

Occasional Papers, no.44.

**SOME NOTES ON THE SKIDMORE (SCUDEMER)
FAMILY FROM IN THE 11TH TO THE 14TH
CENTURIES IN SOUTHWEST ENGLAND.**

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Akron, Ohio :: 2010.

FOREWORD

Learning the relationship between the Egyptian pharaohs, the Greek gods, the Roman emperors, or Charlemagne's kinfolk is relatively easy to do. However if you want to pursue an early Norman family, even kith or kin of William the Conqueror, or his sons, or one of their *barones*, there are some useful (but widely spaced) stepping stones not available in any other European country in the 11th or 12th centuries. We have the great Domesday Book of 1086, the Pipe Roll of 1130, and the *Cartae Baronium* of 1166 to start with, and then happily the later steps become a little shorter and the data considerably more informative.

Another help to piecing out a pedigree can be the record of gifts made to celebrate the Christian religion. Everyone from the king down to the lowliest cottager was prepared to donate to the church in the belief that their worldly generosity would benefit their souls and the souls of their families forever. The Scudemer family were benefactor to the Priory at Ewyas Harold and Dore Abbey in Herefordshire, and then much later in 1349 endowed a chantry in the church at Upton Scudamore in Wiltshire where a priest was to say mass "every single day in the said church forever" for the souls of the Scudamore family.

A liability is that transactions between the crown and subject, or between two subjects, were generally done *sine carta* and the lack of written records (that are not common until after 1150) led to all kinds of disagreements that kept the courts busy adjudicating claims for centuries to come. So much of what we know about families in the time of the early Norman kings has to be made from uncertain inferences, either from what happened before in France, or what came after in England.

One of the earliest, and certainly the most proficient of the writers on medieval families in the period, was John Horace Round (1854-1928) to whom this long essay is greatly indebted. Round was a master at making subtle inferences, and demonstrated for example in his essays (written over a period of 40 years) that the best way to identify a Domesday place or personage was to look to the descendants that came afterwards holding the same fee.

This essay has not been written for an academic audience. It has been a principal amusement, a sort of daily crossword puzzle, since 1941. There are, aside from family history, some matters noticed here that seem to have been ignored by historians. I have not been able to find a good account in print on fortified houses, or on alternative surnames, and some personal opinions not etched in granite have been tendered here for consideration.

It is said that there may be as many as 6000 moated homesites in England. The majority of the later homesteads provided with water-filled ditches were probably *not* for protection of the residents but were really intended as aristocratic status symbols. This seems to be the current judgment. A case might be made that they were the prototype of the timber forts found much later in colonial Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky. This network of forts up and down the valley of Virginia, were built to protect neighborhoods in the pioneer period from *insurgent* (to use the modern word) Indians justifiably angry at the usurping farmers. Most of them were built at the private expense of local worthies who thought of them as their homesteads, while there were others that were done on the

initiative of colonial governors sent out from London who were familiar with the once useful castle. This is a subject on which I do pretend to have some small expertise.¹

I have not found anything in print that deals with what once must have been a Saxon *insurgency*. It seems unlikely that the men who did not die with Harold at Hastings simply rolled over and accepted the domination of the French without protest.

The use of alternative surnames in post-Conquest England is an accepted fact, but can easily mislead the unwary. Many Frenchmen used for a time the place of their birth or origin as a surname, but then in England took the old name of a principal new possession as an alternate name. Juhel of Totnes, an enormous magnate in Devon and Cornwall (who owed the service of 70 knights to the king), is always found as “of Totnes.” He had an unknown Breton father named Alfred, lord of Totnes and Barnstable in Devon, but we know nothing more of his family. Then we have the Giffards, who were known by their nickname “fat cheeks” in France. There is Osbern Pentecost who probably belonged to an important family, but was known by the feast day on which he happened to have been born (a common French custom).

Over 20 years ago I wrote that I believed that down to the time of Edward III (who died in 1377) that Skydmore was Skydmore’s cousin everywhere. I still think this statement is probably true, and it has been made a bit more likely by the new publication of what remains of the list of persons who paid the poll taxes in 1377, 1379 and 1381.² William F. Skidmore of Winchester, Tennessee has a project in hand to collect DNA samples from males who bear the surname. Their ancestry was unknown in most cases before 1600, but some of those who submitted cheek scrubbings have found that they are indeed related to other members of the early family. Those who are interested are not likely to prove a relationship back to Ralph [de Scudemore] who was born by 1040 and was probably building castles in Herefordshire before 1066. Some are likely to find that they come from what is known to the geneticist as “non-paternity events.” Colonel Skidmore had one DNA sample from a supposed descendant that did not match, and who learned later that his *presumptive* Skidmore great-grandfather had indeed died two years before his real grandfather was born. These events are not so easily solved. They frequently turn on a father who has taken on a stepson, an adopted son, or who was a master of a trade who gave his name to an apprentice (remembering that only the male Y chromosomes is tested for DNA). All worthy kindnesses, but of the sort seldom put on record to the confusion of the genealogist.

This extended article owes much to all of the people that I acknowledged in my *The Scudamores of Upton Scudamore* in 1989. Alas, all of these generous collaborators (with the exception of Colonel Skidmore) are now sadly long dead.

¹See my *Lord Dunmore’s Little War* (Heritage Press, 2002), xi. In Virginia in 1774 there were 26 known “home-place” forts built by 26 prominent citizens (many of them officer’s in Dunmore’s army), plus 23 principal forts, and 14 others known by name but not by location. None of them, of course, were as sophisticated as a Norman castle or surrounded by a moat.

²I did a piece on my findings (*The Skydmore in the records of the Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381*) which appeared on the Scudamore/Skidmore CD in 2006.

The papers of the late John Hunt (1922-2004) have been transferred at his bequest to the Hereford Record Office at the Old Barracks on Harold Street, Hereford HR1 2QX. They are still in boxes, reference no. CC60, not yet catalogued for use. My own notes in 42 volumes on the British family, have been microfilmed by the Genealogical Society of Utah on 10 reels and are available for use at the Family History Library in Salt Lake City or at any of the branch 4000 Family History Centers to be found in 88 countries.

I have benefitted greatly from the books, and a long and helpful correspondence, with Bruce Coplestone-Crow of Birmingham. He is the dean of the historians who have studied the Welsh border, and the men and institutions that governed it. I have asked his advice about dozens of mysteries and never found him wanting for a prompt and accurate answer.

Recently I have come to know Harry Manley, a grandson of two special friends, Commander John and Lady Patricia Lucas-Scudamore of Kentchurch Court. They are both gone, but I know how delighted they would be to have left posterity with as much interest as they both had in their Scudamore ancestors. Harry has turned up some remarkable new evidences incorporated into the present paper, and the readers of these notes hopefully will be as appreciative as I am.

Warren Skidmore
April 2010.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Ralph “de Scudemer” certainly had a family and an alternative surname in France, but his home there (possibly in the département of Mantes) remains to be found. A great deal of new work has been done on the Domesday Book and the 200 (or so) tenants-in-chief and their approximately 4000 undertenants found recorded there in 1086. I have found the following books (published since 1989 when my book on Upton Scudamore was written) to be of particular interest.

David Walker, *The Register of the Churches of The Monastery of St. Peter’s Gloucester*. In “An Ecclesiastical Miscellany,” the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1976. [An excellent translations of the charters relating to the priory at Ewyas Harold can be found on pages 3-58 of this anthology.]

Herefordshire, Phillimore (Chichester, 1983). There were new scholarly editions of the Domesday Book done individually for everyone of the counties. *Herefordshire*, no. 17 in the series, was edited Frank and Caroline Thorn and proved to be one of the very best of the series. Both Coplestone-Crowe and myself contributed new identifications of previously unknown places in the Golden Valley that were accepted by the editors in advance of publication.

Bruce Coplestone-Crow, *The fief of Alfred de Marlborough in Herefordshire in 1086 and its descent in the Norman period*. Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, XLV (1986) 376. [An exhaustive study, not likely to ever be greatly improved.]

Bruce Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names* (BAR British Series 214) 1989. [A necessary basic reference work on the county.]

Bruce Coplestone-Crowe, *Margery Boss lecture at Ewyas Harold on 15 June 1991*. [An impressive retelling of his book on Alfred of Marlborough with some new material on castle-guard and scutage on the Welsh border of historic interest.]

Domesday Book, a complete translation by Dr. Ann Williams and Professor G. H. Martin (Penguin Book, 1992). [The 900th anniversary of the Domesday Book saw the first publication of the complete text in a new translation of every county, available for the first time in a paper edition at a moderate price.]

The Hungerford Cartulary, a Calendar of the Earl of Radnor’s Cartulary of the Hungerford Family, edited by J. L. Kirby. The Wiltshire Record Society, vol. 49 (Trowbridge, 1994). [I shared my translation of the Upton Scudamore charters with Mr. Kirby in advance of publication. See his abstracts, numbers 363-427. We differ slightly on the readings of a few personal name and some minor Latin translations. See the appendix to my *The Scudamores of Upton Scudamore*, 88-108.]

The Domesday Book, England’s Heritage Then and Now, edited by Thomas Hinde. Avenel, New Jersey, 1995. [A popular work, but with fine maps, illustrations, and brief lives of the major tenants-

in-chief.]

Katherine D. B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People, a prosopography of persons occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166*. Volume I, *Domesday Book*, and volume II, *Pipe Rolls to Cartae Baronum*. (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, Suffolk), 1999 and 2002. [Mrs. Keats-Rohan's work, on the whole of England, is done on a far more ambitious scale than anything yet attempted. The first volume lists most of the almost 200 tenants in chiefs (*barones*) of the Conqueror, and most (but far from all) of 4000 knights who were their undertenants in 1086. It sorted these personages by their *given* names or titles in Latin in the first volume. *Aluredus [de Merleberge]* is there, but unfortunately the nine knights in his castle at Ewyas were overlooked. *Radulf*, called a "Norman and the Domesday tenant of William de Écouis," is noticed but the other four appearances of this Ralph [de Scudemer] in both Herefordshire and Wiltshire are regrettably ignored. The second volume (arranged now in *surname* order) does add some small detail to my 1982 account of the descendants of nine French knights at Alfred's castle in 1086. References to some 45,000 personages, lay and clerical (many of them duplicates) are included. Alas there are no indexes to "stray" names, and the collaborators who contributed to this major work did not always observe the set of rules used by the principal author. Corrections to the work can be posted to an internet site.]

Robert Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angervin Kings, 1075-1225* (The Oxford History of England, Oxford, 2000). [In 1982 I recommended Doris Mary Stenton's book *English Society in the Early Middle Ages* (an inexpensive Penguin Book) to my readers, to illuminate many of the details of the Norman period that I did not reprint. I still like Lady Stenton's book, but Bartlett's recent effort is much larger and must now be a first choice for anyone who would like a fuller understanding of the early medieval period. The section on *The Sources* found on page 695-705 is a first essential for anyone who attempts to work with the original records.]

Giffard, John Anthory Hardinge. *Notes of the Giffard Family*, edited by Warren Skidmore (2003). [A manuscript of 85 leaves, filmed by the Family History Library. Lord Halsbury (1908-2000) did an enormous amount of work on the various branches of his family in France, and added this to his notes on the early family in England. In 2002, after his death, I put together his unpublished typed notes in the expectation that they will be useful to anyone who may attempt a definitive history of the Giffards. One branch of this family was a tenant of the Scudamores in Wiltshire, and this had been a mutual interest.]

INTRODUCTION

There are a few proven facts about Ralph [de Scudemer]. He was in Herefordshire before the Norman Conquest probably coming from France in the retinue of William fitz Osbern. He was undoubtedly a Breton or Norman as his Christian name and the names of his three sons testify. He married the widow of Erkembald fitz Erkembald (by whom she had an older son Rainald) who then became the mother of Ralph's three sons Reginald, Walter and Hugh. He was an early undertenant of Alfred of Marlborough and then later of Harold of Ewyas. Ralph [de Scudemer] is mentioned four times in the Domesday Book of 1086, and was probably still living in 1100 but dead by 1120.

KING WILLIAM I, THE CONQUEROR.

If one is to understand the feudal period the absolutely basic fact is that the king owned by conquest all of the land in England. After 1066 he had enormous tracts to distribute which he parceled out to his kinsmen and more valued companions. They were then bound him by oath to perform certain well-defined services for their possessions during their lifetimes. At their death (or displeasure) it escheated back to the crown, who usually confirmed it to the heirs on the payment of the proper relief. Alas, most of the nameless 6000 men who fought at Hastings were mercenaries who expected nothing except a payment. They had what they contracted for, and returned to the Continent.

The honours handed out by the king to his favorites were seldom within the boundaries of a single county. The king was always wary of revolt, and giving one of his men too much concentration of power in a single county could encourage a malcontent. His tenants-in-chief also tended to follow the royal practice, and dispersed the manors among their knights sometimes at considerable distances. Life was not comfortable or sheltered and the fear of violence was absolute. Both the king and his tenants-in-chiefs were constantly traveling, and one of the specified duties owed by the barons to the king, and the knights to their lords, was escort duty for their protection.

William knew the softest boundaries of his new kingdom. Sussex, which he himself had breached, was one. Another was the Welsh border. He continued to build castles, an art that was largely unknown to the Anglo-Saxons who had been strong on the *offensive* but weak on the *defensive*. He proposed that every county town was to have a royal castle usually of timber since stone was not always easily found. London however had its magnificent White Tower of stone which still survives as a great tourist attraction. The king seems to have encouraged the building of private castles or fortified houses along the Welsh border, but we must argue much of this from silence. The king, and his *barones*, never did anything unless it was likely to return something of value to their personal advantage. The king held a very tight reign over his barons, and the barons over their knights, they always tried to extract the greatest possible income and services from their liegemen.

WILLIAM FITZ OSBERN

William fitz Osbern grew up in the household with the Conqueror in Normandy where his father was the steward of Robert, duke of Normandy, until the Robert's death in 1035. Out of a tumultuous adolescence together, he grew up as William the Conqueror's oldest and most loyal friend. He married Adelize de Tosny, of a family that became tenants-in-chief in Herefordshire. Fitz Osbern contributed 60 ships to the invasion and fought beside the Conqueror at Hastings. After 1066 he became the king's right-hand man in England, and was made a palantine earl in Herefordshire in 1067. He brought his followers from France soon after to secure the country against the Welsh. He was very influential in the difficult early years of Norman rule and saw to the securing of the Western border on a royal initiative. He was able to hold down a restive population by building a stone castle at Chepstow in Monmouthshire. He had the castle at Ewyas newly fortified by 1070, and later built fortified earthwork and timber castles at Wigmore, Clifford, and Monmouth.³ Although he was often in Herefordshire, his castle was at Carisbrooke on the Isle of Wight, and his lands were largely in southern England.

Osbern was hated by the English, but was considered by his companions as the greatest of the Normans. He was renowned for his generosity, ready wit, integrity, loyalty, wise advice, and called "better than the very best princes" by William of Malmesbury. Regrettably, he was ambushed and killed in 1071 by a small army of intervention at Kassel in Flanders and died universally mourned by the Normans. His son Roger de Breteuil had his father's lands in England and was made earl of Hereford, but he led the revolt of 1075. He escaped to Brittany and died disgraced in 1087. Many of his followers who threw themselves on the king's mercy in England were treated harshly.

ALFRED DE MARLBOROUGH

It was A. G. Bradley who first suggested early in the last century that the Scudamore family probably owed its early prominence in both Herefordshire and Wiltshire to Alfred de Marlborough, a great tenant-in-chief of William the Conqueror in both of these counties at the time of the Domesday Book.⁴

³His castle at Chepstow had a stone foundation because the site there was too rocky to dig post-holes to sink the timbers. All the castles in Herefordshire were built of timber on an earthen mound. The motte was surrounded by a timber tower with a small palisaded court around it and at the base of this was a larger court, the bailey, surrounded by a rampart. Mike Salter, *The castles of Herefordshire and Worcestershire* (Folly Publications, 1989), 2.

⁴A. G. Bradley, *In the march and borderland of Wales* (1905) 34. "The original Scudamore, I believe, came out of Wiltshire, possibly attracted hither by the joint ownership during the early Norman period of manors in both counties by one Alured [Alfred] of Marlborough, a great personage hereabouts." In point of fact it would appear that the Scudamores went from Herefordshire to Wiltshire.

Alfred was a nephew of Osbern “Pentecost” who had his surname as noticed earlier from his birth on that moveable feast day, a frequent custom in France. Osbern was a member of the colony of King Edward the Confessor’s Norman favorites in Herefordshire long before the conquest.⁵ He was the man, as J. Horace Round has demonstrated, who probably built the castle at Ewyas in Herefordshire before 1052. These early castles were made with oak timbers which were easily cut when the wood was green, but they only lasted for 30 or 40 years when sunk into the ground before they had to be replaced. Lady Stenton has left a good description of these primitive castles.

In the first period after the Conquest these castles were very primitive buildings. A stockade round the bailey formed the outer defence. The ditch round the motte was filled with water and bridged across. The bridge could be drawn up when the castle was besieged and the bailey had been taken by storm. Like the bailey, the motte was defended by a stockade. Wooden huts within the bailey, the spaces between the uprights filled with wattle and daub, housed the first generation of the conquerors.

This is the sort of building, found on a reduced scale, in the *domus defensabiles* (fortified houses) that are mentioned in Herefordshire in the Domesday Book. Stenton’s “huts” or sheds were known as “syddes” in Old English, and one of these may have given the Scudemer family their surname in England.⁶

Situated at the junction of the routes through the Black Mountains, the castle at Ewyas Harold remained important down to the time of Owen Glendower’s death in 1416. It was refortified by 1070 at the order of William fitz Osbern, then handed over to Pentecost’s nephew Alfred de Marlborough together with ten manors to support Fitz Osbern’s defense of the Welsh border. Alfred also had Pentecost’s important fees at Burghill and Brinsop in Herefordshire soon after his uncle’s death.⁷ Alfred also previously had, in the time of king Edward, Pencombe in Herefordshire in his own right.

The first thing that Alfred had to do when he had the castle at Ewyas was to find men to garrison it. We know from hundreds of other examples that he probably picked his knights from either his kinsmen or companions from their old days in France. The king took no interest in the men who his tenants-in-chief picked to fill out the service that the *barones* now owed to the crown. They found their own knights and saw that they were trained and ready to fight on horseback when called upon.

⁵There is nothing to suggest his possible origin in France. He must not be confused with Osbern, the son of Richard fitz Scrob of the honour of Richard’s Castle.

⁶D. M. Stenton, *English Society*, 15-6. Ewyas was undoubtedly enlarged and improved several times before it was eventually abandoned. It can safely be compared to Hen Domen Castle which was built about 1070 and destroyed (and its garrison killed) in 1095. Hen Domen has been subject to archaeological digs which show the several different rebuildings it went through until it was at last deserted about 1300. See Robert Higham and Philip Barker, *Timber Castles*, (New edition, David Brown Book Company, 2004). It was also the subject of a television documentary which appeared on the History Channel in the United States and was available from them on video.

