

# The Fiefs of the Island of Guernsey.

by

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I — Introduction.

II — The Norman Background.

III — The Fief du Bessin.

IV — The Fief du Cotentin:

- (a) Parish of St. Andrew,
- (b) Parish of St. Martin,
- (c) Parish of St. Peter Port,
- (d) Parish of St. Sampson,
- (e) Parish of Torteval.

V — Conclusion.

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(C.I. denotes reference to Cartulaire des Iles, published by  
La Société Jersiaise, 1918-1924).

Units of Land measurement:

- 40 Perches = 1 Vergée
- 20 Vergées = 1 Bouvée
- 12 Bouvées = 1 Caruée (Carucate)
- 4 Vergées = 1 Acre

## I — Introduction

The subject of the Island fiefs has received remarkably little attention in the Transactions of La Société. The relative neglect with which this important subject has been treated is all the more surprising when it is realised that its interest is not merely historical, but that the fiefs are still a significant factor in the Island economy today. Only one major paper appears in the Transactions on this subject, and that is Lt.-Col. T. W. M. de Guérin's "Feudalism in Guernsey", which appeared some fifty years ago in 1909 (T.S.G. VI pp. 58-82). This paper contains a valuable summary of the available documentary evidence, but it makes no attempt to assess the historical importance of the fiefs, or to solve any of the numerous historical puzzles connected with this subject. Since the publication of this paper nothing has appeared apart from some anecdotal details about separate fiefs in Miss Edith Carey's "Essays on Guernsey History" published in 1936, and a history of the Fief of Sausmarez by Sir Havilland de Sausmarez in 1937.

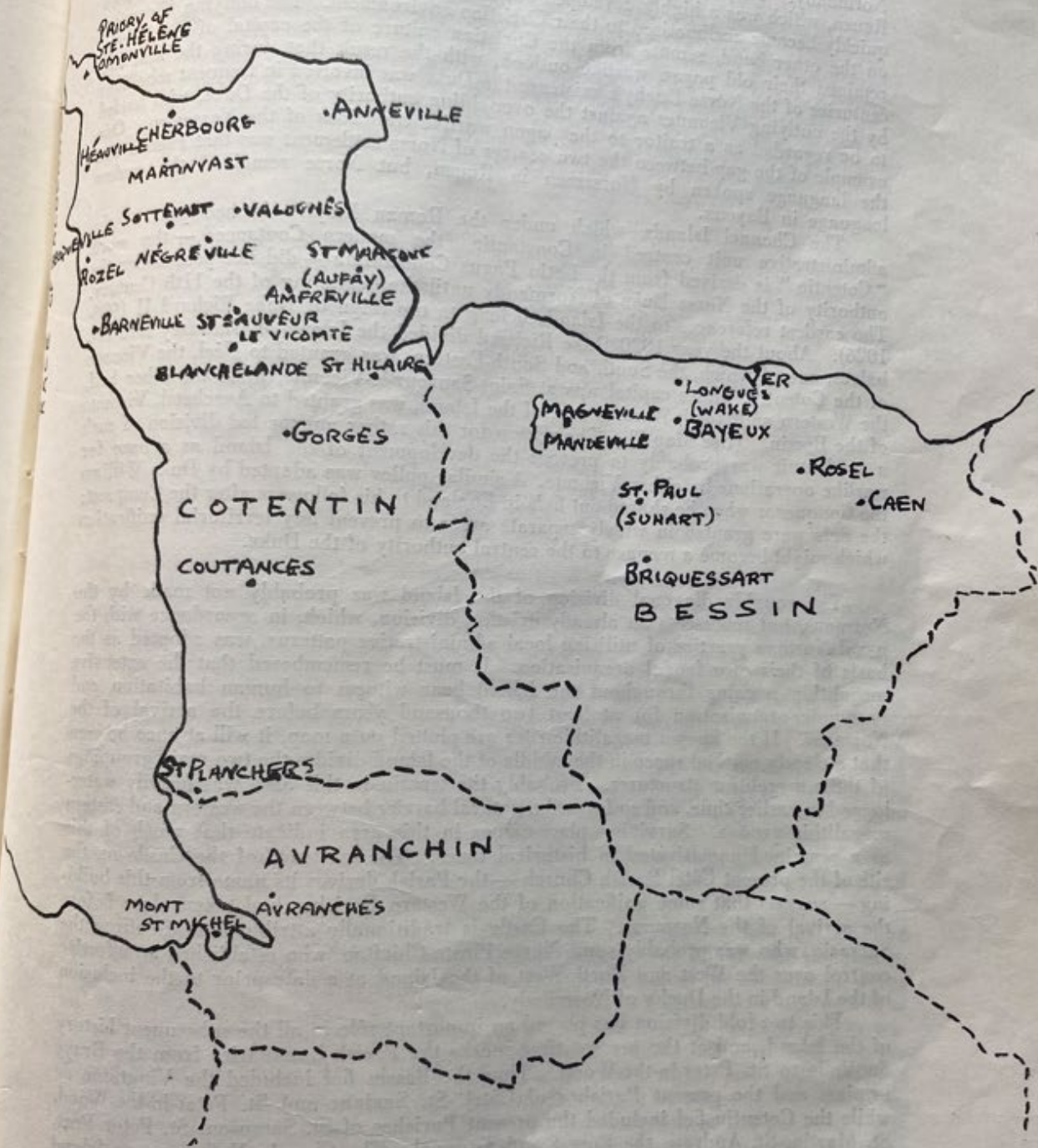
This neglect cannot be attributed to any lack of documentary material on the subject, for a comprehensive collection of the relevant Charters has been published by La Société Jersiaise in their *Cartulaire des Îles* (1918-24), and large numbers of *Livres de Perchage* of the different fiefs exist in addition to a vast mass of material relating to the proceedings of the Courts of the various fiefs. Probably a considerable volume of material, whose existence is at present unrecorded, also exists in the Island in private possession. Not only has the historical aspect of the subject been neglected, but also the geographical, for in spite of the fact that dues are still being paid on many of the fiefs, no complete map of the Island fiefs has yet been compiled.

Undoubtedly one reason for the neglect of this subject is the apparent complexity of the problems, which arise from the chaos of conflicting statements to be found in the writings of local historians, while forged charters, false claims and dubious legal practices abound in the long history of the Island's fiefs. But the great historical importance of this subject, and the light which it can throw on so many aspects of the Island's political and economic history fully justify an attempt to introduce some long overdue order into the existing chaos by examining some of the available material for the purposes of establishing where possible the historical origin of the major fiefs, and then of filling in some of the historical gaps in the early records of the more important fiefs. In addition, the wide range of information available in the numerous *Livres de Perchage* enables the geographical boundaries of the fiefs to be determined with considerable accuracy. In this paper an attempt will be made to combine the two lines of enquiry, historical and geographical, in order to establish a reliable starting-point for the detailed study of the separate fiefs. If the main historical frame-work of the development of the Island's fiefs can be adequately drawn, the detail of all the different dues, Courts and Mills, should become more readily intelligible to subsequent study.

## II — *The Norman Background*

The first step is to set the problem in its proper historical framework. Fiefs came to Guernsey from Normandy, and the first creators and holders of Island fiefs in their present form were Normans, that is to say, Norsemen. The story begins with the grant of the Duchy of Normandy as a fief to Rollo by Charles the Simple, King of France, at Saint-Clair-sur-Epte in 911 A.D. The area known as Normandy had been delimited by the Romans as an administrative unit of the Roman Empire, and had later become the geographical basis of the diocese of the Archbishop of Rouen in the early Christian Church; the land granted as a fief to Rollo was in fact the geographical unit of the diocese of the Archbishop of Rouen, but the Norsemen did not exercise effective control of the more westerly parts of the Diocese until some years after 911. The diocese was sub-divided into Bishoprics, and the Norsemen, who were not so much innovators as highly competent organisers of already existing institutions, adopted the Bishoprics as the basis for the allotment of sub-fiefs to the chief followers of Rollo. The Latin title of "Dux" or "Comes" was adopted for the Duke himself, whose capital was at Rouen, the seat of the Archbishop, while the holder of a sub-unit corresponding to a Bishopric, was known as Vice-comes or Vicomte.

Our immediate concern is limited to three of these Vicomtes, those who received the grant of lands which comprised the Bishoprics of Bayeux, known as the Bessin, of Coutances, known as the Cotentin, and of Avranches, known as the Avranchin. (See Map 1). The boundaries between these units were usually rivers, and the watershed between two river systems. Thus the Bessin was the area between the Dives and the Vire, the Cotentin from the Vire to the Atlantic coast, while the Avranchin was separated from the Cotentin by the Sienne, and was bounded on the west by the Cuesnon; west of the Cuesnon lay the Duchy of Brittany, which was independent of



MAP 1

176]

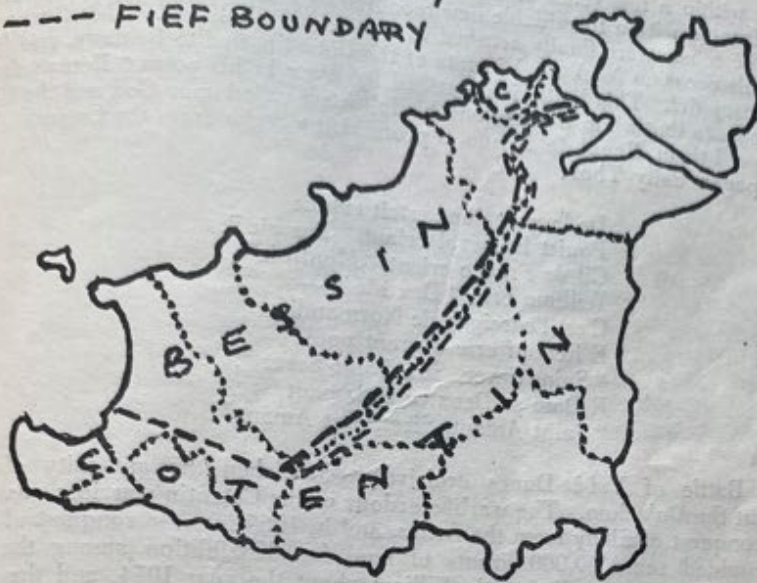
Normandy. These three areas were the most remote from the Ducal authority in Rouen, which was a highly developed cultured Christian city, where the Norse Dukes quickly became acclimatised to their Christian culture of the capital of the Duchy, on the other hand, remote from the Christian environment. The outlying Vicomtes retained their old pagan warlike outlook, with the result that during the first two centuries of the Norse Duchy's existence the Duke was involved in frequent rebellions by the outlying Vicomtes against the over-riding authority of the Duke, who tended to be regarded as a traitor to the pagan warlike traditions of the Norsemen. One example of the gap between the two centres of Norse settlement was that French was the language spoken by Norsemen in Rouen, but Norse remained the spoken language in Bayeux.

The Channel Islands, which under the Roman Empire formed part of the administrative unit centred in Constantia (the modern Coutances) — the word "Cotentin" is derived from the Latin Pagus Constantina — did not pass under the authority of the Norse Duke of Normandy until the beginning of the 11th Century. The earliest references to the Islands belong to the reign of Duke Richard II (996-1026). About the year 1020 Duke Richard divided the Island of Guernsey into two halves, one of which, the South and South-Eastern, was granted to Néel, the Vicomte of the Cotentin, whose capital was at Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, while the other half, the Western and North-Western part of the Island, was granted to Ansetel, Vicomte of the Bessin. (See Map 2). The reason for this rather unexpected division of such a small unit was probably to prevent the development of the Island as a base for warlike operations by either Vicomte. A similar policy was adopted by Duke William the Conqueror when he shared out fiefs in England to his followers after the Conquest; the fiefs were granted in widely separate areas to prevent any territorial unification which might become a menace to the central authority of the Duke.

The roughly diagonal division of the Island was probably not made by the Normans, but represents an already existing division, which, in accordance with the usual Norman practice of utilising local administrative patterns, was adopted as the basis of their own feudal organisation. It must be remembered that the extensive megalithic remains throughout the Island bear witness to human habitation and economic organisation for at least two thousand years before the arrival of the Normans. If the known megalithic sites are plotted on a map, it will at once be seen that a clearly marked space in the middle of the Island divides the two main groupings of these megalithic structures. Probably the terrain in this area was heavily water-logged in earlier time, and so formed a natural barrier between the western and eastern megalithic groups. Surviving place-names in this area indicate that much of this area remained uncultivated in historical times. The existence of the Castle on the site of the present Câtel Parish Church — the Parish derives its name from this building — suggests that some unification of the Western Parishes had taken place before the arrival of the Normans. The Castle is traditionally attributed to Geoffrey the Sarrazin, who was probably some Norse Pirate Chieftan, who established an effective control over the West and North-West of the Island at a date prior to the inclusion of the Island in the Duchy of Normandy.

This two-fold division has played an important rôle in all the subsequent history of the Island, and at the present time marks the Parish boundaries from the Braye du Valle to St. Peter-in-the-Wood. Thus the Bessin fief included the Vingtaine de l'Epine, and the present Parishes of Câtel, St. Saviour and St. Peter-in-the-Wood, while the Cotentin fief included the present Parishes of St. Sampson, St. Peter Port, St. Martin, St. Andrew, the Forest and Torteval. The Clos du Valle was an Island at this date, and apparently waste-land. That the Parishes existed as such in the 11th Century is proved by the naming of Churches in Norman charters of the period, and

..... PARISH BOUNDARY  
 --- FIEF BOUNDARY



MAP 2

the boundaries of the sub-fiefs, as recorded in the Livres de Perchage, always coincide with the Parish boundary, with the notable exception of fiefs in the Torteval area, a feature which will be examined in more detail below. The general coincidence of the Fief division with the present Parish boundary indicates the great antiquity of the Parish units, and is witness to the pre-Norman Christian organisation of the Island.

This two-fold grant seems to have been first made during the reign of Duke Richard II about the year 1020, but the arrangement was short-lived, for in 1030 Duke Robert (the Magnificent) made over the western half of the Island (the Bessin fief) to the Monastery of Mont Saint Michel. This grant was made on the occasion of the signature of a peace treaty between Duke Robert and Alain, Count of Brittany, at Mont St. Michel, an agreement which had been brought about by the intervention of Mauger, Archbishop of Rouen, who was the Uncle of both contracting parties. Anchetel, the Vicomte of the Bessin, had probably participated in the struggle as an ally of the Count of Brittany, and was deprived of his fief as a mark of the Ducal displeasure.

