

THE GODSFIELD ESTATE OF THE HAMPSHIRE HOSPITALLERS

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ABSTRACT

The military order of St John of Jerusalem possessed estates throughout western Christendom, including their preceptory of Godsfield and Baddesley. An earlier paper discussed their arrival in Hampshire. This paper traces the creation of their estate at Godsfield as revealed by the surviving Godsfield cartulary. Subsequent articles will examine the Baddesley and other estates and the activities of the Hospitallers in late medieval Hampshire.

INTRODUCTION

The Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England, brothers of St John, Hospitallers, and Knights of St John are alternative names for the same religious order. They are also referred to as ‘the brothers’ within the context of this article. An earlier paper discussed their arrival in Hampshire (Beard, 2005). This paper will examine the development of the Hospitaller estate at Godsfield as revealed by the surviving Godsfield cartulary, now British Library Additional Manuscript 70511, but formerly at Welbeck Abbey. It has been edited and calendared and is scheduled for publication in the near future in the Hampshire Record Series. References to documents in the cartulary are cited as numbers in square brackets refer to documents in the calendar. Thus [1] refers to the charter of Adam de Port to the brothers of St John. In subsequent articles it is hoped to explore the development of the Baddesley and other estates and the activities of the Hospitallers in late medieval Hampshire.

THE GODSFIELD ESTATE

Godsfield was one of the two estates in Hampshire where the Hospitallers established a preceptory. The other estate was at North Baddesley.

Godsfield lies approximately 3 miles north east of New Alresford at grid reference SU 60 37. It is a small area embracing 509 acres on the boundaries of the parishes of Itchen Stoke with Abbotstone, Swarraton, Northington, Brown Candover, Chilton Candover, Wield and Old Alresford. Northington was in Micheldever Hundred; Brown Candover and Chilton Candover in Mainsborough Hundred; Old Alresford in Fawley Hundred; Wield in Bountisborough Hundred in 1086 (now in Fawley Hundred) and Abbotstone, Swarraton and Godsfield in Bountisborough Hundred. The ancient parish of Abbotstone was joined to the parish of Itchen Stoke in 1589 (Sanderson 1971, 57). Godsfield itself became a civil parish in 1858 (*London Gazette*, 1 Jan 1858, 20 Victoria, C19). Since 1932 it has been in the parish of Alresford and in Bountisborough Hundred (Youngs 1980, 208).

The earliest surviving record of the place-name Godsfield occurs in 1199 (PRO C 53/2). Medieval Godsfield was never a parish or settlement comparable to its neighbours. It was not originally a manor and therefore does not occur in Domesday Book (Morris, 1982). That Walter de Andely does not refer to Godsfield in his charter suggests that the place-name of Godsfield did not exist before the Hospitallers were granted this land by Walter and that the land came to be known as Godsfield sometime after this grant and before 1199 when King John

issued his confirmation of all the grants to the Hospitallers. Alternatively Godsfeld may have come to be extended from a small location to apply to the whole estate.

Coates gives the twelfth-century name as *Godefeld* which he interprets as being OE meaning 'Goda's open land', which was changed to *Godesfeld* once the Hospitallers held the land (Coates 1989, 83). Goda may have been a previous owner, a sub-tenant of the de Ports or de Andelys or more probably their predecessor. His land may have reverted to the de Ports or de Andelys as lords and was unencumbered with tenants when it was granted to the brothers. The reference to open land suggests that Goda had assarted land from woodland. There are woods which remain to this day as Wield Wood SU 60 58, Godsfeld Copse SU 59 37 and Upper Abbotstone Wood SU 59 36. This woodland has not been assessed botanically to determine its date and may therefore not be a surviving remnant of the ancient woodland.

Subsequent grants created a consolidated demesne where the parish boundaries of Itchen Stoke with Abbotstone, Swarraton, Brown Candover, Northington, Chilton Candover, Wield and Old Alresford meet on the highest part of the downland. The parishes each have a settlement in the valley except for Wield, which has a settlement between 500 – 600 feet, and form long narrow strips climbing up from the valleys onto the downs above. Godsfeld is located on the high downland, at a distance from the river Alre, from all the villages and from all the principal manor houses. This suggests that each lord gave the brothers their poorest land on the periphery of their estates which they could most easily spare. However the land on the downs belonging to a typical Hampshire strip parish was valuable common land. As the area was woodland, the brothers received an undeveloped but potentially lucrative commodity: woods were valuable private property in the middle ages. There was a scarcity of woodland on the chalk downland of Hampshire except here in the north east where the chalk soil was covered by patches of clay-with-flints (Darby & Campbell 1962, 320). This may suggest that the lords were rather

more generous in their grants of land than at first appears. Perhaps the brothers induced the lords to grant land peripheral to the lords' own interests but more valuable to themselves, especially once consolidated.

There is also the possibility that the brothers chose to settle here to avoid an existing settled area just as did the Templars at Cressing in Essex (Andrews 1993, 35). However this did not make Godsfeld completely isolated, as it is situated only 9 miles from Winchester and 9 miles from Basingstoke, which were both market towns before the brothers settled there. By the thirteenth century two other towns developed; Alresford, 3 miles to the south, was granted a market by the bishop of Winchester in 1200, and became an important trading centre; Overton, 9 miles to the north-west, was granted a market by the bishop in 1218. Alton, 8 miles to the east, was granted a fair by Edward II early in the fourteenth century. The estate was crossed by a wide network of trackways which were important for communication where there were no navigable rivers. The London to Southampton road, known as the king's highway (*CPR* 1266–72, 380), passed very close to Godsfeld before the present A31 was made some 200 years ago (Cochrane 1969, 64, 69). It seems likely that there was more traffic on the road and the area was much busier than its current isolation now suggests.

