

I. THE REFORMS OF HENRY II — INTRODUCTION

1. Institutional Changes in the Time of Henry II

- a. Restoration of a system that had probably fallen down under Stephen
- b. Regularization on the civil side of the writs. Writs ‘of grace’ become writs ‘of course’.
- c. Identification of various types of actions and development of pleading.
- d. The returnable writ.

2. Possible motivations

- a. Keeping order.
- b. Making money.
- c. Destroy lords courts
- d. Introduce Roman law
- e. Make the system work on its own terms, i.e., that conscious change was not what it was about, but by trying to enforce the system as everyone would have agreed that it ought to be, he changed it.

II. SOME NOTES ON VOCABULARY—if you are having trouble with the vocabulary of Glanvill, I gave you a vocabulary outline in Mon.’s lecture, which is posted on the [website](#).

III. WRITS IN REAL ACTIONS (i.e., actions concerning freehold interests in land). In such actions the plaintiff is called the “demandant” and the defendant the “tenant”). This should all be review of yesterday.

1. What are the principal actions concerning freehold interests in land that Glanvill describes?

The Writ of Right:

- a. “writ of first summons,” which brings the case into the central royal courts to start off with

(p. IV–10): “The king to the sheriff, greeting. Command N. to render to R., justly and without delay, one hide of land in such-and-such a vill, which the said R. complains that the aforesaid N. is withholding from him. If he does not do so, summon him by good summoners to be before me or my justices on the day after the octave of Easter, to show why he has not done so. And have there the summoners and this writ. Witness Rannulf Glanvill, at Clarendon.”
- b. writ of right patent, issues to the lord of whom the demandant claims to hold

(12.3, p. IV–20, Baker p. 613 (A.i)): “The king to Earl William, greeting. I command you to do full right without delay to N. in respect of ten carucates of land in Middleton which he claims to hold of you by the free service of one hundred shillings a year for all service (or by the free service of one knight’s fee for all service, or by the free service appropriate when twelve carucates make up one knight’s fee for all service; or which he claims as pertaining to his free tenement which he holds of you in the same vill or in Morton by the free service, etc., or by the service, etc.; or which he claims to hold of you as part of the free marriage portion of M. his mother, or in free burgage, or in frankalmoin; or by the free service of accompanying you with two horses in the army of the lord king at your expense for all service; or by the free service of providing you with

one crossbowman for forty days in the army of the lord king for all service): which Robert son of William is withholding from him. If you do not do it the sheriff of Devonshire will, that I may hear no further complaint for default of right in this matter. Witness, etc.”

As *Glanvill* sees it, the next thing that happens is that the lord’s court defaults, and the demandant goes to the sheriff who sends four knight who watch the lord’s court default and who take the plea and bring it into the county court. (The process is known as *tolt*.) We suggested yesterday in class that the reason why the lords’ courts regularly default is that the lord is bound to warrant the tenant. Elsewhere *Glanvill* suggests that any land plea can be brought to the central royal courts from the county courts by a writ called *pone* (literally “place,” i.e., this plea that is before you into our court). An action on the right is tried by battle, or the grand assize, at the tenant’s option.

NOTE: After Magna Carta in 1215 (cl. 34 of which says “The writ called *precipe* shall not be issued for anyone concerning any tenement whereby a freeman may lose his court.”)

Glanvill’s “writ of first summons” disappears and the following forms are used, both of which explain why the case is an appropriate one for the central royal courts to start off with. The writ of right patent continues.

- c. *in capite*—Where the demandant claims to hold of the king *in capite*, i.e., “in chief” as a tenant-in-chief with no mesne lord
- d. *quia dominus remisit curiam*—Where the demandant claims to hold of a lord “who has remitted his court” (e.g., because he does not have a court or because he has already decided that he does not want to hear the case).

The Petty Assizes

- a. Mort d’Ancestor—a recognition whether the immediate ancestor (father, brother, uncle) of the demandant died seised of the land, and that the demandant is the heir.

(13.2–12, pp. IV–26): “The king to the sheriff, greeting. If G. son of O. gives you security for prosecuting his claim, then summon by good summoners twelve free and lawful men from the neighbourhood of such-and-such a vill to be before me or my justices on a certain day, ready to declare on oath whether O. the father of the aforesaid G. was seised in his demesne as of his fee of one virgate of land in that vill on the day he died, whether he died after my first coronation, and whether the said G. is his next heir. And meanwhile let them view the land; and you are to see that their names are endorsed on this writ. And summon by good summoners R., who holds that land, to be there then to hear the recognition. And have there the summoners and this writ. Witness, etc.”

- b. Novel Disseisin—a recognition whether the demandant was disseised “unjustly and without judgment” since the king’s last crossing to Normandy.

