

A MEDIEVAL WOODLAND MANOR : HANLEY CASTLE,
WORCESTERSHIRE

BY

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1st of 4 files

**The main chapters and the
appendices (page 22 to end)
are in three additional files**

ABSTRACT

A woodland manor in the west of Worcestershire, Hanley was held by the Crown from 1075, and then by wealthy magnates from 1217. The Anglo-Saxon landscape, in spite of considerable woodland, gave scope for the farming communities described in the region in Domesday Book. Hanley not only supported a robust agricultural economy in its prime, supplemented by woodland industries such as pottery manufacture, but it was also, with its castle built by king John, the headquarters of the royal forest and chase of Malvern. The forest covered about one hundred square miles of the Malvern plain from Worcester to Gloucester, although Corse was detached in theory in the early thirteenth century. Hanley's agriculture was based on open fields, along with smaller irregular fields, and crofts held in severalty. Demesne and tenant land was expanded by assarting in the twelfth century, followed by some retrenchment and a gradual decline from the early fourteenth. The assarting led to a new demesne and the growth of settlement in the west of the manor, reinforcing and adding to the pattern of dispersed hamlets, but there was an old nucleus and focal settlement in the east, near the Severn. Here lay the early demesne, the open fields, the markets, the quay, the castle, and the pre-Conquest church. A vigorous land market demonstrated by surviving deeds suggests many confident peasants, some of whom can be seen progressing towards gentry status.

This thesis contains c. 83,000 words

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My overriding debt is to my supervisor, Professor Christopher Dyer, FBA. When I showed him in 1991 my calendar of the Hanley deeds from the Lechmere Collection and the British Library charters, he immediately saw how the study could be extended and developed as a research project, which might attempt to reconstruct the society and economy of the medieval manor of Hanley in the context of the forest and chase of Malvern. Since then he has trustingly guided my researches, with the lightest of reins, and has also shared with me his fieldwork skills and experience. If he has not succeeded in making some sort of medieval historian from a retired classicist, the fault must lie elsewhere.

I have benefited also from meetings over the years of the department's famous Friday Night Seminar, where I tried out the section on the forest and chase, and where Jean Birrell's knowledge of woodland economies has been a welcome encouragement; along with that of Christopher Dyer, it will be seen that her work is prominent in my Bibliography. Others to whom I owe serious academic debts include Professor Rodney Hilton, whose investigations into many aspects of my research field have been a constant stimulus, Dr Margaret Gelling, who generously gave me of her time to discuss the place names of Hanley, and Professor PDA Harvey, whose studies of Cuxham showed that the Hanley project might be feasible and worthwhile.

I am indebted also to the Hereford and Worcester County Archaeological Service, whose staff provided access to the county's Sites and Monuments Record, and especially to Mr Derek Hurst for identifying and discussing pottery finds, and for sharing with me the results of his fieldwork and excavation in Hanley. The staff of the County Record Office, particularly Mr Robin Whittaker at St Helen's, efficiently produced all the documents I needed during many days and weeks spent there, and I am grateful also to the staff at the Public Record Office (Chancery Lane), the British Library, Birmingham Reference Library, Cambridge University Library, and the Record Offices at Warwick, Gloucester, Stafford and Northampton, for making manuscripts available as required.

Sir Berwick Lechmere, whose family deeds deposited at St Helen's constitute a major source for this study, has expressed his interest in the work, and I owe to him also, and to Mr David Agnew of Severn End, the opportunity to examine the Lechmere Stone. Others in Hanley who have assisted my researches include Dr Philip Tufon of Church End, and Mr Antony Hornyold of Blackmore House, a descendant of John Hornyold who purchased the manor from the Crown in 1560.

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CONTENTS

| | <u>Page</u> |
|--|-------------|
| List of Maps | i |
| List of Tables | i |
| List of Figures | ii |
| Abbreviations | iii |
| | |
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 1. Hanley in Outline | 1 |
| 2. Documentary Material and Research Methods and Objectives | 1 |
| 3. Previous Research | 6 |
| (a) Research on Forests | 6 |
| (b) Research on Settlement and Agriculture | 7 |
| (c) Research on Individual Manors/Vills/Parishes in the Woodland and Elsewhere | 9 |
| 4. The Pattern of the Present Study | 11 |
| References to Introduction | 17 |
| | |
| CHAPTER I : HANLEY IN ITS REGION AND ITS EARLY HISTORY | 22 |
| 1. Geology, Soils, Topography and Climate | 22 |
| 2. The Pre-Conquest Evidence | 25 |
| 3. The Domesday Evidence : the Two Entries | 27 |
| 4. Malvern Forest and Chase : the Context for Hanley | 33 |
| (a) The Forest Area in the Pre-Conquest Period | 33 |
| (b) Domesday and the Later Forest | 41 |
| (c) Malvern Chase, from the early Thirteenth Century to its Demise | 54 |
| (d) The Chase of Corse | 62 |
| References to Chapter I | 66 |
| | |
| CHAPTER II : SETTLEMENT AND POPULATION | 81 |
| 1. Settlement History and Communications | 81 |
| 2. Individual Settlements | 83 |
| (a) Church End, Boothall, Quay Lane, and the Markets | 83 |
| (b) Burley | 90 |
| (c) The Rhydd | 91 |
| (d) Severn End | 92 |
| (e) Horton | 93 |
| (f) Blackmore End and Blackmore End Street : Settlement and New Demesne | 94 |
| (g) Aylers End and Aylers End Street | 99 |
| (h) Roberts End, Roberts End Street, and Forthey | 103 |
| (i) Picken End and Picken End Street | 108 |
| (k) Gilberts End and Gilberts End Street | 110 |
| (l) Northend, Northend Green and Southend | 111 |
| (m) Other Possible Settlements | 115 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| 3. The Chronology of Settlement in Hanley : a Schematic Plan | 115 |
| 4. Population | 117 |
| References to Chapter II | 122 |

CHAPTER III : ECONOMY AND SOCIETY 133

| | |
|--|-----|
| 1. The Descent of the Manor | 133 |
| 2. The Demesne Economy | 137 |
| (a) The Demesne Resources | 137 |
| (b) The Early Economy | 139 |
| (c) The <u>Curia</u> and the Garden | 140 |
| (d) Demesne Arable | 142 |
| (e) Demesne Pasture | 149 |
| (f) Demesne Meadow | 151 |
| (g) The <u>famuli</u> | 153 |
| (h) Rents and Services | 155 |
| (j) The Manorial Mill | 158 |
| (k) The Parks and the Demesne Wood | 162 |
| (i) Hanley Park and the Lord's Fishponds | 162 |
| (ii) Blackmore Park | 167 |
| (iii) Cliffey Wood | 169 |
| (l) The Courts | 171 |
| (m) The Manorial Economy in the Late Fifteenth Century | 174 |
| 3. The Economy of the Tenants | 177 |
| (a) Villein or Free? | 177 |
| (b) Tenant Land | 178 |
| (c) Rents and Services | 180 |
| (d) The Land Market | 181 |
| (e) Ancient Demesne | 184 |
| (f) The IPM Jurors | 186 |
| (g) Two Significant Families : the Hanleys and the Lechmeres | 190 |
| (h) Tenant Industries : the Potters and Others | 199 |
| References to Chapter III | 204 |

CHAPTER IV : SOME ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FOCUSES 220

| | |
|---|-----|
| 1. The Castle | 220 |
| (a) The Site | 220 |
| (b) The Early Stages, and King John's Castle or Hunting Lodge in the Thirteenth Century | 220 |
| (c) The Castle in the Fourteenth Century : from Military Defences to Peaceful Times | 221 |
| (d) The Castle in the Fifteenth Century : a Fortified Seigneurial Dwelling - and its Demise | 226 |
| 2. The Church, the Chantries and the School | 231 |
| (a) The Early History of the Church and the Lechmere Stone | 231 |
| (b) The Rectory and Advowson | 235 |
| (c) The Vicarage | 236 |
| (d) Chantries and Chapels | 237 |
| (e) The School | 240 |
| (f) Vicars of Hanley | 242 |
| (g) The Hanley Missal and the Influence of Lire | 244 |
| CONCLUSION | 245 |
| References to Chapter IV | 247 |

| | |
|--|---------|
| Appendix I : Arable Field and Land Names to 1550 | 261 |
| Appendix II : The Descent of the Manor | 264 |
| Appendix III : Kings and Lords at Hanley | 266 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 268 |
| I Manuscript Sources | 268 |
| II Primary Printed Sources | 272 |
| III Secondary Works | 275 |
| 1. Books (including theses) | 275 |
| 2. Articles | 280 |

List of Maps

| | |
|--|-----|
| Map Intro 1 : Location Map | 2 |
| Map Intro 2 : Bounds of the Manor and Parish | 3 |
| Map I.1 : Main Features of Hanley, with Relief, Soils, Land Use and Settlement Areas | 23 |
| Map I.2 : Features of Anglo-Saxon Boundary Clauses | 26 |
| Map I.3 : The Forest of Malvern and the Chases of Malvern and Corse | 34 |
| Map II.1 : Settlement and Communications | 82 |
| Map II.2 : Church End, Boothall and the Markets | 85 |
| Map II.3 : Blackmore End, Aylers End (north) and the Rhydd | 95 |
| Map II.4 : Aylers End and Aylers End Street (south) | 100 |
| Map II.5 : Roberts End and Picken End Street (north) | 104 |
| Map II.6 : Gilberts End Street, Picken End Street (south), and the Park | 109 |
| Map II.7 : Northend and Southend | 112 |
| Map II.8 : Buildings Datable to the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries | 114 |
| Map III.1 : The <u>Curia</u> in its Context | 141 |
| Map III.2 : Arable Fields and Meadow in the East of the Manor | 147 |
| Map III.3 : Hanley Park - (a) in 1545; (b) Assignment of Dower 1416 | 163 |
| Map III.4 : Blackmore Park in 1545 | 168 |
| Map III.5 : Pottery Scatters and Places Mentioned in the Text | 200 |

