

# TOWN AND COUNTRYSIDE IN MEDIEVAL IVINGHOE

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*This paper discusses the growing commercialization of the bishop of Winchester's manor of Ivinghoe in the 13th and 14th centuries. The village's location at a crossroads and on the frontier between hill and vale made it a convenient stopping-place for traders, and a tavern and forge were established to meet visitors' demands. Shops and workshops were built near the churchyard on characteristically urban-shaped long and narrow plots, some of which were sub-leased by the manor's tenants to newcomers. Eventually, in 1318, the bishop received royal approval for the market and invested in its infrastructure, and the small town prospered throughout the later Middle Ages and beyond.*

## INTRODUCTION

In the Middle Ages, Ivinghoe was one of three Buckinghamshire manors belonging to the bishops of Winchester. Three distinctive characteristics make it worthy of separate study. First, the manor's sub-tenants are recorded in unusual detail. In general, sub-letting is not recorded consistently on the Winchester estate, but in the late 13th century a large number of leasing agreements were registered in the manor court of Ivinghoe. Secondly, Ivinghoe was one of several manors on which the bishop levied a toll on taverns or inns. The levy, which was paid from the 1230s to the 1340s, fluctuated from year to year, perhaps reflecting changes in the level of trade. Thirdly, a market was formally established at Ivinghoe in the early 14th century, a relatively late date for successful urban foundations. Located at the frontier of hill and vale, however, the village had almost certainly functioned as a meeting-place for traders long before Edward II's charter. These themes are investigated below and comparisons drawn with other manors on the Winchester estate. But first it is necessary to introduce Ivinghoe itself in more detail.

## IVINGHOE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The medieval parish of Ivinghoe stretched for around 5 miles (8 km) across the diverse landscapes of east Buckinghamshire, from the claylands of the Vale of Aylesbury in the north-west to the woods of the Chiltern Hills in the south-east

(Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> Its elongated shape encompassed a variety of agricultural resources, and was almost certainly the result of conscious planning in the late Saxon period. Settlement is scattered, comprising isolated farmsteads and widely spaced hamlets, together with several moated sites in the clay vale on the Chilterns' northern scarp.<sup>2</sup> The village occupies a central position on the southern side of the parish, close to where part of the Icknield Way from Tring (Herts.) to Dunstable (Beds.) meets the road running south-eastwards from Leighton Buzzard (Beds.).<sup>3</sup> The hamlets of Ivinghoe Aston, Horton, and Seabrook lie on the lower ground to the north and west of the village (Figure 2); all three were represented by tithingmen at Ivinghoe's manor courts. Settlement also extended into the higher wooded ground to the south-east, including Ward's Hurst and Duncombe, while a detached part of the parish lay at Nettleden near Berkhamsted and Hemel Hempstead (both Herts.), around 6 miles (9.5 km) south-east of Ivinghoe village.<sup>4</sup>

The manor of Ivinghoe was granted to the bishops of Winchester before the Norman Conquest. Although a large manor, assessed in 1086 at 20 hides and valued at £18, it was only one of several estates in the parish.<sup>5</sup> The varied landscape of the bishop's manor encouraged the mixed farming typical of the region.<sup>6</sup> In the early 14th century, the main crops were wheat, oats, and barley, much of which was sold, contributing more than two-fifths of the manor's income in 1301–2.<sup>7</sup> Further quantities of grain and malt were collected at the bishop's windmill.<sup>8</sup> Cows and sheep

