By Frances Collins and J. Oliver

In the following paper an attempt has been made to analyse and explain the decay of a village on the Hampshire chalklands. The work is based on documentary evidence and visual inspection of the surviving earthworks. No attempt has been made to carry out any excavations in view of the magnitude of such a task. We are much indebted to the late Mr. Gilbert Harris of Lomer Farm for his interest and assistance. The Victoria County History of Hampshire, Volume III, gives a detailed account of Lomer's owners, but at the time that the account was written, in 1908 or thereabouts, the study of the growth, movement and decline of population was in its infancy; and of the 91 known deserted villages in Hampshire alone, few had been noted and none studied in detail.

The village of Lomer in south Hampshire (Grid Reference SU 594234) lies on a plateau of Upper Chalk between 500 and 540 feet above sea-level, seven miles southeast of Winchester.<sup>2</sup> There were settlements and areas of cultivation on this plateau in prehistoric times; groups of Neolithic and Bronze Age barrows lie in and around Preshaw of which Lomer is now part. One small cemetery of eleven burials was casually investigated in 1906, and yielded among its grave-goods a barrel-urn, now in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> An incense-cup found in the Milbarrows in Preshaw Park about 1850 was acquired by the Winchester City Museum at the Corhampton House sale in 1949.4 There are Celtic fields at the head of the combe which runs from the plateau down to Warnford and they are clearly visible in evening sunlight or under snow. When and why was a site which had much evidence of habitation in its near neighbourhood and which had, as will be seen, a developed manorial and ecclesiastical organisation in medieval times, left to become an empty space of grassy mounds and nettle patches? By good fortune, it was never ploughed - not even in the ploughing campaign of 1940, and it looks much as it did when the stones of the church were carried away and the cottage walls left to crumble and the perimeter ditch to fill with rubble. There are few maps of villages surviving from before 1600, so that, without excavation, we depend on careful observation on the ground and on photographs taken from the air by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments. These cover the site of 8.094 acres and the surrounding fields. The site has been known for at least 150 years - to quote an estate map of 1812 - as Chapel Field, and it has the two essentials for a settlement: communications and a supply of water (fig. 28).

The Meon valley was marshy and thicky wooded when the first upland settlements were made. The Butser to Old Winchester Hill track – part of the road on the crest of the Downs from Beachy Head to Salisbury Plain – ran along the east side of the valley, and pathways came down to the fords at Exton and Warnford. (The Romans put a guard-house at the Exton ford.) There was an old road with a reasonable gradient, called the Whiteway, up the west side of the valley to near the lookout post on Beacon Hill (called Lomer Beacon on Saxton's map of 1579),<sup>5</sup> and this road continued westward, passing Lomer village and Wind Farm to join a ridgeway at Beauworth which

led to Cheesefoot Hill and Winchester. This road is a parish boundary between Exton and Warnford until it reaches Wind Farm, and it is still used as a farm-track connecting the valley with Lomer Farm. It is a 'hollow way', three to four feet in places below the level of the fields.

The plateau is sufficiently supplied with water. Bere Farm has water at a depth of 178 feet, Wheely Farm at 150 and Riversdown at the same; the Fox and Hounds Inn at 300. These are the modern depths: two thousand years ago the water table on the Downs was higher. A good supply was essential on upland marginal soil. Until the agricultural revolution of the eighteenth century, it had no first quality corn land and was hard and poor: 'these are not lands on which society would draw for cultivation except in times of real land hunger'. Cobbett called Kilmeston, the next parish on the west, 'a hard iron village, . . . now mouldered into two farms' and 'the hills (are) among the most barren Downs in England'. There is a deep stone-lined well within the boundary of Lomer and a pond on the far side of the hollow way, which may have begun as a quarry for the extraction of flints and then filled from underground springs.

