

SELBORNE PRIORY, 1233-1486

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INTRODUCTION

THE Priory of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Selborne in Hampshire (N.G.R. SU 755345) was founded by Bishop Peter des Roches of Winchester in 1233, for fourteen Augustinian canons regular; it was appropriated to Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1484-6, following which the buildings were soon demolished. An initial attempt to write a brief history of the house was made by Gilbert White in *The Antiquities of Selborne*, published in 1789 as a sequel to his *Natural History of Selborne*. This, though it is the immediate source of information on the Priory, proves on closer inspection to be incomplete in many respects and erroneous in others. White did not carry out much research himself, but relied upon his friend Dr. Chandler, the incumbent of the nearby parishes of East Worldham and West Tisted, to make notes from the documents owned by Magdalen College and from the Winchester episcopal registers. In the eighteenth century, however, Magdalen's documents relating to Selborne Priory were still uncalendared. It seems also that the Winchester episcopal registers were not fully available to enquirers – White mentions or quotes from the registers of Stratford, Wykeham, Beaufort, Wayneflete and Courtenay, but does not mention those of Pontissara, Woodlock, Sandale, Asserio, Orlton and Edington. His account therefore has an imbalance towards the later years of the Priory's life.

The main and by far the best source is the two-volume edition of *The Charters of Selborne Priory* (Macray 1891, 1894). There are over 600 of these charters, which came into the possession of Magdalen College in 1484 when the Priory was appropriated to the College by William of Wayneflete. They are mainly title deeds of property in the parish of Selborne (Vol. I) and elsewhere in Hampshire (Vol. II); rentals, accounts, etc., are barely represented. The charters give an excellent picture of the Priory as landowner, and many of the places and fields mentioned therein are identifiable today.

The episcopal registers of the Bishops of Winchester provide much information regarding the priors and canons of the house. Unfortunately no registers survive earlier than Pontissara (episcopate 1282-1304) and since the ordination lists are missing from this register very little is known of the personnel of the Priory during the first seventy years of its existence. Gilbert White, in Letter XXIII of the *Antiquities*, mentions a register of des Roches, the founder of the Priory; Hampshire County Record Office, however, are of the opinion that this volume is probably that now known as the *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral* (Goodman 1927). There is also a gap in the fifteenth century – Cardinal Beaufort's episcopate lasted from 1405 to 1447, but only the first volume of his register, from 1405 to 1414, survives.

The printed Calendars of the Fine, Charter, Close and Patent Rolls provide information as to the impingement of the royal administration upon the Priory, and also in two cases mention the elections of priors when the temporalities of Winchester were in the

king's hands during the vacancy of the see. Very few unpublished documents have been traced in the Public Records Office or the British Museum.

The *Victoria County History of Hampshire* has an article on Selborne Priory (Page 1903, 175–80), but this is based on Gilbert White and Macray and does not give any additional information on the history of the house.

HISTORY OF SELBORNE PRIORY

It is not known when Peter des Roches first planned or actually started constructing the Priory. The Selborne quarries were open to supply stone for the works in progress since 1222 at Winchester Castle (Colvin 1963, v. 2, 858–9; 1971, 12–146; Salzman 1952, 133) and it may therefore have been convenient for the Bishop to organise the building of the Priory during the late 1220s concurrently with his larger interests. Another of his foundations was also under construction at the same time as Selborne Priory, this being the Premonstratensian abbey at Titchfield (Colvin 1951, 184–9), some 20 miles away, and the plans of Selborne and Titchfield are so similar that the same master-mason may well have been responsible for both. (The writer is indebted to Mr. John Harvey for this suggestion.) This was probably either Stephen le Mazun or Richard *cementarius*, both of whom are known to have worked in Winchester during the first quarter of the thirteenth century, either for the king or for des Roches personally (Harvey 1954, 225, 251). It is possible that by 1231 the state of the Priory was sufficiently far advanced for des Roches to consider the recruitment of personnel for the new house, since in November of that year the Bishop's agent, William FitzDunst, stayed for several days in the episcopal palace at Southwark *pro negocio Johannis de Wik* (HRO 159283, m. 16d). It would seem likely that this refers to the first Prior of Selborne, John de Wich, whose name occurs in charters from 1234 to 1260. It is unfortunate that the Winchester Pipe Rolls for the years 1227–1230, 1233 and 1234 are missing, whilst that for 1232 is unfit for production.

In 1233 two local residents, James de Nortone and James de Ochangre, each granted various crofts of land in Selborne to des Roches; de Nortone's charter stated the gift was to enable the Bishop to found an Augustinian house thereon (Macray 1891, 6), whereas de Ochangre's charter stated his land was given for the purpose of making and enlarging a religious house (Macray 1891, 5). There is a similar inconsistency in the wording of the royal charters issued in the same year. The copy preserved in Magdalen College's archives of Henry III's Foundation Charter, dated 4th May 1233, granted to des Roches lands in Selborne for the construction of an Augustinian house (Macray 1891, 7), whilst the calendared entries of this document in the Charter and Close Rolls, under the same date, stated the lands were given for the enlargement of the house and its buildings (*Cal. Chart. R.* 1, 177; *Cal. Close R.* 1231–4, 216). However, a second entry in the Close Rolls, under date 7th May 1233, calendared the gift as being for the construction of a certain religious house. It would therefore seem that, as in the case of Merton Priory (Heales 1898, 2–4), enough buildings had been erected by 1233 to enable the canons to live on the site whilst construction of the remainder of the complex was planned and actively in progress. J. C. Dickinson (1950, 97–8) points out that the establishment of a religious house was a long and complicated process, and that the date of the official foundation charter is by no means necessarily the date upon which the community entered into residence.

It is also possible that Master Elias de Dereham, who had known des Roches since 1205, advised him on the continuing construction of Selborne Priory. Master Elias was in Winchester on several occasions during the 1230s supervising the king's works at Winchester Castle, and visited Titchfield Abbey at least once during 1232-33 (Colvin 1951, 184-5; 1963, v. 1, 99-101). Between the years 1233-1245 he witnessed ten charters (Macray 1891, 6, 16, 19-20, 23, 31, 36; 1894, 6, 64-5) connected with Selborne Priory, the earliest of them being the grant of land from James de Nortone referred to above. In an eleventh charter (Macray 1891, 20-1) Master Elias acts as papal delegate in a decree of arbitration between Selborne Priory and James de Norton.

The convent was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and was to contain thirteen Augustinian canons and their prior. (The size of the community is not stated in the foundation charter, but is mentioned in a fourteenth-century visitation - see below.) During 1233 des Roches acquired from the Abbey of Mont St. Michel the churches of Selborne, Basing and Basingstoke with their associated chapels - St. Mary Wadden, Oakhanger and Blackmoor in Selborne parish, Holy Trinity at Basing, Holy Ghost and Up Nately in Basingstoke parish - and gave them to the Priory, in a charter dated 22nd January 1234 (Macray 1891, 9-10; Goodman 1927, 172), as part of its endowment.

Henry III's Foundation Charter gave the house a number of privileges and immunities from taxation, and early in 1234 the point was reiterated that no tallage was to be taken on the lands given to des Roches for the founding of the Priory (*Cal. Close R.* 1231-4, 383). In April 1234 Henry followed this up by granting a Charter of Liberties (Macray 1891, 10-11; *Cal. Close R.* 1231-4, 403) that widened the range of privileges and immunities still further and ended with the Priory being taken into his special protection, and in June 1236 he reminded the barons of the Exchequer that this Charter was to be read and kept as aforesaid (*Cal. Close R.* 1234-7, 272). A few years later the Exchequer tried to extract various fines from the Priory, but the prior claimed quittance by reference to the Charter of Liberties (PRO E. 368/13, mm. 1, 5 & 7d; 14, m. 7; 15, m. 1; 20, mm. 1d & 10; 21, m. 8d).

By May 1236 the construction of the Priory had proceeded far enough to enable the canons to entertain both the Bishop and Richard Earl of Cornwall during that month (HRO 159285, m. 11). It is not clear whether they were travelling in company, but as Richard was going to Winchester with the intention of taking the Cross (Roche 1966, 53 note) it may be that des Roches came to Selborne to meet the Earl on his journey down from London. Whilst he was at the Priory Richard confirmed a grant of land recently made to the house by a resident of Bramdean (Macray 1894, 49). It is also interesting to note that some of the designs inlaid upon the Priory's decorated floor tiles (Knapp 1954, Nos. 7, 8, 9, 20) show versions of the Earl's arms.

In 1235 there occurs the only charitable bequest undertaken by the Priory for which there is documentary evidence. Roger de Cherlecote granted to the Priory in perpetual fee farm a messuage and croft in Oakhanger, on condition that it distributed annually among the poorer persons of the parish of Selborne, for the souls of himself, his wife Isabella and his ancestors, six pairs of shoes each worth 5½d. (Macray 1891, 17). Fifteen years later the Cherlecotes agreed a corrody at Westminster with the priory, whereby in return for the conveyance of a messuage, a mill and 35 acres of land in Bradshott, a messuage and 4 acres of land in Oakhanger, and 10/- of rent in la Wyke, the Priory

would provide Roger and Isabella every week with 18 convent loaves, 28 servant's loaves, 15 flagons of convent drink, 14 flagons of second beer and 1/- for meat and pottage (Macray 1891, 35). The Priory presumably maintained the gift of shoes at least during the lifetimes of the Cherlecotes, but there is no record at all that this bequest continued in later years.

