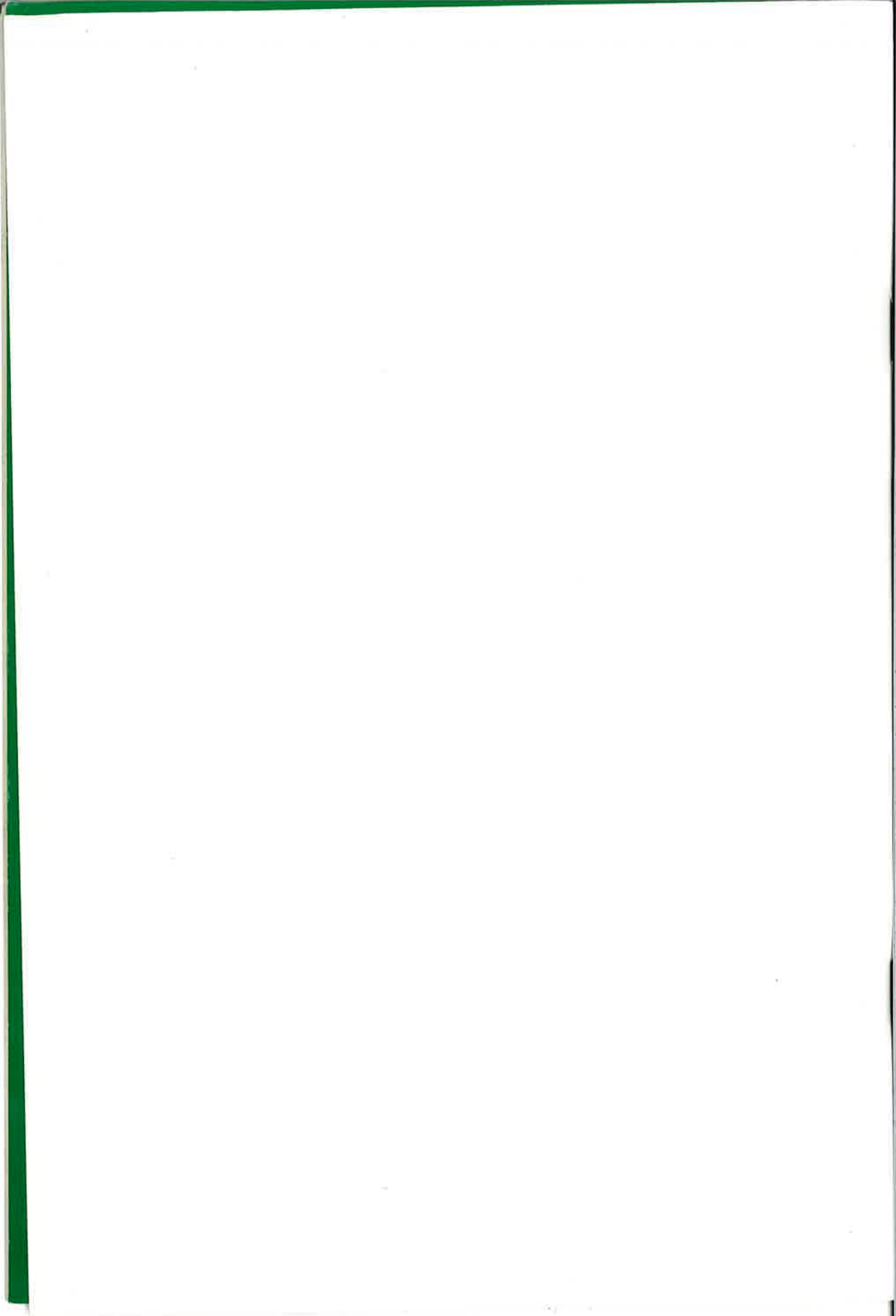


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MANORIAL SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN



Volume II No 2



The Manorial Society of Great Britain

(founded 1906)

Governing Council

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The Earl of Shannon

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Council notes

THE GOVERNING COUNCIL is pleased to record a strengthening of its membership in the persons of the Earl of Shrewsbury and Talbot DL, the Earl of Shannon, N Joseph Deva DL MP, Victor T Podd, Baron of Newcastle, Ireland, as Canada resident representative, and Melody Urquhart, Baroness of Leyny, Co Sligo, and Baroness of Eye, Suffolk, as Ireland resident representative. The Earl of Onslow has retired after 16 years as a member of the Council. The Chairman, Mr Robert Smith, has been appointed an Officer of the Most Venerable Order of St John, the Sovereign Head of the Order being Her Majesty The Queen. The Lord Sudeley and Mr Cecil Humphery-Smith have both been elected Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries. The Council is pleased to note the appointment of Robert Balchin, of Surrey, a long-time Member of the Society, as a Knight Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, for services to medicine. The Chairman attended the Memorial Service for The Lord Home of the Hirsell KT at Westminster Abbey in January. Lord Home had been a Member since 1983. He was Prime Minister between 1963 and 1964, and Foreign Secretary during Sir Edward Heath's administration in the 1970s. The Council regrets the death of Sir Martin Gilliat KCVO, Private Secretary to HM Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother, who helped so much with our celebrations during the Domesday Ninth Centenary in 1986.

The Society held a Conference in May 1994 on the Deregulation and Contracting Out Bill, as it affected charter and statutory markets, and welcomed the then Minister for Trade, Neil Hamilton MP, the Labour Opposition spokesman, Derek Fatchett MP, and John Spellar MP. Besides Members of the Society, there was considerable support from local authorities through the National Association of British Market Authorities, the National Chamber of Commerce, the Retail Consortium, the Corporation of London, the National Market Traders Federation, the Institute of Market Directors, and the Association of Private Market Operators. The proceedings of the Conference have been published and are available from the Society at a price of £35.00 (inc p&p).

In November 1994, Smith's Peerage Limited published the proceedings of the 1992 Annual Conference on the House of Lords, which is now available in cloth back and dust cover, entitled *The House of Lords, a thousand years of British tradition*, price £16.95 (inc p&p, UK and Europe only). The generosity of Mrs Celia Lipton-Farris, of Palm Beach, Florida, made *The House of Lords* book possible. *The House of Commons, 700 years of British tradition*, will be published in March, and the cloth version will be available at the same price (£16.95). The book follows the Annual Conference in September 1994. This publication has been made possible with the financial support of Manorial Auctioneers Limited. Financial support for *The Monarchy, fifteen hundred years of British tradition*, for publication in the autumn, is sought and the Chairman would welcome any suggestions from Members.

Last September's Annual Conference on Manorial Rights is still at the tape stage, but it is intended to publish the proceedings in a book eventually. It will be the first book on the subject for at least a century and will bring the law right upto date. This year's Annual Conference at Christchurch, Oxford, will take place on the weekend of 14 to 16 September, when the subject will be Ritual – dealing with coronations, manorial courts, hatchments, mystery plays, religious liturgy, crime and punishment – formal aspects of medieval life which still have resonance in the late 20th century.

Obituary

We are sorry to report the following deaths of Members: Christopher T Muddiman, of Little Gaddesden, Herts, former President of the Farmers' Club; William Gibson, of Frizington, Cumbria, succeeded by his wife, Elizabeth; Frank Wright, of Brightwell Park, Oxon, who

is succeeded by his daughter, Mrs A M Riley; Miss Dora M Borrill, of Barrow-on-Humber, Lincs – a great supporter of the Annual Conference and a prolific contributor to the Bulletin, whose last contribution we publish inside, succeeded by her nephew, John Borrill; William Inskip, Lord of Shefford, Beds, where he operated the local market – Bill's last Society event was at the Tower of London in 1994 to mark the D-Day Landings – he is succeeded by Joyce Leeper; Anthony Aylmer, Lord of Antingham Wychinghams, Norfolk, at St Peter Port, Guernsey, who is succeeded by his wife, Carolyn; Major Ronald Stewart Kinsey of Kinsey, Scotland; Frank Rowe, Lord of Axminster, Devon, who was senior partner in the land agents, R & C Snell, a leading Mason, and local historian, who is succeeded by his son, James; Captain C Knight, Lord of Cooling, of Cooling Castle, Kent, is succeeded by his wife; Norbert P Rieser, Lord of Dunham on the Hill, Cheshire – “Nobby” was born in Austria, but had lived in England for many years; W D Pinkney, one of the Lord Feoffees of the Manor of Bridlington, Yorkshire; C K Elliot, Lord of Attleborough Chantclers, Norfolk, one of the Queen's private physicians; Sir Richard Neville Bt, Lord of Sloley, Sloley Hall, Norfolk – a great raconteur, linguist, and leading light in the Norfolk Society of Genealogists – succeeded by his nephew, Simon; Michael Rabett, Lord of Depden, Depden Hall, Suffolk, is succeeded by his son; Professor Clive Northcote – Parkinson, better known for inventing “Parkinson's Law”, the theory of which was that work expands in proportion to the time and people available to do it – Seigneur of the Fief Beauvoir, Guernsey, succeeded by his son, Charles, also of Guernsey; Captain Joseph Ballantine Dykes MC, Lord of Dovenby, of Dovenby Hall, Cumbria, and Farnham, Surrey, is succeeded by his wife, Mary; R T Vaughan-Johnson (VJ), Lord of Rattery, Devon, at Rattery, is succeeded by his son, Anthony, who lives in New South Wales; John Gillies, Lord of Mileham, Norfolk, is succeeded by his son and namesake; Rosina Stewart McFie, Lady of West Ilseley, Berks, is succeeded by her husband, Michael.

Recent new members

Jacqueline Albright (Lady of Ireby, Cumbria), Idaho, USA; Rober K C Abbotts (Lord of Abbotts in Darsham, Suffolk), Monte Carlo; Dr Mitsao Batts (Lady Birch & Lyth, Salop), Vancouver, Canada; Alan F Bartlett (Baron of Arbroath, Scotland), of Gloucestershire; George W Braden (Lord of Bover, Co Cork), California, USA; Perry Broome (Lord of Thorpe, Notts), Notts; Claude Bourget (Lord of Horwode, Devon), St Saturnin les Avignons, France; Suri S Curry (Lord of Southall, Herts) of London; Leon P Carter OBE (Baron of Connello, Co Limerick) of Sydney, Australia; Roy Cooper (Lord of West Bretton, West Yorks), of West Yorks; Stuard G Crane (Baron of Cluny, Scotland) of Sark, CI; Thomas O Caffrey (Lord of Peyforer, Kent) of Co Dublin; John O Cowburn-Wood (Lord of Skircoat, Yorks, and of Kindley, Lancs), of the Isle of Man; Mrs Patricia Conolly (Lady of Horstead, Norfolk) of Horstead; Mervyn C Cole (Lord of Knowstone, Devon), of Singapore; Gary J Clark (Lord of Great Heywood, Staffs) of London; James E Delehanty (Lord of Rogerstown, Co Meath) of California, USA; Roger Dance (Lord of Butlers in Eddlesborough, Bucks), of Beds; William Dunbar (Baron of Ida, Co Kilkenny) of London; Mona de Freitas (Baroness of Otford, Kent) of London and Bucharest; Mikhail Debouar (Baron of Skelbo, Sutherland) of Moscow; Charles Eugester (Baron of Callan, Co Kilkenny) of Switzerland; Mellvine Fuchs (Lord of Dunton Waylett Essex), California, USA; Roger G Fry OBE (Baron of Costello, Co Mayo) of Madrid; Dr Ramesh Ghatge (Lord of Hartill, Norfolk) of West Midlands; John Garside (Lord of Sulby, Northants) of Leics; Ronald Green (Lord of Welshampton, Salop) of Merseyside; Anthony N Georgiou (Lord of Blisworth, Northants) of Herts; Peter R Gibson (Lord of Culverthorpe, Lincs) of Notts; Jacqueline Harris (Lady of Caldwell, Yorks) Leeds; Paul Haberl-Schicker (Lord of Sutton Holland, Lincs) of Lanzen Kirschen, Austria; Geoffrey Horne (Lord of Wakes Colne, Essex) of Suffolk; John Hunt (Lord of Worksop, Notts) of Worksop; Jeffrey Hardwick JP (Lord of Laneham, Notts) of Andorra; Niall Horan (Honorary) of Norfolk; John Hornchurch (Lord of Hornchurch, Essex), of Essex; Brett Hammond (Lord of Brawdy Pointz, Dyfed) of Essex; David Holroyd (Lord of Liscool, Co Roscommon) of Sussex; Brian Hornsby (Lord of Hornsby, Cumbria) of