List of Tables

| | |
|--|-----|
| Table I.1 : Geology, Soils and Land Use | 24 |
| Table I.2 : Domesday Entries for Hanley | 28 |
| Table I.3 : The Forest in Domesday Book : Recorded Woodland | 42 |
| Table I.4 : Parts of the Forest not Given as Afforested in Domesday Book : Recorded Woodland | 45 |
| Table I.5 : Selected Domesday Book Statistics of the Forest Area | 46 |
| Table II.1 : The Limited Evidence for Population | 120 |
| Table III.1 : Demesne Arable 1307-1416 | 144 |
| Table III.2 : Management of the Demesne Arable 1326-7 | 146 |
| Table III.3 : Distribution and Location of Known Demesne Arable | 149 |
| Table III.4 : Demesne Pasture 1326-7 | 150 |
| Table III.5 : Demesne Meadow 1326-7 | 151 |
| Table III.6 : Demesne Hay 1326-7 and 1479-80 | 152 |
| Table III.7 : Payments to <u>famuli</u> , early Fourteenth Century | 154 |
| Table III.8 : Value of Rents and Services | 155 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Table III.9 : Labour Services 1326-7 | 156 |
| Table III.10 : The Chronology of Mills in Hanley | 158 |
| Table III.11 : Cost of the Mill in the Late Fifteenth Century | 160 |
| Table III.12 : Examples of Court Patterns and Revenues | 172 |
| Table III.13 : Minister's Account for 1479-80 | 175 |
| Table III.14 : Repairs Claimed in Late Fifteenth Century Accounts | 176 |
| Table III.15 : Services of William Whitemar 1307 | 181 |
| Table III.16 : Jurors between 1296 and 1391 | 187 |
| Table III.17 : Chief Foresters and Lords of Hanley Hall Manor | 192 |
| Table III.18 : Demesne Land of Hall Manor | 192 |
| Table III.19 : Genealogy of the Medieval Lechmeres | 197 |
| Table IV.1 : Incumbents of Hanley to 1550 | 243 |

List of Figures

| | |
|---|-----|
| Figure II.1 : Air Photograph of the South East of the Manor, showing the castle and Church End | 89 |
| Figure II.2 : Schematic Plan of Tenements with Neighbours in Roberts End Street and Picken End Street (north) | 106 |
| Figure II.3 : Schematic Plan of Land Use and Settlement to the End of the Thirteenth Century | 116 |
| Figure II.4 : Air Photograph of the North East of the Manor, showing Cliffey Wood, parts of Severn Meadow, and the Arable East of Pool Brook | 121 |
| Figure IV.1 : The Castle in the Fifteenth Century | 227 |
| Figure IV.2 : The Lechmere Stone | 232 |
| Figure IV.3 : Plan of the Church | 234 |

ABBREVIATIONS (Printed Works in Italics, here and throughout)

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>Abbrev Plac</i> | <i>Abbreviatio Placitorum</i> (Rec Comm) |
| <i>Abbrev Rot Orig</i> | <i>Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium</i> (Rec Comm) |
| <i>Agr Hist R</i> | <i>Agricultural History Review</i> |
| <i>Ann Mon</i> | <i>Annales Monastici</i> (Rolls Series) |
| <i>Arch J</i> | <i>Archaeological Journal</i> |
| <i>BAR</i> | <i>British Archaeological Reports</i> |
| <i>Trans Birmingham & Warks Arch Soc</i> | <i>Transactions of the Birmingham & Warwickshire Archaeological Society</i> |
| <i>BL Add Ch</i> | British Library Additional Charters |
| <i>Trans Bristol & Gloucs Arch Soc</i> | <i>Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society</i> |
| <i>J British Arch Assoc</i> | <i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i> |
| <i>Cal Close</i> | <i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i> |
| <i>Cal Lib</i> | <i>Calendar of Liberate Rolls</i> |
| <i>Cal Inq Misc</i> | <i>Calendar of Inquisitions, Miscellaneous</i> |
| <i>Cal IPM</i> | <i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</i> |
| <i>Cal Pat</i> | <i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i> |
| <i>Cal SP Dom</i> | <i>Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)</i> |
| <i>CUL</i> | Cambridge University Library |
| <i>J Econ Hist</i> | <i>Journal of Economic History</i> |
| <i>Econ Hist R</i> | <i>Economic History Review</i> |
| <i>GEC</i> | GE Cokayne, <i>The Complete Peerage</i> |
| <i>J Hist Geog</i> | <i>Journal of Historical Geography</i> |
| <i>HWCRO</i> | Hereford & Worcester County Record Office |
| <i>HWCM</i> | Hereford & Worcester County Sites and Monuments Record |
| <i>L (followed by a number)</i> | a document from the Lechmere Collection : see Bibliography I |
| <i>L & P</i> | <i>Letters and Papers</i> |
| <i>Med Arch</i> | <i>Journal of the Society for Medieval Archaeology</i> |
| <i>PR Soc</i> | Pipe Roll Society |
| <i>PRO</i> | Public Record Office |
| <i>RBE</i> | <i>Red Book of the Exchequer</i> (Rolls Series) |
| <i>Rec Comm</i> | Record Commission |
| <i>Rot Hund</i> | <i>Rotuli Hundredorum</i> (Rec Comm) |
| <i>Rot de Lib</i> | <i>Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis, etc</i> (Rec Comm) |
| <i>Rot Litt Claus</i> | <i>Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum</i> (Rec Comm) |
| <i>Rot Litt Pat</i> | <i>Rotuli Litterarum Patentium</i> (Rec Comm) |

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>Rot de Obl et Fin</i> | <i>Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus (Rec Comm)</i> |
| <i>Trans R Hist Soc</i> | <i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i> |
| <i>Univ Birmingham Hist J</i> | <i>University of Birmingham Historical Journal</i> |
| <i>VCH</i> | <i>Victoria County History</i> |
| <i>Trans Worcs Arch Soc</i> | <i>Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society</i> |
| WHS | Worcestershire Historical Society |

Note : All references to Worcestershire and Herefordshire throughout the thesis are to the pre-1974 separate counties

INTRODUCTION

1. HANLEY IN OUTLINE

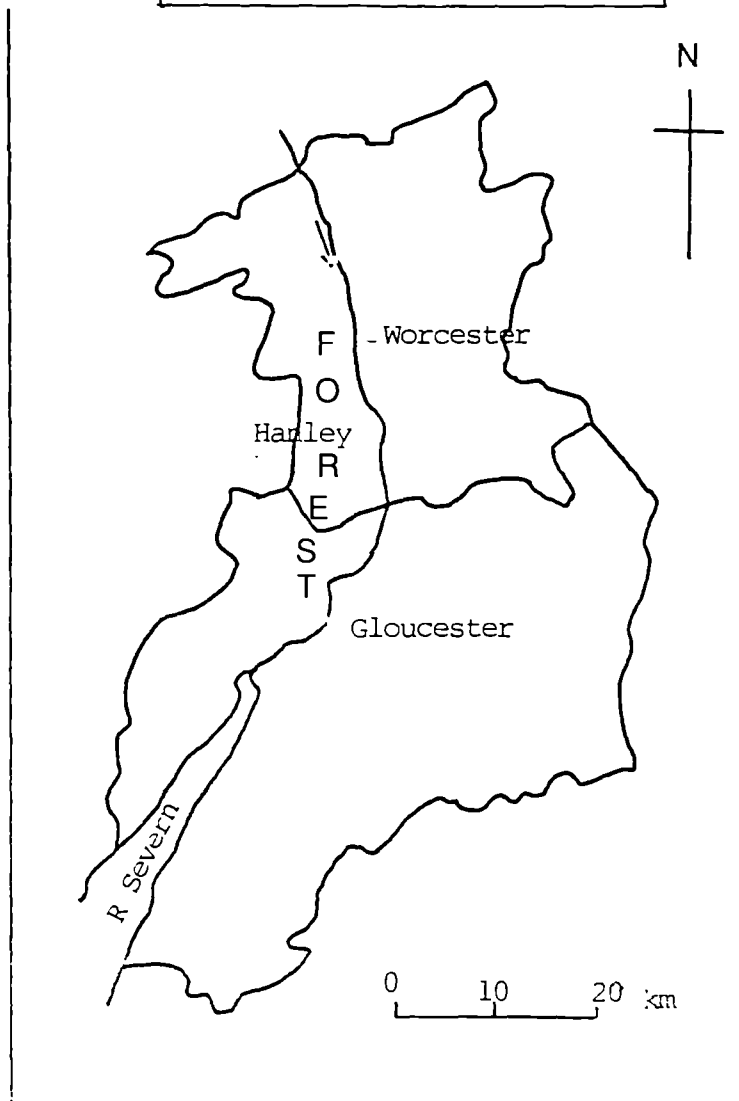
The parish and village now called Hanley Castle was the pre-Conquest estate and the largely coterminous medieval manor, parish and vill of Hanley. "Castle" was added to the village name in the early sixteenth century (e.g. BL Add Ch 41391, dated 1520), and although "Potters Hanley" occurs at times (e.g. L242, dated 1542) and "Hanley Spencer" is seen once (L165, dated 1501), the name Hanley Castle endured. But for the purposes of this study the simple name Hanley will be used, which was its true medieval name, although naturally there were many spelling variants; and there was confusion with other Hanleys and Henleys, raising even the possibility of linking Walter de Henley with this manor¹.