⁷J. Horace Round, *Feudal England* (1964) 252. See also the Royal Commission of Historic Monuments, *Herefordshire*, III, lv.

His castle started out as a modest fort, but was undoubtedly rebuilt several times during his tenure and by the descendants of the Ewyas family that came after him. Eventually it probably included a improved kitchen and a larder, chapel, stables, a bakehouse and (importantly) a hall where their knights could gather when summoned. Later there was a chapel, perhaps of stone, dedicated to St. Nicholas within the castle.

Alfred's only son-in-law, Thurstan the Fleming, was given Wigmore and other land to support his daughter. It seems likely that Erkembald fitz Erkembald and Ralph de Scudemer, who both an equal set of the customary five manors, were also kinsmen. Nepotism was not invented by the Normans, but they did tend to practice it.

Aluredus (a distinctly Breton name) undoubtedly came out of Brittany, or from a Breton family in West Normandy. As Alfred *Malbeding* he was a witness on 30 November 1074 (with Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury) to a deed notifying Odo, bishop of Bayeux in France, that William Maubanc had bought land for St. Mary's of Bayeux. William was his brother, although this is left unstated in the charter. This land, at Cheffreville in the département of Calvados, had been bought from Herbert de Agnellis with the consent of Herbert's lord, Ralph de Tosny.⁸

William and Alfred are said to have been sons of another Alfred Malbedenc (or Malbank). Alfred, the presumptive father, had spent some time at Aachen, Germany where he was called "malbedenc" because he was "slow to give a decision." His wife's name is given as Audilicia, and she is called "a daughter of the house of Vermandois."⁹ The Breton name Alfred is rare enough in England to suggest that elder Alfred might very well have been the Alfred (never found with a surname) who was King Edward's equerry in 1052.¹⁰ He was one of the Saxon king's few favorites allowed to remain at court in 1052 when most of the Frenchmen there were forced to flee by the Earl of Wessex and his son. A part of the French fled west, perhaps significantly, to Osbern Pentecost's castle in Herefordshire. The elder Alfred is said to have entered a monastery in his old age, and to have been survived as well by two daughters whose names are not on record.¹¹ No evidence is likely to be found to prove that Alfred de Marlborough's uncle Osbern Pentecost was a brother of the wife of the Alfred at Edward's court, but it remains an interesting speculation.

Alfred was known as "de Marlborough" in England but by the paternal *Malbedeng* in France which was the name he used there in a number of charters done between 1069 and 1081. His brother William Malbank (also alias *Malbedeng*) was a major tenant of both Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Cheshire at Nantwich in Cheshire, and of Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shaftesbury. The great earl

⁸J. H. Round, *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, H. M. S. O., 1899 (no. 1434). He was Ralph "de Conches" in France, but was Ralph de Tosny in the Domesday Book. Herbert de Agnellis was a tenant at Tosny's castle at Clifford in Herefordshire, and had his surname from *Agneaux* in the département of Manche.

⁹That she was a daughter of the house of Vermandois appears to be a confusion with the wife of her grandson Hugh Malbank whose wife Petronilla is spoken of as a daughter of Peter "of Vermandois."

¹⁰R. J. Adam, *A Conquest of England: The Coming of the Normans* (London, 1965) 39-40.

¹¹None of this has been verified but seemingly came from records once found in Cheshire.

Hugh, William Malbank's principal lord, had land in 20 counties of England worth an enormous £700 by the year which financed the subjugation of the Welsh on the Cheshire border.

William Malbank had a wife Adelisa. His most important fee was at Nantwich in Cheshire, and he is one of the few undertenants who are mentioned in the Domesday Book with a surname. At *Wich* we find that "when Earl Hugh received it, it was waste, except for 1 salt pan. *William Malbank* holds the same [Nant]Wich of the earl with all the customs belonging to it, and the whole of that hundred, which is valued at 40s., of which sum 30s. is charged upon the land of William himself." The salt panned at Nantwich brought in a substantial income since it was a necessity to preserve meat, and the monies that it sold for were shared both with the earl and the king. Salt was still being worked at Nantwich as late as 1856.

When Roger de Lacy entered into an agreement about Holme Lacy in Herefordshire in 1085 with the bishop there, William Maubanc of Nantwich and earl Roger de Montgomery of Shrewsbury were both witnesses to it. William was dead by 1130 and was succeeded by his son Hugh Malbank.

Most of his Alfred's estates in Wiltshire had belonged before the conquest to one Carlo or Karl, an Anglo-Scandinavian thegn, but none of these were at the important Marlborough in that county.¹² The Anglo-Saxons had a rich legacy in literature and art, and a good system of government and taxation that was adapted in large part by the Normans. What happened to Carlo is unknown, but he may have died fighting for Harold or fled. Alfred had 42 manors in Devon, Hampshire, Somerset Surrey and Herefordshire in 1086, of which 24 were in Wiltshire (and of these, 14 were held previously by Carlo) and 10 were in Herefordshire. Alfred de Marlborough was also the undertenant "Alvred," as usual without a surname, who held manors in Somerset at Comwich, Chelwood and Belluton from count Eustace of Boulogne in the Domesday Book.

At the time of the Domesday Book Alfred was owed the service of 20 knights, but probably could account for at least 25, and his lands were worth £300 by the year. However within two years of the setting down of the Domesday Book he was dead, and his fief was dismembered to reward other favorites of the Conqueror.¹³ Part of it went to the omnivorous Bernard de Newmarch of Brecknockshire, who seems to have owed his advancement since he seems to have been a kinsman of William de Braose. Bernard had also made a good marriage before 1088 to Nesta, the daughter of Osbern fitz Richard of Richard's Castle, and Richard's wife Nesta, a daughter of Gruffyd ap

¹²See the Victoria County History, *Wiltshire*, II, 100, where there is an exact accounting by hides of Alfred's lands in Wiltshire, Herefordshire, Surrey, Hampshire, and Somerset. All of the manors in Wiltshire held by the Scudamores had once belonged to Carlo. Send, Surrey, and Shipton Bellinger, Hampshire, both held by Rainald fitz Erkembald, had also belonged to Carlo. Apparently the Conqueror had intended for all of Carlo's lands to go to Alfred, but two of Carlo's manors went elsewhere.

¹³Bruce Coplestone-Crow has suggested Alfred may have died in 1086 while the Domesday Book was still in progress (*ibid*, 385). In 1086 Alfred held Send in Surrey, but when an index was added to the Domesday returns his name had already been replaced by that of his tenant Rainald fitz Erkembald.

Llewelyn, prince of North Wales.

Walter de Lacy, who previously had the service of 60 knights, was able to get Alfred's lands at Dulas, Rowstone, Llancillo, and Walterstone (which adjoined his own fees at Ewyas Lacy) which he then merged into his own honour. The Newmarch and de Lacy interests in Ewyas [Lacy] are of no further concern to us since the greater part, including Alfred's castle at the mouth of Dore River, passed to Harold de Ewyas. Alfred's daughter Agnes might have inherited the whole of the honour, but her husband Thurstan de Wigmore (*alias* Thurstan the Fleming) was a traitor as he had joined Roger Breteuil, earl of Hereford, in his rebellion of 1075. Agnes was allowed to keep only the lands in Herefordshire that Alfred had given them during his lifetime, for which she now owed fealty to Harold de Ewyas. Pencombe eventually descended to Alfred's grandson Eustace "the Fleming," from whom the Whitney family has been deduced in the male line.¹⁴

When part of Alfred's barony passed to Harold of Ewyas he did not receive a proportionate reduction in the *servicium debitum* which had been owed by Alfred on the whole of his honour. Though the crown divided up the Alfred's escheated barony with pleasure it kept the total of knight's service demanded from Harold de Ewyas at what had been demanded earlier from Alfred.. It was not until the very end of the 12th century that the lands that Bernard de Newmarch and William de Braose had obtained from Alfred's old barony that they were made to owe service for them to the crown.

In 1086 Alfred de Marlborough had two tenants of interest to us, Ralph "de Scudemer," and Ralph's stepson Rainald "fitz Erkembald." Ralph and his descendants after him owed castle-guard service at the castle, as did Rainald and his posterity. Rainald's principal fees (inherited from his father Erkembald) were at Send in Surrey and at Shipton Bellinger in Hampshire.

HAROLD OF EWYAS

Harold father was Ralph, Earl of Hereford. He was a son of Dreux of Mantes, count of the Vexin, by his wife Goda, a daughter of Æthelred II and a sister of king Edward the Confessor. Ralph de Mantes was made earl of Hereford with the keeping of the castle at Hereford. After Dreux's death his widow married Eustace, count of Boulogne as her second husband. Ralph was thus very well connected to the royal establishment in both England and France, but was called "Ralph the Timid" (perhaps unjustly) for cowardice while fighting the Welsh in 1055. His defeat seems to have cost him his earldom (which went to Roger Breteuil) and most of the manors that supported it. He died in 1057 leaving his son Harold, a minor aged five, as his heir. Harold later as a teen-ager was in the custody of queen Edith in 1066.

¹⁴VCH, *Herefs.*, I, 281, 303-4. Pencombe was held by the Whitneys until the 18th century; but it is curiously not mentioned by name in the Domesday Book. The Lingen family of Shropshire is also said to descend in the male line from Thurstan de Wigmore in C. J. Robinson's *The castles of Herefordshire and their lords* (1869) 93. This identification is difficult to accept, and probably is an error.

Harold had few of his father's opportunities. Ralph, earl of Hereford, would have had a legitimate claim to the English throne had he been living at Edward's death in 1066. But his son Harold's interest was easily pushed aside since he was still only a youth of 14 years.

Harold was an adult by the time of the Domesday Book, and held only four manors as a tenant-in-chief of the Conqueror. Sudeley in Gloucestershire (which his father had held) was the most important of these and the *caput* of his small honour. In the Domesday Book we find at Sudeley;

There are 10 hides paying geld [tax]. In demesne are 4 ploughs, and 18 villains and 8 bordars with 13 ploughs. There are 14 slaves and female slaves all together, and 6 mills rendering 52s. and with woodland 3 leagues long and 2 broad..

Harold also had Toddington in Gloucestershire held formerly by his father Ralph, and two other manors Chilvers Coton and Burton Dassett in Warwickshire. His lands were worth a bit over £62 by the year in 1086, which was enough to support his wife and sons in a sufficient but not a princely style.¹⁵ The big improvement in his fortune came soon after, at the death of Alfred of Marlborough.

Harold de Ewyas is now largely remembered for his addition of a priory of Benedictine monks to Ewyas Harold. The Abbey Church of St. Peter's at Gloucester was rebuilt with great magnificence, eleven years being spent in the work. The dedication took place on 15 July 1100 at which time the bishop of Hereford laid on the altar a grant of lands, an example followed by many of those present including Harold de Ewyas. Harold gave an endowment for the monks, in return for the promise of a priory at Ewyas Harold, thus introducing to Herefordshire their first community of Benedictines. His gift included the tithes of the church of St. Michael at Ewyas Harold, the chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas within his castle at the same place, the chapel dedicated to St. James at Ewyas, the chapels at St. Keyne (Kentchurch) and Caveros (Corras), the church at Foy with a carucate of land and the tithes of his fishery there, the church at Lydiard [Tregoze] in Wiltshire, the church at Allington also in Wiltshire, and the church at Burnham in Somerset. At all of these places Harold de Ewyas gave "everything on which Christians owed tithes to include his mills and eels."¹⁶

Several of the men of Harold de Ewyas followed him to the altar with lesser gifts, the Scudemers giving the tithes from the crops and livestock produced at both Kentchurch and Poston. All of these gifts at Gloucester were done *sine carta* (without a charter) and we know the particulars only from their later written ecclesiastical confirmations.

Sometime between 1107 and 1115 Hugh Malbank of Nantwich and Harold de Ewyas were witnesses to a charter by Hugh de Lacy to St. Peter's, Hereford, still another unexpected intrusion of the

¹⁵Harold's wife is sometimes said to have been Matilda, a daughter of Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Chester, but the evidence for this has not been found. If it were true we would expect to find Harold as a substantial tenant of his presumptive father-in-law which he was not.

¹⁶Lady Stenton quotes an early 12th century definition of tithes as grain, cattle, sheep, pigs, and cheese. (*English Society in the Early Middle Ages*, 294, note 382). Eels were important fare for the populace on fast days.

Malbank family from Chester into the affairs of the Malbanc family in Herefordshire.¹⁷

Our first record of Reginald de Scudemer and his brothers, and indeed the first mention of the surname, comes from a confirmation made about 1120 by Harold of his gift shortly before his death.¹⁸ Again the gift was laid on the altar at Gloucester. There was later a written confirmation done before Bernard, bishop of the Welsh diocese of St. David's.¹⁹ Bernard's bishopric would be made the poorer by the endowment given to the abbey, although the new priory was in his domain.

Bernard's confirmation was made before a great meeting of the chapter at Ewyas. It was witnessed by 51 men, clerical and lay, in a highly structured order. First among them was Robert de Ewyas, Harold's eldest son, who added his confirmation in the presence of his parents and his brothers Roger, John, Alexander and William de Ewyas.²⁰

The rest of the witness list represents the powerful establishment in the environs of the castle and priory at Ewyas Harold. Harold's sons are followed by 14 clerics: three archdeacons, two deans, a chaplain, three priests, the bishop's clerk, and two canons of Hereford. The lay persons number 32 men, four of them named *de Scudemer*. In the matter of status Reginald de Scudemer (and his brothers Walter and Hugh) rank fifth, following Robert de Bampton, Hugh de Kilpec, Hugh de Caples, and Walklin de Somerford.²¹ The first two of these were, like Harold himself, great tenants-in-chief of the king. The Scudemers are followed by men of smaller influence and fewer possessions: Eustace de Pencombe (who was Alfred's grandson),²² Helbodo (and his brother Baldwin), Erkembald [fitz Rainald], Robert de Bacton²³ and Godfrey de Scudemer. The position of

¹⁷*St. Guthlac's Cartulary*, Balliol College (Oxford) Ms. 271, f. 93v., no. 412.

¹⁸*Cart. Mon. S. Petri, Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.) I, 251. Harold de Ewyas was born in 1052 and was living in 1120. See G. E. C., *Complete Peerage*, XII, i, 413. His date of death is unknown.

¹⁹Bernard was consecrated bishop of St. David's in 1115 and his confirmation can not have been before that date. His assent was important since the gift was to a house outside the diocese.

²⁰Robert (I) de Ewyas, the heir of Harold, will be met frequently in these notes. He was probably dead in 1147 when his son founded Dore Abbey. Alexander Ewyas, his brother, had a son Godfrey "de Teffont" who held land of the new feoffment from his or cousin Robert (II) Ewyas in 1166. Godfrey de Teffont's lands were at Teffont Ewyas and Swallowcliffe in Wiltshire. See the *Reg. of St. Osmund*, Salisbury (Rolls Ser.) I, 342, 348.

²¹Robert de Bampton was Robert "de Douai," lord of Bampton in Devon, and son of Walter de Douai a Domesday tenant-in-chief. He held Burnham and Brean in Somerset as an undertenant from Harold. Hugh de Kilpeck was a son of William fitz Norman, a Domesday tenant-in-chief in Herefordshire. He was soon after a benefactor of St. Peter's himself and in 1134 he gave the church at Kilpeck and the chapel of Our Lady in his castle at the same place to the abbey. Walklin de Somerford was perhaps a son of Siward, an Englishman, who held Great Somerford in Wiltshire from Alfred in 1086.

²²Eustace de Pencombe and his mother were also later benefactors of St. Peter's.

²³Robert de Bacton was a son of Gilbert "de Esketot" who held Bacton from Roger de Lacy in 1086. He was ancestor of the Scotot family in Herefordshire; the name is from Esketot (now Ectot) in the département of Calvados. The Lacy family were from Lassy (about 18 kilometers south

the cousins Erkembald and Godfrey is a curious one since they had probably just come of age and they testify, not with their uncles, but well down on the list with lesser men. After them came Walter de Fraxino and Roger “the Welshman” and they are followed finally by a number of local men from Gloucestershire who need not concern us here.²⁴

In retrospect Harold’s gift to the abbey at Gloucester was rather parsimonious. He gave nothing in the way of land, and the tithes he offered were hard to estimate every year, and then even harder to collect. His priory never supported more than the prior and a few monks and boys, but it survived until the last of them were finally recalled by the abbot back to Gloucester in 1358.

Harold died soon after 1120 and was succeeded at the castle by his son Robert (I) de Ewyas who had his father’s castle at Ewyas and the manors supporting his defense of the Welsh border of Ewyas. Primogeniture was the law of the land, but several of Harold’s younger sons had smaller estates in Herefordshire and Wiltshire which they held from their older brother Robert. Harold’s younger son John (contrary to the usual practice) had his father’s paternal manor at Sudeley and his other lands which had been inherited in Gloucestershire and Warwickshire.²⁵ This was contrary to custom. The eldest son usually had his father’s patrimony, and this division was probably imposed by Harold in his lifetime with the consent of his heir.²⁶ John de Sudeley kept the name of his principal fee, and it may also be significant for our argument about Ralph Malbanc (perhaps *alias* de Scudemer) to find that his wife Grace de Tracy had ancestral ties to Barnstaple and Totnes in Devon.

Daughters and younger sons were never likely to maintain a lifestyle equal to their father’s rank and privileges, and younger sons (of younger sons) tend to disappear unless they were able to marry well. Some of the minor branches ended in heiresses, who did inherit equally with their sisters but only when there was no male heir. The Ewyas name was later became extinct in the male line in Herefordshire, but curiously it did survive later as an *alias* by Philip Skydmore of Holme Lacy as

of Ectot) and the two families were doubtless known to one another in France. See Lloyd, *Anglo-Norman families*, 39.

²⁴His name suggests that Walter de Fraxino held Ashe Ingen in Herefordshire from Robert de Ewyas. Roger the Welshman we have already met as a benefactor of Aconbury Priory. Compare Doris M. Stenton, *English Society in the Early Middle Ages* (1962) 68-9, where she examines a charter from William de Anesye (Dauntsey) to his son in the early 12th century with a witness-list of 36 names.

²⁵For the five sons of Harold de Ewyas see Rev. A. T. Bannister’s *The History of Ewias Harold, its Castle, Priory and Church* (Hereford, 1902), 103. John “de Sudeley” is first noticed there in the Pipe Roll of 1130. He married Grace, a sister of Henry de Tracy, lord of Barnstaple, Devon. Their younger son William took his mother’s name Tracy (still another example how fluid alternative surnames could be) and surrendered Burton Dassett to his brother Ralph de Ewyas in exchange for Toddington.