(13.32–39, p. IV–31): “The king to the sheriff, greeting. N. has complained to me that R. unjustly and without a judgment has disseised him of his free tenement in such-and-such a vill since my last voyage to Normandy. Therefore I command you that, if N. gives you security for prosecuting his claim, you are to see that the chattels which were taken from the tenement are restored to it, and that the tenement and the chattels remain in peace until the Sunday after Easter. And meanwhile you are to see that the tenement is viewed by twelve free and lawful men of the neighbourhood, and their names endorsed on this

writ. And summon them by good summoners to be before me or my justices on the Sunday after Easter, ready to make the recognition. And summon R., or his bailiff if he himself cannot be found, on the security of gage and reliable sureties to be there then to hear the recognition. And have there the summoners, and this writ and the names of the sureties. Witness, etc.”

Both of these lead to the convening of a jury of 12 called “the assize,” which answers the specific question posed in the writ.

2. Who seem to be the real parties at interest in those actions? Evidence for mort d’ancestor and novel disseisin:

Assize of Northampton (c. 4, p. IV-5 to IV-6): “Item, if any freeholder has died, let his heirs remain possessed of such ‘seisin’ as their father had of his fief on the day of his death; and let them have his chattels from which they may execute the dead man’s will. And afterwards let them seek out his lord and pay him a ‘relief’ and the other things which they ought to pay him from the fief. And if the heir be under age, let the lord of the fief receive his homage and keep him in ward so long as he ought. Let the other lords, if there are several, likewise receive his homage, and let him render them what is due. And let the widow of the deceased have her dow[er] and that portion of his chattels which belongs to her. And should the lord of the fief deny the heirs of the deceased ‘seisin’ of the said deceased which they claim, let the justices of the lord king thereupon cause an inquisition to be made by twelve lawful men as to what ‘seisin’ the deceased held there on the day of his death And according to the result of the inquest let restitution be made to his heirs. And if anyone shall do anything contrary to this and shall be convicted of it, let him remain at the king’s mercy.”

Look at the words in bold in *Glanvill*’s text of the assize of novel dissesin: “The king to the sheriff, greeting. N. has complained to me that R. **unjustly and without a judgment** has disseised him of his free tenement in such-and-such a vill since my last voyage to Normandy. Therefore I command you that, if N. gives you security for prosecuting his claim, **you are to see that the chattels which were taken from the tenement are restored to it**, and that the tenement and the chattels remain in peace until the Sunday after Easter. And meanwhile you are to see that the tenement is viewed by twelve free and lawful men of the neighbourhood, and their names endorsed on this writ. And summon them by good summoners to be before me or my justices on the Sunday after Easter, ready to make the recognition. **And summon R., or his bailiff** if he himself cannot be found, on the security of gage and reliable sureties to be there then to hear the recognition. And have there the summoners, and this writ and the names of the sureties. Witness, etc.”

For the writ of right, consider the answer to question 5.

3. What is the difference between ‘upward-looking’ claims and ‘downward-looking’ claims? “Downward looking” claims are claims in which the demandant claims that the tenant, having entered the land rightfully, is no longer entitled to remain there.

Glanvill 10.9 (Hall ed., p. 125): “The king to the sheriff, greeting. Command N. to restore, justly and without delay, so much land (or, certain specified land) in such-and-such a vill to R., of a term which is now past, as R. alleges; and to accept payment from him (or, which he alleges he has redeemed by payment). If he does not do so, summon him by good summoners to be before me or my justices at a certain place on a certain day to show why he has not done

so. And have there the summoners and this writ. Witness, etc.” This can lead to a recognition whether gage or fee.

Glanvill’s example might be described as a proto-writ of entry. The true writs of entry develop in the 13th century rather than in the 12th. Typical writs of entry are *ad terminum qui preteriiit* (the tenant is a termor whose term has expired), *dum infra aetatem* (the tenant received the land from the demandant’s guardian while the tenant was underage and now he is of age), *cui ante divortium* (the tenant received the land from the demandant’s husband before she and he were divorced). In all cases a jury answers the question posed.

4. Why might a lord bring a downward-looking claim in the central royal courts rather than simply dealing with the matter in his own court?

Possible stages of development:

- a. Novel disseisin means that the lord can no longer justice his tenants
- b. Writs in close to the classic entry form found in Glanvill. Writs in this form found in the early years of the 13th century.
- c. Special mise to the grand assize and special payments for juries rather than the grand assize.
- d. Proliferation after Magna Carta c.34.

Take a look at the Compton case, which follows.

5. Why do the lords’ courts regularly default in actions on the writ of right?

3.1 (p. IV–18): “The presence of the third party ... is required ... if the tenant says [the land] is his, but that he has in respect of it a warrantor from whom he got it as a gift, or by sale, or in exchange, or some other such way.” In the situation where the warrantor defaults *escambium* (p. IV–19).

IV. THE REFORMS OF HENRY II — THE POLSTEAD SAGA

For some pictures of plea rolls, visit <http://aalt.law.uh.edu/>.