Toronto, Canada; David Hodge (Baron of Castlecoole, Co Cavan) of Guernsey; James Halsall (Lord of Renacres, Merseyside) of Merseyside; W E Jones (Lord of Port Eynon, Glamorgan) of Gwent; Paul Jeffs (Lord of Thorpe Morieux, Suffolk, and Bergh Apton, Norfolk) of Dubai; Gareth Jonathan-Jones (Lord of Sker, Glamorgan) of Glams; Ronald Jenkins (Lord of Aberafon, Glamorgan) of Colorado, USA; Professor Vladimir Kislov (Baron of Dirleton, Lothian) of Moscow; Hopkin Joseph (Lord of Storney, Glams) of Glams; Cyril Lane (Lord of Shrewsbury's Fee, Cambs) of British Columbia, Canada; Peter Liddle (Baron of Gilsland) of Ontario, Canada; Abdul Latif (Lord of Harpole, Suffolk) of Newcastle Upon Tyne; Dr Harry Locket (Baron of Castleknock, Co Dublin, and Lord of Willoughby, Notts) of Glos; Peter Lake (Lord of Hoe Benham, Berks) of Berks; Stefan Lohr (Lord of Benham Lovell, Berks) of Mannheim, Germany; Raymond Lescott (Lord of Tilstock, Salop) of Salop; Dr Peter Magauran (Lord of Santon, Cumbria) of Surrey; Frederick Morgan (Lord of Kenfig, Glams) of Glams; John Machin (Lord of Gateford, Notts) of Notts; Major Bruce Merrivale-Austin (Lord of Horton, Glams) of Glams; Alan Moore (Lord of Hardwick, Notts), of Notts; Giulio Margini (Lord of Ortson Peverell, Notts) of the Canary Islands; Giles Machin (Lord of Newark-on-Trent, Notts) of Notts; Antonio Mas-Perez (Lord of Elkesley, Kirtton, and Egmanon, Notts) of Alicante, Spain; Frederick Morgan (Lord of South Ash, Kent) of Lancs; Hermann Meyer (Baron of Newry, Co Down, and Lord of East Peckham and East Farleigh, Kent); Romero Montalban-Anderssen (Lord of Hartforth, North Yorks) of Michigan, USA; Patrick McKenna (Lord of Ashridge, Herts) of Edmonton, Canada; Dr Graham Naylor (Lord of Aisby, Lincs) of Fife; Graham Osborne-Smith (Baron of Kinnell, Co Forfar, and Lord of Binstead, Isle of Wight) of the IoW; Michael Orr (Lord of Caldecote, Northants) of Northants; Lady Previn (Baroness of Tirerrill, Co Sligo) of New York State, USA; William Pryor (Lord of Bromhall, Cheshire) of New Jersey, USA; Trevor Prider (Baron of Ballintober, Co Roscommon) of Surrey; Derek Pilgrim (Lord of West Anstey, Devon) of Hants; David A Rosow (Lord of Godington, Oxon) of Connecticut, USA; Arthur Rawl (Lord of Cursons, Norfolk) of New Jersey, USA; Leslie Rosan (Lord of Haverhill, Suffolk) of Surrey; Ronald Rayner (Lord of Carlton in Lindrick, Notts) of Essex; Sylvia Rayner (Lady of Annesley Grange, Notts) of Dorset; Mark Rayner (Lord of Markham Clinton, Notts) of Hong Kong; T A Rutter (Lord of Ling Hall, Suffolk) of Essex; Kirk Robertson (Lord of Carcolston, Notts) of Cheshire; Theresa Relf-Jones (Lady of Layer Breton, Essex) of Merseyside; Lorna Ross (Lady of Godwins) of Banffshire; Ronald Shaw (Lord of Hunworth, Norfolk) of Texas, USA; Paul Sleigh (Baron of Carbury) of London; Steven Soos (Lord of Timberhonger, Worcs) of Victoria, Australia; Enid Sibbering-Jones (Lady of Laleston, Glams) of Glams; Robert Steventon (Lord of Thistleton, Rutland) of Virginia, USA; Michael Sullivan (Lord of Newnham, Devon) of Kent; Leslie Spears (Lord of Mayfield, Sussex) of Bucks; Captain A C Sainthill (Lord of Great Canfield, Essex) of Essex; Jacob Sigamoney (Lord of Earls Hall, Essex) of Malaysia; Major Mark Steele (Lord of Hassenbrook, Essex) of Kent; Richard Spalding (Lord of Sheriff's Lench, Worcs) of Worcs; General Stephen L Shadix, (Baron of Orior and Lord of Rathmore) of California, USA; John Szepietowski (Lord of Ingestre, Staffs) of London; Monica Sexton (Lady of Lydiard Tregoze, Wilts) of Kent; Nikolai Shoutov (Baron of Innerpeffer, Co Forfar) of Moscow; Richard Smart (Lord of Riseley, Beds) of Beds; Rajinder Sharma (Lord of Elton, Berks) of Essex; John Spencer (Lord of Herringhsall, Norfolk) of Leeds; Dr Stanley Taylor (Lord of Norton le Clay, Yorks) of Yorks; Trevor Thompson (Lord of Barton le Willows, Lincs) of Lincs; Joseph Tabor (Lord of Holnest, Dorset) of Dorset; Eric Taylor (Lord of Balneath, Sussex) of Sussex; Alan Taylor (Lord of Welsh Frankton, Salop) of Lancs; Robert Titherley (Lord of Frittlestock, Devon) of Hants; Geoffrey Titherington (Baron of Mourne, Co Down, and Lord of Little Budworth, Cheshire) of New York State, USA; Thomas van Schoonbeck (Lord of Lambrigg, Cumbria) of Antwerp; Dr Pier Felice Degli Uberti (Lord of Benham Valance, Berks) of Bologna; Richard Villar (Lord of Twineham Benfield, Sussex) of Essex; Dr John Waller (Lord of Cumrew, Cumbria) of Spain; Ronald Wurster (Lord of Milton Hall, Essex) of Florida, USA; Gordon Whitehead (Lord of Cockshutt, Salop) of Michigan, USA; Timothy Wakefield (Baron of Askeaton, Co Limerick) of London; Craig Walsh (Lord of Lucies, Herts) of Worcs; Stephen Wan (Lord of Bursted, Surrey) of Alberta,

Canada; Edgar Wayman MBE (Lord of Downham Hall in Wymondham, Norfolk) of Germany; Reinhart Wieser (Lord of Stonebury, Herts) of Vienna; Edward Wilson (Lord of Llandegla, Clwyd) of Clwyd; Nikolai Zheiko (Lord of East Stoke, Notts) of Hong Kong; Nino Zarastnik (Lord of Bassingbourne, Essex) of Texas, USA.

Information

MARIAN Horvat, at the Department of History, University of Kansas, is researching nobility and elites in American society, questioning, as she says, "the well-engrained myth that this country was egalitarian in its roots". She would like to conduct interviews with American members for possible inclusion in a dissertation. Members can reach Marian Horvat at 11306 State Avenue, Bonner Springs, Kansas 66012, USA.

GENERAL Stephen L Shadix, Baron of Orior, Co Armagh, and Lord of Rathmore, Co Meath, has made possible, through sponsorship, publication of a new book, *A Short History of Rathmore and Athboy*, by Noel E French. The history begins in the Celtic period and there is a large section on the subsequent Middle Ages when the Lordship bordered on the English Pale. The legends and stories of Rathmore are related with Irish vigour, such as a grant by Oliver Cromwell to the Earl of Darnley of all the land he could see from the top of a hill – "he made sure to choose a clear day." The book has been dedicated by General Shadix to Viscount Gormanston, Premier Viscount of Ireland, a Member of the Society, whose family long had interests in the Manor. The book is available from the Meath Heritage Centre, Mill Street, Trim, Co Meath, Ireland (telephone international: 353-46-36633; fax: 353-46-37502), price inc postage and packing: £6.00 GB and Ireland, \$14.00 US. The Heritage Centre is also interested to hear from Members who might like to take part in a meeting and entertainment at Rathmore.

THE Convention of the Baronage of Scotland has published a very useful paperback book by Sir Crispin Agniew of Lochnaw, Bt, Advocate, and Rothesay Herald of Arms, called *The Baron's Court*. Its aim is to discuss the historical role and jurisdiction of the Baron's Court. A Baronial jurisdiction was exercised not only by those holding Baronies, but also by those holding territorial Peerages of a higher rank, such as the Earldom of Arran. The book describes in an accessible way the nature of the Barony, the relationship of the Baron Court to other courts, the Baron's historic jurisdiction, the delegation of that jurisdiction, the officers of the Court, the seat and procedure of the Court, enforcement of decrees and appeals. There are several annexes which deal with appointments in the Court, the manner of holding Courts, styles of petition, and a glossary. *The Baron's Court* is available from Mrs David Reid of Robertland, Robertland, Stewarton, By Kilmarnock, Ayrshire KA3 5JP. Price including postage and packing £11.00 (\$25.00 US) – please make cheques payable to the Convention of the Baronage of Scotland.

PROCEEDS from the Annual Carol Service in aid of St Barts Children's Unit, Help the Aged, and Temple Church totalled almost £1,500. The Chairman of the Society has given two Lordships to the Order of St John (Prince of Wales' London District) on behalf of the Society, which have been auctioned at the Valentine Ball, and raised almost £10,000 for the St John Ambulance Brigade. Mr Clifford Worthing of Cincinnati, Ohio, has kindly donated \$300 towards the Society's publications.

From the members

Education

THE BECK Child Abuse Case and the subsequent inquiry report gave Fritz Spiegl the chance to write about a subject ever close to his heart, the abuse of the English language. He

quotes (in *The Sunday Telegraph* of 14 February 1993) from a testimonial given to Beck by a social worker, Miss Wendy Rowell:

“Mr Beck's enthusiasm and openminded approach to education (in the full sense of that word) enabled us to involve the children in activities they never dreamed themselves capable of this could also be said of some of the staff he made contact with too.”

Fritz Spiegel's article tells a tale that could be repeated by many businessmen after interviewing potential employees. I know there are very many excellent, dedicated teachers in our schools, some of whom are frustrated by problems in the inner cities, and with what they consider poor pay and loss of status. The image of some teachers portrayed by the media is far from flattering: a high proportion of their pupils, it is assumed, leave school with a poor, inadequate education. There are schools in inner cities with fine academic achievements, thanks to good teachers, home environment, and parental interest and support.

“Stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage”. Colonel Lovelace, if alive today would, I am sure, have an equally apposite epigram to propound on education. The quality of teachers matters most. A regiment is as good as its officers, a business as its management, a school as its staff, not its buildings, decor, unions, or the number of pupils in class.

We are told that teachers cannot control classes of more than 30 pupils; that discipline is a dirty word; that outside lavatories belong to the Stone Age, that curtains, carpets, and central heating are essential priorities; that corporal punishment is a crime, elitism a naughty word and that religion must be multi-cultural. I have seen excellent teaching carried on in bleak nissen huts with only the comfort of a coke stove in winter and electric light with well over 40 pupils listening, enraptured, as a master unfolded the magic and mystery of his subject. The trendies have had a good run. Marx has been seen and heard, and found wanting. Unions have beavered away at levelling down and undermining middle-class standards and eroding the respect teachers deserved in the past. They have caused schools to close by strike action rather than reasoning with dialogue and erudition, sometimes salted with conciliation and compromise, to find happy outcomes to disputes.

Teaching should be fun, exciting, stimulating, and rewarding. If there are, occasionally, too many in a class or a big ethnic mix, then the challenge is greater, the work harder, and teachers' pay should reflect this extra burden. It is obvious that pleasant surroundings and smaller classes are easier to work with; but an overflowing lecture hall at university can often be as effective as one-to-one tutorials. Nothing worth doing well is easy. A good spring-clean, perhaps, will let us clear away left-overs of the permissive 'sixties and tidy up the scruffy, designer stubble, trainer-clad teachers – seen on our screens, shuffling along on demonstrations, with the untied tie, the ranting, finger-stabbing union leaders and the unkempt, unlovely feminists.

The country needs to tap every strata of society to build up a nation of well informed, articulate, enterprising people with inquiring minds, full of wonderment, all contributing to the whole in the best way they can, all with a spiritual and compassionate element fed into their upbringing. There is nothing wrong with excellence and nothing wrong in having extra-special tuition for the slower learners, the dyslexic or unhappy. All children need to be stretched to a certain limit to assess their potential. We are a Christian nation and should not be afraid to say so, and teach it, while being tolerant and helpful and knowledgeable of other beliefs. No child should ever be bored, for this means that he or she is not being taught by parents or teachers to have an inquiring mind, a longing for knowledge, and how finding out how things work and why, is fun.

Let us bring back games, such as hockey, football, rugby, cricket, and lacrosse. Games on green fields in fresh air should be available for all those who wish to partake in sports while other interesting, stimulating activities should be available for those not interested in sport: all work and no play can lead to dullness of spirit. Cricket was considered an excellent game for encouraging the Corinthian ideals, gentlemanly conduct, sportsmanship, the pursuit of excellence, team spirit and so forth; but has become somewhat tarnished

recently. Those who have displayed a debonair, Corinthian attitude with the slightest hint of style or panache seem to be excluded from the English side in favour of those with neither pride in appearance nor conduct. Let us bring back some non-academic activities to all schools. Let us bring back good manners, respect for the aged and take a pride in our appearance and give elegance, style and even eccentricity a chance to bloom.

It is an insult to the noble men of Jarrow and the unemployed of the 'thirties to blame all our troubles and crime on those out of work. They had pride, loyalty, integrity, and grit. What they did not have was the worship of pop idols, discos, raves, drugs, video violence, and gratuitous sex on screens, trendy vicars and a total ignorance of the beatitudes and the weight of broken homes and one parent families which can present problems we all have to face. And face them we must, as a challenge, a crusade for righteousness, otherwise the creed of greed and envy will thrive and sloth and ignorance flourish. I will be reviled as a fascist reactionary for writing in such a vein; but my feelings, I believe, are those felt by many of my contemporaries and should be given the chance of an airing. **J Gillies Shields**, Lord of Melbourne, Derbys.

Feudalism in the 1990s

From Dr Anthony Cree, Senior Lecturer in the Philosophy of Education at the University of Ballarat, Australia, Scottish Feudal Baron

WHILST sitting on High Table at Oxford University College recently, I was surprised when the topic turned to Lordships of the Manor and matters feudal. "It is an extraordinary anacronism", bemoaned the well fed tutor in sociology, as he looked down the panelled hall to the rows of gowned humble undergraduates. "Another glass of that Australian Chardonney," he muttered to the Senior Common Room butler as he developed his argument. "It is absurd that in the last decade of the 20th century one man should call himself a lord and feel himself superior. Feudalism offends me profoundly." At this point, I, as a mere visiting fellow, decided to buy in the great man's argument. "Would you not consider this college highly feudal?" I inquired. "Do you not enjoy privilege and feel yourself better than others?" By now, ears had pricked up and at least three other members of the Senior Common Room leapt to the defence. "Ho, ho" they cried. "This is the opposite of feudal. This is a meritocracy. We are here through merit, not inheritance". To which I replied, "Did you not inherit your brains?" Brief silence. "Yes, but we worked, we studied" and so the argument raged. It was finally resolved when I was able to show the connection between brains, wealth, private education, and Oxbridge colleges. Of course, Senior Common Room is feudal, probably more feudal than they realize (complete with servants, estates, and even tied parishes).

But then, is not the whole of our society feudal? The democrats and feminists, the main enemies of feudal concepts, have made inroads, but not many. Feudalism is defined (Webster's) as a relationship of Lord to vassal based on the patriarchal society. Do we not own property? Is not the ownership of property as well as stocks and shares the basis of our society? Is not social democracy only a way of milking this existing structure? Are not the feminists in just as much of a patriarchy when they encourage state funding of single parent families (ie themselves) or insist on non-custodial parent's payment via government agencies? In a recent government survey, it was found that although 60% of women aged 18-50 years now work, they only contribute 20% of national PAYE - 80% is paid by men. The government, in fact, is merely the agency for preserving the patriarchy, not *vice versa*. I well remember during a brief political career, I was seeking to avoid journalists' interest while at the same time, outside Parliament, a group of several hundred single mothers were trying to attract journalists by demonstrating for an increase in the government payments. A psychologist who was with me at the time described their behaviour as the same as a wife seeking funds from a husband or lover. In fact, the state had become the *de facto* husband.

