

# Chapter 1: The Project and the History of the Site

## INTRODUCTION

The site in Harding's Field, Chalgrove (SU 6350 9682) was discovered by Richard Chambers of Oxford Archaeological Unit (OAU) in July 1976, during aerial reconnaissance of the earthworks (Miles 1977, 60). Shortly afterwards he and James Bond, then of Oxfordshire County Council Department of Museum Services (ODMS), carried out an earthwork survey of the field and identified two moated islands. Disturbed ground and the presence of nettles marked the position of structures on the larger eastern island and the good preservation of the earthworks, together with the rich grass and flora, suggested that the area had not been ploughed since the demolition of the buildings. Oxfordshire County Council Education Department had acquired Harding's Field from Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1971, and Oxford Archaeological Unit (OAU, now Oxford Archaeology) began excavations in 1976 after the decision had been made to prepare the site for use as a playing field.

### Site location, topography and geology (Fig.1.1, Pl. 1.1)

The village of Chalgrove, in Ewelme Hundred, Oxfordshire, lies 15.3 km (9.5 miles) south-east of Oxford and 5.6 km (3.5 miles) to the north-west of Watlington, the nearest market town. The name 'Chalgrove' means 'at the chalk or limestone pit' (Gelling 1953, 122) and the village lies near the foot of the scarp slope of the Chilterns, in the valley of the river Thames. This is a relatively low-lying area and Chalgrove village has a maximum elevation of 72.7 m OD at its eastern end and falls to 64.1 m OD at its western end.

Chalgrove is situated on Gault clays at the south-western end of the Vale of Aylesbury. The Gault is drained transversely by many small streams and patches of gravels and outcrops of Upper Greensand (OS Geological Survey sheet 254) further interrupt its surface. The numerous streams around the south-west side of the village have deposited a band of alluvium, approximately 400 m wide, over the Gault clay. These alluvial soils tend to be poorly drained and are mostly under permanent meadow grass (Jarvis 1973, sheet 253).

The natural east-west drainage has been considerably interfered with by the construction, probably in the 18th century, of a dam across one of the streams at the west of the village to provide a head of water to drive a breastshot water mill (Mill House – Fig. 1.1). The result of this is that the village is prone to flooding, and Harding's Field lies in the floodplain of the dammed stream.

A cut has been taken off the stream, at the east end of the village, which is controlled by a sluice gate.

This man-made water course runs along the north side of the main street before rejoining the stream at the western end of the High Street.

Harding's Field lies south of the High Street, 250 m to the north-west of St Mary's Church and adjacent to Frogmore Lane. This lane is one of the oldest rights of way in the village and links the moated site to the church and the High Street. The site name derives from Thomas Harding who farmed the land in the latter half of the 19th century (Chalgrove Local History Group 1980, 8); it is currently owned by Oxfordshire County Council.

At the time of the excavations only four other known moated sites in Oxfordshire had been investigated archaeologically. None had been the subject of large-scale open-area excavation. Harding's Field presented OAU with an opportunity which appeared to satisfy all the research criteria proposed by the Moated Sites Research Group (Le Patourel 1978a and 1978b). The field containing the two moated enclosures was under pasture and free of buildings and had not been ploughed in living memory. The moat survived as shallow earthworks and a significant part of it had not apparently been recut. Research by John Blair identified substantial documentary evidence relating to the site and to a second moated site within the village, Manor Farm, now known as Chalgrove Manor. His account of the documentary evidence is given below.

### Archaeological and historical background

(Fig. 1.2, Pls. 1.2–4)

*by Jill Hind*

#### *Prehistoric*

Prehistoric activity in Oxfordshire was primarily concentrated on the limestone hills and the gravel terraces and floodplains of the major rivers where many of the sites have been identified from aerial photographs and cropmarks. No prehistoric sites are known in the vicinity of Chalgrove, possibly because early prehistoric settlers are thought to have avoided the heavy soil (Emery 1974, 35), although it should be remembered that buried features on clay seldom show up as cropmarks on aerial photographs. Nevertheless there have been some stray finds; a Neolithic polished axe (PRN 5158) about 1.3 km north east of the village and an Iron Age gold coin (PRN 2037) from Chalgrove Field, about 0.8 km to the north-east. A few sherds of Iron Age pottery were also recovered during the Harding's Field excavations.

#### *Roman*

Little evidence has been found of significant Roman occupation in the vicinity of Chalgrove, which lies

Barentin's Manor

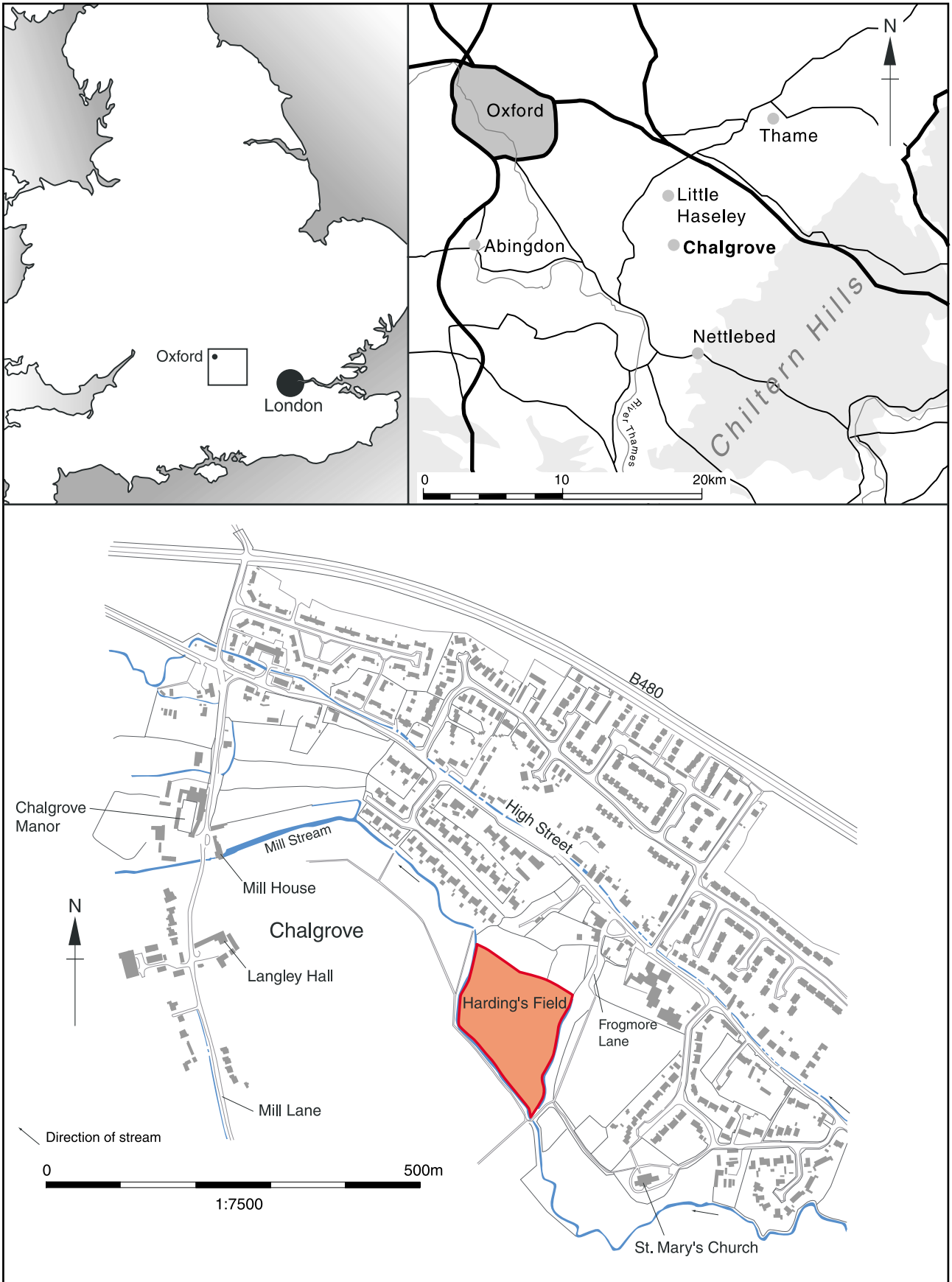


Figure 1.1 Site location.



*Plate 1.1 Aerial view of Chalgrove in 1978 looking north-west, showing Harding's Field centre left.*