For the places mentioned, see the map on *Mats.* at IV–33 and below:



The Cast of Characters:

_____	_____	_____	_____
Adeliza=E. de B.	Robert de P.	William de Grancurt	=? ?Walter de G.
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	? = Hugh de P.	= Cecilia	_____
Hugh	Warner	Matilda	_____
_____	_____	Hugh de Candos	= Ascelina
_____	_____	?Michael	_____
_____	Hugh de P. II=====	Avis	Wm. de Gimingham = Juliana

(There is some ambiguity as to whether William or Walter was Ascelina's father. See Nos. 18, 45–6. William seems the more plausible.)

Documents from the 1230's and 1240's suggest that Hugh de Polstead, who is probably the son of Hugh de P. II in the genealogy, holds between 4½ and 7½ knights' fees in Burnham (Norfolk), Polstead (Suffolk), Prittlewell (Essex), and Compton (Surrey).

Now the only problem is to figure out who was doing what to whom when. Of the numerous cases mentioned or reported, we will focus on three in this class:

1. Basics about assizes

10:AssOct98–Hugh de P. one of the knights of the grand assize: “These twelve knights Roger de ‘Ginnes’, Robert de ‘Bounton’, Pain de ‘Stanford’, Hugh de Polstead [and seven others with a space for a name the clerk didn’t get] ... were chosen to make a recognizance between Roes daughter of Roger and Simon de ‘Bures’ tenant about a half a hide of land and fifteen acres of land with appurtenances in Mucking [Essex] and Tilbury [Essex] about which the aforesaid Simon, tenant, puts himself on the grand assize of the lord king and asks that a

recognizance be made about it whether she has greater right in that land or this Simon.” F. Palgrave (ed), *Rotuli curiae regis* [RotCR] 1 (Record Comm’n, London 1835) 198

11:Id.—Hugh de P. one of the four to choose the twelve: “These four knights, Hugh de Polstead, Laurence de ‘Plumberg’ Julian de ‘Lefteneston’, Robert de ‘Trindeia’, summoned to choose twelve knights to make a recognizance between Christopher de ‘Berking’ and Worthina de Hockley [Essex] about forty acres of land with its appurtenances in Hockley about which Worthina who is the tenant put herself on the grand assize of the lord king and asked for a recognizance [as to] who of them has greater right in that land, chose these: [six names given] A day is given to them at Greenwich and in the meantime let there be a view. The sheriff was ordered that he summon the knights to be present there at that time.” *Id.* 201.

For the process involved here, see *Glanvill*, p. IV–12 ff.

2. Christian Malford and Winterbourne Stoke:

3:M95—G. de M. owes one mark for right: “Geoffrey de ‘Maisi’ [? Mayfield, Sussex] owes one mark for right about four hides of land in Winterbourne [Winterbourne Stoke, Wilts]. And about a half a hide of land in Christian Malford [Wilts] against Hugh de Polstead.” Pipe Roll 7 Richard I.

4:P96—fine: G. de M. to hold of H. de P. “This is a final concord made in the court of the lord king at Westminster on the Saturday after the Invention of the Holy Cross in the seventh year of the reign of King Richard before H[ubert] archbishop of Canterbury, R[ichard fitz Neal] of London, G[ilbert Glanvill] of Rochester, bishops, H[enry] of Canterbury, R[alph ?Foliot] of Hereford, R[ichard Barre] of Ely, archdeacons, G[eoffrey] fitz Peter, William de Warenne, Ric[hard] de Herriard, Osbert fitz Hervey, Simon de Pattishall, Thomas de Hurstbourne and other barons and faithful of the lord king then present, between Hugh de Polstead demandant and Geoffrey de ‘Maisil’ tenant, about four hides of land with its appurtenances in Winterbourne and a half a hide of land with its appurtenances in Christian Malford which are of the fee of the abbot of Glastonbury about which there was a plea between them in the court of the lord king, to wit: that the same Hugh de Polstead granted to the aforesaid Geoffrey de ‘Maisil’ and his heirs all the aforesaid land with its appurtenances to hold of him and his heirs for the service of one knight. And for this grant and concord the aforesaid Geoffrey de ‘Maisil’ gave forty marks of silver to the aforesaid Hugh de Polstead and did him homage for the aforesaid land.” Feet of Fines, Richard I.

Final concords are the topic of book 8 of *Glanvill*, but version used here may be an invention of Hubert Walter, who was chief justiciar from 1193–1198.

6:M96—G. de M. pays his one mark. Pipe Roll, 8 Richard I.

8:P98—H. de P. appoints H. de P. attorney. “Somerset. Hugh de Polstead puts his son Hugh in his place against the court of Glastonbury to gain or lose.” Curia Regis Rolls (CRR) 1.