²⁶About 1145 Ernald de Powys gave to his younger son William (*with the consent of his heir Walter de Powys*) land at Clifford feld from Ralph de Tosny. The charter notes that William then gave his lord Ralph de Tosny a palfrey in homage. See Frank Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066-1166* (2nd edition, Oxford, 1961) 282.

early as 1383. It became semi-hereditary with the Skydmores and was used later as an alternative surname by his sons, in the right of their father's descent from a Ewyas heiress.²⁷ The Sudeleys, who possessed what was later an imposing castle in Gloucestershire, were promoted to a peerage and their alternative name Sudeley (and title) has survived like Skydmore down to the present day.²⁸

RAINALD FITZ ERKEMBALD

The name of Ralph's wife is unknown, but she had an older son Rainald by her first husband Erkembald fitz Erkembald. Erkembald was the son of Erkembald "the sheriff" who had been with William fitz Osbern at Rouen about 1067. He undoubtedly came with fitz Osbern to England soon after and probably died early in the next decade. His son Rainald was (with his stepfather Ralph) a tenant of Alfred de Marlborough in 1086.

Rainald was Alfred's tenant at Send and Shipton Bellinger in 1086, and he made (or inherited) Send in Surrey as the *caput* of his honour. At Send we find,

Carlo formerly held it. Then as now, it was assessed as 20 hides. There is land for 10 plows, and 2 plows in demesne. There were 8 slaves, 14 villans, and 10 borders with 6 plows. There is a mill rendering 21s. 6d. There was a church at Send, and 5 fisheries rendering 54d., and meadows and woodland for 160 pigs.

Shipton Ballinger, in Hampshire, was a bit less profitable but was still worth £6 by the year.

Rainald was dead in 1120 (and he or his heirs after him) came by Hardwick in Kentchurch in the early 12th century in some unknown way as it was not held by knight's service. They also a burgage in the outer bailey of the Ewyas castle where they stayed while doing their turn as castle-guards. Rainald's father was Erkembald, and Rainald also had a son Erkembald who witnessed bishop Bernard of St. David's confirmation of Harold of Ewyas's gifts to Gloucester Abbey in 1120. In 1130 he appears on the Pipe Roll for Surrey as "Erkembald fitz Rainald," and he a daughter Beatrice "de Send," who married a knight called Ruald called "of Calne," as his sole heir.

RUALD DE CALNE

Ruald may also have been the Ruald Croc who accounted for forest offenses (possibly while still

²⁷The Skydmore descent from Ewyas is set forth in a parchment account found at Kentchurch Court. and I have published the full text elsewhere. In the Poll Tax for 1379 *Phillo Ewyas* (*alias* Skydmore), a franklin, was fined 3s. 4d. (a substantial sum) at Holme Lacy in Webtree Hundred, while an unidentified William Ewyas was fined only 4d. at Kingstone in the same hundred.

²⁸See *The Sudeleys, lords of Toddington* (Memorial Society, 1987), and GEC, Peerage, new edition, XII, 411-6.

unmarried) in Wiltshire in the Pipe Roll of 1130. If so, then Ruald was a probable grandson of Croch “the Huntsman” who had a small barony in Hampshire at the time of the Domesday Book.²⁹ Osmond Croc, possibly Ruald’s father, had accounted for land in 1129 in Hampshire that he had mortgaged to William “*de Calna*.” This transaction may explain Ruald’s Croc’s use of the alternative surname of “*de Calne*” from the place in Wiltshire.³⁰

There was a dispute between Ruald and Gloucester Abbey concerning two-thirds of the tithes of the demesne of *Herdewicka-juxta-Ewias*. The case had been referred to the pope by the bishop Robert Melun of Hereford (1163-1167) who had been summoned to a council at Rome. In his absence the matter had been settled by the chapter of Hereford.³¹ The monks claimed the tithes of Hardwick both by the gift of Harold of Ewyas and also then by “Erkembald, a knight of the same manor.” The monks also claimed fifteen acres of meadow and the tithes of Ruald’s mill and also of his house when he stayed in Ewyas while doing castle-guard. Ruald conceded the gift of tithes to the abbey; and he also gave the monks the chapel which he had recently built at Hardwick in Kentchurch, in return for which they were to find a chaplain to serve there continually.³²

Ruald (I) de Calne also succeeded Erkembald, his father-in-law, as lord of Monnington Stradel. In 1166 Ruald had five “old” fees of Robert de Ewyas as did Godfrey de Scudamore, which made them both by custom numerically equals. Both had burgages in the village of Ewyas Harold to support them while they were doing their service of castle-guard at Ewyas Harold. Two of Ruald fees were at Send, two at Shipton Bellinger, and one at Monnington Stradel. The fact that the fee at Monnington Stradel was of the ancient enfeoffment shows that his predecessor Erkembald was established there before 1135. Ruald also had land at Hardwick in Kentchurch, noticed elsewhere, but did not owe knight’s service for it.

Ruald appears regularly on the Herefordshire Pipe Rolls between 1167 and 1181 paying off various amercements for forest offences. The nature of these fines probably reflected how close his lands at Monnington Stradel (in Vowchurch) and Hardwick (in Kentchurch) were to the royal chases at Treville and Orcop. In 1176 a certain *Calna Rualdi* was also amerced for forest offences, and this fine took until 1185 to payoff. In 1181 there is a bit of extra information added in the Pipe Rolls that *Sed debet requiri in Wiltesr*, which point to the interest Ruald had at Calne in Wiltshire. Ruald himself was fined one mark in 1189 for having a case heard in the king’s court against Walter Mauduit concerning half of a knight’s fee. This mark was still owed in 1193 after Ruald had died, and the sheriff of Herefordshire finally accounted for it.

²⁹He held only two manors in chief at South Tidworth and Crux Easton in Hampshire in 1086.

³⁰Pipe Roll, 31 Henry I, 38-hm.

³¹The dating of this dispute is easy since this bishop Robert served the diocese so briefly. David Walker, *The Register*, dates it (in error) to the time of bishop Robert Swinfield (1282-1317).

³²This was done with the knowledge of Alfred, the priest of *St. Kenedri* (i.e., St. Cynidr at Kenderchurch), which Coplestone-Crow points out was probably a mistake for the church of *St. Keina* or *Keyna* at Kentchurch. The reference coordinates on the Ordnance Survey map are 411258.

Early in the reign of Richard I Ruald and his wife Beatrice, together with the consent of their son William Maubanc, gave lands in Send and Shipton Bellinger for the endowment of a priory at Newark in Send. Ruald had married Beatrice, a considerable heiress, and he was then known also as Ruald Malbanc at Send in her right.³³ After his death, which had occurred before 1193, the endowment was confirmed separately by both his widow and his son and heir William.

William Maubanc, who succeeded his father, appears as “William Maubanc, son of Ruald de Calne,” on the Surrey Pipe Roll for 1185. In 1195 he had witnessed a charter from his lord Robert (II) de Ewyas to Gloucester Abbey as William *Maubang*.³⁴ At about the same time he confirmed to St. Michael and St. James and the monks of Gloucester at Ewyas, the grant which Ruald de Calne had made earlier of fifteen acres of land in Hardwick “free of all service.” William then added his own grant of an additional three acres of land there, the tithes of his mills (“when they are built”), and the tithes of his house at Ewyas whenever he stays there. The monks were obligated to serve at his chapel at Hardwick (“when it is built”) three days a week. William certainly had plans to improve his estate at Kentchurch but there is nothing to show that his mills or his chapel were ever built.

Both Ruald (I) de Calne's grandsons Ruald (II) and Robert, used the alternative surname Maubanc. In this they must have been following a precedent set by Ruald himself. He is nowhere set down in writing as Ruald Maubanc, but we may be certain that he *did* call himself that on occasion. His wife Beatrice de Send (*alias* Malbanc) did, and she would not have done so unless her husband had as well according to Bruce Coplestone-Crow.

The use of the name in fact went still further than Ruald's immediate family. Ruald (II), who had his largest estates outside of Herefordshire, still found his wife Margery there. She was a daughter of Walter Muchegros of Monnington on Wye, and was the mother of his three daughters who were his coheirs when Ruald's died in 1249.³⁵ One of his daughters married Henry de Pembridge, lord of Pembridge Castle, and their son Geoffrey had the manor of Send in Surrey (from the honour of Ewyas Harold and in the right of his grandmother). He called himself Geoffrey Maubanc frequently as well as Geoffrey de Pembridge.³⁶ It would seem by this date that their recollection of the family's descent from de Calne family had been forgotten.

Robert Maubanc was a witness with his father to a deed of Robert (II) de Ewyas in 1196. He was probably the husband of a Gunilda Maubanc, and the father of an Edmund Maubanc who left a cadet branch of the Malbanc family that can be traced for several generations thereafter among the

³³C. M. H. Pearce, *An account of the buildings of Newark Priory with a note on its founders' family* (Surrey Archaeological Collections, 1932) 1-39.

³⁴David Walker, *The Register*, deed no. 136 (p. 47). *Maubang* seems to be a partial return to the old spelling Malbedeng. This deed is witnessed by Robert, son of William Maubang.

³⁵*Book of Fees*, 1479.

³⁶Bruce Coplestone-Crow, *The Fief of Alfred of Marlborough in Herefordshire in 1086 and its Descent in the Norman Period* (Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, XLV (1986) II, 391-2.

yeomanry at Send.³⁷

The tenacious way in which this family clung to the Maubanc name is remarkable. Coplestone-Crow suggested in 1986 that Rainald fitz Erkenbald, was perhaps a nephew of Alfred de Marlborough. If this should be so, then the mother of Rainald and his Scudemer half-brothers may have been one of the sisters of Alfred and William Malbanc. The Ralph *Malbanc* we find at Totnes (who may have been the Scudemer stepfather of the young Rainald) could conceivably also have used the family name of a well-connected wife. Ralph is never found with a surname, unless he was the Malbanc at Totnes, although his three sons (younger half-brothers of Rainald) were later known by their English name “de Scudemer.” We may take it as next to certain that their father was sometimes also known as de Scudemer as well. None of the four sons (by different fathers) but of the same mother is ever known to have used an alternate French surname, so this suggestion must be taken with considerable caution. .

TOTNES: RALPH DE MALBANC

There is some reason (noticed above) to suppose that the Ralph Maubanc, who was a witness to a grant to the great Benedictine abbey at Angers by Juhel de Totnes, may have been the Ralph [de Scudemer] found soon after in the Domesday Book as a tenant of Alfred of Marlborough and William de Scohies.³⁸

Juhel de Totnes, a Breton, had extensive holdings in Devon and Cornwall at the time of the Domesday Book in 1086 where he owed a *servicium debitum* for 70 knights. He had given the priory of St. Mary’s earlier to the Abbey of St. Sergius and St. Bacchus in Angers by an undated charter between 1082-1086.³⁹ All of Juhel’s land were taken from him shortly after the death of the Conqueror, perhaps because Juhel supported the claim of the Conqueror’s son Robert Curthose in the disagreement over the succession to the English throne. Juhel’s forfeited lands were granted by William Rufus (who had prevailed over his brother Robert as the new king) to Roger de Nonant.⁴⁰ Roger decided (reluctantly at first) to befriend the abbey in 1091 in the same way that Juhel had done earlier. Juhel’s charter, without witnesses, is printed in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, but the witnesses to it are later fortuitously recited by Roger de Nonant’s in his charter. Roger’s grant was promptly confirmed to the Abbey by William Rufus as the charter clearly shows.

Ralph de Malbanc, a witness to Judhael’s charter, remains a person of considerable interest. It is a

³⁷Fees of Fine, Surrey, 44 Henry III, 226/17, and The Assize Roll of 16 Edward II no. 888, membrane 30.

³⁸The text of this charter will be found in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, edited by W. Dugdale (1817-30), volume IV, 630, no. ii.

³⁹According to Keats-Rohan the date was most likely closer to the earlier year of 1082.

⁴⁰Roger was from Nonant in the département of Calvados near Bayeux. Clearly being a companion of William Rufus greatly improved his lot in life. See Keats-Rohan II, 613.

considerable mystery why two of Judhel's largest tenants Ralph de Pomeroy and Nigel (his presumptive brother-in-law) did not testify to this gift. Ralph de Pomeroy (who held 27 manors from Judhael at the time of the Domesday Book) made Berry Pomeroy in Devon the *caput* of his barony. He was succeeded there by Henry (I) de Pomeroy who was a witness about 1148 to the confirmation from Robert Ewyas to Godfrey Escudamore of Upton Scudamore noticed elsewhere.⁴¹ Ralph de Pomeroy had a brother William Capra who was the Domesday tenant of Bradninch, Devon. Capra was succeeded by an illegitimate son William, who had his father's lands but took the surname "de Tracy." He left an heiress Grace, the wife of John de Sudeley (son of Harold de Ewyas) in the time of Henry I which is another remote link to the Scudemers.

The charter shows several other connections of Juhel's witnesses to Herefordshire. Juhel de Totnes had a daughter Aenor, who married Philip de Braose. His father, William de Braose, had an extensive lands in Wales, and later held Pembridge in Herefordshire (as an undertenant) which had formerly belonged to Alfred de Marlborough.⁴²

The *comes Hugo* [count Hugh] who witnesses the Nonant confirmation was the wealthy Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Chester, from Avranches in the département of Mantes. Earl Hugh's principal tenant was William Malbank of Nantwich, and it may be taken as extremely likely that the Ralph "de Malban" who testified to Juhel's charter was a kinsman of William Malbank. Martin, the first of the witnesses and called there "de Walis," had married Geva, a daughter of Serlo de Burci. Martin had conquered the land about Cemais Hundred in northern Pembrokeshire, and his son Robert "fitz Martin" came back to Totnes to marry Adelia de Nonant as his second wife.⁴³ All of these evidences are suggestive, but none of them prove to be a smoking gun connection.

Ralph Malbanc is mentioned only once in England as the witness for Judhael de Totnes between the years of 1082 and 1086. Keats-Rohan singles out for mention both Ralph Malbanc and Hervey Avenel from the witness-list to Juhel's charter, noting that they were "west Normans."⁴⁴ Nothing more has been learned of this Ralph Malbanc (who of course may have died or adopted another alternative surname), but Hervey Avenel survived and was a witness for William, count of Mortain at the founding of Montacute Priory in Somerset before 1106.

We are left finally with the mystery of Ralph's connection with the the Malbanc family. It is possible that the wife *firstly* of Erkembald fitz Erkembald, and then *secondly* of Ralph de Scudemer, was a Malbanc and a sister of Alfred de Marlborough. This scenario would explain the favors that both her husbands had from Alfred of Marlborough but nothing has yet been found to prove this

⁴¹Sanders, *English Baronies*, 20, 85-6.

⁴²He was from Briouse in the département of Orne. The *caput* of his barony was at Bramber in Sussex.

⁴³For Martin "de Vals" (Valibus, de Vaux). See Maxwell-Lyte, *Burci, Falaise and Martin* (Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological Society), LXV. Robert fitz Martin, his son, founded the Benedictine monastery of St. Dogmael's at Cemais (Kemmes) about 1115.

⁴⁴Keats-Rohan I, 286.

notion.

CORRAS: RALPH DE SCUDEMER

This Ralph (born about 1040) is mentioned five times in 1086 in the Domesday Book as a tenant of both Alfred de Marlborough, and also of William de Scohies (another important tenant-in-chief of the Conqueror). Ralph is undoubtedly the man who held an unnamed plough of land (almost certainly Corras in Kentchurch) in the demesne of the castle at Ewyas at the same time in 1086. All of Alfred de Marlborough's fees went in or soon after 1086 to Harold de Ewyas, and Upton and Fifield in Wiltshire and the unnamed plough of land were held very early in the next century held by Reginald "de Scudemer" from the honour of Ewyas Harold. From William de Écouis we find that Ralph [de Scudemer] had held in Herefordshire by 1086 both Poston (in Vowchurch) and Little Hatfield near Leominster.

J. Horace Round writes about the identification of undertenants (and their lands) that "the best of all proofs of identity is that which is afforded by feudal tenure and genealogical descent, and that is why I consider the returns for Herefordshire hundreds in 1243 found printed in the *Testa de Nevill* (62-7) to be the most valuable material that we have for Domesday [place-name] identification."⁴⁵ The reverse is equally true, and the Domesday tenant can sometimes be identified by the descent and tenure of his land as Round himself has repeatedly demonstrated.⁴⁶ When we check the manors held by the Scudamores in 1243 in both Herefordshire and Wiltshire we find that in every case they were formerly held by Ralph in the Domesday Book from either Marlborough or Scohies.⁴⁷

When we look back to the lands held by Alfred de Marlborough in the Domesday Book we find Ralph enumerated among the nine French knights at Ewyas Castle in 1086:

His [Alfred de Marlborough's] five knights [men-at-arms] Richard, Gilbert, William and William and Arnold have 5 ploughs in demesne [of the castle] and 12 bordars and 3 fisheries and 22 acres of meadow.

Two others, William and Ralph, hold land for 2 ploughs [in demesne of the castle.]

Thurstan holds land which renders 19 pence and Warner land worth five shillings.

⁴⁵VCH, *Herefs.*, I, 303. It is regrettable that Round never turned his full attention to the Scudamore family. He does discuss the origin of the surname and their five fees in Wiltshire in *The Ancestor*, VI, 137. The text of the old *Testa de Nevill* published in 1807 by the Record Commission has now been replaced by the later *Book of Fees* (HMSO, 3 volumes, 1920-31).

⁴⁶Notably in his translations of the Domesday Book (and his notes to them) found in the Victoria County Histories.

⁴⁷VCH, *Wilts.*, VIII, 80. K. H. Rogers, the author of the article on Upton Scudamore in the Victoria County History, came to the same conclusion about Ralph using only the evidence of the Wiltshire fees. The case for Ralph being the ancestor to the Scudamores is proven when you add the evidence of the Herefordshire entries not used by Rogers.

They have 5 bordars.

The castle of Ewyas is worth £10.⁴⁸

This is followed by a list of Alfred's manors in Herefordshire to which must be added two others mentioned elsewhere in the Domesday Book under Archenfield Hundred.⁴⁹ At all of these places it is disappointing not to find the knights mentioned in connection with their lands. A part of them can be identified from later sources. Richard (ancestor of the Torel family) held Brinsop, Gilbert [Haguner] had Stretford and William [Picard] was at Burghill, while William [de Lestra] and Ralph [de Scudemere] were the two men-at-arms at Kentchurch. The land of Thurstan [de Wigmore] and Warner was at Dulas according to convincing evidence presented by Bruce Coplestone-Crow.

The reason that the tenants were unnamed is probably that they had already been accounted for under the far more important castle. J. H. Round, as usual, has a valuable comment on the topic:

Before leaving the subject of castles one should note that at Clifford and at Ewyas Harold we have specially good examples of the practice of Norman barons by which they assigned to their knightly tenants small estates around their own castles. We find this example at Carisbrooke, the chief seat in the Isle Of Wight of earl William fitz Osbern, and at Montacute Castle in Somerset. But it would be hard to find a better instance than that of the nine *milites* [knights] with Norman names at Ewyas Harold unless it is surpassed by the ten *francigenae* [Frenchmen] at what I take to be Belvoir Castle.⁵⁰

The *caput* of the Scudamore fief was Upton Scudamore in Wiltshire (held by Ralph in 1086) and it was known as “Upton Escudamore” before 1150. This suffix proves the earlier tenancy by the family.