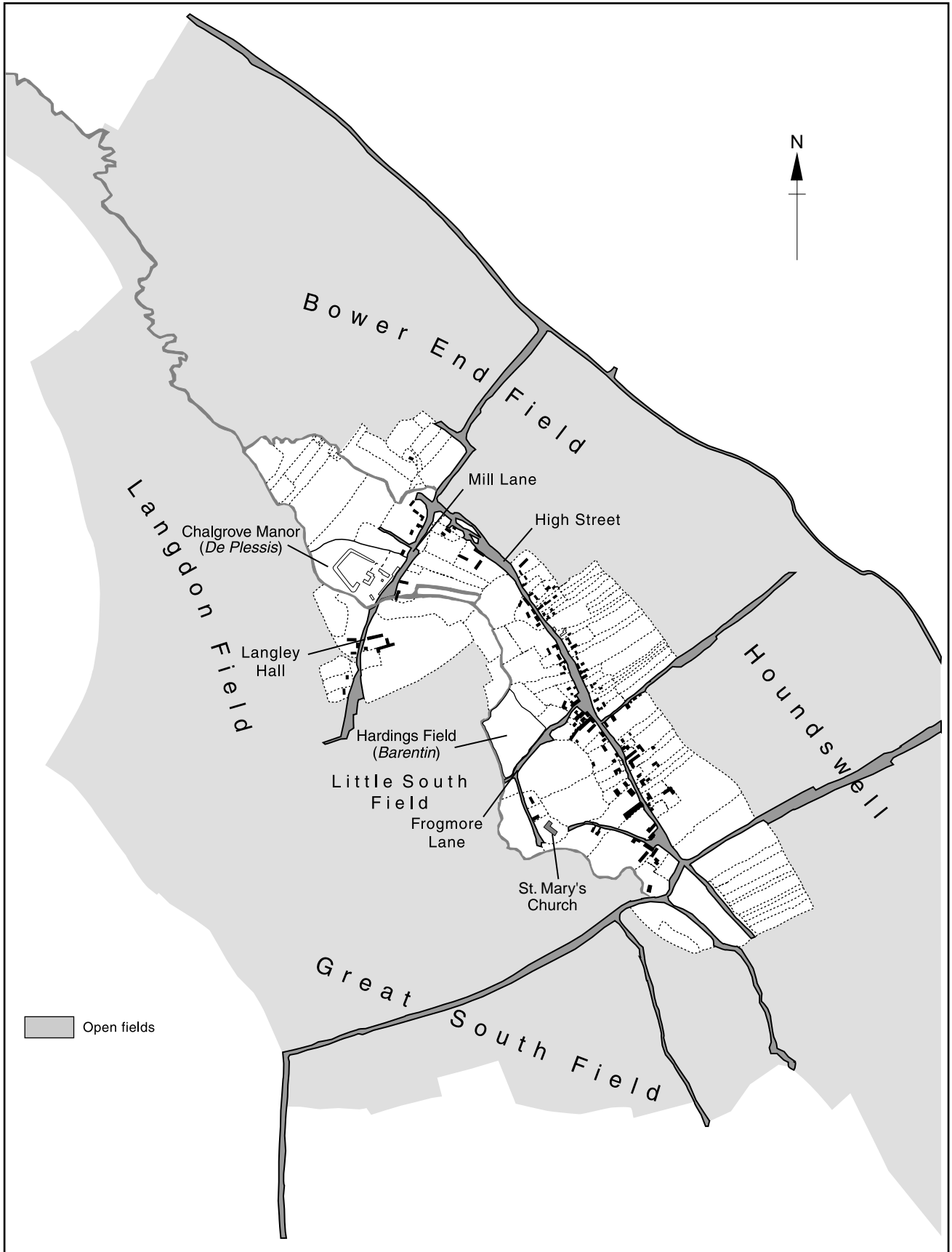


Figure 1.2 The village of Chalgrove from the 1822 estate map, showing the open field arrangement.



*Plate 1.2 Aerial view of Harding's Field c 1970 showing cropmarks of moats, and relationship of manor site to the church (lower right).*



Plate 1.3 Estate map of Chalgrove in 1822, showing Hardings Field, No. 96. Reproduced by kind permission of the President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford.



Plate 1.4 The 15th-century Barentin brasses in St Mary's Church, Chalgrove, depicting Reynold Barentin, and Drew Barentin III with his first and second wives Joan and Beatrice (by kind permission of St Mary's Church PCC).

only about 7 km east of the Roman small town of Dorchester on Thames. Small-scale settlement is suggested by two sets of cropmarks identified as Romano-British on the basis of associated pottery. The first (PRN 4490) lies west of Chalgrove Manor, in the moat of which has been found pottery, bone and charcoal (PRN 11133) of Roman date. Aerial survey in 1976 showed sub-rectangular and linear features (PRN 12491) between Mill Lane and the High Street, and fieldwalking of the area produced Romano-British pottery.

It is possible that a Roman road ran through the parish to the south of the village. The Lower Icknield Way, originally a prehistoric trackway, has been traced from Aston Clinton, Bucks, to Pyrton, 4 km east of Chalgrove, but its subsequent route is uncertain (Margary 1976, 183).

The excavations at Harding's Field produced a few pottery sherds and a spoon handle from this period. Plot recorded finds of a Roman glass jug and pottery (PRN 2300) from an area to the SE of the village (1677), although the exact location is not clear.

### *Anglo-Saxon*

There is very little material evidence for Anglo-Saxon activity at Chalgrove. A single pottery rim sherd (PRN 11143) was found when a cottage about 170 m west of the church was demolished in 1977. During the Harding's Field excavations another sherd and two 9th-century strap ends were recovered. Such Saxon material as has been recovered has come from the area on the south side of the modern village and just west of the church. The church lies on the edge of the modern village, but the presence of earthworks around it suggests that it may have been surrounded by settlement at an earlier period (Pl.1.2). It seems likely that the nucleus of the late Saxon settlement could have been close to a church on, or near, the site of the present building.

### *Medieval*

Domesday Book records that Miles Crispin held 10 hides in Chalgrove in 1086, and the manor had formerly been held by Thorkell (Morris 1978, 35–6). (This is a Scandinavian name, but there was a fashion among the English for using such names, and it does not necessarily signify that Thorkell was a Dane (Williams 1986, 11)). The Domesday entry lists 23 villagers and 10 smallholders, and mentions 5 mills. The number of mills in relation to the size of the manor is very striking, and suggests that the manor may have been of some significance in the late Saxon period. Aside from the known Mill House, it is not clear where these mills stood. An undated millstone was found at the Post Office (PRN 11132), which straddles the stream running parallel to the High Street and could conceivably have been the site of one of them.

The earliest feature of St Mary's church (PRN L/3996) is the late Norman south arcade in the nave,

but the building was altered considerably during the medieval period (Sherwood & Pevsner 1974, 526). Its most significant interior features are a group of 14th-century wall paintings in the chancel, and the 15th-century brasses of the Barentin family. The excavation site at Harding's Field (PRN 4486) and a large rectangular pond or fish pond (PRN 11135), filled-in for a playing field in recent times, lie to the north-west, while immediately to the south-west of the church boundary ditches and another pond have been recorded. Plate 1.2 shows the cropmarks in Harding's Field, the tree-lined Frogmore Lane linking the site to the High Street to the north, and St Mary's church to the south-east.

Chalgrove was divided into two manors during the 13th century (see Blair, below), and this led to the creation of two separate manorial centres. One, belonging to the Barentin family, occupied the excavated site at Harding's Field. The other, held by the de Plessis and Bereford families, is probably to be identified with the site of the house now known as Chalgrove Manor (formerly Manor Farm), which is located on the west edge of the village, off Mill Lane (Fig. 1.1). Chalgrove Manor is a fine timber-framed house comprising a hall with two cross-wings, which in its present form dates from the 15th century. Behind the house are the remains of a roughly quadrilateral moat (PRN 1115; see Plate 1.3). It is clear from documentary evidence (Blair, below) that the Plessis/Bereford manor house stood within a moat, but the date of the moat at Chalgrove Manor has not been certainly established and it remains possible that it is substantially post-medieval, at least in its present form. The existence of the two manorial centres may explain the attenuated layout of the modern village; the focus of settlement has clearly shifted away from the church, and houses line the High Street and Mill Lane (Fig. 1.2; Plate 1.3).

### *Post-medieval*

By 1487 most of the land within Chalgrove Parish was held by Magdalen College, Oxford. The post-medieval morphology of the village is clearly indicated by the early maps of the area. Davis' Map of 1793–4 shows most of the village arranged along two principal roads (Mill Lane and High Street) with a third road (Frogmore Lane) leading to the church to the south, a pattern which persisted until the second half of the 20th century. Davis shows several buildings along Mill Lane, south of the mill stream, and another group is shown along the south-western continuation of Frogmore Lane. The village is surrounded by a large area of open land, Chalgrove Field.

The settlement shift may have been further accentuated by the building of Langley Hall on Mill Lane in the early 16th century (Figs 1.1, 1.2). The house was occupied in the 17th century by members of the Quartermain family, and was altered in the 18th century and given a four-bay stuccoed facade.



The Magdalen College plan of Chalgrove Parish compiled in 1822 (Fig.1.2, Pl.1.3) shows the detail of the strip land allocation around the village, and the attenuated nature of the post-medieval settlement. Hardings Field (numbered 96 on the map) remains undivided, but interestingly there is no indication of earthwork relics of the moats. There are also indications of settlement shrinkage, away from the east end of the village, and its southern extremities. The buildings along Frogmore Lane, which are depicted on Davis' map, have disappeared, as has the line of the road south-west of the mill stream, and there are fewer buildings shown around Langley Hall. It is possible to see the walled garden to the south of the hall (PRN 11145) with the 17th-century brick lodge in the north-west corner. The moated enclosure to the rear of Chalgrove Manor can be seen clearly, as can the rectangular pond north-west of the church.

On the 1840 Tithe Map and 1845 Enclosure Maps the only changes are the effects of the enclosures themselves on the surrounding fields. The line of the track going south from Frogmore Lane, which persists to the present as a green lane, is visible again.

Only minor changes are visible on the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey Map 1872–80. Farm buildings cover the pond by the mill close to Chalgrove Manor and there are some new buildings along the High Street. These include the school and the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel built in 1869 (PRN 376). The site of the Civil War battle on Chalgrove Field (PRN 2048) to the north of the village is marked, together with the memorial erected to John Hampden in 1843, marking the 200th anniversary of the battle at which he was mortally wounded.

### *Modern development*

Chalgrove remained largely unchanged throughout the post-medieval period, serving a small agricultural community. In the second half of the 20th century a large number of houses were built to serve Oxford commuters, but the area occupied by the village hardly changed. New development has filled in most of the open space behind plots fronting onto the High Street. A bypass now runs along the northern edge of the village, separating it from the disused World War II airfield. The Ordnance Survey maps of 1973–4 and 1999 show the progressive erosion of open space leaving only Harding's Field, the school grounds and the field south of the church undeveloped (compare open spaces in Plate 1.2 with infilling development in Plate 1.1).