But the new allocation was equally short-lived. Duke Robert died in 1035, and was succeeded by his son, William, known to English history as William the Conqueror, but in Normandy as William the Bastard, as he was the son of the illegitimate union of Robert and Arlette, daughter of a tanner of Falaise. William, who was only 8 at the date of his father's death, needed the support of the powerful Vicomtes if he was to ensure his somewhat doubtful right of succession, and by 1042 we find that the Bessin fief has been restored to Ranulf, the son of Anchetel, whose support for William was of greater value at that date than that of the Abbot of Mont St. Michel. The latter was compensated with a grant of Sark and Alderney, but he did not long retain these Islands, for in 1057 William granted Alderney to the powerful and warlike Bishop of Coutances, Geoffrey de Montbray (Mowbray). On this occasion the Abbot of Mont St. Michel was compensated with the relatively barren fief of Noirmont in Jersey.

But within a few years of the restoration of the Bessin fief to Ranulf, William was confronted with a formidable new rebellion by the warlike pagan Vicomtes of the West. The rebels were finally crushed at the decisive Battle of Val-ès-Dunes (1047), and on this occasion Néel, the Vicomte of the Cotentin, fled to Brittany, and forfeited his Guernsey fief. This battle is described by Wace in his poem "Roman du Rou", where we learn that while William and his followers called upon God and the Christian Saints to aid them, Raoul de Tesson, a prominent warrior from the Cotentin, invoked the old pagan deity Thor:

De la gent donc esteit emmie  
 Pouist li cheval criant "Tur aie".  
 Cil de France crient "Montjoie",  
 William crie "Dex aie" —  
 C'est l'enseigne de Normandie,  
 E Renouf crie o grant pooir  
 "Saint Sever, Sire Saint Sever",  
 E Dam as Denz va reclamant  
 "Saint Amant, Sire Saint Amant".

The Battle of Val-ès-Dunes decisively established the authority of William throughout the Dukedom. The warlike ardour of the Cotentin warriors was canalised into the conquest of Sicily from the Arabs, and in 1066 into the conquest of England, which provided some 60,000 grants of land for distribution among the Norman knights. Néel was reconciled with William about the year 1054, and the Guernsey fief was restored to him, but he no longer held the title of Vicomte. Thus the two fiefs returned to the families of the original holders, and their subsequent history is best considered under separate headings.

### III — *The Fief du Bessin*

The Fief du Bessin, which included the Vingtaine de l'Epine and the Parishes of Câtel, St. Saviour and St. Peter-in-the-Wood, passed from Ranulf, the son of the original grantee Anchetel, to his son, Ranulf II, but in 1120 Ranulf II became Earl of Chester. This title had originally been granted by William the Conqueror to Hugh Lupus, Vicomte of the Avranchin, but on the death of the heir, who was drowned in the loss of the "White Ship" off Barfleur together with the son and heir of Henry I, the title was granted to Ranulf, the son of the first Earl's sister, Margaret. As a consequence of this creation the Bessin Fief became known as the Terra Comitatus Ranulfi, or Le Fief Le Comte, which name it bears to the present day. Ranulf II died in 1129, and was succeeded by his son, Ranulf III, whose possessions in Normandy and England rendered him one of the most powerful nobles of the day, and destined him for a leading rôle in the conflict which arose for the succession to the Dukedom and the throne of England after the death of Henry I in 1135.

At some date, which cannot be accurately determined, the fief was sub-divided into a number of sub-fiefs which were distributed among knights with holdings in the Bessin. The fief Rozel in the Vingtaine de l'Epine was granted to the family de Rozel; the fief, now known as Longue, was granted to the Wake family, who held land near Longues, north of Bayeux; the fief Suart was held by the family of Suhart or Seward, whose castle was at St. Paul, south-west of Bayeux; the fief now known as Sotuas (a corruption of Sottevast) was held by the family of Magneville, known in England as Mandeville. The town of Sottevast was in the Cotentin, and was held by a junior member of the family of Magneville, who received the small fief in the Câtel

after Geoffrey de Magneville had acquired vast estates in England. These knights were all vassals of the Vicomte du Bessin, whose own castle was at Briquessart, near Caumont. (See Map 1).

But large-scale readjustments in the allocation of the land in the western Parishes were made as a result of the civil war which followed on the death of Henry I in 1135. Although Henry I had 23 recorded illegitimate children, the loss of the "White Ship" had removed all his legitimate heirs with the exception of one daughter, Matilda; she had married, first, the German Emperor, Henry V, and after his death, Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, to whom she bore a son, Henry. At the date of Duke Henry's death, Henry, the son of Geoffrey and Matilda, was aged 2, and Stephen, Count of Blois, the son of Duke Henry's sister, Adela, and so the nephew of Duke Henry, seized the throne of England with the support of the Anglo-Norman Barons, including Ranulf, Earl of Chester. But Geoffrey of Anjou at once claimed the Duchy of Normandy in the name of his young son; he invaded Normandy, and after some years of confused fighting, he gained control of the Cotentin by 1142, and was finally crowned Duke of Normandy at Rouen on 19 January 1144. Meanwhile, Stephen retained nominal control of England, though the powerful Barons, notably the Earl of Chester, constantly defied his authority. The Channel Islands, which formed part of the Duchy of Normandy, passed into the control of Geoffrey, and were thus separated from the English Crown.

Though documentary evidence is lacking, it seems certain, as Prof. Le Patourel has shown in his "Mediæval Administration of the Channel Islands", pp. 107-9, that after 1144 Geoffrey of Anjou exercised effective control over the Channel Islands. In the case of Guernsey the whole Island had reverted to the Duke as Roger, Vicomte of the Cotentin, who held the south-eastern half of the Island, had been killed in 1138 while fighting in Normandy on behalf of Stephen, and had left no heir, and the Earl of Chester, the holder of the other half of the Island, supported Stephen, and was in rebellion against the crowned Duke of Normandy, thus breaking his allegiance to his feudal lord, and rendering his fiefs not only in Guernsey, but also in Normandy, forfeit to the Duke. As a result of this conjunction of events Geoffrey was in legal possession of the two fiefs, which comprised the entire Island of Guernsey, and was thus in a position to re-distribute the fiefs in accordance with his own wishes.

In 1144 Geoffrey's main concern was to safeguard the succession of his son, Henry, then aged 11, to the Dukedom of Normandy, and to further his son's claim to the throne of England. To achieve these ends he needed to win the support of the Church and Papacy for his son's claims, and to consolidate the military strength of Normandy (including the Channel Islands) with a view to a second Norman Conquest of England. The only documentary evidence of his actions at this period is the Extente of 1248 (published by La Société Guernesiaise — 1934) where it is stated (p. 26) that: "The men of the whole Island as a community owe every year as an aid 70 livres tournois, and for these 70 livres they should be quit, and in the time of the Kings they have been accustomed to be quit of service with the host, from tallage, taxes, and all other tribute, save only that they should go with the person of the Duke of Normandy, if needs be, to recover England". As Prof. Le Patourel has pointed out, this last provision could only have had a meaning between the years 1142 and 1153, because in 1153 Henry was recognised as heir to the English throne, to which he succeeded on the death of Stephen in 1154. On the subject of the land the only information given in the Extente of 1248 is the statement that: "In the time of King Henry, the father of John, Radulphus de Walemoun held assizes in the Islands, and enfeoffed lands then waste, and assessed them to rent, to wit, thirty sols tournois every year" (p. 27). Prof. Le Patourel has emphasised that the Extente shows that the farm was paid not merely on the king's fief, but also on all the other fiefs in the Island, and he suggests that this practice implies that the farm had been assessed on the whole

Island at the same time, and that this could have happened only when the whole Island was in the Duke's hands, *i.e.* after Geoffrey had established his control over Normandy in 1142.

Thus we can expect that some large-scale readjustments in the allocation of the Island fiefs took place about the year 1150. In fact, the evidence of charters shows that major changes took place not only in the ownership of the fiefs, but also in their geographical boundaries. In the area covered by the Fief du Bessin the most important change was the emergence of the Fief St. Michel. Although the Fief St. Michel comprises one-quarter of the whole Island, and is thus one of the largest fiefs, no record is extant to show how or when it came into being, a fact which has always puzzled Island historians. In view of the importance of this topic, it is necessary first of all to review the history of the relations of the Monastery of Mont St. Michel with the Island. As has already been stated above, the first recorded link between the Island and the Monastery was the grant of the western half of the Island to the Monastery by Duke Robert the Magnificent in 1030. Shortly after this grant, Suppo, who was Abbot of the Monastery from 1033-1048, transferred to the Bishop of Avranches the tithes of the western half of the Island together with one carucate of land (C.I. p. 227); this carucate of land was probably the Fief of Pleinmont in Torteval, which was situated in the Fief du Cotentin, and had been donated to the Monastery by Hugh, brother of Néel, Vicomte du Cotentin (C.I. p. 228). Because of his action in disposing of the property of the Monastery without the consent of the Monks, the Abbot Suppo was removed from office by the Monks in 1048, but six years before that event, Duke William had deprived the Monastery of the Western half of the Island, which he had restored to Ranulf son of Anchetel, Vicomte of the Bessin, and granted Alderney and Sark to the Monastery in exchange.

After the death in 1087 of Duke William, who by this date had also become King of England by conquest in 1066, the Monastery issued a complaint (C.I. p. 230) that they had been unjustly deprived of half of the Island of Guernsey, and of the Islands of Alderney, Sark and Herm, though no mention was made in the complaint of the fief of Noirmont in Jersey, which had been received by the Monastery in exchange for the Islands. At this period the Monastery seems to have held the patronage of the four Parish Churches on the Bessin fief, but apparently held no land in Guernsey apart from a small tract at Perelle, which had been donated to the Monastery on Christmas Day 1054 by Guillaume Pichenoht (C.I. p. 185); even the fief of Pleinmont had passed into the hands of the Le Bouteiller family, who also held lands in St. Martin's and St. Andrew's; in the Extente of 1274 it was known as the Fief de Beggeville; Giffroy and Merlon de Beggeville were related to the Le Bouteiller family.

But during the first half of the 12th Century the Monastery of Mont St. Michel grew steadily in wealth and influence; it had won the privilege of exemption from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Avranches in whose diocese it stood, and thus came directly under the control of the Pope. It was then the custom for a new Pope to confirm on his accession the rights and possessions of all such Monasteries, and it is in three Papal Bulls issued by newly-appointed Popes that we find the first references to the Fief St. Michel. In the Papal Bull issued by Pope Eugène III in 1150, the Monastery was confirmed in the possession of "*quidquid habetis in insula que vocatur Guernerey*" — whatever you possess in the Island which is called Guernsey, a distinctly vague phrase (C.I. p. 14). But five years later in 1155 Pope Adrian IV explicitly confirmed the Monastery in its possession of "*quartam partem in insula Guernerii*" — a quarter of the whole Island, together with the four Parish Churches, the Church of Ste. Marie de Lihou, and the Chapels of St. Magloire and St. George, and the Island and Church of Jethou (C.I. p. 17). In a third Bull, issued by Pope Alexander III in 1178 the four Parish Churches are again mentioned together with the "*melagia de Terra Comitum Ranulfi cum pertinenciis suis, et terram Hugonis de*



Rosel cum pertinenciis suis" (C.I. p. 20). The "terra Comitum Ranulfi" was the Bessin fief held by Ranulf, who had been created Earl of Chester in 1120, and the "terra Hugonis de Rosel" (the fief Rozel in the Vingtaine de l'Epine) had been donated to the Monastery in 1176 by Robert Patris and his wife, Philippa de Rozel, daughter of Hugh de Rozel (C.I. p. 243).

These Papal Bulls clearly show that by some means not recorded in any surviving charter the Monastery had by the year 1155 recovered possession of half of the original grant made to it by Duke Robert in 1030, but taken from it by Duke William in 1042. It has been shown above that there are good grounds for thinking that the Island was in the effective control of Geoffrey of Anjou from 1142 onwards, and that at this period Geoffrey was eager to win the support of the Church and the Papacy for the claims of his son, Henry, to the Dukedom of Normandy and the throne of England. The well-established method by which the secular power gained the favour of the Church was by generous gifts of property to the monasteries. Mont St. Michel the township of Mont St. Michel had been burnt, and the Church damaged — and it seems highly probable that the Fief St. Michel was created by Geoffrey at this period as a form of reparation for war damages suffered by the Monastery. The vagueness of the wording of the Papal Bull of 1150 — "whatever you possess in the Island of Guernsey" — suggests that some donation of land had been made by this date, but that the precise details were not available, whereas by 1155 the allocation of one-quarter of the Island, *i.e.* one-half of the western half of the Island had been made, and was accordingly confirmed by the Papal Bull of that date. It is significant that in 1156 the Abbot of Mont St. Michel, Robert de Torigny, paid a personal visit to Guernsey, of which a record has survived (C.I. p. 241); such a visit would have enabled him to survey the new possessions of the Monastery.

If we assume that the Fief St. Michel was created at this period, the next problem is to determine how the actual land-holding was delimited. The existing Livres de Perchage enable us to ascertain the boundaries of the Fief in exact detail, and when these are examined on a map, it is at once apparent that the land of the Fief is for the most part situated on the boundaries of the Parishes in areas which in many cases still bear the names of Landes, Landelle, Marais, Mielles and Frie, all terms denoting various types of waste-land. In this connection the statement in the Extente of 1248 to the effect that Raoul de Valmont enfeoffed the waste in the reign of Henry II, takes on a vital significance — *tempore Regis Henricis, patris Regis Johannis, Randulphus de Walemont tenuit assisas in Insulis, et terras tunc vastas feofavit* (p. 27). The new fief could not be created at the expense of the already existing fiefs held by Norman knights, whose support was essential for the military operations planned against England. The only area which could be enfeoffed for the benefit of Mont St. Michel was the non-arable land in the western parishes. It is notable that the Livres de Perchage of the Fief St. Michel are compiled on a Parish basis, whereas the Livres de Perchage of the other fiefs in the western parishes, *e.g.* Fief Le Comte, Fief Suart, etc., are compiled on the basis of the Fief's holdings, irrespective of the Parish in which they are situated.