In the years immediately following its foundation the Priory received many grants of land and of rents from local residents, ranging from carucates and virgates down to Alice de Thedene's release of 1d. of annual rent from a croft in Thedden (Macray 1894, 32). By 1253 the Priory was rich enough to lend 200 marks to Aymer de Lusignan, bishop-elect of Winchester, for repayment two years later (Macray 1891, 44). These grants were usually made as free alms, but varying forms of corrodies were also arranged. In 1236 Hugh and Maud de Bromdene granted the chief messuage of Bramdean, together with over 60 acres of land and the advowson of the church of Bramdean; the Priory in return gave them an annual allowance of grain and money plus a separate allowance to their son Bartholomew (Macray 1894, 48, 52). Forty years later the le Rus family, who lived at Thedden, released all their right in the lands they held there from Selborne Priory. For this the convent agreed to provide the eldest member of the family, Henry, with a daily ration of bread, beer and pottage for the rest of his life, whilst his son Robert was to have a house and curtilage at la Wyke with a yearly allocation of grain, fuel, forage and money. Robert's son Richard would have half the allowance of grain and money if he survived his father and grandfather (Macray 1894, 40). Lesser donors could also be rewarded; c. 1258 Robert Gaugy granted his mill of Sydenmead and the pasture of his meadow in return for the brotherhood of the Priory and the benefits of the house for himself and his wife Muriel (Macray 1894, 38-9, 49). C. 1270 William de la Rode sold to the Priory a strip of land running from the well called Chyldewelle through the middle of his garden, in order that the canons could make a head in the well and thereby sustain their water supply. For this the Prior and Convent would inscribe the names of William, his wife, father and mother in their martiloge and celebrate for them annually (Macray 1891, 62).

Apart from lands and rents, the Priory also acquired two more local churches during the thirteenth century. In 1236 Joan widow of Robert Le Hod granted to the Bishop of Winchester the church of West Tisted, in order that he could issue a licence to the Priory to appropriate this church (Macray 1891, 20). The then incumbent may have resented her action, since in 1239 a Bull was sent by Pope Gregory IX to the Dean of Salisbury, instructing him to settle a lawsuit between Selborne Priory and Master G. de Hay regarding West Tisted Church (Macray 1891, 24-5). Despite the appropriation of the church to Selborne, early in 1260 Sir Ralph de Camays, by virtue of being lord of the manor, presented his clerk John de Bridport. In January 1261 Pope Alexander IV therefore instructed the Dean and Chapter of South Malling to protect Selborne Priory in the possession of the church of West Tisted (Macray 1891, 54). An arbitration by the Archbishop of Canterbury's Official provided that the de Camays family should have the right of presenting one clerk as a canon to the Priory from time to time, and that the Priory was to pay 100/- a year to John de Bridport until it could find a better post for him. Sir Ralph agreed that the Priory had the advowson and right of patronage of the church and, possibly by way of apology, granted the house the right of pasturing

100 sheep in the village of West Tisted (Macray 1891, 54-5) Once again, in 1280, the Priory had to defend its right of patronage, when Roger de Radenhale, clerk, withdrew his lawsuit, acknowledging he had no right to the church (Macray 1891, 67). Apart from these lawsuits in the thirteenth century, however, there is no record that the Priory ever subsequently exercised its right of patronage and presented vicars to this church.

In 1254 the Priory was granted its fifth local church, that of East (Great) Worldham, by Sir John de Venuz, whose family lived at Worldham and were constant benefactors of the Priory (Macray 1891, 45). This latest acquisition proved to be the answer to the West Tisted problem, for the Priory presented John de Bridport to East Worldham in July 1262. He stayed there for the next thirty years and in 1291, being debilitated, was allowed a coadjutor, changeable at his own pleasure (Macray 1891, 66; Deedes 1915, 343 & note).

In the middle of the thirteenth century the Priory received a gift which became a liability for the rest of the convent's existence. In 1170 Richard de Lymesy, being answerable for the town of Southampton, had incurred a debt to the Exchequer of over £450, most of which was still outstanding when his descendant Adam de Lymesy inherited the family's lands in West Tisted c. 1235 (Mills 1924, lxix-lxxi). Adam subsequently alienated to Newark Priory the greater part of these lands, save for two messuages and land near the Ropley - Petersfield road which he granted to Selborne Priory at an annual quit rent of one pound of cummin (Macray 1891, 31). It would seem that neither Newark nor Selborne realised these West Tisted lands were encumbered with debt until 1266, when the Exchequer called upon Newark to pay £276.14s.3d. in respect of those properties received from Adam. Newark obtained permission to pay off this debt at the rate of one mark a year, and then sued Selborne for aid in this payment on account of its tenure of the small portion of de Lymesy land. It was found upon survey that Newark's holding was worth £4, and Selborne's 8/-, per annum, and Selborne agreed to pay Newark 14½d. yearly as its share of the debt (Macray 1891, 59; BL Harley Chart. 44.H.42). This amount later rose to 16d. a year, which was still being paid by Selborne to Newark two hundred years later (see below). What Selborne did not know was that in 1339 Newark ceased to make its annual payment to the Exchequer, hence for all the subsequent years Selborne's 16d. was Newark's profit.

Mention has been made above of John de Wich, Prior of Selborne from the foundation of the house until 1260 or 1261. John was born in Droitwich (then known simply as Wich) c. 1197, and was the close friend and fellow-student of Richard de Wich, Bishop of Chichester 1244-1253 but better known as St. Richard of Chichester (see below). Their student days together have been described by one of St. Richard's biographers as follows:

'Richard therefore hastily left both [his father's] lands and the lady, and all his friends, and betook himself to the University of Oxford and then to that of Paris, where he learned logic. Such was his love of learning, that he cared little or nothing for food or raiment. For, as he was wont to relate, he and two companions who lodged in the same chamber had only their tunics, and one gown between them, and each of them a miserable pallet. When one, therefore, went out with the gown to hear a lecture, the others sat in their room, and so they went forth alternately; and bread with a little wine and pottage sufficed for their food. For their poverty never suffered them to eat flesh or fish, save on

the Sunday or on some solemn holy day or in the presence of companions or friends; yet he hath oftentimes told me how, in all his days, he had never after led so pleasant and delectable a life' (Coulton 1918, 61).

The highlights of Selborne's history occurred c. 1250, when Richard de Wich visited the house and performed what the canons viewed as a minor miracle. This was reported by St. Richard's first biographer, Ralph Bocking, and printed by the Bollandists in their *Acta Sanctorum*, *Aprilis tom 1, dies 1-10*, as follows:

'The Blessed Richard was once asked by the venerable and religious John, sometime Prior of Selborne, of the order of St. Augustine, in the diocese of Winchester, to do him the favour of visiting him as a guest; and since this Prior had been known to him from boyhood and was dear to him, both being born in the same town and scholars in the same college, he acceded to the request and came to the aforesaid monastery. The Prior, therefore, overjoyed at receiving such a guest (especially as he knew well that God was with him) did his all to honour God in the saint and the man himself in God. And so, solicitous like Martha over many things, he was not satisfied with the provision made and wanted to search the premises for anything extra that might be hidden; and he said to Blessed Richard: "My lord, may it please you to go down to the water with us lest perhaps by a gift of God we may be able to catch some fish when you are by." The Saint nodded, and went down with the Prior and some others to the fishpond which was not far off. When they had diligently stretched out the net and laboured to catch something, they yet took nothing; also, the net was so tangled and twined that it seemed impossible it could take or retain a fish. When they were about to return, their hopes deceived, Master Nicholas of Wich, a relative and friend of Blessed Richard, who was standing by with the others, said to the Saint: "Lord, put out your right hand and give a blessing." He did so, and behold a pike, three feet in length or more, lay stretched out above the cords of the net, not constrained by the mesh of the net or the strands of the rope, but as if drawn and enticed from the water by the holy man's blessing. Then all who were present, blessing God, attributed this miracle to God and the Saint's merits'.

In view of the above story, it is interesting to note that a floor tile showing two pike has been found at the site (Knapp 1954, No. 2); this design, so far as is known, does not appear in any other collection of tile patterns.

Henry III continued to show interest in the Priory right up to the end of his life. In the summer of 1261 he gave the canons special permission to take sand from Wolmer Forest to assist in building a hall in the Priory (*Cal. Close R.* 1259-61, 387), and in the autumn of the same year gave his assent (the see of Winchester being void following the death of Aymer de Lusignan) to the election of Richard de Cantuaria, sub-prior, to be the next prior of the house in succession to John de Wich (*Cal. Pat. R.* 1258-66, 177). In 1270 he granted the Priory the right to hold a market in Selborne every Tuesday, and a yearly fair there at the feast of the Assumption (14th/16th August) (*Cal. Chart. R.* 2, 150). This market and fair were held on the piece of ground in front of Selborne church now known as the Plestor, which was granted to the Priory for this purpose six months after the King's charter for the fair by Sir Adam de Gurdon, who lived in Selborne village (Macray 1891, 64).

As early as 1265 Pope Clement IV instructed the Prior of Southwark to try to recover for Selborne Priory the possessions which had been granted or leased out to the injury of

the house (Macray 1891, 57), and this injunction was repeated by Pope Martin IV in 1281 (Macray 1891, 70). As the charters calendared by Macray are those which relate to the properties the Priory still held when it was dissolved in 1484, it cannot now be known how much other land passed through its hands. The only possible example of careless property dealing for which there is documentary evidence dates from 16th January 1306, when Philip and Alice atte Gate of Hartley Maudit gave to their son John various lands in that parish. Some of the lands are described (BL. Add. Chart. 16195) as being those which the parents had been given by Prior William and the Convent of Selborne, but no deeds remain amongst the charters of the Priory relating to this transaction. It would also appear that the Priory sold or lost the advowson of Bramdean church, granted to them in 1236 (see above). As early as 1284 this church was stated to be under the patronage of the Bishops of Winchester, who duly presented all subsequent vicars (Deedes 1915, 35; 1924, 419-21, 431-3, 795; Kirby 1896, 199, 228, 361).