## THE MANORIAL HISTORY OF CHALGROVE

(FIG. 1.3, PL. 1.3 & 1.4)

by John Blair

### The historical background

In 1086 Miles Crispin held ten hides in Chalgrove, a member of the great honour of Wallingford.<sup>1</sup>

This estate, which probably corresponded to the modern parish excluding the hamlets of Rofford and Warpsgrove, was held by the Boterel family for three knights' fees from c 1100 until the death of Peter Boterel in 1165.<sup>2</sup> Tenure of the manor over the next 70 years was very unstable: assigned for the maintenance of a succession of royal servants, it reverted to the crown at frequent intervals.<sup>3</sup>

The division into two shares, which was so marked a feature of Chalgrove's later history, begins to appear at this date. In 1199 the king granted Chalgrove to Hugh Malaunay with the advowson and some additional properties, to be held, however, for only two fees.<sup>4</sup> By 1212 this Chalgrove property had reverted to the crown: 25 librates were held by Thomas Keret, while the rest remained in the king's hand and yielded £20 p.a.<sup>5</sup> Later that year the king's part was restored to Hugh de Malaunay.<sup>6</sup> Passing briefly on his death to his son Peter, it was granted in 1224 to Hugh de Plessis, Drew de Barentin and Nicholas de Boterel for their support in the king's service. Meanwhile Keret's part had returned to the crown, and was granted to Hugh le Despenser, again in 1224, as a moiety of the manor with the capital messuage.<sup>7</sup> It is clear from the Letters Close of 1224 that the divided manor still possessed only one manor house. Both parts were soon resumed by the crown, and in 1229 the whole manor was re-granted to Hugh de Plessis, John de Plessis and Drew de Barentin.<sup>8</sup> Hugh de Plessis's portion, described as a third of the manor with the capital messuage, was granted to William de Huntercombe in 1231 but shared out in 1233 between the other two parceners, John de Plessis and Drew de Barentin.<sup>9</sup>

John de Plessis and Drew de Barentin held two fees in Chalgrove in 1235–36, and henceforth Chalgrove descended as two separate fees in the Plessis and Barentin lines.<sup>10</sup> By 1279 the former had passed to Margaret de Plessis, while Drew had been succeeded by one William Barentin.<sup>11</sup> In that year the Hundred Rolls itemise the demesne, customary land and freeholds of both halves.<sup>12</sup> A remarkable feature of the demesne and customary holdings is the almost exact parity between the two manors. (The freeholds are a complex mixture of interrelated tenures and any original regularity has become obscured by 1279.) The Barentin demesne consisted of 311¾ acres arable, 30 acres meadow, 30 acres pasture and 2 mills; the Plessis demesne was 312½ acres arable, 30 acres meadow, 30 acres pasture and 1 mill. Unfree land comprised 5 virgates, 16 half-virgates (total 13 virgates) and 5 cottages on the Barentin fee, and 7 virgates, 11 half-virgates (total 12½ virgates) and 3 cottages on the Plessis fee. (This corresponds with the 1336 custom of the Plessis/Bereford fee except that two virgates had been divided, giving a total of 5 virgates, 15 half-virgates and 3 cottages.)<sup>13</sup> Customary rents and services were almost identical, and a fourth mill was held of the two lords jointly.

The only possible explanation for this is a systematic partition of Chalgrove into identical

Barentin's Manor

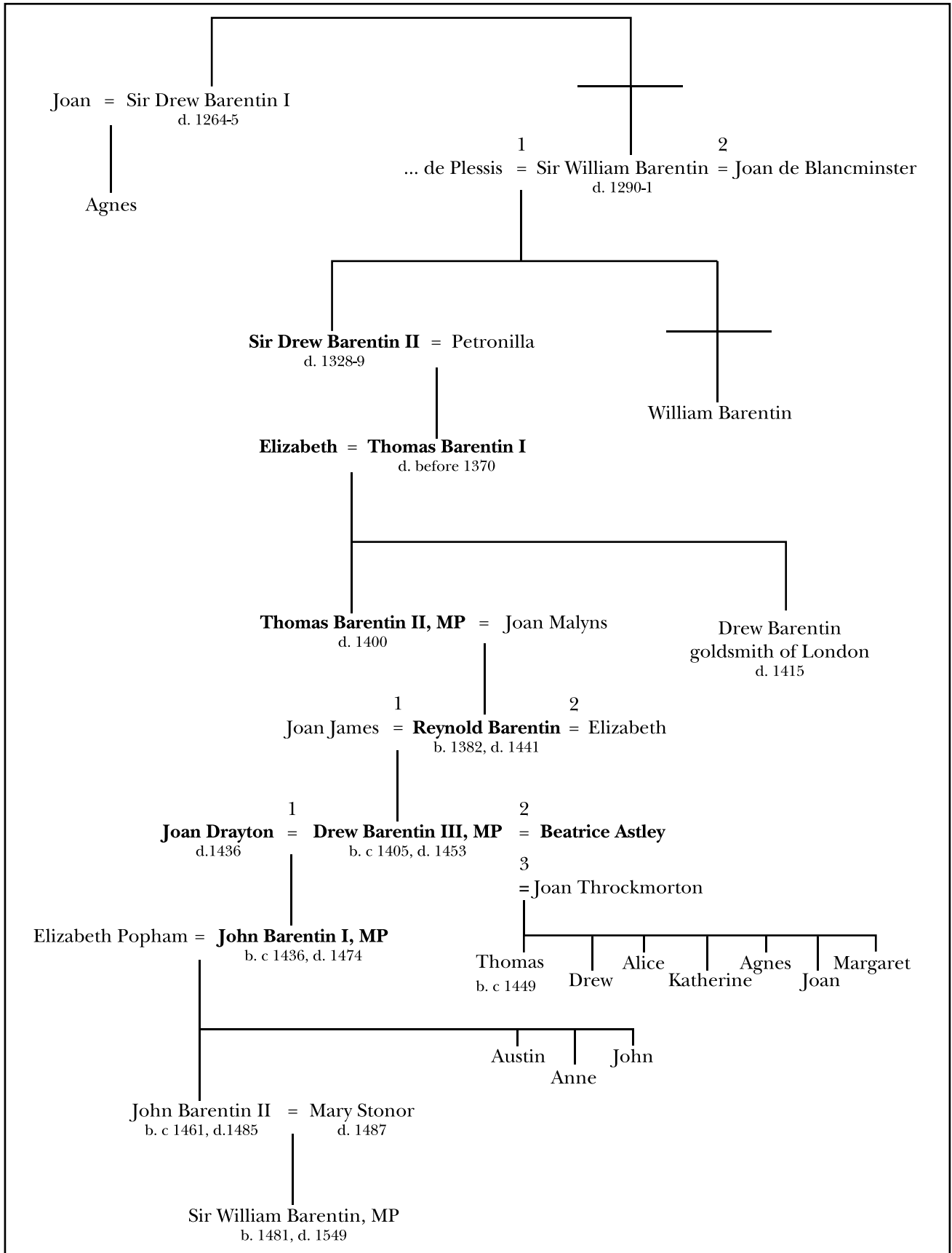


Figure 1.3 The family tree of the Barentin family. People whose names are in bold type are known to have been buried in the chancel of Chalgrove church.

half-shares, still sufficiently recent in 1279 for the similarities to remain conspicuous. It recalls the established 13th-century practice in cases of division between co-heirs, when it was normal to make a detailed survey for allocating the portions.<sup>14</sup> Under the 1229 grant the three parceners had evidently held Chalgrove in common, but in 1231 the sheriff was ordered to make an extent of the demesne, rents and villein holdings and put Huntercombe in seizin of one-third.<sup>15</sup> It may be conjectured that the manor was now parcelled out in three equal shares; two years later, the halving of Huntercombe's portion between Plessis and Barentin would produce the situation revealed in the Hundred Rolls.

This twofold division persisted through the 14th and 15th centuries. The Barentin moiety descended to the late 15th-century John Barentin II (see below). Beset by financial troubles, John sold the manor in 1485 to Thomas Danvers, Bishop Waynflete's agent, for endowing his newly-founded college. A survey of that year (see below) shows that 'Barentin's Manor' had retained its identity over the previous two centuries. But if the Barentin descent was straightforward, that of the Plessis moiety was complex. In the words of a manorial clerk writing in 1503 the Chalgrove demesnes were

divided into 2 equall parts, whereof one part belongeth to the heyres of Barantine and so now to Mag[dalen] Coll[egel]. The other part is divided between 3 lords, whereof one is called Senclerise, the which Master Hampden of Woodstock hath. The 2nd was called sometyme the lands of Master Hoore, the which now Mr Darell hath. The 3rd part was called Argentines lands, the which now Mag[dalen] Coll[egel] hath.<sup>16</sup>

The Plessis manor remained unitary until the late 14th century. Margaret de Plessis was still holding it in 1284–5,<sup>17</sup> but by 1293 she had married the royal judge William de Bereford.<sup>18</sup> Between 1316 and 1335, their son Sir Edmund de Bereford succeeded to the moiety.<sup>19</sup> A magnificent survey of Edmund's Chalgrove property was compiled in 1336, giving a full rental and customal as well as a parcel-by-parcel description of the demesne in both measured and customary acres.<sup>20</sup> The list begins with the '*situs curie infra fossatum... in quo edificatur aula, boveria et stabula*', an unusually clear contemporary description of a moated manor house.

