10

Manors and other settlements

DENNIS TURNER

The argument that village creation can frequently be tied to lordship is rehearsed and the point made that the discoveries of archaeologists can illuminate current views of village creation and development. A case has previously been made for a wave of reorganization and plantation in Surrey in the 12th and 13th centuries, accompanied by a growth of regulated open-field agriculture. This move can be linked to the growing power of feudal landlords. The consequent network of rural manors comprised seigneurial estates with a wide range of size, wealth and status but several manorial lords played a leading part in village creation. However, not all estates became manors in the strictest sense and not every manorial lord encouraged village formation. Not all the nucleated villages visible in Surrey's landscape by the 19th century appear to have originated in this way. Since manors varied greatly in size and might be held by persons of vastly differing status and show great tenurial variation, it is not surprising that manor houses also varied greatly in size and function but their study is essential if we are to understand the variations between the manors themselves. Although few buildings in the Surrey countryside survive from the plantation period, a study of later medieval buildings can sometimes shed light on village morphology and the process of village creation. It can also reveal a considerable disparity between such elements as the size and wealth of an estate on the one hand and the social use to which its capital messuage was being put on the other. Topographical, architectural and archaeological evidence can illuminate earlier movements and suggest questions for a research agenda.

Introduction

By the time written records appear in any quantity, there are no firmly fixed relationships between farm, hamlet, village, tithing, parish, manor and even hundred: many of these may be territorially identical to one or more of the others. Even when they appear, the written records never give the complete picture. The explanation of rural development has therefore to be sought not only in the limited documentary record but also in all other available sources, such as the landscape itself, the buildings it contains and archaeological sites, all of which bear the unconscious record of the past.

The origin and development of Surrey's villages are currently being explored through the Surrey Archaeological Society's Village Studies Project and aspects of this were discussed at a conference held by the society in November 2000. At that conference, the chronology of some Surrey village types was discussed and a case made by the writer for a wave of reordering and plantation in the 12th and 13th centuries (Turner 2001). This suggestion was based on morphological and documentary grounds but the dating is supported by archaeological evidence. The present paper attempts to pursue the concept of and motivation for village creation; discusses some of the background to the movement towards settlement nucleation and its continuing development; and proposes topics to be taken into a research agenda for the county. The locations of Surrey villages mentioned in the text are shown in figure 10.1.

The possibility of a wave of nucleation in the 12th and 13th centuries must not be taken to suggest either that all Surrey villages became nucleated at this date or that all nucleated Surrey villages are the result of deliberate creation or reordering. Substantial pagan cemeteries at, for example, Mitcham and Croydon strongly suggest that a settlement large enough to be thought of as a village may have existed at both of these locations before the conversion to Christianity: at Mitcham there are topographical hints for early Saxon development, and similar suggestions are found elsewhere. Comparisons with neighbouring counties – especially Hampshire – suggest that some medieval villages in Surrey may be the result of migration from failed locations but it will clearly be difficult to locate archaeological traces of 5th or 6th century settlement in such a highly occupied county as Surrey.

By the end of the Middle Ages, a number of nucleated Surrey villages were in existence that show traces neither of deliberate planning nor of reordering (Charlwood is a good example: Shelley 2003), and the date at which they became nucleated cannot be hazarded without much further study.

Lordship and village nucleation

Surviving documentary evidence does not become substantial until the later Middle Ages and is inevitably rarely relevant to the question of village nucleation: the medieval village has itself left us virtually no records. The institutions that did produce records – the manor, the Church, and central government – naturally only reveal the village through the eyes of the landlords, the higher clergy and royal officials. A generation ago, scholars could still find this only a minor problem and some believed that the records of the manor reflected the life of the village (eg Raftis 1965) but, subsequently, there have been few prepared to follow that line: indeed, Professor
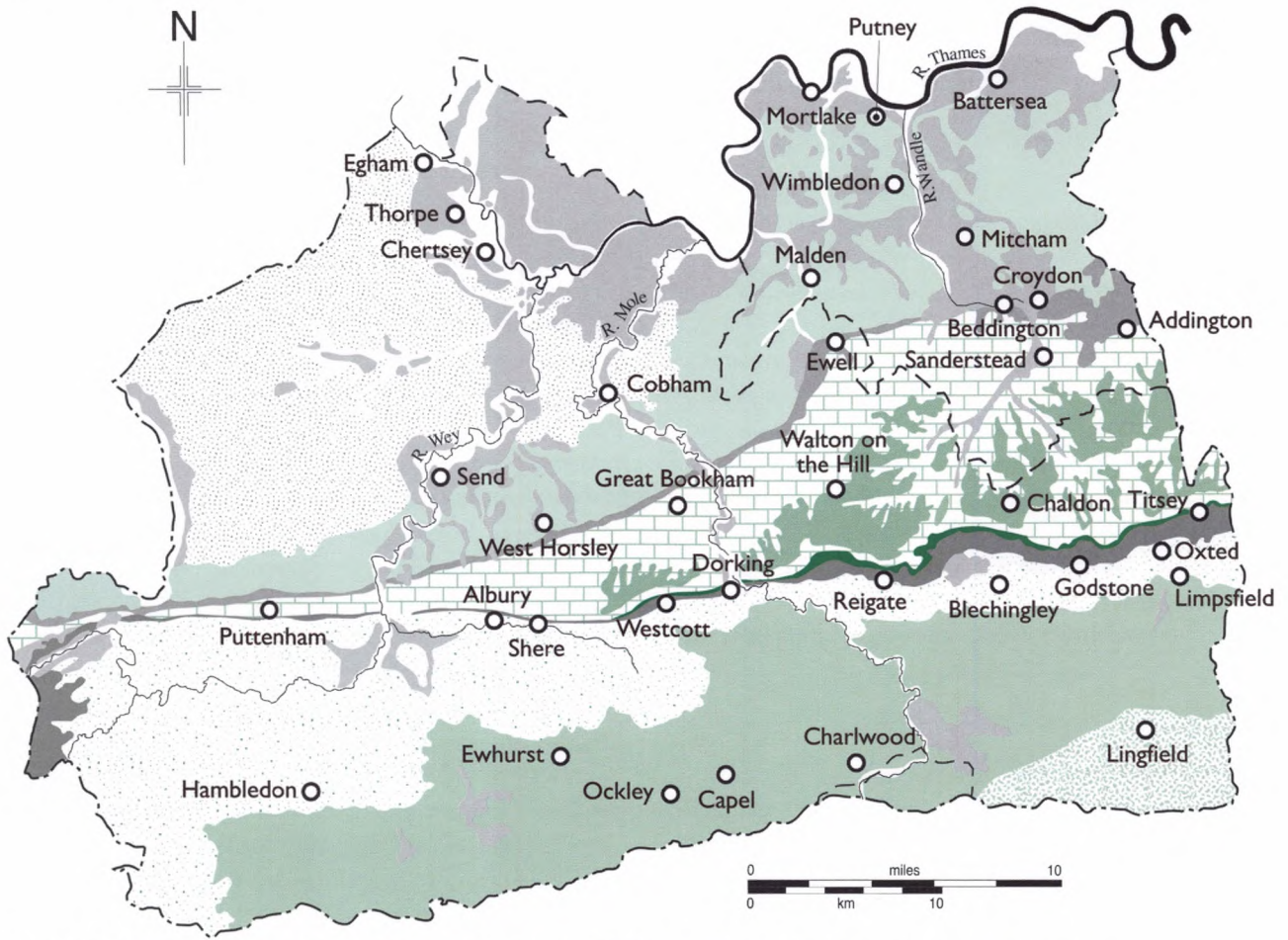
Fig 10.1 Locations of Surrey villages mentioned in the text. For key to geological background see map on page x.