In this way we are able to draw up a map (Map 3) showing the arable areas (the Norman fiefs) and the areas of waste land (the Fief St. Michel) as they existed in the Island in the year 1100. The distribution of the arable and non-arable areas within the Parish boundaries revealed by such a map, affords strong support for the view that the Norman system of fiefs was imposed on an already existing Parish organisation of agriculture based on central areas of arable land in close proximity to the centre of habitation, and surrounded by areas of communally shared waste-land. In all probability this pattern of agricultural organisation had been in existence for a



MAP 3

- Vertical shading: Fief St. Michel, including Fief de Lihou and Fief Huit Bouvées.
- BESSIN FIEFS:**
- A Rozel (Vingtaine).
  - B Saumarez (Câtel).
  - C Fief de la Couture (St. Michel).
  - D Fief de Jean de Galliard (St. Saviour's).
  - E La Corvée des Corbinets (later included in Fief St. Michel).
- COTENTIN FIEFS:**
- 1 Henri de Vaugrat.
  - 2 Philippes.
  - 3 Anneville and dependencies.
  - 4 Rohais.
  - 5 Fief Le Roi.
  - 6 Ste. Hélène.
  - 7 Mauxmarquis.
  - 8 Bishop of Coutances.
  - 9 Les Eperons.
  - 10 Abbesse de la Trinité, Caen.
  - 11 Rue Frerie.
  - 12 Velleresse de la Fallaize.
  - 13 Velleresse de Fermains.
  - 14 Châtellenie de Jerbourg (Sausmarez).
  - 15 Rozel (St. Peter Port).
- Dotted shading: Fragmented fiefs other than Fief Le Roi.  
 (Fief boundaries are schematised, as scale does not permit full detail).

1961]

considerable period before the Norman invasion, and originated in the first development of agriculture in the Island, which is to be associated with the pre-Christian builders of the megalithic monuments. Further study of the relation between the known megalithic monuments and the pattern of agricultural settlement as revealed by this map, may even enable us to discern the significance of the siting of some of these structures, a problem which has hitherto defied all attempts at a solution.

The subsequent history of the Fief St. Michel is quite well documented. The 12th Century saw a great expansion of trade and rising standards of living throughout Western Europe, due in large part to the administrative ability of the Normans, who imposed peace and order, and created an effective financial control throughout the extensive realm of Henry II. The increase of population created a demand for increased supplies of food, which in turn necessitated an expansion of agriculture. This was achieved by a vigorous policy of clearing the waste-lands and wooded areas — "essarting" as it was termed — and a leading part in this development was played by the monasteries, who had by this date become very large landowners. Evidence of this development is not lacking on the Fief St. Michel. Two sub-fiefs came into existence in St. Peter-in-the-Wood, known as the Fief de la Couture and the Fief Huit Bouvées, both titles indicative of agricultural development. Prior to this date St. Peter-in-the-Wood must have been a very literal description of the Parish, but the creation of these two fiefs encouraged the clearing of woodland and the expansion of agriculture into the hitherto waste-lands. The Fief de la Couture stands on the Parish boundary in the area still known as the Clos Landais, a name which implies the enclosure of hitherto waste-land. It is notable that the place-name, L'Essart, still exists in two areas on the Fief St. Michel, one at Le Crocq and the other in the Clos du Valle. Another "L'Essart" stands just north of the Fief de la Couture on the Fief Le Comte. The Fief was further sub-divided by the allocation of certain areas for the upkeep of the Priory of Lihou, which was under the control of Mont St. Michel. This collection of pieces scattered throughout the Parishes was later established as a separate entity known as the Fief of the Prior of Lihou, but its holdings are always adjacent to the Fief St. Michel, and must have originally formed an integral part of the Fief St. Michel.

At the same period as the Fief St. Michel was created, an important change took place in the ownership of the Fief du Bessin. The Earl of Chester, who had forfeited the fief to Geoffrey of Anjou by his alliance with Stephen, defied the authority of Stephen in England, but in 1149 entered into an agreement with Stephen by which they mutually pledged themselves to assist in the recovery of their inheritances and castles in Normandy which had been lost to Geoffrey of Anjou (Rymer's *Fœdera* I. 16), and in March 1153 the young Henry visited England to win support for his claim to the throne, and entered into an agreement with the Earl of Chester at Devizes, whereby Henry promised to restore to the Earl all his Norman lands including the Guernsey fief. But this agreement was never put into force as the Earl died in the December of the same year, said to have been poisoned by his wife. As his son, Hugh, who was his heir, was then aged only 6, the fief in Guernsey passed into the control of the Duke during the heir's minority. Henry made over the fief to Hugh Wake, who held the important fief now known as Fief Longue, and the Fief Le Comte never again became the property of the Earls of Chester. Hugh Wake had been a witness of the agreement signed at Devizes between Henry and the Earl of Chester, and together with his brother, Roger Wake, was a supporter of the Earl of Chester; he is described as of Négreville, a town in the Cotentin at this date, but the family, said to be Flemish in origin, held estates at Longues, north of Bayeux, in the Bessin, Hugh Wake had married Emma, daughter and heiress of Baldwin, Lord of Bourne, Lincs., and a member of the powerful de Clare family. Shortly after obtaining possession of the Fief Le Comte, Hugh Wake founded the Abbey of Longues to which

he donated his own sub-fief in St. Saviour's in 1168 (C.I. p. 392). The fief derives its present name from this association with the Abbey.

The Fief Le Comte passed on the death of Hugh Wake to his son Baldwin, who continued the family's benefactions to the Abbey of Longue; among these gifts was an annual donation of 1,000 eels from the fisheries which the Wake family owned at Parva Villa, now St. Hilaire-sur-Taute, near Carentan, on the border between the Bessin and the Cotentin. Baldwin Wake married Agnes, the daughter of William de Hommet, the Constable of Normandy, a family link which was to cause difficulties for his son and heir, also named Baldwin. Baldwin, the father, died in 1198, and his son was still a minor at the time of his father's death. In 1204 the French king conquered the Norman possessions of John, Duke of Normandy and King of England, and the Channel Islands were the only part of the Duchy which remained in the control of the English Crown. This turn of events presented many of the holders of the Island fiefs with an inescapable dilemma of having to choose between loyalty to either the English or the French King with the inevitable consequence that they would lose either their English or their Norman possessions. The decision in most cases was probably determined by the relative sizes of their English and Norman possessions, and the large majority, some thirteen in number, decided not unnaturally that their ancestral fiefs in Normandy meant more to them than their English holdings and their relatively tiny fiefs in Guernsey, and they threw in their lot with the French King. The Island fiefs of those who took the part of the Normans were immediately escheated to the English Crown, and many of them became a permanent part of the Crown possessions in the Island, which now became known as the Fief Le Roi. Roger Suhart, the holder of the Fief Suart in St. Saviour's and St. Peter-in-the-Wood was among those who swore loyalty to the French king, and his fief was escheated to the Crown of England, but a large portion of it passed into the hands of an Island family named Revel, from whom it obtained the name of the Fief Reveaux.

Baldwin Wake, the holder of the largest lay fief in the Island, seems to have found his choice particularly difficult. The records of the period show clearly that very soon after coming of age and entering upon his inheritance in England, he aroused John's suspicions as to his loyalty, for in August 1204 soon after the final loss of Normandy he was allowed to retain his English estates only on the condition that he gave a hostage to the Crown. He appears to have remained in England, but his mother's family had thrown in their lot with the French King, and Baldwin Wake's attempts to retain his Norman fiefs resulted in his arrest in 1207, and the seizure of his English estates, which were entrusted to Radulf de Trubeville (13 March 1207). In 1210 his English estates were in the hands of William Briwerre, one of John's chief Ministers, but at this stage Baldwin Wake appears to have abandoned all hope of retaining his Norman fiefs, and, having married Isabel, the second daughter of William Briwerre, he became reconciled with John, and three years later he was killed by a cross-bow bolt while fighting on John's behalf in Gascony (10 June 1213). On 20 July 1213 King John sent a letter to Philip d'Aubigny, Warden of the Isles, ordering him to assign 20 librates out of the lands which belonged to Baldwin Wake in Guernsey, to Thomas Daniis, bequeathed to him for his services to the said Baldwin (quoted in Tupper's History of Guernsey, p. 69).

After the death of Baldwin in Gascony the Fief Le Comte passed to his son Hugh Wake, who was a minor at the time of his father's death, and was made the ward of his grandfather, William Briwerre. Later in the 1230's Hugh Wake became prominent as a soldier, and he made good the loss of the family's Norman possessions by marrying Joan, the daughter and heiress of Nicolas de Stuteville, Lord of Liddell, a large estate in Cumberland. He seems to have developed his Guernsey estate, and after complaining to King Henry III in 1235 that goods belonging to him in Guernsey had been wrongfully seized, he obtained royal permission in 1238 to export corn

1961]

from the Island. This licence is an interesting indication that the Island agriculture had now developed beyond mere subsistence farming, and was now producing an exportable surplus, which in turn developed the harbour at St. Peter Port as a centre of commerce. In 1239 Hugh Wake decided to go on a Crusade to the Holy Land with Simon de Montford, and, presumably to raise funds for his journey, he sold his Guernsey fief to Baldwin de Ver for half a knight's fee and an annual payment of £6 sterling (3 February 1239/40 — C.I. p. 203). After travelling across Europe through Italy to Brindisi, he sailed to the Holy Land where he died in the following year (1241), and was buried in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The close contact between the Wake family and the Island ended with the sale of the Fief le Comte to the de Ver family, but direct descendants of the family were associated with the Island in the persons of Thomas Wake of Liddell, who was Warden of the Island from September 1331 to April 1333, and of Sir Baldwin Wake, who was the Royalist commander in Castle Cornet during the Civil War from May 1646 until May 1649 (Tupper p. 314).

The de Ver family derived their title from the town of Ver, which adjoins the Wake estates north of Bayeux, and they were probably related by marriage with the Wake family. They took a prominent part in the Norman Conquest of England, and one of the family became the first Earl of Oxford. Baldwin de Ver died shortly after purchasing the fief, and was succeeded by his son, Robert, who is named in the Extente of 1248 as owning the Fief Le Comte (Extente p. 24). Robert de Ver died in 1253, and his son and heir Baldwin was aged 17 at the time of this father's death; as a minor he was made the ward of Hugh Bigot, who had married the widow of Hugh Wake, and was also the guardian of Hugh Wake's son during his minority, a circumstance which points to some relationship between the Wake and de Ver families.

During these changes of ownership of the Fief Le Comte, the Abbots of Mont St. Michel, whose Monastery had been steadily growing in power and prestige, had never abandoned their hope of obtaining control of the whole of the former Fief du Bessin, and the history of the Fief Le Comte now enters on a very complicated phase. A new figure also appears on the scene in the person of Sir William de Cheney, a member of an old Norman family who held estates in Cambridgeshire, Herts., and Devonshire. Sir William, who had first become associated with the Islands through his relationship with Philip d'Aubigni, Warden of the Isles, married Felicia, the daughter of Peter de Vinchelez of Jersey, and visited the Holy Land on a Crusade with Philip d'Aubigni, who died in Palestine and was buried in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (1236). Sir William de Cheney returned to England, and became intimately associated with King Henry III, with whom he served in Gascony. The King showed many marks of favour to him, including grants of land in Jersey in 1238, 1242 and 1244. In 1248 Sir William received the fief of Anneville in Guernsey, which had been in the French hands since it was escheated to the Crown in 1204 by the adherence to the French King of the holders, John and Sampson d'Anneville. In 1253 de Cheney leased the de Ver fief from Hugh Bigot for the duration of the minority of Baldwin de Ver. At this point the Abbot of Mont St. Michel saw an opportunity of obtaining a grip on the Fief Le Comte by leasing the Fief from Sir William de Cheney (C.I. p. 204), but this arrangement ended in 1257 when Baldwin de Ver came of age, and entered into his inheritance. He at once leased the Fief Le Comte to William de Vivier and his heirs for 10 years (C.I. p. 439), but in 1262 he sold the fief outright to Sir William de Cheney and his wife Felicia.

The Abbot of Mont St. Michel at once challenged the legality of this transaction, and asserted his claim to the Fief Le Comte on the basis of the old Charter of Duke Robert. The claim was clearly invalid, as the Abbot had received compensation for the half of the Island of which he had been deprived by Duke William, *i.e.* Alderney and Sark, which were later exchanged for the fief of Noirmont in Jersey, which the

Abbot still held. Legal proceedings were begun in which the Abbot produced the evidence of the Charters and other documents, but no document was produced which showed the grant of half of the Fief du Bessin in 1150, for such a document would have invalidated the Abbot's claim under the charter of Duke Robert. Herein lies the explanation of the lack of evidence for the creation of the Fief St. Michel; monasteries were adept in forging charters proving their right to property, but in this case the suppression of an existing charter served the purpose of the Abbot more effectively, for the Charter of Duke Robert was undoubtedly genuine. The litigation was brought to an abrupt end by the death of Sir William in mysterious circumstances in 1265. During the previous year he had been associated with Simon de Montford in his rebellion against the King, and Sir William had been ordered to stand his trial as a rebel in London when he was killed in a duel or a quarrel with Robert de Lascy.

His eldest son and heir, William, died shortly after his father, and as the second son, Nicholas, who now became the heir, was still a minor, the legal proceedings were adjourned until he became of age. In the meantime Felicia, the widow of Sir William, energetically defended her rights, nor was the Abbot idle. In 1270 he entered into an agreement with Hughes de Trubleville, the Sub-Warden of the Isles, whereby the Abbot promised Trubleville half of the Fief if the verdict were given in favour of the Abbot — as Tupper comments (p. 73) "the priest, having a bad cause, bribed the judge to cheat the widow" — and as an earnest of good intentions the Abbot granted half of the market dues which were collected at the Les Landes du Marché to Hughes de Trubleville and his heirs. (September 20 1270), (C.I. pp. 206-7).