Sir Edmund de Bereford died in 1354, to be followed only two years later by his son and heir.<sup>21</sup> The moiety was now fragmented between Edmund's three sisters, Margaret, Joan and Agnes, and his grandson Baldwin de Bereford.<sup>22</sup> Baldwin's fraction<sup>23</sup> seems to have become amalgamated with the share of Joan, one of Edmund's three heiresses and wife of Gilbert de Ellesfield. Baldwin's 1371–72 rental is stated to be that of 'Ellesfield's Manor'.<sup>24</sup> The property descended to William de Ellesfield, who died in 1398 leaving it to relatives named

Hore.<sup>25</sup> Clearly these were the 'lands of Master Hoore' of the 1503 memorandum. Margaret de Bereford married James Audley; her fraction passed to her daughter Joan, wife of Philip St. Clare,<sup>26</sup> and was later known as 'St. Clare's'.<sup>27</sup> The third sister, Margaret, married Sir John Mautravers and later Sir John de Argentein, by whose name her share came to be known.<sup>28</sup> Passing through various hands,<sup>29</sup> 'Argentines lands' were bought for Magdalen by Thomas Danvers in 1487.<sup>30</sup> Thus Magdalen College held from its foundation the Barentin moiety of the entire manor, and the Argentein third of the Plessis/Bereford moiety.

Notwithstanding these separate lines of descent, some of the manors were held and administered jointly. A rental compiled in 1377<sup>31</sup> includes the inheritances of all three sisters, and in 1399 the Ellesfield manor was demised for a life to Thomas Barentin's widow.<sup>32</sup> In 1428 Reynold Barentin owed the feudal obligations for the former Bereford fee as well as his own, while a court roll of the same year deals with tenements held both '*de feodo Barentyn*' and '*de feodo Bereford*'.<sup>33</sup> During the 1430s courts seem to have been held jointly for the Barentin, St. Clare and Hore tenants.<sup>34</sup> Purchases by John Barentin of Argentein's manor in 1457 and St. Clare's in 1474 are recorded.<sup>35</sup> It is hard to establish the real effect of these involved transactions, which evidently placed most of Chalgrove under the immediate control of the Barentins for much of the 15th century. It is quite clear, however, that for administrative and accounting purposes the subdivisions were respected, the manors being consistently regarded as distinct entities. There is every reason to think that the symmetrical partition carried out before 1279 was still a tenurial reality two centuries later.

### The identity of the site in Harding's Field

From this descent it will be clear that between *c* 1240 and *c* 1370 Chalgrove contained two capital messuages, serving respectively the Barentin and the Plessis/Bereford manors, and that the break-up of the Bereford half may have resulted in the appearance of subsidiary manor houses in the late 14th or early 15th century. Excavation has shown that the moated site in Harding's Field was occupied from the late 12th/early 13th century and extensively rebuilt in the 13th and early 14th centuries. Therefore it must be identified either with the chief messuage of the Barentins or with Sir Edmund de Bereford's moated house of 1336. To establish which, it is necessary to work backwards from late sources in which the site can be firmly identified.

A map and terrier drawn up in 1822 (Fig.1.2, Pl. 1.3) show the field as an old enclosure called Court Hays, copyhold of John King and late of Thomas King.<sup>36</sup> In 1675 Ralph Quartermain surrendered Court Heyes, a customary close of pasture, to the use of Thomas King.<sup>37</sup> A terrier of *c* 1600 includes 'the syte of the manour of Magdalen College in the tenure of Elisabeth Quartermayn, wherapon is a

barne, a pignon house and an orchard, called Court Hayse'.<sup>38</sup> In 1520 John Quartermain owed 10s. rent for a former demesne close 'where the manour stood' and a further 10s. for 'a barn and a culver house', while in c 1500 John Quartermain the elder was paying 10s. '*pro claus[ura] voc[ata] Court Close*'.<sup>39</sup> It can hardly be doubted, especially in view of the highly suggestive name 'Court Hays', that all these entries refer to the same piece of land.

Luckily its history can be traced a little further back, to just before the Barentin and Argentein manors were permanently reunited under Magdalen College. The transfer of the Barentin manor to Danvers in 1485 occasioned the compilation of a new and very detailed survey.<sup>40</sup> Here the '*manerium vocatum Barantynes maner*' is firmly identified with the lands and tenements '*pro parte Thome Danvers*'. The names of the demesne closes (including Grassheys, Southparrok, Shrevemannysheys, Newclose, Luxe and Stratfords) correspond exactly with earlier rentals of the Barentin manor, such as that for 1405–6<sup>41</sup> which include the farmed-out demesne. The Barentin demesne, then, still remained distinct. Only a few months later than this survey, a list of rents owing to Danvers from the lands and tenements late of John Barentin for the financial year 1485–6 gives the same list of demesne closes, with one crucial addition: '*Et de v s* [half-yearly, ie. 10s pa] *de firma Johannis Quatermayn pro scita manerii ibidem cum pastura, fructibus, stagnis et aliis proficuis ibidem, hoc anno sic dimissa*'.<sup>42</sup> Clearly this was identical with 'Court Close' which Quartermain held for the same rent only a few years later, and hence with the modern Harding's Field.

If the site was in Danvers's hands by 1485–6 it clearly cannot represent the capital messuage of the Argentein portion, which he did not acquire until 1488. At this date the other two shares of the original Plessis/Bereford moiety (St Clare and Hore/Pudsey) were still self-contained and independent manors. The only reasonable conclusion is that this was the Barentin manor house, demolished on the completion of the transfer from Barentin to Danvers in October 1485; hence the statement of 1485–6 that its vacant site had been 'thus demised this year'.

The Bereford 'court within a moat' of 1336 must therefore have been elsewhere, and it is not unlikely that it preceded the existing moated house now known as Chalgrove Manor (formerly Manor Farm). Chalgrove village consists essentially of two road axes, respectively High Street and Mill Lane, both of which are flanked by house plots. Hardings Field lies near the church and main axis, while Manor Farm adjoins the lesser axis. Is this a case of village morphology determined by tenurial factors? It is tempting to suggest that High Street, the church and the Hardings Field site represent the village and manorial curia as existing before 1233, whereas Manor Farm and the tofts on Mill Lane were created with the reorganisation of Chalgrove as two equal and self-contained manors. R A Dodgshon has drawn attention to the importance of symmetrical

'township splitting' in the development of British villages and field systems, and has noted that it seems common in Oxfordshire (1980, chapters 5–6). Unless there is another moated site within the village of which no trace remains, it also seems reasonable to suggest that the moat at Manor Farm is that described in the survey. The survey also gives the area of '*summa placia curie*' as 1 acre, 1 rood, 32 perches. If this is interpreted as the area '*infra fossatum*' it would correspond quite well to that of the moat as shown on the 1846 tithe award map. To date, limited excavation at this site has been within the 15th-century standing building and has confirmed the date of its construction while suggesting that this building stood on virgin ground. However, the trenches were located outside the line of the moat. It would seem possible that the south-eastern arm of that moat was partially back-filled by the time of the construction of the house or with the addition of its wings. But it is interesting to note the line of a boundary shown on the 1822 estate map that corresponds to the position of that moat arm. The most likely location of the remains of the Bereford Manor buildings would be in the area to the west of the present building, which may well represent a direct replacement for the medieval hall.

#### The Barentins and Chalgrove (Fig. 1.3 & Pl.1.4)

If it is disappointing to find that the Harding's Field site is not the moated house described in 1336, its firm association with the Barentins is ample compensation. For several generations this was the principal home of a leading county family, and the development of the site can be closely related to its owners' circumstances and social pretensions.<sup>43</sup>

The mid 13th-century co-tenants had both grown prosperous in the royal service. Like their predecessors over some decades, Plessis and Barentin were originally assigned Chalgrove for their maintenance on a short-term basis; it was only because their tenures became, in the event, permanent that the manorial division remained stable from 1233. John de Plessis first appears in the early 1220s and rose rapidly in the court circle after c 1230. Marrying the Warwick heiress, he was styled Earl of Warwick from 1247 until his death in 1263.<sup>44</sup> Drew de Barentin's career was not dissimilar.<sup>45</sup> From 1222 he received a yearly allowance of 10 marks,<sup>46</sup> and in 1232–3 he and John de Plessis were joint tenants of land in Jersey.<sup>47</sup> At this period the king began to employ Drew on administrative and diplomatic assignments. In 1235 he appears as Warden of the Channel Isles, where he is known to have built on a lavish scale.<sup>48</sup> Drew relinquished the post in 1252,<sup>49</sup> but in 1258 he was holding the Channel Isles against the Lord Edward.<sup>50</sup> He was Seneschal of Gascony from 1247,<sup>51</sup> and throughout his career he made frequent journeys abroad on the king's business.<sup>52</sup> He was with Henry III in France throughout 1254.<sup>53</sup> He steadily enlarged his holdings in the Channel Isles,<sup>54</sup> which may have been worth considerably

more than his single Oxfordshire manor by his death in 1264–5.<sup>55</sup>

Did these two men take any active interest in Chalgrove? The excavated evidence for occupation from the early 13th century (Phase 1) supports the suggestion already made on topographical grounds that the Barentin house was the earlier of the two and a primary element in the village plan. Since the capital messuage had been assigned to Huntercombe's fraction in 1231, it must have passed to Drew de Barentin when this share was split between John de Plessis and himself two years later. Plessis would have needed a house also, so it can be inferred on *prima facie* grounds that a new curial complex is likely to have been created soon after 1233. On the Barentin site, the earliest fully excavated set of buildings (Phase 2) must date from Drew's time or not long after.