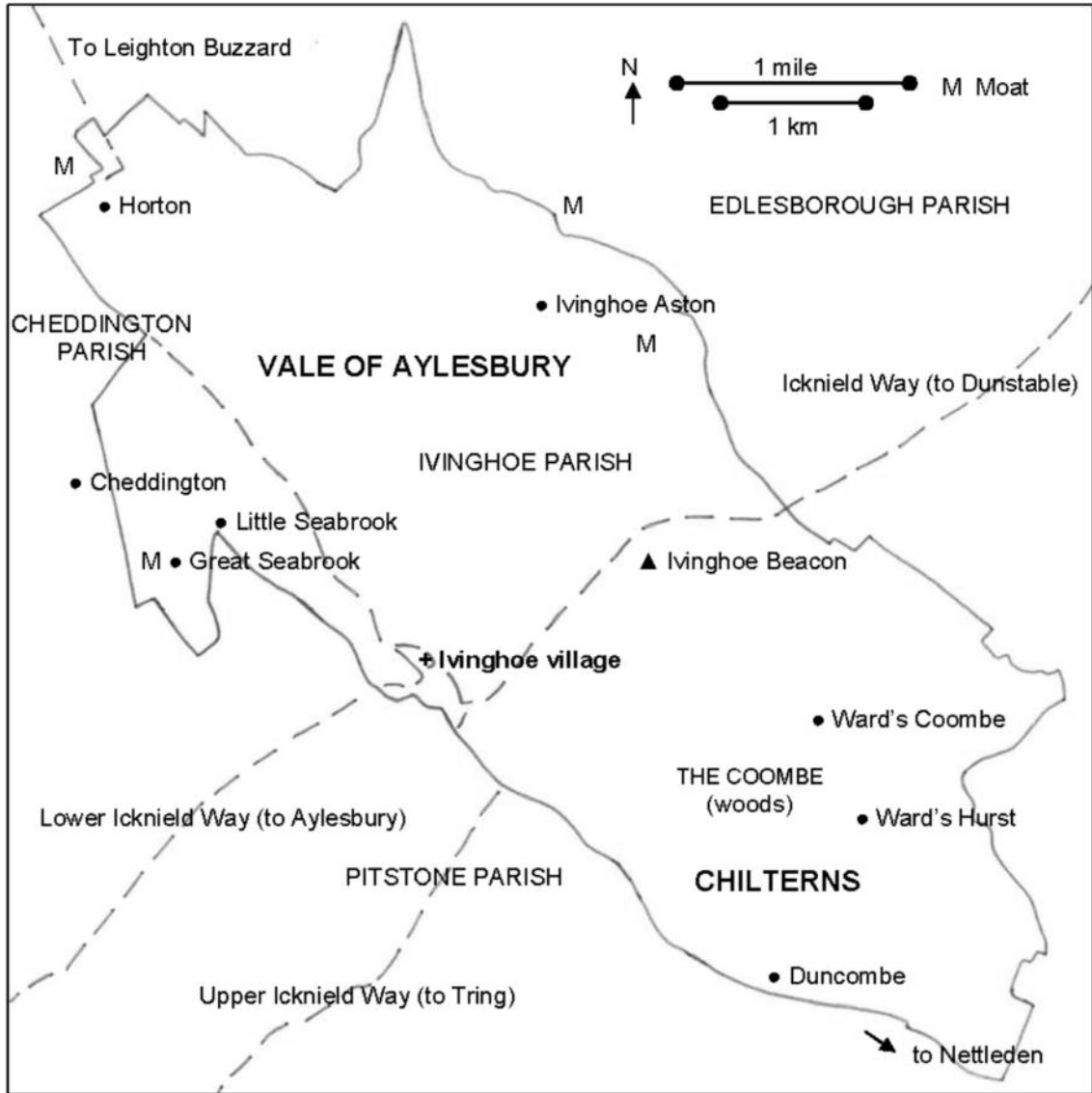


Figure 1 Ivinghoe parish and surrounding area (showing places named in the text)

produced milk to make cheese and butter, and also hides, skins, and wool. A meadow called Inmede, which presumably lay along the Whistle Brook, a tributary of the Ouzel, provided hay for the animals' winter fodder. A forester was employed to manage the bishop's woods at Coombe and Charlwood, which produced fuel and provided pannage

for the manor's pigs.<sup>9</sup> Although a long way from Winchester, the manor was a valuable asset and an integral part of the estate, not leased until 1430.<sup>10</sup> In 1409–10 a new hall and chamber were built to accommodate visiting estate officials, while malt for the bishop's household was delivered to Esher (Surrey), 40 miles (64 km) to the south.<sup>11</sup>



Figure 2 In the shadow of the Chilterns: Ivinghoe Beacon on the northern edge of the Chiltern Hills, site of an early Iron-Age hillfort, and since 1926 part of the National Trust's Ashridge Estate, photographed from the hamlet of Ivinghoe Aston in the clay vale, where the remains of a medieval moat still survive

#### TENANTS AND SUB-TENANTS

Ivinghoe's customary tenants, like those of other Winchester manors, owed carrying services as part of their rent.<sup>12</sup> In 1409–10, it was reported that six cottagers were bound to drive the bishop's pigs or carry his eggs, geese or hens for up to 30 miles; if they went further the bishop would pay their expenses. In the event that 'a thief should be taken and detained in prison', the tenants were required to keep him there – an indication of the perils facing travellers with valuable goods on late medieval roads.<sup>13</sup> These carrying services were intended to provide the bishop with a guaranteed and cost-effective way of transporting grain and other produce either to his household or to local or more distant markets, including London. However, from the 1220s, Ivinghoe's carrying services were usually 'sold' to the tenants, the malt sent back to Esher in 1409–10 was probably carried by hired carters, likely to offer a more reliable and efficient

service than unwilling tenants.<sup>14</sup>

Around 1278–9, a list of Ivinghoe's tenants was compiled, describing the size of their holdings and their location within the manor.<sup>15</sup> At Ivinghoe village 42 tenants are named, and there are a further 20 at Nettleden, 10 at Seabrook, 4 at Cheddington, 9 at Horton, 13 at Ivinghoe Aston, 4 at Whitway, and 27 at Ward's Hurst. An additional 6 cottagers and 6 ploughmen (without recorded locations) are also mentioned, making a total of 141 tenants. However, some tenants occupy more than one holding, and there are probably only 131 individuals (Table 1). Most of the tenants hold a yardland (around 24 acres) or half a yardland – in normal years probably sufficient land to feed a family and produce a small surplus for sale. At Ivinghoe village, however, holdings are more varied in size and include a number of smallholdings – a point discussed more fully below – while at Nettleden most tenants hold a few acres of assart or land cleared for cultivation from the woods.

TABLE 1 Number and size of tenant landholdings at Ivinghoe, 1278–9.

	<i>¼ yardland or less</i>	<i>over ¼ yardland up to and including ½ yardland</i>	<i>over ½ yardland and under 1 yardland</i>	<i>1 yardland or more</i>
Number of tenants	37	26	10	58
Percentage of tenants	28.3	19.8	7.6	44.3
	<i>10 acres or less</i>	<i>over 10 acres up to and including 20 acres</i>	<i>over 20 acres and under 40 acres</i>	<i>40 acres or more</i>
Number of tenants	49	25	52	5
Percentage of tenants	37.4	19.1	39.7	3.8