But the Abbot's plan miscarried as Hugues de Trubleville gave up his appointment before the case was tried, and the fief was granted to Robert de Melesches until a decision was reached. Robert de Melesches is a rather mysterious figure who had been granted several fiefs in Jersey about this period, but he died c. 1274, and in 1283 the Bailiff took the Fief into the King's hands, an action which provoked vigorous protests from Nicholas de Cheny (C.I. p. 442); finally in 1289 Nicholas de Cheny succeeded in establishing his claim to the fief, and the Abbot abandoned his efforts to gain control of the Fief. The Fief Le Comte remained in the Cheny family until 1509 when it was sold to Nicholas Fouaschin by Robert Willoughby de Broke, to whom it had passed by marriage with Anne de Cheny, the heiress. Fouaschin, who was a member of a St. Peter-in-the-Wood family, was a prominent merchant, and later settled in Southampton, where his name was anglicised into Fashion or Fashion; he purchased an estate near Fawley. The Fief remained in the Fashion family until the reign of Charles I when George Fashion, a notorious spendthrift, sold the Fief to Peter Priaux (1630). Peter Priaux was one of the few ardent Royalists in the Island, and by an irony of fate was killed by a cannon-ball fired by the Royalist garrison in Castle Cornet while he was walking outside the old Court House, La Plaiderie. The Priaux family retained it until 1722 when it was sold to Eleazer Le Marchant, whose descendants held it until the present century.

The Fief St. Michel remained in the possession of the Abbots of Mont St. Michel until 1414 when Henry V seized the property of all Alien Priors, and the Fief passed into the hands of the Crown, who has held it to the present day. But the Fief St. Michel, as it is recorded in the modern Livres de Perchage, is not quite identical with the Fief St. Michel, which was seized by Henry V, as is shown by the report of the Royal Commission, which was sent to the Island by Queen Elizabeth I in 1597 to investigate the Crown's possessions in the Island. This report stated that in 1597 the Fief St. Michel had been diminished by 8 bouvées, and the Fief of the Prior of Lihou had been diminished by 24 bouvées, as compared with the area recorded in the Extente of 1331. The Commissioners also pointed out that the Fief Saumarez in the Câtél did not exist in 1331, but in 1597 this fief contained 17 bouvées of land, which

adjoined the Fief St. Michel, and they suggested that this Fief may have arisen from the diminution of the aforesaid Fiefs St. Michel and Lihou. This observation very plausibly accounted for 17 of the missing 32 *bouvées*, but the Commissioners had no suggestion to offer as to the whereabouts or fate of the remaining 15 *bouvées*. This little mystery of the missing 15 *bouvées* will be considered at a later stage in this paper. (See Map 3).

The detailed history of the numerous sub-fiefs of the Fief du Bessin awaits further research, but some salient points in the history of some of the more important may be noted here. As has already been mentioned, the original holding of the Wake family was donated to the Abbey of Longues on its foundation by Hugh Wake in 1168. The development of waste land on its borders led to the establishment of three sub-fiefs, today known as Les Petits Fiefs de Longues, the Fief des Mauconvenants, the name of a local family mentioned in the Extente of 1248, the Fief d'Iliaire or Hillaire, and the Fief des Trois Vattiaux. A similar expansion of sub-fiefs on the borders of the fief Suart led to the establishment of the Fief de Gohiers, the Fief de la Bouvée Marquand, the Fief of Dieu le Voye, and the Au Roux. All these fiefs contain either 1 *bouvée* (20 *vergées*) or 2 *bouvées* of land, a fact which suggests that they were block grants to individuals whose names they bear. The Suart fief was escheated to the Crown in 1204 by the defection of Roger Suhart to the French King, and the original holding appears to have consisted of 2 *carucates*, i.e. 480 *vergées*, and it is notable that the Fief des Reveaux, which was clearly originally part of the Fief Suart, consists of exactly half of this area, while the present area of the Fief Suart consists of 1 *carucate* (240 *vergées*). The Revel family was prominent in the western part of the Island, and the two fiefs are closely intertwined in their land holding at the present time. The Fief de la Pomare may have been former waste land on the original Fief Suart.

On the main Fief Le Comte agricultural development led to the emergence of several fiefs, some of which bear place-names, such as Groignet (Groin: a ridge, Groignet diminutive), and Carteret, while others bear the personal name of the holder, such as Granté, a family recorded in Charters as residing in the Island in the latter half of the 12th century (C.I. p. 240), De la Court, a prominent family linked with Guillaume Vivier in the Extente of 1248, and Videclin — Richard Videclin is recorded in the Extente of 1274 as holding escheats in St. Sampson's and St. Saviour's (pp. 33 & 35). The spendthrift George Fashion sold off the Fief de Chapelle de St. Georges in 1629 to Nicholas de Jersey, and parted with the whole Le Comte fief in 1630 to Peter Priaux. The Fief Au Coq was also sold separately to the Le Cocq family in the 16th or 17th century. A group of small fiefs was established in the boggy water-logged land in the south-eastern corner of St. Saviour's and St. Peter-in-the-Wood, all about 20 or 30 *vergées* in size. On the Fief St. Michel a large area of the waste on the boundary of St. Saviour's and the Câtel was formed into the Caruée Gervaise, and was granted to the family of that name; this area may be the land mentioned as being in dispute in a document of 1157 (C.I. p. 242), where it is said to have been donated to Mont St. Michel by Néel and Gervaise.

#### IV — *The Fief du Cotentin*

The history of the Fief du Cotentin, which comprised the six parishes in the south-eastern half of the Island from St. Sampson's to Torteval, followed a very different course from that of the Bessin fief. Originally granted to Néel of St. Sauveur, who held the post of Vicomte of the Cotentin — hence the name "Fief du Cotentin" — it returned in 1048 into the control of the Duke as a result of an unsuccessful revolt against the authority of the Duke, in which Néel participated. During the next twenty years some important changes were made in the allocation of the sub-fiefs

188]

by Duke William, changes which were acknowledged and confirmed by charters issued by Néel when he was later pardoned and regranted the Fief, though he was not restored to the post of Vicomte of the Cotentin (C.I. pp. 381-5). The fief remained in the hands of the St. Sauveur family until 1137/38 when Roger de St. Sauveur was killed while fighting on Stephen's behalf against Geoffrey of Anjou. Roger died without an heir, and the fief lapsed into the control of the Duke, i.e. Geoffrey of Anjou, who was crowned Duke of Normandy in 1144. In this fief the waste land which was enfeoffed by Raoul de Valmont at the time of the creation of the Fief St. Michel (c. 1150) remained in the hands of the Duke, and today constitutes the Fief Le Roi, though the present Fief Le Roi also includes a number of other fiefs which have been escheated to the Crown for various reasons during the last 600 years.

## (a) PARISH OF ST. ANDREW

These historical events determined the pattern of fiefs in the six south-eastern parishes. For example, the whole of the Forest Parish is on the Fief Le Roi, a fact which suggests that the title of Forest more aptly described the character of this parish in the 11th century than it does at the present day. The Parish of St. Andrew contained a group of four ecclesiastical fiefs, one held by the Bishop of Coutances (205 vergées), the second Ste. Hélène, held by the Abbey of Cormery, Tours (225 $\frac{1}{2}$  vergées), the third, La Rue Frairie, held by the Abbey de la Croix St. Leufroy, Evreux (399 vergées), and the fourth held by the Abbess de la Trinité, Caen (154 $\frac{1}{2}$  vergées). (See map 3). No charters survive which actually date the creation of these fiefs, but a charter dated 1048 has survived by which Duke William donated the patronage of the six Parish Churches of the Fief du Cotentin together with the tithes of 4 carucates of land to the Abbey of St. Martin at Marmoutier, Tours (C.I. p. 379), and good reasons can be given for thinking that the four ecclesiastical fiefs were granted about the same period by Duke William, when the Fief was temporarily in the control of the Duke before it was returned to the pardoned rebel, Néel.

It is significant that the fiefs were not granted to any of the numerous Abbeys in the neighbouring Cotentin, but to the relatively remote Abbeys of Evreux, Tours and Caen. This fact in itself suggests an early date for the creation of the fiefs as many of the Abbeys in the Cotentin were not founded until the latter half of the 11th century, and some not until well into the 12th century. It is notable that the Abbey of St. Sauveur, which was founded by the Néel family about 1090, is not recorded as holding any land in Guernsey, though it was one of the largest fief-holders in Jersey, a fact which suggests that no land was available in Guernsey for the grant of a fief at the time of the foundation of this Abbey. But the geographical remoteness of the holders of the fiefs was more apparent than real, as the Abbeys of Evreux and Tours, which themselves date from the earliest days of the Christian Church in Gaul (Fifth and Sixth Centuries), were active centres of missionary work and had established Priories in the Cotentin for the dissemination of the Christian religion. For example, the Abbey of St. Martin at Marmoutier, Tours, had established a Priory at Héauville, near Diélette on the French coast, and a charter of Henry I (C.I. p. 387) confirming his father's grants in Guernsey makes it clear that the revenues from these fiefs were intended for the monks of the Priory of Héauville, and not for the parent Abbey; these monks at the Priory of Héauville had very probably been responsible for the maintenance of the Christian religion in S-E Guernsey, which may well have been introduced into this part of the Island by missionaries from Marmoutier — the name of St. Martin for the S-E parish nearest



to the French coast (and for the N.E. parish of Jersey) is suggestive of this interpretation.

The Abbey of Cormery, Tours, maintained a Priory at Omonville, near Cap La Hague, said to be the oldest religious institution in this part of the Cotentin; this Priory was dedicated to Ste. Hélène, and the choice of this name for the Guernsey fief held by this Abbey clearly indicates that the fief was associated with this Priory rather than with the parent Abbey at Tours. The Abbey of La Croix St. Leufroy was one of the oldest in Normandy, having been founded by St. Ouen, and was an active missionary centre. Its fief in St. Andrew was associated with a Priory, dedicated to St. Michael, in the Parish itself, and, according to the Extente of 1248, consisted of 3 carucates, and had the duty of keeping the King's prisoners (p. 26). The size of the fief had diminished by 1309, when it was stated to be 22 bouvéés, a figure in fairly close agreement with its present size of 399 vergées (22 bouvéés equal 440 vergées); the 1248 figure may be an error for 2 carucates (480 vergées), a normal size for a large grant.

Duke Richard II, grandfather of Duke William, had himself founded and endowed the Priory of Héauville, which was thus particularly associated with the Ducal family, and therefore likely to be the recipient of favours from Duke William when he found that he was in a position to confer them in an area so conveniently close to Héauville. The grant to the Bishop of Coutances may well have been associated with the building and endowment of Coutances Cathedral. Geoffrey de Montbrai (Mowbray), who was consecrated Bishop of Coutances in 1048, issued a wide-spread appeal for funds to complete the Cathedral at Coutances, which remained unfinished for lack of funds; with donations from the Normans in Italy and elsewhere, the Cathedral was finally consecrated on December 6, 1058, in the presence of Duke William. The Duke would very probably mark the occasion by making endowments for the clergy from his possessions in the diocese, such as Alderney and Sark, which were taken from the Abbot of Mont St. Michel at this period, and the fief in St. Andrew. The Abbey of the Trinity at Caen was established in 1066 as part of the penance exacted by the Pope for the recognition of the unlawful marriage of Duke William and Matilda; endowments for the Abbey would doubtless be made about the date of its creation, and the fief in St. Andrew together with much larger holdings in Jersey may be attributed to the period about 1070. The Fief de la Trinité is situated on the parish boundary, and is possibly of later date than the other ecclesiastical fiefs in the parish, the better land having already been allocated. An interesting feature of these grants is that the wording of the original charter by Duke William granting the patronage of the Parish Churches to Marmoutier implies a certain vagueness as to the legal and geographical position of the grants; it speaks of the Churches "quas apud insulam que appellatur Grenerodium videor habere in meo dominio", and of four carucates of land "quas videor habere in meo dominio in supradicta insula" — "the land which I seem to hold in my possession in the Island of Guernsey", phrasing which indicates uncertainty both as to the legal rights of the Duke and the geographical knowledge of the limits of the Cotentin Fief.

The historical importance of establishing the early date of the creation of these fiefs (between 1048 and 1073) is that it affords strong evidence for the view that the parish boundaries have existed in their present situation from at least the 11th century, for the boundaries of these fiefs coincide with the present parish boundary.

Incidentally, a study of the history of the Priory of Héauville throws some light on the rather shadowy figure of Restauld, who has been the subject of many conjectures by Island historians. The only documentary basis for the various legends about him is an undated charter (C.I. pp. 226-7), in which Restauld, who is described as "naulerus quondam Roberti comitis" (one-time shipmaster to the Duke Robert), donated to the Abbot of Mont St. Michel the Island of Jethou, which is

190]

stated to have been given to him by Duke Robert, and announced his intention of becoming a monk. The editors of the *Cartulaire des Iles* were unable to decide whether the Duke Robert mentioned in the Charter was Robert the Magnificent (1027-35), the father of Duke William, or Robert Courte Heuse (1087-1106), the son of Duke William. Various interpretations have been placed on this brief document; Restauld is said to have been a local fisherman, or pilot who guided the fleet of Duke Robert through the dangers of the Russel in a storm to a safe anchorage in L'Ancrese Bay, for which service the grateful Duke presented him with the Island of Jethou. More recently Restauld has been promoted to the rank of Admiral in the service of Duke Robert, and has given his name to the inn on the Island of Jethou.