Thanks to Henry III's habit of bestowing goods in kind, some written evidence remains for this work. Between the 1230s and the 1260s the Close Rolls record a long series of royal gifts to John de Plessis and Drew de Barentin, mostly in the form of deer, wine, firewood and timber. In 1232 they were joint recipients of four oaks from Shotover Forest to make posts and wallplates,<sup>56</sup> presumably for some building needed as a result of the current tenurial rearrangements. In a series of later gifts, all the timber trees came from Bernwood Forest (including Brill and Panshill) on the Oxfordshire-Buckinghamshire border. (This excludes gifts to Plessis from forests in other parts of England, which are clearly nothing to do with Chalgrove.) From Bernwood Plessis received 30 trunks (*fusta*) in 1240 'in the places nearest to the land which he has in Chalgrove', followed by four timber oaks in 1248, five in 1255 and eight in 1259.<sup>57</sup> The more modest gifts to Barentin comprised seven timber-oaks in 1255 and a further ten in 1256.<sup>58</sup> Since Drew had no other recorded manors which were anywhere near Bernwood, it must be presumed that all this material was destined for Chalgrove.

The royal gifts need not, of course, have provided all the necessary timber, but they presumably met a specific need and reflect to some extent the scale of operations. The evidence suggests a major building campaign on the Plessis manor in c 1240 followed by lesser works over the next 20 years, and a campaign on the Barentin manor during 1255–6. It seems very likely that the 1240 works mark the creation of Sir Edmund de Bereford's '*situs curie infra fossatum*' of a century later. On the Barentin site, a date of 1255–6 agrees well with the excavated Phase 2 (see below), where the stone-rubble walling may help to explain why less timber was received from the king. Thus the aisled hall and associated buildings, with their encircling moat, can be attributed with some confidence to the later years of Sir Drew Barentin I, a house worthy of his status as a senior crown servant.

Drew I's heir (and perhaps nephew) Sir William Barentin first appears as a newly-made knight in 1260.<sup>59</sup> He was less notable politically and seems to

have been often in debt,<sup>60</sup> though his second marriage, with a Blancminster heiress, added extensive Essex properties to the family estate.<sup>61</sup> His son Drew II had succeeded by 1291, when William's widow Joan pursued a claim in the Essex manors against Drew and his wife Petronilla.<sup>62</sup>

Sir Drew Barentin II retained both the family estates in the Channel Isles and his stepmother's inheritance.<sup>63</sup> In addition to this, he had substantial Kentish property and further manors in Suffolk, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire.<sup>64</sup> Like the first Drew he did occasional business for the king in Jersey and Guernsey, and acted there as Justice Itinerant in 1309–10.<sup>65</sup> He was recorded as non-resident on his Essex manors in 1296 and during 1322–5 he served as sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire.<sup>66</sup> Oxfordshire was clearly his main focus of interests, and until his death in 1328–9 he performed the normal range of duties appropriate to a leading county gentleman.<sup>67</sup>

Sir Drew II's principal house was undoubtedly Chalgrove manor, where a neighbouring lord is said to have written to him in 1295 to announce the birth of a son.<sup>68</sup> Despite the fabulous nature of much of the circumstantial detail in such 'proofs of age', it seems reasonable to conclude from this statement that Sir Drew normally resided at Chalgrove. Probably attributable to him are the excavated Phases 3/1 and 3/2 (see below) of c 1300–30, which involved extending and modernising the buildings to meet rising standards of domestic comfort. An integrated service, solar and undercroft range was added to the hall, and a base-cruck probably replaced the central aisle truss. Architecturally the result must have been much more impressive than the hall of the 1250s, comparable to the surviving base-cruck hall at Sutton Courteney 'Abbey' in scale and internal effect.<sup>69</sup>

Significantly, Chalgrove now became the Barentins' established place of burial. During c 1310–30 the chancel of St Mary's church was lavishly rebuilt and decorated, perhaps by Sir Drew though more probably by Thame Abbey, which held the advowson from 1317.<sup>70</sup> A list compiled in c 1480 tells us that Sir Drew II and his successors for the next five generations were buried in this chancel, all but the last (John I, d. 1474) under 'marble stones'.<sup>71</sup> In the cases of Thomas II, Reynold and Drew III, these slabs survive (Pl. 1.4) and prove to be monumental brasses,<sup>72</sup> and it seems highly likely that Sir Drew II and his son were also commemorated by this newly fashionable type of memorial. Brasses were almost invariably set in Purbeck marble and in normal late medieval usage the term 'marble slab' carries a strong implication of brass inlays. Like the rebuilding of the manor house on more imposing lines, this creation of a 'family mausoleum' suggests a heightened sense of identity with the main residence and church, now a miniature *caput honoris*. In thus imitating 12th- and 13th-century noble dynasties, Sir Drew Barentin and his immediate successors were wholly typical of their age and class.

On Sir Drew's death his son Thomas Barentin I inherited Chalgrove and its nearby dependencies; the property in Essex and the Channel Isles passed to a nephew named William Barentin and never returned to the senior line.<sup>73</sup> It is clear that both Thomas and his son, a second Thomas, resided consistently at Chalgrove, where they executed several deeds between the 1340s and the 1390s.<sup>74</sup> Thomas II married Joan Malyns, a daughter of a neighbouring knightly family at Chinnor.<sup>75</sup> In 1370 he and Joan received episcopal licence for an oratory at Chalgrove,<sup>76</sup> and this could refer to either the possible stone chapel, Building A11 (see below), or an earlier timber building that was not located. Thomas was sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire in 1378 and MP for Oxfordshire in 1387, thereafter serving frequently in both capacities.<sup>77</sup>

On his death in 1400 Thomas II held the single manor of Chalgrove, worth just under £27 pa net; the heir was his son Reynold, aged 20¾ in December 1402.<sup>78</sup> Reynold Barentin may have begun his occupation with the last major refurbishment of the manorial buildings (Phase 4). This included a new kitchen linked to the service passage, the partial flooring-in of the hall and the division of the farmyard into two courts (see below). However, in 1415 Reynold suddenly found himself master of a much finer house on the death of his wealthy uncle, the London goldsmith Drew Barentin. Drew is described as 'probably the only goldsmith of his day who could match men like the mercer, Richard Whittington, in wealth and influence'.<sup>79</sup> In 1391, with his brother Thomas Barentin II, Drew had bought the Oxfordshire manor of Little Haseley.<sup>80</sup> The sumptuous manor house at Haseley Court, much of which still remains, must have been built soon afterwards,<sup>81</sup> and Leland's statement that 'Barentyne the gold-smythe buylded the Manor Place at Litle Haseley' is easily accepted.<sup>82</sup> Drew died childless, and the heir to his numerous manors, including Little Haseley, was his nephew Reynold.<sup>83</sup>

This was a crucial event in the history of Chalgrove manor house, for within a few decades Little Haseley had displaced it as the main Barentin residence. In 1441 Reynold was succeeded by his son Drew Barentin III,<sup>84</sup> MP for Oxfordshire in 1445–6 and a prominent figure in local administration.<sup>85</sup> By 1451 he was dating deeds from Little Haseley,<sup>86</sup> and in 1453, the year of his death, he is described as 'of Little Haseley and Chalgrove'.<sup>87</sup> His will requests burial at Chalgrove beside his first wife Joan,<sup>88</sup> but it is significant that the ornaments of his chapel are left to a chapel in Chalgrove parish church, subject to his third wife's life-interest. There seems a clear implication here that services in the manorial chapel were expected to cease with the widow's death.

Drew was succeeded in his numerous Oxfordshire and Berkshire manors by his son John Barentin I,<sup>89</sup> sheriff in 1464–5 and MP in 1467–8.<sup>90</sup> Until his father's death he may have maintained a household at Chalgrove: he is called 'late of Chalgrove' in 1458,<sup>91</sup> and he enlarged his estate there by purchase

(see above), but in later life his home was Haseley Court. On his death in 1474 he was buried with his ancestors at Chalgrove, but the customary bequest for forgotten tithes was made to Great Haseley church, 'where as I am paryshener'.<sup>92</sup> The will requests burial in Chalgrove chancel and the Barentin burial list notes John's grave there, though '*sine lapide*'.<sup>93</sup> His wife Elizabeth, who was jointly enfeoffed with him in the main family holdings, was to have custody until the majority of their heir, another John.<sup>94</sup> John's inquisition lists several manors but not Chalgrove or Little Haseley, presumably because they were in joint feoffment.<sup>95</sup>

Both before and after coming of age, John Barentin II and his wife Mary Stonor seem to have lived at Little Haseley.<sup>96</sup> Here their son William was born in December 1481,<sup>97</sup> and when part of the Chalgrove property was demised in 1478 the old Barentin demesne was stated to be in the hands of various farmers.<sup>98</sup> By now the manor house had probably been abandoned for residential use, and in this context it is interesting to note a petition by the Abbot of Abingdon which seems to date from the early 1480s.<sup>99</sup> The Abbot claims to have bought from John Barentin for £18 'the tymber of certeyn houses than sette in the towne of Chalgrave... and the tyles wych than covered the same houses', subsequently withheld by John on the pretext that the land had been in feoffees' hands at the time of the bargain. The sum is considerable, and it seems at least possible that this refers to the decaying manorial buildings, reprieved for a few more years by this calculated trickery.

This incident is one sign of growing financial problems. The Barentins sold off Argentein's and St Clare's in 1482,<sup>100</sup> and a series of protracted mortgage transactions culminated in 1485 in the final sale of the old family demesne to Thomas Danvers.<sup>101</sup> The infant heir, later Sir William Barentin MP, succeeded in that year to the remaining estates.<sup>102</sup> He lived his whole life at Haseley Court, where John Leland admired his 'right fair mansion place, and marvelous fair walkes topiarii operis, and orchardes and pooles'.<sup>103</sup> The Barentins' connection with Chalgrove ended on the death of John II in December 1485, within a few months of the destruction of his ancestral home.