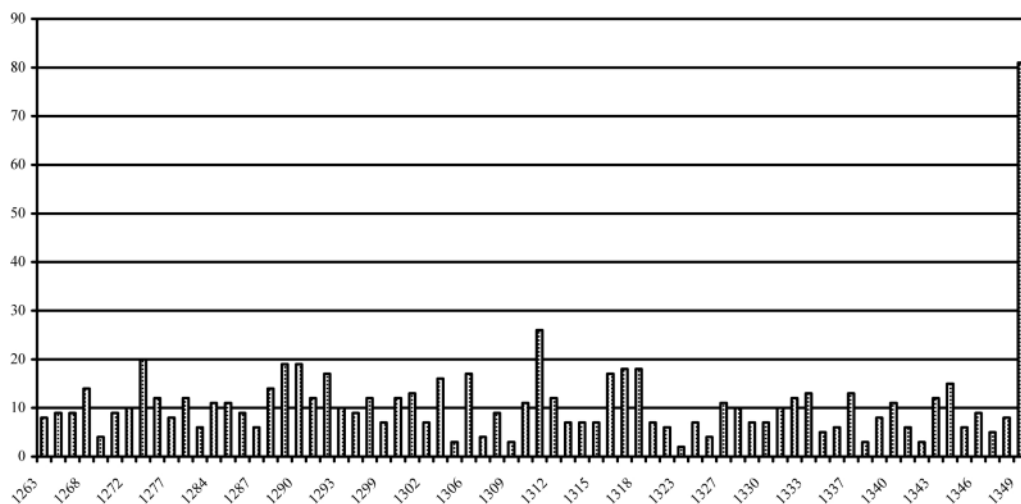
Source: British Library, Egerton MS 2418, ff. 3v.-4v., 53-4; J Z Titow, 'Land and Population on the Bishop of Winchester's Estates 1209-1350', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge (1962), 109.

The pattern of tenant landholdings at Ivinghoe is characteristic of many manors in southern England before the Black Death: most tenants held either a yardland or a smallholding of less than 10 acres. Although Ivinghoe's customary tenants were unfree villeins, they had the right to buy, sell, lease, give and inherit part or all of their holdings on condition that they registered the transfer in the manor court and paid an entry fine to the bishop. Between 1263 and 1349 a total of 771 entry fines were collected, details of which can be found in the surviving Winchester pipe rolls.<sup>16</sup> The number of entry fines was volatile and depended upon a variety of factors (Figure 3). Land transfers peaked in 1348–9, clearly the result of heavy mortality; 63 holdings were inherited and 7 passed outside the family following the death of the previous tenant. By contrast, a sharp rise in entry fines in 1310–11 was caused by the estate administration's (possibly the bishop's steward) decision to lease 15 separate plots of *purpresture* to tenants. A *purpresture* was an encroachment, often used for building, on demesne or common land, in this case at Coombe in the Chilterns between a group of existing houses and the bishop's wood. For example, John Gentilcors paid 2s. for a plot 8 perches long and 3-4 perches wide (at Ivinghoe a perch measured about 6 m or 20 ft).

Around 45 per cent of Ivinghoe's entry fines were paid for inheritance of a family holding (Table 2). In most years there were no more than 7 such

transfers, but occasionally there were more. In 1272–3, following a year of high prices, 13 holdings were inherited, perhaps as a result of epidemic or famine.<sup>17</sup> Ivinghoe appears to have escaped the worst effects of the dearth of the mid-1290s, but during the Great Famine mortality rose again, leading to the inheritance of 9 holdings in 1315–16 and 12 in 1316–17. Of the other types of transfer, the most common was between unrelated individuals (called here '*inter-vivos* transfers outside the family'), which amounted to more than a fifth of the total. Sometimes, an explanation of the transfer was included in the pipe roll. Quite frequently tenants wanted to exchange their holdings, presumably in order to consolidate their strips. This practice was widespread before the Black Death.<sup>18</sup> More occasionally a tenant gave up a holding as a result of poverty, as in 1338–9 when Lucy Whitway surrendered a yardland at Ivinghoe Aston. It seems to have been difficult to find a new tenant – perhaps the land was not in good heart. The community would have been fined if a gap appeared in the bishop's rent roll and Ivo Marchant was 'elected by the whole homage' to take up the holding.

The most distinctive feature of Ivinghoe's visible land market is the appearance of a number of sub-tenants in the pipe rolls. Too often, sub-letting is invisible to historians because short term inter-tenant leases did not require the lord's consent and thus were not registered in the manor court.<sup>19</sup> On



Source: Hampshire Record Office, 11M59/B1/29-101

Figure 3 Number of entry fines paid at Ivinghoe, 1263–1349

TABLE 2 Number of land transfers recorded at Ivinghoe, 1263–1349.

<i>Years</i>	<i>Inter-vivos transfers within the family</i>	<i>Post-mortem transfers within the family</i>	<i>Inter-vivos transfers outside the family</i>	<i>Post-mortem transfers outside the family</i>	<i>Transfers outside the family by marriage</i>	<i>Record of incoming tenant only*</i>	<i>Total</i>
1263–9	0	4	0	1	2	37	44
1271–8	5	31	13	10	5	7	71
1283–9	9	29	22	1	0	15	76
1290–9	11	31	27	0	3	14	86
1300–9	8	38	22	1	7	8	84
1310–19	8	57	39	4	6	16	130
1321–9	4	22	10	2	4	5	47
1330–9	8	32	25	1	2	9	77
1340–8	10	36	14	1	10	4	75
1349	0	63	3	7	8	0	81
1263–1349	63 (8.2%)	343 (44.5%)	175 (22.7%)	28 (3.6%)	47 (6.1%)	115 (14.9%)	771

Note: \* Either because of a lack of information about the outgoing tenant in the pipe rolls, or because the land was granted directly to the tenant by the lord.

Source: Hampshire Record Office, 11M59/B1/29-101.

the Winchester estate sub-letting was probably common, but was not consistently recorded.<sup>20</sup> At West Wycombe, another of the bishop's Buckinghamshire manors, only 23 sub-leases have been

found among 631 entry fines recorded before 1349. There can be little doubt that this figure seriously underestimates the number of leasing agreements actually made. Thus amerements paid by

West Wycombe tenants indicate the existence of leases for which no entry fine has been recorded. In 1282–3 the relict of Edward Dyer paid 12d. ‘to have her term of the land of Jordan Ellis’; in 1283–4 Roger Castle also paid 12d. ‘to have his part of the crop on the land of Ralph Roger without challenge’; in 1290–1 Ralph Robert was fined 3d. ‘because he let his land to a certain freeman without licence’; and in 1297–8 William Brook paid 6d. ‘to have his crop’. All four fines refer to leases of which we have no other knowledge. Furthermore, almost all the sub-leases recovered from West Wycombe involve substantial pieces of land, often a yardland or half a yardland, with very few measured in acres. Most, too, are for substantial periods of time, generally between 3 and 20 years, suggesting that the bishop was only interested in monitoring long-term, large-scale sub-leases.

