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A MEDIEVAL WOODLAND MANOR: HANLEY CASTLE,
WORCESTERSHIRE
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To provide some closer historical background for the study of the economy and society of Hanley, it will be helpful at the outset to consider the lords who held it from time to time. A detailed descent of the manor has not previously been attempted. It gives a context also for certain interesting questions: for example, was Hanley merely an obscure manor from which largely absentee lords expected no great returns, a manor mostly left to itself, to be governed in effect by the chief forester of Malvern? or was it endowed with extra significance, firstly by being always in Crown hands or in the possession of prestigious magnates, and secondly by having a castle which was not only a lordly residence but also the headquarters of a king's forest followed by a magnate's chase?

The study of the economy itself must involve measuring the resources of the demesne and of the tenants, as far as that is feasible, and seeing how they were utilised. This inquiry will bring us to the curia and the famuli, to the management of the manorial agriculture, to the part played by tenants through labour services, and to an appraisal of the open fields alongside private messuages and crofts; and it will also lead us to look into the place in the economy of the parks and the woodland, as they affected both the lord and his tenants. Did the woodland in fact, although it was intended to be a restrictive environment which would profit the lord, encourage peasant industries and other activities to flourish in spite of that, through the stubborn independence of the peasants themselves? A study of the land market will perhaps reveal this more confident peasant; it can certainly show how from small beginnings some of them emerged as powerful landowners, laying the foundations, by their consolidating and enclosing, of a new agricultural system.

1. THE DESCENT OF THE MANOR (Appendix II)

The only name we have from the pre-Conquest period is that of **Brictric** the Saxon thegn who, according to the Herefordshire Domesday entry (180d), had held Hanley in the time of king Edward. At the Conquest, following now the Gloucestershire entry (163c), it had been given to **William FitzOsbern**, earl of Hereford. By 1086 however the manor was with the Crown, having been forfeited in 1075 by William's son, **Roger**. This is as far as the early evidence will take us, but there are also certain traditions concerning the descent of Hanley around the Conquest period which need not be totally rejected¹.

It is said that Brictric had a hunting lodge on the later castle site, a theory which is supported by the hagas of the charter bounds and by the name Burley, which as we saw above could suggest some pre-Conquest fortification; it is said also that Brictric's grandfather was Haylward, which provides yet another alternative for the founder of Aylers End. Brictric himself was allegedly sent by king Edward to Flanders, where Matilda future wife of duke William of Normandy fell in love with him, only to be rejected; from this the legend grew that on arriving in England in 1066 William had Brictric arrested (at Hanley) and his lands given to Matilda. The

arrest is said to have occurred on the very day that bishop Wulstan was consecrating a chapel at Hanley which Brictric had built for his tenants and retainers, and there may be a memory here of a Saxon predecessor to the church of St Mary; the early church in Hanley will be discussed in chapter IV below.

Matilda however cannot have taken possession, if she did so at all, until 1075, for it can be reasonably inferred from Domesday Book that FitzOsberns, father and son, held the manor until the forfeiture ("it belonged to earl William, now it is [with the Crown]"). The only manors formerly belonging to Brictric which Matilda is recorded as having held (sc. until her death in 1083) were Thornbury and Fairford (163d). The assertion that she held the whole of Brictric's honour of Gloucester, based on Tewkesbury, is made in Francis Thynne's early seventeenth century chronicle of the foundation of Tewkesbury abbey²; in this chronicle FitzOsbern is ignored, but it is clear that the Domesday entries for Hanley were not known; in fact as late as the time of Nash they were not recognised, lying as they did outside the Worcestershire folios³.

After the death of William I in 1087 the new king gave the whole of the honour of Gloucester to **Robert FitzHamon**⁴. His widow **Sibyl** held in dower from his death in 1107; their daughter Mabel married **Robert FitzRoy**, son of Henry I, who on his marriage in 1121 was created earl of Gloucester and so became lord of Hanley⁵. FitzRoy's son, **earl William** of Gloucester, succeeded in 1147, and he is recorded as granting the office of forester and the accompanying lands in Hanley to Gilbert, son of John the forester, in the mid-twelfth century; his charter is also extant confirming FitzOsbern's gifts to Lire abbey, which included Hanley church, and tithes and land in Hanley. Queenhill, Bushley and Eldersfield⁶. The manor seems to have reverted to the **Crown** in or before 1155 when the sheriff accounted for the farm for one quarter of the year; in the Pipe Roll for 1166-7 it was emphatically called Henlea regis, and Bushley and Eldersfield similarly. The Pipe Rolls then show the annual farm of £12 being paid regularly until 1173-4, when the sheriff accounted for only three quarters of the year as the king's share (de parte regis) "before the earl of Gloucester held [again] those manors". So Hanley returned to **earl William**, but the sheriff's farm was resumed for unknown reasons in 1181-2⁷. The earl died in 1183, and the manor was with the **Crown** until 1189; in that year his daughter Isabel married **John (Lackland), count of Mortain** and son of king Henry II, who was thereupon created earl of Gloucester and was granted the manors of the honour. The Pipe Roll for 1189-90 shows the sheriff paying the farm for three quarters of the year, "before the count of Moriton' held the manor".