Dyer (1985, 27) called it wishful thinking. The documents have, therefore, to be supplemented by inference and by topographical evidence while the resources of archaeology must be more fully employed.

Although the seeds of much present thinking can actually be seen in century-old writings by Andrews (1892), Maitland (1897) and Vinogradoff (1905), current ideas of village creation owe much to the inspiration of such historical geographers as Peter Sawyer, Della Hook, Chris Dyer, Brian Roberts and Stuart Wrathmell, most of whom sat at the feet of Joan Thirsk.[1] As a result of their work, it is considered today that much village nucleation occurred later than had previously been believed and that it arose as one of several solutions available to meet problems of increasing scarcity. Some of the scholars involved have suggested that the scarcities in question were of arable land and of farm produce in the face of rising population. For a full discussion of possible influences in the East Midlands, the most studied area to date, see Lewis *et al* (1997, esp ch 7).

Population estimates for the Middle Ages are inevitably uncertain and tend to have risen over the years. McKisack (1959, 312–13) estimated England in 1086 was home to between one and a quarter and one and a half million people (cf Poole 1955, 36) and that numbers rose to between two and a half and four

millions just before the plague. It seems generally agreed today among historical demographers that these figures are on the low side: there may have been closer to two million people in England at Domesday and between four and seven million on the eve of the Black Death. Initially this growth created prosperity. Indeed, the most important characteristic of the English economy during the 12th and early 13th centuries was its growth. It has been argued, for example, that the increasing agricultural surpluses and taxes, as well as better central organization by the crown, indirectly financed the building of new stone castles (Hughes 1989, 29). All over southern Britain, the growing wealth also encouraged the creation of new towns (Beresford 1967).

On this basis, we can doubt whether the drive by the agricultural sector to feed increasing population would have caused significant land hunger until some time in the 13th century. The drive to nucleation seems to have begun well before this date and it would seem, therefore, that the need to solve problems of land hunger may not have featured as the prime motivation. A stronger impulse may have been the desire or need to improve returns.

Many recent historians have been concerned to 'strip away the layers of myth and sentiment that have formed around the pre-industrial village' (Dyer 1985, 27) but Dyer warned that the revisionism might have

gone too far and was particularly critical of Campbell (1981) who had seen the landlord rather than the village community as the motive force behind the creation of field systems (cf Dyer 1988). Nevertheless, much writing since then (including some by Dyer himself) seems to point to village nucleation and the creation of organized field systems as two sides of the same coin and to imply, if not actually demand, the active role of the lord in many, possibly in most, cases. Where a degree of regularity is involved (Turner 2001, *passim*), the operation of the land surveyor and the guiding hand of the lord are likely to be present. By the end of the period of nucleation, the nascent profession of land management was beginning to acquire its textbooks (Oschinsky 1971).

Nucleation is related to the integration of land use and settlement and it is no coincidence that the development of regular forms of open field systems often accompanied the creation of a nucleated village: this conjunction is at least inferentially linked to lordship and power. Evidence from central England, where the question has been more intensively studied than elsewhere, has provided dates ranging from the 9th to the 12th century. Recent work in the East Midlands has shown the 10th and 11th centuries to be the most likely period for village formation and agrarian reorganization in that part of the country (Saunders 1990; Lewis *et al* 1997). Similar conclusions have been provided for Somerset by the well-known Shapwick study (Somerset VBRG 1996; Aston & Gerrard 1999).

Thus the current wisdom (eg Roberts & Wrathmell 1998, 2000) has it that, whatever the causes, in the Central Belt – a broad band of 'champion' countryside running roughly from Dorset and Somerset to County Durham – the classic medieval landscape of nucleated villages and well-regulated open fields was not established until several centuries after the first waves of pagan English settlement – waves that were once thought to have brought the nucleated village and regulated fields into England. The view is further widely held today that this landscape was produced as part of a series of manorial changes which had a wide date range and which obliterated earlier landscapes. It is argued that the regular open fields and nucleated villages that dominated Midland England during the Middle Ages were formed at different times in different places between about AD 800 and 1150.

Some holders of this view consider that the landscape of the Central Belt is quite distinct from woodland countryside where irregular open fields, or even enclosed landscapes, were associated with dispersed settlement. This latter combination – termed by Oliver Rackham (1986), developing an idea offered a century ago by Maitland (1897, essay 3, part 1), as 'ancient countryside' – lasted well into the Middle Ages and sometimes into modern times. Much of Surrey falls into this classification. It is

believed that, while the layout of regular open fields and the imposition of settlement nucleation varied in time from place to place, it usually occurred for similar reasons and in a similar way. Where nucleation is itself irregular or organic and not accompanied by anything resembling regular open fields – as at Charlwood in the Weald – factors other than lordship may have been at work and the tenantry may have chosen to nucleate for reasons we cannot hope to understand.

The feudal construction of space

The best archaeological evidence for the reordering of the landscape into nucleated villages and systematized open fields has come from Raunds in Northamptonshire (Cadman 1983; Cadman & Foard 1984; Foard & Pearson 1985; Dix 1987; Saunders 1990; final report in prep). Saunders (1990, 187ff) has used the evidence from Raunds to explore the feudal construction of space at the level of lord/peasant relations in the 9th and 10th centuries and concluded that it emphasized the importance of lordship. The study of lordship is not currently fashionable in local history but is, perhaps, overdue for revival. The usually ill-documented and frequently confusing and irrational-seeming problems of rural lordship in relation to the peasantry are rarely given the attention they deserve (cf Turner 2003).