Ivinghoe’s recorded sub-leases are also for long terms, though they tend to be of smaller pieces of land than at West Wycombe (Appendix 1). The most notable feature of the sub-leases of both manors, however, is their concentration in the 1280s and 1290s, probably the result of a deliberate policy of enrolment. Following the election of Bishop John of Pontoise in 1282, there is a marked increase in the details of land transfers recorded in the Winchester pipe rolls. Another (temporary) innovation is the regular inclusion of a full list of fines imposed by the manor court rather than a simple cash total for the ‘pleas and perquisites of all the courts this year’.<sup>21</sup> Several of the sub-leases for Ivinghoe and West Wycombe are recorded among the court perquisites rather than with the entry fines, which serves to highlight their untypical entry in the pipe rolls and helps to explain their sudden disappearance after 1300.

What then can be said about Ivinghoe’s sub-tenants in the late 13th century? Around three-fifths of those named in Appendix 1 appear to have little or no direct connection to the episcopal manor. They were most likely either landless labourers seeking to hold a small amount of land for a few years or tenants of neighbouring manors wishing to extend their holdings. One such may have been Juliana Mentmore who probably came from the village of Mentmore, 3½ miles north-west of Ivinghoe. The remaining two-fifths of sub-tenants are either members of established local families or newcomers who settled at Ivinghoe and

became the bishop’s tenants. An example of the latter is Robert Limmel who took a house and 4 acres in 1288–9 before paying the relatively high entry fine of 10s. for 3 acres purchased from Robert Chissenden in 1302–3. Roger Wycombe was even more ambitious, sub-leasing 2 acres in 1288–9 before acquiring half a yardland in 1299–1300. Other sub-tenants were probably younger sons of local families waiting to enter a customary tenement or to inherit the family holding. James Porcher, who sub-leased a small plot from his brother Ralph in 1288–9, inherited a yardland at Ward’s Hurst on his brother’s death in 1306–7. Prominent local families engaged in sub-leasing include the Baldwins, Claverleys, Faggs, Havescombes, Sewalls, and Wardhursts.

Bishop John of Pontoise’s successors did not demand the same attention to sub-leases, and references to them thus disappear from Ivinghoe’s accounts. Nevertheless, the practice undoubtedly continued, with occasional references to the practice in the pipe rolls, especially during the plague year of 1348–9. For example, when Juliana Godwin inherited her husband’s yardland in Ivinghoe Aston, it was reported that their son John held the tenement for life. Roger Alexander also held a yardland in Ivinghoe Aston for life; it had formerly belonged to John Alexander, but was quit-claimed after the Black Death by John’s uncle to William Duncombe. Finally, Cecilia Sewall, whose ancestors had been sub-tenants in the late 13th century, paid 12d. for a cottage of purpresture from Robert Hastings on condition that after her death the holding reverted wholly to Robert and his heirs. These few records demonstrate that Ivinghoe’s tenants continued to use sub-leases as a means of temporarily alienating property, either within or outside the family. But for a brief period in the 1280s and 1290s a change in recording practice on the Winchester estate allows a more detailed examination of sub-leasing, and reveals either that it was particularly prevalent at Ivinghoe or that manorial officials there were especially assiduous in seeking it out.

#### TOLL ON TAVERNS

The *King’s Head* public house occupies a prominent position in present day Ivinghoe village. It stands opposite to the church and on the corner of roads leading to Aylesbury, Dunstable, Leighton

Buzzard, and Tring (Figure 4). Evidence from the Winchester pipe rolls reveals a similar establishment in medieval Ivinghoe. In 1301–2 the bishop collected a toll on taverns or inns from five of his northernmost manors: Adderbury and Witney (Oxon.), Harwell (formerly Berks.), Ivinghoe, and West Wycombe.<sup>22</sup> The precise nature of the levy is unclear (it was sometimes described as a ‘toll on ale from taverns’), but presumably the bishop was entitled to a share of the profits of any public houses on those manors. In other places, too, commercial brewers paid tolls to the lord of the manor.<sup>23</sup> At Ivinghoe the toll is first mentioned in 1235–6, when 1s. 5d. was collected.<sup>24</sup> The amount due to the bishop was not fixed, suggesting that the toll fluctuated according to how much business the public house attracted and how much ale was sold. Thus for example receipts fell sharply during the famines of 1296–7 and 1315–16. Until the early

14th century, the sums collected at Ivinghoe did not exceed 3s. a year and averaged only about 1s. 8d. (Figure 5). However, in 1302–3 the bishop received 7s. 5d., a significant increase. At this time vigorous attempts were being made to maximize revenues throughout the bishop’s estates, so his officials may have imposed a heavier toll or cracked down on evasion.<sup>25</sup> Receipts peaked at 7s. 9d. in 1325–6.