9:P98—Four members of the court of Glastonbury to bear the record. “A day is given to Gerard de ‘Brohton’, Richard son of Robert, Geoffrey de ‘Stawell’ and Hugh Travet who ought to bear record of the court of Glastonbury between Hugh de Polstead and Geoffrey ‘del Meisi’ on the octave of St. John [1 July], and let them come then and bear record, and let Geoffrey be summoned that he might be there then to hear that record.” CRR 1.

Glanvill p. IV–19 tells us that a process of *tolt* may bring a case from a lord’s court into the county court ‘for default of right’. From there a writ of *pone* will bring the case into the central

royal court. Glanvill does not describe that, but it seems to have been totally standard from the time of the first plea rolls.

Tentative conclusion: Hugh tries to sell land to Geoffrey and gets into trouble because he has bypassed his lord's court (the abbot of Glastonbury)

http://www.law.harvard.edu/faculty/cdonahue/courses/ELH/slides/Glastonbury_Abbey_abbots_kitchen.jpg

3. Compton (Surrey) and Chiddingfold

5:P96—fine: Walter de Windsor to H. de P. for Compton

5. 26 May 1196. "This is a final concord made in the court of the lord king at Westminster on the octave of St. Dunstan in the seventh year of King Richard before H[ubert Walter] archbishop of Canterbury, R[ichard fitz Neal] bishop of London, G[ilbert Glanvill] bishop of Rochester, R[ichard Barre] archdeacon of Ely, Master Thomas de Hurstbourne, Osbert fitz Hervey, Simon de Pattishall, Richard de Herriard, then justices, and other faithful men of the lord king then present, between Walter de Windsor [Berks] demandant and Hugh de Polstead and Cecilia his wife tenants about a fee of half a knight in Compton [Surrey] about which there was a plea between them in the aforesaid court, to wit: that the aforesaid Walter quitclaimed all right and claim that he had in the aforesaid fee of half a knight for himself and his heirs to the aforesaid Hugh and Cecily and their heirs for ever, saving the claim of the same Walter or his heirs for the service of the aforesaid fee against William de Hastings [Sussex] or his heirs, if he or his heirs can deraign the service against the aforesaid William de Hastings or his heirs. And for this final concord and quitclaim the aforesaid Hugh and Cecilia his wife give the aforesaid Walter thirty marks of silver." *Id.* 150–1, no 167 (Surrey no 3). (William de Hastings may = William de Windsor or he may be William's tenant, see no 76.)

In 1242 X 1243, Hugh de Polestead [III] held half a knight's fee in Compton of the honour of William de Windsor.¹ The honour of William de Windsor was one-half of the honour of Eton [Bucks]. William's father, also William, and his father's cousin Walter divided the honour in 1198 after fifteen years in which the inheritance had been disputed. Walter's portion passed to his sisters Christiana and Gunnor in 1203, the latter of whom was married to ?Hugh I de Hosdeny. Thence it passed to Ralph I in 1203 and to Hugh II de Hosdeny in 1222.²

32:M04—novel disseisin, C. de P. vs. Hugh de H., Chiddingfold

32. *Id.* "Surrey. The assize comes to recognize if Hugh de Horsley unjustly and without judgment disseised Cecilia de Polstead [widow of Hugh de Polstead] of her free tenement in Chiddingfold [Surrey] within the assize. The jurors say that he thus disseised her. Judgment. Let her have her seisin, and Hugh is in mercy for the disseisin two and a half marks. Damage two and a half marks." CRR 3:235.

This is, of course, the assize of novel disseisin, described in Glanvill on p. IV-29 ff.

37:M05—Cecilia owes for her assize, Chiddingfold

¹ 76. 1242 X 1243. Surrey. "Of the honour of William de Windsor. Hugh de Polstead holds a half a knights fee in Compton of the same honour." *Id.* 2 (1923) 685. (This is a document connected with the great scutage raised in connection with Henry III's expedition to Gascony in 1242.)

² Sanders, *English Baronies* 116–17.

37. Michaelmas, 1205. New offerings. Surrey. “Cecilia de Polstead owes a half a mark for having a recognizance of novel disseisin at Westminster over Hugh de Horsley about her free tenement in Chiddingfold.” S. Smith (ed), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Seventh Year of the Reign of King John*, PRS ns 19 (London 1941) 155.

42:P06—Cecilia essoins against H. de H. plea of rent, R. de H. loses his court

42. Easter, 1206. Essoins probably for sickness in coming to court. “Surrey. Cecilia de Polstead against Hugh de Horsley about a plea of rent by Roger de ‘Reindon’. To the day after the octave of St. John [2 July] He has sworn. Ralph de ‘Hodeng’ asks for his court about it. Let him not have court by consideration of the court.” *Id.* 282, no 2082. See below no 76.