Ralph holds OPTONE [Upton Scudamore] of Alfred [de Marlborough]. In the time of King Edward it paid geld (tax) for 9 hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. Of this there are in demesne 5 hides and there are 2 ploughs and 5 serfs; and there are 9 villeins and 22 bordars with 4 ploughs. There is a mill paying 20 shillings and there are 5 acres of meadow and 30 acres of pasture. The wood[land] is 3 furlongs long and 1 furlong broad. It was worth £8; it is now worth £9.⁵¹

The subsequent history of Upton Scudamore is well known since in 1166 Godfrey Scudamore held it as two of his five fees from Robert de Ewyas according to the *Red Book of the Exchequer*. Two years later in 1168 at the aid assessed for the marriage of Henry II's daughter we find that Godfrey

⁴⁸VCH, *Herefs.*, I, 337

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, I, 318, 337.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, I, 274.

⁵¹VCH, *Wilts.*, II, 142.

held his five fees directly from the crown as a tenant-in-chief.⁵² The Scudamores continued as *barones* (tenants-in-chief) for much of the next 62 years, but their fealty reverted back to the honour of Ewyas Harold in 1230.⁵³

Fifield Bavant in Wiltshire was another of the five fees of Godfrey Scudamore in 1166, although it is not identified there by name. It was known as Fifield Scudamore until the death of Sir Peter Scudamore in 1293 when it passed with all the rest of his lands (except Upton Scudamore) to his only daughter and heiress Alice, already the widow of Sir Adam de Bavant. It continued with the Bavants (with their name as a new suffix) until 1 July 1344 when Roger (II) Bavant, Alice's grandson, gave it and all the other lands he had inherited from her and the Scudamore family to Edward III. Ralph had held Fifield in 1086:

Alfred de [Marlborough] himself holds FIFHIDE [Fifield Bavant] and Ralph holds it of him. In the time of King Edward it paid geld for 5 hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. Of this there are in desmesne 3 hides and there is 1 plough and 3 serfs. There are 9 villeins and 6 bordars with 2 ploughs. There are 2 acres of meadow. The pasture is 1/2 league long and 2 furlongs broad. The wood[land] is 1/2 league long and 1/2 furlong broad. It was worth £4; it is now worth 100 shillings. One smith's forge pays 12 pence a year. In Wilton 2 burgesses pay 18 pence.⁵⁴

Norton Bavant in Wiltshire was not one of Godfrey Scudamore's fees in 1166, and it had not been held by his predecessors from either Alfred de Marlborough or Harold de Ewyas. No undertenant is mentioned in the Domesday Book as holding "NORTONE" of Alfred, and he had kept the profits of the manor for himself as demesne.⁵⁵ Harold seems to have followed the same practice for the tithes of Norton (alone of the Scudamore fees) are mentioned by Harold in *his* grant to the abbey of St. Peter's, Gloucester about the year 1120.

Norton was added to the Scudamore fief by Robert (I) de Ewyas sometime early in the reign of king Henry I. There was undoubtedly pressure on Robert from several of his knights demanding more land and greater security of tenure. At the same time there was pressure on Robert de Ewyas from the crown. The royal pressure came in the demand for scutage, the sum of money sufficient to hire a replacement knight or knights when the full *servicium debitum* of a barony was paid on demand into the Exchequer. As the memory of the Conquest receded farther into the past, the military preparedness of the knights and their sons became more open to question, and the crown over time came to prefer the professional soldier who could be bought with money raised through scutage. The amount asked for on the fee was always demanded from the knight himself. When a baron's knights

⁵²I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies* (1960) 43. In 1166 Robert de Ewyas had 22 fees, in 1168 only 19. The difference here probably represents the subtraction of the Scudamore fees although the mathematics is not perfect.

⁵³Dodsworth, *Collections*, XV, 113; *Close Rolls*, 1227-1231, 330.

⁵⁴VCH, *Wilts.*, II, 142.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*

chose to dispute payment of scutage either because their tenure was insecure, or the income from their land was insufficient to bear the cost of maintaining them as knights, the result was chaotic.

Sometime early in his reign Henry I ordered his barons to undertake a general “reinfodation” of their knights to take account of the changing circumstances. The result (in the case of the two knights of most interest to us) was that Godfrey de Scudamore got Norton Bavant in Wiltshire and Ruald de Calna had Monnington Straddle in Herefordshire as “new fees ” from Robert to be added to their holdings sometime before the death of Henry I in 1135. The change was noticed in the great survey taken in 1166, the first set down since the Domesday Book of 1086.

In Herefordshire we find that life there in 1086 was very different from that of Wiltshire where men ploughed and sowed in peace. All of Herefordshire south and west of the Wye River had been repeatedly laid waste by invasions of the Welsh, and the organization of the county is quasi-military in nature. Life revolved about the network of castles which the Normans had constructed along the border. The exposed condition of Alfred de Marlborough's castle at the very edge of the Conqueror's realm made necessary the constant presence within the castle of some part of the knights who owed it fealty. We know that the lord of the castle established a rotation of this duty and that each knight did a certain term in the year with his tenants.⁵⁶ This was the essential service which the Scudamores owed for their lands in the middle of the 12th century to the honour of Ewyas, and Reginald Escudamore demanded castle-guard at Ewyas (or a money payment in lieu of this) when he enfeoffed his brother Walter Escudamore with a part of his lands.⁵⁷ The same service was required of Godfrey Scudamore when he had a subsequent confirmation of his lands from Robert de Ewyas in the reign of king Stephen.⁵⁸

The two ploughs that William and Ralph held of Alfred de Marlborough in the demesne of the castle were probably at Kentchurch, where descendants of the Scudamore family has survived (although not continuously) down to the present day. The Domesday book says of it:

Alfred of Marlborough holds ELWISTONE [Kentchurch]. Earl Harold held [it]. On the demesne are 1/2 ploughs, and [there are] a priest and 3 villeins and 4 bordars and 4 serfs with 5 ploughs and give three sheep. It is worth 30 shillings.⁵⁹

Rev. A. T. Bannister in his valuable book on Ewyas Harold had proved in 1902 that this place is identical with the *Heliston* mentioned in the cartulary of the priory of Ewyas Harold, the *Elston Bridge* at the south end of the Dore Valley on Saxton's map of 1577, and the modern Pontrilas in

⁵⁶See Sir Frank Stenton's essay on castles and castle-guard in his *First Century of English Feudalism, 1066-1166* (Oxford, 1961) 192, where he quotes an incomplete text of the Scudamore charter taken from Mathew Gibson's *Views*, 56. It is a pity he had not seen the full text as it proves some of the theories he had inferred about the rotation of this duty.

⁵⁷Hist. Mss. Comm., *Hastings*, 78, pt. 1, 232-3. See Appendix I, no. 1.

⁵⁸Mathew Gibson, *View of Door, Home-Lacy, and Hempstead* (1727), 56-7.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, I, 318.

Kentchurch.⁶⁰ *Heliston* was held in the 12th Century by the Poyntington family, and we may be safe in identifying the William at Kentchurch in the Domesday Book with the William “de Lestra” who also held Poyntingdon in Somerset, a manor subsequently added to the honour of Ewyas Harold.⁶¹

Elwistone (Pontrilas) had a priest, so in the days of the Conqueror it must have extended down to the eastern part of the present parish of Kentchurch to embrace Corras. This was anciently known as *Caveros*, a place-name which happily still survives as Great Corras on modern maps in Kentchurch.⁶² Corras is first noticed in 1100 when Harold de Ewyas gave the tithes of the Scudemer chapel there to the monastery of St. Peter's in Gloucester.

The site of the chapel at Corras in Kentchurch was located and the surface excavated in the summer of 1988. It was first noticed by Richard Kay (working with Elizabeth Taylor of Kings Caple, Herefordshire) in Barn Orchard at Great Corras on land then farmed by Rowland Watkins. A good deal of the stonework foundation was found in place, much of it hidden below ground level. The turf was removed but only to the depth of 15 centimeters (about six inches) by the 20 workers at the site.⁶³

The original chapel was very strongly built in the period from 1070 to 1100 in the time of Ralph [de Scudemer] and it may have been used by his household as a chapel to his manor. It was quite small, only 3.3 meters (a bit over 10 feet) wide internally. The length can not be estimated accurately as the south side of the chapel is covered by the roots of two apple trees and could not be excavated properly. There was no structural division between the nave and the chapel. The floor was made of stone chips in mortar and the east end was apsidal. “The situation of the Chapel within the bailey of a motte, and the place of the original building with its apsidal east end, are typical of an early Norman manor chapel” according to the authors of the final report.

⁶⁰A. T. Bannister, *The History of Ewias Harold* (1902) 129. It is curious to find that Bannister's identification as early as 1902 was overlooked by the editors of the Victoria County History published in 1906. Here *Elwistone* is wrongly identified as Helvistone Wood in Harewood while Elston Bridge is placed in *Elnodestune* (a Lacy fee in the Dore Valley which can now be positively identified as Chanstone). This error was repeated in the *Herefordshire Domesday* (Pipe Roll Society), new series, XXV, 96.

⁶¹William de Lestra was from *Lestre* in the département of Manche. He was also a tenant of Robert, Count of Mortain in the Domesday Book. Roger “de Pontonia” held Pontrilas as one fee from Robert (II) de Ewyas in 1166. This family took their surname from the manor on the Somerset-Dorset border held earlier by William “de Lestra.” See the VCH, *Soms.*, I, 412. The Scudamores had no interest in Pontrilas in feudal times, but Colonel Scudamore did acquire Pontrilas Court in 1840. (Bannister, 130).

⁶²On the Ordnance Survey map, reference coordinates 423 259.

⁶³Mary Thomas and Elizabeth Taylor, *Partial Excavation of the Chapel of Corras, Kentchurch*. Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, XLVI (Part II) 1989. The reference coordinates of the dig will be found on the Ordnance Survey maps at 419 249.

The apse was later replaced with a squared east end, the roof was tiled with stone, and the walls plastered in stages. There was a door near the rear of the nave on the south side. Sometime after 1200 the whole of the church was taken down and rebuilt. The nave was extended westward and the floor leveled and paved with unsquared stone. There was at least one traceried window and one (or more) slender upright columns with octagonal capitals made to take a timber. The final phase of building was the addition of a square tower at the west end probably with a timber top and a belfry. The building was finally deliberately demolished (not casually robbed) about 1350-1400 and all the good stone above ground carried away.⁶⁴

As a chapel belonging to the church of St. Keyne, according to the final report,

Corras would not be expected to have had any burials which by right would have belonged to the parish church. However, pieces of two coffin slabs were found indicating that some burials did in fact take place. A piece of skull was found in the leveled down area when the north nave wall foundations had been removed, and another small piece of skull was recovered from the northeast corner of the sanctuary.

There is also some evidence of what may have been Ralph's fortified house at Kentchurch. Only two *domus defensabiles* are mentioned in Herefordshire at the time of the Domesday Book, but there were undoubtedly others. On the fortified homesteads in the county it has been said "that life and liberty were held on such insecure tenure in the Welsh manors that every lord regarded his house as his castle and invested it with many of the characteristics of the latter."⁶⁵ The possible site of the Scudemer's fortified homestead was first noticed in the Victoria County History in 1902 where there is a small map and description.⁶⁶

The site survives at Corras, about 250 meters south west of Kentchurch Court and 150 meters south east of St. Mary's Church.⁶⁷ It is square in design, and measures 40 meters NNW-SSE and 42 meters WSW-ENE. It is surrounded on all sides by a ditch averaging 12 meters wide which survives on the north west side to a depth of 1 1/2 meters. The ditch was connected to a stream which let water into the moat on the west, and then flowed south to the Monow. There is evidence of a

⁶⁴There is some evidence that the church at Garway was also moved in similar circumstances. (See Coplestone-Crow, 381 and note 31.) St. Mary's, Kentchurch, was completely rebuilt in 1859 on the foundation of an older church and I have not seen any estimate about the age of the original structure. The date of the demolition of the chapel at Corras coincides roughly with the building of the tower with additions at Kentchurch Court. It may have been John Skydmore who saw to the destruction of the chapel and appropriated the stone for some part of his fortified house which was built by 1386.

⁶⁵C. J. Robinson, *The castles of Herefordshire and their lords* [1869] iv.

⁶⁶VCH, Herefs., 250. "Kentchurch: The Moat. This fine and perfect homestead moat lies within a quarter of a mile from the River Monnow and close to a small stream. Probably the stream was tapped on the northwest, while the outlet from the moat was that shown on the plan."

⁶⁷Ordnance Survey map, reference coordinates 420 255.

causeway, now buried, on the east.

John Lucas-Scudamore (1902-1976) of Kentchurch Court called the site his “Square Pool.” Harry Manley, his grandson, walked about the site in August 2005 and found that the square site can still be traced although it is now covered with trees. The Square Pool has never been excavated, and there is no way to determine the date when what may have been a simple wooden homestead was built. The site is clearly medieval, and it is worth noting that some chain mail armor was found back in the 1840s on a nearly identical site at Blithewood Moat.⁶⁸

The Scudamers held two other fees at Poston (in Vowchurch) and at Little Hatfield near Leominster in Herefordshire. These hamlets had never belonged to the honour of Ewyas Harold, and when we return to the Domesday Book we find that both were a part of the fief of William de Écouis, another of William the Conqueror's tenants-in-chief.⁶⁹ The Welsh domain of William de Écouis is most unexpectedly headed by Caerleon Castle in Monmouthshire. It comes as a surprise to find that much of land there (now in Wales) was enumerated in the Domesday Book under Gloucestershire.

Round conjectures that his Herefordshire lands were given to William to support his castle before 1070. His fief was later divided, but a precise account of the descent of his barony has not been worked out. William de Écouis (who is called “de Scohies” in the Domesday Book) was the father of Nicholas fitz William of Dilwyn who was living in 1137. Caerleon Castle passed to the Chandos family and was added to their honour of Snodhill. However much of the remainder formed the honour of Dilwyn which took its name from another manor that had belong to Scohies. The two Scudamore fees went in another direction but most importantly *together*, and in 1243 both Little Hatfield and Poston were in the wardship of the king.⁷⁰ Once again we find that in 1086 William de Scohies had an undertenant named Ralph at only two places:

The same William [de Scohies] holds POSTCETENTUNE [Poston] in the valley of Stratelei [Dore], and Ralph holds it of him. Edwin held [it]. There are two hides. On the demesne is 1 plough and [there are] 2 villeins with 1 plough. It was waste. Now [it is worth] 5 shillings.⁷¹

⁶⁸Roger Stirling-Brown, of the Woohope Society, has seen the site and believes that it was the Scudamore residence before Kentchurch. He thinks that the raised site may indicate an existing stone structure and has promised to look at it again according to Harry Manley.

⁶⁹Écouis is in the département of Eure in Normandy. For the home of William de Écouis see Lewis C. Lloyd, *The origin of some Anglo-Norman families*, ed. Charles Davis Clay and David C. Douglas (Harl. Soc., 1951) CIII, 39. It is interesting to see how many Herefordshire families were once neighbors in Normandy; Écouis is not far from Mussegros (Muechegros), Tosny (Tony) and Gamaches (Gamage). Lassy (Lacy) and their tenants from Esketot are also noticed elsewhere.

⁷⁰J. Horace Round, *Studies in peerage and family history* (1901) 188. For Nicholas fitz William, see *Ancient Charters* (PRS 10) 35-8.

⁷¹VCH, *Herefs.*, I, 335.

Entered elsewhere, under Leominster, we find:

The same William [de Scohies] holds HETFELDE [Hatfield] and Ralph holds it of him. Elmer held it. [There is] there half a hide, and on the demesne are 1 plough and 2 serfs. It was worth 65 pence. Now it is worth 8 shillings.⁷²

In 1243 Little Hatfield was held by a certain Andrew “of Little Hatfield” who held it from Richard Kinnersley who had it as a marriage portion with his wife Sybil, the only daughter and eventual heiress of Walter Scudamore. The Scudamores had Little Hatfield of the old feoffment (before 1135) from Godfrey de Gamage who “farmed” (leased) it from the crown during the minority of the heir of Ralph de Tosny.⁷³ It was rated at only 1/10 of a knight’s fee.

Poston was much more important. In 1243 it was rated as half a knight’s fee and was held in the same way as Little Hatfield, that is from the Scudamores who in turn had it from Gamage of his honour of Boughrood in Brecknockshire. There are some informative details here, to be noticed fully elsewhere, which show that Godfrey Scudamore of Upton Scudamore is acknowledged as the intermediary between his cousin Walter Scudamore in Herefordshire and the farm of Godfrey de Gamage.⁷⁴ The Gamage tenure was doubtless short-lived as Roger de Tosny came of age in 1256.

There is absolutely convincing evidence which joins Poston and Kentchurch together some 14 years after the Domesday Book, which seems to prove beyond any doubt that the Ralph of these places in 1086 was the same man. On 15 July 1100, Gerard, bishop of Hereford, gave a confirmation to Serlo, abbot of St. Peter's in Gloucester, at the dedication of his new church there, “all those tithes of all the demesne lands of the lord of Ewyas located in the parish of St. Keyne [Kentchurch], and certain tithes from the cultivation of Poston.”⁷⁵ It is a pity that the name of the original benefactor to St. Peter's is not mentioned in the confirmation, for it was undoubtedly Ralph de Scudemer since all that Kentchurch and Poston had in common in 1100 was the tenancy of both places (stemming from two different honours) by the Scudemer family.

Their surname was used very early in the 12th century. It first occurs as “de Scudemer” and continues in this precise form until at least 1137-9 when “Walt’ro de Scudemer” witnessed a deed of Sybil de Lacy in Herefordshire. It can now be taken as likely that “Scudemer” comes from the Old English *scydd* (a small confined dwelling, sometimes translated as a shed or hut), and *mere* (a marsh), and we have a place once known as the “a shed at the marsh.” It can also be suggested, but

⁷²*Ibid.*, I, 315.

⁷³The Tosny (Tony) family owed their name to Tosny in the département of Eure. The Domesday tenant of the same name was known as Ralph “de Conches” in France. For his connection to Alfred “de Malbeding” see Coplestone-Crow, p. 377.

⁷⁴*Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Comm., 1807) 62.

⁷⁵*Cart. Mon. S. Petri, Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.) I, 251. The Latin text reads: “*concessimus etiam eisdem omnes de omnibus dominicis terris domini de Ewyas sitis in parochia de Sancta Keyna, et decima cujusdem culturae in Postone.*”

not proved, that this might have been the damp, moated fortified house near Corras held by family perhaps at the time of the Domesday Book, and the place that John Lucas-Scudamore of Kentchurch Court called his "Square Pool."

Two alternate opinions about the surname can be ignored. J. H. Round dismissed, quite properly, the notion that the name came from the motto "Scutum Amoris (Divini)" since surnames always precede family mottoes.⁷⁶ No place of that name in either England or France has been identified at a proper early period, but Sir J. E. Lloyd, the distinguished historian of Wales and the biographer of Owen Glendower, called attention in 1928 to early places of the name in Herefordshire. On 25 August 1275 Alan Plogenet, lord of Kilpec, confirmed the gift of five pieces of meadow in Dewchurch which Roger *le Waleys* [the Welshman] had given to the nuns of Aconbury among them fields called "Scudemore" and "Little Scudemore."⁷⁷ When Aconbury Priory was suppressed "Skydmore" is mentioned in the accounts of the bailiff set down at Michaelmas in 1538. The place-name still survives as Scudamore Hill Wood about 1 1/2 miles west of the church in the civil parish of Llanwarne.⁷⁸ Lloyd felt that "one need look no further for the origin of the surname... no doubt, such a name, if it stood alone, might easily be explained as the result of Scudamore ownership, but, in the light of the charter [of 1275] it is more natural to look upon it as a survival."