The feudal mode of production had its material basis in agrarian societies in which the overwhelming majority of the population were engaged in the cultivation of the land, primarily for subsistence but also in order to produce a surplus. This surplus provided rent – service, produce or cash rent – rent that was essential for the system to function. Critically, it is the extraction of this surplus by direct and individual methods that distinguishes feudalism from other agrarian-based models of production (Hindess & Hirst 1975, 183–93).

The feudal framework was thus tied to the land, to space. The historical geographer Robert Dodgshon (1987, 186) encapsulated the argument when he wrote that 'under feudalism, spatial order became socially regulated. Far from being an unintended side effect, this structuring of relations in space [is] part of the very essence of feudalism.'

Once the feudal lord obtained judicial rights to collect the food-rents that may previously have been rendered to the king (Jolliffe 1954, ch 1 etc), his economic power over the peasants became important. The lord was able to invest his resources into rearranging the relationship between himself and his peasantry in his favour (Sawyer 1979). He was able to improve productivity and increase rent by encouraging regulated open-field agriculture based on nucleated villages and, according to the currently favoured model, many lords chose to do so.

Dodgshon again (1987, 192), seemingly with a backward glance at a long-lost 'era of the folk' (Jolliffe 1954, ch. 1):

> For the peasantry, feudal space *became* [my emphasis] bounded space. It was no longer a world of boundless or unlimited opportunities to be colonized when the need arose. For each and all, it was a world delimited by the land assessment imposed on the settlement. In effect, the landscape became divided into a chequerboard on which occupation was legitimised in some spaces but not others.

The evidence available for Surrey field systems is ambiguous (Gray 1915, 356-69; Bailey & Galbraith 1973). Open-field systems in the county seem rather poorly organized and not confined to manors with strong control. Even villages that provide strong suggestions of planned reordering in their morphology do not have strong evidence of highly regulated or regular fields, eg Great Bookham (Parton 1967; Currie 2000, 59-61), Ewell[2] (Bailey & Galbraith 1973, 77-9) and Putney (*ibid* 80-3). A number of villages show clear evidence of reordering or migration consequent on emparkment but, generally, this is post-medieval – for example Titsey and Albury – and not relevant to the creation of villages in medieval times. Earlier emparkment creations – Beddington, West Horsley – are inevitably only dimly visible, if at all, in the documents but may be susceptible to topographical analysis or careful and systematic archaeological research.

The formation of villages

We may expect to find that many if not most lordly village formations were too early to be within the reach of documentary research. The lordly formations of market towns, to which reference has already been made, are well known and attested (Beresford 1967) and seem to be even more strongly related to the lord's desire to maximize income. Some of the earliest of these are at the very limits of documentary inference – Reigate and Blechingley are familiar Surrey examples; the slender documentation for the former has, however, received strong archaeological support (Williams 1983; in prep). Some other Surrey settlements (eg Dorking) included in the society's *Historic towns* volume (O'Connell 1977) seem only doubtfully to have justified the appellation in medieval times and their origins still await adequate study. In the elucidation of the formation of both towns and villages, topographical implications have to be exploited to the full and the assistance of archaeology invoked wherever possible.

One group of Surrey villages that is undoubtedly linked by a strong common lordship and appears to show some of the consequences, are those found on the Chertsey Abbey estates. Excavations have hinted that Chertsey itself became established as a small town in the early 12th century (Poulton 1998b) and John Blair (1991, 58) has pointed out that many villages on the abbey lands from Egham to Great Bookham have sufficient regularity in their plot layouts to imply an act of deliberate planning of the kind usually associated with plantation or reordering. Blair favoured a 14th century date for this process and saw the hand of the energetic and reforming Abbot Rutherwyke at work. Archaeological work in Egham has, however, suggested that the settlement there (two rows of house plots with back lanes) was laid out in the 12th century (Ford 1998; Jackson *et al* 1999, 230) and the present author has argued that the reordering of Chertsey Abbey villages as a whole may be more reasonably dated to the 12th or 13th century than the 14th (Turner 2001, 12).

Recent reappraisal of the documentary and topographical evidence at Cobham, another Chertsey holding, suggests that the core of the settlement at Church Cobham was laid out as a single row in the mid-12th century (Taylor & Turner 2003). The church was built or rebuilt at the same date. The house plots were relatively short: it is possible that the village had a specialist function connected with the river (fig 10.2). The abbot received an arguably contemporary grant of a market at Cobham during the reign of Stephen: it seems likely that this market was at Street Cobham where a characteristic triangular space exists at the heart of the settlement, but there is no suggestion there of any formal house-plot development. The market does not feature in later records and may have been short lived.

Midway between the apparently planned Chertsey Abbey nucleations of Egham and Chertsey itself lies the small village of Thorpe. Recent research by Jill Williams and the Egham-by-Runnymede History Society as part of the Village Studies Project has shown little trace of medieval nucleation at Thorpe: the pattern there appears to have been a polyfocal one of five or more small hamlets (Williams 2002).