47:T06—R. de H. and D. de L. claim their court, Chiddingfold

47. Trinity, 1206. “Surrey. Ralph de ‘Hodeny’ and Duncan de ‘Lacell’ asked for their court on the third day before the pleas in the suit which is between Hugh de Horsley and Cecilia de Polstead about the land of the Walds [probably in Chiddingfold, Surrey].” *Id.* 181.

48:T06—Hugh de W., writ of entry *dum infra aetatem*, Compton

48. *Id.* “Surrey. Hugh de Windsor demands against Cecilia de Polstead one hide of land with its appurtenances in ‘Witentre’ [probably in Compton, Surrey] into which she would not have had entry except through Walter and William de Windsor who gave it to her while the same Hugh was under age and in their custody. And she asks for a view of the land. A day is given in the octave of St. Michael [6 October].” CRR 4:207.

ASIDE: Bodleian Register R no. 780. “render to A. who is of full age, as it is said, ten acres of land with appurtenances in N. into which the said B. has no entry save by G. to whom the aforesaid A. demised them while under age etc.”

53–4, 58, 64, 65:M06, M07, P08—the litigation about Compton and Chiddingfold continues but goes nowhere, and ends without a judgment

Tentative conclusion: Hugh and Cecilia get in trouble because they got their ticket from the wrong management.

4. Burnham (abbreviated). This is a wonderful case for anyone who is interested in marital property. What’s the story?

15:P99—? covenant. The record is badly damaged but it suggests that that one Walter de Grancurt and Hugh son of Hugh de Polstead are litigating about a covenant that has something to do with a woman named Juliana. Rotuli Curiae Regis 1.

16:M99—suggests that the writ is “to show why” (*ostensurus quare*) he made her a nun. “Hugh de Polstead [and Hugh his son essoin themselves] against Walter de Grancurt about a plea why he made his niece³ a nun by Robert son of Adam.” Pleas before the King or his Justices 1.

The initial proceedings are not described in our extracts from *Glanvill*. Elsewhere he describes an action of covenant, which may be involved here. In entry 16 language is used that will later be found in the writ of trespass, but that does not appear formally until the middle of the 13th

³ The word can also mean ‘granddaughter’, but it makes a lot more sense if she is his niece.

century. The archbishop of Canterbury, mentioned in entry 18, was Hubert Walter, who was also chief justiciar until 1198.

18:M99—Walter G. tells his story: “Walter de Grancurt complains that Hugh de Polstead, when Juliana his granddaughter and his heir was in the custody of the same Hugh by the lord of Canterbury and he before him and the other justices faithfully promised that he would not marry her without the assent of this Walter and of his progeny, he [Hugh] of his own will made her a nun unjustly. Hugh came and defended that she was never made a nun by him but he says that the steward of the count of Perche [Normandy], as is said, sent for her to his house, and he doesn’t know what he did with her. Walter says that this Hugh against the will of the same Juliana and while she was under age made her take up the habit of religion so that he might obtain the portion of the inheritance of this Juliana along with her first born sister whom he took to wife. Hugh proffered a charter of the count of Perche and of M[_____] his countess which testified that they had given the same Hugh Avis the first-born with her inheritance and that this Juliana before this count and countess and many others asked if she could with their permission take up the habit of religion. And Walter says that this could not be because she never crossed [the Channel] nor spoke with the count or the countess. A day was given, one month after St. Hilary [13 February] to hear their judgment.” Rot CR 2.

“M[_____],” countess of Perche, is Matilda, the neice of Richard I, the daughter of his older sister (also Matilda) and Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony.⁴

20–24:HPM00—Juliana appears, suggesting that she is out of the convent; various essoins and constitutions of attorneys and the case fizzles out.

The five entries suggest that there are probably at least three lawsuits going on here: Walter (with Juliana) v. Hugh (father and son). Juliana v. Hugh and Avis. The count of Perche v. Walter (about the wardship ‘custody’). The plea rolls are virtually complete for the next six years, but nothing appears on them until:

39–41:P06—Hugh de P. wins a novel disseisin brought against him by William de G., but a case brought by William and his wife Juliana against him continues

40. “The assize comes to recognize if Hugh de Polstead unjustly and without judgment disseised William de Gimingham of his free tenement at Burnham within the assize. The jurors say that he did not disseise. Judgment. William is in mercy for a false claim.” CRR 4.

41. “Hugh de Polstead [and Avis his wife] essoin themselves [with regard to the matter] that is before the king against William de Gimingham and Juliana his wife about a plea of land”

45–6:P06—More of the story comes out; the parties have paid for a special jury to be taken on the question whether Walter de G. “intruded” himself on the land at the time of the death of Ascelina de Candos; the jury says that he did. The writ here is a variant of the assize of mort d’ancestor, described in Glanvill on p. IV–24 ff.