Ivinghoe’s toll on taverns is separately itemized in the Winchester pipe rolls, at first among the issues of the manor and then among the pleas and perquisites of the manor court. By 1334–5, however, the toll produced only 9d. Thereafter it was lumped together with the other court fines, making its fluctuations impossible to track. The toll was levied until 1344–5, but then appears to have ceased. The sharp decline in the toll’s value in 1334–5, at the beginning of Adam Orleton’s episcopate, probably accounts for its eventual disap-



Figure 4 The King’s Head public house, probably built in the 15th century but perhaps on the site of an earlier inn or tavern, occupies a prominent position in Ivinghoe village, opposite the church and on the corner of roads that have been in use since the Middle Ages

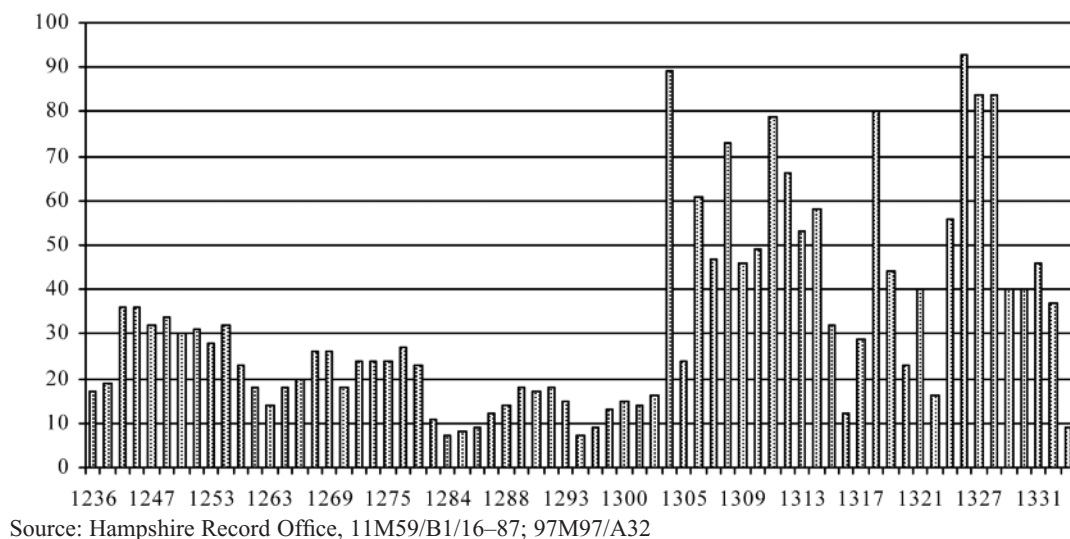


Figure 5 Amount (in pence) collected from the toll on taverns at Ivinghoe, 1236–1335

pearance. It is not clear whether the decline was due to a downturn in trade, to an increase in evasion, or to a change in episcopal policy. The new bishop may have considered the toll too troublesome to collect and a burdensome anachronism in changed economic and social conditions. Although the town of Ivinghoe was well established by the mid 14th century (see below), it remained one of the smallest in the county and faced growing competition from other trading centres, including Dunstable and Tring. Nevertheless, Ivinghoe survived the late medieval recession and continued to serve as a minor market town into the 17th century and beyond.<sup>26</sup> The timber and brick town hall – originally with an open ground floor for the sale of goods on market day – was probably built in the late 16th century, and suggests some local prosperity (Figure 6).<sup>27</sup> Most likely the toll on taverns, as with tenants' carrying services, was increasingly seen as inappropriate and irrelevant, though the bishop no doubt found other ways to profit from his tenants' trading activities.<sup>28</sup>

#### ORIGINS OF THE TOWN

In itself, the toll on taverns is not an indication of urban status. Similar tolls were levied on wholly rural manors without urban pretensions, such as West Wycombe and Harwell, and from small towns

and market villages, such as Witney and Adderbury.<sup>29</sup> Ivinghoe's formal creation as a market town occurred long after the toll on taverns was first collected in 1235–6. On 8 August 1318 the bishop of Winchester received permission from the King to establish a weekly market at Ivinghoe, to be held on Thursdays, and the right to hold a three-day annual fair in August.<sup>30</sup> Soon afterwards the bishop invested in new buildings for the market-place. He employed a carpenter to make 'one new *seld* 54 ft long and 10 ft wide which is put in the middle of Ivinghoe market by order of the lord by his letters patent'.<sup>31</sup> The *seld* was probably a permanent covered structure divided into a number of booths or stalls from which traders displayed and sold their goods.<sup>32</sup> Ivinghoe's new *seld* (there were others, as discussed below) was divided by a plastered wall into two sections, each occupying 8 m (27 ft) of street frontage, which in turn were probably divided into several separate stalls. A roofer was employed for more than a week to cover the *seld* and used 1,500 laths and 6,000 lath-nails. No mention was made of tiles or other roof covering, suggesting that straw from the manor was probably used for thatching. Two women paid to help the roofer were most likely employed to comb or 'draw' the straws.<sup>33</sup>

Ivinghoe's success as a small market town has interested historians because its formal establishment in the early 14th century was relatively late.





Figure 6 The former town hall at Ivinghoe, now the local library. First built in the late 16th century and originally open on the ground floor, it was modernized in the 1840s when the tall Gothic dormer windows were inserted

As David Farmer comments ‘very few other markets planted in England so late were able to take root’. Farmer suggests that Ivinghoe’s location, ‘on the frontier between good arable to the north and the woodlands on the Chiltern escarpment to the south, helped it to survive as a place to exchange the produce of two economic zones’.<sup>34</sup> No doubt this is true but, if Ivinghoe was so advantageously positioned, why did it not have a market long before 1318? The likelihood is that Ivinghoe had served for some time as a convenient meeting-place, at an important crossroads, where the inhabitants of hill and vale could exchange goods, news, and ideas at the village tavern. Such informal trading was widespread in England at this time.<sup>35</sup> The formal creation of the market may have been in response to particular local circumstances, perhaps as a result of economic difficulties following the

disastrous harvests and famine of 1315–17. Alternatively, the bishop may have wanted to regulate the village traders more closely and to profit from their activities. Whatever the precise explanation for the granting of a licence, the bishop’s market charter probably only formalized an already existing institution, and thereby helped to place it on a more secure economic and administrative footing.