Hanley lies towards the south of Worcestershire, on the west bank of the Severn; it is bounded by Powick on the north, Upton and Welland on the south, the Malvern hills on the west, and the river Severn on the east (Maps I.1 and I.3 and INTRO 1 & 2). There was a total area in the medieval period of about nine square miles (c. 6,000 acres or 2,400 hectares), but this was reduced in the late nineteenth century when the parish of Malvern Wells was formed². The solid geology is mainly Mercian Mudstone, which is overlain by alluvium and drift, but in the west the igneous rocks of the Malvern hills predominate (Table I.1).

This study is an attempt to reconstruct the landscape, the history, the economy and the society of the medieval manor to about 1550. There is evidence of pre-Conquest settlement in Hanley, as in much of the Malvern plain, so that the plain at large will need to be examined as a context for Hanley. Settlement in Hanley was based on agriculture and some industry, in a woodland environment; the hagas of the Anglo-Saxon charters were precursors of the afforestation recorded in Domesday Book. Hanley was the caput of Malvern forest, which with the manor remained in royal hands until the early thirteenth century. Thereafter both manor and chase belonged to the magnate families of de Clare, Despenser and Warwick, until they escheated to the Crown in the late fifteenth century. In 1560 the Crown sold the manor to John Hornyold; the chase, which the Crown retained, was disafforested in the early seventeenth century. The remaining commons and unenclosed land were the subject of Parliamentary Enclosure Acts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The castle, built by king John at the beginning of the thirteenth century, probably on a previously fortified site, saw military action in the time of Edward II, but was used largely as a hunting lodge, a lord's residence and a dower house, until it fell out of use in the early sixteenth century. The church was a pre-Conquest foundation, although not recorded in Domesday Book, and was a possession of Lire abbey in Normandy from c. 1070 to 1414.

2. DOCUMENTARY MATERIAL, AND RESEARCH METHODS AND OBJECTIVES

The starting point for this study of Hanley was a collection of over 4,000 deeds and other documents deposited in the Hereford and Worcester County Record Office by the Lechmere



family in the mid-twentieth century. Of these about 250 deeds date from pre-1550, and many of the later deeds throw light on the earlier period. Being largely title deeds, they record the progress of the Lechmeres, a family long established in Hanley and still prominent today; at the same time they inevitably illustrate the activities of some other Hanley families, and they have something to tell us about land use in the manor. They are supplemented by 54 Additional Charters in the British Library, and by deeds from other sources which have Hanley references. The earliest Hanley deed is dateable to c. 1200, but relevant charters of the earls of Gloucester survive from the mid-twelfth century³.

The medieval deeds were calendared at an early stage in the research, with indexes for place names, field names (at least 340) and personal names, and notes on the seals where they survived. The calendar itself follows guidelines for archive research laid down by RF Hunnisett, an Assistant Keeper of Public Records, and is informed also by the work of PR Coss on the Langley cartulary⁴. By themselves however such deeds and associated family documents could only describe Hanley on a limited level; they could not inform, except obliquely, such research topics as the social and political history of the forest, the place of Hanley in the forest, the use of woodland, the nature and chronology of settlement and the progress and development of arable farming in a woodland manor, the character and management of the demesne, its attitude to rents and services, the significance of the pottery industry, and the roles of the castle and the church. For the forest and chase, the Hornyold deposit at Worcester contains an important series of documents which illuminate its history, but unfortunately most of the other Hornyold muniments, which included court rolls from 1488 to the eighteenth century, have not survived⁵. Other material at Worcester is to be found in the Berington, Dineley, Holland-Martin, Palfrey and (on microfilm) Prattinton collections; this covers various topics, which will be dealt with in their place. The Hanley Castle parish deposit contains the parish registers and the vicarage terriers, while the Church Commissioners' deposit includes leases of the rectory. The bishops' registers are also held at Worcester, many of them unpublished, and the originals were examined as necessary. Among later documents consulted was the Hanley Enclosure Award and Map; although this is not a tithe map in the usual detailed sense, it says something about the state of agriculture at the end of the eighteenth century, showing field boundaries, distinguishing arable and pasture, and containing some (mainly late) field names. The notes from which the descriptions of individual parishes were compiled for the Worcestershire *VCH* have been deposited in the County Record Office, and the parcels labelled Hanley, Malvern Forest and Chase, Little Malvern and Great Malvern have been consulted; researchers had combed PRO manuscripts and some printed sources, and there are fragments of information relevant to Hanley which had not been used by the *VCH* writers. The *VCH* article on Hanley has naturally been a starting point for some aspects of the research, and the local studies work of BS Smith and P Hurle will be referred to; the former usefully brings together information about the chase, while the strength of the latter is the prominence given to people.

Some of the research questions can be addressed by a study of two early fourteenth century accounts and a series of accounts from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, preserved in the Public Record Office, and there is a single court roll, for manor and chase courts in 1367, at Worcester. The duke of York's household account, for his nine month stay at the castle when it was in Crown hands in 1409-10, is preserved at Northampton; this casts some light on the economy of the castle and the vill, and is a welcome and unusual additional source. Another unusual source, on a smaller scale, is a list of estreats of five courts held in 1478-9. Published editions of the Anglo-Saxon charters, Domesday Book and the Pipe Rolls have been relied on, but other documents, including Subsidy Rolls and some Inquisitions post Mortem already in print, have been either re-examined, or transcribed or abstracted for the first time. Apart from Worcester and the major repositories already mentioned, documents have been consulted and abstracted in various county record offices, in Birmingham Reference Library, and (the Hanley Missal) in Cambridge University Library⁶.

The relative value of the various parts of the documentary evidence will be seen in the chapters below, but one or two general points might be made here. Firstly, the lack of court rolls constitutes an enormous gap and deprives us of a proper understanding of the tenant economy and society. While deeds tell us about free land, court rolls would be expected to show how the customary land was managed, what part the community played in regulating the use of land and in other aspects of the vill, and in general how the community comported itself. Secondly, while the IPMs have their important uses, it must be remembered that the accompanying extents view the economy from the vantage point of the lord and the demesne, as of course do the accounts. Thirdly, in respect of Hanley, the muniments of the de Clares and Despencers have not survived, and there is very little in the Warwick archives; we must therefore be all the more grateful for the partial survival of records kept by the Crown when for one reason or another the estates of these magnates were in Crown hands⁷.

To provide a fuller description of the medieval manor, documentary evidence has had to be supplemented by fieldwork. Fortunately, settlement in Hanley has spread very little since the medieval period, and indeed in some parts has shrunk or disappeared, so that with the assistance of a good network of footpaths it is possible to gain a reasonably secure knowledge of the landscape; at the same time it must not be forgotten that roads and streams may have been deliberately straightened or diverted, and that the river itself in its meandering has eroded or built up its banks, so that the medieval quay for example now lies towards midstream⁸. The castle site can with permission be walked over, although there is little to be seen apart from a section of the lower courses of the curtain wall on the south; but the medieval arrangements for the mills, with their leats and ponds, can still be deciphered. Sections of the boundaries of the parks can be identified and the *curia* can be located, all of course with the support of documentary evidence. The open fields, with patches of (undateable) ridge and furrow, are still visible, and although they are split up into smaller areas in some parts, the large expanses favoured by modern agriculture

are evocative in a way of the medieval period⁹. House platforms can be seen here and there, and ploughing in the old crofts in the "Ends" regularly turns up scatters of medieval sherds; assemblages gathered during the current research have been dated by JD Hurst, and in general the dating supports the documentary evidence for occupation. The results of detailed fieldwalking and a kiln excavation under Mr Hurst's direction in recent years are incorporated in the paragraphs and notes on tenant industries in Chapter III below. Pottery finds are recorded in the Sites and Monuments Record of the Hereford and Worcester County Archaeological Service; this SMR also lists noteworthy buildings, and these along with additional early buildings in Hanley are discussed passim below, and specifically in Chapter II.

Research for this study was supported by twenty one days of fieldwork in Hanley. The Ordnance Survey 1:2500 maps were of general value, while all information was entered on the 6" sheets of the 1885 edition. The 25" sheets of the 1928 edition were used for work on specific areas, especially the castle, the parks and Church End. Twenty five vertical and eighty four oblique air photographs of Hanley were examined in the National Library of Air Photographs at RCHM, Swindon; some ridge and furrow not visible on the ground could be plotted from these, along with such features as the metalled track from Church End to the castle, and the windmill mounds¹⁰. The Cambridge University collection of air photographs, which unlike the others came from sorties flown specifically for archaeological and other academic purposes, included coverage of the putative Iron Age/Romano-British enclosure and fields, discussed below ¹¹.