45. “Hugh de Polstead and Avis his wife by Hugh de ‘Ylleg’ demand against Walter de Grant Curt one carucate of land with its appurtenances in Burnham, of which Ascelina de Candos, whose daughter and heir the aforesaid Avis is, died seised as of her *maritagium* given by William de Grancurt and in which he intruded himself by force and arms while Ascelina lay in the infirmity of which she died, and he held it thus violently after her decease and by that

⁴ See K. Thompson, “Matilda, countess of the Perche (1171-1210),” *Tabularia* (2003) <http://www.unicaen.fr/mrsh/craham/revue/tabularia/print.php?dossier=dossier3&file=01thompson.xml>.

intrusion he took from it chattels which were on that land to the value of twenty marks, and that Ascelina thus died seised of that land as of her *maritagium* and that Walter so intruded himself in that land he [sic] offers to deraign by consideration of the court. And Walter defends his right, and he says that Avis has a sister who is not named in the writ and therefore he does not wish to reply without her unless the court shall have considered, and since there was mention in the writ of intrusion and he does not know if the sister wanted to follow. It was considered that he reply because Hugh and Avis offer the lord king forty shillings for having a jury by lawful men [on the question] whether this Ascelina died seised of that land as of a *maritagium* given her by the aforesaid William and whether this William [?sic] intruded himself in that land by force and while she lay in the infirmity of which she died, or not, and the offering is received. And Walter offers forty shillings for the same ... and let William de Gimingham [Norfolk] and Juliana his wife, the sister of the aforesaid Avis be summoned to come to follow the jury if they will. ...” CRR 4.

In later law an “abator” was sometimes distinguished from an “intruder” in that the latter was a stranger who got onto the land after the ancestor had died and before the heir could take seisin, while the former was a relative who did the same thing. The distinction does not seem to be being made here.

46. “The jury comes to recognize if Ascelina de Candos, mother of Avis, wife of Hugh de Polstead, was seised on the day on which she died of one carucate of land with its appurtenances in Burnham as of her *maritagium* which was given to her by William de Grancurt, father of the aforesaid Ascelina, and if Walter de Grancurt with force and arms intruded himself on that land while this Ascelina was in her sickness of which she died and though that intrusion remained on that land after the decease of this Ascelina. The jurors say that William de Grancurt gave the aforesaid land to Hugh de Candos in *maritagium* with the aforesaid Ascelina, and she held that land as her *maritagium* all her life; and while she lay in her infirmity of which she died, fifteen days before her death Walter came with a multitude of people and put himself on that land and thus he held it from then to now. It was considered that Hugh de Polstead and Avis his wife and William de Gimingham and Juliana his wife have seisin of that land of which Avis and Juliana are the heirs of this Ascelina. And Walter is in mercy.”

Maritagium took various forms, but the version involved here was probably a grant to a husband and his wife for their joint lives with a remainder for life in the survivor and the inheritance passing to the heirs of the marriage. The issue here may be whether the inheritance would pass to the children of the couple when they had only daughters or would return to the wife’s family from whence it had come.

49–52:TM06—Wm. and Juliana attempt to raise the ante by bringing an attainr proceeding against the jury. What’s going on is not totally clear, but what is clear is that the two sisters are suing each other joined by their husbands.

52. “A day is given to William de Gimingham and Juliana his wife by their attorney and to Hugh de Polstead about a plea of rent and about a jury for convicting the twelve on the octave of St. Hilary by the request of the parties. And let it be known that all twenty-four are to be attached. And Hugh removed his attorney and wishes to prosecute in his own person.” CRR 4.

55:H07—the countess of Perche demands her court

55. “The countess of Perche demands her court by William ‘Pachche’ her bailiff on Thursday before the octave of St. Hilary [18 January] about the suit between William de Gimingham and Juliana his wife demandants and Hugh de Polstead and Avis his wife tenants about land in Burnham.”

56–7, 59–63:HM07, P08—various essoins

66–70, ET08, P09—various proceedings leading to the compromise

71:P09—Compromise

Tentative conclusion: The marriage settlement goes awry because the lord’s arrangements for Juliana cannot be enforced after the break with Normandy in 1204.

All of this looks as if we’re talking about horizontal relationships, two sisters and their husbands squabbling. There are some hints of vertical relationships upward in the previous generation and involving the count of Perche, but nothing to suggest that anything is going on below the tenorial level of the litigants. That that is not true, however, is apparent when we come to no. 71.