The ditches and low banks on the perimeter of the site are clearly marked, rectangular in shape, with a thin line of trees on the south-west, and flints on or just below the surface. The banks have been worn down and the ditch silted up; nevertheless they are visible though less definite than the pattern of banks within the perimeter. The outer

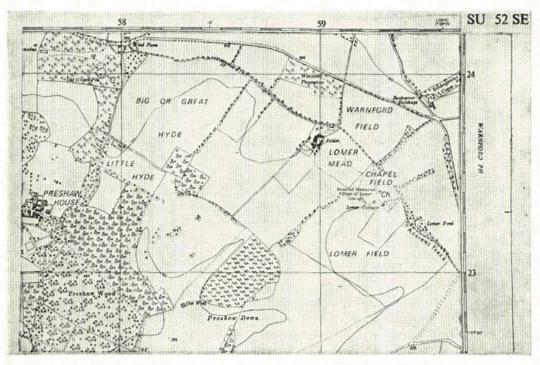


Fig. 28. Lomer and Preshaw, from the 6 in. O.S. map. (Crown Copyright reserved.)

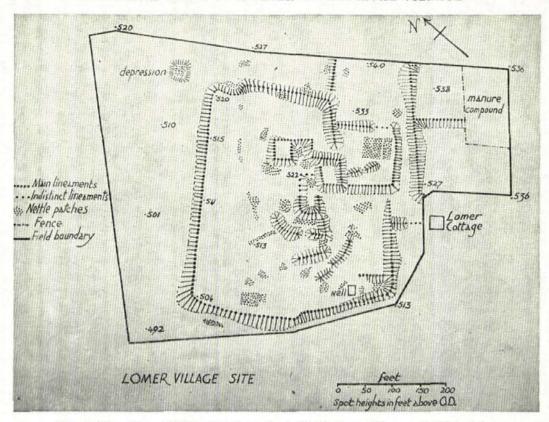


Fig. 29. Plan of Lomer Village Site. Survey by A. W. Hardman of Portsmouth Polytechnic.

and inner banks are close on the south-west, the inner four to five feet higher. The space between afforded a grazing area where animals could be penned for the night close to the village. The ridge and furrow of the fields comes up to the outer bank (fig. 29).

In the village, there is no clear pattern of streets and buildings; certainly no paved surfaces for stone was scarce. The lack of a defined plan is due in part to the spread of fallen walling and the covering of grass which softens outlines. Peasant houses were built of timber or of wattle and daub on a flint foundation or on posts driven into the ground. They had no chimney, no second storey, and were small in size. They have vanished and their positions are marked only by the darker grass of the hut floors and the strong growing patches of nettles in the adjoining middens. This housing of poor quality was easily destroyed by wind and weather, in fact, peasant dwellings had to be rebuilt every 20 years or so. There is no obvious site for a windmill, nor for a manor house, nor evidence of any larger building. In a small community, corn may have been ground by hand-mills, but the Abbot of Hyde (who held Lomer) also held Warnford where there were three mills on the river, from which he drew the profits. Lomer Farmhouse stands north-west of the village by the length of a field called Lomer

Mead, and it was probably the dwelling of the chief tenants, the Croppes, and then the Lorimers in the sixteenth century. The survey of the farmhouse made in situ by Mr. Kenneth Gravett, F.S.A., showed it to be an Open Hall house with a parlour at the end now used as a farmhouse kitchen. The Open Hall had queen-struts and a side-purlin roof with thick curved braces. It was probably ceiled in the early part of the seventeenth century. An added wing has a butt-side purlin roof, with side-purlins not in line and straight wind-braces (unlike those in the hall roof) which proves the date, even though the main rooms appear to be Victorian. Structural alterations in 1620 and 1670 approximately give the house its present attractive appearance: the flint and brick face belongs to the 1670 period (fig. 30).

The only stone building on the site at Lomer was, in all probability, the little church of the Blessed Virgin Mary: it stood, aisleless, on a low mound in the centre of the village, not aligned due east and west. There have been two significant finds at turf level: one is a piece of twisted lead 'came' four inches long, ocontaining in the matrix indentations characteristic of 'came' used for stained or clear glass from the fifteenth century onwards; the other a small piece of Cornish roofing slate typical of the kind brought by sea and unloaded in the Hampshire creeks and rivers during this period and used on buildings even of minor importance. There was a walled enclosure on the south side of the church with flints close to the surface. It is not possible to identify the priest's house though generous provision was made for him in 1258.

The name Lomer first appears in a tenth century charter of Ethelred II granting it to the Abbey of St. Peter in Winchester, known also as the New Minster, and later, after its removal from the vicinity of the Norman Cathedral, as Hyde Abbey – which accounts for the field names, Great or Big Hyde and Little Hyde, which lie to the west of Lomer village. The tenth or early eleventh century may well be the date of the building of the church.