The European and British middle class family reflect their feudal antecedents in lifestyle, layout of home, role of wife (whether she is working or not), and education of children. The working class family, by contrast, reflect the pre-industrial vassal or dependent family. The characteristics are non-property ownership, non-formal marital arrangements, non-interest in education of young and above all, an unwillingness to take any responsibility or risk in work or business. These characteristics, which are actually heightened in the permissive 1990s, would be familiar to anyone studying the medieval serf culture.

By contrast, a middle class European home actually reflects late medieval minor nobility. A formal living area and above all, a formal dining area are a direct lineal descent of a baronial hall. The love of formal dinner parties, family Sunday lunches, and any other excuse to dine in a traditional manner, reflects a feudal culture. Until very recently, tradesmen attended such homes via the rear or side entrance and in many parts of the world, this is still the case. Also is not the garden, however small and ridiculous, in fact the "domain" and indeed the family car might be seen as the coach to the estate, and in many ways performs the same function.

It is not only at home that the feudal and patriarchal traditions prosper. At work, the companies that now succeed are small, family concerns with less than 100 employees. The

employees know where they stand and feel that a personal relationship with the owner and his family is a better basis of secure employment than with some multi-national consortium or semi-government body. A recent survey found that 70% of British companies and 80% of US industry operated in this manner. In fact, in the US Fortune magazine, 500 companies, formerly accounting for 40%, now only account for 15% of US industry. The modern family company is the estate of the 1990s, and indeed, thus it always has been. Most of the famous aristocratic families have their origins in trade and commerce rather than war. The Cecils, Howards, and equivalent ancient houses trace their wealth to commerce.

In the 1990s there is a renewed interest in the feudal society (neo-feudalism) and this is in part due to the collapse of most Marxist societies. In Russia, the small private family holdings of land handed on by inheritance remained the backbone of the agricultural economy, while the collective farms crashed. The Russian, East German, Hungarian, and Polish civil services were run entirely by the middle class descendants of the previous non-Marxist regime (this can be demonstrated by the difference in names of middle class and peasant people in Russia and several papers have recently been written on the topic).

It is therefore hardly surprising that there is a renewed interest in Lordships of the Manor and Scottish Feudal Baronies in Britain. The truth is that they are not an alien concept as suggested at the High Table of the Oxford College, but as natural to European society as the Oxford College High Table itself.

Gone but not forgotten

BESIDE the long road that runs between Dorchester and Sherborne stands the pretty little 14th century church of Holnest. In 1858 a rather unusual building also occupied the ecclesiastical site. Whether one would have considered it architecturally divine or an over indulgent monstrosity it nevertheless proved interesting. The Squire at that time – a man of great wealth and eccentric habits – obtained permission to build a mausoleum on the land, his manor house conveniently being within walking distance. The building was nearly as large as the church and the Squire, reputedly an atheist, had it erected directly in front of the place of worship in order to hide it from the road. The cost of the construction amounted to between £8,000 and £10,000, a considerable sum of money in those days, with part of the cost being attributed to the design necessitating the expertise of several Italians especially brought over to do the work.



The walls of the building were of very hard stone and more than a foot thick. The roof was supported by huge arched girders which measured a foot apart with the pillars being made of marble. The east door glowed from its bronze covering as did the romanque sarcophagus in the centre of the mausoleum. Twelve rather splendid stained – glass windows depicting the cardinal virtues adorned the sides. The north side represented Faith, Hope, Charity, Prudence, Justice, Humility, with the south side representing Piety, Honour, Mercy, Wisdom, Fortitude, and Truth. At the west end was a large mosaic with a background of gold and the figure of a beautiful woman draped in coloured gauze garments embodying these virtues. The coffin made of oak and lead lined had been made at Sherborne.

On completion of the mausoleum, it is said that the Squire would lay down in the coffin annually and summon all his servants. Once they were all gathered a procession sombrely made its way to the churchyard where all but the funeral service was rehearsed. During such occasions, the Squire would often raise the lid and discipline the bearers for not keeping in step. On returning from one such performance, he decided that the coffin was not wide enough and complained that it rubbed his shoulders. He returned it forthwith to the maker and insisted that it must be altered or a new one be made at no extra cost. The man merely kept the coffin without carrying out the alteration and returned it in time for the next rehearsal with no further complaint. The Squire died in 1887 and was buried in his mausoleum.

In his last will and testament, it stated that for every one who attended the funeral there would be a promise of a sovereign. Hundreds attended and immediately after the service went to claim their reward. Expectancy turned to anger when they were informed that they already had as sovereign on the Throne.

By the early 1900s, the mausoleum had begun to decay and the cost of restoration proved far too expensive. Even to replace the marble with similar slabs would have been difficult let alone any subsequent upkeep of the building. While some people wanted to see it removed, others were keen that it should be retained, suggesting that the church should take over the repairs and maintenance. This idea was not at all practical as only 300 people lived within the parishes, all having to support two churches and retain services. Most of the local people agreed that their priorities were to themselves and the church and not the mausoleum. By 1936, the whole structure had been demolished by a contractor from Luton. Most of the stone was sold locally, the marble pillars elsewhere and the windows, mosaic, and sarcophagus through dealers. The coffin was lowered into the ground with a marble slab marking the spot.

Regrettably, the little church of Holnest still lost financially. After negotiations, it had been agreed that the churchwardens could show people over the mausoleum, the admission fee being 6d. The effect of this proved twofold. Not only did it produce an annual income of between £12 and £15, but the visitors would combine the trip with a look inside the church and invariably gave to the donation box. The proceeds were used towards the restoration of the church. However one views the whole episode, it cannot be denied that as quoted from *The Times* immediately after the demolition, it was "THE PASSING OF A LANDMARK" **Sylvia Tabor**, Lady of Holnest.

Local history centre

THE NEW WAKEFIELD Local History Centre Study in rented accommodation below the Central Library, in Drury Lane, Wakefield, has had a busy seven months since being first opened to the public last year. In a number of ways, the centre may be described as unique. It houses one man's collections of books, documents, maps, and illustrations; it is open by prior appointment for evening or weekend use, as well as during working hours; its services are entirely free. It is run by John Goodchild, M Univ, who finances it entirely from his pension, and its area of interest is not confined to that of any particular local authority, for it has a concern with the whole of the central part of the West Riding between Leeds and Mexborough, between Brighouse and Goole.

During the centre's initial four months, services have been provided for more than 900 people. Some have come as individuals (from as far afield as Australia, Japan, and Taiwan). Some have come in parties for a talk, or have been conducted on historical walks, or been given a lecture elsewhere, all of which have been illustrated with displays of material from the centre. Some have asked for information by letter or telephone: there have been professional inquiries, inquiries from local government departments, inquiries from business and commerce, and requests for information from individuals. Research has continued at the centre and a number of new historical essays have been written and others published.

Those who visit the centre are either given a talk on how its collections have been made and how they are used, and shown some of its interesting items, or come for a talk on some specific subject of interest to them. As well as a regular afternoon U3A group, parties visiting the centre have included groups from the Pontefract and the Wakefield Historical Societies, from the Open University, and from Huddersfield and Leeds Universities, from the local Co-operative Party, from a local school as part of an in-service training day, and from local church groups. The displays at the Centre will change every six months.

The collections at the centre grow through continuing purchase by John Goodchild, or by gift. These include: A new big collection of deeds and papers about the Shibden Hall estate, near Halifax; papers have been bought of the McGowan family of Pontefract, once newspaper owners and printers there; from Wakefield Market have been bought papers of Tom Smith, an early local Socialist and perhaps the first man locally to sell cats-whisker radio sets. The minute book of the Cleckheaton Building Company has yielded information for an interesting article, as has the ledger of the Tinker family of Hepworth near Holmfirth, with useful coalmining informing. From the same source came a management salaries book from Upton Colliery. Rare and detailed Goad plans – very large scale plans with unique detail – have been purchased, a volume of the *Colliery Guardian* for 1865 (with local information in it) given. In regard to Wakefield itself, minutes of the Wakefield Mechanics' Reading Room an 1824 Savings Bank poster, local photographs, a holder for a candle in a rhubarb shed, a sign from one of Wakefield's unusual police boxes – and much more.

John Goodchild is a Member of the Society and welcomes inquiries: The John Goodchild Collection, below Central Library, Drury Lane, Wakefield, West Yorks WF7 2DT: tel: 01924-891971 or 01924-298929 (international 44-1924).

The royal Manor of Barrow

IN 1709 THE people of Barrow were responsible for the upkeep and repair the Humber Bank, and this duty was apportioned in Swathes (the sweep of a scythe). John Uppleby was responsible for 20 swathes, Westcote 16, Down Hall 16, John Roberts 4, John Wilkin 4, Harry Harrison 2. There were many other persons with a number of swathes allocated for the repair of the Oxmarsh Banks.

The Copyholders of the Manor were bound to keep in repair the jetties, piers, and waterworks, including the dykes, within the bounds of the said Manor to repel the violent incursion of the turbulent waters of the Humber and therefore by an order made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and now upon record in the Exchequer acquitted of their fines; which formerly upon every surrender was one year's rent. In the year 1650 it was found that the jetties, piers, and waterworks, including the dykes, were in need of much repair and could not be made good under the sum of two hundred pounds, at the least and doubtless more.

It appears there have been, in years gone by, four Manors in Barrow:-

The Manor of Barrow called Westcote; the King's Manor with its huge Tithe Barn.

The Manor of Down Hall.

The Manor of Deesby and Sutton.

The Manor formerly Broxholme.

The Westcote Manor was the Crown's Manor, the Down Hall and Beesby Manors were part of the Estates of Sir Rowland Winn's ancestors, Marris's Scite or Manor House was formerly part of the Estates of Broxholme, who had a considerable Estate in Barrow and sold this in Parcels.

On 7 March 1610, in the reign of King James I, in the will of John Jon of Barrowe details are given of a gift to John Broxholme, gentleman, son and heir apparent of his cousin, William Broxholme: "All that my Manor of Barrowe, commonly called Sutton's Manor with all the other houses, lands, etc. in Barrowe. Further I do give to the said John Broxholme all my goods and chattles moveable and immoveable, etc. to him and his heirs forever." Witnessed by William Broxholme and others. John Broxholme was the testor's cousin once removed.

The scite of the Manor of Sutton is towards the north part of the town. In the centre is the scite of the Manor of Beesby Garth, where Sir Rowland Winn held his Courts. Later, Sutton's Manor became the scite of Marris's Farmstead which is towards the north part of the town.

Down Hall Manor is to the extreme north of the town and near the scite of the Monastery of St Chad. In this Manor quantities of human remains have been found. St Chad's Day is 2 March, the date of his death. The Down Hall Manor – its scite and mansion house with the appurtenances – was sold by the late Sir Rowland Winn, Baronet, in 1772. He had previously sold the Manor of Beesby, now called Newton Garth, from the name of the present tenant, Newton, living there, with one hundred and fifty acres in 1766; but at the time of the sale, Sir Rowland expressly reserved, out of the Conveyance, the Manor.

Another record in 1708 reads: "All that fee farm rent of £8.12s.8d issuing out of, or for, the scite and Mansion House called Down Hall with all its rights and appurtenances, now or late paid by Sir George Winn, Knight," so the Winn family had been settled in Barrow for some considerable time. However, they eventually sold or exchanged much of their land in Barrow for land in Thornton. In 1780, Sir Rowland Winn erected a pinfold upon the Beck Hill, Barrow. Sir Rowland and his ancestors held a View of Frankpledge, with Court Leet and Court Baron, at Barrow at Michaelmas. The tenants by ancient custom were liable to keep a bull and a boar for the use of the parish.

The rents of most of the Copyholders were payable on Lady Day and Michaelmas. At Lady Day and Michaelmas, a Court Leet was held (the world Leet is Saxon). Michaelmas

is the feast of St Michael the Archangel and is held on 29 September. A Great Court Baron was held every three weeks and was appointed by the Steward or Bailiff. A rent called Sheriff's Tooth, payable by most of the Freeholders within the Great Court Baron, was an ancient tenure for the Service of Providing Entertainment for the Sheriff at his Great Court. The Vicar of Barrow in 1638 was Thomas Whitby, MA. The living was valued at £35 per annum. He would also receive the tithes of barley and lambs given to the Vicar of Barrow by Henry VIII when he visited the Abbey of Thornton in 1541. **Dora M Borrill, Late Lord of the Manor of the Parish of Barrow.**

Useful addresses:

Lord Lyon Court, New Register House, Edinburgh EH1 3YT: 0131-556 7255.

Chief Herald of Ireland, 2 Kildare Street, Dublin 1: 00-353-1-618811.

Convention of the Baronage of Scotland, Stewarton, Ayrshire KA3 5JP: 01560-482656.

Société Jersaise, The Museum, 9 Pier Road, Saint Helier, Jersey JE2 4UW, Channel Islands.
 Armorial and Heraldry Society of Australia, PO Box 352, World Trade Centre, Melbourne, Australia 3005.

Institute of Heraldic and Genealogical Studies, Northgate, Canterbury CT1 1BA: 01227-768664.

Chief Herald of Canada: Robert D Watt, Rideau Hall, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0A1: 001-613-991-2227; fax: 001-613-991-1681.