Curiously, this the old English word "scydd" first turned up in checking out the origin of Sudeley family in Gloucestershire. They were descended from Harold first known as "de Sudeley" and later as "de Ewyas." One of Harold's younger sons, John de Sudeley, had the site of the castle at Sudeley while his eldest brother Robert succeeded at Ewyas Harold. Sudeley as a place-name has, coincidentally, a common root in *scydd* which together with *leah* translates to "clearing with a shed" according to the best of modern scholarship on place-names in Gloucestershire.⁷⁹

We do find it easier to agree with Lloyd's final conclusion about the origin of the family:

"To sum up, the Scudamores first appear in that region of Welsh Herefordshire where the name has been traced in local nomenclature and where they afterwards played so distinguished a part. The Wiltshire connexion, though early, was secondary and due to the position in that county of lords of Ewyas Harold."

⁷⁶*The Ancestor*, VI, 137. Actually it seems to have been Sir John Scudamore (1540-1623) of Holme Lacy who adopted his family's punning motto perhaps at the suggestion of John Guillim (1565-1621).

⁷⁷Harl. Chart., 54H.53. Sir J. E. Lloyd's article "The Scudamore Family" is to be found in the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* (Wales University) IV (1928) 166-8.

⁷⁸The coordinates are 483 278 on the Ordnance Survey map. The hill is close to the point where Llanwarne, Much Dewchurch and Orcop parishes meet.

⁷⁹Smith, A. H. *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire* (English Place-Name Society, XXXIX Cambridge, 1964), II, 26. Smith rejects the earlier that Sudeley came from "sud (south)-leah."

UPTON: REGINALD DE SCUDAMORE

Reginald had succeeded Ralph, the Domesday tenant, at Upton [Scudamore] and elsewhere by 1120. He was Ralph's eldest son and heir, probably born soon after 1075. He had married by 1100, perhaps to a daughter of Godfrey Mauduit.⁸⁰ The evidence for his marriage is speculative, but it is convincing enough to suggest that the sequence of men named *Godfrey* Scudamore owe their name to a Mauduit ancestor. Presumably Reginald had gone out to Wiltshire as a young man (perhaps in the lifetime of his father) to settle at Upton Scudamore which was the *caput* of the family's fees.

Soon after, Reginald Escudemor granted to his brother Walter for his homage and service a third of Upton in Wiltshire.⁸¹ These will be noticed in greater detail when we turn to the family at Corras and Poston. The witness list to this charter is made up of Wiltshire men and it was undoubtedly attested at Upton Scudamore. Several of the men who testify to it are Reginald's kinsmen: Godfrey Mauduit, who heads the list, may have been his father-in-law; Mathew Escudemor was probably a younger son, and (most importantly) Rainald is identified as a "son of his mother" and therefore a half brother of Reginald Escudemor. The two Giffards were from the family that gave their name to Fonthill Giffard, and were probably both kinsmen and tenants of Reginald.⁸² Ancelin Mauduit is likely to have been a son of Godfrey, and if so a brother-in-law to Reginald Escudemor. Something less is known of Arnold Marshal, Roger fitz Alan and Walter de Kennett.⁸³

⁸⁰Gunfrid (surnamed *Mauduit*) held two hides at Dinton from Shaftesbury Abbey in the Domesday Book. He was succeeded there probably by a son Godfrey Mauduit, and by a grandson, Ancelin Mauduit who appears to have held the same two hides in the mid-12th century (VCH, *Wilts.*, VIII, 27, 28). Gunfrid also held five hides at Widhill from Alfred de Marlborough in 1086 (VCH, *Wilts.*, II, 142) By 1243 this had been divided and Thomas Mauduit and Godfrey Escudemor each held 1/4 of a fee in Widhill of Robert de Tregoz of the honor of Ewyas Harold. (*Book of Fees*, 712). Godfrey Mauduit and Ancelin Mauduit are also witnesses (Godfrey being the first) to the charter of Reginald Escudemor cited below. It would appear from the subsidy of 1332 that the name *Mauduit* was later usually corrupted to *Moody*.

⁸¹As the Latin text of this charter has not appeared in print it seems useful to append it here: "Sciatis his qui sunt et qui futuri quod ego Reginaldus Escudemor dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Waltero Escudemor fratri/ meo pro homagio et servicio suo Kaueros cum omnibus pertinenciis suis et terciam partem de Upton cum omnibus pertinenciis suis et unam mesuagium in villa de/ Ewias habendum et tenendum de me heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis libere quiete bene et in pace in perpetuum faciendo inde annuatim wardam in Ewias/ vel reddere unam marcam . Hiis testibus Godefrido Maudut . Matheo Escudemor . Reinaldo filio matris sue . Warnero Giffard . Waltero Giffard Waltero de Kenete . Ernaldo Marescall . Ancelino Maudut . Rogero filio Alain et multis aliis." The original is now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁸²See J. H. Round, *Giffard of Fonthill Giffard (The Ancestor*, VI, 137). The same Walter Giffard held a fee of Godfrey de Scudamore in 1166 probably Fifield (Bavant) which is close to Fonthill Giffard. No other mention has been found of Warner Giffard.

⁸³Roger fitz Alan may have been ancestor to the fitz Alans of Clun who appear to have been overlords of Norridge in Upton Scudamore. Walter de Kennett presumably held West Kennett in

The Scudamores are said to have a house at Upton Scudamore immediately adjoining the church on the west. It stood in a field called Court Furlong and a considerable ruin could still be seen in the early 18th century. The site is now covered by a modern cattle shed.⁸⁴ Since we find Reginald de Scudemer mostly in Wiltshire this was his principal residence, although he probably spent a part of his time with his lord in Herefordshire at Ewyas Castle.

Walter de Scudemer, perhaps the second son, was ancestor to the family in Herefordshire and will be noticed when we turn to the Scudamores at Corras. Hugh de Scudemer was also a Herefordshire man. He would seem to have been the youngest of the sons of Ralph de Scudemor, since he is mentioned last among the brothers who testify to the grant by Harold de Ewyas about the year 1120. Our only other mention of a Hugh occurs at what would seem to be an impossibly late date for the two men to be identical. If Hugh, adult by 1120, was still living in 1167 he would have been an old man in 1167 by 12th century standards. However not so old as to rule out the possibility. In the Pipe Roll for 1167 under "New pleas and agreements made through Alan de Neville" we find that Hugh "de Scudimor" and Hugh fitz Orild render an account for half a mark, which they paid into the king's treasury and they are quit."⁸⁵ Both men are likely to have been Herefordshire personages since their debt to crown was paid to the sheriff there. It would seem that this Hugh was more likely to have been a younger son of Walter (I) Scudamore.

UPTON SCUDAMORE. GODFREY (I) and GODFREY (II).

The two Godfrey de Scudamores must be considered together, for we have no evidence at present to prove when the elder man died. They are almost exact contemporaries of their overlords, Robert (I) de Ewyas and Robert (II) de Ewyas. Robert I, like Godfrey I, was an adult in 1120 and is known to have been living in 1147 when he founded Dore Abbey, and it seems likely that he was living in 1148 when he confirmed to Godfrey *Escudemor* the entire village of Upton Scudamore in return for doing castle-guard annually at his castle at Ewyas Harold.

"To all his men French, English, and Welsh, and his friends, and to all persons to whom this writing may be seen or heard, Robert Ewyas sends greetings. Know that I have given, granted and by this writing confirmed, to Godfrey Escudemor and his heirs for his homage and service and for a white war-horse all the vill' of Upton Escudemor and its pertinencies, to have and to hold freely and quietly, well and in peace, and fully, all woods, plains, meadows, pastures, ways, paths, waters, mills,

Wiltshire from Robert de Ewyas.

⁸⁴When this cow shed was built several years ago the ruins of an ancient building was found in excavating for the foundation. These were quickly covered over and work continued on the new structure, according to R. G. Woodman. The tenants of the manor would have assembled here on court days. The coordinates are 864 477 on the Ordnance Survey maps.

⁸⁵*Pipe Roll* 1167 (PRS 11) 71. Alan de Neville was judge of the exchequer in 1165 and thereafter. For Neville see the old edition of the *DNB*, XIV, 243.

with the keeping of hunting dogs for hares, foxes, wild cats, badgers, and wolves throughout the county of Wiltshire so that he will see his hunting more pleasing, with all the liberties and free customs in which I, Robert, am vested and well seised, doing thereafter by service of one knight's fee at the castle of Ewyas, to keep guard at the castle beginning at the Purification of the Blessed Mary lasting until the Invention of the Cross in May at his own cost except that the lord will properly provide sufficient firewood, straw and water during the said term with his hunting in the whole of our demesne during the aforesaid ward, and if he does not do guard then he will owe half a mark by the year and do the royal service that pertains. These being witnesses: Earl Patrick [d'Evereux] and Countess Isabel, Warin de Lusors, William fitz John, Richard de Camvil[le], Richard fitz Gilbert [de Clare], Alexander de Lymesey, Henry de Pomeroy, Philip de Hulm, Gerard Giffard, Pain de Campo, William de Caple, Guy fitz Te[s]con *page*, Henry Mautravers, and Hugh de Frennes, Umfred fitz William, Michell chaplain, William Contevele, William Symenel and others.”⁷⁷

Purification is February 2nd and the Invention of the Cross is May 3rd, so that the Scudamores were to do guard for the months of February, March, and April, or a quarter of the year. This agrees well enough with what we know of the honour of Ewyas Harold. In 1166 Robert Ewyas had 22 fees and the Scudamores held the customary five fees (almost one quarter) of his *servicium debitum*. Ruald de Calne had another five and he was responsible no doubt for another quarter of the year. The remaining six months would be divided among the lesser tenants.

The witness list is most helpful, as always, in dating the charter. Patrick d'Evereux was created the earl of Salisbury sometime after 1141.⁷⁸ He and Warin de Lusors and Richard de Camville were “new” men of Stephen and never far from his side. Camville alone witnessed at least 63 known charters of the king. We can infer from this that the charter is likely to have been made at some time during the latter part of king Stephen's reign and doubtless when his entourage was in Wiltshire. Richard fitz Gilbert [de Clare] is beyond doubt the man who succeeded his father (known as Strongbow in Ireland) in 1148 as the earl of Pembroke. His place on the list, which was structured in the order of rank, suggests that his father was still living.⁷⁹ Gerard Giffard was the son and heir of Robert (II) Giffard of Fonthill Giffard, and his younger brother Walter was ancestor of the Giffards

⁷⁷The Latin text of this charter is to be found in the *Hungerford Cartulary*, fol. 111. It is extremely curious that Mathew Gibson, the first historian of the Scudamore family, printed a very truncated version of this charter (now lost) in his *View of the Ancient and Present State of the Churches of Door, Home-Lacy, and Hempstead* (1727) 56-7. He certainly did not use the Hungerford Cartulary since the several other useful evidences there were clearly unknown to him.

⁷⁸Patrick d'Evereux was created Earl of Salisbury after 1141 but before 31 October 1147. See R. H. C. Davis, *King Stephen* (1967) 136. Evreux is in the département of Eure.

⁷⁹Gilbert fitz Gilbert, earl of Pembroke, was loyal to Stephen until 1147 when he rebelled but was reconciled to the king before his death in 1148. Richard fitz Gilbert (ca. 1130-1176) first signs as “Count of Pembroke” on 7 November 1153. (Davis, *King Stephen*, 136; *DNB*, IV, 390.)

of Chillington who are noticed elsewhere.⁸⁰ There is nothing in the career of Warin de Lusors to assist in the dating, but it may be mentioned that he held the manor of Compton Chamberlain in Wiltshire at this date, a place where a younger branch of the Scudamores family lived later. William fitz John may have been the man who was more prominent later as one of Henry II's justices. All of this puts the date of the charter in the area of 1147 or 1148. It should be noted that Upton was already known as Upton *Escudemor*; evidence that the family had been there for some time previously.

Written charters become much more common in the middle of the 12th century. Previous to this most conveyancing of land had been done *sine carta*, but now Sir Godfrey is found now on the witness list of deeds of his neighbors and friends in Wiltshire. Sometime before 1166 Joce de Dinan gave three hides of land that Henry II had given to him at Westbury in Wiltshire to Philip Marmion who was to render thereafter the service of a third of a knight's fee for it. Sir Godfrey Escudemor was a witness.⁸¹

The great survey of 1166 copied into the *Red Book of the Exchequer* was the first to be taken of the whole of England since the Domesday Book of some 80 years earlier. The honour of Ewyas is mentioned under both Wiltshire and Herefordshire, both showing that Godfrey was the largest tenant of the honour in Wiltshire. Under Wiltshire we find:

Godfrey de Scudemore holds from Robert de *Weias* four knight's fees of the ancient feoffment, and of the new he holds one knight's fee in the keeping of two knights; and of the ancient fees there are two feoffees, to wit, Waler' de Scodimore and Waler' de Giffard. And he makes another of his demesne. And the same Godfrey concerning this service has attorned to king's hand for judgment in the king's court; let the king make his plea thereupon.⁸²

In the return made in 1166 by Robert (II) de Ewyas in Herefordshire to the Exchequer we find that Godfrey *Escudor* is shown as holding four fees of the "old" enfeoffment. That is, these four had all been in existence at the time of Henry I's death in 1135. His one "new" fee (created after 1135), Norton [Bavant] in Wiltshire, was overlooked.

⁸⁰R. G. Woodman, *Giffard of Fonthill Giffard* (Westbury, Wilts., 1985) 9-10.

⁸¹*Close Roll*, 1272-9, 346. These three hides became the manor of Bremeridge. Bremeridge Farm, three miles southwest of Westbury still survives. The witnesses were Sir Arnulf de Glanville, Sir Robert Treget, Sir Godfrey de Escudemore, William Walding, William Dauntsey [de Aneseye], Walter de Leigh [Lya], Savaraic de Penleigh [Penlyge], Colswen de Leigh [Lye], and Hervey, then clerk of Joce. Joce de Dinan died about 1166. See VCH, *Wilts.*, VIII, 154, 157.

⁸²*Red Book of the Exchequer* (Rolls Ser.) I, 245. It is curious to find that on 22 October 1371 Sir Peter Scudamore, the last of his name at Upton Scudamore, had a writ directed to the treasurer and the barons of the exchequer directing them to search the *Red Book of the Exchequer* to ascertain the particulars of the knight's fees held by Godfrey de Scudamore in 1166. What use Sir Peter made of this information when it was returned to him does not appear. (*Wilts. inq. p. m.*, 1327-1377, 311.)

However in 1166 Godfrey was in dispute with his lord as to what services were owed, and Robert had in fact rejected Scudamore's homage for the lands these fees represented. Godfrey, therefore, had to make his own return to the Exchequer, a course of action never found by a man who was not a tenant-in-chief. His return also says that he owes the lord of Ewyas Harold the service of four knights, but that two of these were supplied by two feoffees, namely Walter de Scudamore and Walter Giffard. The other two knights were provided by Godfrey's own service as a knight himself, and by a stipendiary (a hired knight whose name is not given) who Godfrey paid for himself.

It was to find how many knights (or their hired substitutes) that could be mustered in time of war that prompted Henry II to order the survey of 1166. The land which supported the knights is mentioned only incidentally. The five fees which Godfrey held were at Upton Scudamore (this would have been his demesne), and at Fifield and Norton. One of the old fees was certainly Corras in Kentchurch, and this was the fee held by his kinsman Walter de *Scodimore*. Fifield [Bavant] was probably held by Walter Giffard as we have seen.⁸³ He is probably the Walter Giffard who also held land at Norridge in Upton Scudamore at one time, and he is likely to have been a kinsman of Godfrey de Scudamore.⁸⁴ In addition to Norton [Bavant] he probably had some new smaller pieces of land from the honour none of them large enough to call for knight's service.

The *Red Book of the Exchequer* notes in 1166 that these fees were in dispute and that a judgement was to be given by the king. We may never find any record of what was the quarrel between Robert and Godfrey, but the verdict is certain.⁸⁵

⁸³As J. H. Round points out "Waler" would be *Waleram* rather than *Walterus*, but Walter was probably meant. Walter Giffard had apparently held his fee for some time since he, or another man of the name, had been a witness to the grant of Reginald de Scudamore. The Giffards took the same arms as the Scudamore (three stirrups, *or*) differenced by a change in colour of the shield from *gules* (Scudamore) to *azure* (Giffard) and the stirrups canted. It is a matter of record that a knight often took his lord's arms for his own, but differenced. Thus the arms of the Giffards of Chillington are assumed to have come from Walter Giffard (the knight to Scudamore) and father of Peter Giffard who was the first of his name at Chillington in Staffordshire. Chillington is still held (1989) by the Giffards and Peter Richard de Longueville Giffard of Chillington is the 28th in succession there. (His sister Diane was created Baroness Airey of Abington following the assassination of her husband, Airey Neave, by the Irish Republican Army.) Walter Giffard's younger brother Robert (uncle of Peter Giffard) married a de Warenne heiress with extensive estates in Devon. The Devon Giffards was recently represented by the earl of Halsbury, Fellow of the Royal Society, scientist and parliamentarian. Halsbury's son succeeded in 2000, but does not use the title. See J. H. Round, "Giffard of Fonthill Giffard" in *The Ancestor*, VI, 137.

⁸⁴In 1205 the king confirmed to the abbot of Waverley in Surrey a virgate of land in Norridge and certain lands in Corsley given them by Walter Giffard. (*Rot. chart* [Rec. Com.] 161). Thomas de Cormeilles acknowledged that he owed rent to the abbot for these lands seven years later. (PRO, CP25 (1)/250/3/40).

⁸⁵R. G. Woodman thought that when Stephen was king "he required Sarum Castle to be manned by certain Wiltshire knights in time of war and the Scudamores were among those chosen.