Twenty years after the Norman Conquest, the Domesday Book gives a detailed description of the manor:

'Ruald holds Lomer of the Abbey of St. Peter, Winchester and Alwald held it of the Abbot. He bought it in the time of King Edward for his own life and paid the Abbot six sextaries of wine yearly. It was then, as now, assessed at three hides. Here are five ploughlands, one in desmesne and six villeins and three borderers with three ploughlands. Also a church, three acres of meadow and two servants. Of this land, one homager of the Abbot holds one yardland. The value of the whole in the time of King Edward and afterwards was £6 and now 100/-. What the homager holds (is worth) 20/-.'

There is no mention of Preshaw in Domesday. Alward, a Saxon, held Lomer of St. Peter's Abbey which held 18 manors in Hampshire. He paid the Abbot six sextaries of wine a year, probably bought for the purpose, for the uplands were useless for viticulture: East Meon and Southwick had their vineyards, but Lomer did not. Ruald continued this payment, as did his successors: as late as 1388, a jury empanelled by the sheriff of Southampton to enquire into the possessions of Hyde Abbey reported that a pipe of wine was paid for the lands called Lomer and Preshaw. 12

The size of the manor was not defined because the three hides were an assessment of rateable value, not a statement of size. The average size of a hide was said to be

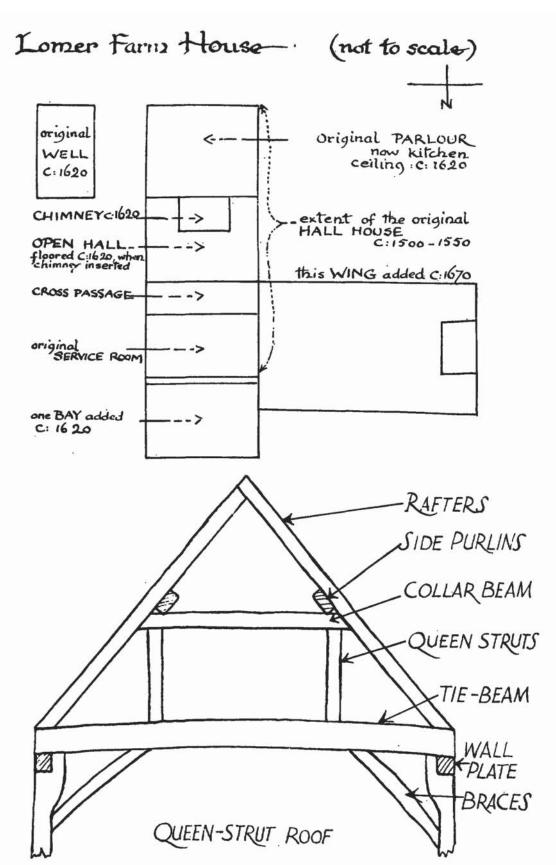


Fig. 30. Plan and sketch of roof truss, Lomer Farm House.

120 acres: but it might be more on the light downland soil and less on the heavier soil in the valleys. There were also variations in the size of the acre: perhaps the size of the whole can be related to the number of plough-teams: one on the desmesne, three among the tenants. Or it could be related to the size of the population. Six villeins, three borders, two servants and Ruald himself give a total of 12 heads of families. Multiply by four or five, and deduct one adult female from each, and there is a population of 50, more or less, on the land, for work began at an early age on a peasant holding. Lomer, though only a hamlet, was in a well populated part of England. The Abbot's man who held land worth one-fifth of the whole, was a freeman, and this may point to the origin of the sub-manor, Lomer Turville, which in the thirteenth century lay partly in Lomer and partly in the St. John manor of Warnford. If this supposition be correct, the homager's land lay on the east side of the manor, towards Wheely and the combe.

But these calculations are inconclusive. As great an authority as Professor Maitland will not commit himself to an exact figure for the size of tenant holdings. A villein or villager was supposed to have a virgate or yardland of 30 acres, but sometimes held a full hide and possessed a whole plough-team. The terms villein or border describe legal status rather than land holding. The Domesday commissioners were interested in totals and taxes, not in apportionment.

It is not possible to be certain whether there were two or three 'open fields' at Lomer. Poor soil needed to lie fallow in alternate years and to be enriched by folded cattle and sheep. Is this the point when the struggle between corn and grass began? The answer might lie in the manor rolls but none are extant.

