguillon (d. 1244), Johanna representing the senior branch of the family. It was Henric who revived his twelfth-century predecessors’ surname; neither his father nor his grandfather had used it.<sup>92</sup>

## Port

The manors which in 1086 were held by Hugo de Port, mostly from the king or from the bishop of Bayeux, continued to belong to his descendants (perhaps with some interruption during the time of king Stephan). Adam de Port (d. 1213) was the last to use that surname. His son Willelm (d. 1239) called himself de Seint Jehan,<sup>93</sup> and his descendants did the same.



Except for Erde (i.e. Crayford), which was held from the archbishop, Hugo’s manors in Kent were all held from the bishop of Bayeux till 1088, from the king after that. To some extent they seem to have been treated as a block by themselves, distinct from the rest of the barony: there was a separate court for the tenants in Kent, which met at El-nothington – a lost place located by Grove (1985). Two

<sup>92</sup> Henric’s father was Alan fiz Henric, the second son of Henric fiz Ailwin (d. 1212), mayor of London. His mother was Orabilis de Meyhamme; by 1253 he had inherited her half of the second-tier barony of Maytham (above, Arundel).

<sup>93</sup> Because he had inherited the barony of Halnaker in Sussex from his mother’s uncle, Willelm de Seint Jehan (d. 1202).

or three manors became detached from the barony of Port during the twelfth century (above, Moubrai), but otherwise nothing much changed.

Two of the subordinate holdings are large enough that they can be regarded as second-tier baronies. One was based at Norton and Newnham, its first recorded owner being Hugo fiz Fulco (occ. 1110–15).<sup>94</sup> The other was based at Tonge: its first recorded owner, Radulf Picot (d. 1165), acquired one additional manor which was held directly from the king, and that promoted him to first-tier status (above, fiz Bernard).

Most of the manors in Kent – but not the second-tier barony of Norton – owed castleguard at Dover; so did the manor of Clothall in Hertfordshire, which seems to have been regarded as an outlying member of the barony of Port in Kent. The service was shared among twelve knight’s fees, organized into six teams of two knights each, working to a 24-week rota.

In 1242 the barony of Port belonged to Robert de Seint Jehan (d. 1267). Norton was held by Robert de Champagne; Tonge was waiting to be inherited by the heir of Radulf fiz Bernard (d. 1239).

## Ros

The lands which in 1086 belonged to Anschitil de Ros (occ. 1086–96) continued with his descendants. They formed the small barony of Horton, rated at seven knight’s fees. It ceased to be a first-tier barony when it was granted to archbishop Willelm in 1136; but its status was the cause of much dispute, from the 1160s onwards, until finally the archbishop’s claim was recognized by king Johan in 1202.



The lords of Horton owned East Wickham, which was held at fee-farm from the abbot of Saint Augustine’s; they also held some other lands from the archbishop, separately from

<sup>94</sup> His son, Fulco fiz Hugo, was the founder of Davington priory, a small house of Benedictine nuns, to whom he gave the churches of Davington, Harty, Newnham and Boardfield. (It is frequently said that the priory was founded in the eighteenth year of king Stephan (1153). That assertion appears to originate with Southouse (1671); but I have not seen this book, and cannot say how far it should be trusted.)

the barony.<sup>95</sup> In addition they had inserted themselves (I do not know when or how) into the chain of tenure on some of the Arsic fees.

In 1242 the barony belonged to the last of the male line, Ricard de Ros (d. 1244×6), who ended his life in a state of financial embarrassment. After his death the inheritance was divided between his sisters.

Say, *see* Maminot, Patric

## Stockbury

The lands which in 1086 belonged to Ansgot de Rovecestre have a complicated history. Stockbury and a few other manors were held from the bishop of Bayeux till 1088, from the king after that; part of Farningham (the manor which came to be called Charton) was held from the archbishop. Though the evidence is very thin, the barony seems to have descended smoothly to Ansgot's son, Helto fiz Ansgot (occ. c. 1120), and to Helto's son, Willelm fiz Helto (first occ. 1145×50).