The archbishop of Canterbury's village of Mortlake seems in late medieval times to have been similar in topography and layout to Church Cobham: a single-row settlement backed on to the Thames and faced its open fields. A series of excavations here in advance of redevelopment has shown that the medieval archaeology has been greatly truncated by 17th century and later industrial developments and the regularity or otherwise of plot layouts has been obscured. However, clear evidence of early Saxon occupation has been exposed (Gostick *et al* 1997, 53; Gostick & Maloney 1998, 95; Jackson *et al* 1999, 245-6; Howe *et al* 2001, 356; 2002, 275; Darton forthcoming).
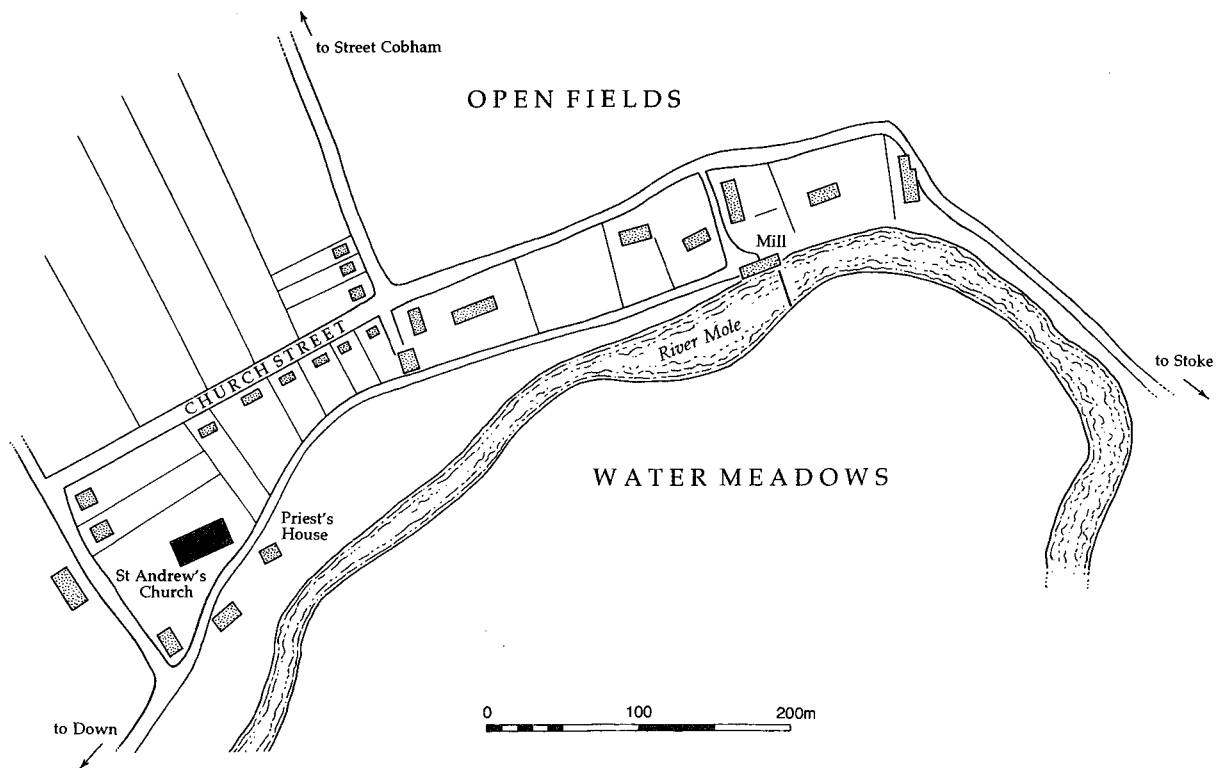
Fig 10.2 Plan of Church Cobham. Drawing by David Williams

One Surrey village whose formation was on the very cusp of documentary inference is that of Shere, recently studied by the Shere, Gomshall and Peaslake Local History Society (Shere 2001; Turner 2001, 11). Few of the buildings in the core of Shere can be dated earlier than the second half of the 15th century and the available documents identify few properties as early as this. Archaeological sampling has produced a surprising lack of medieval pottery sherds – or even of early post-medieval sherds (Shere 2001, vii). But there are strong indications that the buildings and the archaeological samples do not give the full picture.

The manor of Shere Vachery received a market grant in 1309 and this can probably be equated with a market-place immediately west of the much older church. There is the well-known account of early 14th century William the carpenter and his saintly daughter. Personal names that occur in the late 14th century poll tax returns are found attached to property in the village centuries later (Noyes 2001). Without this extra evidence, it might be thought that Shere did not develop into a village before the 15th century but, with it, there can be confidence that there was a village here before the oldest surviving house. Further analysis suggested an early 14th century plantation but with little, if any, contemporary planning.

As can be seen from Shere, not every powerful manorial lord established a village at the earliest possible moment. And not every powerful manorial lord established a village with open fields organized on the Midland pattern.

Room for research

It has already been noted that the best archaeological evidence for the reorganization of the landscape into nucleated villages and systematized open fields has come from Raunds in Northamptonshire. Earlier work at Catholme, Staffordshire, (Losco-Bradley & Wheeler 1984) and earlier still at Maxey, North-amptonshire, (Addeyman 1964) had uncovered evidence for dispersed and fluid settlements which Taylor (1983, 107–24) interpreted as being left behind by the introduction of more stable nucleated villages associated with the ordering of the land-scape for open-field farming. The work at Raunds seemed to provide solid confirmation of Taylor's hypothesis.

The Medieval Settlement Research Group has set up the Whittlewood project to follow up the results from Raunds (Dyer 1999; 2001; Page & Jones 2001). Whittlewood is on the edge of Northamptonshire and it has been critically pointed out (Oosthuizen & James 1999, 17–18) that most of the detailed field-work on which the current model is based has already been carried out in Northamptonshire (Hall 1995) and that fieldwork further away might show that the model is not sustainable over a wider area. However, Raunds is only a firm sample of one and the other Northamptonshire evidence is somewhat circum-stantial and it makes statistical sense to seek a second sample from the same broad area before branching out. At the time of writing (March 2003) the five-year Whittlewood project is just over halfway through and results are promising.

A separate research programme has been initiated by Oosthuizen and James covering four parishes in south-west Cambridgeshire in an attempt to clarify some of the issues. Even though south-west Cambridgeshire is hardly outside the Central Belt, the work immediately challenged the proposition that a clear distinction can be made between open field and woodland landscape (Oosthuizen & James 1999; Oosthuizen & Hesse 2001). This is a finding that most students of the problem in Surrey will certainly find comfortable, possibly even comforting.

It is clear that research is needed further away from the Central Belt if the current paradigm is to be properly tested. Surrey could be an admirable location for such research. The county has a varied landscape and a curious mixture of medieval agricultural traditions that has only been partially studied (eg Gray 1915, 356–69; Parton 1967; Bailey & Galbraith 1973). Both nucleated and dispersed settlements developed within relatively short distances of each other. However, much of the archaeological and topographical evidence retained in what is left of the historic villages and countryside of Surrey is under a severe threat of destruction and the time left for research must be limited.

The research might best be approached via a pilot project across three or four contiguous parishes, as is being done at Whittlewood. The main aims and objectives would be, first, to assess the surviving archaeological and historical resources in order to identify areas of particular interest or potential for more intensive investigation and, secondly, to reconstruct the landscape of the project area during the later Middle Ages, as a necessary precursor to the more difficult task of reconstructing the landscape of the earlier medieval and Roman periods.

Early cartographic evidence would be especially useful and the selection of areas within the county might be influenced by the availability of this. Information from the early maps would need to be transferred to a Geographical Information System (GIS) dedicated to (or available for) the project. Archaeological data, obtained partly from existing sources (such as the county Sites and Monuments Record (SMR) and aerial photographs) and partly from the project's own fieldwork, would be added to the GIS. In addition, paper archives of previous archaeological research would need to be transcribed into the GIS. Following the county council's Historic Landscape Characterisation Project (Bannister & Wills 2001; Bannister in this volume) an appropriate GIS base is in place for the administrative county.

The role of buildings studies

Some may question whether the study of buildings has much to say about the origin of the villages in which they stand: there will always be an expectation that the village is older than the oldest surviving building other than the church and, occasionally, the manor house. However, such studies are currently being given greater precision by the application of dendrochronology and they can greatly refine our understanding of the morphology of the village. As a result, morphological analysis supported by buildings studies can contribute substantially to our investigation of village origins (Shere 2001; Turner 2001; Williams 2002; Abdy in prep).