3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

(a) Research on Forests

Since it was essential to see Hanley in the framework of the forest and chase, it was vital to gain a general understanding of the history and role of forests, both nationally and regionally. GJ Turner's work of almost a century ago, with close reference to the Eyre Rolls, Inquisitions and Perambulations, and with an analysis of the forest charter of 1217, laid the foundations of modern study¹². His chapter on "The Chase, the Park and the Warren" is useful for Malvern as a chase, which in fact he adduces as an example of the rather less severe regime in chases compared with forests; but the evidence from Malvern, which is discussed in Chapter I below, might in some measure contradict that view. Turner was followed by ML Bazeley who from her wide knowledge, although Dean was her speciality, emphasised the variety of laws in different forests, albeit related to a common core and springing from a common rationale¹³. It was this variety which made it imperative to have laws written if possible, as apparently they were for Malvern in the thirteenth century. Although it was by then strictly a chase, the laws for a forest, mutatis mutandis, seem to have been employed.

Early in the twentieth century C Petit-Dutaillis postulated Norman origins for the forest principle, insisting that the forest in England was not the simple successor of an Anglo-Saxon hunting ground (such as the hagas of Hanley might have been), but quite a different concept. It

was in effect the Carolingian forest, adopted by the dukes of Normandy and so translated to England, and it would present economic as well as hunting opportunities¹⁴. Domesday Book tends to confirm this for Hanley, with the appointment of specialist foresters who would control identifiable afforested areas, more extensive than the old hagas but no doubt including them. HA Cronne is another historian who has contributed to wider forest studies¹⁵. In viewing the English forest very soon after the Conquest, in the reign of Henry I, he had to extrapolate to a degree from later documents, a practice which has also been necessary in the present study of Malvern. It should be said however that Cronne's picture of Malvern forest, "so overgrown with wood as to be an unsatisfactory game reserve", is based on a misunderstanding of William of Malmesbury, as will appear from Chapter I below. CR Young's more recent survey of the royal forests is a useful overview, but the fact that it does not mention Malvern at all highlights the gap in forest studies which has to be filled¹⁶.

O Rackham's interests tend to lie in the practicalities of forests and the economic management of their woodland, and the impact of afforestation on people: his work has been invaluable in understanding Malvern¹⁷. Equally helpful, and with lively emphasis on the human and animal inhabitants of the forest, has been the work of JR Birrell¹⁸. Both these writers have also dealt with individual forests, in Hatfield and Needwood respectively, and other single studies are those of J West on Feckenham, ML Bazeley on Dean, and B Schumer on Wychwood¹⁹. The understanding of forests on a regional basis has been enhanced by RH Hilton's work on the society of the west Midlands, by that of LM Cantor and JR Birrell on several Staffordshire forests, and of JM Steane on Northamptonshire²⁰.

(b) Research on Settlement and Agriculture

Studies of individual manors will be discussed below. Research on **settlement** at large has created a huge bibliography in the last twenty or so years, and dispersed settlement has received increasing attention. There has been a retreat from the view that a settlement which was some sort of nucleus sent out hamlets in colonising fashion, and an appreciation instead that settlements of all kinds and sizes were established often in fluid situations for a variety of reasons, and at times grew or shrank independently; thus a given hamlet might well be earlier in date and different in purpose and history from a related more significant settlement, which eventually might in turn develop it further. It is now appreciated also that dispersed settlement of the kind seen in a woodland environment, with its buoyant hamlets enjoying their own field systems alongside numerous small fields and crofts either subdivided or held in severalty, and yet dependent for major services on the main settlement of the manor or township, is an authentic settlement tradition. One of the aims of the Hanley research was to see to what extent this obtained there, so that the development of the western "Ends" needed to be scrutinised as closely as possible.

Many scholars have worked on settlement, and the two main strands of recent research are perhaps best represented by BK Roberts, who has concentrated on the mechanics and morphology

of settlement, and CC Dyer, who looks at the reasons for settlement and the human and communal aspects, and whose work is informed by the results of his own and others' research, both documentary and archaeological, into deserted medieval villages; thus questions are asked about the origins and development of settlement and the reasons for re-planning, shifting, expansion and shrinkage²¹. The classical nucleated settlement of, for example, the Warwickshire Feldon, with its two equally divided fields, its regular fallow for grazing and its communal organisation, is contrasted by agricultural historians with the more relaxed "woodland" system described above, but as Hanley will show it would be a mistake to imagine that they are mutually exclusive. Over-classification of settlement into categories such as polyfocal, agglomerated, nucleated, dispersed and linear may lose sight of the fact that settlement in fact arises from the needs of people, especially agriculturalists, who may do a little planning but will by and large let things happen, by so-called organic change, until perhaps they find the community or the manorial management pressing for development or redevelopment. Precisely because of these pressures, however, settlements do have certain elements in common, and such "plan elements" are seen at Hanley, in the shape of areas of public space (e.g. market, greens, church, roads, quay) and private space (e.g. messuages, crofts, curia, demesne land). These ideas can be further refined, as by K Lilley recently in his study of Brinklow, Warwickshire, and its "plan units"²².

The study of medieval patterns and approaches to agriculture goes hand in hand with the study of settlement, and again the bibliography arising from research is enormous. Much of it is referred to later in this study, but two or three stages in the thinking might be selected as especially significant. Early in this century HL Gray, whose work still seems to be a starting point for many discussions, argued that the classical field system, which he called the Midland system, was arranged by Anglo-Saxon immigrants to go with their nucleated villages²³. Inevitably this was eventually open to challenge from those who argued that all agricultural systems must by their nature be organic rather than planned²⁴. But there are modern researchers who would go some way with Gray, acknowledging that the foundations at least for later systems were laid from the ninth century²⁵. In Hanley therefore any signs of pre-Conquest agriculture will need to be examined, making allowances of course for its woodland situation.

Woodland areas have been studied separately; there is no real homogeneity, as in the champion country, so that some systems lean towards open fields, while others have a preponderance of small enclosures²⁶. There remains the problem of how irregular systems could be managed; in Hanley any communal control had to cover five large open fields, with tenant and demesne strips and compact demesne, and a large number of other arable areas, held often in joint tenancy. In Sheldon, Warwickshire, later documentary evidence suggests that the manorial court had been controlling a similarly complex system, involving rotation²⁷. If such a variety of land use was indeed governable and efficient, as will have to be argued also for Hanley below, it goes some way to explain the endurance in economic recessions of woodland manors, as balanced units with a diverse economy, contrasted with the problems facing the simple but inflexible system of

the classical nucleated settlement.

(c) Research on Individual Manors/Vills/Parishes in the Woodland and Elsewhere

This study of Hanley inevitably owes a debt to previous researchers of single manors or vills. BK Roberts took Tanworth-in-Arden, a woodland manor although not in a royal forest; he examined the landscape history, and reconstructed the settlement pattern from a body of documentary evidence which included land charters, as at Hanley²⁸. The Archer family had left 700 charters dated between 1150 and 1350, along with court rolls and several surveys, considerably more than the Hanley record. In spite of the disparities in the evidence it is possible to show that Hanley had many of the Tanworth features, such as an early open field system followed by late twelfth century assarting, which in its turn was accompanied by some dispersal of settlement and led to a vigorous land market. AP Watkins also examined Arden, especially the north, but concentrating on the later medieval period (1350-1540)²⁹. The Arden settlements were at that time characterised by demesne leasing, ruined buildings with only the useful ones standing, diminishing population, an increase in pastoralism and a growth in wage labour; the Hanley ministers' accounts of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, discussed below, will tell us how much of that picture can be seen there. It is argued for Arden that its economic survival depended on a weak manorial system and a large proportion of free tenants, all giving scope for individuality and nonconformity. Paradoxically Hanley had a strong manorial system and probably a smaller proportion of free tenants, so there will be additional reasons for its longevity, including the security offered by an important settlement nucleus and its leading position in the forest and chase. Strong lordship, if it inhibited the rise of powerful competing peasants (there were only four moated sites in Hanley, including the castle, compared with twelve in Tanworth), may even have given more scope to the ordinary man³⁰. There seems to be no doubt, at any rate, that in both Arden and Malvern the woodland environment offered a variety of opportunities and encouraged endeavour and entrepreneurship, as evinced by the various craftsmen of Arden and the potters of Malvern.

CC Dyer's case study of Pendock offers much of interest to researchers on woodland manors³¹. The parish lies in Malvern forest, but at less than two square miles it is much smaller than Hanley, nor has it Hanley's regional significance. Fieldwork revealed a pattern of medieval dispersed settlement, resembling that of the Romano-British period, as identified by pottery scatters, but not on the whole on the same sites; after the Roman period woodland regeneration had "guaranteed an interruption in settlement continuity". What emerged in the medieval period as the main settlement form was the "interrupted row", with the messuages separated by a plot of agricultural land, usually called a croft. This "specific settlement type", seen also in Hanley, appears to be the result of equal allocations of new land to individuals, on part of which they would build a dwelling house; thus it can be argued that the hamlets of a dispersed pattern can owe as much to planning or replanning as any nucleated settlement, and although it is not usually possible to see

who instigated such planning the signs are in Hanley that it was often members of the forester's family, with or without community impetus.