“Wiltshire. Notification to the bishop of Durham, William Brewer and Mathew fitz Herbert that the king had received the service from five fees of Robert de Ewyas which Godfrey de Escudemore held because Robert de Ewyas did not wish to receive homage from the said Godfrey for the fees, but later at the petition of Reginald, earl of Cornwall, and of Hugh de Lacy, the said Robert received homage from Hugh, and the king has given back to him [Godfrey III] his fief and his scutage on the aforesaid five fees.”⁸⁶

In the Pipe Roll of 1168 we find that Godfrey de Scudamore paid into the treasury five marks for his five fees due as a tenant-in-chief at the aid assessed at the marriage of the king's eldest daughter “because Robert de Ewias is not willing to accept his homage.”⁸⁷

From 1168 until at least 1172 Godfrey de Scudamore held his five fees directly from Henry II as a barony. In 1172 he paid £4 scutage (assessed at £1 on the fee) as one of those knights who did not go over in person with the king to Ireland.⁸⁸ In the year following the Exchequer had caught the fact that he had only paid for his old fees, and that he still owed 20 shillings for his new fee (which he did not pay until 1176).⁸⁹ Since scutage was collected only from the barons (or tenants-in-chief) we can be certain that he was holding his lands directly from the king as late as 1172. However sometime between this date and before 1 July 1175 Hugh de Lacy was put by Henry II as the intermediary between Robert de Ewyas and Godfrey de Scudamore, probably a compromise that was acceptable to both parties. Our evidence for this comes from the Memoranda Roll of 6 Henry III (1222) where it would appear that the Godfrey (III) de Scudamore of that day had petitioned to end the Lacy interference between himself and Henry III:

In 1173 the Pipe Roll notes that Godfrey de Scudimor owes 100 shillings because he was not willing to defend himself in the king’s court where he was accused.⁹⁰ We hear no more of this matter, nor do we find out what the offense was. In the same year we find Godfrey and Mathew Scudmor as witnesses to a charter of Walter de Chalk to be noticed later.

They were granted plots of land in the castle precincts to sustain them for this service.” Presumably they were then reluctant to also do castle-guard at Ewyas Harold and this led to difficulties. See his *Upton Scudamore* (Westbury, Wilts., 1985) 4.

⁸⁶*Memoranda Roll* 1222 (6 Hen. III). The petition of Reginald of Cornwall, a bastard son of Henry I, must have been before his death on 1 July 1175. How long the Lacy interest survived in the Scudamore fees is uncertain, but Hugh de Lacy, lord of Meath, was assassinated on 28 July 1186 at Durrow in Ireland.

⁸⁷*Pipe Roll* 1168 (PRS 12) 160.

⁸⁸*Pipe Roll* 1172 (PRS 18) 127.

⁸⁹*Pipe Roll* 1173 (PRS 19) 100. See also the Pipe Rolls for 1174, 1175, and 1176.

⁹⁰*Pipe Roll* 1175 (PHS 22) 104. Entered under “new pleas and agreements made through Thomas Basset and William de Lanvaley.”

Even in the earliest of the charters, dating probably from the opening years of the 12th century Walter de Scudamore of Corras could pay his brother one mark (13s. 4d. in the pre-decimal currency) if he did not, or could not, do the annual castle-guard service owed by his fee in person. In the later charter, the one from 1168-9, Godfrey needed only to give Robert de Ewyas 1/2 mark annually in lieu of personal castle-guard service if he was not prepared to do the royal service appurtenant to his fee at Upton Scudamore. In other words if he were called upon by the king, by way of Robert de Ewyas, to perform royal service under the terms of Robert's *servitium debitum* he need only do half his castle-guard service in that year or pay half the normal rate of compensation. At Ewyas Harold, therefore, the lord was prepared to accept money in redemption of knight's service at a time which compares favourably with the earliest records of royal scutage. With this money he could hire a replacement for his disinclined knight, just as did the barons in the internal parts of the country. The evidence of the Scudamore charters suggests that the assumption that knights owing service at the border castles were more willing to serve in person just because they had to be in a better state of preparedness than elsewhere in the realm might be wrong.

In 1185 the Pipe Roll under Gloucestershire lists a debt of a half mark which Godfrey de Scudemor owed in Herefordshire *in Wales* for a pledge he had made for a boor ("pro plevina Burrica").⁹¹ Possibly it is related to the entry immediately above it in the roll where one Richard Bule is likewise indebted for half a mark for "bad forest keeping." This unnamed boor, no doubt a very poor man, was probably a tenant of Scudamore in Herefordshire perhaps in the Treville Forest. At the same time Alfred de Walton owed the same sum for the same or a similar pledge. The Pipe Roll for the previous year does not enlighten us, and we learn nothing else about the debt. Both Scudamore and Walton refused to pay and the sum was carried forth in every Pipe Roll through 1194. In 1194 the clerks in the exchequer marked the debt with a cross (+), their symbol that there was little hope of collecting the sum (perhaps because he was already dead), and in 1195 it disappeared.⁹²

He had been living in 1190 when his name appears on the Pipe Roll with those who owed for the Welsh scutage, but the entry on the roll of 1194 is not positive evidence that he was then living.⁹³ He had been succeeded by his son Peter by 1196 which fixes his death at about 1195. Godfrey had at least three children. In addition to Sir Peter Scudamore, another son is likely to have been the Sir James Scudamore, a clerk, who would have had to come out of a substantial family to have afforded the place that he had at court. He was a Clerk of the Chamber to king John and served later at the court held in the name of the young Henry III. It is likely to have cost his father at least 500 marks to have found a place for his son at the royal court.⁹⁴ Peter also a daughter Erneberga married to Fulk

⁹¹*Pipe Roll* 1185 (PRS 34) 148. See also the Pipe Rolls for every year between 1186 and 1194. *Burricus* (a boor, a local peasant) was a word I could not translate in my Upton Scudamore and made into a personal name in error.

⁹²*Pipe Roll* 1194 (PRS, n. s. 5) 233.

⁹³*Pipe Roll* 1190 (PRS, n. s. 1) 122.

⁹⁴Sir James had a long career at court, and was living as late as 1220 for which see my *Upton Scudamore*, 25-7.

d'Aunon, and who was buried as his wife before 1217 at the priory of Bath.⁹⁵

Heraldry had its origin in France. By the middle of the 12th century most of the important families in both France and England had chosen an emblem or device used at first in the tournaments organized to mimic war for aspiring knights. Godfrey de Escudemore is said by the herald John Guillim (1565-1621) to have worn a *cross pattee fitchy* on his shield. This was in the time of Henry II and Guillim (not the most reliable of heralds) gave as his authority an unspecified Harleian manuscript. In more recent times the heraldic cross of the family (which was also used by the family at Corras) is found in the stained glass at the church at Upton Scudamore along with their more familiar stirrups.

One other Scudamore in the 12th century remains to be disposed of. Mathew de Scudamore was a witness to the grant of a third of Upton Scudamore to Walter de Scudamore. He appears to have been a younger son of Reginald, although we have no documentary evidence of this. The only other mention of him occurs in 1175 when he and Godfrey de *Sudmore* (presumably his nephew) appear on a notification witnessed at Marlborough in Wiltshire before Henry II that Walter de Chalk had given to the canons of St. Mary de Voto in Cherbourg the lands at Montfarville in Normandy which de Chalk had received in marriage with his wife, and to which her brother Ralph fitz William assented.⁹⁶

CORRAS. WALTER (I) AND WALTER (II).

There are enough evidences that survive to show that the succession at Corras in the 12th century went through a series of three Scudamore men all named Walter. In the same way that the two Godfreys at Upton Scudamore melt together in the same period it is impossible to divide exactly the references among the three Walters.

To the undoubted eldest of these, Walter (I) de Scudemor (born in the last quarter of the 11th century), the son of Ralph de Scudemor, we attribute all of the records yet found to a Walter before 1139. He was, with his brothers Reginald and Hugh de Scudemor, a witness to the grant of Harold de Ewyas to St. Peter's, Gloucester, about the year 1120. Walter Escudemor later had from his brother Reginald a grant of Corras in Kentchurch, a third part of Upton, and a messuage (burgage) in the

⁹⁵The name Aunon is from Aunon-le-Faucon in the département of Orne. For Erneberga d'Aunon see *Feet of fine for Somerset*, 1196-1307, ed. Emanuel Green (Somerset Rec. Soc., vi, 1892) 29.

⁹⁶J. H. Round, *Docs. preserved in France*, 336. The other witnesses in addition to the king and his son Henry, are William fitz Adelin, Maurice de Croun, Ralph fitz Stephen, Godfrey de Sudmor [*sic*], Richard Musard, William fitz Walter, Walter Malduit, William Brewer, Walter de Coustances, Master Stephen, Mathew de Scudmor [*sic*], Maurice the chaplain, Gilbert de Sumerford, and Godfrey Malduit. Walter "de Chalk" was the son of Gerard who gave his name to Gurston (anciently *Gerardstone*) in Broad Chalk which he held in 1166. Walter had by his wife Beatrix a daughter Maud (his eventual heiress) wife of Robert de Maskarel.

vill' of Ewyas [Harold], for which Walter agreed to do ward at the castle of Ewyas each year or pay one mark.⁹⁷ Walter's third of Upton Scudamore must be identical with the third of a fee held in 1195 by William de Park from Sir Peter Scudamore, but how Park came by it is completely unknown.⁹⁸

While Walter had a burgage to stay in while he was doing his castle-guard service the knights at Ewyas Harold were still tied to one place for three months in the year with little to do much of the time except perhaps to play games with dice or throw darts at a target. Castle-guard could be a very costly business, as most of their necessities had either to be bought in the local market or brought in from the crops cultivated at their demesne. Here again the lord of Ewyas Harold was prepared to grant favours as a way of compensating his knights for their extra-long period of service. In Robert de Ewyas's grant to Godfrey de Scudamore, he agreed to provide his knights with sufficient firewood, straw and water during their stay and also free hunting in all of the lord's demesne at Ewyas. This last concession was especially valuable for it enabled the knight or his retainers to hunt which was a Norman addiction that would also save the some of the expense of finding rations for the castle. It seems that the lords of Ewyas Harold were prepared to go to considerable lengths to compensate their knights, and to keep them happy while doing castle-guard required of them.

As Walter *de Scudemor* he was a witness about 1138 to a grant by Sybil de Lacy, already the widow of Pain fitz John, who gave to her uncle Walter de Lacy, abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, and to the monks at Ewyas Harold, land near the church at Ewyas Harold as much timber as they might require

⁹⁷In addition to the references hereafter cited, Mathew Gibson (*A view of the ancient and present state of the churches of Door, Home-Lacy, and Hemstead*, etc., 1727) cites "an old Scudamore charter" from which he learned that "Walter de Scudamore was Lord of the Manour of Upton Scudmore in the Reign of King Stephen." This would refer to Walter I or II if accepted. Thomas Hearne, in his diary under the date of 25 October 1721, notes that he called by request on Dr. John Gibson, provost of Queen's College. Hearne, a noted antiquary, found "when I came it was about his Brother Mathew's Design upon L^d Scudamore. It seems Mathew desired him to consult the Bodleian Library for Materials about the Scudamores, & the Provost had a mind to ask me whether there are any such there. I told him there are. He then said he would go to it, & have it search'd. I had told Mathew of this in a Letter I writ to him." (*Hearne's Collections*, Oxford Record Society, XLVIII, 288). Very likely this reference came from some secondary compilation, perhaps Dods-worth's *Collections* then at the Bodleian, and might refer to an undated charter from the time of Walter (died 1318), "lord of Upton" after 1293.

⁹⁸Sir William "de Parco" was a witness in 1195 with Sir Peter de Scudamore to an important charter from Robert (II) de Eyas, his wife Petronilla, and their daughter Sybil to the abbey at Gloucester. The Park interest must have originated previous to that date. (David Walker, *The Register*, deed no. 105, p. 41) Simon de Park had succeeded at Upton Scudamore by 1236, and held a third of a fee from Sir Godfrey de Scudamore there in 1243. Simon de Park seems to have been dead by 1270 leaving a widow Lettice, and was succeeded by a Walter de Park who was presumably his son and heir. The Parks were the chief tenants at Upton for over the next 200 years. (VCH, *Wilts.*, VIII, 83). The land at Upton Scudamore held by Alice, widow of Robert Mauduit, may also have descended to the Mauduits or to her from a Scudamore ancestor.

for building or for other purposes from her forest at Maescoed.⁹⁹ It is likely that Walter de Scudemer was already a tenant of Sybil de Lacy at Whitewall in the present parish of St. Margaret's and elsewhere about the Escley Brook across the Dore River from Poston. How he came by this land is unknown, but it was close to Poston and seems to have been attached to it. Gilbert "de Esketot" [Scotot], the other witness to Sybil's deed, was from a family who were important tenants of the Lacy family both in the Golden Valley and perhaps much earlier in France.

The Scudamores at Corras (and later at Poston) were early benefactors of Dore Abbey which had been founded in 1147 by Robert (I) de Ewyas. Our knowledge of this corner of Herefordshire would be greatly improved if the cartulary of this abbey survived with its deeds and its witness-lists. Mathew Gibson, the first historian of both the Scudamore family and the abbey, searched for it in vain before 1727.¹⁰⁰ Two years after the founding, in 1149, one of the Scudamores, probably Walter (II) gave Fulke's Meadow to the abbey. This was later confirmed by his son Walter:

Walter de Scudemore gave land called Fulke's Mead to the abbey of Dore just as his father formerly had done by a charter dated 14 Stephen [1149] to which he appended the following seal.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹*Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* (Wales University) IV (1928) 166-8. Since Pain fitz John was slain by the Welsh on 11 July 1137 (*DNB*, VII, 184) and Walter de Lacy was buried 8 February 1139, this charter can be dated rather closely.

¹⁰⁰Gibson, *A view, etc.*, 4-5. He writes "for after long and diligent Enquiry after the Leiger Book I give it up for lost . . . 'tis little to be doubted, but Sir Henry Spelman had this Leiger Book. His MSS. 'tis said, were sold, first to Sir Simonds D'ews, and after to the late Earl of Oxford. But I was sent from the Harleyan to the Lambeth Library, without any manner of success." It is just possible that the records were lost in 1398 by the actions of certain descendants of the family once at Corras. On 6 February 1398 the abbot complained that Thomas and John Skidmore came armed to the abbey, and with other mischief took away the great seal of the abbey and its charters and muniments. This was a reflection of the power struggle between abbot John Holand and abbot Jordan Bykeleswade. However as the contender preferred by the Skidmores won, it is likely that they were returned to the abbey. See Ron Shoesmith and Ruth Richardson, *A Definite History of Dore Abbey* (Lougaston Press, 1997) 27.

¹⁰¹*Harl. Ms.* 4028, fol. 78. "Walterus de Scudemore dedit quondam terram vocatam foulkes meade Abbatiae de Dore ut pater per cartam datam 14 Regis Stephani cui appendit tale sigillum." There are other manuscripts at the British Library which appear to have been derived from the original charters of the abbey (*Add.* 5937, fol. 173; *Harl.* 5804, fos. 18, 258-63; *Cotton Julius C.* VII, fos. 252ff). All of these have been checked for references to Scudamore. The seal copied into *Harl. MS* 4028 is a *cross paty fitchy* and bears the legend *S: WALTERI ESCUDAMORE MILITIS*. The pedigree where this is illustrated is unsigned but it is probably the work of the herald John Guillim (1565-1621) who was a native of the city of Hereford. Soon after leaving Oxford University he was made a member of the College of Arms in London. He published his *A display of heraldrie* in 1610 and was later Rouge Croix Pursuivant at arms. Sir John Scudamore of Holme Lacy employed him to do a pedigree of his family. A letter from Guillim dated 4 June 1606 to Sir John Scudamore (1542-

This seal is from a much later date than the grant to Dore Abbey and, while genuine, probably belonged to Sir Walter Scudamore (died 1318) of Upton Scudamore. “Fulke’s Mead[ow]” may have been in or about the Treville Forest. It is probably identical with the place later called *Agnes’ Meadow* from its tenant in 1213 containing 7 1/2 acres near the Dore River in the forest of Treville. The monks at the abbey said that they held it of Peter de Skidemore (who would have been the overlord of Walter II) of the honour of Ewyas Harold.¹⁰²

Walter (II) de Scudemore was an adult by 1220 and appears to be dead in 1243 leaving two sons Walter (III), his heir, and a younger son Ralph who had Poston.

CORRAS. WALTER (III) DE SCUDAMORE.

We attribute to Walter (III) the confirmation of his father's gift to Dore Abbey at some unknown date after 1149. He is probably the Walter de Scodimore who held the knight’s fee at Corras from his cousin Godfrey of Upton Scudamore in 1166, while Godfrey in turn held it from his lord Robert (II) de Ewyas.

Walter was with his new lord Robert de Tregoz (who had married Sybil, the daughter and sole heir of Robert de Ewyas II) in Normandy in 1195.¹⁰³ Tregoz was the bailiff for Richard II at the Cotentin Forest, and had a castle there on the Vire River. The roll of the Norman Exchequer records that Philip de Estapedon, Walter de Escudemore, and Elis de Chigeham had the king's writ for £8 to be defrayed out of the farm of Pointe de Barfleur on the English Channel for their expenses in bringing their companies of Welsh horse and foot-soldiers over to France in two ships.¹⁰⁴ How long Walter (III) de Scudamore remained in Normandy is unknown. Tregoz did not return to England and continued to serve King John in France after 1200.¹⁰⁵

1623) mentions “Peter de Scudamore who was nominated the first of many witnesses of good note [to a charter] and the seal of the same as your seal.” Guillim grafted a Thomas Scudamore with a wife Clarice de Ewyas (probably the earliest ancestors known to Sir John Skydmore by hearsay) onto the *Upton Scudamore* family where they did not belong. (PRO, *Duchess of Norfolk Deeds*, C.115/Box M18, no. 7514.) Clearly Guillim was more anxious to please his client than he was in doing an accurate account of the early Scudamore family.

¹⁰²See *Rot. claus.* (Rec. Com.) I, 165.

¹⁰³G. E. C., *Complete Peerage*, XII, ii, 17. Tregoz had, of course, even larger estates in England particularly in the right of his wife.

¹⁰⁴Societe des antiquars de Normandy (Caen), *Memoris*, V, 84. J. H. Round mentions this entry, but in a rare slip gives the date as 1180, 1195 being correct. (*The Ancestor*, VI, 145).

¹⁰⁵A non-existent Sir Walter Scudamore of Upton Scudamore in this period should be laid to rest. Sir Richard Colt Hoare, *Modern Wiltshire* (Warminster Hundred) 56, suggests that Sir Walter, son and heir of Elis Scudamore, might have gone on a crusade: “Walter, the elder brother, may have gone to the Holy Land with Richard Coeur de Lion . . . it would seem that this Sir Peter was enfeoffed in the Wiltshire lands by his elder brother [Sir Walter], or got possession of them by some

At the death of Walter (III) de Scudamore by 1244 the continuous sequence of men of his Christian name at Kentchurch came to an end.