The study of village buildings can illuminate the physical, social and institutional growth of a village – and set new problems. Internal survey has shown that there are some buildings that were more than just domestic in their initial state, although in few cases is this obvious from their external appearance. In Blechingley, no 1 The Cobbles is a modest medieval building facing the market place and studies have shown this to have been originally not a house but an institutional building of some kind (Gray 1991, 14; 2002, 77). Blechingley had borough status and a possibly institutional building there presents no surprise. But Brook House at Oxted, a seemingly similar structure, is not in a market-place and not even quite in the heart of the village; it is thus harder to explain (Gray 2002, 83; Hughes in this volume). Shere has three buildings, not all of them medieval and none of them in the market-place, which may present similar problems. The attrition rate of similar buildings within village envelopes may have been much higher than that of domestic buildings and the rarity of current survivals may be misleading. The distance from the church of all the examples mentioned would seem to militate against their being 'church houses' (cf Chatwin 1996, 94–7; Wild 2001).

The reverse of this particular coin may be the apparent under-representation of evidence within our surviving medieval village buildings for specialist activities and trades found in the documentary record. Inns, alehouses, tanneries, cloth-working, butchery, and a host of other trades occur frequently in documents but are rarely identified in the surviving medieval buildings (Hughes in this volume). This is clearly an area requiring more research.

Village buildings of possibly administrative function can be paralleled at seigneurial centres, both within and outside villages. The one-time aisled court house or steward's residence at Limpsfield, shown in figure 10.3, is one of the oldest surviving secular structures in the county (Mason 1966; 1969, ch 9; Gray 2002, 81) but has nothing about it to indicate its more than domestic role. There is a late medieval, first-floor courtroom annexed to Send Court farmhouse (Gray 2002, 47) in the church-manor farm hamlet. These buildings clearly had a more than

domestic role within their community but less easily understood are houses like White Hart House in Ewhurst (not really a village until the late 19th century). This timber-framed, medieval building has no known seigneurial role but appears of higher status than other contemporary houses in the vicinity. The upper chamber in one of the two cross wings is itself of higher status than the rest of the building and was apparently provided with a separate entry (Hughes & Higgins 2001; Gray 2002, 90). Its original function remains problematic.

The study of medieval seigneurial and similar buildings in relation to their estates illuminates questions of lordship but equally provides problems (cf Meirion-Jones & Jones 1993; Meirion-Jones *et al* 2002). In the Surrey context, there are a number of particularly puzzling manor houses for which Walton on the Hill and Chaldon can stand as exemplars.

The stone-built manor house at Walton, rare for Surrey, survives in part within the largely late 19th century Walton Manor. The writers of the *VCH Surrey* confidently dated the medieval structure to *c* 1340 but an examination of the published manorial history shows this to be a time of tenancy by a minor under-wardship. This might seem a most unpropitious circumstance for the construction of a major building but the wardship was in the hands of the earl of Surrey. On the other hand, either the dating or the published manorial history could be mistaken.

Timber-framed Chaldon Court (fig 10.4) shows a considerable disparity between such elements as the modest size and wealth of the estate on the one hand and the social uses for which its capital messuage appears to have been designed on the other. Of Chaldon Court, the late Peter Gray wrote (2002, 9):

> Chaldon Court is still quite a large house but in fact represents a three-bay solar block with two further face wings: of the presumed original hall and service end nothing now remains. A solar complex of this size must relate to a house of considerable importance. Nothing similar is known elsewhere in the county.

Gray ascribed Chaldon Court to *c* 1330 but other specialists have suggested a slightly later date in the same century (Rod Wild, pers comm). The estate to which it was attached was a small one and lacked a village to provide support (Turner in prep). The family to which it belonged were not members of the nobility and are not known to have held a position at court but they were landowners in Sussex. Their ancestor had come to England with the Conqueror (presumably from Couvert, near Bayeux) and held four hides and one virgate (of Bramber and Arundel respectively) in Sullington by 1086. By the early 13th century, Bartholemew de Covert was known as 'of Chaldon'. Later in the century, the major part of the family's Sullington sub-infeudation was rated at two knights' fees while land held at Broadbridge Heath large enough to contain a park appears to have been part of this estate. Various other interests in land are visible in the records but cannot be evaluated (Annabelle Hughes, pers comm).

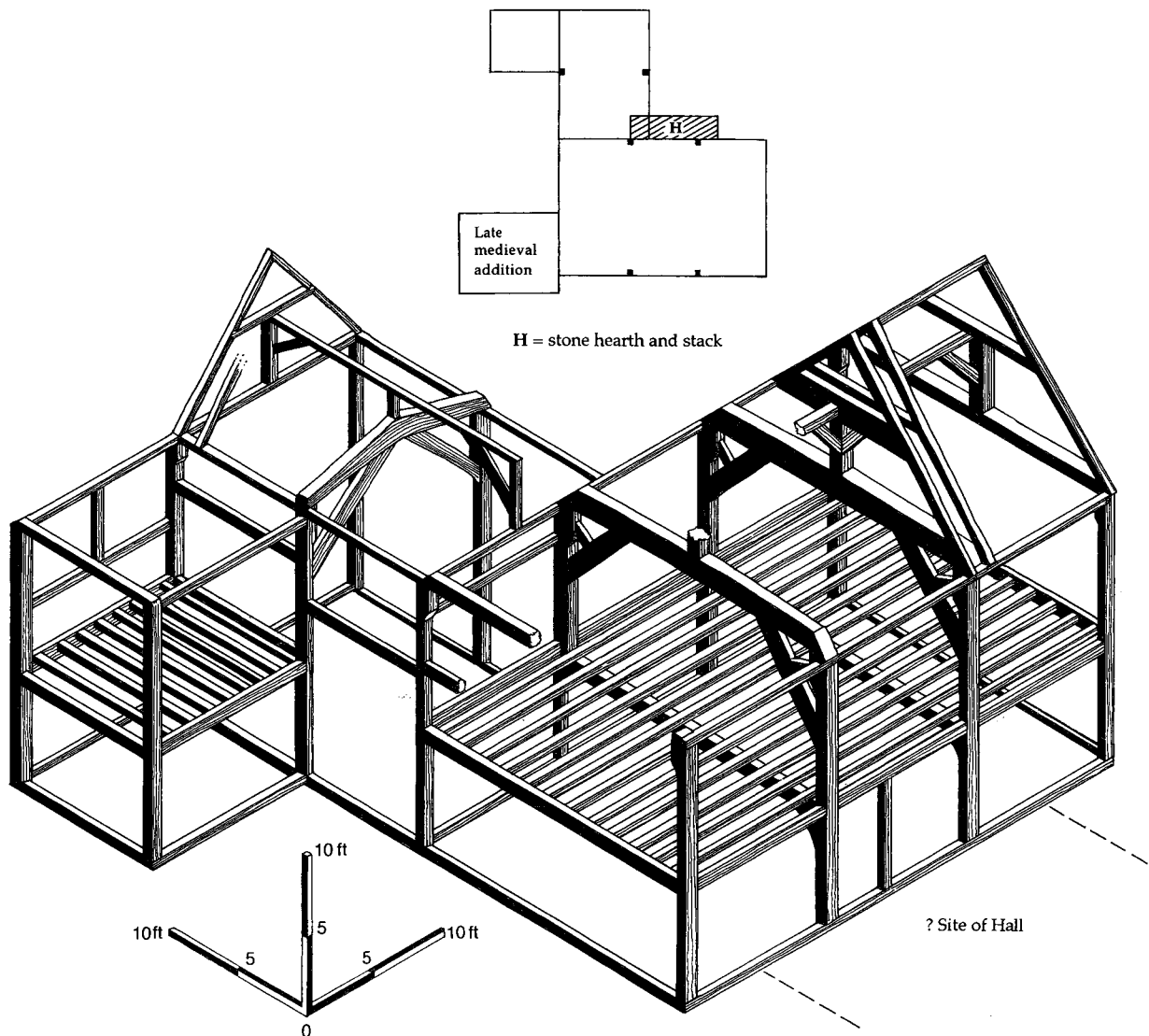Fig 10.3 Old Court Cottage, Limpsfield. Drawing by J Raymer