Within five years Hanley is again seen in the Pipe Rolls, when in 1194-5 the sheriff pays for half the year de firma de Hanlega comitis Moriton'. Between 1196 and 1199 it is not recorded, and it may be that during this time the issues were paid into John's own exchequer⁸. Towards the end of his tenure there was a dispute over the lordship of Hanley between John and his brother, king Richard I, and an Inquisition decided that the manor in fact belonged to the Crown; but before the verdict could be implemented Richard had died, so that the matter became academic. For the years 1200-01 and 1201-2, with John now on the throne, the farm was almost doubled and

the manor granted to two Crown lessees. In the following year it returned to the sheriff, but between 1203-4 and 1207-8 the Pipe Rolls are largely silent, although presumably the manor was still with the Crown as Earl of Gloucester. Payments by the sheriff resume in 1209-10, when £45 8s 2d is accounted for, to cover two years, and the farm then continues until 1214-15, when one quarter of a year is paid by Geoffrey de Mandeville⁹.

In 1214 the king's divorced wife Isabel had married **Geoffrey de Mandeville**, earl of Essex, who was now created earl of Gloucester and received the manors of the honour of Gloucester jointly with Isabel. Two years later however Geoffrey died without issue, and in 1217 Isabel married **Hubert de Burgh** who held Hanley de iure uxoris, but very briefly, since she died later that year¹⁰. King John then gave the manor to **Roger de Clifford**, but according to the Hundred Roll extracts of 1274-5 he did not receive the castle or the forest¹¹. In any case he did not hold for long, since king Henry III "in the year of his coronation" (1217) granted the manor, the castle, and what was now to be the chase, along with the rest of the honour of Gloucester, to **Gilbert de Clare** on his marriage to the daughter of William Marshal, earl of Pembroke. Gilbert was the son of Amicia, second daughter of earl William of Gloucester, and Richard de Clare, earl of Hertford, whom she married in 1174¹²; he therefore had some hereditary claim to the earldom of Gloucester and by 1218 he was styled earl of Hertford and Gloucester¹³.

The king or the king's son had held Hanley for at least ninety two of the first 150 years of its life since the Conquest, but between 1217 and 1478 the Crown's tenure would be limited to minorities and emergencies, totalling only eighteen years. This period of 261 years divides into three phases, when the manor was held successively by the families of de Clare (1217-1320), Despenser (1320-1423), and Warwick (1423-78). Gilbert de Clare, who had received Hanley from Henry III, died in 1230, and the Crown held again during the long minority of his son **Richard**, who finally succeeded in 1243 and died in 1262. Richard's son, another **Gilbert** and known as the Red Earl, inherited in 1264, after a brief minority; he strengthened the earldom by his marriage in 1290 to Joan d'Acre, daughter of king Edward I, and died in 1295. Since **Joan** had been jointly enfeoffed with Gilbert she retained the Clare lands herself until her death in 1307, although she had married **Ralph de Monthermer** in 1297, who was then styled earl of Gloucester. The son of Gilbert and Joan, also **Gilbert**, inherited on her death, although technically a minor, being sixteen years of age. In 1314 he was killed at Bannockburn¹⁴; and although his widow Maud claimed dower for a time there was no issue, so that in 1317 the de Clare estates were officially divided among his three sisters¹⁵.