In 1244 his widow Isolda, with no surname but described as “the lady of Corras,” leased the manor to Sir William de Tregoz, the rector of Kentchurch:

Yseuda, lady of Kaveros, “with my complete power of disposition possessed by a widow” gave to Sir William de Tregoyl [*sic*] the whole of my manor of Corras with all the liberties possessed by me and my predecessors [*antecessores*] in the same manor with its pertinencies reserving only the royal service that pertains to it.” Tregoz was to render a pound of cumin annually to Isolda at Michelmas. The witnesses were Sir Hugh de Kylpek, Sir Waleran Teutonicus, then senechal of the three castles of the King, Sir Richard Fuke, the elder, Richard, his son, William, then constable of Ewyas Lacy, William Walens’, John Codach, Seysel son of Kederec, Gwyn, son of Gneythur, and Nicholas of Sancta Keyna.¹⁰⁶

Her lease also notes, curiously, that she “had caused all of the boundaries of the said manor to be walked about” doubtless to formally set down what fields she owned and preserve a record of them. Her lease to the rector of Kentchurch may have been a legal fiction to arm herself with some written evidence to fight the trespass of the king's men across the Monnow River at Grosmont Castle who were driving their beasts across the river to pasture at Corras. If her deed dates from either 1242 or 1243 (as seems likely) she may have picked Sir William de Tregoz as the lessee in place of his elder brother Sir John de Tregoz, the lord of the honour of Ewyas Harold, who was then in Gascony.¹⁰⁷

On 1 June 1247 Henry III ordered an inquest to be taken in Herefordshire to see if his men at Grosmont Castle had not enjoyed the right of common pasture in the manor of *Cauros* “in the time of Walter Scudemor or his ancestors or heirs.” It was found that the land had been given to the

other means, for in the 1 King John he paid five marks for the five fees held of Ewyas.” Elis Scudamore, and his nephew Sir Walter (died 1318), flourished later in the next century. Here, as elsewhere, his dating of deeds found in the Hungerford Cartulary are highly suspect. Hoare dates all deeds not specifically identified as from the reign of Edward II or III as Edward I which produces all kinds of difficulties.

¹⁰⁶*A schedule of the Kentchurch court papers and documents*, compiled by B. G. Owens (typescript), National Library of Wales, 1957 (hereafter cited as the *Kentchurch schedule*), I, 3, (no. 1025). The deed can be dated to within a ten year period; Waleran Teutonicus had his office in 1234 and Hugh de Kilpec died in or before 1244. Seysel, son of Kederec, was the largest tenant at Kentchurch in this period as we know from other evidences cited by Bannister.

¹⁰⁷G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, XII, 19. The king lent Sir John de Tregoz 20 marks in 1242 to cross to Gascony, and he was still there in 1243 and perhaps later. It may be that Walter (IV) Scudamore, who was Isolda’s son, was also in Gascony with Tregoz and his absence might explain her action in his stead.

master and brothers of the Templars at Garway and Henry III, a great benefactor of the Templars himself, ordered the sheriff to see that his men did not trespass thereafter at Corras.¹⁰⁸ So Isolda had won her plea against the king, and Tregoz may have released Corras back to Isolda or her heirs soon after.

When (and by whom) some part of Corras had been given to the Knights Templar is still unknown. Clearly it would have been long after after 16 July 1199 when king John gave a confirmation of their lands to the Templars at Garway; and Corras is not mentioned there.¹⁰⁹ On 16 August 1546 John Scudamore, the lord of Kentchurch of that day, purchased back his ancestor's gift from the crown after the commandery of the Knights Hospitallers (who had succeeded the Templars there) was dissolved. From this deed it would appear that the Scudamore benefaction to the Templars consisted in 1546 of 110 acres of pasture called Kentchurch Park and four other small pieces (of 10 acres, another pasture containing 3 acres, and two even smaller pieces) and some buildings "almost prostrated" all within the same park. The boundaries are correctly given for the park which was between the back of Garway Hill "and the mansion called Kentchurche late of James Scudamore on the west." On the south the park was bounded "by the manor of *Cowrose* [Corraas]." Garway Hill was on the east, and lands called "Lanhethocke and the lordship of Kylpeke" on the north and west "towards the lordship of Ewes Harrolde."¹¹⁰

The deer park at Kentchurch was merged with other lands. In 1913 J. H. Matthews notes that it contained 250 acres and that 130 fallow deer grazed there.¹¹¹ The 123 acres once in the hands of the Templars must have been a very small part of Corras, and it is useful to note that in 1546 the Scudamores already owned the *manor* of Corras. A part of Corras went in some unknown way to the Wroth family, and then back much later to Sir John Skydmore "of Kencherge" who built the core of the present mansion of Kentchurch Court and was living there by 8 August 1386.¹¹²

POSTON. RALPH (II) DE SCUDAMORE

Ralph was a younger son of Walter (II). He was an adult by 1220 and had his father's lands at Poston in Vowchurch. He was an even greater benefactor of Dore Abbey than his ancestors had been. He gave two acres of his demesne at Poston to the abbey, but more importantly the whole of his grove in Esceley which was at a spring or well called *Whitewell* (presently in the northern part of St Margaret's parish) and the whole of his cultivated land below the land which had belonged to William fitz Emma and was near the land of Richard Belsire. He also gave the monks the right of

¹⁰⁸*Close Roll*, 1242-7, 515.

¹⁰⁹Matthews, *Hundred of Wormelow, Lower Division*. pt. 1, 41.

¹¹⁰*Letters and papers, Henry VIII*, xxi, 763. John Scudamore was then living at Nuneham Courteney, Oxfordshire, with his brother-in-law Sir John Pollard. Pollard was subsequently Speaker of the House of Commons.

¹¹¹Matthews, *Hundred of Wormelow, Upper Division*, pt. 2, 12.

¹¹²*Patent Roll*, 1385-9, 257.

common pasture on all his other lands, and the right of entry and egress across his lands to the lands which the abbey held in Escley close to these pastures.¹¹³

The original charter is lost along with all the other early records of Dore Abbey. However it can be safely dated at about 1220 or soon after from a confirmation given by Gilbert de Lacy of his tenant's gift of the lands to the monks "which they have as a result of the gift of Ralph de Scudemore in Escley and the common pasture through all the lands of Escley, the same wholly and freely, which they had by the charter of the aforesaid Ralph de Scudemor."¹¹⁴ Gilbert's confirmation makes no mention of the two acres at Poston, which did not belong to the Lacy honour of Webley.

The Scudamore family in Herefordshire who were seated at Poston in Vowchurch parish in the 11th century, had a fee that they held from their cousins at Upton Scudamore in Wiltshire.¹¹⁵ That both families were of the same stock is proved by record evidence.¹¹⁶ In addition to Poston they held

¹¹³*Mon. Angl.*, V, 555; *Charter roll*, 1226-57, 59. The *inspeximus* of the lands of Dore Abbey was given by Henry III on 15 December 1232 when he was at Hereford. Whitewell survives as Whitewall Farm between Turnastone and Michaelchurch Escley at the reference coordinates of 325 364 on the Ordnance Survey map. Escley at that time included all that large area about Escley Brook.

¹¹⁴Gilbert de Lacy died in 1230, during the lifetime of his father, and can not have been an adult long before 1220. (Sanders, *English baronies*, 95). He had the managing of the Lacy estates in England during this decade as his father was almost continuously occupied in Ireland. In addition to the Scudemor gifts he also confirmed to the abbey lands given by charters of his father and grandfather. There is a later *inspeximus* of these abbey lands from Edward III in which it is said that Gilbert de Lacy confirmed them "with the consent of his wife." (*Charter roll*, 1327-41, 14). There is also a 14th century copy of the confirmation of Gilbert de Lacy at Hereford Cathedral. (*A calendar of the early Hereford Cathedral muniments and a list of Hereford Cathedral account rolls, court rolls, rentals and surveys*, comp. by Penelope E. Morgan (typescript), National Library of Wales, 1957, ref. 3240].

¹¹⁵It has since largely eradicated Poston which probably once referred to a somewhat larger area than the present civil boundaries of Vowchurch parish. According to Bruce Coplestone-Crow the lost place-name *Edwardestune* in the Domesday Book was below Poston in Vowchurch parish at the reference coordinates 366 362 on the Ordnance Survey map. About 1160-70 *Edwardestune* was known as the *villa Huardi* while the tenant at Poston is given as *W. Huard*. Clearly Howard, of whom nothing else is known, was a tenant of the Lacy honour of Weobley and had no interest in the Scudamore land at Poston. See the *Herefordshire Domesday circa 1160-1170*, ed. V. H. Galbraith and James Tait (Pipe Roll Society, 1950) 96, 106. *Edwardestune*, a deserted medieval village, was known as *Walterstone* in 1224 and 1249. (This *Walterstone* is not to be confused with the present parish of the name on the Monmouth border.) *Fowchirche* is first noticed in the *Taxatio ecclesiastica* of 1291 (Rec. Com., 1802).

¹¹⁶The name *Scudemer* (to use the most ancient spelling) is unique to this family. In every instance of the surname yet found, until at least the mid-14th century, is in one of these two counties. Until the time of Edward III, and perhaps much later, Scudamore seems to have been Scudamore's cousin everywhere.

Little Hatfield already To this they had added the lands at Whitewall acquired at some unknown date and in some unknown way from the from the Lacy family.

There is nothing to suggest where the family lived at Poston, which is about one mile north of St. Bartholomew's church in Vowchurch. From this windy promontory they could look down the Golden Valley to Garway Hill rising above Corras in Kentchurch. Whatever may have once been there in the way of early charters are now wholly lost, although a few later Poston deeds delivered to others have found their way to the National Archives at Kew.¹¹⁷

All of these lands, excepting the two acres at Poston, were on the west side of the Dore River and were held from the Lacy family. We do not know how the Scudamores came by Whitewall but it is the proper size to have been a *maritagium* that came to them with the bride of one of the Walters, perhaps Walter (I). At the moment we know nothing of her family except that they are likely to have been a tenants of the honour of Weobley if this should be so.

Whitewall was still in the hands of the abbey when it was suppressed by Henry VIII in 1536 and the rent of *Hytewall* Grange [*sic*] was then worth £1 6s. 8d by the year. Four years later the principal lands belonging to the abbey were granted by the king to John Scudamore (1486-1571) of Holme Lacy.

Ralph de Scudimor also granted a part of his lands at Whitewall to Edmund Canum of Poston, by a deed also now lost.¹¹⁸ Ralph had died before 1243 leaving Walter IV, his heir, and a younger son John Scudimore who probably died at Abergavenny.

POSTON. WALTER (IV) DE SCUDEMOR

Our earliest mention of Walter (IV) de Scudemore, a son of Ralph (II), is a deed (after 1232) from his neighbor Robert “de Wilmeston,” a son of Roger de Chandos, who gave a part of his lands in the present parish of Peterchurch to Dore Abbey. This land was between the land of Ganvilde “de Maubache” (Mowbach in Peterchurch) on both sides of the road and was bounded by a meadow called *Wetemore* (which the monks already owned) and as far as the land of Walter de Chandos.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷The five printed volumes of ancient deeds have been continued with typed supplementary catalogues were formerly found in the Round Room at the Public Record Office. These are largely without indexes as yet to persons or places. There may be other Poston deeds there, or in the feet of fine for Herefordshire which have not been abstracted and printed as they have been for Wiltshire.

¹¹⁸Referred to in the deed at the PRO (E.326/B.8542) noticed subsequently.

¹¹⁹*Harl. MS.*, 2044 fol. 160v. The witnesses were Robert de Chandos, lord of Wilmeston, Walter de Scudimor, William Crumpe, William le Paumer, and Sym[on] de Wilmeston. Wilmeston Farm survives in Peterchurch and Mowbach is a hamlet there. Walter “de Ebroicis” (Devereux) gave a confirmation of this gift for land in his fee to the abbey on 6 December 1251.

Walter IV held Poston and Little Hatfield, near Leominster, at the time of the *Testa de Nevill* (1243). Poston was rated at half a knight's fee, and Walter de Scudimor held it from Godfrey de Scudimor (who died in 1266 at Upton), and Godfrey de Scudimor held it from Godfrey de Gamage “(who died in 1253) “of the honour of Boughrood.”¹²⁰ This last statement proves to be an error, for Poston did not belong to the honour of Boughrood (made up of the lands which Gamage held in chief from the king), but rather to the honour of Castle Maud which was in Gamage's keeping during the minority of Roger de Tony (Tosny), the heir, who was then a child about seven years old.

Little Hatfield in Leominster Hundred was held in the same way as Poston (from Godfrey de Scudimor and Godfrey de Gamage) of the honour of Castle Maud. Walter (IV) de Scudemor gave Little Hatfield to his son-in-law Richard de Kinnersley (perhaps as a marriage portion), and Richard had then in turn had granted it to a certain Andrew “of Little Hatfield.”¹²¹ It was rated as only tenth of a fee, and the scutage on both it and Poston were paid to the queen.¹²²

The wardship of the Tony heir and the custody of his lands was sold soon after by the king to Walter de Avenbury. In 1249 Avenbury also had the keeping of half a fee in Poston, but the name of the tenant is not given.¹²³ Avenbury also acquired in May 1250 the custody of the lands of Richard (II) Dauntsey, aged about 12, who was (coincidentally) a nephew of Maud Scudamore of Upton Scudamore.¹²⁴

Unfortunately we learn nothing of Whitewell (in St. Margaret's) or Poston (in Vowchurch) in the *Testa de Nevill* in 1243 for both of these places were then regarded as being in Wales and outside the scope of that survey.

Walter (IV) de Scudimor had died before 1264 leaving his daughter Sybil Kinnersley as his sole heiress. There are several Poston deeds at the National Archives mentioning Sybil. In the first of these, dated the Saturday before the feast of St. Mary Magdalene (18 July) 1264, is an acknowledgment of a lease of a tenement in Poston to Mathew Pathelard from Matilda [*sic*], a daughter of Walter de Scudimor and the wife of Richard de Kynardesley. For his tenement Pathelard was to render a Welsh arrow yearly, and Matilda bound herself to give him a seam of corn and one of oats.¹²⁵ The other is undated, but is clearly later since Sybil is now a widow. John Canum, son of

¹²⁰*Book of fees*, 811. King Henry III had given the scutage on the Tony lands during the minority of the heir to Queen Eleanor. (*Close roll*, 1237-42, 422). This is correctly noted in the *Testa* at Poston: *Regina habet breve*, which effectively exposes the Boughrood error. The Gamage family were from Gamaches in the département of Eure. Tosny, which gave its name to the Tony family, and Gamaches are about ten miles apart which suggests that the two families were associates in France before the Conquest.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, 799.

¹²²*Ibid.*, 813.

¹²³*Ibid.*, 1479. Roger de Tony came of age in 1256. (Sanders, *English baronies*, 118).

¹²⁴*Ibid.*, 1261.

¹²⁵PRO, E.326/B.2961. The witnesses were Sir Henry, abbot of Dore; Master Richard de

Edmund Canum, granted to Sybil de Scudimor “formerly the wife of Richard de Kynardesle,” all that land at Whitewell which his father had from her grandfather Ralph de Scudimor.¹²⁶

Sybil Kinnersley, the lady of Poston, was apparently childless. She is spoken of also as a benefactor to Dore Abbey, but the evidence for this seems to have disappeared. However it may be related to an ancient deed at the National Archives wherein Sybil de Kinnard [*sic*] gave to the abbot and convent of Dore a grange in Kingstone with all the hay therein for 26 marks.¹²⁷ The original deed (which has been seen) is in wretched condition and the date and the witnesses cannot be read. Late in life she leased all of her lands at Poston to John de Pembridge (died 1331) for the term of his life. On 12 November 1291 Pembridge granted all his right at Poston which he had from the demise of Sybil *de Schydymore* to Roger Ragun for 40 s. rent by the year.¹²⁸ Ragun probably had other deeds from Sybil (or Roger Bavant) for in the *Nomina Villarum* of 1316 we find Roger Ragun certified as “lord of Poston.”¹²⁹

If we believe hearsay evidences collected in 1373 (some 80 years later) then Sybil was living as late as 1293. In 1293, on the death of Sir Peter Scudamore of Upton Scudamore, the overlordship of Poston passed to his Bavant heirs. Roger (II) de Bavant granted it to the king on 1 July 1344 together with all of the other lands which he had inherited from the Scudamores. His motive is left unstated, but his grant to the crown was probably an effort to thwart his creditors who were owed far more than his estate was worth. An inquest was taken at Ewyas Harold on 13 December 1373 about these lands and the jurors found that *Tibota Scudmor* (for which we must read *Sybil*) had formerly held Poston from Roger Bavant by the yearly service of a sore sparrow-hawk or 2 s. but who held Poston in 1373 the jurors did not know.¹³⁰ Poston disappears after 1373 from the crown lands, and it is not

Terdebig, official of the archdeacon of Hereford; Walter le Seculer, Robert Wroth, Richard Dansey, Ralph the priest, Philip Bras, and Roger Ragun. Two of the witnesses should be noted: Robert Wroth we will meet later in Abergavenny as a possible father-in-law of Vincent de Scudamore, and Richard Dansey (or Dauntsey) was a kinsman of the Scudamores in Wiltshire. (Dansey became the more usual spelling in Herefordshire).

¹²⁶PRO, E.326/B.8542. The witnesses were Sir Nicholas Evereus, Richard Fuke, Henry de Baldesane, Hugh Ragun, Philip Bras, Roger Ragun, Ralph the priest, Nicholas son of Ragun, and Philip Wyn.

¹²⁷PRO, E.326/B.4331.

¹²⁸The witnesses were Sir Robert le Rous, Sir Henry de Solariis, and Sir John de Kirkecote, Knights; and Walter de Evereus, Bartholomew Dansey, Henry de Pembridge, Richard de Cleaungre, Walter Ragun, and John de Huntelaw. John de Pembridge was a grandson of Godfrey de Gamage (met earlier) who died in 1253. His mother Elizabeth (died 1309) was the eldest daughter and heir of Godfrey. She married Henry de Pembridge who died in 1272 long before his wife.

¹²⁹*Feudal Aids*, II, 388. On 20 June 1300 the jurors at the inquest *post mortem* of John de Tregoz, lord of Ewyas Harold, found that Roger Ragun “held Poston in Straddel as half a knight’s fee of Tregoz and that it was worth 30sh by the year.” This was a mistake made by the jurors who are frequently caught out in errors of this sort. It was found rather quickly for Poston does not appear among the lands divided by the heirs of Tregoz in the following year (Bannister, *Ewias Harold*, 113).

¹³⁰*Cal. of Inq. Misc.*, III, 337-8. The original of this inquest has been seen at the Public

mentioned in the foundation grant given by the crown to the priory at Dartford in 1382.

ABERGAVENNY: JOHN (I) SCUDIMOR

This John Scudimor was a younger son of Ralph (II) Scudimor. He was living in 1230 when he witnessed a deed in Herefordshire.¹³¹ He appears to have gone to Abergavenny where he left a son Vincent who was beyond doubt a cousin of Sybil de Scudamore, the last of her name at Poston. Vincent Scudamore was ancestor to all of the Scudamores who came after him in Herefordshire and Wales.

Vincent seems to have married soon after 1250 in Herefordshire, perhaps to a daughter of Robert Wroth.¹³² Both families later went to Abergavenny in Monmouthshire, and on 6 August 1273 Vincent de Scudemore, called "a merchant of Abergavenny" had a license to export wool from that place.¹³³ While there is no proof of the Wroth alliance it is certain that the Wroths and the Scudamores were never far apart for most of the next century.