The Hundred Rolls enquiries in 1274-5 in Basingstoke brought to light the fact that the Priory could not produce title deeds for seven acres of land which it claimed to hold there by gift of Walter Bernard. The Canons accordingly wrote out in retrospect a charter (Macray 1894, 3; *Rot. hund.* 2, 220-1) ostensibly from Walter granting the house nine acres in the field of Basing; this apparently satisfied their needs at the time of the enquiry, though when Macray calendared the charters the discrepancies of handwriting and the dating clause made it obvious to him that the document was a forgery. The canons had dated this charter as 1st November 1231 although, as stated above, the Priory was not officially founded until May 1233. The Hundred Rolls jury in Selborne stated that the Prior claimed to have the right of hunting foxes and hares within and without the forest, and agreed that the Priory did have various other rights granted by royal charter, including that of furcas (*Rot. hund.* 2, 224-5). In connexion with this latter right Gilbert White commented (Scott 1950, 133-4) as follows:

'Magdalen College holds a court-leet and court-baron [in Selborne] annually . . . The following uncommon presentment at the court is not unworthy of notice. There is on the south side of the King's field (a large common-field so called), a considerable tumulus, or hillock, now covered with thorns and bushes, and known by the name of Kite's Hill, which is presented, year by year, in court as not ploughed. Why this injunction is still kept up respecting this spot, which is surrounded on all sides by arable land, may be a question not easily solved, since the usage has long survived the knowledge of the intention thereof. We can only suppose that as the prior, besides thurset and pillory, had also furcas, a power of life and death, that he might have reserved this little eminence as the place of execution for delinquents. And there is the more reason to suppose so, since a spot just by is called Gally (Gallows) hill.'

Edward I visited Selborne in 1276 and again in 1280 (*Cal. Close R.* 1272-9, 307, 351; 1279-88, 26; *Cal. Fine R.* 1, 131; *Cal. inq. misc.* 1, 350, no. 1180). Rather belatedly in 1286 he gave the Priory permission to take six oaks from Wolmer Forest in recompense for the underwood and heather used by his household during the last visit (*Cal. Close R.* 1279-88, 390).

Pope Nicholas IV's *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, c. 1291, shows that the churches of Basing and Basingstoke, with chapels, were taxed at £40 and the vicarage there at £16; the church of Selborne, with chapels, at £22; and the sum of £9.16s.2d. came from the

Priory's miscellaneous properties in Selborne, Bramdean, Thedden, Sheet and Winchester (*Tax. eccl.* 210, 212-3). Despite this total taxable value of nearly £90, when Pontissara appropriated East Worldham church to the Priory in 1293 he gave the common form reason of the poverty of its endowment and the number of strangers and sick and poor persons who resorted to the convent (Macray 1891, 77).

In February 1297 the Priory had to make fine before the Chancellor to obtain a writ for the return of its lay fees, seized earlier in the month in accordance with the king's orders punishing the clergy of the realm for their refusal to grant him a subsidy (*Cal. Chanc. R.* 17-20, 38-41). Later that same year, when William de Oakhanger enfeoffed Sir Thomas Paynel of his manor of Oakhanger (Page 1908, 11), this change of tenure brought to the king's notice that some 40 acres of land belonging to the manor had been alienated to Selborne Priory in past years without royal licence (*Cal. inq. misc.* 1, 487, no. 1761). The eleven charters referring to the land in question were thereupon enrolled in the King's Remembrancer Memoranda Rolls (PRO E.159/71, mm. 59-61), and Edward I was prepared to pardon the offence on payment of a 100/- fine by the Priory (Macray 1891, 78-9). This fine was, however, remitted on account of the poverty of the house. Five years later Selborne had to obtain another pardon, this time for appropriating 56 acres of land in Bramdean contrary to the Statute of Mortmain (*Cal. Pat. R.* 1301-7, 37; Macray 1894, 61; *Cal. Chanc. Warr.* 1, 165). It is perhaps in connexion with this second pardon, dated 11th May 1302, that an anonymous letter was sent from Stockbridge on 9th May 1302, possibly directed to John de Langton the Chancellor, requesting the expedition of the business of the Prior and Convent of Selborne (PRO *List Anc. Corr.* V. 29, no. 28). It may have been as a result of the above two cases that, in 1306, the Priory was punctilious in making an agreement at Westminster when William and Alice le Turnur conveyed to the house a messuage and 24 acres of land in la Rode (Macray 1891, 81-2; *Cal. Pat. R.* 1301-7, 489). Again in the following year, when Joan Achard (the widowed daughter of the above-mentioned Sir Adam de Gurdon) wished to grant to the Priory a messuage, carucate of land, 10 acres woodland and 10/- annual rent in Selborne, the necessary licence was obtained first (*Cal. Pat. R.* 1307-13, 19; Magd. Coll. Mortmains, no. 9) and the Prior also paid a 40/- fine for entry into a lay holding (*Rot. orig.* 1, 157). In view of the poverty of the house pleaded as a reason for non-payment of the 100/- fine in 1297, it is surprising to note that early in 1308 Joan Achard was selling further lands, tenements and chattels in Selborne to the Priory to a total value of £494 (Macray 1891, 83).

Another rich benefactress to the Priory was Ela Longespee, the widowed Countess of Warwick, who in 1285 gave 100 marks for the support of a chaplain-canon to celebrate mass daily for her soul, both during her life and after her death, adding precise instructions for the prayers to be offered in the Priory when the news of her death should reach the house (Macray 1891, 72-3). So far it is not known why Ela chose to make this donation to Selborne; no connexion or interest between her and the Priory, other than this, seems to exist.

It is much to be regretted that not all the Winchester episcopal registers survive, because from those that do exist a considerable amount of personal information regarding the priors and canons of Selborne can be obtained, and no doubt more information of a similar nature would have been contained in those registers now lost. A case in point

is the story of Canon Ralph de la More, which appears in the register of Simon de Gandavo, Bishop of Salisbury, under date October 1305 (Flower and Dawes 1934, 168-70). Circa 1297 Ralph, then aged only twelve, was already a canon in Selborne Priory, but ran away from there back to his native county of Surrey. He did not go home to his own parish of Laleham, but tonsured himself and served in the parish church of Kingston-on-Thames for three years or so. He was ordained acolyte at fifteen, but feared he would lose this position because he had innocently become involved in the sale of some stolen sheep in Kingston market. He therefore fled to Chichester, and with the help of an unscrupulous clerk forged letters in the name of the last bishop of Chichester purporting to state that he was fully ordained. With these false testimonials he returned to Surrey and for the next three years wandered between Lenham, Cowley, Barnes, Shepperton, Sunbury and Putney, serving as curate under the various incumbents. Finally he went to Wallingford, where he abandoned his clerical dress, tore up his forged letters and publicly married a local girl, Agnes de Horsepath. However, somehow his past overtook him, and he was obliged to make a full confession to Simon de Gandavo. The Bishop then passed on Ralph's story to the dioceses of Winchester, Chichester and London, asking his colleagues' advice as to how best to hush up this scandal. Whether the matter was tacitly dropped or settled diplomatically between the bishops cannot now be known, as no further mention of Ralph's case appears in the registers.

Little is known about the four thirteenth-century Priors – John de Wich, Richard de Cantuaria, Peter d'Isenhurst and Richard II (save, in the case of the first, the few personal details given about him in the biographies of St. Richard of Chichester) – but more information is available on the heads of the house during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The fifth prior, William de Basing, was elected on 11th March 1300 (Deedes 1915, 94) and died during the summer of 1323 (*Cal. Pat. R.* 1321-4, 341; Baigent 1897, 608). During his priorate two Bishops of Winchester visited the house – Pontissara in 1301 (Deedes 1915, 108) and Woodlock in 1308 (Goodman 1940, 326). A year or so later Woodlock delegated to Prior William the unenviable task of putting into effect the papal provision of Philip de Barton, Archdeacon of Surrey, to the prebend of Leighton Manor (Goodman 1940, 440). This was in dispute between Philip de Barton as the Pope's nominee and John de Caen the king's nominee. Subsequently, however, the Pope provided another candidate, Manfred son of Opizo, who was installed in 1310 (The writer is indebted to Dr. D. E. Greenway for assistance on this point.). Philip de Barton seems to have been a constant creditor of Selborne Priory – in June 1315 he acknowledged the receipt from the Prior and convent of £10 due by several bonds (*Magd. Coll. Misc.* no. 157), and at his death c. 1320 his executors were seeking 36 marks from Selborne. This debt was not finally paid off until 1339, part of the sum being raised by a levy on the Priory's goods and chattels in pursuance of a writ from the Exchequer (Macray 1891, 88-90; *Cal. Mem. R.* xix, 203, no. 1397).