No. 71: This is the final concord made in the court of the lord king at St. Edmunds two weeks after Easter in the 10th year of the reign of King John before [seven] itinerant justices, and other faithful men of the lord king there present, between William de Gimingham and Juliana, his wife, demandants, by the same William placed in the place of the same Juliana for gain or for loss, and Hugh de Polstead and Avis, his wife, tenants, by Walter de Groten’, put in their place for taking the chirograph, about forty acres of land with its appurtenances in Burnham about which there was a plea between them in the aforesaid court, to wit: that the aforesaid Hugh and Avis recognize all the aforesaid land with its appurtenances to be the right of the same William and Juliana as Juliana’s reasonable part which comes to her of the free tenement which belonged to Hugh de Candos, father of the aforesaid Juliana and Avis, and of Ascelina, wife of the aforesaid Hugh, and they remitted and quitclaimed for themselves and their heirs to the aforesaid William and Juliana and the heirs of this Juliana forever. And be it known that the aforesaid William and Juliana and Hugh and Avis will divide the entire tenement among themselves which used to belong to the aforesaid Hugh and Ascelina, his wife, in Burnham and in [Burnham] Deepdale in the lands, services, rents, liberties and advowsons of churches, to wit: [tabulated below:]

<i>Name</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>Scutage</i>	<i>% in d</i>	<i>Other</i>
Eloise de Vendeval	all service	12			
Robert, son of Hugh	½ service				1/5 kt
John, son of Ralph	service	30			
Hugh over Hill and Alexander Pingincus	all service	12	160	1½	
John, the priest	all service	4			
Roger Sprigy	½ service	30	160	3	
Richard, son of ?Luthe	all service	2			
Robert de Brancaster	service	12			

[Norfolk]					
William, son of Roger	service	12	240	3	
William Despan	service		240	3	
William ?Sisladin	service	3	240	¼	
Steven Francigenis	service	12	160	2½	
Matthew le Curteis	service	3	240	¾	
Philip de Norton [Norfolk]	service	24	160	4½	
William Russell	service	10			
		366			

Extrapolating from this to the entire holding, we get 28 free tenants, who contribute £1 7s 8d annually in service, and who are responsible for roughly 36% of any scutage levied (calculated by reducing the scutage figures to a common denominator and multiplying by 2, roughly 20%, and adding 2/5 of the kt's fee as a percentage of 2½ knights' fees, roughly 16%).

Reginald, Henry and Walter, the sons of the merchant of Deepdale	with their entire tenement and their entire household (t & h)				
Matilda, daughter of Sisich	t & h;				
Ralph, son of Nonyve	t & h				
William, son of Richard	t & h				
Ralph, son of Yrich	t & h;				
Goda, the widow	from land which she holds of William and Juliana in the same vill;	4			1 a
Elfled Peps	t & h;				
Simon Turk	t & h;				
Simon Rust	t & h;				
Richard Snais	t & h;				
Liviva, daughter of the priest	t & h;				
Clement Popi	t & h;				
Hugh, son of Brun	t & h;				
Robert Salle	t & h;				
William ?Coyiun	t & h;				
Robert Rei	½ t & h				
Ulviva, his mother	½ t & h				

Elviva, Liviva and Avis, daughters of Blench	½ t & h				
Matilda, daughter of Stinger	½ t & h				
Hoimund, son of Adelwold	t & h;				
Goda, who was the wife of Harvey Dusing	t & h;				
Matilda, daughter of Mannessune	t & h;				
Alice, daughter of Algar	t & h;				
Wlfwan, daughter of Robert	t & h;				
Alice daughter of Goldwin	t & h;				
Roger, son of Thedwar	t & h;				
Robert le Neuman	t & h;				
Sunnild Purre	t & h;				
Simon, son of Lefwin	t & h;				
Walter Bus	t & h;				
William Haid ...	t & h;				

Doubling this, it looks like we get roughly seventy unfree peasant householders.

the entire croft of the chief message with half of the two parcels which abut on the aforesaid croft toward the west;	
half of 'Wlfuriches' croft toward the west;	
half of the meadow which abuts on the aforesaid croft toward the north:	
and a half of the moor which abuts on the aforesaid croft toward the north;	
half of the entire field which is called 'Turf', to wit, half of the ploughland of 'Oldesties' toward the west, half of the four acres next to the ploughland of 'Oldesties' toward the north, and half of eight acres which abuts on the aforesaid four acres toward the south,	6 a
half of the pasture of 'Linghill' toward the south,	
half of the ploughland of ten and a half acres on 'Linghill' toward the west,	5.25 a
half of the fifteen acres which lie nearer the vill of Docking [Norfolk] toward the north	7.5 a
half of three perches which abut on the aforesaid fifteen acres toward the north	1225 sq. ft.
half of 'Blacchill' next 'Turfdic' toward the west,	
half of the pasture which abuts on 'Doccingat' toward the west,	
and half of 'Guthruneswong' toward the north,	