Fig 10.4 Reconstruction of Chaldon Court. Drawing by David Williams (after Peter Gray)

Studies of standing seigneurial buildings can illuminate earlier movements and suggest questions for a local research agenda. The local research agenda, in turn, will undoubtedly have to pay attention to early peasant buildings and this will be an increasingly pure archaeological matter.

The role of archaeology

Archaeology is too often seen as concerned only with buried evidence. It should, of course, just as frequently be seen as concerned with the surface and with the upstanding. Building studies, particularly vernacular building studies, more often than not employ principles (eg typology and sequence) and thought processes that are central to an archaeological approach. Landscape archaeology is an increasingly appreciated discipline (eg Lewis *et al* 1997; Aston & Gerrard 1999; Taylor 2002). The boundaries are blurred and incapable of definition.

Surviving structures at the seigneurial centre, for example, can be studied archaeologically by the building specialists while the 'dirt' archaeologist can search for traces of the lost elements in the complex and for evidence of predecessors. Former manorial sites without standing buildings or ruins are very much the preserve of the 'dirt' archaeologist who can sometimes achieve spectacular results as, for example, at Hextalls, Blechingley (fig 10.5; Poulton 1998c) and the landscape archaeologist can provide additional context.

Much attention, both nationally and locally, has been devoted to seigneurial and similar settlements but there are still unanswered questions. There are many problems, for example, concerning the status and nature of individual moated sites and about the class as a whole (Aberg 1978; Lewis *et al* 1997, 133–40). There is an uncounted number of half-recognized and possibly manorial earthworks such as Castle Bank at Westcott (Rapson 2002; 2003) and Castle Hill south of Godstone (*VCH*, 4, 284, 380; O'Connell & Poulton 1983), to name only two of the more obvious – these earthworks remain largely unstudied and are often dubiously classified. There are also numerous seigneurial or similar sites and countless peasant sites to which we cannot give grid references. Fieldwork is capable of revealing hitherto
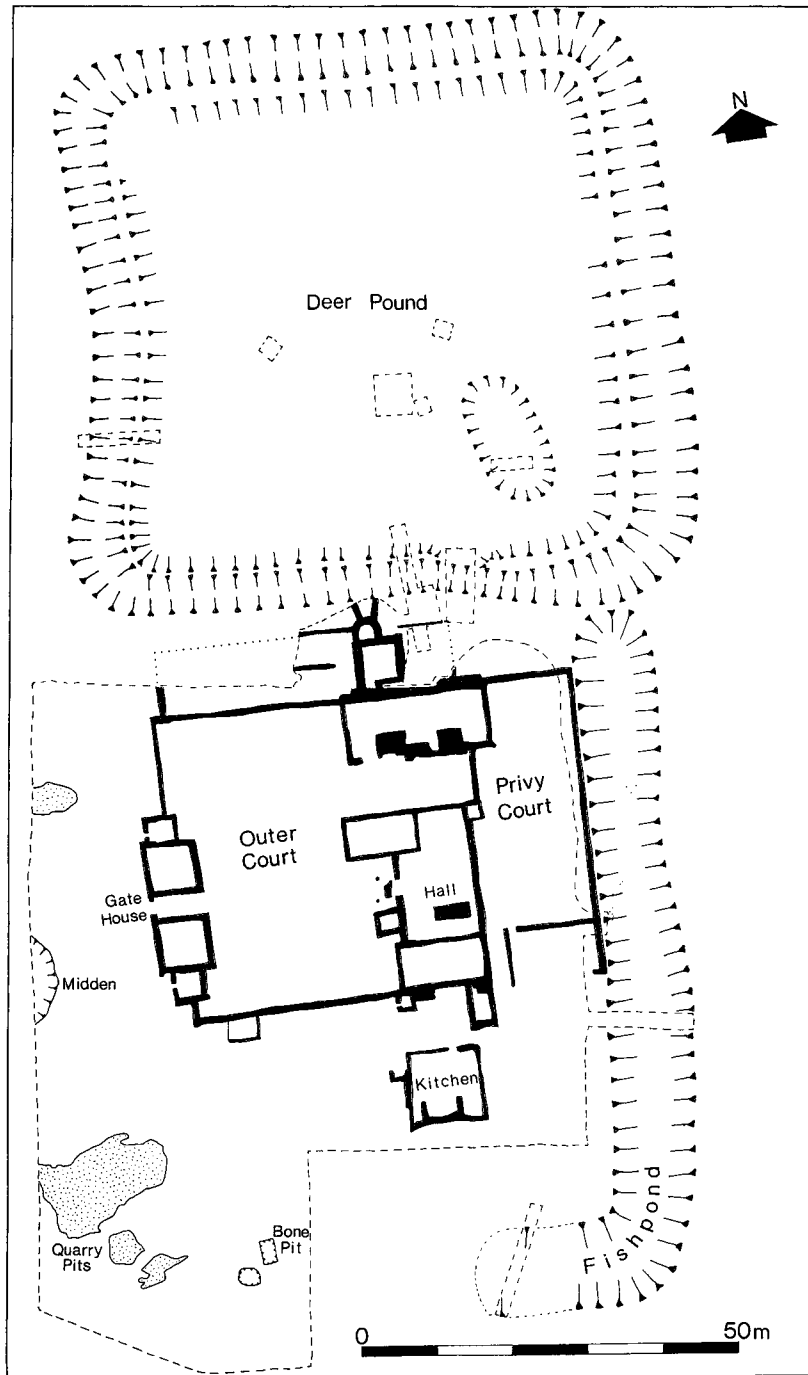
Fig 10.5 Plan of the early Tudor features of the manor of Hextalls. Surrey County Archaeological Unit

unknown sites such as the group of house platforms south-west of Lingfield recently discovered by members of the RH7 Local History Group. Such sites urgently need identification and require examination in any future study of manors and other settlements or of village origins.