In 1309 Prior William sued Edmund de Bedewynde, the rector of the neighbouring parish of Hartley Maudit, for an alleged violent assault committed upon him near Alton, for which he demanded £40 damages (Goodman 1941, 942). The next year he was admonished by Woodlock for illegally retaining tithes of corn due to Richard atte Barre, vicar of East Worldham, and was instructed to deal fairly with Richard in future (Goodman 1940, 503-4). In 1315, in his capacity as rector of Basing, William sued the

parson of Eastrop chapel (a hamlet between Basing and Basingstoke, now part of the eastern suburbs of the latter town) regarding tithes from land in Basing (Goodman 1941, 990). Finally in 1318 Bishop John Sandale described him as being manifestly contumacious and threatened to hand him over to the King for punishment. It seems that this threat may have had some effect, as William's name does not appear in the list of the unrepentant clerics that was forwarded to the King two months later (Baigent 1897, 73, 86). Just at the end of William's life, in 1322, an echo of the disturbances in the north of England reached Hampshire, when a writ was issued at Gloucester commanding the Prior of Selborne to raise as many men-at-arms and footsoldiers as possible for mustering at Coventry to march against the rebels or adherents of the earl of Lancaster (*Parl. writs* 1, 550, no. 54).

When William de Basing died in 1323, the see of Winchester was vacant following the death of Rigaud d'Asserio and its temporalities in the hands of Edward II. He instructed the royal treasurer 'in consideration of the poverty of the sub-prior and convent of Selborne' to give the royal assent to the election of the next prior and to receive his fealty when the election was confirmed (*Cal. Pat. R.* 1321-4, 341; Baigent 1897, 608). An inquisition held at the same time in Alton stated that, since the foundation of the Priory, no Bishop of Winchester had taken any issues thereof during voidance except having a footman serving at the door of the priory at the expense of the sub-prior and convent (*Cal. inq. misc.* 2, 172, no. 692). The Archbishop of Canterbury also consulted the Prior of Canterbury as to his jurisdiction in the Priory of Selborne, in view of the fact that the see of Winchester and the office of prior were simultaneously vacant; the Prior gave only a non-committal reply and the Archbishop seems to have taken the matter no further, possibly because Stratford was appointed to the see of Winchester fairly soon thereafter (Sheppard 1887, 114, no. 118). For some reason Selborne still did not proceed to elect a new prior, and one of the first entries in Stratford's register is an instruction to the sub-prior to keep discipline and order in the house during the vacancy (*Reg. Stratford* f. 4). A few months later Walter de Insula, cantor, was elected sixth prior *per viam scrutinam* (*Reg. Stratford* f. 6). There is a marginal note in the register beside the entries relating to this election, to the effect that the cleric who inducted the new Prior should take, in the Bishop's name, his palfrey, saddle, bridle, cape and boots. There is nothing to indicate whether this was a normal induction perquisite or some particular demand by the Bishop.

In 1330 Prior Walter was included amongst those supporting Stratford when the latter visited St. Lawrence, Alton, to pronounce a general excommunication against all who misbehaved at Alton fair; the Bishop's other supporters were the Prior of St. Swithin's Winchester, the Abbot of Hyde and the Dean of Alton (*Reg. Stratford* f. 51d). Six years later the next Bishop of Winchester, Adam Orlton, visited the Priory, and a careful note was made in his register to the effect that whilst there he had preached to the canons upon the text *Quicumque fecit voluntatem patris mei qui in celsis est hic meus frater soror et mater est*, and had stayed to wine and dine afterwards (*Reg. Stratford* I, f. 33). Later that year, however, Orlton sent a commission to Prior Walter against one of the canons, Geoffrey de Odi'am, who was guilty of owning private property. The Bishop had reproved him for this during his earlier visit to the Priory, but Geoffrey had continued to absent himself without leave and to make money by secular negotiations; Prior

Walter was now instructed to see that he remained within the cloister (Reg. Orlton I, f. 35d). It would seem that, apart from Geoffrey's private dealings, discipline in the house was reasonably good at this period, for in 1338 William de Preston, a canon of Breamore Priory, was sent to Selborne for punishment on account of his refractory behaviour (Reg. Orlton I, f. 61).

In the 1330s the Priory had to appeal to Edward III to solve a taxation problem. In May 1331 Prior Walter and a certain Richard de Bromleye had been made trustees of lands at Oakhanger and at Hawkley during the minority of the heir Laurence de Hastynges (*Cal. Fine R.* 4, 250). However, in the following year the King had passed the Hawkley lands over to the custody of the Bishop of Winchester and the Prior and Richard had duly surrendered them. This division of the trust had evidently gone unnoticed by the Exchequer, since in November 1334 the Prior and Richard pleaded to the King that the treasurer and barons were claiming payment from them as if they still held all the lands (*Cal. Close R.* 1333-7, 272). Whether Prior Walter and Richard de Bromleye were able to obtain the royal confirmation of the truth of their petition is not known, but a year later they surrendered the lands at Oakhanger and were therefore discharged from the extent and increment (*Cal. Fine R.* 4, 467).

In May 1336 the Priory obtained a licence to acquire in mortmain land and rent to the yearly value of 10 marks (*Cal. Pat. R.* 1334-8, 258; Magd. Coll. Mortmains, No. 3), and three years later 5 marks' worth of this licence was satisfied when Roger de Tichborne alienated to the house his whole tenement of la Rode at Ropley (now Lye Way Farm) which amounted to over 100 acres. In return for this gift the Priory would pay 6 marks a year for a chaplain to celebrate in the Tichbornes' domestic chapel, and would accept the family's presentation of a canon into the Priory from time to time. One canon would also celebrate daily in the Priory church for the souls of Roger and his parents (Macray 1891, 90; *Cal. Pat. R.* 1338-40, 251; Magd. Coll. Mortmains Nos. 3 & 10; Reg. Orlton I, ff. 76-77).

This period was now the high water mark of the Priory's fortunes. Its numbers were above the statutory fourteen (see below) and it owned over 1,000 acres of land in the Selborne/Oakhanger area alone, plus another 1,000 acres and more elsewhere in Hampshire. It had been granted half a dozen mills and probably had built others for itself, and also had rents and tenements in Winchester, Alton, Midhurst and Petersfield. The *Inquisitiones Nonarum* in 1341 showed that Selborne church was endowed with one messuage, 54 acres arable and 1 acre woodland valued at £6.7s.8d. yearly; rent and services were worth £1.8s.od. yearly, and the small tithes plus mortuary and other offerings amounted to £10.10s.4d. a year. Basingstoke church was endowed with one messuage, three virgates and assize rent, value £9.2s.od. yearly, whilst small tithes and oblations came to £15.16s.od. per annum. The ninth of lambs, wool and sheaves in this parish amounted to £21.5s.od., more than twice the ninth of Selborne parish (*Non. inq.* 107, 120).

In November 1339 Walter resigned the priorship, and Bishop Orlton was asked by the convent to choose his successor. Fortunately the Bishop's clerk copied out the Priory's letter into his register, thereby providing a list of all the canons then in the convent. There were seventeen of them, fifteen being priests and two deacons: Thomas de Wynton sub-prior, Edmund de Nutshullynge precentor, Walter de Insula, Nicholas Kurchy,

Richard de Iwode, Ralph de Aldburn, John de Herezerde, Benedict Burgeys, Geoffrey de Odyham, William de Odyham, Roger Burnel, Roger de Canynges, Nicholas de Syndelsham, William Stake, Thomas de Lavynton, John de Wynzerde and Edmund de Popham (Reg. Orlton I, f. 82). From these Orlton chose Thomas de Wynton the sub-prior to be the next head of the house, but this would appear to have been an unlucky decision, as, in 1348 during Edington's episcopate, the Bishop's Official was commissioned to enquire into the sources of discord between the Prior and the convent (Reg. Edington 2, f. 16). No report of the enquiry appears, but perhaps it proved to be unnecessary to pursue the matter, since Prior Thomas died a year later (Reg. Edington 2, f. 53d).

In 1349 the Priory itself and Selborne village seem to have escaped the infection of the Black Death, but suffered economically. In November 1349 the vicar of Selborne, Adam Seyncler, complained to Edington that the Priory was not only not providing him with necessary sustenance, but was taking more than its fair share of the proceeds of the vicarage (Reg. Edington 2, f. 21d). Three years later the Bishop's Official ratified an agreement between the Priory and Adam Seyncler whereby 'on account of the present pestilence and scarcity of the times' the Priory increased the proportion of its tithes handed over to the vicarage for Adam's lifetime. The Bishop's Official also itemised arrangements for the future permanent endowment of Selborne vicarage (Macray 1891, 91-3). It may also have been Bishop Edington who wrote to the king, refusing on Selborne Priory's behalf a request for a corrody in the house - the letter was sent from Brockhampton, but dated only as 4th December, no year being mentioned (PRO: C.47/17/11). It was probably at this period that confusion arose regarding the boundaries of tenements and gardens in Winchester, the outcome of which was that the Priory lost control of some of its property in that city (Keene forthcoming).

The eighth Prior, following the death of Thomas de Wynton, was Edmund de Popham, who had been a deacon and the most junior member of the convent ten years previously when Thomas was chosen for seventh Prior. Edington's register gives no details of the proceedings of Edmund's election in 1349 (Reg. Edington 1, f. 53d). Possibly he was too young to rule well, for in 1357 Edington had to instruct his Chancellor to enquire into, correct and punish the discoveries made by his Official regarding relaxation of discipline and neglect of duties at Selborne Priory (Reg. Edington 2, f. 37). Two years later the Bishop issued another commission to proceed against Prior Edmund on account of dilapidations both reported and suspected (Reg. Edington 2, f. 39d), and it seems probable that Edmund was removed from the Priory by the Bishop for a period for punishment. What happened to him after 1359 is not known; when Nicholas de Wynton was elected ninth Prior in December 1361 the priorship was already vacant (Reg. Edington 1, f. 113).