and a half of the ploughland which lies next to the road to Docking toward the west,	
and a half of the ploughland of ‘Hevekerescrundl’ toward the west,	
half of the pasture next ‘Hevekerescrundl’ toward the north,	
a half of ‘Langedun’ toward the north, half of ‘Turf’... toward the north; half of ‘Benedictesdal’ toward the north;	
half of ‘Knithtes Hevedland’ toward the west;	
half of little ‘Strungelh’ toward the north;	
half of greater ‘Strungelh’ toward the north;	
half of little ‘Langedun’ toward the north;	
half of greater ‘Langedun’ toward the north;	
half of ‘Cheshohill’ toward the north;	
at Deepdale down a perch of land toward the west;	272 sq ft.
half of ‘Tirne’ toward the west; half of ‘Westhill’ toward the west;	
half of three perches which belonged to Matilda Brust toward the north;	1225 sq. ft.
half of ‘Berdemere’ toward the west;	
half of the entire marsh which abuts on ‘Westhill’ and on ‘Berdemere’ toward the west;	
half of the marsh before the gate of Bonde Gris toward the north;	
half of all the land which belonged to Harvey the priest toward the north;	
a half of the land which belonged to Magot toward the west;	
half of ‘Grimescroft’ toward the west;	
the entire croft of ‘Edwen’ next to the house of Roger the clerk;	
half of the messuage which belonged to Ascelina de Candos toward the west;	
half of ‘Tuncroft’ toward the west;	
half of ‘Pintellescroft’ toward the north;	
half of ‘Calcedic’ toward the west:	
*half of the water at the church of St. Andrew toward the west;	
half of the three furlongs of ‘Hildeslawes’ toward the west;	10 a?
half of ‘?Docconnicwong’ toward the west;	
half of ‘Tornhill’ toward the north;	
and a half of ‘Blacters’ toward the north;	
half of ... Uweshel’ toward the west;	

half of ‘Crocumdal’ toward the west;	
a half of ‘Foxloth’ toward the west;	
half of ‘Blacchill’ toward the west;	
half of ‘Thirsedol’ toward the west,	
half of one parcel of land at ‘Sidersternegat’ toward the west;	
all the land which belonged to Acke,	
the entire croft which belonged to Ralph Hulloc;	
half a rod of land and four feet at ‘Harnesho’ toward the west;	144 sq ft.

This adds up to roughly 35 separate parcels of land, which are probably to be added to the 40 acres, first mentioned, which, in turn, is probably half of the main demesne of the manor. Since so few acreages are given, estimates of total size are very dangerous, but we are probably dealing with roughly 200 to 400 acres of demesne.

half of the advowson of the church of St. Margaret Burnham;	
half of the advowson of the church of All Saints in the same vill;	
half of the mill at the river with half of the liberty of the water and with all the other appurtenances of the same mill;	
a quarter of the whole market of Burnham with a half of the other liberties pertaining to the aforesaid lands;	
half of the entire mill at Winegot with half of the croft of the same mill toward the west;	
half of the meadow and marsh on both sides of the water of same mill toward the north.	

The advowsons of 2 churches, 2 mills, ½ a market, and some water rights.

Let it be known that the aforesaid William and Juliana granted to the aforesaid Hugh and Avis and the heirs of Avis,

Hubert de Deepdale t & h and in exchange for this Hubert the aforesaid Hugh and Avis granted to the aforesaid William and Juliana, Reginald Cod t & h.

Furthermore let it be known that [if] the aforesaid two mills, which are of the same fee, should at any time fall down, by the default of William and Juliana, it shall be allowed to Hugh and Avis to repair the aforesaid mills out of the common of the aforesaid mills and [if] by the default of Hugh and Avis the aforesaid mills fall down, it shall be allowed to the aforesaid William and Juliana to repair the aforesaid mills out of the common profit of the aforesaid mills.

To have and to hold to this William and Juliana and the heirs of Juliana of the capital lords of this fee by the service which pertains to the aforesaid lands.” B. Dodwell (ed), *Feet of Fines for the County of Norfolk, 1201–1215*, PRS ns 32 (London 1958) 100–3, no 210.

Summary: It looks as if this is organized (1) free tenants, (2) unfree tenants, (3) demesne lands, (4) incorporeal rights (advowsons, markets, mills). Here’s the summary:

(1) Extrapolating from this to the entire holding, we get 28 free tenants, who contribute £1 7s 8d annually in service, and who are responsible for roughly 36% of any scutage levied (calculated by reducing the scutage figures to a common denominator and multiplying by 2, roughly 20%, and adding 2/5 of the kt's fee as a percentage of 2½ knights' fees, roughly 16%).

(2) Doubling what's listed in the fine, it looks like we get roughly seventy unfree peasant householders.

(3) The demesne adds up to roughly 35 separate parcels of land, which are probably to be added to the 40 acres first mentioned, which, in turn, is probably half of the main demesne of the manor. Since so few acreages are given, estimates of total size are very dangerous, but we are probably dealing with roughly 200 to 400 acres of demesne.

(4) The advowsons of 2 churches, 2 mills, ½ a market, and some water rights.

At the end of the fine William and Juliana exchange one named unfree peasant household for another named peasant household that Hugh and Avis have, and both agree that they can repair each others' mills and take the costs of repair out of the profits of the mills.