#### MOATED SITES IN OXFORDSHIRE (FIG. 1.4)

[Editor's note. There was considerable interest at the time of the excavations in moated sites as a monument type. A survey of moats in Oxfordshire was drafted by Philip Page from data in the county Sites and Monuments Record around the time that the site at Harding's Field was first recognised (Page 1976) and this was subsequently incorporated into James Bond's general survey of the Oxford region in the Middle Ages (Bond 1986). It seems to have been the intention to include a version of the moat survey in the Harding's Field report, presumably in the expectation that this would appear in advance of the

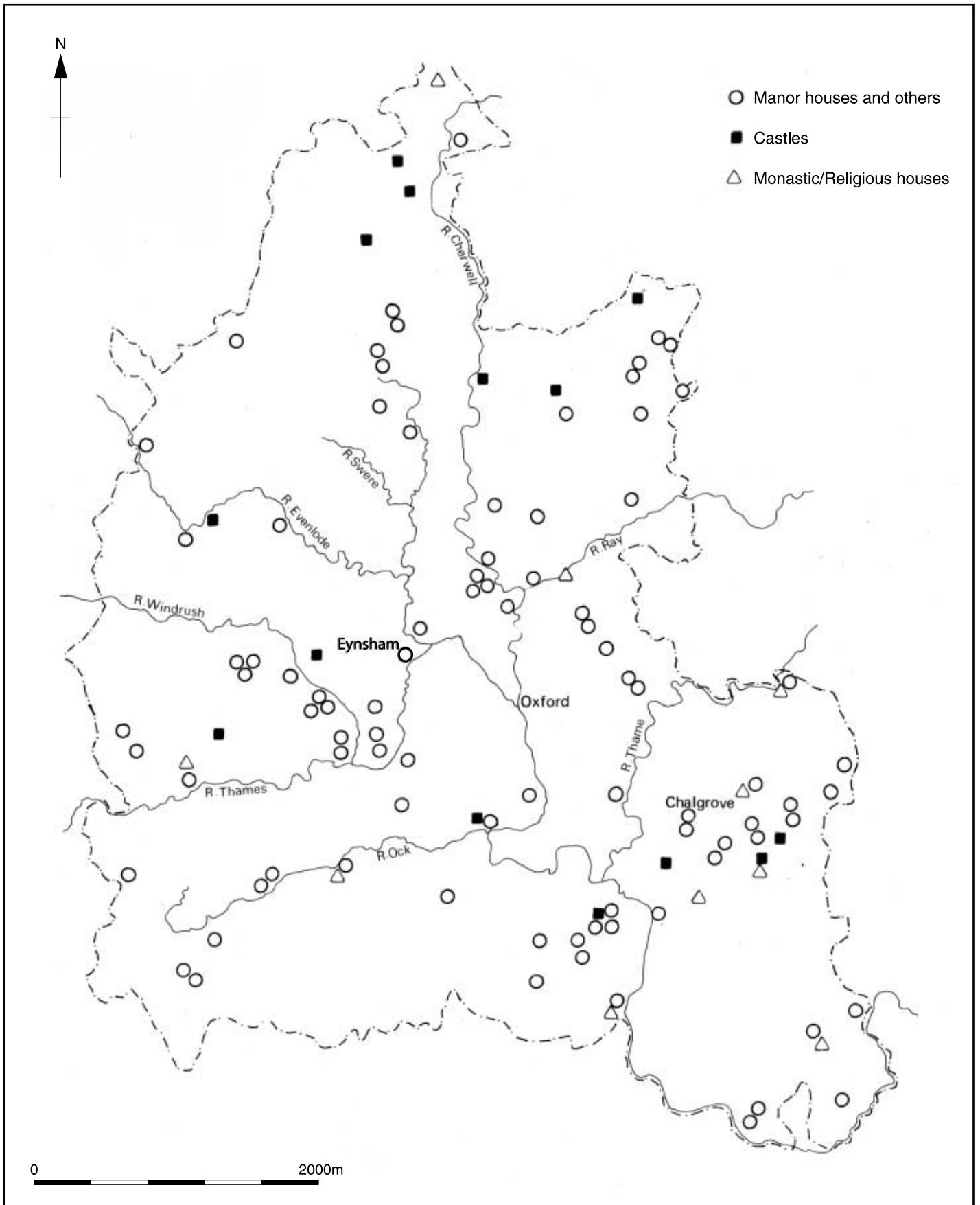


Figure 1.4 The distribution of moated sites in Oxfordshire.

countywide general survey. In the event, this was not the case. Despite the existence of the fuller published account, a summary of this survey has been included here since *The Archaeology of the Oxford Region* has long been out of print, and is now very hard to come by.

A total of 96 moated sites had been identified in the county in 1986, suggesting that Oxfordshire lies somewhere in the middle of the range for the country as a whole. Of these, 75 could be identified with reasonable confidence and a further 21 were doubtful. In addition there were ten moated castles and six moated monastic sites or granges. The distribution of moated sites reflects the underlying geology (Fig. 1.4) and there is a particular concentration on the Gault and Kimmeridge Clay at the foot of the scarp slope of the Chilterns, which appears to take advantage of the spring line. This has been recorded in other counties, notably in Essex (Cook 1960). There are other concentrations on the Oxford Clay in the Upper Thames Valley and in north-east Oxfordshire. However, geology was not an absolute determinant of location and, if the desire for a moat was great enough, it could be overcome.

Approximately 48% of Oxfordshire moats are located within the boundaries of existing villages, and a further 23% are associated with deserted medieval villages; only some 28% could be described as isolated or distant from nucleated settlements. This suggests that the majority of moated sites in Oxfordshire may have belonged to sites of manorial rank, rather than being primarily associated with areas where assarting and colonisation of waste and forest was taking place. This may be linked to the fact that one of the largest areas of known assarts, Wychwood Forest (Emery 1974, 85), was situated on limestone.

The majority of moated sites in Oxfordshire appear to be single quadrilateral enclosures containing an area of 0.3 to 0.8 hectares. This shape also predominates in Worcestershire (Bond 1978a, 73) and Essex (Hedges 1978, 65). However, survey work by C C Taylor in Lincolnshire has shown that field investigation often reveals a more complex pattern of earthworks than may be discernible from a map (lecture for Moated Sites Research Group). This is probably also the case in Oxfordshire. A small proportion of moated sites in the county are known to have more than one island and, apart from Harding's Field, Sugarwell is an example of this. Concentric moats are rare and where they do occur they need not be contemporary with each other. The triple moats at Park Lodge, Beckley Park, appear from documentary evidence to have been excavated in at least two phases (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 899). Approximately 18% of sites appear to be incomplete but it is impossible without excavation or geophysical survey to determine whether any infilling has taken place (Page 1976).

Groups of two or more moats sometimes occur in close proximity. This may be the result of one site

going out of use and being replaced by another, or it may indicate that the moated areas served different functions. Apart from the two moated sites at Chalgrove, there is a group of three physically separate moats at Curbridge, Oxfordshire: Black Moat, Caswell House and Lower Caswell Farm (Bond 1986, 151).

Excavation on moated sites in Oxfordshire has been limited and the most notable instances are at Lilley Farm, Mapledurham (Fowler 1971, 25), Moat Cottage, Kidlington (Chambers 1978b, 114–6; Chambers and Meadows 1981, 127–8), Manor Farm, Kingham (Bond 1981, 23–24) and the sub-manorial moated site within the Abbey precinct at Eynsham (Keevill, 1995). In addition limited work has been undertaken at Chalgrove Manor (formerly Manor Farm, Chalgrove; Bond 1981, 22–23). The excavation of the moated manor at Harding's Field, Chalgrove remains the most complete of any moated manorial site to date in Oxfordshire.

## THE FIELDWORK (FIG. 1.5)

### The earthworks survey

The earthworks survey by Chambers and Bond in 1976 revealed two moated islands (Fig. 1.5). The smaller one, to the west, was rectangular, some 30 m by 45 m and enclosed an area of 0.15 hectares (0.37 acres). A slight internal bank was evident around all four sides but otherwise there were no obvious internal features. There was the stub of a possible bridge abutment at its south-eastern corner. The larger, eastern island was roughly triangular in shape and measured 125 m by 75 m by 95 m and enclosed an area of 0.56 hectares (1.38 acres). A number of slight earthworks were identified (not illustrated) including a platform that measured *c* 25 m by 30 m in the north-eastern corner.

### The excavation methodology (Fig. 1.5)

#### 1976

In November 1976 Oxfordshire County Council decided to seal the earthworks with dumped topsoil to level up the ground for the creation of a playing field. In response, R A Chambers, with the help of Mr Adrian Nixey, a local farmer, evaluated the site with three trenches (OAU 1976, 1). Trenches IA and II confirmed the presence of building remains in the larger island but Trench III did not locate any archaeological features in the interior of the smaller island. The field to the north of the site was developed for housing during 1976 but no archaeological features were revealed during the watching brief. A resistivity survey was carried out in the field to the south of the moated islands in 1979 and this also recorded no archaeological activity.