The Priory proceeded slowly but steadily downhill from now on. In 1363 Edington released the house from payment of a £10 subsidy on account of its poverty (Reg. Edington 2, f. 45d), and in 1371 Edward III gave a pardon 'in aid of the relief of the estate of Selborne Priory, which is greatly impoverished' to the Prior and convent of all sums of money due from them for their properties in respect of the triennial tenth recently granted by the clergy of England (*Cal. Pat. R.* 1370-4, 33; *Magd. Coll. Cart. Reg.* no. 5). The effect of this pardon was perhaps rather nullified by the fact that Edward stayed at the Priory three years later (*Cal. Chart R.* 5, 229). In 1373 the papal nuncio instructed

William of Wykeham to excommunicate the Prior of Selborne for contempt in not appearing to a citation, and two years later Prior Nicholas was excommunicated again for non-payment of papal procurations (Kirby 1899, 191, 243-4). In August 1376 he was monished by Wykeham and suspended for waste, and the administration of the Priory placed in the hands of the sub-prior and one of the senior canons (Kirby 1899, 258). In the next year the Priory was sequestrated, again for the non-payment of papal procurations (Kirby 1899, 274-5). Early in 1378 Prior Nicholas offered his resignation to the Bishop, on the grounds of old age and infirmity, and this was accepted (Kirby 1896, 93, 97).

William of Wykeham seems to have taken a curiously keen interest in the well-being of Selborne Priory and to have gone out of his way to help with its financial problems (see below). Dr. Moberly noticed this point when writing his *Life of William Wykeham*, and commented as follows:

'Now the MS of the *Liber Albus* makes Wykeham's maternal grandmother one Alice, the daughter of a William and Amice, both named Stratton, the wife being the daughter of the Lord of "Stratton juxta Selborne".' (Moberley 1893, 3-4, 337 et seq). It is very unlikely that, as suggested in the text, this may mean East Stratton near Micheldever, since this is 14 miles from Selborne. Though there is now no known Stratton close to Selborne, the name comes from 'the street town' and usually denotes a village on a Roman road. The Roman road from Silchester to Chichester passes through the village of Oakhanger only one mile north-east of Selborne Priory, and it would therefore seem likely that the manor belonging to Wykeham's maternal ancestors was indeed in the near neighbourhood of the Priory, though the name has disappeared from modern maps.

Following Nicholas de Wynton's resignation, Wykeham chose Thomas Weston, a canon of Merton Priory, for the tenth prior of Selborne, presumably hoping that a complete outsider would be better able to assume control (Kirby 1896, 93, 97). At the same time he also paid off all the Priory's debts, amounting to £73.18s.2d. (Reg. Wykeham 2, f. 335, omitted from Kirby 1899). But within two years the situation was back as before – the Priory could not or would not pay its papal procurations. In 1382 it was sequestrated and excommunicated (Kirby 1899, 343) and again in 1385 sequestrated and monished for this reason (Kirby 1899, 366-7). In June 1387 the Bishop's Official was sent to visit the Priories of Selborne, Christchurch Twynham and Breamore, and St. Mary's Abbey Winchester, to enquire regarding 'the crimes, excesses and delinquencies of various person in these houses' (Kirby 1899, 400-01). No report of his findings is extant, but later in the year Wykeham visited Selborne Priory himself and in September sent a long letter (*Notabilis Visitatio de Seleburne*) itemising the canons' sins of omission and commission. The letter contained 36 injunctions, summarised by Macray (1891, 95-108) as follows:

- (1) The night and day hours and the customary masses to be attended and sung by all; contumacious absentees to fast on Fridays on bread and water.
- (2) The rules of silence to be observed.
- (3) Masses for founders and benefactors to be duly celebrated.
- (4) The cloister to be no thoroughfare for lay persons of either sex, 'from whence many disorders may and have arisen', on pain of the greater excommunication.
- (5) The doors of the church and cloister to be closed at due times, 'so that no suspect

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and disorderly females pass through their choir and cloister in the dark', to prevent the grave scandals which have arisen.

(6) The ignorant brethren, who cannot read Holy Scripture aright, are to be better instructed.

(7) The papal constitutions concerning the Augustinian orders are to be written out, and read twice yearly in the Chapter, and the novices are to learn the rule of the order by heart, as enjoined by Cardinal Ottobonus.

(8) Clothes and shoes to be supplied when necessary, and no annual allowance in money to be made for them; old clothes to be given to the poor.

(9) The Canons and brethren are not to go outside the Priory without special leave, nor without a canon as a companion. (They had been riding out to the Priory's properties ostensibly on business and staying away indefinitely.)

(10) The Canons strictly forbidden to lie naked in bed.

(11) Hunting strictly forbidden, and the keeping of hunting dogs, saving any right or custom of the Priory.

(12) The officers of the Priory not to neglect attendance at the divine offices, under penalty of excommunication.

(13) Two canons to visit the manors twice every year.

(14) The full numbers of canons to be kept up, or at least so many as can be competently supported. (It is here that mention is made of the fact that the community was supposed to number fourteen, whereas there were only eleven canons then in residence.)

(15) The Prior strictly charged no longer to neglect enquiry into private ownership of property on the part of the canons twice in the year.

(16) Annual accounts to be rendered by the Prior and officers.

(17) Dilapidated buildings of the Priory and manors to be forthwith repaired.

(18) No liveries, corrodies, or pensions to be hereafter sold or granted without the Bishop's consent.

(19) Chantries of founders and benefactors to be duly served, and their endowments no longer to be perverted.

(20) Alms to be duly distributed to the poor, according to the will of founders and benefactors, and the fragments left from meals, both from the prior's hall and the common refectory.

(21) Sick and infirm brethren to be properly ministered to, with full use of the infirmary buildings.

(22) Offenders to be duly corrected without respect of persons; negligence herein to be visited by suspension of officers and special penance for the Prior.

(23) Pittances and other allowances on anniversary days to be duly distributed, under penalty of double payment.

(24) No important business, as wood sales, and letting to farm of manors and churches, to be transacted without consent of the majority.

(25) The common seal to be kept under five keys; no-one to be a godfather without the Bishop's leave – 'from such relationship favour and affection, nepotism and undue influence, arise, to the injury and detriment of religious institutions'.

(26) The statutable boots to be worn, and not coloured shoes or leggings; offenders to be punished, if need be, by imprisonment. (The Augustinian Chapter held in 1374 had

condemned most strongly the wearing of decorative and colourful boots and stockings (Salter 1922, xxvii).)

(27) Rules for dinner in the refectory, for meals with guests and entertainment by the Prior.

(28) The Prior to change his chaplain yearly, for due teaching of the younger canons, and his own security in case of slander.

(29) All luxury in dress forbidden – '... the affectation of appearing like beaux with garments edged with costly furs, with fringed gloves, and silken girdles trimmed with gold and silver'.

(30) Officers to be duly elected for each office singly.

(31) No-one without cure of souls to administer sacraments without leave from the parish priest.

(32) Sacred vestments and vessels to be kept clean; sacramental wine to be pure and good, not sour. (The Bishop states that the sacred goods had sometimes been 'left in such an uncleanly and disgusting condition as to make the beholders shudder with horror'.)

(33) Relics, sacred vessels, vestments, books, etc., not to be pawned; charters to be safely kept under three keys.

(34) Diligent private reading of Holy Scripture to be kept up.

(35) Relatives visiting monks to be liberally entertained.

(36) These injunctions to be written out and read before the whole convent twice in the year.

The injunctions are very similar to those Wykeham imposed in this same year on other houses in his diocese (Heales 1898, 265-7; Luce 1953), but some points are peculiar to Selborne. It would seem that Wykeham's visitation and injunctions did have a beneficial effect on the moral life of the Priory, since eighteen months later John Chertsey, a refractory canon of Newark Priory, was sent to Selborne for penance and seclusion (Kirby 1899, 419).

At the end of the fourteenth century the Priory had a similar misunderstanding with the Exchequer as had occurred sixty years previously in the case of the trusteeship of the Oakhanger and Hawkley lands (see above). In October 1395 a commission had been sent to the Prior of Selborne in conjunction with John Chaumpflour, John Ramesay and Roger Dyne, to enquire regarding waste in the lordship, manor, park and lodge of Worldham – firstly since the king's coronation and secondly since John Slegh, deceased, had held the same by the king's grant (*Cal. Pat. R.* 1391-6, 652). Three years later a writ of *supersedeas omnino* was sent to the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer in respect of any process against the above-named four, and order to release any distress made upon them. The commission had never been delivered to them, as John Ramesay had sworn in Chancery (*Cal. Close R.* 1396-9, 406).

In 1393 the Priory was again sequestrated for the non-payment of papal procurations, and in 1400 Prior Thomas was excommunicated for the same reason (Kirby 1899, 437-8, 495). In 1401 William of Wykeham for a second time paid off all the Priory's debts, this time to a total of £66.13s.4d. (Kirby 1899, 524). However, as Henry IV visited the Priory two months later, further debts were probably incurred for his entertainment (*Proc. Ord. P.C.* 1, 155). In 1410 a mandate for the payment of peterpence and papal

procurations showed that Selborne, together with other houses in Winchester diocese, was several years in arrears and was being threatened with citation and sequestration in this connexion (Reg. Beaufort f. 25†d).