No tithe map for Godsfeld was produced under the Act of 1836 as the brothers originally held the land known as Godsfeld as their demesne land from which they had been freed from the obligation of paying tithes by Innocent II [1130–43] (Riley-Smith 1967, 376). However it is possible to deduce the boundaries of the surrounding parishes from their corresponding tithe maps and to relate this information to the boundary of the constituted civil parish of Godsfeld in 1858. The 1858 boundary is identical to the perimeter formed by the adjacent parishes on their corresponding tithe maps dating from 1839 to 1850. This is the same parish boundary marked out on the 6 inch OS Sheet 34, first edition (1870) (Fig. 1). The area for the parish is given on this map as 509 acres. This is very close to the area of 490 acres given as

land exempt from great and small tithes known as Godsfield Farm in the 1839–42 tithe award for Old Alresford (HRO 21M65/F7/178/1–2). A sixteenth-century survey made before 1571, when William Paulet, Earl of Wiltshire, afterwards Marquis of Winchester, was granted a licence to alienate the manor of Godsfield to Richard Knight, records that the demesne was of a similar acreage, being 500 acres of inclosed land exempt from the payment of tithes (PRO SC12/30/33). The 1858 parish boundary is therefore the boundary of the demesne of the manor of Godsfield which the Hospitallers created from their grants of land (Fig. 1).

THE MAKING OF THE GODSFIELD ESTATE.

The first reference to Godsfield dates to 30 August 1199 when, at Rouen, King John confirmed all the donations to the brothers of the Hospital of Jerusalem including the gift of Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester [1129–71] and brother to King Stephen, of the hospital of St Cross outside the walls of Winchester with all its appurtenances and the land of Godsfield (PRO C53/2; Dugdale 1830, 4, 808). As there is no surviving charter made by Henry in the cartulary and no evidence of any specific grant by the bishop, it is necessary to consider whether the grant of either Adam de Port [1] or Walter de Andely [2] is the grant referred to by John in 1199 since the de Ports and the de Andelys both held land of Henry of Blois. The bishop himself did not hold land directly in chief at Godsfield.

Godsfield is on the north east boundary of the parish of Itchen Stoke and Abbotstone. As Hugh de Port held Abbotstone of the bishop of Winchester at the time of the Domesday Survey (Morris, 1982, 2, 23), one option is that it was his land in Abbotstone that is referred to in John's charter of 1199 and that may have been confirmed by the de Port's overlord, Bishop Henry, to the brothers. This deduction is further strengthened because Adam de Port confirmed his gift of land held of his fee at Godsfield [1]. However Adam probably did

not come of age until after the death of Henry of Blois. When John the grandson of Hugh de Port died in 1168 before Michaelmas, he was succeeded by his son, Adam, who was a minor at his father's death (Cokayne 1910–59, 5, XI, 317–19). Adam was of age by Michaelmas 1172 (Cokayne 1910–59, 5, XI, 319) and by 1173 he held the fee of Abbotstone (Franklin 1993, no.139). Therefore his original grant to the brothers was probably after the death of Henry de Blois in 1171 and was therefore not the land of Godsfield in the gift of Henry of Blois which John confirmed in 1199.

It is therefore more likely that the first grant to the Hospitallers was in Chilton Candover. The charter of Walter de Andely, which may be dated to *c.* 1154–66, giving the brothers in perpetual alms 'all the land between the two Bugmores which belongs to Candover' [2], was acknowledged in Henry of Blois' episcopal court. Although Walter's grant of land definitely pre-dates the first reference to the place-name Godsfield, this is probably the land of Godsfield in the gift of Henry of Blois which John confirmed in 1199. Bishop Henry's original grant confirming the administration of the Hospital of St Cross on Raymond du Puy, Master of the Hospitallers 1120–58/60 (Sire 1994, 280), did not include the land of Godsfield (Franklin 1993, no.133). Franklin says that Henry of Blois' involvement with Godsfield would appear to be limited to his consent to the grant of Walter de Andely (Franklin 1993, no.49). There is no surviving evidence in the cartulary to suggest otherwise. Perhaps Walter de Andely took the initiative in granting to the brothers the land he held of Henry and Henry's involvement was limited to giving his permission. When King John confirmed all the donations to the brothers of the Hospital of Jerusalem including the gift of Henry of St Cross and the land of Godsfield, he gave the name of the original overlord and this had been Henry of Blois.

The documents at the beginning of the cartulary [1] to [6] disclose the manner in which the brothers extended their assart known as Godsfield from land from the manors of Adam de Port, the de Andelys and the St Martins and