Many of the seigneurial or similar sites that can be identified appear isolated in their medieval context, but the appearance may be deceptive – in heavily farmed, overbuilt and infilled Surrey the attrition of minor buildings and other medieval landscape features has inevitably been extremely high and is likely to remain so. However, it should not be forgotten that a manorial centre which lacks a village or part of a village to service it presents a set of chal-

lenging problems that complements those discussed in this essay.

Both seigneurial and peasant sites (taking the terms at their broadest) relate to field systems and boundaries – parochial, manorial and lesser boundaries – which can sometimes be traced on the map or examined on the ground and in the record room to allow the landscape as a whole to be reconstructed at different dates (cf English & Turner in this volume).

In many cases, a study of the documents, buildings and landscape morphology can lead us to construct historical hypotheses, even with regard to such abstract aspects as motivation. Hypotheses regarding sequence can often be readily tested, usually by 'dirt' archaeologists (cf Aston & Gerrard 1999). Those
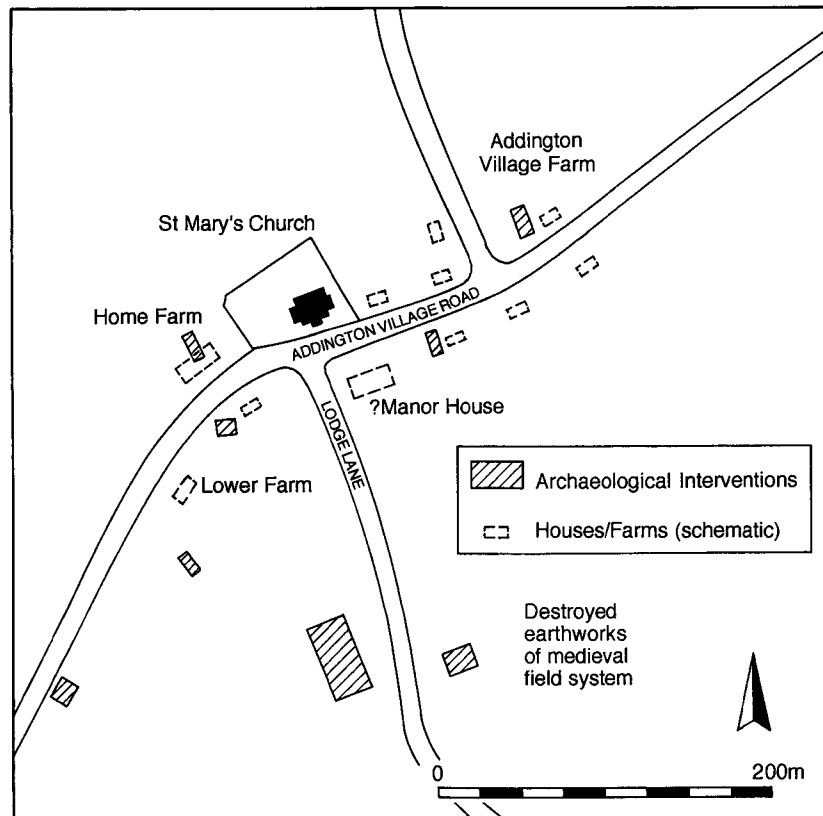
Fig 10.6 Plan of Addington village showing the location of excavations (Thornhill 1975; Thornhill & Savage 1979; Thornhill 1985; Bell 2001; Maloney & Holroyd, 2001). Drawing by David Williams

recently formulated for Shere, Thorpe and Cobham are cases in point. The testing of morphological and chronological hypotheses should have a place in the county's archaeological research agenda. But archaeology can also be used more actively to illuminate questions of lordship and motivation.

Nationally, the archaeological evidence concerning lordship-driven reordering is as yet slight: it has, after all, only been sought in a handful of places. At Raunds, one of the few places where such a search has been made, evidence was found. The archaeological research showed that the landscape of Raunds had been reordered and provided a date for the reorganization in the late 9th or early 10th century. Furthermore, it confirmed that some of the morphological characteristics still visible today were set out during this reorganization.

Whether the lord of the manor encouraged nucleation at an early stage, or left it until later, will remain a difficult question to answer in most cases and it is likely to take a research-based approach to illuminate the problem, as at Raunds. There has been little archaeological work within Surrey village envelopes – work undertaken in administrative Surrey before 1998 has been summarized by Poulton (1998a, 242) – and results have generally been disappointing. Nevertheless, the archaeology, although not research-based, has supported the view that the initial development of many Surrey villages occurred in the 12th or 13th centuries.

Archaeology can also support the view that not all villages were nucleated that early. At Addington (fig 10.6), within the historic county but now in London, the village appears to have been a 'two-row' one lying along the road from Sanderstead to West Wickham and in the late 19th century it was reported (Walford 1884, 130) that 'this place was formerly of much greater extent than at present, and it is related that timbers and other materials of ruined buildings have sometimes been turned up here by the plough'.

A brief view of the ground shows that a number of archaeological opportunities have been missed here as elsewhere, but nevertheless several attempts have been made to recover archaeological evidence – first by local archaeologists (Thornhill 1975; 1985; Thornhill & Savage 1979; Tucker 1992; 1995; Bell 2001, 225–47) and later under the rules of Planning Policy Guidance note 16 (PPG16). As a result a picture has been produced of a settlement that was little more than a church-farm hamlet (possibly with a manor house nearby), retaining this form well into post-medieval times. The most recent excavation in advance of development, an evaluation at Addington Village Farm (fig 10.6; TQ 372 640), produced more secure evidence of medieval occupation – pits and postholes were found above the natural gravel: those that were datable were of 11th to 13th century date (Saunders 2000). However, the claim that they 'suggest that the medieval village may have extended further east than was previously thought' (Maloney &

Holroyd 2001, 73) can be questioned. Unfortunately, the evaluation was not followed up and no further excavation of the development site was undertaken.