In 1409 Prior Thomas acknowledged the receipt of £10 from Edward Cowdray and Richard Holte, executors of the above-mentioned John Chaumpflour, in full payment of all debts owed by the deceased to Selborne Priory (HRO 44m69/433). Prior Thomas himself died on 18th October 1410; the convent buried him on 11th November, elected John Winchester senior for eleventh prior the following day, and wrote to the Bishop on 14th November informing him of these events. On this occasion also the names of all the canons are given in the episcopal register – John Winchester senior the sub-prior, Richard Elstede senior canon, Thomas Halyborne, John Lemyngton sacrist, John Stepe cantor, Walter Farnham, Richard Putworth cellarer, Hugh London, Henry Bramton and John Winchester junior (Reg. Beaufort ff. 23†d et seq.).

John Winchester's priorship cannot have been longer than eleven years and may have been less. As mentioned above, for 34 years of Beaufort's episcopate no registers survive, hence a gap also occurs in the Priory's clerical history. John Stepe had certainly become twelfth prior by 1421 (BL Add. Chart 27842) and may have been elected as early as 1415, but as both men had the same Christian name it is not certain which of them is referred to in the charters of this period. A Prior John is mentioned in a document dated 29th September 1415, leasing to William Thomas and family a messuage, garden, two crofts, one meadow and 2½ acres in the Kingsfield in Selborne, to be held for their lives at 8/- a year and on condition they build a new grange within nine years with timber supplied by the Priory and also maintain the existing bakehouse (Macray 1891, 108). This new grange, built between 1415 and 1424 if the Thomas family kept to their part of the lease, would presumably be the one Gilbert White mentions: 'The Author has conversed with very ancient people who remembered the old original Grange; but it has long given place to a modern farmhouse' (Scott 1950, 134).

John Stepe's rule lasted more than 30 years, but not a great deal can be learnt about the Priory during this period owing to the lack of episcopal registers; also, its property transactions by now had practically ceased, and few charters occur during these years. However, some documents of a more domestic nature survive, the earliest of which is a court roll of Alton manor for the year October 1421/September 1422 (BL Add. Chart 27842). During this period a certain Richard Willy was pursuing two pleas of seizure and detention of livestock against Prior John Stepe, Brother Thomas (possibly the Thomas Halybourne mentioned above) and their servant Richard Forger. Prior John did not deny that he and the other two had seized at Thedden and carried off to Alton three horses, twenty ewes and four calves owned by Richard Willy, but claimed that his action was justified in that these animals were grazing on the land of a Priory tenant whose rent was in arrears, and that the three horses represented the value of one year's rent and services and the other stock accounted for a second year's rent. Richard Willy maintained that his animals were not grazing on Priory-owned land and claimed £4 damages. The case dragged on, being adjourned from court to court, and was still undecided a year later. At this same court Prior John was simultaneously bringing an action of novel disseisin against Thomas Alcestre and John Went on the grounds that they had deforced the Priory of rents of 20/- and a half-pound of cummin from lands

at Alton, for which he claimed £20 damages. Both the Prior and his opponents managed to obtain royal writs in their respective favours and, as in Richard Willy's case, no judgement had been given by the time the series of court rolls finished.

A much more informative document is a rental of Selborne (Magd. Coll. Rental Add. 49, ref. H) compiled on 6th May 1444, towards the end of John Stepe's priorship, presumably when a new bailiff or steward of the Priory's lands was appointed. This rental is a compilation of extracts from Selborne manor court rolls; some extracts date as far back as the end of the thirteenth century, though most are current fifteenth-century tenancies. Some forty heads of families are given in the rental as copyholders, and a further fifty other names are mentioned as being previous tenants or adjoining owners, a total that suggests a population of approximately 450 souls presently or recently resident in Selborne and district. The copyholders range in prosperity from John Purs and his wife Justine, who had a 21-year lease of the messuage next to West Tisted grange together with all the demesne land in that village and part of a wood at Bramdean at 40/- annual rent, down to John Mortemer and his mother Margaret, who held some pasture round the pond at Well Head in Selborne for a yearly rent of 4d. The lands at West Tisted given to the Priory by Adam de Lymesy two hundred years previously (see above) were now held by John Colhowks and family at a rent of 6/8d. a year, 16d. of which was to be paid direct by John to Newark Priory. In April 1437 a certain John Hukker had taken the tenancy of '1 messuage with garden, 1 separate croft, 1 lyth and 1 launde with 1 garden opposite the said messuage beside the lane which goes to the church'; this is possibly the origin of the present-day name of Hucker's Lane for the small road which descends from the main street of Selborne village past the Queen's Arms and the field below the church to Dorton Cottage, at which point it becomes an unmetalled track leading to Priory Farm. John Hukker's holding, together with six assorted acres in the common fields, was leased to him for 9/- p.a. and an entry fine of 26/8d., which fine was in fact pardoned to him for his labour in repairing the house with the timber, shingles and straw provided for this purpose by the Priory.

At about the same time as the Priory's steward was compiling the above rental, Prior John and his sacristan Peter Berne were making inventories of the Priory's goods and chattels, both sacred and secular. The first inventory is dated 5th October 1442, but the date on the second is damaged. There are some differences between them, though whether this is due to inaccuracies in the first list or alterations in goods caused by a short time-lag cannot be known. Gilbert White mentions the later inventory and gives a very incorrect version of it in his appendix to the *Antiquities of Selborne* (Scott 1950, 92-3; 171-3). The full version is as follows:

'This indenture made Monday next after Christmas Day in the . . . year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth after the conquest of England, between brother John Stepe, prior of the church of Blessed Mary of Selborne, and Peter Berne sacristan of the same; this is to say that the aforesaid prior has delivered to the above-named Peter all the under-noted things: firstly, 22 amices, 31 albes, of which 5 are without apparel for Lent; 22 maniples; 22 stoles; 8 chasubles, of which 3 are white for Lent; 11 dalmatics, of which 1 is worn out; 16 copes, of which 4 are old; 1 amice, 1 albe with apparel, 1 maniple, 1 stole, 1 chasuble and 2 dalmatics, from the gift of John Combe, chaplain of Chichester, for the principal days; 1 amice, 1 albe with apparel, 1 maniple, 1 stole, 1 chasuble, from

the gift of brother Thomas Halybourne, canon; 1 amice, 1 albe with apparel, 1 maniple, 1 stole, 1 chasuble, belonging to the altar of St. Katherine the virgin, for the prior; 1 amice, 2 albes with apparel, 2 maniples, 2 stoles and 2 chasubles, belonging to the altar of St. Peter, from the gift of Richard Holt's father; by gift of the same 2 cloths, of which 1 is with frontal, and 1 canvas for the same altar; 1 cloth hanging to the ground for Lent; 6 cloths with frontals; 15 cloths without frontals; 4 cloths for washing; 5 corporals; 2 frontals for the high altar without cloths; 2 coverings for the desk; 2 worn-out silk altar cloths; 1 veil for Lent; 1 carpet of green colour for the high altar; 2 curtains with 4 little curtains, belonging to the said altar; 7 offertory cloths, of which 5 are worn out; 4 banners; 4 basins; 3 cushions, of which 1 is of silk; 2 portable altars; 5 chalices, of which 4 are of gold; 2 cruets of silver, from the gift of John Combe, chaplain of Chichester; 8 cruets of pewter; 1 cup, silver-gilt; 2 silver osculatories; 1 osculatory with the bone of the ear-finger of St. John Baptist; 1 cross, silver-gilt, not mounted; 1 censer, silver-gilt; 1 ring with a sapphire; 1 other ring, gold, of St. Hippolytus; 1 ring, silver-gilt, of St. Edmund; 1 brooch with a *pereo* (sic) set in; 1 box, silver-gilt; 1 image of the Blessed Mary, silver-gilt; 1 small cross with 5 relics; 1 joint-bone of St. Richard; 1 case for putting relics in; 1 pome of St. Richard; 4 candelabra, of which 2 are of tin and 2 of iron; 1 comb of St. Richard; 2 vials of crystal, partly broken; 1 basin of copper for washing; 2 osculatories of copper; 1 small censer of latten; 1 vase of copper for keeping frankincense; 1 pyx of ivory for the Host; 2 vases of lead for keeping oil; 1 small bronze dish bound with iron; 1 iron tripod; 1 costrel containing 2½ gallons; 2 baking irons; 2 leather bottles, 1 of a quart and 1 of a pint; 3 silver rings and 1 pyx of St. Mary of Wadden; instruments for *seudyng* (? soldering); 1 lead-knife; 1 shaffhoke (? shave-hook); 1 axe; 2 stools of iron for the chancel; 1 plane; 1 chest without a lock; 14 girdles; 19 tapers, of weight 13½ lbs.; 2 torches, of weight 20 lbs.; 12½ lb. of wax; 6 lb. weight of wax candles; 1 lb. of frankincense; 1 gallon of oil; 9 lb. of lead. For cattle see the back: 2 cows, 1 sow, 4 hoggetts and 4 piglets' (Macray 1891, xi-xii).

Towards the end of his life Prior John was called in to help in a domestic dispute, when John Perys and his wife Julyan, living in the nearby village of Colemore, appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury in his capacity as Chancellor of England to issue a *dedimus potestatem* to the Prior of Selborne. John Perys complained that his wife's cousin Thomas atte Mylle was deliberately retaining title deeds that rightfully belonged to Julyan, and requested that Prior John should be appointed to examine Thomas on this matter and proceed thereafter as he saw fit. John Perys' letter is undated, but must fall within the decade 1443-1453 (PRO C.1.17. no. 149).