Robert Wroth, noted elsewhere, had been a witness on 18 July 1264 to a deed from Sybil de Scudamore of Poston. He is undoubtedly the Robert Wroth who begins the pedigree of Wroth of Abergavenny in the Welsh *Llyfr Baglan* where it is said of him (text modernized),

Sir Robert Wroth of the county of Herfordshire, knight, lineally descended from

Record Office and *Tibota* is correctly transcribed. The jurors were recalling events from the previous century, and they do have it correctly that the last of the Scudamores at Poston was a sole heiress. Roger (I) Bavant proved his age 6 October 1301 and entered on his lands. It would seem unlikely that Sybil lived this late as the inquest implies. Little Hatfield was held two years later in 1303 by William de Weston as a tenth of a fee from the honor of Castle Maud, but the intermediaries (if any) between Weston and the honour are not given. (*Feudal Aids*, II, 381).

¹³¹John had not been used previously by the Scudamores and it may be significant that Vincent gave it to one of his sons. As for the record evidence: Thomas de Caples, of [How] Caple in Herefordshire, gave to the hospital at St. Bartholomew in Bristol about 1230 three acres of his demesne, an acre in Willersley and Kinnersley near the land of Walter de Laulle, another acre in Ailey "nearer Kinnersley," and a third on *Bradulum* near the land of Henry son of Elfrich.' The witnesses to this grant are Richard de Caples, John de Scudimor, Walter Muchgros of Caple, Mael son of Daniel the priest, Richard Burgess, David Donnin, John de Gosedic, John le Draper, and all of the hallmote of Caple. [*Records of the corporation of Gloucester*, comp. by W. H. Stevenson (1893) 136]. Stevenson dates it as about 1230; Thomas de Caples is mentioned in the pipe roll for this year but was dead by 1243 leaving William de Caples as his heir.

¹³²*Llyfr Baglan*, ed. J. A. Bradney (1910) 139].

¹³³*Patent Roll*, 1271-81, 24. This is the first reference yet found to the family at Abergavenny unless the deed from Malewas should prove to be earlier. Very little work has been done on the Scudamores in Monmouthshire.

Wroth, a noble man who lived in the time of Edgar, king of England. This Robert Wroth was beneficial to the house and abbey of Dore, and builded a great part thereof as appeareth by his name graven in the pillars of the church in these words, *Robertus Wroth, miles, me fecit*. The said Robert Wroth, knight, married and had issue; and he “beareth *gules*, true love’s knot *or*, in the upper scutcheon two lions rampart *argent*.”

It may have been Sir Robert himself who did the rough carving on a fragment of a pillar found at Abbey Door “*me fecit*” (made by myself).¹³⁴ He is said to have been from Ewyas Lacy, probably at Rowlestone in that hundred where the Scudamores and the Wroths both had a later interest. This Sir Robert had a great, great-grandson Thomas Wroth who married Jane, one of the daughters of Sir John Scudamore of Abergavenny. This Jane Scudamore, according to the *Llyfr Baglan*, “beareth *gules*, 3 Sterropes orr” (the familiar coat of her family). Thomas and Jane Wroth had a son John Wroth, esquire, who sold both Rowlestone and Kentchurch accounting to the *Llyfr Baglan*. We have advanced beyond the realm of Welsh hearsay when we turn to John Wroth’s inquest *post mortem*, which shows that he died on 16 October 1384. Further we learn that he held several parcels part of the Lacy honour of Weobley, and left William Wroth, aged 30, as his son and heir.¹³⁵ It was beyond the scope of the inquest to give the names of the early purchasers of his other lands, but it must be taken as next to certain that Kentchurch passed from Wroth to his kinsman Sir John Skydmore who is called *of Kencherge* two years later on 8 August 1386.

There is a happy end to these notes. After a gap of some 140 years Corras went back into the hands of Sir John Skydmore of Kentchurch, descended from the family seated there probably before the Conquest

GLOSSARY

This glossary has been enlarged to give some of the most common words found in the Domesday Book.. Several other difficult terms used later in the medieval period have also been added, although all of them will not be found in the present piece.

ABBEY: A society of monks or nuns ruled by an abbot or abbess, or the church or building that housed the community belonging to it.

¹³⁴See Shoemith and Richardson’s *Dore Abbey*, 88, for an illustration of the carving. The author of the *Llyfr Bagland* has erroneously added *miles* (knight) to the his reading of the inscription which suggests that it may date from the time of another Robert Wroth who was later an abbot at Dore.

¹³⁵PRO, C.137/75/57. John Wroth’s inquest is badly faded and the indifferent ink used is now a faint yellow in tone. He had at his death (probably with other lands) parcels (all at Howton in Kenderchurch) called *Brustonerslond*, *Myleslond*, *Danielslond*, and *Corrieslond* held from Richard de la Mare and his wife Elizabeth. Most of his inquest is unfortunately illegible.

ACRE: A measurement of land used in *Domesday* mainly for pasture, meadowland and woodland, which varied from region to region. Also a linear measurement of 66 feet.

ADVOWSON: The right to present a clergyman to a church when a vacancy occurs.

ÆTHELING. Prince of the old English kingdom, a son or brother of the king from whom the next ruler was chosen.

AID: A payment due to the crown on a specific occasion, or granted to meet an emergency.

AMERCEMENT: A payment (fine) due from an offender “in the mercy of the court.”

APPEAL, APPEALED: A form of criminal accusation; a person so accused.

ARPENT: Measurement of land originally a hundred square perches; used in *Domesday* for vineyards; about one modern acre.

ASSART: To grub up trees and brush to turn woodland into arable or pasture land.

ASSIZE. County court which tried both civil and criminal cases.

ATTORNEY: A person appointed or engaged to represent another at court.

B: A marginal abbreviation in *Domesday* used to mean a *berewic*, or outlying part of a manor.

BODYGUARD: [*Heuard*] The obligation to provide a lord with a bodyguard, or the king with one, during a visit.

BOOR: [*borus, buricus*] An inferior peasant or a villager.

BORDAR: A villein of the lowest rank who rendered menial service in return for a cottage on a manor.

BOVATE: An eighth of a carucate. Used in *Domesday* like carucate, for tax purposes.

BURGAGE: A small freehold property in a town.

BURGESS: A holder of land or a house in a borough.

CANON: A clergyman living with others within the precinct of a cathedral.

CARTULARY: A manuscript book of charter copies kept for a religious institution or a landed family.

CARTAGE: [*avera*] The obligation to provide mules or draught horses for the king’s use.

CARUCATE: Measurement of land in Danish counties, the equivalent of a hide. Used in *Domesday* for tax purposes. Originally as much land as a team of eight oxen could plough in one season, generally reckoned at 120 acres. See PLOUGH.

CHANTRY: An endowment to a church whose income was used by the priests for the singing of masses for the souls of specified dead who were named by the donor..

CHAPEL: A place of worship subordinate to a larger parish church.

CHAPTER: A meeting of all the members of a religious establishment.

CHATTELS: Any moveable possession, in effect anything other than real estate.

COMMON PASTURE: The use of grazing land by the beasts of a number of owners living in a community.

COMMOTE: Welsh area or district, similar to an English hundred.

COTTAGER: [*cotarius, coscat*] A peasant of a lower class, probably with a cottage, but often with very little or no land.

CUSTOMARY DUE: [*consuetudo*] A regular fixed rent or service, or percentage of a tax due to a lord.

DEFENCE OBLIGATION: [*wara*] The obligation for military service or for payment in substitution of personal service.

DEMESNE: The land held by a feudal or manorial lord for his own use; later his “home farm.”

d DENARIUS: The English silver penny, the only coin actually in circulation in 1086.

DIEM CLAUSIT EXTREMUM: A writ ordering an inquiry into the lands held by a deceased tenant-in-chief on information reporting that he had “closed his last day.”

DISSEISIN: The dispossession of land of one subject by another.

DOMUS DEFENSABILES. A fortified house.

DOWER: The portion of a deceased husband’s estate which was allowed to his widow during her lifetime.

DRENG: A free peasant especially used in Northumbria who held lands in return for military service. Also recorded in Yorkshire and Lancashire.

ESCHEAT: The reversion of land or a tenement to a feudal lord or the crown for any reason, felony, or in default of heirs.

ESTREATS: The copies of records, particularly amercements, which created debts owed to the crown to be collected by the Exchequer.

ESCORT: [*inward*] The obligation to provide the king with a mounted man for his service or protection.

EXCHEQUER: The office charged with the receipt and custody of all debts owed to the crown.

EXON: [*Exeter Domesday*] An early draft of *Domesday* covering Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, parts of Dorset and one holding in Wiltshire.

EXTENT: The formal valuation of lands and goods held by a tenant frequently taken to settle a dispute.

EYRE: The king’s judges who had commissions to travel to hear cases.

FARM: To hold a property or an office for a term paying a fixed payment. Anything collected over the sum actually due was the farmer’s profit.

FEE, FIEF: Land held by feudal service from a lord. See HOLDING.

FOREST: [*foras*] Not necessarily woodland, but land reserved for the king’s hunting; usually under Forest Law controlled by a Forester instead of the sheriff. [Forests are never mentioned by name in *Domesday* except for the New Forest.]

FREEDMAN: [*colibertus, quolibertus*] A former slave, now of similar status to the lower class of peasant.

FREE MAN: [*liber homo; sochemann*] The two Latin terms have similar meanings; a villager of higher class than a villanus, with more land and obligations; a soke man, for example, was liable to attend the court of his sake. Sometimes equated with THEGN.

FRENCH: [*Francus homo, francigena*] A French settler, usually a Norman, of similar standing to a freeman.

FURLONG: [*ferlinus, ferdinus, fertinus*] A quarter of a virgate, or a measure of length, originally Roman; commonly 220 yards, similar to the modern furlong used in horse racing.

GAOL-DELIVERY [JAIL-DELIVERY]: The trial of prisoners charged with crimes.

GELD: A Saxon tax paid by landowners on every hide of land to the crown. It was retained by the Normans after the Conquest. See TAX.

GLEBE: The land assigned to a clergyman for his own use, and as a part of his benefice.

GO WHERE HE WILL: Landholder free to place himself under the protection of a lord of his own choosing.

HALMOTE: A manorial court.

HERIOT: The rendering of the best live beast or chattel by a tenant due by custom to his lord on the death of a tenant.

HIDE: [*hida*] 120 acres, although this could vary, and sometimes was apparently around 240 acres.

Domesday hide values were not real measurements of land, but figures on which the tax (geld) was based.

HOLDING: [*feudum*] Often translated as a fief; the land of a tenant-in-chief, or an under-tenant.

HOMMAGE: A ceremonial acknowledgement by a feudal tenant, in return for land, that he was the “lord’s man.”

HONOUR: A holding, or more often a group of holdings or manors, forming a large estate owned by a lord. Honour and feodum seem to be used interchangeably in *Domesday*.

HOUSECARL: Equivalent to a thane, or thegn, in Scandinavian parts of England.

HUNDRED: [*Hundredum*] Subdivision of a county, made up of several parishes or manors, with its own assembly of notables and village representatives. Once supposedly large enough to support a hundred families.

INQUISITION POST MORTEM: An inquiry by jurors made for the crown on the death of a tenant-in-chief about the sums due before the heir could enter on his inheritance.

INSPEXIMUS: Literally, “we have inspected.” A certification that an earlier document had been read and accepted as correct.

INLAND: Equivalent to “in lordship”; such land was often exempt from tax.

JURISDICTION SACA ET SOCA: The right to administer justice, and to keep the resulting fines. *Soca* also meant the area over which an individual or manor had jurisdiction.

KNIGHT’S FEE: The amount of land capable of supporting a mounted knight and his retinue. Sometimes given as two carucates or 240 acres, for the service of a fully armed knight and his retinue for 40 days in the year.

KNIGHTS TEMPLAR: A military and religious order founded about 1118 for the protection of the Holy Sepulchre and the Christian pilgrims visiting the Holy Land.

LAY SUBSIDY: A tax on laymen; there were also clerical subsidies on ecclesiastical preferments.

LEASE FOR THREE LIVES: A term of a lease, usually for the life of the lessor, his son or wife, and sometimes a grandson.

LEET: Subdivision of Kent, similar to a Sussex rape.

LEGATE: An ecclesiastic sent out to represent the Pope; head of a legation.

LEUGA: Measure of length, usually a mile and a half.

LIVERY: To be given rights or ownership of land as a gift from the king.

LORDSHIP: [*dominium*] Land held and farmed by the tenant-in-chief himself, or by the undertenant himself (or herself).

M: Marginal abbreviation in *Domesday* use to mean manor.

MAINPERNORS: The sureties for the appearance of a prisoner at court.

MAN [*homo*] To be someone’s man, to owe obligations to, usually in the form of labour or service. A woman could also be someone’s “man” in this sense.

MAN-AT-ARMS: [*miles*] A soldier (knight) holding his land specifically in return for military service.

MANOR [*manenum, mansio*] Equivalent to a single holding, with its own court and probably its own hall, but not necessarily a manor house as we think of it. The manor was the basic unit of *Domesday*.

MARITAGIUM: A marriage portion; dowry.

MARK: Money used only for accounting purposes, 2/3 of a pound sterling. A silver mark was worth 13s. 4d. and a gold mark was worth £6.

MESSUAGE: A dwelling with its outbuildings and adjacent lands.

MICHAELMAS: The feast of St. Michael on 29 September; an English quarter or term day. See **TERM**.

MILL: A watermill. There were no windmills in England for another 100 years after Domesday.

MONEYER: Coiners; a person licensed to strike coins, receiving the dies from the government, and keeping 6 silver pennies in the pound.

NOVEL DISSEISIN: The recent dispossession of lands as grounds for an assize.

OCTAVE: The eighth day after a feast or festival.

ORATORY: A small chapel or a room in a home for private family worship

ORA: Money for accounting purposes worth 16 *d.* or 20 *d.*

OUDIER: [*berewica*] Outlying part of a manor; a holding separate from a manor, taxed as if it were part of that manor rather than as a separate holding.

OYER AND TERMINER: A commission of justices to "hear and determine" specific felonies and misdemeanors, or all that were committed in a particular district.

PACKLOAD: [*summa*] A dry measure, used mainly for salt, corn or sometimes for fish.

PANNAGE: [*pannequion*] Mast, or autumn feed for pigs, which were allowed to graze freely on the acorns and beechnuts on the woodland floor. The right to pannage is still part of some forest laws.

PEACE, COMMISSION OF: The appointment of a group of justices to hold sessions for the keeping of the peace in a specified county.

PIPE ROLL: The great roll of the Exchequer for a financial year. A solitary year exists for 1130, but the continuous series does not survive until 1156 and then were kept until 1832..

PLEA: An action at law.

PLOUGH: [*caruca, carruca*] In *Domesday* the word implies a plough team with its eight oxen and the plough itself. The measure of a carucate was originally the amount of land which such a team could plough in one day.

PREDECESSORS: [*antecessor*] Previous land holder or holder of an office. Using the term implied that the succession has been legally made, and the powers have passed rightfully to the present holder.

PRESENTATION: The nomination of a clergyman to be instituted at a church.

PRIORY: A monastery or nunnery governed by a prior or prioress, usually the offshoot of an abbey on which it is dependent.

r, rq: An abbreviation for "require" when the scribe in the *Domesday* omitted some information.

RAPE: One of five, later six, subdivisions of Sussex, each with its lord and castle.

REEVE: [*praepositus, praefectus*] A royal official. Also a manor official, appointed by the lord, or sometimes elected by the peasants.

RELIEF: [*heriot*] Money or kind paid to a lord by relatives after a man's death in order for them to inherit.

REVENUE: [*finna*] The provision which a manor owed the king, for example one night's keep for his court. In *Domesday* this is often translated into a money equivalent as cash replaced the barter economy.

RIDER, RIDING MAN: [*radman, radcaitt*] Riding escorts for a lord, chiefly recorded in the Welsh Marches.

SCUTAGE: A money payment in commutation of personal military service due from a tenant-in-chief. Common in the reign of Henry II and thereafter.

SEAT: [*caput*] The principal manor of a lord.

SEISIN: The possession or occupation of freehold land.

SERF: A bondsman on a manor who could not be removed except by manumission, and who was sold with it when the land passed to another owner.

SERGEANTRY: The feudal tenure of land by some service to the crown other than by normal military or knight service; also the land so held.

SESTER: [*sextarium*] Measure of volume, commonly used for honey, when it amounted from about 24 to 32 ounces.

SHERIFF: The principal royal officer of a shire, managing its judicial and financial affairs.

SHILLING [*solidus*] Money for accounting purposes (there was no actual coin) worth 12 silver pennies.

SLAVE: A man or woman who owed personal service to another, and who was un-free, and unable to move home or work or change allegiance, to buy or to sell, without permission.

SMALLHOLDER: [*bordariums*] Middle class of peasant, usually with more land than a cottager, but less than a villager.

SOKEMAN: See FREE MAN.

SULONG: Measurement of land in Kent, usually 2 hides; used in *Domesday* for tax purposes.

SUPERSEDEAS: A writ ordering a stay of proceedings.

TALLAGE: An arbitrary tax on customary tenants living on the ancient demesne belonging to the crown.

TAX: [*Geldum*] Periodic tax, first raised for the Danish wars, at a number of pence per hide, carucate or sulung.

TENANT-IN-CHIEF: [*Dominus*] A lord (or an institution, such as a church) holding land directly from the king; also called the “landholder.”

TERM: One of the four judicial terms of the year for the sitting of the courts; Hilary, Easter, Michaelmas, and Trinity terms.

THANE: [*tainus, teignus*] A nobleman, originally a military companion of the king and later one of his administrative officials. In *Domesday* most thanes were Anglo-Saxons, who had retained some of their land from the Normans. Now known to most people through *Macbeth*, the thane of Cawdor.

THIRD PENNY: The local earl’s share of fines in shire or hundred courts.

TITHE: A tenth of the agricultural produce and live-stock paid to a church for the maintenance of the parish priest.

TRE [*tempora regis Eduardis*] An abbreviation for “In the time of King Edward the Confessor;” by implication when anything in the realm was legally correct and ownership would have been rightfully secured. Also read about land owned on “the day that Edward died.”

UNDER-TENANT: A tenant holding land from a main landholder or tenant-in-chief.

VERDERER: An officer appointed to protect growing trees, shrubs and venison in the forest.

VILL: A township or local community, frequently co-extensive with the parish. Frequently places smaller than a borough, a hamlet.

VILLEIN: A bondsman; a peasant subject to a lord and attached to a manor, but better off than a serf.

VILLAGE: [*villa*] A village; but the same Latin word was sometimes used for a larger village or a town.

VILLAGER: [*villanus*] A member of the peasant class with some land.

VIRGATE: An English term for a quarter of an acre (a peasant tenement), but sometimes as a quarter of a hide or carucate or 30 acres. Used in *Domesday* for tax purposes.

WAPENTAKE: Same as a hundred in the Danish counties of England.

WARD: A minor in the keeping of a guardian; also an obligation to aid in the defense of a castle.

WAR LAND: Land which was liable for tax, in contrast to inland.

WASTE LAND: Land which was either unusable or uncultivated, and in any case not taxed. Although sometimes waste was the result of wars it could also simply mean land not fit for agricultural use.

YOKE: A measurement of land in Kent, a quarter of a sulung. Used in *Domesday* for tax purposes.

[Last revision, 19 December 2005.]