The estates were those of one of the greatest of the magnates, the combined earldoms of Hertford and Gloucester amounting to 456 knight's fees, and the honour of Gloucester was a prestigious part, with possessions as far afield as Dorset and Surrey ¹⁶. The honour of Clare itself was concentrated in East Anglia, taking its name from the Suffolk manor and castle of Clare, and its holdings spread westwards into Northamptonshire and southwards into Essex and Kent. There were Clare lordships also in Wales, specifically in Newport, Usk and Glamorgan, and the Clares

were always prominent among the Marcher lords¹⁷; and in addition there were holdings in Ireland¹⁸. Of Gilbert de Clare's three sisters, Eleanor had married **Hugh le Despenser** the younger in 1306, and it was she who received much of the honour of Gloucester, including Hanley, on the division of the inheritance. So in 1320, when Maud's dower claims were finally rejected, Hugh became lord of Hanley de iure uxoris, although the earldom was not revived for him. As will be seen below (Chapter IV), Hanley played a part in his last years, until he was executed in 1326.

For 103 years the Clares had held Hanley, and the Despenser tenure was to last exactly the same length of time. 1321/2 was a troubled time and saw a brief Crown intervention, but the exact reason is not known; Despenser was in fact a supporter of king Edward II throughout this period, and his wife was the king's niece¹⁹. After Hugh's death in 1326, and a period of nine months when the manor was with the Crown, his widow **Eleanor** held in dower until her marriage in 1328 to **William Zouche de Mortimer**, who had abducted her from the castle at Hanley²⁰. William held Hanley de iure uxoris for nine years, apart from a period between 1329 and 1331, when the manor was surrendered to the Crown with some other lands as a pledge in the case where Eleanor was convicted of theft of jewels from the Tower; the pledged lands were restored in 1331 on payment of £10,000²¹. During this brief period with the Crown the manor was actually held by queen Isabel, mother of king Edward III, who granted it temporarily to Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore, now earl of March, who had conspired with her to overthrow her husband, Edward II.

When Eleanor died in 1337 Hanley came to her son, another **Hugh le Despenser**, who died in 1349 without issue. His widow **Elizabeth** held in dower until her death in 1359, and she is known to have resided in the castle at Hanley which had been assigned to her "along with the adjacent houses, for her dwelling place"²². She was succeeded by Hugh's nephew **Edward le Despenser**, who in 1349 had been named as heir but was only twelve years of age. From his death in 1375 Edward's widow, another **Elizabeth**, held Hanley in dower until she died in 1409; however **Thomas le Despenser**, son of Edward and Elizabeth, had some interest in Hanley at this time, for the manor appears among his lands in the receiver's accounts for 1398, when it had apparently reverted to the Crown; Thomas was created earl of Gloucester, the first since the Clares, but was executed in 1400²³. After Elizabeth's death there was a brief Crown tenure of all the Despenser lands, which explains why in 1409-10 Edward duke of York was able to bring his household to Cardiff and Hanley castles. Hanley was next held by another son, **Richard le Despenser**, and from his death in 1414 his widow **Eleanor** held one third of the manor, castle and chase as her dower portion; Richard had died without issue and Isabel, his sister and heir, held the remainder. Whether one or both of them lived in the castle is not clear, but Isabel was certainly in residence in 1415, when her daughter by her first husband, Richard Beauchamp earl of Worcester, was born at Hanley; and she was there in 1425, as will be seen below²⁴. In 1423 Isabel married another **Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick**, in the castle at Hanley, and brought him the whole of the Despenser inheritance; according to Dugdale he thus became one of the three richest

landowners in England, the others being the duke of York and the earl of Stafford²⁵.

So began the Warwick tenure of Hanley, which was to last until 1478. Richard and Isabel's son **Henry** was born in the castle at Hanley in 1425, and held the manor after the death of both his parents in 1439²⁶. He died in the castle in 1446, having been created duke of Warwick in the previous year²⁷. Henry's widow Cecily probably received the manor in dower, along with other Warwick lands, including Elmley Castle²⁸; the heir however was their daughter Anne, who died in 1449 at the age of six. This meant that Hanley passed to another **Anne**, sister of duke Henry, who was the wife of **Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury**; Neville thus obtained the Warwick lands de jure uxoris and the title of earl of Warwick. This Warwick, "the kingmaker", was killed at the battle of Barnet in 1471. His widow, Anne countess of Warwick, apparently did not receive Hanley as part of her dower, but it passed to **Isabel** their daughter, who was wife of **George duke of Clarence**, brother of king Edward IV²⁹. When Isabel died in 1476 Clarence continued to hold Hanley and the rest of her lands until his execution in 1478. This was the end of the Warwick tenure, and the estates escheated to the **Crown**; however Anne held theoretically for a time in 1487, when her lands were restored by Act of Parliament, only to be reconveyed immediately to the Crown³⁰.