During this same decade Prior John Stepe was also occupied upon the business of the Augustinian Order. Selborne had been fined 13/4d. for non-attendance at the Chapter held at Oseney in June 1443, but on the same occasion the Priors of Selborne and Bradenstoke were chosen as Visitors for the dioceses of Winchester, Chichester and Salisbury (Salter 1922, 101-3). Their report was duly presented at the next Chapter, held at Northampton in June 1446; it was very short, consisting only of some comments on the situation at Mottisfont Priory (Salter 1922, 113).

Prior John Stepe died on 26th January 1454, and the Priory wrote the same day to Waynflete asking permission to elect his successor. Instead, the Bishop made sacristan Peter Berne 'keeper' of the Priory some weeks later and on 18th July 1454 appointed him

as thirteenth Prior (Reg. Waynefflete 1, ff. 64, 64d, 69d). By now the convent's financial affairs seem to have become hopelessly muddled, and in November 1462 the canons mortgaged an annual rent of 40/- from a messuage and land in Bramdean to Thomas Whythorne for 30 years, for a present loan of £60 'for their great necessity, for the profit of their house and church' (Macray 1894, 62). On 8th February 1463 Waynefflete sequestrated the Priory on account of notorious dilapidations (Reg. Waynefflete 1, f. 75*d, 76*) and on 28th February Prior Peter presented the convent's balance sheet to the Bishop for his assistance in clarifying their affairs. The rough copy of this balance sheet, with many cancellations and inaccurate calculations, is included amongst the other documents held at Magdalen College (Selborne Charter No. 381; Macray 1891, 114-5). From this it appears that there were only four canons in residence at the Priory, each with a personal servant, and that £30 a year was required for their upkeep; the Prior should also receive £10 a year personal allowance. Some of the tenants were as much as seven years in arrears with their rents, and in all the Priory was owed £94.1s.1d. The Bishop assisted in allotting amounts to be set aside for repairs to property and in paying off creditors. He may well have insisted that Prior Peter should keep written accounts, since there also exist in Magdalen's archives eleven folio leaves of paper remaining from an account book, covering the years 1463 and 1464 (Selborne Charter No. 394; Macray 1891, 116-7). The entries seem to have been written up spasmodically, grouping together under various headings payments made or monies received for that particular item over a period of months. Repairs were indeed carried out both to the Priory itself and to several of its properties, and some creditors were paid off. On the other hand, several holdings were lying vacant for lack of tenants, and whereas receipts amounted to £60.1s.6d., payments during the same period totalled £67.11s.7d. Prior Peter presumably felt he could not cope with the problems of the convent's finances, and on 28th March 1468 resigned the priorship and right of election to Waynefflete (Reg. Waynefflete 1, f. 157d-159).

On this occasion the Bishop brought in another outsider, John Morton, who had been Prior of Reigate since 1460 (Malden 1905, 1, 107). It would hardly appear to be promotion for him to be sent to Selborne, but nevertheless Waynefflete appointed him fourteenth Prior of Selborne on 7th April 1468, and he resigned the priorship of Reigate the same day (Reg. Waynefflete 1, f. 157d-159). He was perhaps already an elderly man, as he died in the summer of 1471, leaving a vacancy which caused disagreement between the canons and necessitated an appeal once again to the Bishop for assistance. There were five canons in residence - Peter Berne, William Stratfield alias Paynel, Thomas London, John Bromesgrove and William Windsor. Thomas London and John Bromesgrove elected William Windsor for fifteenth Prior, but Peter Berne and William Stratfield-Paynel complained that they had not been consulted in this election. All five transferred their right of election to the Bishop, who commenced by annulling Windsor's unorthodox election (Reg. Waynefflete 2, f. 7d-9).

The man now chosen by Waynefflete on 27th September 1471 for sixteenth Prior of Selborne, Thomas Fairwise, had a distinctly curious episode in his past to live down. In 1454 he had been in Burscough Priory, near Ormskirk, whence he was sent to Mottisfont Priory, Hants. In 1460 Mottisfont presented him to the vicarage of Kings Somborne (Reg. Waynefflete 1, f. 101d) and it was from there that Waynefflete transferred him to Selborne.

Although the date of his removal from Burscough to Mottisfont is not known, it was obviously occasioned by events in which he was involved whilst a canon of Burscough, as follows:

'A scandal which came to light in 1454 affords a curious glimpse into the state of the house at that date. Charges of divination, sortilege, and black art were brought against the prior, Robert Woodward, one of the canons, Thomas Fairwise, and the vicar of Ormskirk, William Bolton, who is described as late canon of the priory. An episcopal investigation revealed strange doings. One Robert, a necromancer, had undertaken for £10 to find hidden treasure. After swearing secrecy on the sacrament of bread they handed it over in the pyx to Robert. Three *circuli trianguli* were made, in each of which one of them stood, the vicar having the body of Christ suspended at his breast and holding in his hand a rod, doubtless a diviner's rod. The story ends here, but all three denied that any invocation of demons or sacrifice to them had taken place. Bishop Boulders suspended them for two years from the priestly office and from receiving the sacraments except in *articulo mortis*. Bolton was deprived of his vicarage and the prior had to resign. In a few months the Bishop removed the suspension in their case, but they did not recover their positions. The ex-prior was allowed a pension of 10 marks, with a "competent chamber" in the priory, and as much bread, beer and meat as fell to the share of two canons.' (Farrer and Brownbill 1903, 148-52).

It sounds from the above account as if Thomas Fairwise and his companions were more credulous than wicked, but whatever his character may have been, he could hardly have had much opportunity to improve or debase the standards of Selborne, as he died within a year of his appointment. On this occasion William Windsor, now the sub-prior, Thomas London and William Stratfield elected Peter Berne again for a second term of office, and then wrote to Waynefflete on 5th September 1472 informing him of these events (Reg. Waynefflete 2, f. 15-18). The Bishop seems to have had no objection to the canons proceeding to an election without his permission, as he confirmed Peter Berne as seventeenth Prior a few days later.

The last few references in the episcopal registers continue to stress the poverty of the house. Between 1449 and 1484 Waynefflete had to answer eleven requests for tithes due to the King, plus two requests for subsidies, one at 6d. and the other at 2/- in the £. Of this total of thirteen requests, Selborne was only once able to pay its share, on the occasion of the 2/- in the £ subsidy in 1450; on ten occasions the name of the Priory appears in the list of those houses exempted from payment by reason of poverty. (On the remaining two occasions, in 1478 and 1481, the exempt houses are not listed.) These poverty-stricken houses were nearly all those of Augustinian canons - St. Denys Southampton, Breamore, Reigate, Tandridge, Newark and Selborne - the others being St. Cross Hospital Winchester, the Cistercian nuns at Hartley Wintney, and the Benedictine cell at Monk Sherborne (Reg. Waynefflete 1, f. 2d *post ordines*, et al.; Reg. Waynefflete 2, f. 1 *post ordines* et al.).

On 20th March 1478 the Priors of Breamore and Tortington, as Visitors for the Augustinian Order, cited Prior Peter and all the canons and brethren to attend a visitation of Selborne Priory to be held there on 21st April 1478 (Macray 1891, 118). No record of their findings exists - it should have been reported to the next Chapter of the Augustinians,

held at Huntingdon in 1479 (Salter 1922, xxxiv) – but, very probably as a result of this visitation, Prior Peter resigned for the second time on 14th May 1478.

Wayneflete once again appointed an outsider – John Sharpe, alias Glastonbury, sub-prior of Bruton Priory – for eighteenth Prior, on 25th May 1478 (Reg. Wayneflete 2, f. 55d-56). Wayneflete instructed that Peter Berne, being now aged and infirm, should be provided with board and lodging in Selborne Priory, a servant to wait upon him, and a pension of 10 marks a year for the remainder of his life. John Sharpe swore to honour these arrangements.

The Priory now dwindled very rapidly to its close. William Windsor, Thomas London and William Stratfield, who elected Peter Berne in 1472, had all died or left before John Sharpe's appointment in 1478, when the canons are listed as Peter Berne, Thomas Ashford, Stephen Clidyrowe, John Ashton and Henry Cawode. There is no record of what happened to Prior John Sharpe, but by 1484 Thomas Ashford was describing himself as Prior of Selborne. Gilbert White (Scott 1950, 109) says that Wayneflete appointed Ashford as Prior, but no record of this appears to exist in Wayneflete's registers. In August 1484 Wayneflete's newly-founded Magdalen College, Oxford, appealed to the Bishop for the Priory to be appropriated to them, on the grounds that it was now ruinous and deserted and the College was in need of further funds (Scott 1950, 112-19). The bishop accordingly started proceedings for the annexation of the Priory and its properties, and between 6th-11th September 1484 the matter was formally discussed in St. Andrew's church, Farnham, before the Prior of Newark acting as the Bishop's deputy. Thomas Ashford, aged 72 and describing himself as the Prior, appeared and admitted that he was now the only canon in residence and that the buildings had fallen into disrepair (Macray 1891, 119-34; Magd. Coll. Reg. A. f. 42). There was really no doubt as to the outcome of Magdalen's request, and on 24th September 1484 the College took possession of Selborne Priory and its properties (Macray 1891, 134). The following June Thomas Ashford was granted by them a pension of £6.13s.4d. a year for the rest of his life, to be paid from the Priory's (and now the College's) possessions in Basingstoke (Magd. Coll. Reg. A. f. 45).