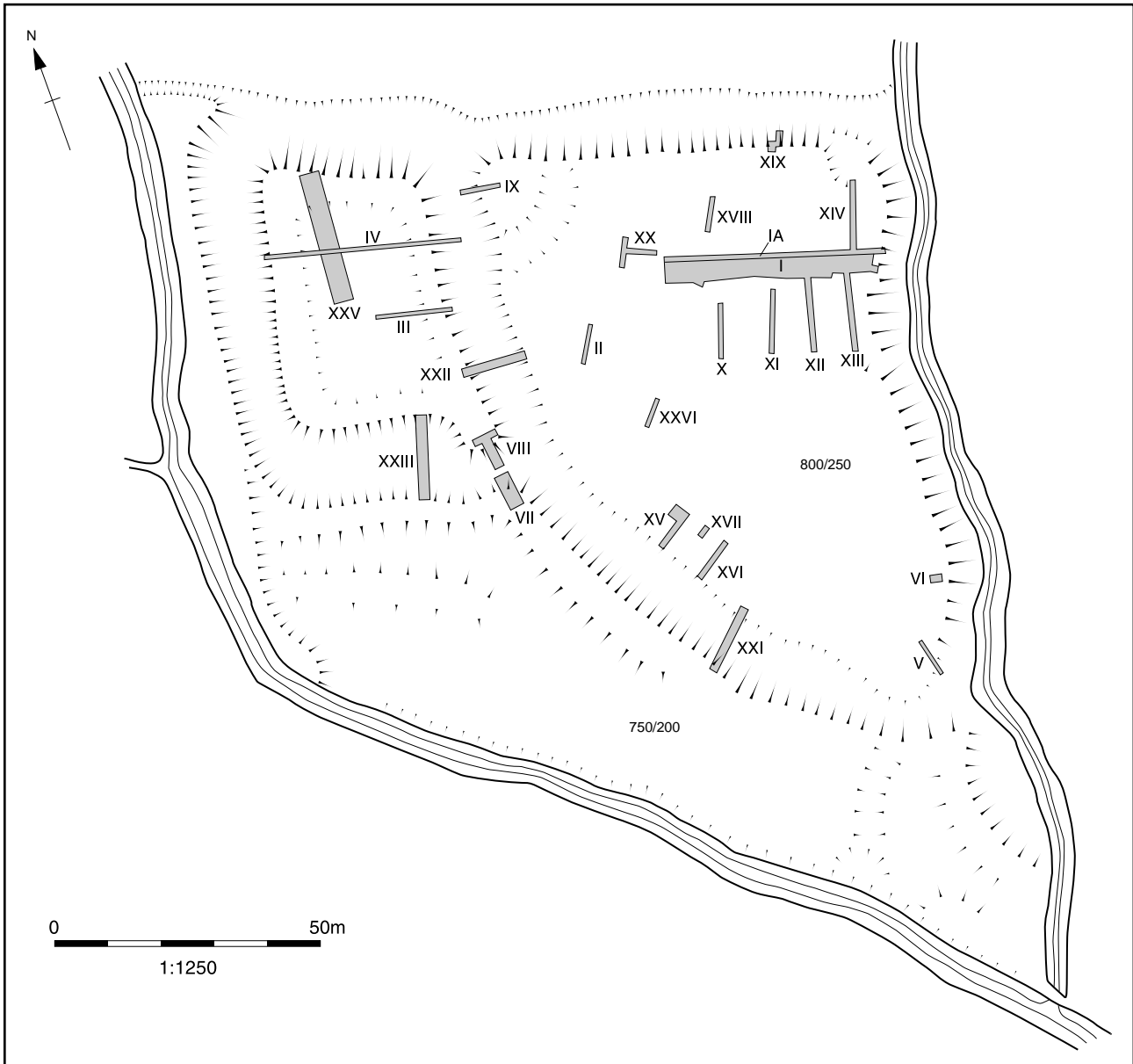


Figure 1.5 Earthwork plan, showing the locations of the trial trenches.

### 1977

The poor availability of topsoil meant that the County Council was forced to reconsider its plan during the spring of 1977 and it was decided to reduce the height of the earthworks in order to level and drain the site, with the potential effect of destroying much of the archaeological evidence. OAU and the ODMS believed that further excavation was desirable and, with limited resources, small-scale excavation was carried out in 1977. The initial objectives were to reveal the extent of the site and establish a chronological sequence for the remains. Initial trial trenches revealed that up to 0.60 m of stratigraphy survived in the northern part of the larger moated island and topsoil stripping by

the County Council revealed the presence of both domestic and agricultural buildings.

Trench IA was expanded into a small area excavation (Trench I) and a further six trenches (IV to IX) were excavated mechanically. Trench I, located on the larger island, revealed the remains of a substantial building with rubble walls of mortared and coursed limestone, about 1.0 m thick set on clay-bonded foundations with a similar thickness. Evidence was found for internal rearrangements and for external additions to the building. Only earth floors were uncovered but medieval floor tiles were found in surface rubble to the north of the trench, suggesting that at least some of the floors had been tiled. Lime-washed wall plaster, some still *in situ*, and fragments of painted window glass were also

found. This building, dated to the first half of the 14th century, sealed the clay floors of an earlier structure. Trenches III and IV (machine excavated) transected the smaller island but found no archaeological evidence for activity.

During the summer of 1977 the County Council recut the line of the northern moat with a narrow ditch and the entire field was stripped of its topsoil in September. This was done in extremely wet conditions and inevitably damage to archaeological features was caused. However, a watching brief by Chambers produced a partial plan of the outbuildings uncovered in the southern half of the island. Chambers identified an aisled barn erected on sill walls and the sill wall of another long, narrow outbuilding which had some pitched limestone paving on its north side. The site became waterlogged, prompting the postponement of further levelling until the following spring; over the winter the site remained open (Chambers 1978a, 110–112).

### 1978

The seven-month season of work that took place in 1978 was expected to be the last opportunity for excavation before the destruction of the site. The main objectives, therefore, were to obtain a plan and dating evidence for the buildings of the latest and most complete phase of occupation, to excavate the associated farm buildings and to determine if the small rectangular enclosure contained any evidence of occupation. It was decided to clarify the various phases of alterations to the manor house and its relationship to the moats and to obtain further dating evidence for the earliest use of the sites and the excavation of the moats. Excavation continued from May until December under the direction of Philip Page, using labour from the Manpower Services Commission job-creation scheme.

The excavation revealed a layer of general demolition debris, still mixed to some extent with the topsoil. This was removed as one layer and the finds recorded in a 5 m grid. After the removal of this layer some parts of the site were still covered by demolition debris and this was removed as a sequence of individual archaeological deposits.

Most of the trenching was mechanical but the moat was still full of water in places and the northern and eastern arms were used for drainage which made mechanical excavation unsuitable. However, a hand-dug section through the western edge of the eastern moat arm did reveal undisturbed deposits in the base of the moat, which were sampled for ecofactual analysis (see Chapter 5). Trenches XXI to XXIII provided complete sections of the moat profiles on the western side of the site, but no significant finds other than molluscs. Trenches XX and XXVI were also hand-excavated to the level of the natural, as part of the attempt to find evidence for the early phase of the site's occupation. These

trenches were particularly helpful in defining the edges of the moat upcast which, in plan, could not easily be distinguished from the natural alluvium. The site was prone to flooding but, except in the bottom of the moats, there was no evidence for the survival of waterlogged deposits.

### 1979 onwards

The field was again left exposed over the winter and, in the spring of 1979, the Department of the Environment recommended the scheduling and preservation of the site. Negotiations began with the County Council for the burial of the site with the Department meeting a proportion of the costs and funding further limited excavation. Philip Page directed another season of work between July and October again making use of Manpower Services Commission labour. The objectives were specifically to complete the excavation of the farm buildings and to prepare the site for burial. At the Department's request the stone footings of the main building were levelled to the top of the surrounding stratigraphy, thereby restoring a level archaeological horizon.

In March 1981 the larger of the two islands was covered with a layer of gravel and, the following August, this was covered with topsoil and grass-seeded to provide space for two football pitches.

## THE REPORT AND ARCHIVE

### Editor's note on the history of the Harding's Field report

A programme of post-excavation analysis was undertaken in the years immediately following the fieldwork, under the direction of the excavator, Philip Page. This included the analysis of the stratigraphic evidence, the pottery and all other finds, the animal bone, and the environmental samples. The site and research archives were assembled and indexed, and the specialist contributions in Chapters 3–5 of the present volume, and the accompanying illustrations, were largely completed at that time. Philip Page left OAU in the early 1980s to pursue a career outside archaeology. A report was subsequently prepared for publication in *Oxoniensia* in a form that offered a highly abbreviated and synthesised account of the results, illustrated by phase plans, and with the detail of the specialist reports consigned to a fiche annexe. This was submitted to the project funders (by then English Heritage) for refereeing in 1991. All those who commented on the report at that time felt that the presentation of the evidence was unsatisfactory in a number of respects, and publication was not pursued.

Lack of resources meant that no further work was undertaken on the project until 1998, when John Steane and the late Jean Cook of OAU's Academic Advisory Panel arranged with English Heritage for

limited funding to allow the necessary revisions to be undertaken. This work was started in 1999 by Kate Atherton, and completed by Alan Hardy who undertook a thorough review of the stratigraphic narrative and discussion. James Bond kindly provided extensive and most helpful comments. It was clear that the phase plans that had been produced to illustrate the stratigraphic narrative failed to convey the quality of the original record. As a result, a programme of work was commissioned to make the detailed building plans in the archive available for publication. This was undertaken, under the supervision of Robert Read, by students on the BA degree course in Archaeological Illustration at Swindon College of Art who have produced Figures 2.6–2.20 of the present volume. The length of the report meant that it was no longer appropriate for publication in *Oxoniansia*, and it was simultaneously revised for publication as a monograph in OA's Thames Valley Landscapes series, with the reintegration of the specialist reports into the main body of the text.

The revised report was submitted to English Heritage for review in 2003, and OA are grateful to English Heritage and the anonymous referee for their support for its publication. Over the winter of 2003, many of the specialist contributors to Chapters 3–5 reviewed their reports after a 25-year hiatus, and have kindly allowed us to publish with only the minimum of essential corrections. Unfortunately it was not possible to arrange for the coin, pottery, glass, tile, stone slate or plaster reports to be reviewed, and these reports have been published, with minor editorial amendments, in the form in which they were deposited in the research archive.