Ivinghoe’s urban origins are almost certainly to be found in the 13th century. This was a period of rapid commercialization in England when new markets and fairs proliferated across the country.<sup>36</sup> As early as 1225, in the detached part of Ivinghoe parish at Nettleden, the nuns of Mursley priory obtained a grant of an annual five-day fair in July.<sup>37</sup> On the bishop of Winchester’s manor, the account rolls suggest that the bishop’s demesne was an

entirely rural enterprise at the beginning of the 14th century – with no mention of a market, shops or trade.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, some of the bishop's tenants may already have been making a living from trade. The custumal reveals that by 1278–9 there were around 20 households in Ivinghoe village occupying only a house or a house and a few acres of land.<sup>39</sup> In contrast to the yardlanders and half-yardlanders in the outlying hamlets, these villagers did not possess sufficient land to support their families by farming alone. Some probably worked as wage-labourers on their lord's or neighbours' land, but others may have been engaged in small-scale retailing, either of processed or manufactured goods such as bread, ale, shoes and clothing, or of local produce, including firewood, fruit, honey and wax, gathered from gardens and the surrounding countryside.<sup>40</sup>

The small plots of land bought, sold and leased by Ivinghoe's customary tenants in the late 13th century may well have included houses and workshops from which goods could be traded. Occasionally the records provide further details, making the commercial connection more explicit. By 1267–8 a blacksmith operated a forge in the village. In 1289–90 a cobbler, Richard Dunstable, who presumably originated from the Bedfordshire town, and his wife Juliana leased a plot at Ivinghoe 30 ft (9 m) long and 14 ft (4.25 m) wide (see Appendix 1). Long, narrow plots are a characteristic feature of medieval towns, maximizing the number of shops and other buildings with street frontage. The commercial part of the property probably occupied only the front room facing the street, with living space and storage facilities to the rear and in the storey above.<sup>41</sup> A late 19th-century map of Ivinghoe suggests that the boundaries of some of these tenements were preserved in the later street plan (Figure 7). The plot leased by Richard Dunstable in 1289–90 was probably already used for commercial purposes and Dunstable may have moved the short distance to Ivinghoe to take over an existing cobbler's business. Another likely commercial plot, only 12 ft (3.6 m) long and 6 ft (1.8 m) wide, was leased to Richard Kemp in 1296–7. The trading opportunities suggest that, if sub-leasing was more prevalent at Ivinghoe than elsewhere on the Winchester estate (rather than simply being better recorded), the explanation is probably that the village's position as an informal trading place attracted

incomers to take up land and made sub-leasing profitable.<sup>42</sup>

Further clues to Ivinghoe's role as an unofficial market village can be found in the Winchester pipe rolls. In 1301–2, a tunic belonging to Richard Soutar (a name meaning shoemaker) was paid to the bishop as heriot, a medieval death duty. Heriot was usually paid in livestock or cash: the payment of a piece of clothing may thus indicate a craftsman or trader without agricultural interests. In the same year Richard's widow Juliana inherited a house without land, again suggesting an involvement in trade rather than agriculture.<sup>43</sup> However, the clearest evidence of Ivinghoe's development as a small town before the market charter in 1318 occurs in 1309–10 when Robert son of James Sphit inherited a plot containing two selds from his father (Appendix 2). James had acquired plots near the churchyard in 1286–7 and 1290–1 on which the selds were probably built. Between that time and the Black Death, about a dozen shops and selds are recorded among the property transfers of Ivinghoe's customary tenants. Most occupied long, thin plots and some were specifically said to be located in the market-place. Indeed, despite the devastation wreaked by plague and the subsequent economic downturn, Ivinghoe survived as a town. A shop is mentioned among the entry fines in 1409–10 and in the same year Simon Edward took up a plot 6 ft long and 3 ft wide in the market-place, though in both cases the property was described as waste or in the lord's hands through a lack of tenants.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, the people of Ivinghoe seem to have continued to trade.

## CONCLUSIONS

Ivinghoe's location at a crossroads and at the frontier of hill and vale made it a convenient place for farmers and small-scale traders to meet and exchange goods. As a market economy expanded during the 13th century, trade in everyday objects would have increased considerably in villages such as Ivinghoe and it is highly likely that the inhabitants took advantage of the opportunities to make a profit. By 1235–6 a tavern existed where buyers and sellers could gather, rest and drink. By 1267–8 the village supported a blacksmith's forge, which presumably relied for some of its business on those travelling to nearby towns, including Aylesbury,