The Charter of Richard II establishing the Priory of Héauville and donating land in the neighbourhood to the Abbey of Marmoutier, Tours (published in full in Delisle — *L'Histoire de l'Abbaye de Saint Sauveur*, No. 3, p. 5) states that some of the land and villages given to the Abbey were the property of Restauld. This reference clearly shows that Restauld was quite a large landowner in the time of Duke Richard, the father of Robert the Magnificent. At that early period a large landowner was invariably a warrior of some eminence, and Restauld was probably a pirate chieftain who had established himself in a highly strategic position at the entrance to the Race of Alderney. One of the first permanent settlements established in Normandy by the Norse pirates was located in the area round Cap La Hague, where they remained over the winter protected by the fortification known as the Hague Dyke, and a Norse settlement persisted there until well into the 12th century as is shown by the establishment of at least 4 Priors in this remote and barren area, obviously for the purpose of converting the pagan Norsemen to Christianity. Restauld must have been one of the leading figures in this Norse community, which was brought under the central control of the Duke about the beginning of the 11th century. No doubt the naval forces of this area were employed by Duke Robert in his campaign against the Duke of Brittany, which ended in the peace treaty of 1030, which has been mentioned above. Jethou, in itself a relatively valueless area, would have been of considerable use to a pirate chieftain in possession of the other coast of the Race of Alderney as it would enable him to close effectively the passage of the Race, where the strong tidal movements virtually imprison a vessel seeking to sail against the tide. The bequest of the Island to Mont St. Michel was clearly in the closing years of Restauld's life, and gifts were often made to monasteries in the hope of averting the terrors of hell-fire which awaited those who had sinned in their lifetime. Thus the date of this grant was probably about 1035-40, after the death of Duke Robert, a period when Mont St. Michel was the recipient of many donations.

The fief of Ste. Hélène was sold by the Abbey of Cormery to Guillaume de St. Remy, Bailiff of Guernsey, according to a charter dated 24 April 1292, by which Edward I gave his approval to the transaction (C.I. p. 422). In this document it is explicitly stated that the revenue of the Guernsey fief belonged to the Priory of Ste. Hélène in Hague, and the fief has remained in lay hands ever since that date. In addition to Ste. Hélène, the Parish of St. Andrew contained four lay fiefs: Burons, Au Fay, Mauxmarquis and Rohais; the remainder of the parish was in the possession of the Duke, and is today on the Fief Ie Roi. The Fief Au Fay derived its name from a Norman family of D'Auffai, a town between Rouen and Dieppe in the Forest of Arques; this family also held land in the Cotentin near St. Marcouf, and large estates in England. The Fief Au Fay was held by payment of a pair of white spurs (silver), and the Fief Burons by payment of a pair of gilded spurs (*Extente* 1331, p. 77), and at some date in the 16th century the two fiefs were combined under the title of Les Eperons, which it bears at the present time. The Fief Mauxmarquis

derives its name from the family Malmarchy, who are recorded in charters as existing in Guernsey in the 12th century (C.I. p. 231). The Fief Rohais is said to derive its name from the female name Rohesia, which was borne by numerous Norman ladies. A possible origin of the fief was a grant to Rohesia, wife of Eudes de Saint-Sauveur, who was Vicomte of the Cotentin 1092-1104. The land of the fief is in the northern part of the parish, and lies on the Parish boundary, a fact which suggests a somewhat later date of grant than the other fiefs; the land is low-lying and would have been of less value in the 11th century than the other fiefs in the parish; it appears to have been carved out of the Ducal demesne which included all the remainder of the land in this part of the parish.

The Ducal domain in this parish was divided into Bordages, i.e. areas of land for which an official called a Bordier was responsible; for his services in collecting the Ducal dues he received a House or Borde, and a grant of land. This system of administration is found on all the Ducal fiefs in the other parishes, and was no doubt introduced to make up for the lack of a civil service in the employment of the Crown. The tenants on the Ducal demesne complained that they were at a disadvantage in legal disputes as they had no Seigneur to protect their interests in conflicts with the Warden of the Isles or the Bailiff.

#### (b) PARISH OF ST. MARTIN

In the adjoining Parish of St. Martin the pattern of the fiefs shows some unique features which are not found in any other parish. Here the Fief Le Roi comprises about half the total area of the Parish, some 2,000 vergées out of a total of 4,480 vergées, while the other half is shared between 12 other fiefs. The notable feature in this parish is that most of these fiefs do not hold compact blocks of land as elsewhere, but are extremely fragmented. This fragmentation of the fief holding is most apparent in the area known as Les Camps in the immediate neighbourhood of Sausmarez Mill, but the whole of the area east of Les Camps is broken up into relatively small holdings. In the area known as Les Camps (see Map 4) as many as 8 fiefs have holdings in the space of less than a quarter of a mile square, and the holdings are in the form of narrow unconnected strips. Several writers have suggested that the neighbourhood of Les Camps was the site of an Open Field system of agriculture in which the land was shared out in strips scattered throughout the Open Field, but this suggestion has hitherto been a mere historical conjecture, and has lacked any documentary support, though the map of the Duke of Richmond's Survey (1787) shows this area as an open unenclosed area. An examination of the pattern of fief holdings based on the Livres de Perchage of the different fiefs yields strong documentary evidence in support of the view that the area of Les Camps was in fact an Open Field of arable land with strip holdings scattered throughout the area of the Open Field, and, in marked contrast with the block holdings found in the other parishes, here the holdings are extremely small units, and are rarely adjacent to each other. It seems highly improbable that such a pattern could have arisen except as a result of imposing the fief system on an already existing Open Field system of strip cultivation. It is also notable that the Fief Le Roi has no holdings in his area, but is constituted by large continuous blocks on the perimeter of the Open Field area, a pattern which would arise if the Fief Le Roi was created from the enfeoffment of the waste land which surrounded the central arable area. The Fief Le Roi extends without a break from the boundary of the Open Field strip area to the parish boundary, and includes the area still known as Les Landes on the parish boundary with St. Andrew's.

Also, as is the case with the Fief St. Michel in the Parish of St. Peter-in-the-Wood, an area known as Les Coutures occurs as part of this block of land between Les Camps



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and Les Landes, a fact which strongly suggests that this was an area reclaimed from the waste, and brought into cultivation, as its name suggests. The date of this development cannot be determined by any documentary evidence, but the Extente of 1331 shows that the system of Bordages, which has already been noticed in the Parish of St. Andrew on the Fief Le Roi was fully developed in St. Martin's by this date. Thus a probable date of 1150-1250 may be assigned for the expansion of cultivation from the area of Les Camps into other parts of the parish.

Another feature, which has already been mentioned in connection with the Fief du Bessin, is that megalithic monuments are sited just outside the limits of the Open Field arable area, e.g. the Statue Menhir at St. Martin's Church, Les Blanchés Pierres, La Tombe, La Roque Hamelin, La Roque at Le Varclin, etc. This juxtaposition of megalithic monuments and arable areas suggests that the erection of these megaliths was significantly related to the pattern of open-field agriculture surrounded by communally-owned waste land.

The present names of the fiefs are relatively modern, in some cases they are the names of local Island families such as Le Marchant, De Beauvoir, Massy Gros and Sausmarez, etc., but these names have replaced the original Norman holders, such as Gorges, Lemminge, Baard, Fortescue, de Barneville, de Mauvoisin, etc., many of whom, as is shown by the Extente of 1274 (p. 34) lost their fiefs by throwing their lot with the French King in 1204. Their fiefs were escheated to the Crown, and in the course of time passed into the possession of the local holders, from whom the fiefs derive their present names. Again, no records exist by which this process of change can be accurately dated, but the change was completed by the end of the 13th century. All the original Norman holders can be associated with places in the Cotentin, and clearly received their holdings as sub-fiefs from the Vicomte of the Cotentin. Two interesting fiefs in this parish are the Fief de la Velleresse de la Fallaize, and the Fief de la Velleresse de Fermaine; these fiefs were land holdings with the responsibility for keeping a watch on the coast, the Fief de la Fallaize in the area of Petit Bôt, and de Fermaine at Bon Port and Fermain; this liability seems to have lapsed by 1274 as the Extente of that date explains the name as deriving from a "certaine Femme Normande autrefois appelée la Vielese", an explanation which clearly confuses Vicille (old woman) and Veiller (to keep watch), a confusion which doubtless arose all the more readily as coastal watching was usually the duty of old women.

The only ecclesiastical fief in this parish was the Fief de Blanchelande, a relatively late creation, as the Abbey of Blanchelande in the Cotentin was not founded until 1154. Its first possession in Guernsey was granted to it by John, then Earl of Mortain, in 1198 when he transferred to it certain land which had supported a Prebend of Cherbourg, which had been created by Duke William. This land in the neighbourhood of Saints was the basis of the foundation of the Priory of Martinvast in this area. Later endowments were the Fief Mauvoisin, the gift of Robert de Rosel, dit Mauvoisin, and a mill at Petit Bôt, the gift of Robert Le Boutillier (1217) (C.I. pp. 360-372). In 1267 the Abbot of Marmoutier, on behalf of the Prior of Héauville, abandoned the advowson of the Parish Church of St. Martin to the Abbot of Blanchelande. The fief was steadily enlarged by the accretion of small escheats and enfeoffment of waste, and by 1364 had grown from its original area of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  caruées (360 vergées) to its present size of 587 vergées. The Fief de Blanchelande was seized by the Crown in 1414 as property of an Alien Priory, but was sold in 1563 by the Royal Commissioners to Nicholas Carey, the Queen's Receiver at that date.

The largest of the other fiefs in this parish is the Fief de Sausmarez (379 vergées). The fief originated in the Fief de Barneville, a Cotentin family in the important port and market town on the French coast; this fief passed (c. 1250) by marriage

STRIPS IN STRIPS AT LES CAMPS

to the Sausmarez family, who were associated with the Fief of Samarès in the Parish of St. Clement in Jersey; the name is derived from "Salses Marais" — Salt Marshes. After the separation of the Channel Islands from Normandy in 1204 the problem of defending Guernsey from attacks by the French necessitated the building of castles for the protection of the Island and the inhabitants — Castle Cornet dates from this period. In the Parish of St. Martin the peninsula of Jerbourg forms a natural protective area by building a wall across the narrow neck of land from Petit Port to Pied du Mur — hence the name. At the end of the peninsula a strong defensive position was established in the castle of Jerbourg, and the responsibility for keeping this castle in good defensive order passed to the Sausmarez family, and the whole peninsula was added to the original de Barneville fief in the centre of the parish. This "châtellenie" is first recorded in 1299, but must have been of somewhat earlier date, sometime after 1204.

The remaining fiefs in this parish all bear names associated with prominent Island families of the 13th century, and clearly indicate the grant of former Norman escheats to local notables. The Le Marchant family held the Fief Au Marchant, the Burnel family, who are recorded in the Complaints of the Islanders in 1274 as agents of the Bailiff Arnauld Jean, gained the Fief des Bruniaux, a corruption of the name Burnel in the plural; the family de Hailla is recorded in the Extente of 1331, as is the name of Massy. Beauvoir gives his name to a Bordage in the Parish of St. Martin in the same Extente. The original Norman holders of these fiefs can be identified with towns in the northern half of the Cotentin. Fortescue was associated with the town of Valognes, and Gorges with the town of the same name, where the family of De l'Espece, the former name of the Fief Beuval, was linked with the family of Gorges in gifts to the local church. The name Baard is variously spelt, Baard, Buat, Biart are found, and the family was linked with Amfreville, a small town east of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte; a possible connection may exist between this home of the Baards and the place-name Ville Amphrey to the west of Les Camps.

#### (c) PARISH OF ST. PETER PORT

At the present time the whole of this parish is on the Fief Le Roi, with the exception of some property in the town itself, which is on the Franc Fief de St. Martin. But the present Fief Le Roi includes fiefs which have been escheated to the Crown for various reasons. The most important of these is the Fief de Rozel, which is not to be confused with the Fief of the same name in the Vingtaine de l'Epine. The St. Peter Port Rozel fief passed to the Crown in 1204 (Extente of 1274, p. 31), and was held by a Cotentin family de Rosel on the western coast of France, north of Carteret. This family donated the fief Mauvoisin of 9 bouvées in St. Martin's to the Abbey of Blanchelande.

The Abbey of Marmoutier had been endowed with a large grant of land in St. Peter Port Parish by Duke William, but this fief returned to the Crown in 1414 as property of an Alien Priory. Its exact whereabouts has not been determined, but it was probably in the area of the Chapel of St. Jacques, now known as Les Camps Collette Nicolle. This area is also notable as the site of numerous megalithic monuments, a fact which suggests that agricultural development had taken place in this area long before the Norman invasion.

#### (d) PARISH OF ST. SAMPSON

The greater part of this parish is very low-lying marshy ground (Marais), and in earlier times was waste land, and thus on the Fief Le Roi. The small area of higher ground in the west of the Parish constituted the fief of Anneville, which together