The Domesday Survey did not usually record churches which belonged to ecclesiastics or to religious houses, and although Lomer was a Hyde Abbey manor, it would seem that the church was originally a manorial church and the priest appointed by the lay-Rector who took the great tithes. That it was a manorial church accounts for the gift of the advowson by Geoffrey de Lomer in 1243 to Titchfield Abbey. It was, with Corhampton, part of the Abbey's original endowment, and the Premonstratensian Order had the privilege of taking charge of secular parishes without Papal or other dispensation. However, in 1258, the Bishop of Winchester conducted an enquiry into the estimated value of the churches in his diocese and laid down precisely what was to be the endowment of the vicarage: 14

'The Vicar shall have 40 acres of arable land which formerly belonged to the Rector of the said church with the tithe thereof, and a curtilage in which he can build a house to live in, together with land outside the farm of the former Rector with the tithe arising therefrom. Besides these, the Vicar shall have 60 sheep and a ram, six oxen and a carthorse or eight oxen without a horse in the pastures of the lord of the manor and pasture for his pigs. The Vicar shall have all small tithes, obventions and oblations and all tithes belonging to the church except the greater tithes which shall be owned by the Abbot and the Canons. The Abbot and Canons shall also have the messuage of the former Rector in order to store therein the fruits received by them.' Here, at least on parchment, is a detailed statement of the amount of the glebe. There is no trace today of the site of the Vicar's messuage or of his barn. In the Taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1291, 15 Lomer was assessed at 9 marks: a small sum, smaller than

Corhampton at 10 marks, Exton at 17 and Meonstoke at 50. The endowment in 1258 was greater in theory than the Abbot and Canons ever received, and it remained at 9 marks down to William of Wykeham's assessment in 1367. There is no record of episcopal institutions at Lomer in the Registers, so that it is probable that the church was served by the Canons, as Corhampton was: in a Visitation in 1475, Brother John Kylmeston was chaplain there. The history of this small church is obscure until the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the end of a separate parochial organisation in 1551.

The thirteenth century was the peak period of medieval agriculture; more land was being taken into cultivation because the population rose from 1.1 million at the time of Domesday to over 3 million by 1250. Recession began in the second half of the century, with a number of bad harvests, in 1272, 1277 and 1283. The fourteenth century was worse: famine in 1311, torrential rains from 1317 to 1319, famine again in 1332. Then came the terrible years of the Black Death, in three waves. The worst was in 1349, before men had any degree of immunity; then again in 1361 and 1369. No part of England was harder hit than the diocese of Winchester. There are no definitive statistics but the mortality was very heavy. To trace the history of a specific manor, the best line of enquiry is the taxation returns.

It is also profitable to see what was happening on neighbouring manors where manorial records have survived. Miss Levett's work on the manors of the Bishopric<sup>17</sup> threw much light on the later half of the fourteenth century, even allowing for the fact that West Meon and Droxford were large and flourishing valley manors. Miss Levett's analysis of the economy of these manors after the Black Death shows an amazing power of recuperation and vitality. J. Z. Titow's conclusions point in the same direction.<sup>18</sup> That Lomer had a degree of the same vitality can be seen by examining the taxation returns.

Early in the fourteenth century a Parliament at Lincoln decided that every vill should provide a foot-soldier for the French wars, and in Nomina Villarum of 1316, Lomer is mentioned as a hamlet. The list of Lay Subsidies (a tax on moveables as distinct from land) preserved in the Exchequer documents in the series E.179/173 and 174 is the most reliable record of the condition of a vill or manor, if it were worthy of the tax-collector's attention. In 1328, Lomer was assessed at 20/2, and it does not appear among the places which asked for and got relief in 1352-3 out of the fund created from the fines levied under the Statute of Labourers in the years following the first and worst attack of the Black Death. There are unfortunately no surviving accounts among the Lay Subsidy Rolls of the three Poll-tax collections of 1377, 1379 and 1381 for Hampshire; they would give the number of adults in the vill which the ordinary Lay Subsidy does not: it gives only the total exacted. The Lay Subsidy of 1379<sup>19</sup> showed Lomer actually paying a slightly higher sum than in 1328, 22/2; and that remained constant in 1383, 1391<sup>20</sup> and 1394. But from another source, it seems possible that a change was coming over the organisation of the farming of the manor.