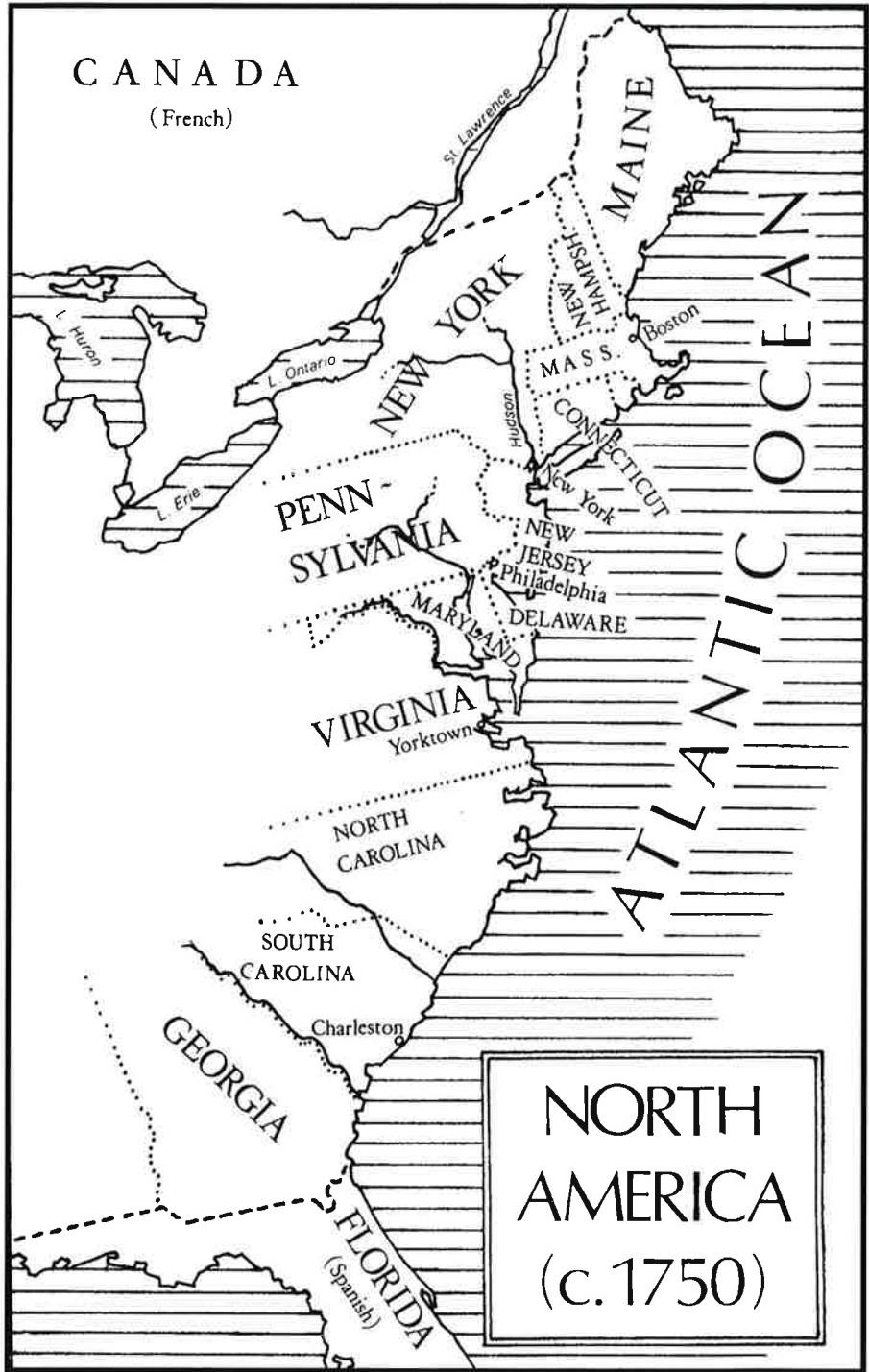
The East Coast Manors of America

by Timothy Beard

WHEN THEY are told that certain trappings of the feudal system were imported into the North American colonies in the 17th and early 18th centuries, most people are amazed. How could it be that what is now the United States of America, in many aspects the most modern civilization in the world, once had its own feudal system, based on the Manor? The Oxford English Dictionary, among its definitions of the word, "Manor", describes it as a unit of English territorial organization and the mansion of a lord and the lands belonging to it. This seems very simple and easy to understand, but the word has been corrupted over the last 200 years in this country, so that often in the language of modern America, the meaning has been nearly lost. Today, many developers, restaurateurs, nursing home operators, and well meaning, but misguided, history buffs have bandied the word "Manor" about for their own commercial purposes because of the respectability it seems to imply. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that we shall have to steel ourselves against the eventuality of a chain of hot dog or hamburger manors rising up around the country to compete with the "Clan MacDonald". We might be able to forgive someone living quietly and discreetly in a pseudo-retirement manor, but none of us could ever forgive anyone gnawing on a pseudo-manorial hot dog!

In medieval Europe, a Manor, fief, or seignory was a parcel of land which formed a self-sufficient community. It was held by the Lord of the Manor, usually a knight, from some great nobleman of the realm, possibly the king himself, who in turn would have dozens of Manors under his control. The Lord of the Manor was the authority in his own territory and, according to Nathaniel J Hone in his excellent book, *The Manor and Manorial Records*, published in London in 1906, "the highest privilege pertaining to manorial lordship was that of holding a domestic court called the Court Baron in which alienations and disputes as to property were arranged, bylaws made, and breaches of such presented by the jury and duly visited with a fine". Hone also stated in his book that from an early period, the Crown had delegated its powers to the lord for holding a court of criminal jurisdiction in which infringements of the Common or Statute Law, not grave enough to be brought before the superior courts, were dealt with, and this court became known as the Court Leet. These two medieval terms, Court Leet and Court Baron, are very important in determining whether a grant of land in Europe or the American Colonies could be called a Manor. The size of the land granted does not determine the manorial authority. In Virginia, there were vast grants of thousands of acres bestowed on many individuals, but there seem to have been no manorial grants in Virginia. That opulent, colonial Virginian, William Byrd, for all his 6,000 acres at the Great Falls of the James River and his 2,000-acre plantation at Westover and his other vast holdings, was not the lord of any Manor, while Nicholas Harvey, a colonist of more modest means, of St Joseph's Manor, St Mary's County, Maryland, with only 1,000 acres was a lord of a manor as he had the right of holding a Court Leet and Court Baron in January, 1642 or 1643.

The manorial system was brought to America by the Dutch, French, Spanish, and English as one of the methods to help to colonize and govern the New World, without the European governments laying out large sums of money. The revival of this form of feudalism was in part successful. It was sponsored by the Dutch West India Company, and the two great Lord Proprietors, James, Duke of York, who later came to the Throne as James II, and George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, as well as by the seven Lord Proprietors in South Carolina. However, the patroons and the colonial lords of manors of the 17th and 18th centuries have not always been treated kindly or fairly by historians, and on the whole this is mainly because they have not been dealt with in the context of the era in which they lived, but instead by modern democratic attitudes towards privilege. This is especially true of an article by Joseph E Persico in the October, 1974, issue of "American Heritage" entitled, Feudal Lords on Yankee Soil. Mr Persico had many of his facts garbled and he implied that the Patroons



and Lords were aristocrats who had been given their land for nothing and who ruled tyrannically over their tenants. This was not the case. The granting of Manors was to promote and to sponsor the colonization of the young colonies, and many of these Lords of the Manor gambled when they laid out their whole fortunes, sometimes fairly modest, in buying the property, in building their manor houses, improving the land, and paying the passage of colonists to inhabit their domain. Without the great courage of these men and the chances they took, many early settlers would not have been able to come to this country. But who were these so-called aristocratic men and what were their backgrounds? Here are some thumbnail sketches of a few of them.

Kiliaen van Rensselaer, the most successful of the Patroons, was a prosperous young merchant in Amsterdam who had in early life inherited a fortune and increased it by good investment. In 1630, this astute merchant, along with Michael de Pauw, later of the Patroonship of Pavonia, saw the opportunity of developing a patroonship in New Netherlands as laid out under the terms of the Dutch West India Company charter. He obtained a patent and sent out a colony of more than 50 people to the land allotted to him up the Hudson, near Albany. The early records of the Patroonship of Rensselaerwyck have been preserved and published, and they show the great interest that Kiliaen van Rensselaer took in his lands, although he died in Amsterdam in 1643 without ever seeing them. This Patroonship was ably guided by his directors and descendants, so that it bridged the change over to English government and it was later erected into a Manor.

Lyon Gardiner was a soldier, engineer, and adventurer, the perfect hero for a swashbuckling historical novel, the kind of daring man whom Errol Flynn or Douglas Fairbanks would have enjoyed playing. His origin is unknown, although there has been speculation that he was the child of a Lionel Gardiner who married Elizabeth Woodhouse at St Dunstan's, Stepney, London, on December 32, 1593. It is known that he was born in England in about 1599, fought in the Netherlands where he married a Dutch lady with a dowry, and then emigrated to New England. In his own words, written in the Gardiner Family Bible, he wrote: "In the Year of our Lord 1635, July the 10th, came I, Lion Gardiner and Mary, my wife, from Woerden, a towne in Holland, where my wife was born. . . We came from Woerden to London and from thence to Saybrook, Forte four years of which I was Commander and there was born to me a son, David, in 1635 Apr. the 29th first born in that place. In 1638 a daughter was borne to me called Mary, August 30th, and then I went to an Island of mine owne which I bought of the Indians called by them Manchanoke, by us the Ile of Wight." His grant to Gardiner's Island from lord Sterling was dated 10 March, 1639. Under this grant he could "make, execute, or put into practice such lawe for church and civil government as are according to God and the Kinge and practice of the country without giving any account thereof to any whomsoever". His son, David Gardiner, had the grant confirmed in 1665 and his grandson, Lion Gardiner II, received a patent in 1686 from Governor Dongan which stated that the island "shall henceforth be called the Lordship and Manor of Gardiner's Island".

Augustine Herrman of Bohemia Manor, Maryland, was born in Prague about 1621 and his parentage is uncertain. He was educated in the Netherlands and possibly in England since he was fluent in German, Dutch, and English. He was a merchant in New Amsterdam where he settled in about 1643, and in 1649 he became one of Peter Stuyvesant's "Nine Men" who helped to govern the colony. With his knowledge of English, he was sent as an ambassador by the Dutch to the colonies of Virginia and Maryland. He met Lord Baltimore in Maryland in 1659 to discuss a boundary dispute with the Dutch territory, which is now the state of Delaware, and he remained there a year sketching a map of the territory. The rough sketch pleased Lord Baltimore so much that he urged him to settle in the colony and granted him large tracts of land. The final version of the map was published in 1673. Bohemia Manor, 6,000 acres on both sides of the Elk River in Cecil county, Maryland, was granted under patent on June 19, 1662, and erected a Manor on May 11, 1676. This merchant, artist, cartographer, statesman, property entrepreneur, soldier, and at the end, Lord of Bohemia Manor, died in 1686, and his descendants are numerous.

Robert Livingston was the scion of a noble family, but as the 14th child and eighth son of his parents – themselves descendants of younger sons who were poor ministers – Robert

Livingston had to set out early in life to make his way as a merchant. The great rewards of the Manor of Livingston, which he had obtained by the end of his life in 1728 at the age of 74, had not come easily to him. The story of Livingston manor was published in a pamphlet in 1914. In 1981, nearly 500 descendants of Robert Livingston gathered at Clermont, an old Livingston house up the Hudson, to celebrate in his honour.

Thomas Pell, the first Lord of the Manor of Pelham, was the son of a minister of small fortune and good connections. He fits well into the pattern of the well educated young man with a strong will and a stout constitution to endure the rigours of the New World, and who with a little money could become a great man in the colonial period. He called himself a tailor and a carpenter in the passenger lists, and when he died in 1669, he left a great fortune in lands and goods to his young nephew, John Pell, who succeeded him as the second Lord of the Manor and established the present foundations of the family, senators and congressmen.

Thomas Mayhew of Tisbury Manor, Martha's Vineyard, was apprenticed a mercer in Massachusetts where he ran a mill as a factor for Matthew Craddock of London. Before long, he had acquired the mill. Although his fortunes wavered, by the time of his death in 1682, just short of the age of 89, he had risen in the world to become the first Governor of Martha's Vineyard and the Lord of the Manor of Tisbury under a grant from Governor Lovelace of New York, on behalf of the Duke of York, in 1671. These manorial privileges ended when Massachusetts gained jurisdiction over the island in 1691.

James Neale of Wollaston Manor, Charles county, Maryland, had formerly been a merchant in Lisbon. Before he obtained the grant of his Manor, he appeared, aged three, with his father, Raphael Neale of Drury Lane, London, in the Heralds' Visitation of Northamptonshire in 1618. His father was the third son of James Neale of Wollaston, Northamptonshire, a country gentleman. As the son of the youngest son of a member of the gentry, one of the best ways for him to make his fortune was to amass capital in a foreign country and then emigrate to America where his money would buy him a better piece of land than his cousin held in Northamptonshire.

The circumstances of William "Tangier" Smith, who was made Lord of the Manor of St George, Long Island, in 1693, were similar. He went to Tangier to seek his fortune. The epithet, Tangier, remained with him for he was the last English mayor from 1682 until the English evacuated the city in October, 1683.

Claims that such manorial lords were aristocratic despots who received patents for vast lands because of their noble connections and nefarious ways are not realistic. In the context of the period, they were on the whole a hard working group of people of varying backgrounds – merchants, millers, soldiers, farmers, younger sons of gentlemen. Their common ingredient was a vigorous, adventurous spirit, great feelings for Christianity, and a strong drive for success. Of course, there were unscrupulous manorial families and one might include some Tories among them, but most of the descendants of lords of colonial manors remained Americans and many have been famous Americans and great patriots, past and present. They include Philip Livingston, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll, William Floyd, and Lewis Morris, signatories of the Declaration of Independence; Chancellor Robert R Livingstone, President Franklin D Roosevelt; Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney; Senators John Randolph of Roanoke and Claiborne Pell; Julia Gardiner Tyler and Eleanor Roosevelt Roosevelt, wives of presidents; writers, such as Gouverneur Morris, Ellin Berlin and her daughter, Ellin Barrett, and the durable actress, Jane Wyatt, who represents at least three Manors, Bentley, Livingston, and Rensselaerwyck. Most descendants of colonial lords have entered the mainstream of American life and become part of its backbone as doctors, lawyers, ministers, bankers, scholars, soldiers, merchants, corporate executives and at least one as a rock and roll performer.