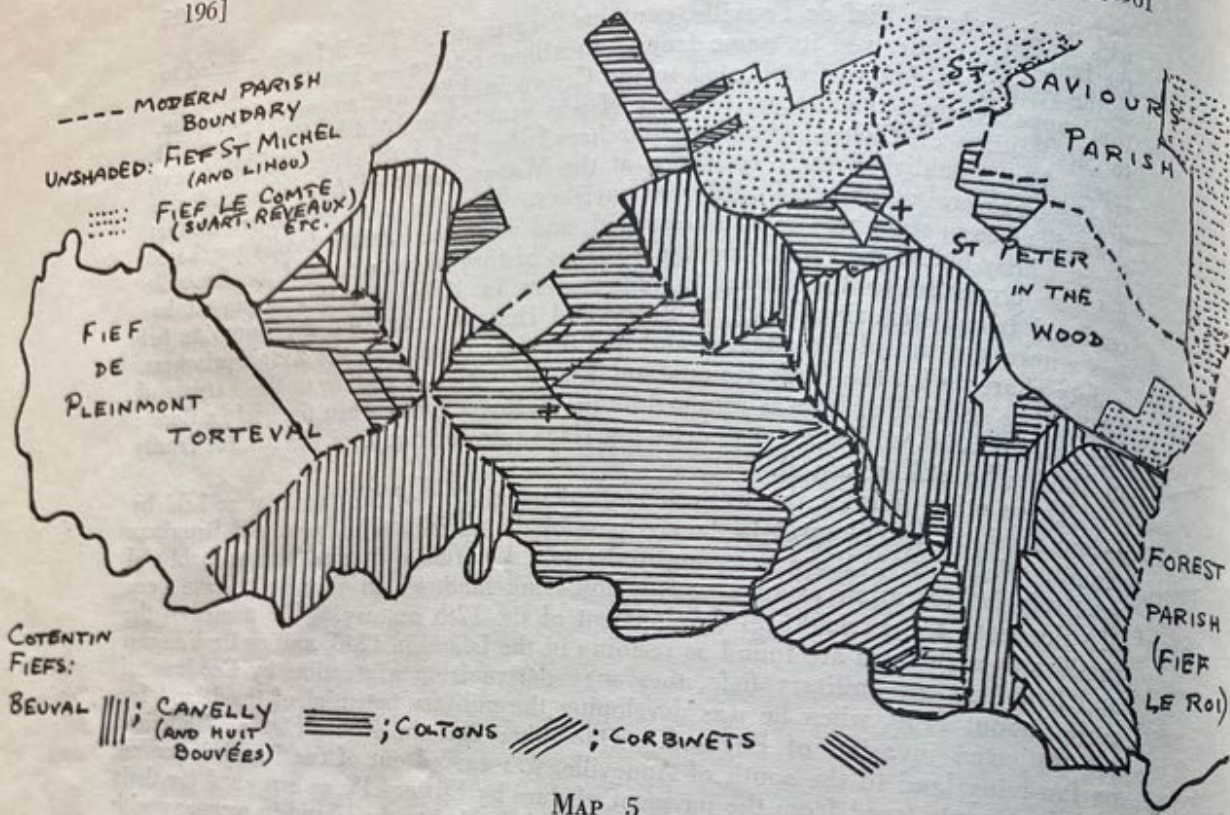
with its dependency Fief de Fauville, contains 2 carucates. This fief was granted to the family which derived its name from Anneville-sur-Saire — Fauville is a village in the vicinity — but was escheated to the Crown in 1204 by Sampson d'Anneville, who supported the French King. The Fief was granted in 1248 by King Henry III to Sir William de Cheny, who later purchased the Fief Le Comte; the de Cheny family later established their residence at the Manor House of Anneville, and also purchased several other fiefs in different parishes. The idea then became current that Anneville was in some way a paramount fief, and when the Fashion family purchased the de Cheny holdings in the Island, a fictitious history of the origin of the Anneville fief was presented to the Royal Commissioners in 1597, and this document has confused Island historians such as Berry and Duncan. In fact, the Anneville fief was a normal grant of 2 carucates, and had the duty of keeping the King's prisoners, a duty shared with the Fiefs Rohais and Rue Refrerie, according to the Extente of 1248. The Anneville Fief was retained by the Fashion family when the Fief Le Comte was sold in 1630, and later passed by marriage into the hands of the Andros family in 1663, who still retain it.

Three other fiefs in the western and detached part of the parish were held by Island families, De Vaugrat (detached part of the parish), Phillippes and Bruniaux (family of Burnel); these fiefs, approximately  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate in size, are probably of relatively late creation as they occupy low-lying land, which would not have been of value until the agricultural development of the 12th century. The names of the families owning them are found as residing in the Island in 1248, and as De Vaugrat and Bruniaux are military fiefs, they may derive from a creation by Geoffrey of Anjou about 1150, when he was developing the military potential of the Island for his projected invasion of England. One other fief, the Franc Fief au Gallicien, on low-lying land to the south of Anneville, was carved out of the Ducal desmesne, and the tenants freed from the payment of dues by Edward IV as a reward for their assistance in aiding him when as Earl of March he fled to the Island in company with the Earl of Warwick during the Wars of the Roses in 1459 (See Tupper p. 129).

#### (e) THE PARISH OF TORTEVAL

The fiefs in the Parish of Torteval present problems which do not arise in any other parish. As has been already mentioned, the boundary line separating the Fief du Bessin and the Fief du Cotentin coincides with the present Parish boundary line at all points from St. Sampson's to the point of intersection between the Parishes of St. Peter-in-the-Wood and the Forest. This point is in close proximity to an area which was particularly rich in megalithic monuments, so that we may legitimately assume that this site played a significant role in the life of the Island even before the Christian era. But difficulties arise when we attempt to continue the boundary between the two main fiefs of the Island to the south coast. The evidence of the Charters clearly shows that the Parish of Torteval was included in the Fief du Cotentin, and the fiefs in this parish, if they followed the pattern which is apparent in other parishes, should be sub-fiefs of the Cotentin. But when the fiefs of the parish are examined in detail, it is clear that the fief boundaries do not coincide with the present parish boundary, but overlap in several cases into the adjoining Parish of St. Peter-in-the-Wood, which was part of the Fief du Bessin.

The nature of the problem is well exemplified by the Fief Au Cannely and the Fief Beuval. The Fief Au Cannely no longer exists as a single entity, and at the present time is composed of seven separate fiefs, which have been broken off from the original fief as a result of marriage settlements and partages. The history of this Fief is in many respects an epitome of the Island's history from 1050-1450. The fief originated in a grant of land to the Cannely family, who held land in the



MAP 5

neighbourhood of Cherbourg; the names of Richard and Roger le Cannelly appear as witnesses to a charter of the Abbey of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte dated 1104. This family was clearly connected with the Cotentin, and might be expected to be granted a sub-fief in the Fief du Cotentin, of which the Parish of Torteval formed a part. The fief remained in the Cannelly family until 1270 when Henri le Cannelly died without a male heir, and the fief was divided between his two daughters, Guilemete and Avice. At this date the Channel Islands had been finally severed from the Duchy of Normandy, but had not been assimilated into the kingdom of England; they remained an isolated unit, and came to live within themselves with the result that large landowners in the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey tended to arrange marriages so as to extend their holdings in the neighbouring Island. Guilemete le Cannelly had married Henri de Saint Martin, the Seigneur of the Fief de la Trinité in Jersey, while her sister, Avice, had married Thomas de Vicq of Guernsey. The section of the fief which passed to Avice de Vicq became known as the Fief Robert de Vicq; Robert de Vicq was probably her nephew, who inherited the fief as she died childless before 1315. Robert de Vicq sold his fief to the de Cheney family, who had previously purchased the Fief Le Comte (see above). The Fief Le Comte had been held by Robert de Ver (vide Extente of 1248), and as a result of the confusion of names the de Vicq fief of the former Cannelly fief is today known as the Fief Robert de Verre, but its correct name is the Fief Robert de Vicq.

In the first half of the 14th century the development of St. Peter Port as a trading centre attracted to the Island a number of Gascon merchants, who bought the fishing rights and "farmed" the customs, and some of these families, notably the families of De Garis, Bernard and Du Gaillard, settled permanently in the Island. With their



money-wealth they soon established themselves as local landowners either by the purchase of fiefs or by marriage with local heiresses, and about 1350 Jean Bernard married Alienor de Saint Martin, who had inherited the Saint Martin portion of the original Cannely Fief, with the result that a section of the Saint Martin portion acquired the name of the Fief Janin Besnard. These Gascon families, who were "foreigners" to the Island, naturally tended to remain closely linked between themselves by intermarriage, and two generations later, about 1420, the granddaughter of Jean Bernard married Jean du Gaillard, and so, by a further sub-division of the Saint Martin fief, the Fief Jean du Gaillard (today spelt Jean du Galliard) came into being. Meanwhile other smaller units were created, the Fief Thomas Blondel and the Fief Guillot Justice, probably as a result of marriage settlements. Jutize was a Jersey family with landholdings in the Parish of St. Clement, while Blondel was a prominent Guernsey family. These five units, the Fief Robert de Verre (alias de Vicq), the Fief Janin Besnard, the Fief Jean du Galliard, the Fief Thomas Blondel, the Fief Guillot Justice, together with the Fief Canteraine (the Water-Mill), the Bouvée Duquemin and La Cour Ricart, comprise the former Cannely fief, which also held rights on Salt-pans (Les Salines) on Rocquaine Bay.

If all these existing sub-fiefs are recombined, a relatively compact unit is created (see Map 5). But when the details of the fief boundaries are examined, it is at once seen that, although a large area of the fief is within the present parish boundaries of Torteval, some land lies within the limits of St. Peter-in-the-Wood, and a very large area, mostly in the Fief Jean du Galliard, is in the Parish of St. Saviour, two Parishes which were included in the Fief du Bessin (Map 3).

A similar state of affairs is seen in the case of the Fief Beuval. This fief was originally held by the family De l'Espece, and the fief was so called at least until the 14th century, as is shown by the Extente of 1331 (p. 80); this family was associated with the Cotentin, and held land near Gorges; the Gorges family itself held land in the Parish of St. Martin, and both the De l'Espece and Gorges families held fiefs in Jersey. Thus the De l'Espece fief would have been a sub-fief of the Fief du Cotentin, but the whole of the present Fief Beuval is within the present limits of St. Peter-in-the-Wood, which Parish was part of the Fief du Bessin. The family of De l'Espece appears to have died out about 1270, and the fief passed into the hands of the de Cheny family before 1331.

The Fief of Quarante Quartiers, now known as the Fief de Pleinmont, which had originally been granted to the Abbot of Mont St. Michel about 1040 by the brother of the Vicomte Néel, later passed into the hands of the Le Boutillier family, and became known as the Fief de Beggeville (Becqueville), and was escheated to the Crown by Richard de Martinvaast in 1204, when he took the part of the Normans (Extente of 1274, p. 35), and was restored to the Abbey of Mont St. Michel. This fief is wholly in the detached portion of the present Parish of Torteval. The Fief Au Colleton (Coltons) of 120 vergées was held by the Cotentin family of that name, and is wholly within the present limits of Torteval Parish, but the fief now known as La Corvée ès Corbinets, a corruption of La Caruée ès Corbinets, which was held by the family of De Plaunkeys (Extente of 1274, p. 35) is wholly within the present limits of the Parish of St. Peter-in-the-Wood. De Plaunkeys refers to the family of St. Planchers, a French form of the name Saint Pancras, a town on the southern border of the Cotentin adjoining the Avranchin; the town and family were closely associated with the Abbey of Mont St. Michel, and the Guernsey fief, which was escheated by Thomas de St. Planchers in 1204, later passed to the Abbey of Mont St. Michel. All these three families were associated with the Cotentin, and their fiefs must have originally been within the limits of the Fief du Cotentin, although at the present time some of the land lies within the limits of St. Peter-in-the-Wood. The size of the fiefs, in two cases 1 caruée, and in the case of Coltons, half a caruée,

indicates an early date of grant. The Fief Huit Bouvées, not to be confused with the fief of the same name, which was part of the Fief St. Michel in St. Peter-in-the-Wood, is fragmented, and always adjoins the Fief du Cannely, except at one point, and probably marks the agricultural development of adjoining waste-land.

The obvious solution of these inconsistencies is that the present parish boundaries of Torteval and St. Peter-in-the-Wood do not correspond with those existing in the 11th and 12th centuries. If we accept the evidence of the fief boundaries, and place all the above-mentioned fiefs in the Parish of Torteval, we find that the parish boundary must have followed the valley below the Parish Church of St. Peter-in-the-Wood, and that the present detached part of Torteval Parish was linked with the main block of the Parish, which was also joined with the Forest Parish. The present boundary line must date from the 13th century when the clearing of the wooded southern part of St. Peter-in-the-Wood increased its agricultural importance, and consequently the revenue which would accrue from the tithes on that land. The parish boundary determined the destination of the tithes in the land; the Parish Church of St. Peter-in-the-Wood and its revenue belonged to the Abbot of Mont St. Michel, whereas the Parish Church of Torteval and its revenue had been granted to the Abbot of Marmoutier. The Prior of St. Michel was resident in the Island, but the Abbot of Marmoutier had no permanent representative in the Island. The Abbot of Marmoutier surrendered the tithes of St. Martin to the Abbot of Blanchelande in the middle of the 13th century (see above), and about the same period the Parish of St. Peter-in-the-Wood seems to have absorbed large tracts of the former waste land on the vaguely defined boundaries of the former Torteval Parish, and thus the present parish boundaries came into existence.

This process would have been assisted by the transference of the ownership of some of the fiefs to the Seigneur of the Fief Le Comte, which was essentially a Bessin fief, and so the area held by the Fief De l'Espesse (Beuval), and the Fief Robert de Verre (alias de Vicq) would tend to be regarded as part of the Parish of St. Peter-in-the-Wood. The absorption of the escheated Fief de St. Planchers (La Corvée ès Corbinets) by the Abbot of Mont St. Michel effectively cut off the Parish of Torteval from the rest of the Cotentin Fief, and the present parish boundary virtually made Torteval into a western parish, an area which was the preserve of Mont St. Michel and the de Cheny family. This explanation would account for the existence of a small tract of the Fief St. Michel, which lies in the detached portion of Torteval alongside the Fief de Pleinmont.

But this explanation leaves unexplained the existence of a large portion of the Fief Jean du Galliard in the Parish of St. Saviour (marked D on Map 3). As has already been mentioned, Jean du Galliard did not become associated with the Cannely Fief until the early part of the 15th century when the original fief had already been much reduced by sub-division, and yet the present extent of the Fief Jean du Galliard amounts to 472 vergées, whereas the next largest sub-division of the Fief Cannely, the Fief Thomas Blondel, is no larger than 158 vergées. This difference in size suggests that the St. Saviour's section of the Fief Jean du Galliard was a quite separate fief held by Jean du Gaillard, with which his share of the Cannely Fief, received as a result of his marriage with the heiress of Jean Bernard, was combined. If we assume that his share of the Cannely Fief was about 160 vergées, a balance of some 300 vergées is left to constitute the St. Saviour's Fief. It has already been mentioned above that the Royal Commissioners of 1597 were at a loss to account for some 300 vergées of the Fief Lihou and the Fief St. Michel. As is the case with the Saumarez Fief in the Câtel, which the Commissioners hinted might have been derived from the former St. Michel Fief, the Fief Jean du Galliard in St. Saviour's is adjacent on three sides to the Fief St. Michel and the Fief Lihou. Documents of the early 15th century detailed in Miss Carey's *Essays on Guernsey*

History, pp. 31-32, show that Jean du Gaillard was involved at that period in lengthy legal proceedings concerning the tithes in the Parish of St. Martin belonging to the expropriated Abbey of Blanchelande, and that he was intimately associated with the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Warwick, who were Governors of the Island at that period, and that he himself was a Jurat from 1448-1463. (There is some doubt whether these documents refer to one and the same Jean du Gaillard, or to a father and son of the same name at this period). This combination of circumstances would have enabled the Du Gaillard family to arrange for the transfer of some of the expropriated Alien Priory land into private hands without great difficulty. The Du Gaillard family held the fief for only three generations, and in the early 16th century the fief passed to the Crown for lack of an heir within the necessary seven degrees of kinship. As the Royal Commissioners of 1597 would very naturally not have expected to find the missing Lihou Fief in the Crown's own holdings, they were unable to solve the riddle of the missing 300 vergées in 1597.