Many Surrey villages have, of course, been completely overbuilt and excavations at Battersea (Blackmore & Cowie 2001; Cooke 2001) clearly demonstrate how slender may be the surviving evidence. Work at Mortlake and Egham, already mentioned, Old Malden (Andrews *et al* 2001) and elsewhere has shown that valuable results can be achieved even where circumstances are less than favourable.

The conclusion is that no opportunity should be missed for examination within and around the village envelope. The kind of field techniques necessary to extract the maximum information has been developed at a number of deserted medieval village excavations (eg Austin 1989) and applied successfully in living villages (eg Shapwick and Raunds). Unfortunately, the degree of overbuilding and infilling that has occurred in most Surrey villages will mean surviving medieval features or strata are likely to be rare but even the smallest-scale developer-funded archaeological work may be able to supplement historical and morphological studies.

Evaluation procedures are usually severely limited horizontally and the methodology restricted to the removal mechanically of modern made ground 'until horizons deemed to be of importance' are reached (Tucker 1995, 7). The limitations of such techniques may militate against the discovery of the more fugitive evidence for earlier occupation that could survive on village sites. Few arguments can be based on the absence of evidence from such evaluations. The 'curators' supervising the practitioners of competitive development-based archaeology often seem to feel themselves constrained by the 'small print' of PPG16 against taking note of either the problems or of the opportunities. At the time of writing (March 2003), the combination of PPG15 and PPG16 into PPS15 is in progress and it is possible that this will weaken the hands of 'curators' still further.

If the best is to be obtained from such evaluations within village envelopes or near manorial sites, it is important that the planning administrators and specialists and the field archaeologists concerned consult or inform any groups or individuals undertaking local research. Unfortunately, there have been many cases where this has not occurred, representing at least the possibility of lost opportunities. A minor example from Wimbledon is illustrative and perhaps not untypical. Research into the history of Wimbledon (Milward & Maidment [2000]) had shown that, while the present village centre could be traced back to the 16th century, no evidence was forthcoming concerning the earlier location of the village. There is a suspicion that settlement closer to

the church and manor house may have been forced to migrate when the Elizabethan Wimbledon House was being built. A recent small-scale evaluation behind 25A Wimbledon High Street produced a pit containing a medieval sherd while two other medieval sherds were found nearby (GLAAS 2002, 30). This is far from conclusive but there was no sign in the evaluation brief that attention was paid to the particular local historical problem and there was no attempt to pursue matters further. We are left with no more than the faintest ambiguous hint.

Even if techniques were refined and co-operation improved, in most cases such developer-based excavations would still be too arbitrary to be a substitute for properly conducted research. A properly designed research project is well overdue. Although many Surrey villages have been hopelessly overbuilt, there are a dozen or more from Limpsfield to Thorpe to Puttenham where work on the scale undertaken at Raunds or even Shapwick could still be carried out and a project on these lines is much to be desired. A series of projects centred on villages with different characteristics (including different historic field patterns) would be even more valuable and could form a viable alternative to the wider landscape project proposed earlier in this paper. The archaeological evidence may not survive but it will certainly not be found unless it is looked for. The rate of house-building and other development in Surrey villages is so high that if an opportunity is not taken soon, it will probably be too late – it is already the eleventh hour.

Current work under the society's Village Studies Project should help to identify suitable candidates for such archaeological research. For example, some 'street' (two-row) villages (or two-row elements of villages) may be organic rather than planned developments – Puttenham, Capel, Ockley, Hambledon, for example – and this hypothesis may be susceptible to painstaking archaeological testing. Where migration seems to be involved (Ockley, Oxted, West Horsley) archaeology may be able to demonstrate the date of migration, as has been shown in East Anglia (Wade-Martins 1980).

Towards a research agenda

It is possible to outline some points for a research agenda.

First, there are undoubtedly a number of villages in Surrey where there is still an opportunity to seek archaeological evidence for their origins and this search must be closely coupled to consideration of morphology, adjacent historic field patterns and lordship. The author has elaborated this point elsewhere (Turner 2001).

The search needs to be project based, not just opportunistic, but the advantages of multi-parish projects outlined in the foregoing should not prevent

the pursuit of viable single-parish or village projects. As Francis Pryor (2001, 218), president of the CBA, said in relation to the prehistoric period: 'Sometimes our obsession with conservation is merely conserving our state of ignorance. We need new knowledge if we are properly to understand what it is that we are attempting to protect for posterity.'

Secondly, we need to study the failure to create villages as well as actual creations themselves. A number of Surrey parishes (Ewhurst, Merton) lacked a nucleated village right down to the 19th century (Turner 2001, 4). A study of this will probably require a serious examination of lordship within the county – not just the social aspects of lordship, but the economic aspects as well.[3] Such a project might need, as its foundation, a careful reappraisal of the Surrey Domesday entries on the lines of that undertaken for Wiltshire and Essex by McDonald & Snooks (1986). It will also require the examination of isolated seigneurial and peasant sites.

Thirdly, we must recognize that the work of vernacular building specialists is not only refining

our understanding of the chronology and social gradations of our later medieval houses; it is also uncovering a whole range of structures that we can distinguish but, as yet, hardly interpret. These occur in villages and outside and their relation to the manorial hierarchy is unknown. Some resources need to be devoted to continuing this work – particularly in the areas of dating and interpretation. And this, again, will involve consideration of status as well as of function. As the earliest houses of every status level and the later houses of the humbler levels only survive as below-ground archaeological remains, the bridge will be made to more conventional archaeologists.

Lastly, for now, seigneurial centres, villages and other settlements need to be set in their landscape. We must not stop at the edge of the village envelope or even at the outer edge of its fields. We need to study the relationships between nucleated and dispersed settlements, the tenurial patterns, and the landscape.

NOTES

1 For an excellent summary of the discussions from the time of Andrews, Maitland, *et al*, to that of Latham & Finburg, see Klingelhöfer 1992, 1–15.

2 The regularity of the house plots around the crossroads in the centre of Ewell may be an illusion – cf Shearman 1955, maps page 106.

3 This paper has concentrated on questions of lordship, village creation and agricultural organization but it may be as well to

point out that lordship frequently had a considerable effect on many other aspects of landscape and economic history that have not been fully examined. Elsewhere in this volume Dr Hughes briefly mentions the possibility of links between lordship and variations in vernacular building techniques. The exploitation of mineral resources is another area that may have been affected by lordship. There are many more examples.

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Abbreviations: DBRG: Domestic Buildings Research Group (Surrey); MoLAS: Museum of London Archaeology Service; TVAS: Thames Valley Archaeological Services

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