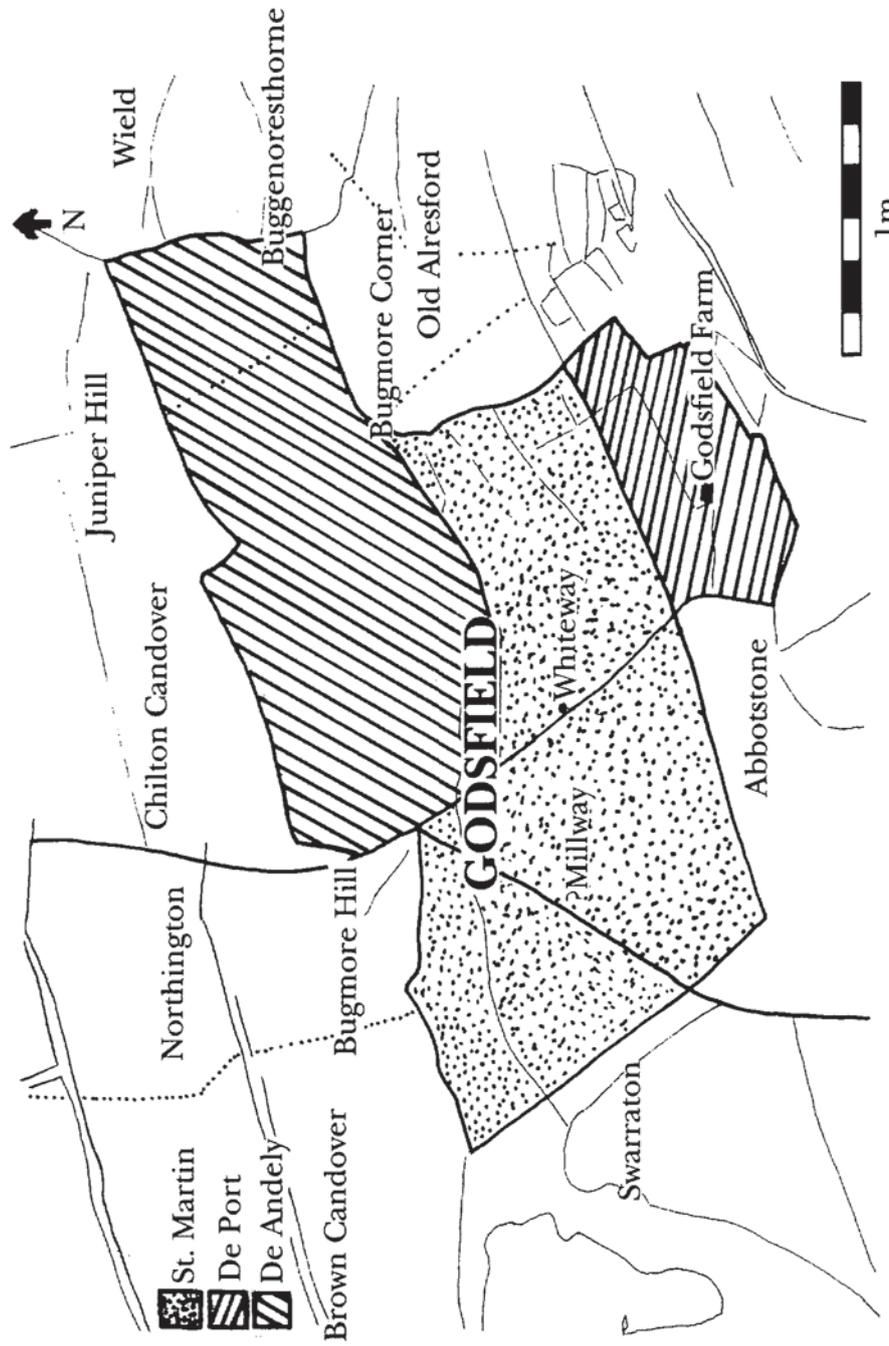


Fig. 1 The estate of Godsfield

how they consolidated their estate by a process of exchanges. There are examples of Roger de Vere, as the English prior 1265–72, actively participating in accumulating and consolidating the Godsfield estate [5; 6]. These grants combined with the grants from the Mortimer manor of Swarraton [7]–[11] became the brothers' demesne that was exempt from tithes and was therefore the same land deduced from the tithe map evidence (Fig. 1). The map of tithe free land is essential to make sense of the entries in the cartulary.

William Hulles, the preceptor of North Baddesley when the cartulary was compiled c. 1397–8, gave precedence to the grant by Adam de Port [1], although Walter de Andely's grant was actually of an even earlier date. This suggests that it was the most important gift. It is the only charter in the cartulary that specifically mentions a donation of land in Godsfield. The brothers already held land of his fee at Godsfield by the date of Port's charter in or before 1207, when he confirmed his previous gift of 'all the land that the brothers held of his fee at Godsfield with an addition of the land lying between the new ditch, as it extends from the Bishop's wood, and the down of Swarraton'. Adam does not specify from which of his fees the brothers held of him. His gift was in perpetual alms, free of all service. There is no record of the brothers holding of the de Port fee in *Feudal Aids* or other records. The brothers, therefore, did not hold the land by knight's fee. However Adam held Abbotstone of the bishop of Winchester. As this is the nearest of his fees to Godsfield, it is reasonable to deduce that what he gave the brothers was his land on the periphery of that manor. This may be the location of Goda's assart, as Adam refers to his fee at *Godesfeld*. It was to be the site for the preceptory buildings and later for Godsfield farm. The Bishop's wood denotes the boundary with Old Alresford, which was held by the bishop of Winchester (Morris 1982, 2, 1) and lay on the eastern and southern boundary of Abbotstone. The new ditch may denote the boundary of the land previously granted by Adam. There is an ancient ditch and bank, planted with hazel, at the eastern end of Upper

Abbotstone Wood where the Abbotstone parish boundary meets the boundary of Godsfield at SU 60 37. Swarraton lay to the north of Adam's additional grant of land, as one boundary is given as the down of Swarraton.

The charter of Walter de Andely is undated but may be dated to c. 1154–66. Walter gave the brothers in perpetual alms 'all the land between the two Bugmores which belongs to Candover' [2], free of all service. There is no record of the brothers holding of the Andely fee in *Feudal Aids* or other records. The brothers, therefore, did not hold the land by knight's fee. At the time of the Domesday Survey Richere held a manor in Candover of the bishop of Winchester (Morris 1982, 2, 19). He was probably the same person as Richere de Les Andelys who held customary dues of his houses in Southampton by grant of King William (Morris 1982, S3). Richere was from Les Andelys in Normandy. Godfrey de Andely was probably his successor and held 3 knights' fees of the bishop of Winchester. He was succeeded by his son Walter who was holding 4 fees in 1166 (Hall 1896, 1, 205). It was this Walter who granted the brothers all the land between the two Bugmores [2]. He died before 1185–90 as it was his son Walter who confirmed his grant to Prior Gerald de Neapol [3].