But then something happened. By 1159, the barony (or part of it) belonged to Manasser Biset (d. 1177), one of the new king's stewards. Some years later (while Manasser was still alive), the name Ernulf Biset (occ. 1165–87) starts to appear; and Willelm fiz Helto reappears in the record at about the same time. What these facts appear to mean is that Willelm was dispossessed by Henric II, and that his lands were given to Manasser Biset. After some lapse of time, Willelm was reconciled with the king and allowed to recover his lands, if he could come to terms with the new owner. In fact he recovered only half of the barony; the other half – comprising Delce and half of Aldington, together with the manor of Preston Bissett in Buckinghamshire – continued to belong to a branch of the Biset family.<sup>96</sup>

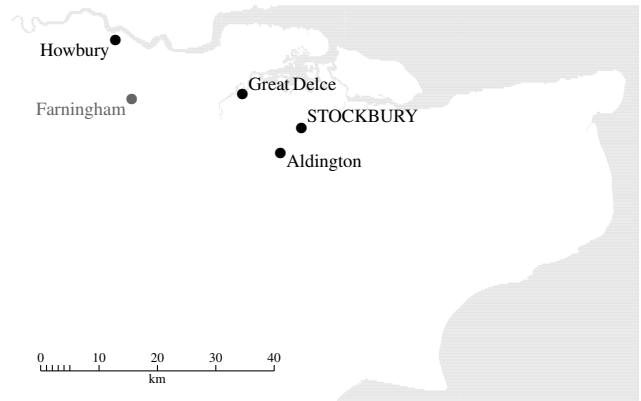
After the death of Willelm fiz Helto (d. 1179), his half of the barony was divided between his three sisters or their respective heirs. One of these heirs, Willelm de Cheritone (d. 1233), succeeded in regaining possession of Delce; he tried to oust the Bisets from their other manors as well, but in that he did not succeed.

The barony owed castleguard at Rochester, to the amount of seven knight's fees; the service was commuted, as normal, for a payment of 12 shillings per year per fee.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Including Toppesfield TM 0241 in Suffolk – not to be confused (though sometimes it has been) with Toppesfield TL 7337 in Essex, which was part of the honour of Boulogne.

<sup>96</sup> Evidently a younger branch. Most of Manasser's lands descended to his son and heir, Henric Biset (d. 1208).

<sup>97</sup> As far as I can work it out, the arrangement was for each third of Stockbury to pay 14 shillings, for Great Delce to pay 18 shillings, and for Preston Bissett to pay 24 shillings. That makes the total what it ought to be, 84 shillings a year.



In 1242, the lands inherited from Willelm fiz Helto are found belonging to Willelm de Auberville (d. 1248), master Odo de Cheritone (d. 1247), and Robert de Setvans (d. 1253). Half of Aldington belonged to Arnold Biset.

## Talebot

The barony of Talebot was formed from the lands which in 1086 belonged to two men (possibly uncle and nephew) who were tenants of the bishop of Bayeux: Helto, who owned land in Kent and Buckinghamshire, and Radulf fiz Turald, who owned land in Kent and Essex. It appears that they were both dispossessed in 1088. The new owner, Goisfrid Talebot, makes his first appearance no more than a few years later (above, doc. 14).

When Goisfrid died, in or shortly before 1130, he was succeeded by his son, also called Goisfrid Talebot. The younger Goisfrid was dispossessed in 1138; he was one of the rebel barons who joined forces in Gloucester soon after that. Still fighting against the king, he died in 1140.

His next heir was Cecilia Talebot. Though we are not told explicitly how she was related to him, it seems to have been understood, by everyone aware of the facts, that she was indeed the heir to the barony of Talebot. Cecilia was married three times. Her first husband, Roger earl of Hereford (d. 1155), was another member of the rebel alliance; it seems unlikely that he ever got possession of his wife's inheritance.<sup>98</sup> Her second husband, Willelm de Peitiers (occ. 1156–62), a bastard half-brother of queen Eleanor, did certainly get possession; so did her third, Walter de Maiene (occ. 1166–88).

By 1187, it was obvious that Cecilia was never going to have children, and the question came up as to who would inherit the barony after her. At this point it became expedient to remember that she had a younger sister, Agnes by name, who had been ignored till now. With Cecilia and Walter's consent, half of the barony was given to Agnes; when she died, in 1190–1, it passed to her son, Willelm de Montchenesi (d. 1204). Cecilia survived meanwhile – Cecilia countess of Hereford, as she was still allowed to call

<sup>98</sup> But he did find some reason for changing sides in 1152.

herself. She died in 1207–8, and the half of the barony which she had kept could then be reunited with the other half. As soon as Willelm's son Warin came of age, in 1214, he got possession of the entire inheritance.



The barony was centred at Swanscombe. As well as the lands which were held directly from the king, it included a few manors which were held from the archbishop or the bishop of Rochester. In the case of Preston, the connection can be traced back to the 1070s, i.e. to the time of Radulf fiz Turald's father, Turald de Rovecestre.

Talebot was the largest of three baronies which paid castle-guard rents at Rochester. A payment of 18 pounds was due each year: that represents the service of 30 knight's fees, commuted at the rate of 12 shillings per fee. In addition the barony of Patric owed service for 15 fees, the barony of Stockbury for seven (see above).

In 1242 the barony of Talebot was still in the possession of Warin de Montchenesi (d. 1255).

Willelm fiz Helto, *see* Stockbury