Hanbury, in the royal forest of Feckenham, is larger than Hanley (twelve square miles), and important in a number of different ways, for example as a religious centre with a minster. CC Dyer's research however was centred on settlement, land use and society, and the questions asked were similar to those that have arisen in Hanley³². Again they were what could be called "woodland questions" : the nature and history of woodland settlement, the working of the agrarian and other economy, the social influences, the links between a village and its hamlets, which although conscious of their independence nevertheless looked towards it, and the reasons for the durability of dispersed settlement. The story of Hanbury reminds us, in attempting to answer these questions, that settlements in the same pays, in this case woodland, can be very different from each other, so that there is no classical woodland settlement; and Hanley confirms this view.

Several other studies of single manors have provided background for the medieval history of Hanley. Z Razi's work on Halesowen has a specific thrust; the recovery of demographic data from court rolls enables him to populate the twelve hamlets of the manor with named individuals and their families, and to observe them in their land transfers, their disputes over roads and fences, their actions for trespass and debt, their concern for agricultural bylaws, and so on; all the matters in fact which we know must have exercised the tenants of Hanley, but about which we have tantalisingly little information³³. Such scrupulous work on the members of 800 families warns us incidentally that names should not always be taken at their face value, with many people known by more than one name and little attempt made to distinguish those with the same name; such habits create some problems for the analyst of the Hanley deeds. In agriculture, Halesowen turns out to be rather like Hanley; it was a rural manor, with the hamlets provided with their own field arrangements and accessible on the whole to woodland where various crafts were practised. In the matter of lordship too there are possible parallels; the strong and even oppressive rule of the abbot of Halesowen caused the kind of resentment which the forester certainly aroused among the forest inhabitants, and which in his role as lord of Hanley Hall he might also arouse among his tenants.

Another enlightening single manor study is that of Chippenham, Cambridgeshire, by M Spufford³⁴. At first sight the manor is quite unlike Hanley, with very little in the way of hamlets or woodland, but the research is able to demonstrate in detail trends which are seen imperfectly in Hanley, such as the population pressure at the end of the thirteenth century, the fortunes of labour services after the Black Death, the subsequent fashion for leasehold, and the fifteenth century engrossing which led to the end of the open fields and the rise of the yeoman. J West's Chaddesley Corbett research illustrates village life from a careful selection of a wealth of documentary information, and is an object lesson in the use of documents³⁵. At Sherington, in Buckinghamshire, AC Chibnall used charters, demesne terriers and court rolls to map a field system which managed to serve the four separate manors of the vill, an example of community

co-operation which must surely have been commonplace³⁶.

Research work on single manors has also been helpful for other reasons in respect of Hanley. For example, HPR Finberg's work on Withington, Gloucestershire, is very much a discussion of continuity of settlement and boundaries from the Romano-British period to the Anglo-Saxon immigration, and its possible relevance to Hanley is dealt with in Chapter I below³⁷. D Hall's investigations in Northamptonshire emphasise other aspects of continuity, in patterns of settlement and agricultural practice³⁸; continuity is controversial, but cannot be ignored. At Wharram Percy, MW Beresford and JG Hurst have in a unique excavation lasting over forty years recovered something of the topography of a deserted village, and their tentative reconstruction of the thirteenth century curia (the "North Manor") finds some echoes in Hanley³⁹. G Beresford's work on the early manor at Goltho, Lincolnshire, covering the centuries on either side of the Conquest, raises the question for Hanley of a similar early fortified enclosure on the castle site, signposted by the name of Burley, the hamlet in the shadow of the later castle walls⁴⁰.

PDA Harvey's studies of Cuxham, Oxfordshire, are based mainly on documentary evidence, including deeds, account rolls, court rolls, demesne terriers, rentals and surveys; it certainly dwarfs the Hanley corpus, and enables a comprehensive picture of the manor to be drawn. Some aspects of the Cuxham study have been particularly relevant to Hanley, for example the location, buildings and plan of the curia, the cultivation of the demesne, especially the proportions of work done by services and by the famuli, the wages and specific duties of these famuli, the management of the demesne and the whole manor, the distribution of tenant land in open fields and crofts, the establishment of new villein land, the leasing of demesne to tenants in the fourteenth century, the social contacts of tenants and their markets, the respective parts played in change and development by individual tenants, the community and the lord, and so on. The answers given for Cuxham, a small arable manor with nucleated settlement, are more secure and much more detailed than those for Hanley, but many of the questions are the same⁴¹.

4. THE PATTERN OF THE PRESENT STUDY

It was appreciated from the outset that any picture of medieval Hanley would lack some of the fine detail available to other studies; yet the significant and traditional questions had to be posed, while new questions of local interest had to be explored, such as the extent and importance of the forest and chase. To begin the study as far back as possible, would the limited prehistoric and Romano-British archaeological evidence allow any firm conclusions, and could a British presence in the post-Roman period be argued from the names of some physical features? The value of the Anglo-Saxon documentary evidence in recalling pre-Conquest landscapes and settlement patterns has only in recent years been fully appreciated; would it be possible from the work of D Hooke on the boundary clauses of charters, along with that of M Gelling on place names, to delineate the landscape of the whole area of the future Malvern forest, thus among other things confirming Hanley as a pre-Conquest estate and setting it in its context⁴²? A new

examination of the Domesday evidence for Hanley and the background to the double entry might be undertaken similarly in the wider context of the forest, and of the influence of William FitzOsbern. The forest itself could be treated both manor by manor and as a complete unit, and some earlier misconceptions, for example over the role of Corse, could be examined. One hundred square miles of legal forest, stretching from Worcester to Gloucester, were in the hands of the chief forester, who operated from the castle and had his submanorial seat at Hanley Hall. But what room did the predominating woodland leave for settlements, and what would be the nature of their economy? Some such questions might be answered by the Pipe Rolls, at any rate until 1217, when the forest was granted, together with the manor and castle of Hanley, to Gilbert de Clare. The forest thus became theoretically a chase, and in fact came to be seen as two chases, Malvern and Corse, but under the same overall administration; and this in its turn raises questions of woodland management.

The productivity of the chase, especially in deer, can be seen at times when it was in Crown hands. Several kings hunted there, staying in the castle at Hanley (Appendix III). The value of the deer and of the chase at large is further emphasised by the cutting of the Shire Ditch, which was an important economic and territorial statement by the earl of Gloucester. Forest law, as imposed by kings in the twelfth century, was continued as chase law, and there is documentary evidence for its operation in Malvern. There were legal distinctions between the covert of the forest/chase and the territory of the manor, with in effect a double jurisdiction in Hanley, exercised by the chief forester and the lord's officials. The privileges and disabilities of the tenants must be explored, and the perquisites of the chief forester and the subforesters; until the late fifteenth century the de Hanley family held the office of chief forester and the accompanying lands. An important question concerns the working of the chase court and its impact on tenants. Malvern and Corse passed to the Crown in 1478, and Malvern was profitably disafforested in the early seventeenth century; although initially opposed, this event left most tenants with additional land, but at the expense of their common rights. In Hanley the ensuing enclosures stimulated further enclosing in the old arable in the east of the manor. The semi-detached chase of Corse, with its own forester paid out of the earl of Gloucester's manor in Stoke Archer, was not disafforested at this time, but was enclosed, with most of the commons, in 1797.

In the matter of settlement in Hanley, having established from documentation and fieldwork that the general pattern is one of dispersed settlement, we must discuss in detail the characteristic "Ends" in the west of the manor; these are linked to the chief settlement at Church End in the east by a number of "streets", which join or cross a north-south route on their way to the river. Eleven settlements can be examined, some offering more documentary evidence than others. Church End contained various semi-public buildings belonging to the church and the chantries, with the school nearby; in the vicinity also were the curia, the mill, the park and the castle, and the river with its quay was within reach. Tenant land and the original demesne arable were to be found in Burleyfield especially. Two of Hanley's four crosses stood in Church End, one of them being the market cross; the market has to be investigated in its relationship to an incipient

borough, attempted in the early thirteenth century. But did all parts of Hanley flourish equally? The hamlet of Burley, although in the vigorous east of the manor, shrank by the twelfth century, having been absorbed into Hanley along with its land and mill, and the haga nearby.

The Rhydd was another early settlement, again with a haga, and with arable which later formed part of Hanley's demesne. Being close to the river and with ready access to the west via the ancient Wood Street, it was also regionally significant as the site of Pershore hundred court, and locally notorious as the site of the constable of Hanley's gallows. Severn End also was a riverside settlement, with several prosperous tenants, but dominated historically by the Lechmere family; they had their own arable in Lechmeresfield, containing several "furlongs", and ready access to the land which they controlled in Northfield and Severn Meadow. Horton was an inland settlement, on the edge of woodland originally and possibly connected with the pottery industry. It lies on the line between irregular fields and crofts to the east and planned assarting to the west. Horton Manor Farm is one of four moated sites in Hanley, including the castle. It is argued that it was historically important as the "Hortun" of Edgar's late tenth century charter, previously wrongly located; thus an explanation can be offered for the presence of Hanley in Pershore hundred.