The Bugmore name in Walter de Andely's grant to the brothers [2] survives in Bugmore Hill 1.5 km north east of Godsfield Farm at grid reference SU 59 37. It is easy to envisage how the western boundary of Chilton Candover once extended to this point or beyond (Fig. 1). Grundy's work on the place-names of Hampshire says that the *Bucan Ora* place-name on the boundary of a [Brown] Candover Saxon land charter survives in the name Bugmore Hill and that 'Bugmore' is probably related to the Bangar place-names in the south east of the parish of Chilton Candover. There is also a Bugmore Corner (*Bugner Corner*) in Wield mentioned in a sixteenth-century perambulation of the bounds of the manor of Old Alresford (Grundy 1921, 141–43).

Edward Roberts and Garry Allam have traced the boundary of the Tudor perambulation of Alresford (Roberts 1993, 9–13) and have

placed Bugmore Corner at SU 60 37 on the south east boundary of Godsfeld Copse at SU 60 38 (Fig. 1). Walter de Andely's charter giving the brothers 'the land which is between the two Bugmores with the woods the far side of which form the boundary' may refer to Bugmore Hill and Bugmore Corner and the woods that continue to the eastern boundary with Wield (Fig. 1).

Bugmore Hill is part of a long ridge composed of clay-with-flints which runs along the boundaries of Brown Candover, Chilton Candover, Godsfeld and Wield (Ordnance Survey Geological Survey of England and Wales: Alresford: sheet 300). Trees are usually found on this type of soil. Grundy suggests that 'Bugmore ought to be derived from the Saxon name of *Bucgan Mor*, 'Bucga's Marsh', but that this is unlikely as *mor* is always used of wet ground near a stream' (Grundy 1921, 141). Another interpretation may be 'Bucga's Moor' as *mor* may also denote 'moor' or 'mere' meaning a field on the boundary (Currie 1998). This interpretation suggests that there was an assarted field here and offers an alternative location for Goda's assart. The word 'mere' is also designated to a natural sinkhole in chalk which forms a pond. A group of ponds may be situated where a number of parishes converge. They may have Saxon names (Rackham 1994, 172). There are two reservoirs within the 1858 parish boundary of Godsfeld indicating a natural water supply. One is near Bugmore Hill at grid reference SU 59 37 and the other is at grid reference SU 60 37. A possible interpretation of *Bucga's mor* is that it may relate to either a field or to ponds on the boundary where the parishes of the Candovers, Swarraton, Wield and Alresford would have met before Godsfeld was created.

The grant, of 1267, of a later Walter de Andely [4], refers to an assart on the eastern boundary. It thus suggests that the brothers had already cleared for cultivation the land granted by his predecessor [2] by this date. This may have been the location of Goda's original assart. However this is more likely to have been situated in the manor of Abbotstone. The 18 acres of land faced *le Whiteway* on the west. This seems to be the track that runs from Godsfeld farmhouse

to Bugmore Hill that would have been used for moving stock to the common. The track is on chalk downland and has been worn down to the chalk by passing feet, hence giving the name of *le Whiteway*. The reference to Bugmore Wood suggests that this was included in the grant to the brothers by the first Walter de Andely either as the woods bordering Wield or more likely the land between the two Bugmores over which there were apparently common rights of pasture. The brothers had certainly acquired Bugmore Wood, which was wood pasture, before 1312, when Robert de Tickhill quit-claimed his right of common in the brothers' wood called Bugmore [15]. Godsfeld Copse north of Godsfeld farm may be a remnant of this wood common, however it has not been assessed botanically to determine its date. The majority of the trees are today coppiced beech. Coppicing may have been carried out after the land was no longer used for grazing as trees were pollarded in wood pasture to avoid damage by livestock (Rackham 1994, 56, 58). Walter allowed the brothers to enclose the land with a ditch [4]. A public footpath runs along the southern boundary of Godsfeld Copse and there is indeed a ditch and bank on the north side of the path. The bank is currently one metre high and two metres wide at the base and has a rounded profile. The ditch is on the south side of the bank facing what would have been the Mortimer manor of Swarraton and is silted up. It was probably 1.5 metres wide or more. Modern machinery, however, has restructured the land. There are coppiced beech trees growing on top of the bank. Many of the trees are very large and show evidence of early coppicing. The bank was constructed using flints which can be seen where the vegetation has been disturbed. These may have come from the two pits which lay west of Godsfeld Copse at grid reference SU 60 38 as flint can be found locally in the area between Bugmore Hill and Wield. The ditch and bank turn northwards along the 1858 parish boundary with Wield.

Walter still held land that the brothers had to cross to gain access to their land as he also granted them free access. In 1270 Roger de Vere exchanged the brothers' right of common

in the pasture of Chilton Candover for a further 50 acres of land from Robert de Andely. It is probably these 50 acres that gave the brothers a unified area of land containing all the gifts of the de Andelys [2, 4, 5, 6]. Evidence of the Hospitallers' long-term strategy is revealed in the negotiations of Roger de Vere with the later Walter de Andely in 1267 [4], [6] and with Robert de Andely in 1270 [5]. The Hospitallers had acquired rights of pasture rather than more valuable land from Walter de Andely [2], which they were able to exchange, at a later date, to create a unified estate.

The grant of William St Martin and his wife Eremburgia of all the land and pasture that begins at the corner of Bugmore Wood [7] may be dated to *c.* 1220–8. It was made after the brothers had received their land from Walter de Andely *c.* 1154–66 [2] and from Adam de Port in 1207 [1]. That this land was in the manor of Swarraton is confirmed by Hugh St Martin's quitclaim of the rent of 20s which the brothers had been accustomed to give William and his son Hugh for pasture held of them in the manor of Swarraton [9]. Hugh's charter may be dated to 1228–43.