An Inquisition Ad Quod Damnum<sup>21</sup> held at Winchester on 16th July 1393 records the King's grant to Thomas le Warenne and John Hampton of one messuage, two carucates of (plough) land, 200 acres of pasture, five acres of woods and certain rents in Lomer, Preshaw, Exton, Warnford and Lomer Turville (and the pipe of wine to Hyde Abbey). The important point in this is the increase in pasture, apparently at the

expense of arable. Lomer does not appear in the list compiled in 1428 of the vills which contained fewer than ten households. But a change began in 1434: the Particulars of Account of the fifteenth and tenth granted by Parliament showed a remission of £140 13s. 2d. to Hampshire 'because of desolation wastes and destruction'. 22 The total remitted to Meonstoke Hundred was £20 17s. 5d., of which Lomer was allowed 2/-, a remission which continued throughout the fifteenth century until 1489, when there was a sharp increase in the sum remitted: and it is significant that taxes were not excused if there were any persons to pay them. The Lay Subsidy remained at 20/2 but 13/- was excused, 23 and the full amount was never paid again. From 1489 to 1623, only 8/10 was exacted.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Lomer was still farmed by a Hyde Abbey tenant and the church was still served by Canons of Titchfield. Among the wills proved in the Archdeaconry Court at Winchester<sup>24</sup> were three which referred to Lomer: in 1503, Hugh Galon bequeathed to the church 6/- and a cow; in 1507, John Brekebred left two sheep; and in 1527, Roger Lomer left 21/-. Hugh Galon and John and Rosa Lomer wished to be buried in the cemetery; Roger Lomer hoped for a grave within the church. A Bishop's Visitation in 1520 when Dom John Laykar was curate, found the chancel and the font in need of repair; unless these matters were put right before All Saints', the Abbot would be fined 3/4. The churchwarden was John Croppe, the chief tenant of Hyde Abbey. The reign of Henry VIII was, for Lomer, a time of some confusion. It was not mentioned in the Musters List of 1522, though Croppe appears in the Exton list.<sup>25</sup> There were eight names in the Lay Subsidy List for 1523,26 but in that year, the assessment was based on a lower valuation of land. Lomer does not appear in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535, the survey which told Henry how much he might expect to gain from the dissolution of the monasteries, which was imminent. The last Abbot of Hyde, John Sulcot, raised no difficulties about the confiscation of the Abbey's manor and so lived to be Bishop of Bangor and later, of Salisbury. 27

After the Dissolution, the division of interest in Lomer between the two monastic houses was continued by the lay proprietors of the manor and the advowson, the Paulets and the Wriothesleys. The manor was let on a repairing lease in 1539 to John Croppe, his wife Thomasina and their son John for 41 years at an annual rent of £4 8s. 10d.28 The elder John farmed it until his death in 1538 (the confusion in the dates is no doubt due to delay by the clerks) when the tenancy was transferred to Thomasina.29 The manor was granted by the Crown in 1542 to Sir William Paulet, Lord St. John, and was held to be part of his estate in the Inquisitio Post Mortem taken at Romsey on 9th October 1546.30 It was then let to John Lorimer and Agnes his wife for £5 19s. 2d. with additional payments of 25/- and 19/-, a substantial rise in rent, and no more was heard of the Croppes' 41 years' lease. Sir William Paulet's lands passed to his son, William, Marquis of Winchester, and Elizabeth his wife, who sold Lomer to Laurence Kidwelly and his wife Agnes (Lorimer's widow) in 1553,31 and the Final Concord in which Preshaw and Lomer were treated as one, refers to 6 messuages, 6 tofts, 70 acres of arable, 10 acres of meadow and no less than 1,000 acres of pasture. Six messuages spread over the whole estate looks like a scattering of cottages for farm-hands and shepherds, and the amount of pasture indicates a turn-over to

sheep-farming on a big scale. Wool had reached its top price in the sixteenth century in the decade 1537-47, and the great sheep fairs at Weyhill and Alresford were not far off. Besides, the wages bill was much lower for sheep-rearing than for arable farming – perhaps as much as 11 per cent as against 36 per cent of the total cost.