Blackmore End is one of five "Ends" to be investigated on the fringes of Malvern Wood; although earlier origins cannot be discounted, the development of the area belonged to the twelfth century, when a second manorial demesne was established there. There are signs of the planned assarting which would produce new villein tenements to provide labour services. By the mid-fourteenth century the arable of this demesne was no longer cultivated, and some of it was added to Blackmore park. There are traces of a field system for the tenants and a market in free land, some of which belonged to smallholders. The other western "Ends", namely Picken End, Aylers End, Roberts End and Gilberts End, again may have early origins, but the latter three at least were developed by members of the chief forester's family in the twelfth century. Many of the extant deeds deal with land and property in these areas, and it is possible especially in Roberts End to reconstruct the tenement arrangements, of largely linear settlements. Roberts End seems to have been a centre of the pottery industry, and a kiln has been excavated near the shrunken hamlet of Forthey. There were some communal aspects of agriculture in the "Ends", with fields and even crofts containing tenant strips. It will be important to consider to what extent the tenants of the western "Ends" were independent of the rest of the manor.

Late thirteenth century activity in the east of the manor, probably rooted in roadside pasture and squatting on "greens", produced the linear settlements of Northend and Southend along the main Upton-Worcester road, within reach of the major open fields of the manor, where wage labour might be available. Several other putative settlement areas, identified by place names, are also mentioned. In looking at the general picture of settlement in Hanley it is possible to trace the chronological development as far as the late thirteenth century, after which there were no new settlement areas. But how far can the expansion of Hanley, from the river to the Malvern foothills, be related to geology, soils, and landscape, and to the need for land as population grew? In fact the results of the staged expansion and the variety of land use can be seen as dividing the manor

into a number of compartments or "land units", bounded by natural features and established communication lines.

Population estimates are hazardous, but a total of over 200 people in 1086, almost certainly under-recorded, may have increased to over 1,000 by the late thirteenth century, bearing in mind the known expansion of settlement and the information from IPMs. Post-Black Death details are lacking, except that the potters had died, so clearly Hanley was affected. In the early fifteenth century there were at least 150 free tenants alongside the customary tenants; later in that century there was a downturn, witnessed by the difficulty in securing tenants for demesne land and other holdings. The decline in the economy continued, with the population settling at about 700 in the mid-sixteenth century. Parliamentary enclosure was probably the impulse for the growth which culminated in over 2,000 people in the original manorial area by the year 1900. Throughout the study of population it will be necessary to have in mind possible links between numbers of people and the state of the economy.

The descent of the manor of Hanley can be traced from Brictric, who reportedly held it in the time of king Edward, through the FitzOsberns, father and son, to the twelfth century royal family, including earl William of Gloucester and the future king John. Gilbert de Clare was granted the manor as part of the honour of Gloucester in 1217, and his family held it until 1314, to be followed by the Despencers and the earls of Warwick. Thus the manor until 1478, when it reverted to the Crown, was in the hands of great magnates, who in spite of their extensive holdings elsewhere valued Hanley and its castle rather more highly than hitherto supposed; the *VCH* article can be amended and supplemented. John Hornyold purchased Hanley from the Crown in 1560, and his descendants remained as lords until the twentieth century. The descent is traced here in detail because lordship, especially when associated with the castle, had a direct bearing on the economy and touched the lives of the tenants.

The demesne economy which brought fluctuating but usually modest profits to these lords has to be examined in terms of its material and human resources. The original demesne at Church End had its curia, which can be located, with barton and other buildings; the compact arable, meadow and pasture lay nearby, with demesne wood, park, fishponds and mill; castle repairs were met from demesne income. The role of the famuli and customary tenants in the demesne economy, and the management of the arable, can be investigated from early fourteenth and late fifteenth century accounts. The second demesne at Blackmore flourished from the late twelfth to the early fourteenth century, when arable in both demesnes was decreasing in significance. The curia at Church End had lost major functions by the early sixteenth century, when much of the demesne land was leased. Some information is available about the watermills and windmills, particularly their repair costs. Hanley park probably originated in one of the two hagas of the Anglo-Saxon boundary clauses, the other of which became the demesne wood (Cliffey wood); its amenities included a lodge with observation tower. This park is not seen as such after the early seventeenth century, but Blackmore park, which probably began later, has only recently disintegrated. Information about courts comes largely from the few surviving accounts, where dates and

perquisites are given, from the 1367 court roll for both manorial and chase courts, and from the late fifteenth century estreats. The study of mills and parks and courts is essential in piecing together the demesne economy, and analysis of the accounts makes it possible to illustrate that economy at two different periods.

The economy of the tenants, we shall find, is less easy to tease out than the demesne economy. Much of the information derives from the charters or deeds of customary or free tenants who were dealing in free land; little is known about customary holdings, except that six acres is given as the standard for some tenants in the 1296 IPM. Five major open fields were cultivated covering up to 1,000 acres, along with a very large number of smaller arable areas, many of which can be located. Tenant and demesne strips lay together in the larger areas, and rotation recorded on the demesne implies some rotation for tenants, although the details cannot be recovered. Probably because of the difficulties inherent in such arrangements, the tendency was to enclose where possible, so that by the eighteenth century little unenclosed land remained. The economy of a customary tenant can be examined through his services and other dues, and his forays into the land market can be observed through the land deals recorded in the deeds. Ancient demesne was a factor in Hanley in the early fourteenth century, and it seems probable that there was an effort by tenants to appeal to its privileges.

The temptation is to generalise from the evidence and to deal with large matters, so that it is refreshing to see what can be discovered about individuals in Hanley. Biographies of IPM jurors can be expanded from a number of sources, giving the opportunity to observe some prominent families; two are discussed in detail, the Hanleys and the Lechmeres, the one the family of the de facto lords of Hanley, who held some land by serjeanty and some by purchase, and the other an example of a family rising from villein to gentry, largely through land deals and timely marriages. An examination of tenant industries, especially ceramics, completes the survey of the tenant economy; the centres of the potters and tilers are beginning to be located and the extent of their trade is beginning to be appreciated.

The castle had not previously been closely studied, either in its buildings or its influence. How did it impinge on the manor and on the people? It can be argued that a possible Anglo-Saxon burh continued as a defended site after the Conquest, leading to a hunting lodge or castle built by king John from 1207, to serve as a royal pied-à-terre and as the headquarters of Malvern forest. The early building costs are entered in the Pipe Rolls. Granted to Gilbert de Clare in 1217, the castle continued to be used and maintained throughout the thirteenth century. In the 1320s it had a military role, being further fortified for and in the presence of Hugh le Despenser and king Edward II with a moat and palisade, some of the expenses being recorded in the Memoranda Rolls; disturbances centred on the castle in 1322 and 1326 must have affected the vill and the surrounding area. A schedule listing the armour and weapons left in the castle by the king confirms its importance at this time. A stone curtain wall was built at some point, the foundations of which can still be detected. The buildings recorded in the early fourteenth century and in the early fifteenth turn out to be typical castle buildings, and can be plotted to some extent from the

documentary evidence; there was however no further military history after the 1320s, and the castle continued as a seigneurial residence and dower house, with occasional royal visits. The household accounts of the duke of York's stay, for eight months in 1409-10, reveal something of the day-to-day life of an itinerant household and of the castle's accommodation; an early clock is rather an exotic surprise. The castle was "rebuilt" by the earl of Warwick c. 1428, and family births and marriages are recorded there. In 1478 along with the manor and chase, it was forfeited to the Crown. It can be shown from the ministers' accounts that maintenance continued until 1495, and the last constable was appointed in 1512. Throughout its life the castle brought extra income to the tenants of the vill, part of the hidden economy perhaps, although repairs were a charge on the demesne income. The ruins survived until the eighteenth century. Archaeologically it is a virgin site which would warrant excavation, both on local and national grounds.

The church, with the chantries and the school, forms the final part of this study, and as with the castle new information has emerged. The church of St Botolph, brought to light in the Lechmere collection of deeds, was probably a pre-Conquest precursor of St Mary's, and the likelihood is that the chief forester's family were closely connected with it. But what is the significance of the dedication to St Botolph, the furthest west so far found, and of the Lechmere Stone? Hanley church, although not mentioned in Domesday Book, can be shown to have been given to Lire abbey in Normandy before 1071. It was granted at farm to Little Malvern priory in 1236, at which point a vicarage was ordained; earlier priests were from Lire, or from its cell at Lire Ocle in Herefordshire. The location of lands given to the rectory and vicarage helps to confirm the history of settlement in Hanley: the vicarage unusually had some of the great tithes, which derived from new lands in the west of the manor. St Clement's chantry was endowed by the forester's family, and it emerges that some of its property was used to endow the school in 1486 and subsequently; this chantry probably stood on the site of the later Lechmere chapel in the church. The school is an example of an early village school, serving a rural area; it was a free grammar school, but may also have provided elementary education for some. Other chantries and gilds, and chantry buildings, were important in the ecclesiastical history of Hanley, while the castle and Hanley Hall had their own chapels and chaplains. What was the influence of all these ecclesiastical people, institutions and buildings? Was the church therefore the focus for many activities, both spiritual and secular, within the community, and of its nature did it draw that community together? A chapel at Roberts End, with its own chaplain, may have had early origins, providing pastoral care in the west of the parish. Nine "new" vicars serve to amplify and extend the list of incumbents, taking it back to 1234. Finally, a fresh study of the Hanley missal raises questions about the influence of Lire on the rituals in Hanley church; the appropriation to Lire by William FitzOsbern was still producing echoes in the fifteenth century.