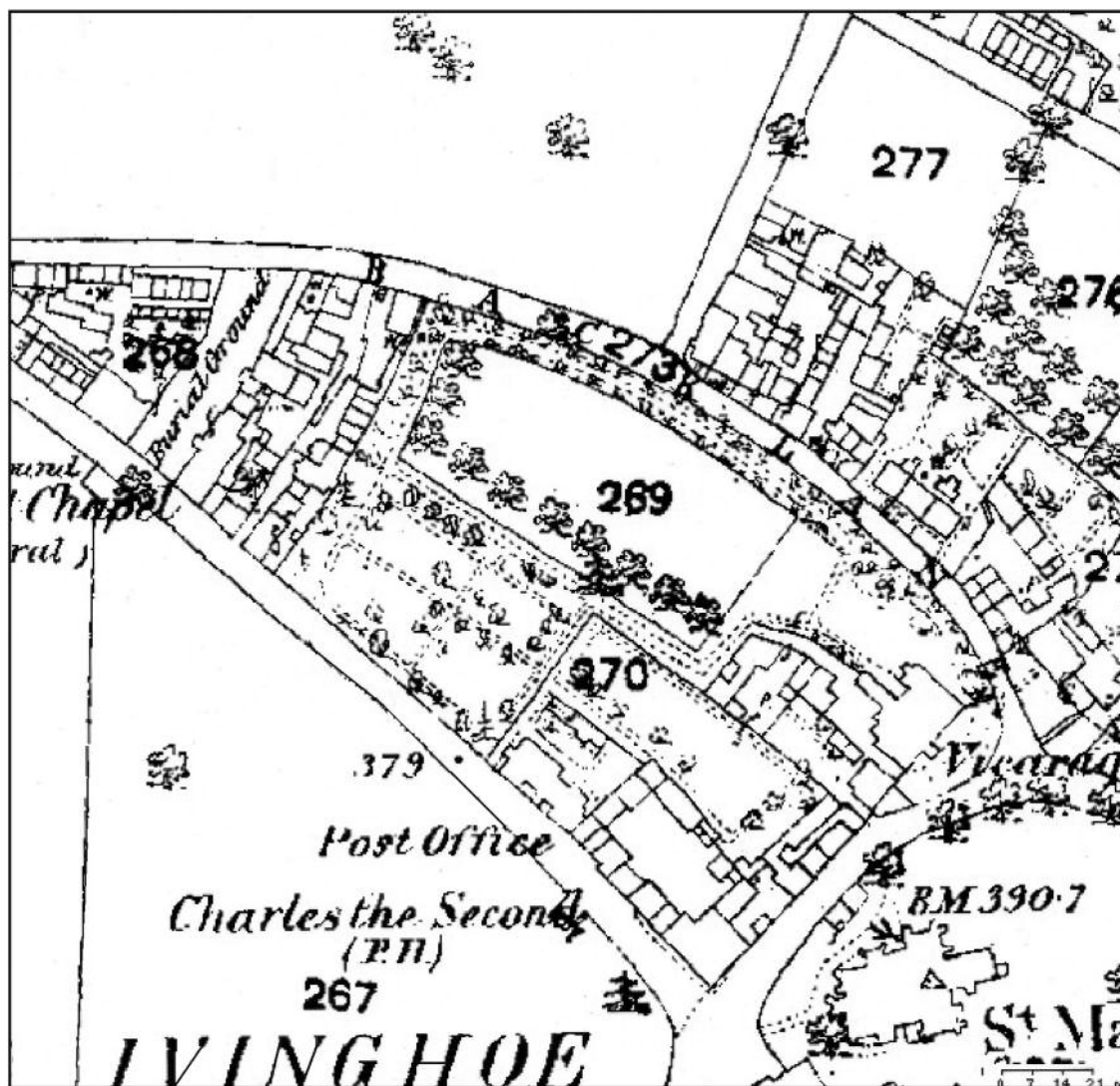


Figure 7 Late 19th-century Ivinghoe, showing the church, public house, and the road north-westwards to Leighton Buzzard. Some of the long and narrow plots shown on the map may preserve the shape of those mentioned in the Middle Ages. OS Map 1:2500, Bucks. XXX.5 (1879 edn). © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2009)

Dunstable and Tring. Long, thin plots near the churchyard, which must have become the site of the later market-place, were being developed from around this time. James Sphit acquired one in 1290–1, 28 ft (8.5 m) long and 10 ft (3 m) wide, on which he may have built the seld inherited by his son.

As the market developed, the value of commercial properties almost certainly increased, encouraging the manor's customary tenants to profit by sub-dividing plots into tiny premises, such as that taken by Richard Kemp in 1296–7, and by sub-leasing to others, while their own rents to the bishop remained fixed. Eventually, the bishop

himself was moved to benefit from the market's success by seeking formal royal approval for its creation and by investing in its infrastructure with the building of a new seld. That it took the bishop until 1318 to realize Ivinghoe's potential is possibly to be explained by the fact that the region was already well stocked with small market towns.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps the bishop was advised that in the face of such competition Ivinghoe's urban aspirations would not succeed. In the event it survived as a small town until the early 20th century.<sup>46</sup>

#### NOTE ON SOURCES AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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- APPENDIX 1: SUB-LEASES AT IVINGHOE IN THE LATE 13TH CENTURY
1. 1274–5: 6d. from William Roger to have 2 acres from Roger Duddesdene for 6 years.