Preshaw and Lomer were held by Lorimer's son and grandson till 1605, 32 when the estate was sold to Lady Anne Sandys who settled it on her grandson, John Stewkley. He lived at Preshaw, 33 the only house large enough to have 17 hearths taxed in the Hearth Tax Assessment of 1665, 34 and it is significant that the tax is recorded in 1665, 1672 and 1673 under Corhampton: there is no mention of Lomer.

In 1677, John Stewkley sold his share and his two sons' shares to his nephew Sir Hugh Stewkley, who in his turn sold it to a rich timber merchant, David Bone in 1707. The extensions to Lomer farmhouse must date from the Stewkley or Bone occupations. The Hearth Tax Assessments show the same pattern persisting throughout this time: Stewkleys at Preshaw, William Collins, 35 followed by Nicholas Collins with 12 hearths; nine others with one to three hearths each, and the rest – some 27 – discharged from payment for their cottages; and all resident in Corhampton parish.

How this came about was occasioned by the history of the Lomer advowson, granted to Thomas Wriothesley, soon to be Baron Titchfield and Lord Chancellor of England. By Letters Patent dated 20th December 1539, he received the possessions of Titchfield Abbey including the churches of Titchfield, Lomer and Corhampton, at a yearly rent of £25 6. 8d. (a very good bargain for the land on which he was to build Place House) and in a rental of the Wriothesley estate, Richard Purdue<sup>36</sup> was lay-Rector of Lomer, farming the glebe between 1540 and 1550. There were no Canons to take the services in the little church: was there a congregation? In 1551, the Countess of Southampton, described as the proprietor of Lomer church, and her chaplain, Master Pye, received a royal command to amalgamate Lomer with Corhampton before 20th December 1551. There is no separate mention of Lomer in *Inventory of Church Goods* in Hampshire in 1551; presumably the Lomer plate and altar furnishings went into Corhampton parish chest. This abandonment of the church coincides with the sale of the manor to Kidwelly acting on behalf of the Lorimer heirs, when the amount of pasture topped 1,000 acres, and the congregation of the church had vanished.

The most important unresolved matter in this study is the question of the enclosure of Lomer. No evidence about it has come to light. Wolsey's Commission in 1517 reported on enclosures in Hampshire but only in eight of the 36 Hundreds, and Meonstoke is not one of these; the rest are lost. The county was not included in the Depopulation Act of 1536. By 1551, the church was closed and Kidwelly was farming on a scale that required fencing to protect his flocks. It can therefore be assumed that the enclosure took place by private agreement and in the later half of the fifteenth century when the Exchequer admitted that the Lay Subsidy would never again be paid in full. This does not represent a human tragedy: Lomer by any reckoning was a small and vulnerable manor. The amalgamation with Preshaw may well have meant that the few labourers still living on Chapel Field spread themselves over the whole estate – to Middle and Lower Preshaw and to the bothy in the Great Dean (now Betty Munday's Bottom) and the upland farms of Corhampton and Exton. It is a much less romantic picture than that of a Lomer band of sturdy expropriated beggars, some in rags and

some in tags and some in velvet gowns, terrorising the neighbourhood; but it is a much more probable one. Agricultural change came slowly and the decay of the manor of Lomer had been going on for a very long time. Its subsequent history is told in the Victoria County History: the subject of this study closes in the mid-sixteenth century.

#### Notes and References

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- 3 No report of this excavation was published, but see: L. V. Grinsell, 'Hampshire Barrows', Proc. Hants Field Club, 14, 1 (1938), 19-40; p. 20.
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- <sup>8</sup> W. Cobbett, Rural Rides, 2 vols. Dent (Everyman ed.), London, 1957; vol. 1, pp. 132 and 190.
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- <sup>81</sup> P.R.O., Feet of Fines 1 Mary Trin. 1553. C.P. 25(2)/78/661.
- <sup>32</sup> P.R.O., Feet of Fines, 3 James I, Hil. 1605. C.P.
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  <sup>25</sup> R. S. Dutton, Hinton Ampner: a Hampshire Manor, London, 1968.
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- 35 William Collins founded the Corhampton school for boys from Meonstoke, Exton, Droxford and his own parish; it was held in the rectory. It is difficult to identify any house in Corhampton which had 12 hearths; possibly he paid tax on two houses. Corhampton House was owned by the Henslows and then by the Wyndhams, not the Collins family. William married a Wither of Manydown and the arms of the Withers are on his tomb slab in Corhampton church, beneath the altar.
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