William St Martin had died by 1228 as his son, Hugh, held land in Swarraton before this date. It had descended to Hugh from his mother Eremburgia. The overlordship was in the hands of Hugh Mortimer who died in 1227 without heirs. The land reverted to Henry III before Ralph Mortimer, Hugh Mortimer's brother, inherited (*CCR* 1227–31, 83). In 1228 Henry III had conveyed the land to Ingram St Martin, Hugh St Martin's younger brother, to hold during the king's pleasure because Hugh St Martin had crossed into Normandy unlicensed (*CIPM*, 1, no.17). Hugh St Martin had returned to England and had put himself in seisin while Ingram was absent and was still holding the land when he died by 1 September 1243. He had no heirs except his nephews on the side of his sister, who were in the power of the king of France. (*CIPM*, 1, no.17). The lordship of the manor was held as half a knight's fee by the Mortimers until 1425 and subsequently by Richard Duke of York. The whole estate was occupied by the Hospitallers as sub-

tenants. Thus Edmund Mortimer, died 1304, inquest 3 January 1305, held half a knight's fee in Swarraton held of him by the master of the hospital of Godsfield (*CIPM*, 4, no.235). The 4th Earl of March, died July 1398, inquest 11 September 1398, held half a knight's fee in Swarraton formerly held by the master of the hospital of Godsfield and sometime by William St Martin (*CIPM*, 17, no.1225). The Prior held the estate in 1316 (*Feudal Aids*, 2, 306), in 1346 (*Feudal Aids*, 2, 329) and in 1428 (*Feudal Aids*, 2, 356).

In William St Martin's charter the boundaries of his land began at the corner of Bugmore Wood by the brothers' assart. The assart was probably at Bugmore Hill where they held land granted by Walter de Andely [2]. The boundary continued in longitude to the hide of the bishop, which would have been in Old Alresford or Wield since the bishop of Winchester was overlord, between the land of the brothers and the Bugmore Wood as far as the other corner of the wood and the *Buggenoresthorne*. The *Buggenoresthorne* was probably located at the extreme eastern corner of the woods granted by Walter de Andely [2] where the boundaries of Wield, Old Alresford and Chilton Candover would have met before the brothers acquired their land out of Chilton Candover. This part of the boundary was coterminous with the southern boundary of Chilton Candover where there is evidence of a ditch and bank with a coppiced beech hedge. The boundary continued up to *le Whitewey*, which also occurs in the 1267 charter of Walter de Andely [4] and can possibly be identified with the track from Godsfield farm to Bugmore Hill. The boundary then extended to the road called the Millway (*Mulleway*) as far as Abbotstone Down, which is between grid references SU 58 36 and SU 59 36, and up to the corner of the brothers' hedge. The hedge would have been on the western boundary of their land from Chilton Candover.

The names of the trackways have not survived. However the Millway is now probably the modern Spiers Lane which starts at grid reference SU 59 39 and joins the B3046 road which goes south to New Alresford at grid reference SU 59 35. The bishops of Winches-

ter had several water mills at New Alresford (Alresford Displayed, 15, (July 1989), 14–18). The Millway joined or became part of the highway that ran from Alresford to Alton as part of the road from Southampton to London. It was known as the king's highway. After 1269, Henry III allowed his wood to be assarted at the pass of Alton to make the highway broader to ensure that travellers were safe from robbers in anticipation of the Statute of Winchester II 1285 (CPR 1266–72, 380).

That the Millway was possibly later part of the king's highway may be deduced from another grant of land in Swarraton, which was probably pasture, by Richard Francis [11]. He exchanged all his land above la Whethull for 4 acres of the brothers' land in the field of Swarraton. Richard's grant lay to the west of the brothers' land and in width lay between the king's highway and the down of Candover, which probably lay in Brown Candover and was therefore located in the north-west of the demesne. The charter is undated, but may be dated to *c.* 1230–55. Richard may be the same person as the Richard Francis who held land in Priors Dean *c.* 1230–50 (Hanna 1988, 1, 110, 153). The brothers may have instigated the exchange to consolidate their demesne as Richard's grant was after the grant of William St Martin *c.* 1220–28 [7]. Richard was probably a sub-tenant of the St Martin family.

Land called the Down in Swarraton became part of the brothers' estate, as shown in the charters of Adam Franklin [16] and Robert de Totford [17] who quitclaimed their right of common in the meadow called la Doune [16]. In 1745, the manor and lordship of Godsfeld and Swarraton was part of the Grange Estate and included old pasture called the Down consisting of 167 acres and 16 perches (HRO IIM52/118). This pasture stretched from Brown Candover and Northington into Chilton Candover as pasture called the Down occurs on the northern boundary of Godsfeld on the tithe maps of all three parishes. As there is no record of Down pasture on the Swarraton tithe map of 1842 (HRO 21M65/F7/228/1–2), it is probable that the brothers were granted the whole Swarraton portion by William St Martin [7], his successors

or Richard Francis. The boundaries described in William St Martin's charter [7] suggests that the brothers' land in Swarraton abutted onto other land in the parish of Swarraton on the west and on the parish of Old Alresford on the east. The brothers' land from Abbotstone lay to the south and their land from Chilton Candover lay to the north.

The brothers held other land in Swarraton outside the boundaries given in William St Martin's charter including strips of cultivated land in the field of Swarraton [11], [12], [14] and pasture in the fertile meadows of the Candover stream [16], [17]. This land was not part of the demesne as it does not show up as tithe-free land on the Swarraton tithe map. Hence it is less easily identified (HRO 21M65/F7/228/1–2). There was another manor in the parish of Swarraton as Swarraton with 3 hides and 1.5 virgates was granted to the New Minster or Hyde Abbey by Edward the Elder in 903 (*VCH* iv, 195). Adam de Port and afterwards the St John family held land in Swarraton of Hyde Abbey. The brothers may have held their additional land from the abbey, but there is no record in the cartulary of the patrons who originally gave them this land to confirm this. The grant of Robert de Tickhill to the brothers [14] of an acre of arable which abutted onto the headland above the land of Winchester facing west is the only charter to mention land belonging to Hyde Abbey in Swarraton and Robert does not give the name of his lord. However, it is more likely that the other land held by the brothers in Swarraton was in the Mortimer manor and included villein land held of it.