It has been more than two centuries since any Manor has been a legal entity in what is now the United States, but even so, in areas of this country where Manors were established and dominated the life of a community, they are still well remembered and in certain instances make a strong impression. This is especially true of Philipsburgh Manor, North Tarrytown, where visitors can step back in time and see the reconstruction of a working manor farm



The Society marked the 50th Anniversary of D-Day in 1994 with marching bands at the Tower of London. Baron Liddle of Gilsland with the Fusiliers Barracks in the background



Mr and Mrs Raymond Rayner, Lord and Lady of Chepstow, take a break, during the D-Day commemoration



Market Conference, May 1994; Mr Neil Hamilton MP, Minister for Corporate Affairs (standing), addresses the conference with, from left: the Chairman, John Moore, Vice-Chairman, Edward Cousins, and Mrs Wendy Hobday, Lady of Ruislip and Chairman of Wendy Fair Markets



Annual Conference, Oriel College: from left, Mr John Hornchurch, Lord of Hornchurch Hall, Mr Tim Shortland, Lord of Hempton with Northwick, and Mr William Bowmore, Lord of Heywood Hall



*Oriel College: Baroness Urquhart of Eye and Leyny and Mrs Christine Thurkill-Cooke,
Lady of Massingham Priory*



Oriel College: from left, Mr and Mrs Norbert Hellekes, Lord and Lady of Gelham Hall, and Mr and Mrs Arnold Davis, Lord and Lady of Barnham Broom



Oriel College: from left, Dr David Carpenter (London University), John Moore, Vice-Chairman (Bristol University) and the Chairman



Annual Carol Service (1995): supper at Inner Temple Hall: from left, Sir Colin Cole, Canon The Reverend Joseph Robinson (Master of the Temple), Mrs Cecile Robinson (no relation), and Gordon Teai of Hamby



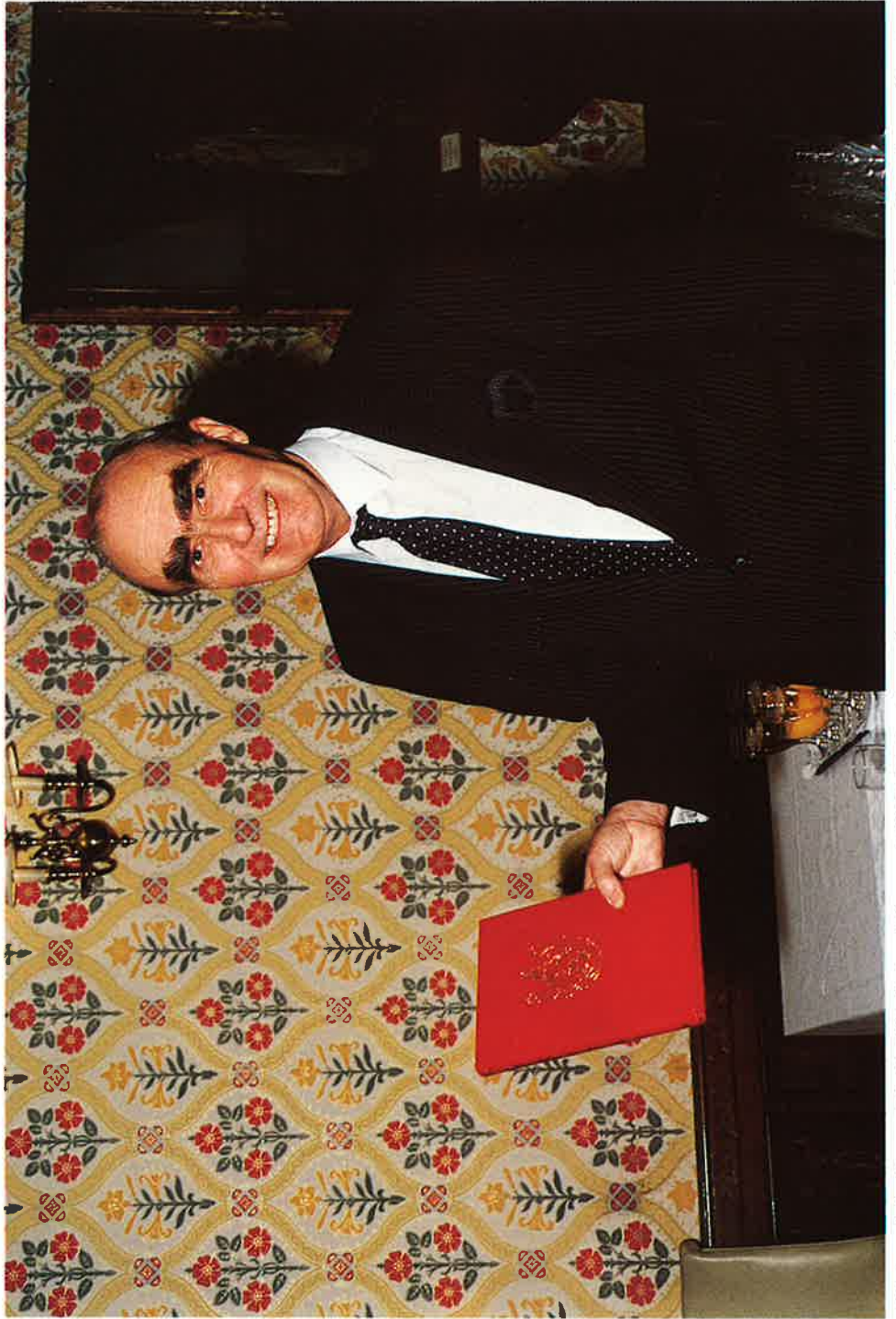
Inner Temple Hall: from left, the Chairman, and Major and Mrs Bruce Merivale-Austin, Lord and Lady Horton



Annual Ball in aid of St John Ambulance at the Dorchester: from left, Mrs Pamela Holyhead-Jones, Lady of Felindre Sawdde and Midgeholm, Baroness Watson, and Mrs Elizabeth Porges-Watson



House of Lords Book Launch in the Cholmondeley Room, House of Lords: the Chairman and Lord Sudeley welcome guests



Cholmondeley Room: Admiral Sir Richard Thomas KCB OBE, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, with a Limited Edition of The House of Lords, a thousand years of British tradition



Cholmondeley Room: from left, the Duke of Norfolk KG, Earl Marshal, Mrs Celia Lipton-Farris (Sponsor of the House of Lords Book), Jacqueline, Lady Killearn, Mr Bert Sokol, the Duchess of Norfolk



Cholmondeley Room: from left, the Chairman, Lady Elizabeth Anson, Mrs Lipton-Farris, and Lord Sudeley



Cholmondeley Room: from left, the Duke of Norfolk and the Chairman



Cholmondeley Room: Sir Colin Cole and Mr Nirj Deva DL MP

of the late 17th and early 18th centuries. This gristmill farm and trading complex was once the centre of the vast Manor of Philipsburgh, or Philipse Manor, which covered 156,000 acres and extended 21 miles along the Hudson River from Spuyten Duyvil Creek to the Croton River. Van Cortlandt Manor in Croton-on-Hudson to the north of Philipsburgh is another manor house which has been restored under the same auspices, Sleepy Hollow Restorations, a nonprofit organization set up by the Rockefeller family. These Manors are still providing employment for many people in the area and continue to be an important part of the economy as they were in the colonial period. In other cases, possibly only the name of the Manor has survived. It is unlikely that weary commuters who spend mornings and evenings travelling to and from Pelham and Scarsdale to New York think too much of their manorial connection. It is interesting to contemplate, however, that although the Philipses, Van Cortlandts, Heathcotes, and Pells no longer live on their Manors, there are descendants of some of the manorial lords who have managed to remain on some or all of the original manor grants. Mr Henry Livingston, the former President of the Order of Colonial Lords of Manors in America, still owns some of the original land of the Livingston Manor which was erected as a Manor for his ancestor, Robert Livingston, on 22 July 1686; and Mr Robert D L Gardiner, another of our officers and his sister, Mrs J Randall Creel, own all of Gardiner's Island, or the Isle of Wight, as their ancestor, Lion Gardiner called it when he received his grant from Lord Sterling. Although the Pells have left Pelham, they can still be found on another Manor, the Seigniory of Alainville, where they have restored and maintained one of our greatest historical monuments, Fort Triconderoga.

Members of the Order of Colonial Lords of the Manor in America are the direct descendants in the male or female line from a recognized Lord of a Manor of the province of New York; a patroon of a patroonship of New Zealand under the Dutch; or a seigneur of a seigniory granted by the French Crown in what is now New York state; or a similar system of colonial landholding in any other of the original colonies. From the beginning, the membership of the order has been open to men and women. The founder of the parent society, the National Order of Colonial Lords of Manors in America, was a dynamic lady from Maryland, Hester Dorsey Richardson, a genealogist and historian who in private life was Mrs Albert Levin Richardson. Mrs Richardson was the author of the classic work "Side Lights of Maryland History", which was first published as a serial in the Baltimore Sun and then as a work in two volumes in 1913. It was reprinted by the Genealogical Publishing Company in 1967. In preparation for the Jamestown Exposition of 1907, Mrs Richardson was named Special Executive Historian by Governor Edwin Warfield of Maryland to collect and arrange historical information and documents to represent the history of Maryland at the Exposition. In her work in the Maryland records, Mrs Richardson found grants and deeds which enabled her to compile the first list of manorial lords in Maryland. There were 40 of them. This was a great revelation for historians had previously understood that only a few Manors had ever been granted in that province. Some of these manorial lords were her own ancestors and, realizing how much interest had been aroused, it occurred to Mrs Richardson that instead of confining the study of colonial feudal institutions to her own individual efforts, other descendants of manorial families might be glad of the opportunity to assist in this work.

She then invited Mrs Edward Shippen and Douglas W Thomas to join her as the incorporators of the Order of Colonial Lords of Manors in 1911. Mrs Shippen was a descendant of James Neale of Wollaston Manor. Our Treasurer and former President, Mr Donald M Liddell, is one of the representatives of this Manor in our Order today. Douglas H Thomas was a descendant of Robert Brooke of De La Brooke Manor – surveyed on November 21, 1650, and granted to his son, Baker Brooke, in 1658. Shortly after this, Mrs Richardson invited John Henry Livingston to become President of the New York Branch since it was well established that Manors, patroonships, and seigniories had flourished in New Netherlands and the province of New York. The first meeting of the New York Branch took place on December 3, 1912, at the home of Stephen H P Pell, the first Vice President of the Order and the father of our Board Member and former President, Mr John H P Pell.

From the outset, the New York Branch flourished and it soon surpassed its parent society in size and activity. In 1933, not long before her death, Hester Dorsey Richardson suggested

that the New York Branch become a separate organization. It was incorporated as such before she died on December 10, 1933, aged 67. The Maryland Order waned and ceased to exist after her death, but, fortunately, in 1938, a new enthusiastic group of Maryland manorial descendants banded together and formed the National Society of Descendants of Lords of Maryland Manors, under the leadership of Harry Wright Newman, a well known genealogist.

This is a very active group today and we have a good rapport with our sister society. Indeed, many members of the Maryland Society are members of our Order. Their qualification for membership is not as broad as ours since they are confined to Manors granted in the province of Maryland, while their membership requirements stipulate that a Manor is defined as a tract of land of not less than 1,000 acres granted to a Maryland colonist before 1722. The grant must also invest the owner with all manorial rights and customs of feudal England, including the privileges of court leet and court baron.

In a forthcoming publication, the Order will trace the descendants of the various manorial families of New York and Maryland down to the period just after the American Revolution. Meanwhile, we are open to the idea that there were *bona fide* manors in other colonies, such as South Carolina and Pennsylvania. Montgomery Schluyer published some exploratory material on this subject in our publication, "Notes on the Patroonships, Manors, and Seignuries in Colonial Times", issued in 1953.

It is the tradition of our founder, Mrs Richardson, to explore the history of the manorial system in this country, and in Maryland alone, Mrs Richardson's original list of 40 Manors has been expanded to 60 after additional research. We would like to expand the scope of our Order. It is also in the spirit of our founder to look to the future and maintain the strength and interest of our membership. Many people might be surprised to know that we exist at all. They might even say, as Joseph Papp did to a meeting of the St Nicholas Society of New York: "I thought you were all dead." Not only are we not dead, but we have many young members and prospective young members to carry on the business of this organization. For example, my late grandmother, Elizabeth (Sudler) Turner, a descendant of Augustine Herrman of Bohemia Manor, has 17 great-grandchildren living today. They are all members of the Order of Colonial Lords of Manors. We hope that many young, eligible candidates, who are busy pursuing careers in this frantic modern world, may find some time to reflect on the history of their origins in a time when life was difficult, but the pace more leisurely.

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A new Monarch? Henry VII and the art of government

by David Loades

FASHIONS in historiography change. When I was a student in the 1950s, the idea that the Tudors established something called the New Monarchy was yesterday's fashion. It had been the orthodoxy of the 1930s and 1940s, propounded by such great historians as A F Pollard and Kenneth Pickthorne. But the rising young revisionists of the post war years, G R Elton, R L Storey, and J R Lander, who were the teachers of my generation, seemed to have consigned it to the scrap heap.¹ Now it is staging a comeback, and Anthony Goodman has written a book with that very title. So the reign of Henry VII is once again in the front line of controversy. Was the first Tudor (as I have been teaching my students for 30 years) a good king of a typically medieval kind, who used the ideas and machinery which were in place at his accession, and invented nothing? or was he after all an innovator, although perhaps in rather more subtle ways than was once supposed? It has been normal in recent years to link Henry VII with Edward IV, as two examples of successful late medieval kingship, to emphasize the continuities of policy, and even of personnel, between the two reigns, and to suggest that if there was anything "new" about the Monarchy in the late 15th century, then it began in 1470 and not in 1485.² However, this may well be questioned. There were many ways in which the styles and personalities of the two kings contrasted, and we should not make too much of the fact that many of Edward's councillors also served Henry, or that both (eventually) used the Treasury of the Chamber in preference to the Exchequer. It is important to remember that the brief reign of Richard III had come between, and that loyal Edwardians such as John Morton, were only too happy to support the man who had defeated their *bête noire*. Once they were convinced that Edward V was dead, he represented the best prospect for political stability.