Inevitably, much has changed since the excavations at Harding's Field took place, and both the fieldwork and the report remain essentially a product of the late 1970s and early 1980s. The fortuitous nature of the site's discovery, the constant uncertainties about the excavation programme, the reliance on inexperienced temporary excavation staff and the goodwill of volunteers and landowners, and the familiar struggle to make a little funding stretch as far as humanly possible, are typical of their time. So too is the failure to see the post-excavation programme through to publication, as OAU's resources were diverted to new sites, many of them also under serious threat, and the funding and the excitement of discovery faded away. So, too, some of the approaches, methodologies and research aims of the project will now appear dated, and limited in scope, compared with what could be done on a similar site today.

Nevertheless, Chalgrove Harding's Field remains even today one of the country's most fully excavated examples of a medieval moated manor, and the range and quality of the information recovered remains unusual, and still holds considerable research value. It is for these reasons that the publication of this report has been pursued, despite all the shortcomings due to its age and history.

## Location of the archive

All of the original artefacts and site records, together with material generated during post-excavation analysis, have been deposited with the Oxfordshire County Museums Service who have issued the site with the Accession Number: 1986.188. A master copy of the paper archive on microfilm has been lodged with the National Archaeological Record, Swindon.

## Notes

- 1 VCH 1939, 418
- 2 Salter 1930, 305
- 3 Ibid; *Book of Fees*, 117–18
- 4 Salter 1930, 305; *Rot. Chart.* i, 11b
- 5 *Book of Fees*, 117
- 6 *Rot. Lit. Claus.* i, 127a
- 7 *Excerpt. Rot. Fin.* i, 77, 123; *Rot. Lit. Claus.* ii, 8
- 8 *Cal. Pat. R.* 1225–32, 313; *Cal. Chart. R.* i, 108
- 9 *Cal. Close R.* 1231–34, 13, 195, 198; *Cal. Close R.* 1227–31, 530, 540, 550
- 10 *Book of Fees*, 446, 555
- 11 *Rot. Hund.* ii, 31
- 12 Ibid., 768–70
- 13 Magdalen College Estate Papers 141/40–41
- 14 cf. Dodgshon 1975, 21–22
- 15 *Cal. Close R.* 1227–31, 530
- 16 Transcript in Magdalen College 1666 Rental Book, p. 158
- 17 *Feudal Aids*, iv, 154
- 18 *Cal. Pat. R.* 1292–1302, 108
- 19 *Feudal Aids* iv, 171, 177; *Cal. Chart. R.* iv, 339
- 20 Magdalen College Estate Papers 141/40–41
- 21 *Cal. Inq. P.M.* x, 211–13, 272–74
- 22 *Black Prince's Reg.* iv, 121
- 23 see *Cal. Chart. R.* v, 264
- 24 Magdalen College Estate Paper 141/39
- 25 *Cal. Close R.* 1377–81, 28; *Cal. Fine R.* xi, 233; Bodl. MS Oxon. Ch. 334
- 26 Dugdale revised Thomas 1730, 210a, 232a; *Cal. Close R.* 1422–29, 212; *Cal. Inq. P.M.* iv, 163, 192–93
- 27 Magdalen College Estate Paper 141/49 is a rental of the St Clare manor in 1462–3
- 28 Dugdale revised Thomas 1730, 210a, 232a; Carter 1936, 69–70
- 29 for example, Magdalen College Deeds Chalgrove 12A, 2B, 193
- 30 Magdalen College Deeds Chalgrove 22A, 168, 195
- 31 Magdalen College Estate Paper 141/38
- 32 PRO Anc. Deeds, C146/634
- 33 *Feudal Aids*, iv, 193; Magdalen College Estate Paper 123/6
- 34 Magdalen College Estate Papers 122/6, 86/17, 86/12
- 35 BL Add. Chs. 20319–23: Macray, 'Calendar of Magdalen College Deeds', transcript in Magdalen College Library, Oxon. III, 303, 305, V, 133
- 36 Magdalen College Archives
- 37 Magdalen College Court Book 49, p. 596
- 38 Magdalen College Adds. 61
- 39 Transcript of rental in Magdalen College 1666 Rental Book, p. 152; Magdalen College Estate Paper 86/13
- 40 Magdalen College Estate Paper 142/26
- 41 Magdalen College Estate Paper 142/17
- 42 Magdalen College Estate Paper 142/12
- 43 for an earlier account of the family see Greening Lamborn 1942, 190–92
- 44 *Complete Peerage*, x, 535–8
- 45 Moor 1929, 44
- 46 *Rot. Lit. Claus.* i, 500b, 599a; *Cal. Liberate R.* 1226–40, 28, 179
- 47 *Cal. Close R.* 1231–34, 41, 106–7
- 48 *Cal. Close R.* 1234–37, 73 and numerous later references; McCormack 2002, 113
- 49 *Cal. Pat. R.* 1247–58, 135

Barentin's Manor

- 50 *ibid.*, 640  
51 *Cal. Close R. 1247–51*, 8 and many later references  
52 for example *Cal. Close R. 1237–42*, 165; *Cal. Pat. R. 1247–58*, 413, 584  
53 *Cal. Pat. R. 1247–58 passim*  
54 for example *Cal. Close R. 1247–51*, 5; *Cal. Pat. R. 1247–58*, 184  
55 *Cal. Pat. R. 1258–66*, 415, 506  
56 *Cal. Close R. 1231–34*, 82: *ad postes et pannas facienda*  
57 *Cal. Close R. 1237–42*, 202; *Cal. Close R. 1247–51*, 55; *Cal. Close R. 1254–56*, 114; *Cal. Close R. 1256–59*, 420, 424  
58 *Cal. Close R. 1254–56*, 35, 266  
59 *Cal. Close R. 1259–61*, 124; for Drew's nephew's see *Cal. Pat. R. 1247–58*, 459; for an outline biography see Moor 1929  
60 *Cal. Close R. 1264–68*, 180; *Cal. Close R. 1272–79*, 124, 345  
61 Salter 1930, 314; Essex Archaeological Society 1913–28, ii, 49; *Cal. Inq. P.M.* ii, 226, 318; for the first wife, a de Plessis heiress, see Magdalen College Deed Chalgrove 41A  
62 *Cal. Close R. 1288–96*, 189  
63 Outline biography in Moor 1929  
64 For the Essex and Kent manors see *Cal. Close R. 1288–96*, 42, 189; *Cal. Inq. P.M.* ii, 501; *Cal. Pat. R. 1313–17*, 521–22  
65 *Cal. Close R. 1296–1302*, 63; *Cal. Pat. R. 1307–13*, 112  
66 Moor 1929  
67 *Cal. Pat. R. 1327–20*, 335; *Cal. Close R. 1327–30*, 462  
68 *Cal. Inq. P.M.* iv, 78  
69 Parker 1853, 32, 272–74  
70 *Cal. Pat. R. 1313–17*, 672; for the chancel and its paintings see Parker and Burges 1860, 431–8  
71 Magdalen College Deed Chalgrove 41A, printed *Oxford Archaeological Society Report 1909*, 32  
72 de Watteville 1897, 113–15  
73 *Cal. Close R. 1327–30*, 462, 562  
74 For deeds dated at Chalgrove see Bodl. MS Top. Oxon. d. 88 f.30; BL Add. Chs. 20384, 20311. Other references are in Magdalen College Deeds Chalgrove 47A, 48A, 209, 84, 147, 60, 72, 210. For the lost brass of Thomas I and his wife Elizabeth, and the extant brass inscription of Thomas II, see notes 71–2 above  
75 Greening Lamborn 1942, 191  
76 Gibbons 1888, 179  
77 Greening Lamborn 1942, 191  
78 Inquisition, PRO C137/34 (4): *Calendarium Inq. P.M. Sive Esceat.* iii, 273; for Reynold's two wives cf. Greening Lamborn 1942, 191  
79 Reddaway and Walker 1975, 279–82  
80 *Cal. Close R. 1389–92*, 334  
81 Sherwood and Pevsner 1974, 685–87  
82 Toulmin Smith 1910, 233  
83 *Calendarium Inq. P.M. Sive Esceat.* iv, 23  
84 Monumental brasses: see de Watteville 1897, 113–15  
85 Wedgewood and Holt 1936, 40; corrections in Greening Lamborn 1942, 191  
86 BL Add. Ch. 20316  
87 *Cal. Pap. Reg.* x, 605  
88 Gibbons 1888, 179; this lists his numerous children. For Drew's brass see de Watteville 1897, 113–15  
89 Inquisition, *Calendarium Inq. P.M. Sive Esceat.* iv, 256, in which the heir's age is given as eighteen  
90 Wedgewood and Holt 1936, 40–41  
91 Wedgewood and Holt 1936, 41  
92 Weaver and Beardwood 1958, 32–33  
93 Magdalen College Deed Chalgrove 41A, printed *Ox. Arch. Soc. Report 1909*, 32  
94 Will, in Weaver and Beardwood 1958, 32–33, which also lists their other children  
95 *Cal. Inq. P.M. Sive Esceat.* iv, 368  
96 for the younger John and his marriage, see Kingsford 1919, 128–29; Greening Lamborn 1942, 192  
97 *Cal. Inq. P.M. Henry VII*, ii, 12  
98 BL Add. Ch. 20324  
99 PRO Anc. Petitions, C1/36/110  
100 Bodl. MS Top. Oxon. d. 88; Macray, 'Calendar of Magdalen College Deeds': typescript in Magdalen College Library, Oxon. III, 36  
101 BL Add. Chs. 20326–27; Bodl. MS Top. Oxon. d. 88 ff.29–33; Magdalen College Deed Chalgrove 228; Macray, *op. cit.* note 100, Oxon III, 317–25  
102 *Cal. Inq. P.M. Henry VII*, i, 82; for Sir William see Greening Lamborn 1942, 192  
103 Toulmin Smith 1907, 114