2. 1276–7: 12*d.* from Richard son of Gilbert to have a croft from Robert Welmere for 4 harvests.
3. 1276–7: 12*d.* from William Havescombe to have 4 acres from James Whitway for 4 harvests.
4. 1276–7: 12*d.* from Richard Wardhurst to have a croft from Robert Welmere for 4 harvests.
5. 1277–8: 12*d.* from Juliana Mentmore to have a messuage by concession of William Impey for her life and that of another person to whom she wished to assign it.
6. 1277–8: 12*d.* from John Eglin and his wife to inhabit a plot for their lives by concession of Peter Beadle.
7. 1282–3: 2*s.* from Henry Clerk to have 5 acres by agreement of William Smith of Nettleden for 10 years.
8. 1284–5: 6*d.* from Dionysia Sewall to have a messuage for her life by concession of her brother William.
9. 1284–5: 12*d.* from Christina Hild of Horton to have a cottage for her life by concession of Richard White.
10. 1284–5: 6*d.* from William Whiteditch to have ½ acre by concession of Elias Hors for 4 years.
11. 1284–5: 12*d.* from Ralph Chapman to have 2 acres by demise of John Webb and Richard Alexander for 3 years.
12. 1285–6: 6*d.* from Henry son of William Wood to have a messuage and curtilage, formerly of Hugh Colt, by demise of Robert Wood and Hawise his wife for their lives; they were not able to convey the land for longer because neither was keeper as was proved by the oath of 12 jurors.
13. 1287–8: 12*d.* from James Sphit to have 12 harvests from 2½ acres of land belonging to John Cordewan.
14. 1287–8: 6*d.* from Wace Ford to have 9 harvests from 1 acre of land belonging to John Cordewan.
15. 1288–9: 12*d.* from Roger Wycombe to have a messuage and 2 acres from Robert Babb for 7 years.
16. 1288–9: 6*d.* from James Porcher to have a small plot on which to live for his life by concession of his brother Ralph.
17. 1288–9: 5*s.* from Herbert Smith to cultivate the land of John Duncombe for 2 years.
18. 1288–9: 12*d.* from Elias Resinburgh and Petronilla his wife to have a messuage and curtilage from Henry Beadle and Juliana his wife for their four lives.
19. 1288–9: 18*d.* from Robert Limmel and Alice his wife to have a messuage and 4 acres by concession of Robert Babb for 20 years after the death of his [Babb's] mother, paying the annual rent for that time.
20. 1289–90: 12*d.* from Richard Dunstable, cobbler, and Juliana his wife to inhabit a plot 30 ft long and 14 ft wide by resignation of Christina Impey and her son William for their four lives according to the custom of the manor.
21. 1289–90: 12*d.* from John Perrin to have 2 acres from Juliana Yernman as long as she shall live.
22. 1289–90: 6*d.* from John Bettelowe to have 1 acre from Alice Bast for their lives.
23. 1289–90: 6*d.* from Christina Cope to have ½ acre from Juliana Yernman for 1 year.
24. 1289–90: 6*d.* from Roger Claverley to have a croft called Rudynge from William Sewall for 6 crops.
25. 1290–1: 6*d.* from William Baldwin of Chedington to have ½ acre from Ralph Yernman for the next 5 full harvests.
26. 1290–1: 6*d.* from Richard Wood to inhabit a small plot by concession of his brother Henry Wood for four lives according to the custom of the manor.
27. 1291–2: 12*d.* from Roger Cheese to have a croft with a hedge from William Sewall for 16 years out of the dower of William's mother as long as she should live.
28. 1291–2: 12*d.* from Roger Fagg to have John Corden's crops this year.
29. 1291–2: 6*d.* from Alice Chappel to have ½ acre for 2 crops.
30. 1291–2: 12*d.* from Stephen Lang of Horton to have 1½ acres for 4 crops.
31. 1291–2: 6*d.* from John Whitthild to have 1 acre for 3 crops.
32. 1291–2: 12*d.* from Ralph Chapman to have 2 acres for 2 crops.
33. 1291–2: 3*d.* from William Garlic to have ½ acre for 1 crop.
34. 1292–3: 18*d.* from Roger Fagg to have John Corden's land for 2 years.
35. 1292–3: 6*d.* from John Chappel to have 1 acre from Geoffrey Slade for 4 years.
36. 1292–3: 6*d.* from John Dennis to have 6½

- acres from William Smith for the next 4 years.
37. 1296–7: 12*d.* from Richard Kemp to inhabit a small plot 12 ft long and 6 ft wide for four lives by surrender of Robert son of Robert according to the custom of the manor.
  38. 1297–8: 12*d.* from [?Roger] Claverley to have ½ acre from William Paynot for 10 years.
  39. 1300–1: 4*d.* from Ralph Chapman to have 1 acre for 2 crops.
  40. 1300–1: 6*d.* from Robert Glanvill to have 1 acre for 2 crops.
  41. 1300–1: 3*d.* from William Meylon to have ½ acre for 2 crops.
  42. 1300–1: 3*d.* from Nicholas Jenkin to have ½ acre for 2 crops.
  43. 1300–1: 3*d.* from William Fallithewolle to have ½ acre for 2 crops.
  44. 1300–1: 3*d.* from Peter Howing to have ½ acre for 2 crops.
  5. 1326–7: 1*s.* from Richard Cullebole to have a seld in Ivinghoe 10 feet long by 8 feet wide.
  6. 1327–8: 3*s.* 4*d.* from John son of Richard Fidekyn to inherit a seld in Ivinghoe from his father.
  7. 1328–9: 6*d.* from Simon le Forester to have a seld in Ivinghoe market 14 feet long by 9 feet wide.
  8. 1328–9: 6*d.* from Arnulph Colles to have a seld in Ivinghoe market 14 feet long by 9 feet wide.
  9. 1330–1: 1*s.* from Simon de Bourham for a seld 14 feet long by 9 feet wide in Ivinghoe market by surrender of Arnulph Colles.
  10. 1330–1: 6*d.* from Simon de Bourham for a seld 10 feet long by 8 feet wide in Ivinghoe market by surrender of Richard Cullebole.
  11. 1332–3: 3*s.* 4*d.* from Simon de Bourham to have a plot in Ivinghoe beside his own seld 14 feet long by 12 feet wide.
  12. 1336–7: 2*s.* from John Fidekyn so that Alice his wife might hold for her life a shop in Ivinghoe after his death without paying a fine to the lord, which shop John now holds.

#### APPENDIX 2: SHOPS AND SELDS AT IIVINGHOE IN THE EARLY 14TH CENTURY

1. 1309–10: 4*s.* from Robert son of James Sphit to inherit a plot containing 2 selds from his father.
2. 1313–14: 3*s.* 4*d.* from Thomas Hughes for a seld by surrender of Robert Spit his brother-in-law.
3. 1315–16: 2*s.* from Joan wife of Thomas Hughes to inherit a seld in Ivinghoe from her brother Robert Sphyt.
4. 1326–7: 1*s.* from Simon le Forester to have a seld in Ivinghoe 16 feet long by 10 feet wide.
13. 1339–40: 1*s.* from Walter de Schrozebure for a shop in Ivinghoe by surrender of Simon atte Churchstile.
14. 1339–40: 3*s.* 4*d.* from Simon de Bourham for a shop in Ivinghoe by surrender of Walter de Schrozebure.
15. 1339–40: 6*s.* 8*d.* from John son of Joan Hughes to inherit a messuage and shop from his mother.
16. 1339–40: 3*s.* from Dionysia wife of Simon atte Churchstile to inherit 3 shops in Ivinghoe from her husband.