Roger Mortimer's grant to the brothers of his manor of Swarraton has not been transcribed into the cartulary. However his quitclaim [10], in free and perpetual alms, of the manor of Swarraton of his fee which the brothers have in the gift of Hugh St Martin was made during the priorate of Roger de Vere 1265–72 and identifies the land as being the actual manor of Swarraton rather than merely land and pasture from the manor of Swarraton. The Hospitallers now held all the demesne of the Mortimers and the manor included a manor court and

subtenants in Swarraton. In 1338 the profit from the manor court was 13s 4d (Larking 1857, 21). The brothers were therefore holding the manor direct from the Mortimers as they had the right to hold the manor court. This is confirmed by a later record when in 1745 the lord of the manor of Godsfield and Swarraton had the right to hold a court leet with view of frankpledge (HRO 11M52/118). The tenants originally came under the jurisdiction of the Hospitaller's own courts even for crimes such as larceny, rape, arson and murder (Rees 1947, 11). Those living on the manor at Swarraton may have marked their houses with a cross to indicate that they occupied Hospitaller property and that they were under the protection of a military order (Forey 1992, 106). The grant of the manor of Swarraton and the grant of Robert de Andely [5] in 1270 of 50 acres in Chilton Candover finally completed the process of consolidation which created the manor of Godsfield.

As the place name of Bugmore only survives in Bugmore Hill, it is possible only to draw speculative boundaries to indicate provisionally where the grants of Adam de Port, the de Andelys and the St Martins lay. To suggest that the grants of land lay in neat areas adjacent to their various manors may be too simple, but as the brothers were given land on the periphery of each parish this does make sense. It is therefore possible to construct a tentative map showing the boundaries of each gift of land (Fig. 1). The grants [1] to [11] show how the brothers built up their estate of Godsfield and Swarraton. Many of the grants involved exchanges which, we can see in retrospect, were designed to achieve a compact and contiguous estate. They negotiated with the lords of surrounding manors to secure property on the periphery of their estates that together formed a compact whole. That the Hospitallers were actively engaged in the process of developing estates can also be seen in Essex. In the 1150s, they were planning and building a demesne at Chaureth in the parish of Broxted (Gervers 1982, xxxvi).

By 1514 the manor of Godsfield, including 2 acres in the parish of Swarraton, was being

farmed out. It was then leased to William Kymar, Katherine his wife and their son Gilbert, for the term of their lives (MS. Cotton Claudius E VI, folio 125v). In the sixteenth-century survey made before William Paulet, Earl of Wiltshire, later Marquis of Winchester, was granted a licence in 1571 to alienate the manor of Godsfield to Richard Knight, the 500 acres of demesne consisted of 11 acres of meadow, 220 acres of pasture, 200 acres of arable and 69 acres of wood. Altogether there were 1200 acres of land all lying within one hedge which belonged to Godsfield and Swarraton (PRO SC12/30/33). Excluding the demesne, there was therefore an area, likely manorial land, much larger than the demesne and outside the 1858 parish boundary comprising 700 acres which cannot be identified from the cartulary or located on the ground. The one hedge has not been identified. If taken at face value, the 1571 survey *implies* that the total freehold plus copyhold comprised 700 acres of contiguous land.

The brothers also received gifts of tenanted land in the adjacent parishes to Godsfield which was not retained as part of the demesne but granted out. They were not exempt from tithes and are consequently impossible to identify on the ground. In Chilton Candover the charters entered in the cartulary only concern the grants between members of the de Hynewode family *c.* 1225–55 [30], [31]. In Preston Candover, the brothers received a messuage and 2 acres of arable land from William son of Guy after 1269 [22]. The messuage was granted in fee farm, together with a wooded parcel which the brothers had of Robert Babbe, to Thomas Wyght during the priorship of Joseph de Chancey 1273–1280 for 11s annual rent [27]. The brothers also received 11s annual rent from a messuage and 15 acres of manured land in Preston Candover which they granted in fee farm to Geoffrey de Flockmoor during the priorship of Roger de Vere 1265–72 [28]. It was obviously worth their while to accept more modest plots of land as these could be rented out for profit and so gave a guaranteed income.

The small parcels of tenanted land in the

adjacent parishes came to be included in the manor of Godsfeld and Swarraton as was administratively convenient. In the sixteenth century the manor of Godsfeld also included free and copyhold land in the parishes of Drayton, Dummer, Dean, Medstead, Bentworth, Bighton, Brown Candover, Preston Candover and Alresford, but not land in Chilton Candover (PRO SC12/30/33). Again in 1745 the manor of Godsfeld and Swarraton included land in the same localities (HRO 11M52/118). This corresponds with the grants entered in the cartulary for Drayton; Dummer; Medstead; Bentworth; Bighton; Preston Candover and New Alresford. The cartulary does not record any grants of land from Dean or Brown Candover although the grant of Richard Gervays to the brothers of 12d rent and half a virgate from a messuage in Candover *c.* 1240–55 [19] might have been in Brown Candover as the specifier 'Brown' first occurs at the end of the thirteenth century (Coates 1989, 48). These properties may also have been rented out for profit. However, apart from the two properties in Preston Candover [27], [28], there are only two other documents relating to properties in the above parishes. A messuage and ten acres of land in Dummer was rented to Thomas le Harre and his heirs in 1312 [36] and a messuage and three acres in Medstead to Hugh de Medstead and his heirs in 1265–72 [47].