### V — Conclusion

In the foregoing sections an attempt has been made to trace from the evidence of surviving charters and livres de perchage the historical origins of the chief fiefs in the Island. Many points of detail are still obscure, such as the evolution of the numerous small sub-fiefs, of which a full list is given in Appendix I. These small sub-fiefs were probably merely personal holdings of a tenant, who was dignified by the Seigneur of the parent fief with the honour of a sub-fief. These sub-fiefs are mostly on the Fief Le Comte in the western half of the Island, where the agricultural development was more intense than in the eastern half, which from the 13th century onwards became more and more concerned with the commercial development of St. Peter Port.

A review of the material collected in this survey suggests that the evolution of the fief system in the Island may be divided into three main phases. The first phase, beginning with the first grant of fiefs about 1020, is characterised by the grant of sub-fiefs, usually in units of 1 carucate (12 bouvées) or in a multiple or fraction of 1 carucate, to Norman knights. These Norman knights probably never visited the Island, and after the Norman Conquest of England in 1066, in which the knights of the Cotentin played a prominent part, they were more interested in their new English holdings than in their relatively minute holdings in Guernsey. The knights of the Cotentin received many manors in the West Country, where the families of Gorges, Fortscue, and Colleton, among others, became prominent landowners. These knightly holdings together with the ecclesiastical grants by Duke William in the area of the Fief du Cotentin, were all distributed before the end of the reign of Duke William in 1087.

The second phase was ushered in by the outbreak of the Civil War between Geoffrey of Anjou and Stephen in 1135, and was later marked by the extension of enfeoffed land to include areas which had previously been regarded as waste. This process began about 1150, and is notable for the emergence of fief-holders who were resident in the Island. Such families as de Vaugrat, Mauxconvenant, Burnel (Bruniaux) are shown by the Extente of 1248 to be all resident in the Island. The third phase began in 1204, when the breach between the Channel Islands and Normandy yielded numerous escheats to the Crown as a result of the Seigneurs electing to give their loyalty to the French King in order to retain their Norman holdings at the cost of losing their possessions in the Island. Many of these escheats remained in the hands of the Crown, but in some cases the land passed into the possession of Island families, e.g. the Revel family obtained a large portion of the escheated Suart Fief, and several fiefs in the Parish of St. Martin passed to the

families, whose names they now bear, while the Fief St. Michel was augmented by the acquisition of the Fief de Pleimont and La Corvée (Caruée) ès Corbinets.

By this date the distinction between the Fief du Bessin and the Fief du Cotentin had lost all meaning as a result of the effective unification of the Duchy of Normandy under the central authority of the Duke, and the De Cheny family were by 1300 owners of fiefs in all parts of the Island. Another feature of this period is that fiefs were losing their feudal significance, and were becoming merely a form of land-owning, with the result that fiefs no longer bear the name of the Seigneur, but are named after the locality where the land is situated, e.g. the Fief De l'Espesse becomes the Fief Beuval. A geographical name for a fief rather than a personal name is a sure indication of a later date than the 12th century.

The Extente of 1248 shows that the distribution of fiefs at that date corresponded very closely with the present pattern. The only major difference since that date was caused by the expropriation of the lands held by the Alien Priors in the reign of Henry V in 1414; this action brought all the ecclesiastical fiefs into the control of the Crown. In some cases such as the Saumarez Fief in the Câtel and the Du Galliard Fief in St. Saviour's some of the land was diverted into private hands, but for the most part the land has remained in the hands of the Crown until the present day, the only important exception being the sale of the Fief de Blanchelande to Nicholas Carey in the reign of Elizabeth I.

Historically, the establishment of the Fief system in the Island during the 11th century, and its persistence with very little modification down to the present time, have undoubtedly contributed enormously to the stability and relative rigidity of the Island's economic life during the past nine centuries. The original purpose of the Fief system was to decentralise responsibility for law and order and for the collection of revenue, from the central authority of the Duke into the hands of his immediate knightly inferiors; the tenants on the fief in return for their payment of dues in kind, and for their obedience to the authority of the fief Courts and their officers, received from the Seigneur security for their holdings, recorded in the livres de perchage and support in their legal difficulties. The introduction of the Fief system into the Island brought peace and security from the piratical raids, which during the two previous centuries must have greatly damaged the social structure and agricultural efficiency of the earlier parish system, which clearly existed in the Island before the introduction of Christianity into the Island during the 6th century, had in turn been imposed on the previously existing pattern of agriculture, which had been developed by the megalith builders, who had probably first introduced agriculture to the Island as early as 3,000 B.C. Mention has already been made of the light which may be thrown on the siting of megaliths by a study of the exact localities of the early arable areas as revealed by a mapping of the earliest grants of sub-fiefs, which would certainly be located on agriculturally valuable land.

The extension of the fief system to include previously waste land during the 12th century must have greatly facilitated the expansion of agriculture in the Island during this period. But the change-over from the absentee Norman Seigneurs to resident Island Seigneurs, which began in this period and continued into the 13th century, greatly weakened the usefulness of the fief system from the point of view of the tenants. The resident Seigneurs became far more concerned with exacting their dues than with performing their responsibilities, which by this date had been largely taken over by the Royal Court, and by the 14th century the fief system became merely a form of land-owning with numerous perquisites and no duties apart from the formal attendance at the Court of Chief Pleas. The persistence of this system into the 20th century is a remarkable comment on the stability and conservatism of the Island economy.

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APPENDIX I

Schedule of Fiefs by Parishes

VALE

CLOS DU VALLE

	Vergées	Perches
Fief de l'Abbé du Mont Saint Michel ..... VINGTAINE DE L'ÉPINE	1200	
Fief de l'Abbé du Mont Saint Michel ..... (called Le Fief de Nermont)	230	
Fief du Prieur de Lihou: Les Terres des Landes du Marché ...	9	
Fief de Bournel, alias Fief des Bruniaux de Noirmont (Nermont) ...	28	
Fief au Sotuard (Sottevast) (also in Câtel) .....	97	
Fief au Legat (now lost) .....	160	
Fief de Rozel avec les autres Fiefs dependants du Fief Le Comte:		
Fief de Rozel .....	275	
Fief d'Amelaine .....	3	12
Fief des Arguilliers ou Arguilleurs .....	41½	
Fief du Camp des Haies .....	7	6
Fief de Dame Allinor .....	5½	
Fief au Carpentier, autrement le Fief de Jean de Nermont ...	4	8 (in 1611)
Fief du Quartier des Goubais .....	6	30 (in 1960)
Fief du Quartier de Camp Roux, autrement la Vingt- unième Boisselée du Quartier du Camp Rouf .....	20	37F/12P
Fief de Richard de la Folie, autrement le Fief du Camp de la Folie ...	14	
Fief de Richard de Nermont .....	6	16 (in 1611)
Fief de Robert Gosselin .....	5	8 (in 1960)
Fief de la Vingt-unième Boisselée .....	9	30
La Prise des Mielles .....	2½	
Le Boissel du Clos Drouin .....	54	
	21½	
	no land measurement	

ST. SAMPSON'S

	Vergées	Perches
Fief d'Anneville (includes 33 v. of Manoir d'Anneville)	365	
Dependencies:		
Fief de Fauville .....	268	
Fief de la Croûte Bouilleuse .....	22½	
Fief des Philippes (Pierre Philippe) 5 Bouvées plus Marette of 7 vergées .....	114	
Fief de Henri de Vaugrat (Vauguerard) .....	7	
Fief des Bruniaux (St. Sampson's), Extente of 1331 shows 7 Bouvées held by Rauf Burnel .....	107	
Fief de la Fantôme — possibly land held by Jean Robert as stated in Extente of 1331. No land now but owes homage	140	
Fief Le Roi .....	1099	
Franc Fief au Gallicien .....	230½	
Franc Fief de la Rosière — 5½ Bouvées now lost .....	110	

## ST. PETER PORT

	Vergées	Perches
Fief Le Roi .....	3301½	
Fief de Rozel (St. Peter Port) .....	288	30F/12P
Franc Fief de St. Martin (holds land in St. Martin's and St. Peter Port, but no livre de perchage) .....		

## FOREST

Fief Le Roi .....	approx. 1850
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## ST. MARTIN'S

Fiefs of Lemminge, Fortescue, Baard, Gorges, La Veilleresse forfeited in 1204.		
Fief Le Roi .....	over 2000	
Fief de Sausmarez .....	379	
Fief de la Velleresse:		
Le Côte de la Fallaize .....	47	29
Le Côte de Fermain .....	72	37
Fief de Levin (Fief de Levy) .....	50	
Fief de Haillart (Hailla) .....	60	
Fief de Beauvoir (fragmented) .....	63	
Fief de Massy Gros .....	43	
Fief au Marchant .....	54	
Fief des Bruniaux (de St. Martin) .....	142	23
Fief de Blanchelande (Martinvaast Priory) — composite fief of escheats to the Abbé de Blanchelande containing:		
9 Bouvées of Fief au Mauvoisin,		
Fief de Rougier le Villain,		
La Bouvée de Giffrey de Becqueville,		
Fief de Richard des Camps,		
Fief de Henri de Castel,		
Fief de Capis,		
Fief de Durant,		
Fief Avallet,		
Fief Lesant, etc.	Total area .....	587
Fief des Fortés — compact at Saints .....		32
Franc Fief de Saint Martin (land in St. Martin's and St. Peter Port — no livre de perchage).		

## ST. ANDREW

Fief Le Roi .....	997½	
Fief de la Haule .....	58½	
Fief de l'Abbesse de la Trinité, Caen .....	154½	
Fief de l'Evêque de Coutances .....	205	
Fief des Mauxmarquis (Malmarchy) .....	280	
Fief des Rohais .....	200	
Fief de la Rue Frairie (Refrefrie)		
(Abbé de la Croix St. Leufroy) .....	399	27
Fief de Ste. Hélène (Priory of Abbey of Cormery, Tours) .....	225½	
Fief des Eperons (Fief des Burons including Fief Au Fay) .....	110	

	Vergées	Perches
Vingt Bouvées du Villain Fief Le Comte .....	450	
Dependencies:		
Fief des Besognes .....	36	36
Fief de la Bellengère .....	36½	
Fief de la Cannevière .....	24	
Fief ès Cherfs .....	65½	
Fief ès Cobois .....	18	18
Fief des Corvées .....	12	
Fief à l'Ecachier .....	14	
Fief des Effards .....	12	
Fief des Feuvres .....	9	
Fief des Forgiers (Frohiers) .....	26	
Fief des Grangiers .....	9½	
Fief de la Landelle .....	4	
Fief des Moulinets .....	9½	
Fief des Queues .....	3	
Fief au Saunier .....	3	
Bordage Beaucamp .....	6	
Forfaiture du Moulin-à-vent .....	3	
Fief au Breton .....	2	
Bordage Allez .....	24	
Chef Bordage .....	24½	
Bordage de Pierre Belle .....	28½	
Onze Bouvées Nord Est du Fief Le Comte .....	7	
Fief des Videclins owes Vavasseur to court of Fief Le Comte .....	225	
Fief de Carteret .....	199	
Dependencies:	320	
Fief de Bertram .....	21	
Fief du Colin (Cohu) .....	4	
Fief de Covin .....	4½	
Fief à l'Ecachier .....	5	
Fief des Hasios .....	34	
Fief ès Pellais .....	13	
Fief ès Prestres .....	13½	
Fief ès Riollais .....	10½	
Fief des Rompeurs .....	17	
Fief au Coq (au Cocq) .....	28½	
Fief de la Court — owes vavasseur to court of Fief Le Comte .....	195	
Fief des Grantés (family Grente) — owes vavasseur to court of Fief Le Comte .....	193	
Fief du Groignet — owes vavasseur to court of Fief Le Comte .....	350	
Fief de Lucas Arnault .....	39½	
Fief de Dom Jean Le Moigne, alias Prêtre du Câtel .....	32½	
Fief de la Chapelle de Saint Georges .....	53	
Fief de l'Abbé du Mont Saint Michel .....	1677	22½
Fief au Chevalier .....	5	12
Fief du Naunage .....	124	
Fief de la Rivière (small part in St. Saviour's) .....	82½	
Fief de Saumarez .....	417	
Fief au Sotuard (also in Vingtaine de l'Epine) .....	97	
Fief de Herne (Hervé) .....	12	
Fief au Rouger .....	11½	
Fief de la Bouvée du Groïn (Dependency of Fief de Suart)	20½	



ST. SAVIOUR'S		Vergées	Perches
Former Fief au Cannely:			
Fief de Jean du Galliard (also in St. Peter-in-the-Wood and Torteval) .....		472	30
Fief de Canteraine (also in St. Peter-in-the-Wood) ...		81	
Onze Bouvées du Fief Le Comte (also in St. Peter-in-the-Wood and Câtel) .....		225	
Fief du Clercq de l'Erée (scattered in St. Peter-in-the-Wood and St. Saviour's) .....		21	
Fief de Beguepès (mostly in St. Peter-in-the-Wood) .....		23½	
Fief au Gouie .....		30	37
Fief de la Boisselée de Henri de Variouf and Fief au Huchon .....		18½	
Fief du Domaine de Dom Hue .....		70	
Fief des Fouqués (Les Cinq Bouvées des Fouques du Fief Le Comte) .....		250	
Fief de Longue .....		322	
Les Petits Fiefs de Longues:			
Fief des Mauconvenants .....		40	
Fief d'Hillaire .....		40	
Fief des Trois Vattiaux .....		41	
Fief des Reveaux (also in St. Peter-in-the-Wood) .....		244½	
Fief de Suart (also in St. Peter-in-the-Wood) .....		241	
Fief de Gohiers .....		46	
Fief de la Bouvée Marquand .....		21½	
Fief de Dieu le Voye .....		32½	
Fief au Roux .....		21½	
Fief de l'Abbé du Mont Saint Michel .....		1253	24
Fief des Dix Quartiers Blondel .....		80	
Fief des Gervaises .....		207	
Bordage de Jourdain David .....		5	

## ST. PETER-IN-THE-WOOD

Former Fief au Cannely:			
Fief de Jean du Galliard (also in St. Saviour's and Torteval) .....		472	30
Fief de Canteraine (also in St. Saviour's) .....		81	
Fief de la Bouvée Duquemin (also in Torteval) .....		23	
Fief de la Cour Ricart (2 acres) .....		9	4
Fief de Robert de Verre, alias de Vicq (also in Torteval) .....		120½	
Fief de Thomas Blondel (also in Torteval) .....		158	
Fief de Janin Besnard (also in Torteval) .....		92	
Les Salines .....		20	
Fief de Beguepès (small part in St. Saviour's) .....		23½	
Fief au Crochon .....		29½	
Fief au Mière .....		31	
Fief du Clercq de l'Erée (also in St. Saviour's) .....		21	
Bordage de l'Erée .....		4	10
Bordage Nord Est compact .....		no land measurement	
Fief de Suart (also in St. Saviour's) .....		241	
Fief des Reveaux (also in St. Saviour's) .....		244½	
Fief de Beuval			
15 Bouvées Villaines .....		714	
15 Bouvées Franches .....			