INTRODUCTION : REFERENCES

1. Some of the earlier variants : Hanlie (DB 180d), Hanlege (DB 163c), Hanlega (PR 1154-5, and frequently in PRs until c. 1200), Henlia (PR 1155-6), Hanlea (PR 1159-60), Henlea (PR 1165-6), Heanlega (PR 1173-4), Hanleya (PR 1195), Engle (PR 1200-01), Haunley (recte Hannley?) (PR 1230). Confusion is possible with forms of Henley-in-Arden (e.g. Hanleye, Quo Warranto, 1285), Henley on Thames (e.g. Hanlea, PR 1192), Hanley Child and William (e.g. DB Hanlege), and other Hanleys, Henleys and Handleys : for all similar place names, see E Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names* (3rd edn Oxford 1951), passim. The confusion is well illustrated by the debate over the origin of Walter de Henley, author of the *Husbandry* (late thirteenth century). It is interesting that one of the candidates for authorship was a dominus miles who was a follower of the de Clares in the 1260s in Buckinghamshire, but who, it is suggested, may have gained his experience on the Clare estates of Gloucestershire. D Oschinsky, who puts forward these possibilities, was apparently not aware that our Hanley was a Clare manor, although she did know of the suggestion made by FG Gurney (see below) that he came from there; otherwise the conclusion could have been that he was just as likely to be a native of our Hanley, who joined the Clare household there. See D Oschinsky, *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting* (Oxford 1971), 6, 146-8; see also FG Gurney, "An Agricultural Agreement of the Year 1345 at Mursley and Dunton with a Note upon Walter of Henley", *Records of Buckinghamshire* 14 (1941-6), 245-64. For a sceptical view of all claims to Walter, see TH Aston, Review Article on JG Jenkins ed, *The Cartulary of Missenden Abbey*, Part 2 (Buckingham Record Society, 1955), *Eng Hist R* 72 (1957), 528-30.
2. *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 89, 93.
3. RR Darlington ed, *The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory* (Pipe Roll Society 1968), 25 (No. 38); RB Patterson ed, *Earldom of Gloucester Charters : the Charters and Scribes of the Earls and Countesses of Gloucester to AD 1217* (Oxford 1973), 63 (No. 48). For the (often overlooked) significance of these "many thousands" of deeds from rural manors, see PDA Harvey, "The Peasant Land Market in Medieval England - and Beyond" in Z Razi and R Smith eds, *Medieval Society and the Manor Court* (Oxford 1996), 392-407, at pp 395-6.
4. RF Hunnisett, *Editing Records for Publication* (British Records Association, 1977), 52-66; PR Coss ed, *The Langley Cartulary* (Dugdale Society 32, Stratford-upon-Avon 1980), xvi-xvii; see also NW Alcock, *Old Title Deeds* (Chichester 1986). It is hoped to publish the Calendar and other documents, as "Medieval Documents of Hanley, Worcestershire" (WHS, forthcoming). Interpretation of the records has been much illuminated by PDA Harvey, *Manorial Records* (British Records Association, 1984). For palaeography, the following works have been consulted : HFP Grieve, *Examples of English Handwriting 1150-1750* (Essex Record Office 1954); LC Hector, *The Handwriting of English Documents* (2nd edn, London 1966); GE Dawson and L Kennedy-Skipton, *Elizabethan Handwriting 1500-1650* (London 1981). The manuscript photographs with transcripts in Darlington, *Cartulary*, were helpful as a starting point in the reading of medieval Latin documents; the originals of some of them are in the Lechmere Collection. An invaluable vade mecum, for its lists of abbreviations and glossary, has been C Trice Martin, *The Record Interpreter* (2nd edn, Chichester 1982); other indispensable guides have been RE Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word List from British and Irish Sources , with Supplement* (Oxford 1965) and CR Cheney, *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History* (3rd edn, Royal Hist Soc, London 1981).
5. HWCRO BA 1751 Ref 705.295b/8. This is a nineteenth century compilation of information concerning the Hornyold family and their estates. Bundles of documents are briefly described, some of which had been handed over to "Mr Taunton", but they cannot now be traced. Bundle I-I for example contained eleven bundles of court rolls from 1488 to 1702 and four bundles from 1737 to 1788, along with "three other old parchment rolls, and old papers relating to the courts". This implies that the Crown handed over some muniments from the years of its tenure (1478 to 1560), although it retained the accounts, which are in the Public Record Office (see Bibliography).

6. *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 89-101, BS Smith, *A History of Malvern* (Leicester 1964); P Hurle, *Hanley Castle, Heart of Malvern Chase* (London 1978). I am grateful to Professor CC Dyer for drawing my attention to the duke of York's account and for allowing me to examine his extracts from it at an early stage; a full transcript has since been made, which has been used to make and support several points later in this study. For the rare survival of lists of estreats, see Harvey, *Manorial Records*, 39, 43. The court roll is wrongly dated, to 1376, by HWCRO.

7. Accounts are extant for the Clare lordships of Usk and Caerleon, but what survives from the English estates includes nothing from Hanley : M Altschul, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England : the Clares 1217-1314* (Baltimore 1965), 310. For the Despensers, the National Register of Archives has no reference to their muniments in the relevant period (Information from the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts). Warwickshire Record Office holds the records of the Greville earls of Warwick, and of some Beauchamp manors, but nothing for Hanley (Information from Mr GMD Booth, archivist). An account survives for the sojourn in France of Richard de Beauchamp's household in 1431-2, when he was tutor to king Henry VI and attended his coronation in Paris; on returning to England the earl went to London to discuss with his receiver-general his estates in the Midlands, while the countess travelled to Warwick via Tewkesbury, Worcester and Bordesley, without touching Hanley, although the castle was a significant Warwick residence at the time (Warwicks Record Office, C920 BEA : transcript by MV Clin-Meyer). See also HA Cronne and RH Hilton eds, "The Beauchamp Household Book : an Account of a Journey from London to Warwick in 1432", *Univ Birmingham Hist J* 2 (1949), 208-18.

8. Recent archaeological diving at the quay has produced medieval pottery (information from JD Huist); investigations are hampered not only by changes in the river's course but also by the dredging of the centre channel in recent years for the passage of oil tankers.

9. For the problems of dating ridge and furrow, see D Hall, *Medieval Fields* (Aylesbury 1982), 9-13; see also DR Wilson, "Alterations to Ridge and Furrow : Some Examples Illustrated" in M Aston, D Austin and CC Dyer eds, *The Rural Settlements of Medieval England* (Oxford 1989), 183-190.

10. RCHM (Swindon) provided a print-out of their coverage of the parish, and facilities for viewing. The most useful photographs, of which copies were obtained, were the following : vertical - 106G UK1345/7285, 5108 (April 1946), 106G/UK 1698/1331 (August 1946), 106G/UK 1652/4332 (July 1946) (these were from sorties flown by the RAF for the Ministry of Defence); oblique - SO 7943 1 (July 1955), SO 8343/1 (1956) (from sorties flown for the Ordnance Survey).

11. Copies were obtained of the following photographs from Cambridge University Committee for Aerial Photography : BPG 31 (December 1973), CQG 39, 41 and 44 (July 1984), EY 54 (June 1973).

12. GJ Turner ed, *Select Pleas of the Forest* (Selden Society 13, 1901).

13. ML Bazeley, "The English Forest in the Thirteenth Century", *Trans R Hist Soc* 4th ser. 4 (1921), 140-72.

14. C Petit-Dutaillis, "Les Origines Franco-Normandes de la 'Forêt Anglaise' " in *Mélanges d'Histoire Offerts à M Charles Bémont* (Paris 1913), 59-76; idem, *Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History*, vol 2 (Manchester 1914). For a slightly more sceptical view of the origins of forests, appealing to some Anglo-Saxon traditions, see JA Green, "Unity and Disunity in the Anglo-Norman State", *Historical Research* 63 (1989), 115-34; I am grateful to JR Birrell for this reference

15. HA Cronne, "The Royal Forest in the Reign of Henry I" in HA Cronne et al, eds, *Essays in British and Irish History* (London 1949), 1-23.

16. CR Young, *The Royal Forests of Medieval England* (Leicester 1979).

17. O Rackham, *Ancient Woodland : its History, Vegetation and Uses in England* (London 1980); *idem*, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape* (rev edn, London 1990).

18. JR Birrell, "Peasant Craftsmen in the Medieval Forest", *Agr Hist R* 17 (1969), 91-107; *idem*, "Who Poached the King's Deer?", *Midland History* 7 (1982), 9-25; *idem*, "Common Rights in the Medieval Forest : Disputes and Conflicts in the Thirteenth Century", *Past and Present* 117 (1987), 22-49; *idem*, "Deer and Deer Farming in Medieval England", *Agr Hist R* 40 (1992), 112-26.

19. O Rackham, *The Last Forest : the Story of Hatfield Forest* (London 1989); JR Birrell, "The Forest Economy of the Honour of Tutbury in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", *Univ Birmingham Hist J* 8 (1961), 114-34; J West, "The Administration and Economy of the Forest of Feckenham during the Early Middle Ages" (unpublished MA thesis, University of Birmingham, 1964); ML Bazeley, "The Forest of Dean in its Relations with the Crown during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries". *Trans Bristol and Gloucs Arch Soc* 33 (1910), 153-286; B Schumer, *The Evolution of Wyckwood to 1400 : Pioneers, Frontiers and Forests* (Leicester University Dept of English Local History, Occasional Paper 6, 1984).