Perhaps we should begin by questioning how successful Edward IV had really been. Like Henry VII, he was a usurper, but unlike Henry, some of the rebellions against him were successful, at least temporarily. He was imprisoned briefly by the Earl of Warwick in 1469, and was driven into exile in 1470–71. Moreover, his regime disintegrated on his death, and within two years his dynasty had been dispossessed. He was the first English king for many years to die solvent, but he did not manage to bequeath a stable realm to his son. Edward restored "good government" in the sense that he reestablished the personal ascendancy of the monarch over his peers.³ He was recognized as a good lord in ways which Henry VI had never been able to achieve – accessible and impartial in judgment – but he was still responsible for the political circumstances which destroyed his heir. This came about not because he created a "Woodville faction", nor even because he failed to make adequate provision for a minority, but because he failed to transcend the limitations of "magnate politics". The Woodvilles were not a powerful or coherent political faction in 1483. Their strength lay almost entirely in the close personal ties which bound the young King to his uncle, Earl Rivers. Richard of Gloucester, as the late King's only surviving brother was the obvious man to act as regent, whether or not Edward had left specific instructions to that effect.⁴ The problem did not lie in irreconcilable private animosities, but in Edward's failure to build up the institutional strength of the Crown. He was very conscious of the status and culture of nobility, and only too willing to see himself as *primus inter pares*, with the realm of England as his lordship. He was a great subscriber to the Burgundian cult of chivalry, reorganizing the ceremonial of the Order of the Garter along the lines of the Toissant d'Or, and building the magnificent Garter Chapel at Windsor Castle. In consequence, he ruled through noblemen, particularly his brother Richard, his Chamberlain Lord Hastings, and Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

Each of these men was given very extensive powers, almost matching those of a French provincial governor. The Courtenay Earls of Devon and the Percy Earls of Northumberland similarly ruled their counties in the King's name, but on a very loose rein from the centre. All these peers served Edward well as long as he was alive, but only Hastings transferred

that loyalty unequivocally to his son. Henry VI had ruled through favourites whom he was unable, or unwilling, to control – the Duke of Suffolk, the Beaufort Dukes of Somerset, and his Queen, Margaret of Anjou. Edward had not made so obvious or so elementary a mistake, but he had failed to look beyond his own lifetime. His magnate servants were controlled, not by laws, nor by constitutional checks, nor by other forces in society, but only by himself. When he died unexpectedly and they fell out among themselves, there was no referee capable of imposing rules upon the subsequent power struggle.

Henry VII's whole approach was quite different, and the old view of a New Monarchy recognized that fact. Unfortunately, the wrong language was used to describe it. Henry was described as a "middle class" king, a man with a liking for merchants and civil servants and an animosity towards the nobility, particularly the old nobility. He became in the popular mind the Scrooge-like figure portrayed by Rudyard Kipling;⁵ a man with the mind of an income tax inspector and a style to match. The revisionists of the 1950s and 1960s pointed out quite rightly that this was nonsense – mythology rather than history. Henry's favourite companions were selected noblemen, such as the Earl of Oxford, and most of his peers served as councillors at one time or another. He could no more have governed his realm without the support of the nobility than without the Church. Noblemen held office in court and state. John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was Lord Great Chamberlain throughout the reign; John Radcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter, and George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, served as Lord Steward, while John, Lord Dinham, and Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, divided the reign between them as Lord Treasurer. Noblemen also kept their countries in order, as they were traditionally expected to do. Moreover, Henry knew how to keep a good court. Nothing could be further from the truth than an image of parsimony. He spent generously on building, particularly at Richmond, on court entertainments, on plate, jewellery, and books. His taste in amusement seems to have been boisterous and simple, and there are many references in the household accounts to tumblers, jugglers, acrobats, and dancing girls – one of the latter being given the enormous reward of £30.⁶ He employed the best tennis and jousting instructors for his sons, and his library was famous, larger and far more varied than that of his predecessor. Magnificence was an aspect of a king's power; it attracted honour and service and could not be neglected in the fiercely competitive world of Renaissance diplomacy.

Nevertheless, Henry did not distribute wealth or power with a free hand. He created fewer peers than Edward, and far fewer than his son was to do. Nor were there any satraps in Tudor England, not even his trusted uncle Jasper, Duke of Bedford, who was made strictly accountable for the power which he exercised as a Welsh marcher lord.⁷ The nearest to a traditional magnate was probably the fourth Earl of Northumberland, but he was killed in mysterious circumstances at Cocklodge in 1489, and his heir was a child. Henry was calculating in his distribution of money and trust. "Seek to serve me, and I will seek to enrich you," he told one of his lesser favourite, Sir Henry Wyatt. Small responsibilities well discharged led to small rewards and greater responsibilities to follow. Trust and wealth had to be earned, and the rewards of loyal service were secure, if not particularly generous. A good example is provided by the career of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey. Howard had served Edward IV and Richard III, being wounded and captured at Bosworth. He began the reign attainted and imprisoned, but within a year had been released and pardoned. Part of his property was then restored, and he entered a bond for his loyalty and good behaviour. Three years later, having satisfied the King that his reconciliation was genuine, he was appointed Warden General of the Northern Marches, in succession to the Earl of Northumberland. His title and the balance of his estates were then restored. He served with distinction at the time of the Scottish incursion in 1496, and in 1502 succeeded Lord Dinham as Lord Treasurer. After Henry's death, in 1513, he won a great victory over the Scots at Flodden, and in the following year his father's Dukedom of Norfolk was restored to him.

Two devices were typical of Henry's style of government, and he did not invent either of them. The first was the bond, or recognizance. This was used typically in two types of situation. On appointment to office the new holder would be required to enter into a bond with the King for the loyal and faithful discharge of his duties. If the King were satisfied, then the bond remained dormant, and might eventually be cancelled altogether, at which

point the office holder would also be rewarded. If, on the other hand, he was not satisfactory, then the bond might be declared forfeit, and the sum specified would then be owed to the Crown. Since the preferment was likely to be lost as well, this was a formidable sanction. The second situation was more obviously penal. A person who had committed an offence, or who had earned the King's distrust in some other way would be required to enter into an obligation – whereby a specified sum would become forfeit to the King if he failed to discharge the conditions of his bond. This might be to obey the decision of a court, to surrender a piece of property unlawfully held, to make restitution to an aggrieved party, or simply to keep the peace towards a named person or group of people. Fines imposed by the King's Council were often secured in this way, and the sums involved were sometimes quite unrealistic – even as much as £10,000. Out of 62 peerage families in existence between 1485 and 1509, 46 were at one time or another subject to bonds of this sort, and many families carried more than one, the record being held by Lord Mountjoy with 23.⁸ Such burdens were not specifically aimed at the peerage; any person of wealth or established local power might be nailed in this way. The victims were frequently resentful, but they were effectively prevented from undertaking any political action which the King was not prepared to sanction.

The other device was the commission. Commissions were instruments under the Great Seal, delegating certain aspects of the King's authority to named people for a specific purpose. They took many forms, but two examples will suffice. A commission of oyer and terminer was a judicial commission to hear certain cases (or perhaps a single case) within a specified area. Edward had used such commissions, but they became much commoner after 1485, having the greater advantages of authority and flexibility. A commission of the peace was judicial and administrative, and was standing rather than *ad hoc*. It normally covered a single county and empowered a group of noblemen and gentlemen with residences or substantial interests within the county to hold courts and impose discipline in the King's name. The great advantage of this type of commission was that it represented a mutually advantageous partnership. The King recruited the direct service of men of substance in the locality, which gave additional weight to the decisions which they made on his behalf, and the local worthies gained extra prestige, and probably patronage, by becoming in a special sense the King's men. The commission of the peace had existed since the 14th century, but it was Henry VII who, by making greatly increased use of it, began to turn it into the cornerstone of Tudor local government, which it had become by 1547.

Broadly speaking, Henry's style of government could be described as distributive. Instead of working through a small number of very powerful men, he deliberately worked through a very much larger number of lesser men. This did not exclude the nobility, but it brought the next rank down, the knights and esquires, much more directly into contact with the Crown. In due course this had the effect of lessening their dependence upon the nobility, and changing the pattern of "good lordship". This may not have been Henry's intention, and it was certainly not completed in his lifetime, but it represented an important shift of emphasis. In the words of Professor Lawrence Stone, even the gentlemen of Lancashire in time discovered that "... the King was a better lord than the Earl of Derby".⁹ Similarly, in the northern marches, a number of prominent local gentlemen were taken directly into royal service. Known as the King's fee'd men, they introduced a direct royal presence into an area which had for centuries been dominated by the retinues of the great marcher lords. The same pattern can also be seen in the Council and in the court. More than 220 men were designated as councillors during the 24 years of the reign. They included the majority of the peerage, and a substantial number of bishops, but well over half were knights, gentlemen, and lesser clerics. These men formed the backbone of the working Council. They were not necessarily prominent in an advisory capacity, but formed the executive and administrative team which carried the King's wishes into effect. At court, Henry deliberately attracted the sons (and sometimes daughters) of the provincial gentry into household service, thus building bridges to their home areas. A friend or relation at court became a necessary prerequisite for success in local politics, and the court thus became a centre of communications as well as a pace-setter in style. There was nothing innovatory about this as an idea – a medieval

court was supposed to be a means of access to the King, but Henry VI had failed very conspicuously in that respect, and Edward had made no very conscious attempt to widen the circle of access, which was naturally dominated by the nobility.

Henry is probably best known for his fiscal policy, and in that respect he was least an innovator. He made the traditional revenues from land, customs dues, and the profits of justice more profitable, but by stricter administration, not by devising new exactions. A classic example of this is provided by the income from the royal estates, which averaged £3,000 a year in 1487-9, £11,000 a year in 1492-4, and £40,000 a year in 1502-5.¹⁰ This was not the result of any huge increase in the size of the royal demesne, but simply of stricter estate management. It is sometimes said that he made huge sums from bonds and recognizances, and that this was a new departure, but neither statement is quite true. Henry certainly used bonds far more extensively than his predecessors, and in theory they produced an income of nearly £220,000 between 1504 and 1507. However, the bulk of this was purely notional. About £30,000 actually came in in cash; of the rest, much was forgiven, and some which was due was never actually paid.¹¹ If we believe that the essence of Henry's success was that he was rich, then the argument for continuity is at its strongest. "New and strange exactions" were a part of the legend created for Henry in his own lifetime. He made a calculated policy of threatening penal fines, but the sums he received by such methods were comparatively modest.

Similarly, if a new relationship with Parliament is deemed to be a part of the New Monarchy, then the term does not apply to Henry VII. He used Parliament in a strictly traditional way, and only when he needed to. Between 1485 and 1497, while he was still building up the security of this regime, he called six. After that, when his position was established and his revenue system working efficiently, he called only one. It was not until the following reign that the traditional limitations of legislation were transcended. Nor did Henry innovate in his Council. He called a total of about 230 men to Council at different times, and at any given moment there would be 50 or 60 councillors, of all ranks, including the majority of his peers. However, in this case the obvious picture is slightly misleading. The inner ring of trusted office holders and advisers usually numbered no more than a dozen, and apart from the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Oxford, consisted of prelates like John Morton and gentlemen such as Sir Reginald Bray rather than noblemen. Henry relied far less than Edward had done upon the advice of his peers in great issues of policy. He also made considerable use of what would later be called "council committees" for specialist business – the Council in the Star Chamber, the Council Learned in the Law, and so on.¹² These groups mainly comprised lay officials and men of business, and were essentially executive agencies. Such groups had existed before, but on a less regular basis, and with a lower profile.

Where Henry did make important changes, they tended to be of emphasis rather than structure. He is well known for his Statue of Liveries (1504), but in most respects this act had been anticipated by Edward IV, and even by Henry VI. What was different was that the emphasis was placed, not upon prohibition, but upon licensing. A nobleman was not forbidden to retain men outside his household, but he had to have the King's permission to do so. This was realistic and enforceable, because it recognized the King's need to depend upon such noble retainers in time of war. His use of wardship as a means of controlling aristocratic families showed a similar initiative. The feudal right of wardship had existed for centuries, and kings had often exploited the resources of their wards' estates, or endeavoured to do so, but Henry sold or granted wardships for the express purpose of imposing political control, often using his mother's household for that purpose.¹³ A similar point might be made about his intelligence service. There was nothing new about kings employing spies, but Henry's agents were particularly thorough and effective. In 1469 and in 1470, Edward had been taken unawares by rather obvious conspiracies which any ruler of reasonable prudence should have been able to anticipate. In 1495, Henry was able to break Warbeck's plot, and arrest those involved, even a man so close to him and high in his confidence as Sir William Stanley, before any overt action had been taken. When Warbeck made his landing at Deal in July, the King knew where he would land, and how many men he would

have with him. As a result the "invasion" was a fiasco and was defeated by the local militia.

Sir Geoffrey Elton said in 1955 that Henry restored, but did not innovate. That observation was made of conciliar control in the north and the Marches of Wales, and in that context it remains valid. There was no innovation in establishing a youthful Prince of Wales with a council at Ludlow, or lieutenant in the north. Nor did Henry create new machinery in any of the principal branches of government. On the other hand, in certain specific areas, a change of pace or emphasis does not adequately express the nature of what happened. At court, after the execution of Sir William Stanley, the King withdrew increasingly from the public life of the Chamber. His confidence in his natural companions had been heavily undermined, and he sought to establish "private space" in a manner very unusual for a medieval king. While remaining politically accessible, at certain times of the day, and even more at night, he began to withdraw into what soon became known as his Privy Chamber.¹⁴ This consisted of a suite of rooms beyond the Chamber, which was staffed only by menial servants, and to which access was very tightly controlled. These servants did not at first form a distinct department, and were not in any sense the King's companions, but their unique opportunities for access to the King soon made their places much sought after. By the time Henry died, the potential of this situation were beginning to be appreciated, and in the following reign the Privy Chamber was to become the political and social hub of the court. Similarly, important steps were taken to redefine the status of the King's ships. Edward had reestablished the office of Clerk of the Ships as recently as 1480, and there were only five vessels in the Clerk's care in September 1495. In 1509, there were seven, but the figure is extremely misleading, because two of those seven were large, custom built warships of a kind which was entirely new to England. These ships represented a new policy of "keeping the seas", and two more had been laid down at the beginning of 1509, one of which was the revolutionary *Mary Rose*. To maintain and repair these great ships a new dockyard had also been built at Portsmouth, and the harbour there fortified.¹⁵ It would be an exaggeration to describe Henry VII as the founder of the Royal Navy, but it would be equally mistaken to argue that he did no more than continue the policy of his immediate predecessors. His innovations in shipbuilding, and experiments with guns gave his more bellicose and adventurous son a flying start in the process of naval development.