THE PRECEPTORY

The construction of the Godsfeld estate involving the exchange of common rights for land implies local knowledge and a deliberate coherent policy. Godsfeld was definitely a preceptory by 1265 x 72 during the priorate of Roger de Vere when a master was in residence [47]. Roger de Vere may have held his chapter at Godsfeld when he exchanged land with Walter de Andely in 1267 [6] and Robert de Andely in 1270 [5] as the witnesses were local men.

An undated grant by Brother Nicholas, preceptor of Godsfeld, of a parcel of land on the Isle of Wight to Estrilda [201] may be assigned

to *c.* 1230–40. He was the first known preceptor at Godsfeld. However, his grant is a chance survival and there must have been earlier grants both written and oral. He is therefore unlikely to have been the first preceptor. He was possibly the Brother Nicholas of Baddesley appointed by the prior to act on his behalf in the court of Common Pleas in 1228 (*Curia Regis Rolls*, 13, no.443). Stephen de Breminhurst is the first preceptor it is possible to assign to a definite period as he occurred during the priorate of Joseph de Chauncey 1273–80 [146] and was succeeded by Brother Hilary in January 1282 [168]. Stephen was in possession of his own seal and the seal of the bailiwick of Godsfeld. He may well have been preceptor before 1273. Stephen de Breminhurst uses the various titles of custodian or preceptor of Godsfeld as the Hospitallers seem to have avoided a consistent hierarchy of official titles (Riley-Smith 1967, 341). He invoked the consent of the prior Joseph de Chauncey before granting three acres in Houghton to Stephen le Bloare [146], but this may have been a formality rather than evidence of the prior insisting on controlling his preceptor, as Stephen referred only to the consent of his brothers to his other charters [108, 112, 151]. The management of the Hampshire lands locally continued into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when three rentals were added to the cartulary, with totals for cocks, hens and rents entered in the right hand margins for accounting purposes. This indicates that William Hulle and subsequent preceptors had custody of the cartulary, which was therefore kept in Hampshire, and that during this period they were involved directly in the management of the preceptory.

There appear never to be more than three brothers, including the preceptor, at Godsfeld. About 1273–81 Stephen de Breminhurst occurs with one brother, John de Bethlehem [146]. In 1312, the preceptor Robert de Cosgrove occurs with brother William de Cotes and a clerk, John de Standon, who was probably clerk at Godsfeld [36]. John de Standon was a witness again in 1314 with Brother Richard St Low (*de Seinteslow*) to the charter of the preceptor Simon Launcelyn [113]. Thomas

Archer occurs as preceptor in 1330 with two brothers, Robert de Somerby and Thomas de Glastonbury. Another witness, John, a clerk, may again have been John de Standon. [49]. By the thirteenth century, there were distinctions in rank which paralleled the social differences in the secular world. Brothers were either knights, sergeants at arms or chaplains. Knights were of knightly descent and sergeants and chaplains were free men (Forey 1992, 175). Knights and sergeants at arms did not differ in function and sergeants often held preceptories. The cartulary does not record whether the preceptors were knights or sergeants at arms. Chaplains were the only brothers whose rank was commonly noted in charters (Forey 1992, 174). In 1338 there were two brothers, brother William de Multon who is designated as *s. preceptor* and brother John Couffen, chaplain, who had formerly been a Templar and was therefore in receipt of a pension of 6 marks from the Hospitallers (Larking 1857, 23, 209). Larking states that the term *s. preceptor* may denote a sergeant-at-arms (Larking 1857, lxiv).

The preferred site for a preceptory usually included a church or a chapel as well as a manor (Gervers 1982, liii). The Mortimer manor of Swarraton was part of the Godsfield estate by 1272 [10] when there was a master in residence [47]. The brothers acquired the advowson of the church of Swarraton by 1284, when the prior of the Hospital of St John had the right of presentation to Swarraton church (Deedes 1915–1924, 1, 14). There are no bishop's registers before this date to confirm when the advowson was acquired. There has been no archaeological fieldwork at Godsfield to establish when a preceptory was first established there or what form it took. A geophysical survey might establish the plan of the preceptory. It is inherently likely that it is on the site of Goda's original residence. The only remaining building is the Hospitallers' chapel which is adjacent to east side of the farmhouse. As the Hospitallers followed the Augustinian rule, a chapel was essential as soon as a preceptor was in residence. At the former site of a Templar and afterwards a Hospitaller manor of Cressing Temple there are

foundations of a twelfth-century single-cell chapel (Andrews 1993, 43). The first chapel at Godsfield may also have been of this design. In 1338, the annual stipend for one chaplain serving the chapel at Godsfield was 4 marks (Larking 1857, 23).

The surviving building that has been identified as a chapel, which must be a late rebuilding or reconstruction, is 26 feet by 13 feet with two living rooms on two storeys on the west, constructed of flint walling with large ashlar dressings (*VCH* iv, 190). The lower room opens into the chancel and has an outside door. The upper room is reached by an internal staircase and has its own garderobe in the thickness of the wall. It was evidently a chamber. There is a window opening into the chapel. There are architectural drawings of the building made in 1887 by R.G. Pinder (Pinder 1890, 82; Figure 3). Various dates have been given for the construction of the building. In 1901, it was said to be of one date, about 1360–70 (*VCH* iv, 190). It has been intimated, without apparent justification, that William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester 1368–1404, had the chapel re-built at his own expense sometime after 1365 (Haggard 1966, 28). Lloyd describes the building as a chapel with a priest's house attached which was probably built in the late fourteenth century (Pevsner 1967, 239). The three windows in the south wall have variously been described as lancet windows dating to the middle of the fourteenth century or perpendicular windows dating to *c.* 1400.