20. RH Hilton, *A Medieval Society : the West Midlands at the End of the Thirteenth Century* (London 1966), 241-8; LM Cantor, "The Medieval Forests and Chases of Staffordshire", *N Staffs J of Field Studies* 8 (1968), 39-53; JR Birrell, "The Forest and Chase in Medieval Staffordshire", *Staffordshire Studies* 3 (Keele University, 1991); JM Steane, "The Forests of Northamptonshire in the Middle Ages", *Northants Past and Present* 5 (1973), 7-17.

21. BK Roberts, *Rural Settlement in Britain* (London 1977); *idem*, "Village Forms in Warwickshire : a Preliminary Discussion" in TR Slater and PJ Jarvis eds, *Field and Forest* (Norwich 1982), 125-46; *idem*, "Village Patterns and Forms : Some Models for Discussion" in D Hooke ed, *Medieval Villages* (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 5 (1985), 7-25; *idem*, *The Making of the English Village : a Study in Historical Geography* (London 1987). *idem*, "Nucleation and Dispersion : Distribution Maps as a Research Tool" in Aston et al eds, *Rural Settlements*, 59-75; *idem*, "Dating Villages : Theory and Practice". *Landscape History* 14 (1992), 19-30.

CC Dyer, "The Deserted Medieval Village of Woollashill", *Trans Worcs Arch Soc* 3rd ser 1 (1965-7), 55-61; *idem*, "Population and Agriculture on a Warwickshire Manor in the Later Middle Ages", *Univ Birmingham Hist J* 11 (1967-8), 113-27; *idem*, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society : the Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester 680-1540* (Cambridge 1980), 91-6, 244-63; *idem*, "Towns and Cottages in Eleventh Century England" in H Mayr-Harting and RI Moore eds, *Studies in Medieval History Presented to RHC Davis* (London 1985), 91-106; *idem*, "English Peasant Buildings in the Later Middle Ages", *Med Arch* 30 (1986), 19-45; *idem*, "The Rise and Fall of a Medieval Village : Little Aston, Gloucestershire", *Trans Bristol and Gloucs Arch Soc* 105 (1987), 165-81; *idem*, "The West Midlands" in J Thirsk ed, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* 2 (1042-1350) (Cambridge 1988), 224-33; *idem*, "Occupation of the Land : the West Midlands" in E Miller ed, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* 3 (1348-1500) (Cambridge 1989), 77-92, and "Farming Practice and Techniques : the West Midlands", *ibidem*, 222-37; *idem*, "The Retreat from Marginal Land : the Growth and Decline of Medieval Rural Settlements" in Aston et al eds, *Rural Settlements*, 45-57.

See also the important work of CC Taylor: "The Anglo-Saxon Countryside" in T Rowley ed, *Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Landscape* (British Archaeological Reports 6, 1974), 5-15; *idem*, *Fieldwork in Medieval Archaeology* (London 1974); *idem*, "Polyfocal Settlement and the English Village", *Med Arch* 21 (1977), 189-93; *idem*, *Village and Farmstead : a History of Rural Settlement in England* (London 1983); *idem*, "Medieval Rural Settlement : Changing Perceptions", *Landscape History* 14 (1992), 5-18.

22. K Lilley, "A Warwickshire Medieval Borough : Brinklow and the Contribution of Town Plan Analysis", *Trans B'ham and Warks Arch Soc* 98 (1993-4), 51-60.

23. HIL Gray, *The English Field Systems* (Cambridge, Mass., 1915). For a recent overview, see G Astill, "Fields" in G Astill and A Grant, eds, *The Countryside of Medieval England* (Oxford 1988), 62-85.
24. CS and CS Orwin, *The Open Fields* (3rd edn, Oxford 1967).
25. In considering how the "Midland System", with its essential annual pasture, came into being, HSA Fox looks at large Anglo-Saxon multiple estates, which had a deliberately balanced economy, and asks whether they might have needed a system which guaranteed regular grazing when they were broken up by grants into smaller units; they would not otherwise have the necessary pasture for plough beasts and other stock, whereas Hanley for example would have its pasture without recourse to a rigorous plan. See HSA Fox, "Approaches to the Adoption of the Midland System", in T Rowley ed, *The Origins of Open Field Agriculture* (London 1981), 64-111, at pp 98-102.
26. BK Roberts, "The Woodland Field System", in ARH Baker and RA Butlin eds, *Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles* (Cambridge 1973), 209-19.
27. *ibidem*, 214-5 : Coleshill, Warwickshire, had three fields, and a number of small blocks of open field land "interdigitated with closes in severalty".
28. BK Roberts, *Settlement, Land Use and Population in the Western Portion of the Forest of Arden, Warwickshire, between 1086 and 1350* (unpublished University of Birmingham PhD thesis, 1965); *idem*, "A Study of Medieval Colonisation in the Forest of Arden, Warwickshire", *Agr Hist R* 16 (1968), 101-13.
29. AP Watkins, *Society and Economy in the Northern Part of the Forest of Arden, Warwickshire, 1350-1540* (unpublished University of Birmingham PhD thesis, 1989); *idem*, "The Woodland Economy of the Forest of Arden in the Later Middle Ages", *Midland History* 17 (1993), 19-36. See also VHT Skipp, *Medieval Yardley* (London 1970); *idem*, "Economic and Social Change in the Forest of Arden, 1530-1649", *Agr Hist R* 18 (1970), 84-111; *idem*, *Crisis and Development : an Ecological Case Study of the Forest of Arden, 1570-1674* (Cambridge 1978). Most of Skipp's research falls later than our period, but his hamlets in Arden with their own fields recall the "Fnds" of Hanley, while his "closes of arable or pasture", indicating convertible husbandry, are also plentifully paralleled.
30. I owe to Professor CC Dyer the suggestion that a lack of moated sites could indicate strong lordship, in that competition with the lord in defences or status would be discouraged.
31. CC Dyer, "Dispersed Settlements in Medieval England : A Case Study of Pendock, Worcestershire", *Med Arch* 34 (1990), 97-121.
32. *idem*, *Hanbury : Settlement and Society in a Woodland Landscape* (University of Leicester Dept of English Local History, Occasional Papers, 4th ser, 4, Leicester 1991).
33. Z Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish : Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen 1270-1400* (Cambridge 1980); *idem*, "Family, Land and the Village Community in Later Medieval England", *Past and Present* 93 (1981), 3-36; *idem*, "The Struggles between the Abbots of Halesowen and their Tenants in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", in TH Aston et al, eds, *Social Relations and Ideas : Essays in Honour of RH Hilton* (Cambridge 1983), 151-68.
34. M Spufford, *A Cambridgeshire Community : Chippenham from Settlement to Enclosure* (University of Leicester Dept of English Local History, Occasional Papers 20, Leicester 1965).
35. J West, *Village Records* (London 1962).
36. AC Chibnall, *Sherington : Fiefs and Fields of a Buckinghamshire Village* (Cambridge 1965).

37. HPR Finberg, "Roman and Saxon Withington", in *idem*, *Lucerna : Studies of Some Problems in the Early History of England* (London 1964), 21-65. For a recent discussion of continuity, see J Esmonde Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain* (London 1989), 188-205; he argues that any continuity will have been social, not institutional.
38. D Hall and P Martin, "Brixworth, Northants : an Intensive Field Survey", *J British Arch Assoc* 132 (1979), 1-6; D Hall, "The Late Anglo-Saxon Countryside : Villages and their Fields" in D Hooke ed, *Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (Oxford 1988), 99-122.
39. MW Beresford and JG Hurst, *Wharram Percy, Deserted Medieval Village* (London 1990), 23 and *passim*; *idem*, "Wharram Percy : a Case Study in Microtopography" in PH Sawyer ed, *English Medieval Settlement* (London 1979), 52-85; *idem*, eds, *Deserted Medieval Villages* (London 1971).
40. G Beresford, *Goltho : the Development of an Early Medieval Manor, c.850-1150* (Historical Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, 1987).
41. PDA Harvey, *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village : Cuxham, 1240 to 1400* (Oxford 1965); *idem*, ed, *Manorial Records of Cuxham, Oxfordshire, c.1200 to 1359* (London 1976); *idem*, "Initiative and Authority in Settlement Change" in Aston et al eds, *Rural Settlements* , 31-43.
42. D Hooke, "Open Field Agriculture : the Evidence from the Pre-Conquest Charters of the West Midlands" in Rowley ed, *Origins*, 39-63; *idem*, "The Anglo-Saxon Landscape" in Slater and Jarvis eds, *Field and Forest*, 79-103; *idem*, *The Anglo-Saxon Landscape and the Kingdom of the Hwicce* (Manchester 1985); *idem* with D Marshall, *The Arrow Valley Project : Morton Bagot, a Parish Survey, Part I, The Landscape* (University of Birmingham Dept of Geography, Occasional Publication 24, Birmingham 1987); *idem*, "Early Medieval Estate and Settlement Patterns" in Aston et al eds, *Rural Settlements*, 9-30; *idem*, *Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter Bounds* (London 1990).
- M Gelling, "Some Notes on Warwickshire Place Names", *Trans B'ham and Warks Arch Soc* 86 (1974), 59-79; *idem*, "The Evidence of Place Names I" in Sawyer ed, *Settlement*, 110-21; *idem*, *Place Names in the Landscape* (London 1984); *idem*, "Towards a Chronology of English Place Names" in Hooke ed, *Anglo-Saxon Settlement*, 59-76; *idem*, *Signposts to the Past* (2nd edn, Chichester 1988).