Between 3rd-8th August 1485 the process for appropriation to Magdalen was repeated, this time at St. George's church, Esher, as apparently by then Thomas Ashford had left and the Priory was entirely deserted (Macray 1891, 119 note). The College then petitioned the Pope to confirm the appropriation, which he did in June 1486 (Macray 1891, 134-5, 140; *Cal. Papal Letters* 14, 126-7), thus finally ending the life of Selborne Priory almost exactly 250 years after its foundation.

POST-APPROPRIATION HISTORY

Prior Thomas Ashford lived on probably until the spring of 1490; his last receipt to Magdalen's Hampshire agent, Hugh Walton, for payment of his pension is dated 24th October 1489 (Macray 1891, 145), and on 17th May 1490 Magdalen leased out Basingstoke vicarage, where presumably Prior Thomas had been living, to two inhabitants of that town (Magd. Coll. Reg. A. f. 79). In January 1488 Wayneflete's successor in the See of Winchester, Peter Courtenay, released Magdalen from all actions and complaints for anything due by reason of the appropriation of the Priory (Macray 1891, 144). The

Priory buildings were given into the charge of Simon Hiltoft, Dean of Alton, who evidently continued to hold some services there, as he is also described as being chaplain of the Priory. On 16th May 1490 Hiltoft compiled an inventory of the church goods remaining at the Priory under his custody, which is surprisingly different, both in style and content, from the two inventories compiled at mid-century by Prior John Stepe and sacrist Peter Berne (Macray 1891, 145-6). Hiltoft deals with the vestments in considerable detail, itemising their colours and embroideries, but mentions very little else in the way of church plate or furnishings, and nothing at all in respect of the more domestic goods included in the earlier lists. It is of course possible that during the previous fifty years much of the church plate had been disposed of; on the other hand, Hiltoft lists various items that were not mentioned before, such as seven pictures for placing on or above the altars, three small bells and thirty-three books – twenty service-books and thirteen separate titles. It seems unlikely that the Priory would have purchased these expensive items in its declining years, so presumably they were overlooked during the preparation of the earlier inventories. When and where these valuable goods were finally removed is not known; Macray (1891, xii) could find no mention of them in Magdalen's later records.

No doubt the College arranged for a survey to be made of its newly-acquired Hampshire properties, but no record of this exists; however, it is evident that the 1444 rental mentioned above was brought out and examined, for marginal comments were added – possibly by its agent Hugh Walton – noting where sons or daughters of the mid-century tenants had now succeeded their parents as copyholders. The land immediately surrounding the Priory buildings was leased out as a farm, and by 1526 a farmhouse and auxiliary buildings were already erected on the south side of the Priory itself (Magd. Coll. Reg. B. f. 43; Scott 1950, 123). Later in the sixteenth century stone from the Priory buildings was sent to Andover and used for building the Bell Inn there (Magd. Coll. Enham 255b.).

In 1534 Magdalen appointed Nicholas Langrish, a Fellow of the College and vicar of East Worldham, to be chaplain at the Priory for the next forty years, if he lived so long, and to celebrate there for the souls of all the benefactors of the said Priory and College deceased. For these services he was to receive a pension of £8 a year, with two chambers on the north side of the chapel there, plus a kitchen, orchard, stable for three horses, ten cartloads of wood annually, and 26/- a year to pay a clerk to assist him at the altar (Macray 1891, 148). This payment to Nicholas appears in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* the following year; the *Valor* also shows that the properties Magdalen had inherited from the Priory were worth £131.15s.10½d. gross, and £94.6s.6½d. nett (*Val. eccl.* 2, 284-5). Nicholas Langrish continued to serve as chaplain until 1550, but then resigned his duties and the £8 pension in favour of an annual payment of £10 for 30 years, if he lived so long, on condition of his superintending the woods, copses and enclosures in Selborne belonging to the College (Macray 1891, 150).

With Nicholas's resignation the ecclesiastical history of Selborne Priory ends. Priory Farm continued to be owned by Magdalen until very recently, and the names of the tenants down the ensuing centuries can be traced from the College's registers of leases; but the demolition of the religious buildings and subsequent robbing of the site belong to the realm of archaeology rather than history, and will be dealt with by another writer.

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APPENDIX

Priors of Selborne

1. John de Wich	1234-1260	(Macray 1891, 14-15; 1894, 8)
2. Richard de Cantuaria	8.10.1261-1262	(<i>Cal. Pat. R.</i> 1258-66, 177; Macray 1891, 56-7)
3. Peter d'Isenhurst	1267-1273	(Macray 1891, 60; 1894, 59)
4. Richard	1277-1291	(Macray 1891, 66; 76)
5. William de Basing	11.3.1300-summer 1323 (died)	(Deedes 1915, 94; Baigent 1897, 608)
6. Walter de Insula	20.7.1324-4.11.1339 (resigned)	(Reg. Stratford, f. 6; Reg. Orleton, f. 82)
7. Thomas de Winton	6.11.1339-summer 1349 (died)	(—; Reg. Edington 1, f. 53d)
8. Edmund de Popham	Summer 1349-1359	(—; Reg. Edington 1, f. 113)
9. Nicholas de Winton	31.12.1361-10.2.1378 (resigned)	(—; Kirby 1896, 93-7)
10. Thomas Weston	25.2.1378-18.10.1410 (died)	(—; Reg. Beaufort, ff. 23+d, 25†)
11. John Winchester senior	12.11.1410-1413	(—; Macray 1891, 108)
12. John Stepe	1421-26.1.1454 (died)	(B.L. Add. Chart. 27842; Reg. Wayneffete 1, ff. 64, 64d)
13. Peter Berne (1st term)	18.7.1454-28.3.1468 (resigned)	(—; Reg. Wayneffete 1, ff. 157d-159)
14. John Morton	7.4.1468-summer 1471 (died)	(—; Reg. Wayneffete 2, ff. 7d-9)
15. William Windsor	Summer 1471 (unorthodox election)	(—)
16. Thomas Fairwise	27.9.1471-11.8.1472 (died)	(Reg. Wayneffete 2, ff. 15-18)
17. Peter Berne (2nd term)	31.8.1472-14.5.1478 (resigned)	(—; Reg. Wayneffete 2, ff. 55d-57)
18. John Sharpe	20.5.1478-1479	(—; Macray 1891, 119)
19. Thomas Ashford	1484 - living until 1489-90	(Macray 1891, 119-134; 145)

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Abbreviations

Proc. *Proc. Hants. Field Club Archaeol. Soc.*

BL British Library, London.

HRO Hampshire County Record Office, Winchester.

Magd. Coll. Magdalen College, Oxford.

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Sources in the HRO

- Reg. Beaufort Register of Henry Cardinal Beaufort, bishop of Winchester (1405-14, 1425).
 Reg. Edington Register of William of Edington, bishop of Winchester, 1346-1365, 2v.
 Reg. Orleton Register of Adam de Orleton, bishop of Winchester, 1333-1345, 2v.
 Reg. Stratford Register of John de Stratford, bishop of Winchester, 1323-1333.
 Reg. Waynefflete Register of William Waynefflete, bishop of Winchester, 1447-1478, 2v.
 Reg. Wykeham Register of William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, 1366-1404, 2v.

Sources in the PRO

- Cal. Chanc. R. *Calendar of various Chancery Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, London, HMSO, 1912.*
 Cal. Chanc. Warr. *Calendar of Chancery Warrants preserved in the Public Record Office, London, HMSO, 1927.*
 Cal. Chart. R. *Calendar of the Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, London, HMSO, 1903-27, 6v.*
 (Cal.) Close R. *(Calendar of) Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, London, HMSO, 1902-63, 60v.*
 Cal. Fine R. *Calendar of the Fine Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, London, HMSO, 1911-62, 22v.*
 Cal. inq. misc. *Calendar of inquisitions miscellaneous (Chancery) preserved in the Public Record Office, London, HMSO, 1916-68, 7v.*
 Cal. Mem. R. *Calendar of Memoranda Rolls (Exchequer) 1326-1327, preserved in the Public Record Office, London, HMSO, 1968.*
 Cal. Pat. R. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, London, HMSO, 1901-*
 Cal. Papal Letters *Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, (ed. W. H. Bliss, C. Johnson and J. A. Twemlow), London, HMSO, 1893-1955, 14v.*
 Non. inq. *Nonarum inquisitiones in curia scaccarii temp regis Edwardii III, (ed. G. Vanderzee), London, Rec. Comm. 1807.*
 Parl. writs *The Parliamentary writs and writs of military summons, (ed. F. Palgrave), London, Rec. Comm. 1827-34, 2v.*
 Proc. Ord. P.C. *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, (ed. H. N. Nicholas), London, Rec. Comm. 1834-7, 6v.*
 PRO List Anc. Corr. *List of Ancient Correspondence of the Chancery and Exchequer preserved in the Public Record Office, PRO Lists and Indexes no. XV, London, 1902.*
 Rot. hund. *Rotuli hundredorum temp Hen. III & Edw. I, (ed. W. Illingworth and J. Caley), London, Rec. Comm. 1812-18, 2v.*
 Rot. orig. *Rotulorum originalium in curia scaccarii abbrevatio, (ed. H. Playford), London, Rec. Comm. 1805-10, 2v.*
 Tax. eccl. *Taxatio ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicolai IV, circa A.D. 1291, (ed. T. Astle et al), London, Rec. Comm. 1802.*
 Val. eccl. *Valor ecclesiasticus, temp Henrici VIII, auctoritate regia institutus, (ed. J. Caley and J. Hunter), London, Rec. Comm. 1810-34, 6v.*

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