In 1999, Dan Miles at the Dendrochronology Laboratory, University of Oxford, took samples from the solar roof. Regrettably there was not enough timber for analysis. He was unable to take samples from the chapel roof. An examination of the roof has revealed it to be a side purlin roof as the longitudinal timbers run downwards. There are different forms of side purlin roofs, but none occur in Hampshire before 1400. Although this cannot be proved scientifically, all the fifty known side purlin roofs in the county can be dated to after 1400 (Edward Roberts, pers.com.). The roof pitch of the building has been lowered

and this suggests that the fifteenth-century roof was added to an earlier structure. This can be corroborated if the windows in the south wall can be dated to the middle or end of the fourteenth century. There is evidence that there was previously an external stairway on the north wall that has been replaced with an internal staircase. The implication must be that what survives today is not the first chapel on the site.

When the Godsfeld farmhouse was being renovated in 1921, several graves containing human remains were discovered (Hoggarth 1987, 6). As Godsfeld was not a parish until 1858, the brothers did not have rights of burial there. However, the graves may have contained the remains of some of the brothers themselves. One item has survived that may emanate from the chapel at Godsfeld. In 1840, a pyx dating from the fourteenth century was discovered in a hedge on the Armsworth House estate (Green 1953, 64–66) west of the chapel at grid reference SU 60 37 and is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. A replica is on display at Clerkenwell. The pyx is 'copper gilt, cylindrical with a conical cover surmounted by a cross, which is a restoration. Both box and cover are engraved with pointed foliage on a tooled ground. Height 4.5 inches. Diameter 3 inches' (Green 1953, 64–66).

In 1338 there was one messuage in bad repair at Godsfeld with a garden worth 3s 4d. This amount referred to the value of the garden produce. From the Godsfeld reprises it is possible to deduce that there were buildings for baking bread, brewing beer, a kitchen and a hall. The hall, kitchen, bakery and brewhouse not only provided basic needs, but also indicate a fairly substantial establishment where these offices were separate. They imply a permanent household in residence. In 1338 there were two brothers, William Multon and John Couffen, a seneschal of the manor court, a chaplain, four servants who received 8s each for the provision of robes, a hayward receiving wages of 10s for keeping the woodland and a corrodian, Ralph de Basing (Larking 1857, 23). He was probably a relative of William de Basing keeper of Godsfeld in 1325 [185]. This represents a

small community in which other members of the household outnumbered the members of the order. Apart from domestic duties, they would also have farmed the estate. Godsfeld was not unusual in this respect. A majority of the preceptories recorded in 1338 included two members of the order and another 10 people in the household (Larking 1857). The hall provided accommodation for the prior and his household who paid a four day visit to Godsfeld in 1338 at a cost of £4. There was also accommodation for Ralph de Basing, and for the four servants, unless they lived in the hall. The hall may have served as a guest house providing lodging for travellers who could be offered hospitality for up to three days.

There is no record in 1338 of any other buildings as they would not have any intrinsic value when calculating the income of the preceptory (Larking 1857, 21–23). What is missing are the barns, granaries and stockhouses of a farming estate. Presumably some at least existed. The 1338 Godsfeld reprise states that 33 quarters of corn were used in providing bread and 20 quarters of barley malt and 20 quarters of oaten malt were used in brewing beer (Larking 1857, 22–3). There must have been a barn on the site to store these and other supplies. There is no evidence in the cartulary for a mill on the site although a mill could have been located on the Candover stream where it runs through Swarraton. Swarraton was possibly the location of the Hospitallers' mill referred to in a charter of Peter des Roches to Hyde Abbey (Vincent 1994, no.19).

When the Templar preceptory of South Witham in Essex was excavated in the mid 1960s, this revealed several phases of building as the site grew with an expanding economy. The site appears more manorial than monastic in nature with the domestic ranges lying at the centre. The hall, kitchen and workshop lay north and west of the chapel and were surrounded by a walled yard bordered by barns and animal houses (Coppack 1992, 125–6). Prior William Weston commissioned an enquiry into the resources of Swingfield commandery in 1529. The resulting document is held in Kent County Council Archives and gives a room-by-room description

of the property, an inventory of their contents and a detailed account of the lands. Most of the buildings lay to the west and at right angles to the chapel (Dyer 1983). It is plausible that this was the standard layout for preceptories in the West, but there are no surviving buildings at Godsfield to corroborate this. However the broken lines of the ground to the north-west may suggest the existence of remains of ruined buildings beneath the surface (*VCH* ii, 190) which may have been the kitchen and workshops or part of a walled yard. There is a timber-framed barn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries twenty metres north west of the chapel and it is tempting to suggest, because of its position in relation to the chapel, that there may have been a medieval barn on the site. Although there are other buildings on the site, which have been disturbed by modern landscaping, much more would be established by geophysical surveying and analysis of the standing buildings.

The present-day farmhouse is at a right angle to the north side of the chapel and faces west. A house may have been erected later on the original site of the hall. There was a house on the site at some time during the sixteenth century as the survey of Godsfield describes 'a convenient dwelling house for a gentleman built of timber

with 8 or 9 good lodging chambers watered with a well of excellent good water with garden, orchard, barnes, stables and all other outhousing of all sorts sufficient' (PRO SC12/30/33). This house may have been erected after the preceptory was dissolved in 1540. In 1514 the manor of Godsfield was leased to William Kymar, Katherine his wife and their son Gilbert, for the term of their lives, for which they paid the preceptor of Baddesley and Mayne, Robert Pecke, £6 15s. The manor included the chief house (capital mansion) and buildings that the Kymar family had to keep in good repair. There was also a cottage on the north side of the house (BL MS. Cotton Claudius E VI, folio 125v). The chief house could be the house described in the sixteenth-century survey. However, the 1514 house may have been part of the messuage which in 1338 was in bad repair (Larking 1857, 21).

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