It could be argued that, without creating any new law, or new institutions, Henry nevertheless founded a new system of government, with different priorities from those of his predecessors. I think that would be an exaggeration. With the benefit of hindsight, his real originality can be seen to lie in his "distributive" style, and in building bridges directly to the gentry.¹⁶ Perhaps William I had done no less with his Oath of Salisbury in 1087, but on this occasion the change of direction proved permanent. Henry VIII and Wolsey picked up the same policy, and the Tudors thereafter consistently pursued it. Where Henry failed, and it could have been fatal, was in not giving his nobility quite enough to do to identify them with his system. The distributive policy could have carried the seeds of its own destruction. That did not happen because his successor added another dimension to his activity – war. Henry VIII encouraged his nobles to return to the battlefields from which his father (for good reasons) had withdrawn them. This gave them a rewarding and honourific function which enabled them to accept their diminished role in government. If you compare the Earl of Warwick in 1470 with the Duke of Buckingham in 1520, the relative strength of King and magnate tells its own story. If you compare Buckingham with the Earl of Essex in 1601, then the development of a New Monarchy in some sense becomes an unavoidable conclusion. But I would certainly not attribute the lion's share of that advance to Henry VII. I think that he would have been astounded to be described as a new monarch, and that the term itself is not particularly helpful in attempting to understand the achievements of the Tudor dynasty.

Footnotes

1. G R Elton, *England under the Tudors* (1955); "Rapacity and Remorse", *Historical Journal*, I (1958); *The Tudor Constitution* (1960). R L Storey, *The Reign of Henry VII* (1968). J R Lander, "Attainder and forfeiture, 1453-1509", *Historical Journal*, IV (1961), *The Wars of the Roses* (1965).

2. J R Lander, *Crown and Nobility, 1450–1509* (1976).
3. Charles Ross, *Edward IV* (1974)
4. During his brief campaign in France in 1475, Edward had directed that his Queen should act as Regent in the event of his death, but that was far enough in the past to be ignored in 1483. The assertion that he named Richard on his deathbed seems to depend upon the unsupported testimony of Polydore Vergil. It is not certain that Edward left any specific instructions.
5. In *Rewards and Fairies*; not, admittedly, a work intended for students of history.
6. Privy Purse expenses of Henry VII, BL Add MS 7099, f. 42. D M Loades, *The Tudor Court* (1992) pp 84–132.
7. S B Chrimes, *Henry VII* (1972), pp 248, 251.
8. J R Lander, "Bond coercion and fear; Henry VII and the peerage", in *Florelegium historiale; essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson* (1971), pp 328–67.
9. Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1640* (1965).
10. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p 212.
11. *Ibid*, p 216.
12. G R Elton, *The Tudor Constitution*, pp 89–91; Chrimes, *Henry VII* pp 149–52 etc.
13. M K Jones and M G Underwood, *The King's Mother* (1992), pp 66–92.
14. David Starkey, "Intimacy and Innovation; the rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485–1547" in D Starkey (ed.) *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (1987).
15. D M Loades, *The Tudor Navy* (1992), pp 40–43.
16. Margaret Condon, "Ruling Elites in the reign of Henry VII", in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in later Medieval England* ed Charles Ross (1979).

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From the 7th century, for the safety of their souls and their kingdoms, kings steadily gave away such estates, or fractions of them, often comprising whole villages, to their bishops, abbots, and nobles in perpetuity. Each such grant implied the right to draw revenues and services from the husbandmen there and often to exercise jurisdiction over them for the grantee's profit. By the 10th century a great mass of the peasantry, even apart from the numerous serfs, was mostly still tied. On many estates their obligations included, besides various renders in kind and the ploughing of a portion of their lord's lands, working for him every week, as villeins, did later, in whatever way they were commanded. In much of eastern England, however, where Danish invasion and settlement had disrupted the old English social structure, the cultivators were less subject to manorial lordship. Those regions contained until after 1066 many sokemen, whose main duty to their lord was to "seek" the jurisdiction of his court, and free men, who could take themselves and their lands to what lord they chose. In many villages there, no substantial landowner had any large area in hand, the land being divided among the resident peasants.

In organization of lordship, as in other fields, the Norman Conquest produced, despite the forcible dispossession of the English aristocracy, not so much a cataclysmic transformation, but a sharper and more systematic development of existing institutions. The name of the Manor, from the lord's *manoir*, or residence, was indeed an innovation. The parcelling out of the land into Manors, where they did not already exist, was moreover required by the enforcement of feudal tenure, as the Conqueror and his barons distributed land to their vassals, to be held by providing knights. The Manor became the economic unit supplying the knight with the income to maintain him and to pay for his arms and horse. Since Manors varied in size and value there was no correlation between them and the knight's fee, the amount of land theoretically sufficient for the support of a knight. The new Norman lords did perhaps make use of the villagers on their Manors somewhat more than their predecessors had done: Domesday Book sometimes indicates that the amount of income obtained was higher than those paying it could comfortably yield. Manorialization was extended in areas, as in the east, where it had been weak in 1066. Many free men and sokemen were degraded from their previous partial independence to the status of the *villani*, ordinary villagers, and may have incurred more obligations as a result.

It is in records from the early 12th century, after those changes, that the "classic" type of English manor becomes clearly visible. The land within it fell into two portions: the lord's demesne under his immediate control, whose produce was for the support of him and his household; and the tenanted land, from which services were provided to cultivate the demesne. In 1086, many Manors had had serfs who probably worked continuously on the demesne, but chattel slavery died out soon. Thereafter, the lords drew the necessary labour, partly from their tenants, partly from a small group of permanently hired men, some specially skilled as ploughmen or shepherds. Such farm workers received, besides a small money wage, yearly payments in corn. The demesne usually included a Manor house or farmstead, where some permanent agent, if not the lord himself, lived, surrounded by enclosures of meadow and pasture larger than those of other landholders on the Manor. In the arable open fields too the lord had much of his land lying together in largish blocks, saving him the trouble of moving his ploughs about the fields as frequently as the peasants had to, with their small strips of an acre or less.

The tenanted land was usually held partly freely, partly in villeinage. The freeholders paid their dues to the lord mainly in money rents, but might owe some labour services at special times of year, often of a more honourable kind, such as supervizing other workers in harvest. The villein tenements were less secure and more heavily burdened. Legally, they were held entirely at the lord's will. In practice, they passed from father to son, for such land was unprofitable without men to farm it. But a villein tenant ejected or denied succession by the lord had no legal redress. Most villein holdings owed some money rents, perhaps a commutation of ancient renders in kind, or a continuation of a yearly levy, called before the Conquest *gafol*, perhaps once due to the king. Each holding sent a man to work on the demesne for two or three days a week, and at the relevant seasons to plough and harrow so many acres of it, and to mow the lord's meadows. The tenant also had to use his cart and draught beasts

to carry the lord's crops to his house or to neighbouring markets. During the harvest, villein tenants had to come once or twice with several men, or with their whole households, to reap and carry the lord's crops, to get them while favourable weather lasted. The name *precaria*, or harvest boon, given to that service, probably recalls a long distant past when men had voluntarily given their lords and neighbours such assistance from goodwill. Such tenants also had to send their sheep to the lord's fold, giving him the advantage of their manure, and to grind his corn at the lord's mill: the toll went to the lord through the miller's rent. The lord in his turn in times of bad harvest, would subsidize the poor from his barn.

The distinction between free and villein holdings was not based on the tenant's personal status. Free men could hold land in villeinage, performing the labours due from it, without necessarily forfeiting their freedom, although a family once free whose members did so for several generations risked losing its free status. A freeman's children born on such a holding to a villein woman, perhaps its heiress, were moreover reckoned as unfree. Over those who were villeins by birth, also styled *nativi*, the lord had even greater authority. He might, and sometimes did, sell or give away a villein and his offspring, though usually only with the land they occupied. Villeins might not depart from the Manor without their lord's leave. If, at a price, he allowed them to live elsewhere, they must still pay every year "chevage", head money, as evidence of their continuing in bondage. Villeins had to pay the lord "merchet" on giving their daughters in marriage. Their personal goods were supposed to be his and at his will he might exact from them as much as he chose, as "tallage". In practice, however, tallage was often taken from villeins as a group as an annual payment, not varying greatly in amount. When a villein died, the lord took his best beast as a heriot. The term had once referred to a thegn's arms returned at his death to the lord who had given them. Its use among the peasantry perhaps recalls a period at which a lord, when giving land, had also supplied the livestock to work it.

The divergence in standing which thus gave the manorial lord far more power over some of his men than over others was probably in some cases caused by some families retaining an ancestral freedom from before 1066. Elsewhere, descendants of some of the undifferentiated *villani* of 1086 had acquired by prescription a freedom of tenure and status in time to be protected by the developing common law; while many others, of similar origins, saw themselves subjected more firmly to their lords, as the king's judges established clearer definitions of freedom and serfdom, and declined to extend to more than a minority of the peasantry that protection from arbitrary treatment by their lords which the common law offered to acknowledged freeholders. In doing so, the courts were influenced partly by Roman law doctrines about slavery, partly perhaps by unwillingness to determine every petty dispute between lord and tenant throughout England. The tests adopted for deciding whether a peasant held freely or in villeinage were not clear cut. Liability to merchet and tallage were considered strong evidence of villeinage, although free men also occasionally owed them. The most important criterion was not simply the type of render due to the lord, money or labour. Although most freeholders paid the money rents, considered more honourable, some owed not inconsiderable works. The issue turned rather on the certainty or otherwise of the services rendered. To hold freely a man must only have to do yearly a fixed amount of work. If a lord were entitled to demand as much work for a holding as he chose, the courts reckoned that it was villein land. In practice, indeed, the level of labour services imposed was regulated by tradition on each Manor; but the courts would not protect admitted villein tenants from attempts by their lords to increase it.

Some villeins sought to escape their disabilities by buying from their lords charters of enfranchisement. Such purchases were not very frequent, for the line between freedom and villeinage was one of legal status, not material well-being. Some freeholders owned more land than most villeins, but many others had only minute holdings: free hand was often divisible between heirs. The lords usually insisted that the villeins' holdings, typically full, half, and quarter yardlands, of 30, 15, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ customary acres, be preserved as units, so that the services due from them in proportion to their size could be more easily exacted. Many free men, therefore, were no better off than at lowest stratum of manorial tenants, the cottagers. They probably derived from the bordars and cottagers, holding 5 acres or less

each, recorded in 1086. Mostly unfree personally, they usually owned only their cottage and the croft around it, sometimes a few open-field acres. Being hardly able to live by cultivating their own land, they furnished a reserve of labour for hiring by those more prosperous peasants who had holdings too large to be worked solely by their family, and in particular by the lord. He had naturally an advantage in bargaining over wages with men who could not easily seek work elsewhere without his leave.

Such was the organization of the Manor, as it was recorded on the estates of the large Benedictine monasteries and some other great landowners. But it was not typical of all Manors, the extent to which that model prevailed varying in space and time. There were parts of England where villeinage was of little importance. In Kent, the peasantry were almost all personally free, and owed only money rents and some seasonal services. Over much of East Anglia, besides a class of full freeholders already flourishing in the 12th century, there were many *molmen*, who, although personally unfree, held their land for permanently fixed rents. In the pastoral uplands of the North, much peasant tenure involved mainly renders of cattle and a form of military service to repel raids across the Scottish border. In Cornwall, by 1300, much land was held on a purely contractual basis: men took it up from the lord for terms of years at rents partly determined by market forces. Even in the Midlands and the South of England, the heartland of the "model" Manor, there were exceptions to its dominance. Many villages contained several Manors so that no single lord had exclusive control of the peasants. The smaller Manors belonging to knights and franklins often also differed from the model just described. On many of them weekwork was not customary, and their villein tenants performed only the seasonal tasks of ploughing, haymaking, and harvesting. Some Manors had, besides their demesne, only free tenants, others only a few villeins, whose services would not be sufficient to work the demesne. A few Manors contained no demesne at all, but only rights of lordship over freeholders and villeins, so that their revenue could only be received in cash.

From the 11th century, moreover, the Manor was placed in a changed economic environment. Coinage was becoming relatively plentiful, witness the thousands of silver pennies exacted from England as Danegeld, a fraction of which has been discovered in buried hoards in Scandinavia. The lords thus had the option of drawing their income from the peasantry, not in kind or labour, but mainly in cash. In Domesday Book, most Manors have a money value set on them, which probably represents the sum obtainable by renting them out. On many estates, lay and ecclesiastical, they were by 1100 leased to middlemen as *firmarii*, farmers, who undertook their management, for a fixed or "farm" rent. Such leases then usually included the stock and seed needed to cultivate the demesne, with the right to call on the tenants' labour services, but lords often reserved their money rents to themselves. The convenience of farming out Manors was balanced by risks. Leases were usually made for life and, if allowed to pass in the same family, might easily become *de facto* hereditary, making it hard for the lord to regain possession at their expiry. Farmers, too, were often willing to connive with a preference from the peasantry for paying their dues in money rather than by labour, and thus achieving a tenure that could be claimed as freehold; and for those remaining in villeinage, knowledge of what works they owed might be obscured.

The practice of farming Manors was eventually abandoned when in the late 12th century, England was afflicted with its first serious recorded inflation. The farmers could take the profit from rising prices, while the unchanged rents which they paid yielded many lords too small an income to meet the increasing expense of a noble or knightly lifestyle. By 1200, many lords were responding by taking their Manors back under their personal control. They were then run, sometimes by reeves drawn from the unfree tenants, sometimes by salaried bailiffs, who might have professional experience of farm management. The monasteries, whose exemption from military pursuits gave their rulers more leisure for supervizing their estates, were especially prominent in undertaking such direct management of their demesnes. For almost 200 years, landlords continued to develop their Manors intensively themselves, aiming no longer simply at subsistence, although some produce was often delivered to their households, but at financial profit by selling corn, wool, and cattle on the market. Their seignorial rights over their tenants were revived for the purpose.