	Vergées	Perches
Fief de l'Abbé Mont Saint Michel .....	600	
Fief de la Couture .....	60	
Fief des Huit Bouvées .....	160	
Fief de la Corvée ès Corbinets .....	240	
Fief du Prieur de Lihou (also in St. Saviour's) .....	214	
Fief des Trois Bouvées de l'Érée .....	61	
Bouvée et demie des Cambiés (also in Torteval) .....	31	
Neuf Clos de la Roque Poisson .....	12½	
Fief de la Pomare .....	108	

TORTEVAL

Former Fief au Cannely:

Fief de Jean du Galliard (also in St. Saviour's and St. Peter-in-the-Wood) .....	472	30
Dependencies:		
Les Treize Vergées d'Allebec .....	13	
Fief à Eperon .....	7	
Fief de Janin Besnard (also in St. Peter-in-the-Wood) .....	92	
Fief de la Bouvée Duquemin (also in St. Peter-in-the-Wood) .....	23	
Fief de Guillot Justice .....	49	
Fief de Robert de Verre, alias de Vicq (also in St. Peter-in-the-Wood) .....	120½	
Fief de Thomas Blondel (also in St. Peter-in-the-Wood) .....	158	
Le Clos au Colombier .....	10	
Fief des Huit Bouvées .....	160	
with Pasturage on Cliffs .....	16	
Fief des Coltons .....	120	
Fief de l'Abbé du Mont Saint Michel (includes Vavasseur Piquemie de Saint Michel) .....	240	
Dependencies:		
Fief du Vavasseur .....	29	
Fief du Pleinmont appelé Les Quarante Quartiers .....	320	
Fief du Prieur de Lihou Bouvée et demie des Cambiés (also in St. Peter-in-the-Wood) .....	31	

PARISH	Area in Vergées	Land Enfeoffed Vergées	Percentage Enfeoffed
ST. SAMPSON	3687	2463	67.3
VALE	5462	2189	47.3
ST. PETER PORT	4074	3589½	88.8
ST. MARTIN	4480	3531	78.8
ST. ANDREW	2751	2630	95.5
FOREST	2508	1850	73.8
CATEL	6224	5117½	82.2
ST. SAVIOUR	3892		
ST. PETER-IN-THE-WOOD	3817		
TORTEVAL	1900		
		7225	76.4

NOTES: VALE percentage calculated after subtracting 814 vergées from total area to allow for reclamation of Brayé du Valle.  
 Last three parishes in list have been regarded as one unit as fiefs overlap into these three parishes.  
 Land not enfeoffed is Common, as at L'Ancrese, or cliff areas or coast and shore areas.

## APPENDIX II

## Dates of Livres de Perchage

(Small variations are found between the date of compilation and the date of publication)

ANNEVILLE and Foville	1594, 1663, 1683, 1745, 1801, 1829, 1855, 1878, 1898, 1918, 1938.
BEAUVOIR	1635, 1641, 1669, 1702, 1760, 1815, —, 1890, 1917.
BEGUEPES	1549, —, 1650, 1659, 1707, 1728, 1797, 1834, 1853, 1874, 1894, 1914, 1949,
BEUVAL	1552, 1615, 1661, 1700, 1729, 1761, 1829, 1861, 1881, 1910, 1938,
BLANCHELANDE	1488, 1580, 1630, 1666, 1725, 1781, 1811, 1826, 1844, 1867, 1891, 1911, 1932, 1956.
BOURNEL (Bruniaux)	1470, 1583, 1611, 1632, 1675, 1801, 1868, 1889, 1932.
BOUVEE DUQUEMIN	—, 1727, —, 1886, 1914, 1947.
BRUNIAUX (St. Martin)	—, 1685, —, 1769, 1788, 1808, 1820, 1860, 1880, 1902, 1923.
ABBESSE DE CAEN	1592, —, 1706, 1745, 1843, 1867, 1889, 1919, 1939.
CANTERAINNE (Quanteraine)	1551, 1634, 1672, 1702, 1822, 1893, 1933.
CARTERET	1554, 1584, 1603, 1638, 1662, 1734, —, 1878, 1898, 1922, 1951.
CHAPELLE DE ST. GEORGES	1551, 1614, 1627, 1683, 1820, 1903.
COLTONS	1576, 1705, 1807, 1850, 1896.
LE COMTE:	
ONZE BOUVEES NORD-EST	1535, 1581, 1611, 1634, —, 1707, 1729, 1797, 1834, 1853, 1873, 1894, 1914.
including Clerq de l'Erée	1707.
VINGT BOUVEES	1481, 15—, 1547, 1567, 1583, 1611, 1634, 1662, 1709, 1728, 1750, 1798, 1833, 1853,
(and Dependencies)	1873, 1894, 1914.
AU BRETON included	1555, 1614, 1662.
AU COQ	—, 1618, 1679, 1852, 1920, 1957.
CORVEE ES CORBINETS	—, 1685, 1754, 1791, 1841, 1872, 1897, 1917, 1940.
DE LA COURT	1553, —, 1602, 1654, 1707, 1750, 1800, 1834, 1853, 1874, 1894, 1914.
EVEQUE DE COUTANCES	1607, —, 1803, 1832, 1850, 1873, 1894, 1915, 1936.
DIX QUARTIERS BLONDEL	—, 1713, 1756, 1837, 1863, 1885, 1907, 1928.
DOM HUE	1903, 1934, 1957.
EPERONS	—, 1674, 1723, 1768, 1847, 1889, 1921, 1955.
FORTES	—, 1761, 1837, 1877, 1916.
FOUQUES	—, 1534, 1555, 1583, —, 1661, 1708, 1728, 1797, 1834, 1853, 1873, 1894, 1914.
GERVAISES	—, 1698, 1834, 1864, 1893, 1922, 1943.
GRANTES	1565, 1663, 1707, 1727, 1797, 1834, 1853, 1873, 1894, 1914, 1934, 1949.

GROIGNET	—, 1745, 1794, 1853, 1873, 1915.
GUILLOT JUSTICE	—, 1778, —, 1844, 1901, 1947.
HAILLART (Haillia)	1712, 1725, 1754, 1802, 1815, 1845, 1871, 1897, 1917, 1938.
HENRI DE VAUGRAT	1628, 1684, 1756, 1798, 1853, 1875, 1956.
HUIT BOUVEES (Torteval)	—, 1743, 1810, 1843, 1872, 1894, 1915, 1933.
JANIN BESNARD	—, 1839, 1860, 1893, 1922.
JEAN DU GALLIARD	1557, 1603, 1670, 1715, 1768, 1819, 1844, 1864, 1887, 1911, 1931, 1961.
LEVIN	—, 1725, 1777, 1814, 1839, 1862, 1883, 1907, 1927, 1949.
PRIEUR DE LIHOU et dependancies	1504, —, 1663, —, 1742, 1779, 1835, 1855, 1877, 1904, 1928.
LONGUE	1586, 1622, 1663, 1708, 1727, 1797, 1834, 1853, 1873, 1894, 1914, 1949.
MAUCONVENANTS	1597, 1727, 1797, 1834, 1853, 1873, 1894, 1914, 1949.
LUCAS ARNAULT	1554, 1621, 1658, 1775, 1894, 1957.
AU MARCHANT	—, 1735, —, 1809, 1819, 1842, 1872, 1893, 1922.
MASSY GROS	—, 1854, 1875, 1902.
MAUXMARQUIS	1618, —, 1775, 1822, 1900, 1933.
NAUNAGE	1699, 1753, 1837, 1862, 1884, 1907, 1929.
PHILIPPES	—, 1700, 1748, 1791, 1851, 1875, 1897, 1931, 1955.
PLEINMONT, Quarante Quartiers	—, 1685, 1755, 1770, 1791, 1820, 1844, 1869, 1890, 1912, 1932.
DE LA RIVIERE	15—, 1628, 1717, 1774, 1832, 1861, 1899.
ROBERT DE VERRE (alias DE VICQ)	—, 1626, 1682, —, 1839, 1860, 1893, 1922, 1957.
ROHAIS	—, 1684, 1721, 1804, 1871, 1892, 1932.
LE ROI:	
LA FORET	—, 1669, —, 1836, 1857, 1877, 1897, 1917, 1938, 1961.
ST. ANDRE	1609, —, 1701, —, 1791, 1824, 1846, 1867, 1889, 1910, 1939, 1953, 1589, 1669, 1845.
also DE LA HAULE	—, 1666, 1685, 1725, 1753, 1777, 1808, 1832, 1861, 1882, 1902, 1923, 1947.
ST. MARTIN	1732, 1839, 1862, 1883, 1907, 1926.
Equivalent pour le Champart	1573, 1616, 1640, 1663, 1686, 1706, 1732, 1753, 1781, 1814, 1837, 1793.
ST. PIERRE PORT	—, 1717, —, 1814, 1823, 1846, 1870, 1890, 1910, 1939.
ST. SAMPSON	—, 1701, 1728, 1752, 1780, 1803, 1831, 1861, 1882, 1913, 1935.
and Franc Fief Gallicien	—, 1582, 1611, 1660, 1690, 1710, 1728, 1749, 1798, 1835, 1853, 1873, 1894, 1914.
ROZEL (St. Pierre Port)	1616, —, 1742, 1787, 1843, 1867, 1889, 1909, 1930.
ROZEL (au Valle)	1585, 1632, 1724, 1746, —, 1873, 1894.
RUE FRAIRIE	
SAINTE HELENE	
ST. MICHEL	
CATEL including AU CHEVALIER	1585, 1624, 1672, 1718, 1754, 1770, 1795, 1807, 1833, 1853, 1873, 1894, 1916, 1938.

CLOS AU VALLE	—, 1646, 1718, 1740, 1758, 1795, 1809, 1857, 1876, 1899, 1922, 1952.
ST. PIERRE DU BOIS	—, 1617, 1695, 1718, 1754, 1770, 1796, 1808, 1834, 1854, 1875, 1896, 1918, 1938.
ST. SAUVEUR	1616, —, 1694, 1718, 1754, 1770, 1796, 1808, 1834, 1854, 1877, 1896, 1917, 1939.
TORTEVAL	1718, 1755, 1770, —, 1803, 1833, 1854, 1876, 1897, 1918, 1933.
VINGTAINE DE L'EPINE	—, 1700, 1754, 1807, 1838, 1862, 1885, 1907, 1927.
SAUMAREZ (au Câtel)	—, 1639, 1695, —, 1840, 1862, 1885.
SAUSMAREZ (St. Martin)	1587, 1624, 1641, 1658, 1676, 1710, 1724, 1749, 1779, 1832, 1869, 1890, 1913, 1934.
SOTUARD (Sotuas)	—, 1678, 1853, 1876, 1898, 1920, 1940.
SUART et dependancies	1550, —, 1695, 1722, 1768, 1800, 1827, 1852, 1875, 1898, 1920, 1942.
including des Gohiers	—, 1668, 1694, 1713.
including des Reveaux	1955.
THOMAS BLONDEL	1595, 1644, 1680, 1709, 1775, 1809, 1844, 1876, 1901, 1921.
VELLERESSE:	
Le Côte de la FALLAIZE	1667, 1685, 1726, 1777, 1814, 1839, 1862, 1883, 1907, 1927, 1949.
Le Côte de FERMAINS	1667, 1685, 1726, 1777, 1814, 1839, 1862, 1883, 1907, 1927, 1949.
VIDECLINS	—, 1745, —, 1853, 1898, 1924.

Fiefs dans partie de la Paroisse de Saint Martin: 1630.

(Copies of Livres included in the above list, which may well not be complete, will be gratefully received at the Guille-Allès and Priaux Libraries, whose collections of Livres de Perchange are very incomplete).

### APPENDIX III

#### Meeting-places of Fief Courts

S. Michel	— Vale Church or Câtel Churchyard.
Lihou	— Les Adams, St. Peter-in-the-Wood.
Le Comte	— Courthouse near Chapel of St. George.
Groignet	— Old Manor House near King's Mills.
Longue	— Le Haut, St. Saviour's.
Suart	— Le Long Frie, St. Peter-in-the-Wood.
Reveaux	— High Road, near L'Islet.
Gohiers	— Le Champ de l'Eglise, St. Saviour's.
Du Galliard	— Lane to south of Cemetery, St. Saviour's.
Beuval	— Parish School, Les Sages.
Coltons	— Farm at Le Grais.
Corvée ès Corbinets	— Yard of Farm at Le Pont, S.P.W.
Anneville	— Barn of Manor House, Anneville.
Sausmarez	— Court House of Sausmarez Manor.
Bruniaux	— Croix Bertrand.
Massy Gros	— Opposite entrance to Sausmarez Manor.
Au Marchant	— La Fosse — end of Les Camps Road.
Franc Fief de St. Martin	— near Town Church, le Pont Orson (or Archon).