Freeholders, whose rents were fixed, escaped the heaviest pressure, but villeins were often faced with demands for their performing anew traditional labour-services, which their lords might try to increase, under the guise of defining them. The peasants naturally resisted, sometimes by passive noncooperation, sometimes by lawsuits. Before the king's judges, they often claimed to belong to the ancient demesne of the Crown; the privileged villein tenants on it were entitled to royal protection in holding their land securely and in rendering only fixed customary services. The courts, however, decided that only those Manors named as the king's in Domesday Book could claim those privileges, and the villeins' lawsuits usually failed, leaving them to the uncertain protection of a manorial custom that the lord might well override.

Some lords met peasant resistance with open force, exercising their admitted right to imprison their villeins, confiscating their land, or fining them to the uttermost for their defiance. Such repression was assisted by the economic situation. Until the early 14th century, the population was steadily rising, and even land on the margin of profitable cultivation had to be brought under the plough to feed the growing numbers. There was, therefore, a strong demand for villein land, even on burdensome terms, while the competition of many labourers, landless or nearly so, kept down agricultural wage rates. A man who, finding his lord's demands too heavy, fled from the Manor without leave, must leave behind the land and cattle which had been his livelihood; and even if he escaped recapture, and in some distant borough or village achieved a *de facto* freedom, he was likely, lacking training in a craft, to be reduced to penury. So it did not matter too much to lords that the legal burden of proving that a man, ostensibly free, was really their villein, came to rest on them. Most villeins perforce stayed on their holdings, though no doubt grumbling and sometimes, at the risk of occasional fines, shirking as much of the labour imposed on them as they could.

The lords did not, in any case, invariably demand that such services be performed in full. Besides being perhaps aware of the relative inefficiency of forced labour, they might find that the value of a particular work was less than the return customarily expected for it in food or other perquisites; especially the hearty meals due to harvesters. Lords were often therefore ready to "sell" or commute works for cash payments, usually $\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $2d.$ for ordinary weekwork, double for the especially useful harvest works. The figure chosen was probably originally equivalent to the cost of hiring substitute labour. Lord and villein might agree to commute a whole year's works in advance, making the villein temporarily a near rent payer. More often, perhaps, only those individual works not required on the demesne were commuted one by one. The choice whether to commute rested with the lord and the process was not entirely to the villein's advantage. Although spared the indignity of compulsory labour and able to devote more time to his own land, he had to raise the necessary cash by selling a larger proportion of the crops of a holding that might even in good years be barely sufficient to support himself and his family.

By such exactions, the lords substantially increased their real incomes over the 13th century at the expense of the peasantry. On many Manors, half or more of that income came not from demesne farming, whether using villeins' works or hired labour, but immediately in money, from rents, including some for leasing out small pieces of demesne, commutation of works, mills, "sales" of the right to use the lord's grass and woodland, and the profits of his courts. The increasing intensity with which lords exploited their rights is reflected by changes in the type of records concerned with manorial management. In the 12th century, when economic change was slow and hardly noticed or expected, the lords had surveys made at long intervals, showing the extent of the demesne, the amount of stock employed on it, and the numbers and size of the tenants' holdings with the services they owed. William the Conqueror had had Domesday Book compiled as a once-for-all record of the wealth and landholding in his new kingdom. By the mid 13th century, such surveys were supplemented by new kinds of document, the account and the court roll. The account, which enumerated in detail all receipts and expenditure, was designed less to help the lord estimate the profitability of his demesne farming, although some landowners came to use it for that purpose, than to ensure that his agent running the Manor answered for every penny due.

Court rolls enabled a lord to check the occasional income arising from his men's land dealings and law breaking, besides providing a record of proceedings in his court.

A manorial court was, in theory, held every three weeks, and usually met frequently until the 15th century when its business was often concentrated into two sittings in spring and autumn. Although it was held in the lord's name by his steward, he was not, formally at least, judge in his own cause. The court's judgments were made by the assembled body of tenants, styled the homage, or a jury drawn from them. Such juries also, when necessary, swore that the special customs of that Manor were, whether over their obligations to the lord or the rules for inheritance of unfree holdings. The authority of those courts derived from several origins. Before the Conquest, kings had allowed landowners a wide jurisdiction over their peasants, reserving only serious cases of robbery and violence. Feudal custom gave any lord the right to try, in a court composed of his tenants, disputes arising between them. So the peasants regularly sued one another in the manor court in minor cases of debt and contract, assault and trespass. The court also enforced the lord's rights against those neglecting to render their dues to him or encroaching on his property, and recorded his admission of men to holdings and the "fines" exacted for their entry upon them. Lawyers later styled courts handling such business customary courts or courts baron: only the latter were supposed to have authority over freeholders. But such distinctions were not made in medieval times.

Many manorial lords also had higher rights of jurisdiction, which became those of courts leet. The king's lawyers held that they were possessed by delegation of royal authority, but in practice they were admittedly enjoyed by long established custom "from a time beyond human memory". The principal jurisdiction was view of frankpledge. It entitled a lord to check that his unfree tenants, freemen being exempt, all belonged to the groups, called tithings, into which the peasantry was divided to help maintain public order: tithings were collectively liable to be fined for their individual member's offences. Courts leet had, too, a form of police jurisdiction, with the power to punish bloodshed, scolding, and similar breaches of the peace. From the 14th century they usually named the constables responsible for leading the villagers in repressing crime. Most lords also had the right to enforce the assize of bread and of ale, by which the price, measure, and quality of those basic foods, when produced for sale, were controlled. The courts regularly appointed ale-tasters to do so; in practice, the lords simply took the fines imposed on the villages alewives and bakers, as a kind of licensing fee, without trying to make them mend their ways. To some Manors also belonged the right to take the forfeited goods of tenants convicted of felony, or that of *infangthief*. The latter entitled a lord to hang thieves caught red-handed on his land. The manorial gallows was, however, rather a token of its owner's standing than a frequently used instrument of justice.

The decline of the Manor as an economic institution began with economic changes in the late 14th century. The slow fall in population resulting from the Black Death and the recurrent plagues that followed reduced the pressure that lords could exert upon their tenants. Prices fell, and wage-rates, despite attempts to hold them down by legislation, slowly but steadily increased, doubling by the end of the 14th century. There was reduced demand for villein holdings from a less numerous peasantry, who could more easily find land or employment elsewhere. The demands put forward during the Peasants' Revolt for personal freedom for all and the right to hold land solely for rent reveal the underlying resentment still felt against villeinage and compulsory labour. Lords found that men would not accept holdings liable to such burdens. If they were not to be left vacant, such tenements had to be let out at rent. At first, such leases were for short periods, the lords still hoping eventually to restore the old order. From the 15th century, however, the renting out of former villein land became permanent and its tenure hereditary; and the rents as fixed as those for freeholds had been since the 12th century. The class of customary tenants was gradually transformed into one of copyholders, so named from their receiving as title deeds copies of the court roll entries recording their admission. The inferior status of their tenure, the freehold of it remaining with the lord, was marked by the ceremony used in transferring it. Heirs or purchasers of copyhold must come into the court and receive possession from the steward

"to hold at the will of the lord, according to the custom of the Manor". Villein status as such, however, was never formally abolished. In 1381, the landowners when asked in Parliament, emphatically repudiated the proposal that they should free their bondmen. Even in the 16th century, wealthy townsmen of unfree ancestry might be coerced by a lord under colour of his right to confiscate or tallage their goods. The Crown, too, raised small sums by granting commissions for the compulsory enfranchisement, at a price, of bondmen on royal Manors. But for the great majority of the peasantry, custom assisted by a more rapid turnover of village populations and the dying out of known villein families had lifted the ignominy of servitude by 1500.

Higher wages and the loss of villein works also helped to end the lord's farming their demesnes themselves. Between the 1380s and the 1420s most landlords, to stem the decline in farming profits, turned to leasing them out at rents which, fixed at least for a time, would protect their incomes. A few kept some demesnes as home farms to supply their households. Some demesnes were leased to the body of villagers who would probably share them out in proportion to their previous land holdings. Mostly, however, they were let as units, at first often to prosperous villagers, drawn from the class of men who had run them for the lord as reeve or bailiff. From the late 15th century, demesne leases were more often acquired by neighbouring small gentry or merchants from nearby towns. Such men, by close personal supervision or specialization, might make demesne farms pay, where more remote owners could not. The lord usually reserved to himself the cash income from tenants' rents and his courts. So the English aristocracy and gentry finally withdrew from the direct exploitation of its lands, becoming, as it remained later, primarily rentiers.

Manorial lordship still, however, gave a landowner certain advantages over his tenants. Copyholders were forbidden to impair the value of their holdings by letting buildings there fall into disrepair, to cut down trees, or to let their land for more than a year without their lord's leave. If they did, the tenement was formally forfeited, though usually restored on payment of a fine. More important was the copyholder's relatively precarious right of succession. By the late 15th century, the king's courts were indeed willing, if a copyholder could afford to appeal to them, to protect him against outright eviction by his lord, but a son was often vulnerable when his father died. In the West of England copyholds were commonly held for the lives of two or three named members of the tenant's family. In the East, they were usually heritable like freehold. In either case, the lord was entitled to an entry fine from heirs seeking admission. On some Manors that fine was fixed by custom, often at a year's rent. On most its amount was arbitrary, at the lord's discretion, and was steadily increased throughout the 16th century. By setting it too high for the heir to afford to pay, the lord could in effect frustrate his claim to inherit. Many copyholders, especially those for lives, were thus compelled to renounce hereditary right in their ancestral lands, though sometimes they received leaseholds for lives instead. By 1600, however, the royal courts had largely blocked that loophole. They decided that a fine must be "reasonable", which was defined as not being more than two years' real value of the property. Thereafter, copyhold tenure, though still subject to special rules and practices, was nearly as secure as freehold.

Until the 17th century, the Manor also remained important in village life through the activity of its court. During the 15th century, its police jurisdiction and later its hearing of ordinary lawsuits over money gradually fell into disuse. But much business remained. Since the 14th century, the court had regularly noted and published breaches of the customary practices of open-field husbandry, especially those related to common pasturage. It appointed haywards and common herdsmen to enforce those rules. It also dealt with the many small nuisances, digging up roads for clay, not scouring watercourses, or fouling streams and streets with domestic refuse, with which villagers might incommode their neighbours. The frequent repetition of orders and punishments in such matters suggests that the court's efforts were more persistent than successful. By the 15th century, such rules were regularly recorded on the roll as "by laws" or ordinances, made in legislative style "by the assent of the lord and the tenants, for the common weal of the township". In villages containing more than one Manor, it was usually through the court of the largest, sometimes styled the chief manor, that the villagers thus managed their communal business.

From the mid-17th century, however, the courts mostly ceased to concern themselves with such matters. The country lawyers who ran them as stewards confined the recorded business mostly to reciting, in formalized detail, successions to, and transfers of, copyhold land: it was only in that that the lord had a financial interest. Agrarian bylaws were still occasionally repeated in stereotyped form, but any attempt to enforce them apparently ceased. Where once the whole body of tenants had been expected to attend, on pain of fines, one or two farmers represented them. Control of village business passed to other bodies, such as the parish vestry.

Such courts saw, however, their activity revived through special circumstances in certain of the new industrial towns which grew up in the 18th century, such as Birmingham and Manchester. Despite their increasing population, they had not obtained a chartered corporation, but remained legally mere townships. Their courts baron might provide a forum conveniently close at hand for litigation over small sums. The process of the court leet to repress public nuisances were the only ones available to preserve a minimum level of urban decency. So shopkeepers and manufacturers took up ancient offices as bailiffs, constables, and headboroughs to help manage their new cities. If, as often happened, the right to hold a weekly market belonged to the Lord of a Manor, the manor court's appointment of searchers of food and other goods offered for sale provided a means to ensure trading standards.

Over most of rural England, however, the Manor had declined by 1800. Its remaining rights of supervizing open-field farming vanished with the steady enclosure of the open-fields and commons in the 18th and early 19th centuries. In those wilder regions, where extensive common land survived, the court might still be occasionally called formally into action. The enfranchisement of copyhold into freehold, the lord taking a capital sum for renouncing his right to rents and entry fines, proceeded steadily encouraged by a series of statutes, from the mid-19th century. From 1926, copyhold tenure itself was abolished. Thereafter, the only potentially profitable right attached to a manorial lordship was that over minerals under remaining commons, and in some cases under former copyhold lands, and manorial waste. The name of Manor, in common usage, often came to refer to the complex belonging to a landed estate, so that appointing a gamekeeper over sporting rights was the lord's most obvious activity.

The surviving substance of the Manor, the leased demesne farm, however, continued from the 16th century to the early 20th, as a principal support of the landed classes. Historians trying to discover the proportion of land owned by different sections of those classes, peerage, gentry, and yeomanry, have found it convenient to count the number of Manors held at different periods by such groups. The ties between landlord and leasee, moreover, long remained not simply commercial. It retained traces of that seigniorial system, involving authority and protection on one side, respect and service on the other, which had been more clearly shown in the medieval Manor. In the 16th century, landowners fully expected their dependants' backing in feuds with neighbouring gentry, in the 18th and 19th their support at parliamentary elections. Just as customary tenements had in practice been heritable, so leasehold might remain for generations in the same family. Until the mid-17th century, most leases of demesne or former copyhold were made for two or three lives at relatively low rents, seldom changed, but subject to high "fines" when they fell due for renewal.

Within the village, too, the demesne, where it survived undivided, gave the lord who owned it the opportunity to dominate local life. Some lords might be descended from medieval knights, others the successors of merchants or lawyers or rising yeomen who had bought the manor in Tudor or Stuart times. In either case, they were well placed to buy up smaller landholdings. In those villages where, in the 19th century, most of the farmland was in the hands of one or two families, they will usually be found to be the heirs in title of the medieval Lords of the Manor. It was not until after the First World War that the flood of land sales converted much of England from a régime of landlord and tenant to one of owner-occupation.

As Senior Assistant to the Editor of the "Victoria History of the Counties of England" Dr Wright worked at length on the descents of particular manors. This article was first published by the Society in 1981.