From 1478 to 1560 the manor was with the **Crown**, except for the years 1545-7, when it was granted to **Lord Clinton and Saye**. **John Hornyold**, of a family which had been in Worcestershire since the early fourteenth century at least, now appeared in Hanley; he had leased Blackmore park from the Crown in 1547, and took a lease of the manor in 1555³¹. The leases were a prelude to his purchase of the manor in 1560, when queen Elizabeth granted Hanley (but not the chase) to himself and his wife for the sum of £851 9s 6d and one hundredth of a knight's fee³².

The manor stayed with the Hornyolds until the twentieth century, although under the Commonwealth it was sequestrated, since the family had adhered to the royalist cause. There were also difficulties at times caused by their recusancy, and it was a politic move by Thomas Hornyold in 1672 to sell the advowson of the church to Nicholas Lechmere. Another Thomas Hornyold died without issue in 1859, and his estates passed to his nephew John Vincent Gandolfi, a count of the Genoese Republic, so that the family took the name Gandolfi-Hornyold. The last lord of the manor, still holding much of the ancestral land, was Alfonso Gandolfi-Hornyold, duke Gandolfi (a papal honour); he sold the estates in 1919, but his nephew Antony still lives at Blackmore ³³

(A Table of the Descent of the Manor, with full references, will be found in Appendix II)

2. THE DEMESNE ECONOMY

(a) The Demesne Resources

A partial picture of the demesne up to 1217 can be drawn from Domesday Book and the Pipe Rolls. For the period of the Clares, Despensers and Warwicks, between 1217 and 1478, we

have some IPMs, and some ministers' accounts from occasions when the manor was with the Crown, but little else; there is scarcely anything for example concerning Hanley in the surviving archives of those magnates themselves³⁴. The first available IPM after the manor left the Crown is that on the death of Richard de Clare in 1262. Later Inquisitions generally contain detailed extents, but this one is very limited, dating from before the statute Extenta Manerij of 1276³⁵. This statute codified the existing framework for an extent, which was until the mid-fourteenth century more or less followed by the jurors. After that time the extents become much thinner, but we are fortunate in Hanley in having the IPM of 1416 which gives details of an assignment in dower. It was expected under the statute that an extent would list the demesne assets in agricultural land, woodland, buildings, amenities, and tenants along with their land, rents and services, giving a value to each element³⁶. In practice lists were sometimes incomplete and valuations invariably too low, by up to fifty per cent in many cases, and there were instances where a new Inquisition was ordered, producing a marked rise in revenue.

The jurors giving evidence for an IPM frequently and understandably did not comprehend the detailed functioning of the demesne, so that in their name the lord's officials were able to misrepresent his resources and wealth. The minister who rendered his annual account to the lord's auditors would have to take more care, since his figures could be checked with previous years, and the lord's steward could visit the manor to see for himself. But although the minister might satisfy his lord, the paradox is that what we see may still not be a true record for our purposes; for example fixed sums might be carried forward from year to year, representing a pre-determined yield required under a given head, and whatever the minister might produce beyond this was his own perquisite. In the late fifteenth century, when wholesale leasing often meant very sketchy accounts, we have considerable detail for Hanley, where leasing was piecemeal, but it is again marred by the carrying forward of ossified sums and the repetition of old information as if it were current. But even with such caveats it is possible to identify, chiefly from accounts and IPMs, the main resources of the Hanley demesne.

Firstly there was a capitalis curia, lying at Church End. It contained appropriate buildings, some of which will be seen below, and a bartona (that is, a separate yard with farm buildings); and there was another barton at Blackmore, with grangia and other buildings (see Chapter II above). Then there was arable up to 270 acres, divided between the two parts of the demesne, meadow up to thirty six acres, and pasture of about seventy acres. The material wealth was completed by demesne stock and plough beasts, woodland which included the demesne wood at Cliffey and two parks, a chain of fishponds and a mill. A striking aspect of the physical layout of the eastern demesne and its vicinity (Map III.1) is the careful and convenient arrangement of curia, park, arable, mill, market, church and castle; but when such planning took place it is hard to say. The castle was hardly an asset for the demesne, in that there was no income from it; yet castle repairs appear in the manorial accounts and it generally descended with the manor. Finally for human resources there were customary tenants to provide labour services on the demesne (almost one

hundred in due course), and eight or nine servi in 1086, reducing to five famuli in the early fourteenth century; a reeve (praepositus) held it all together in 1086, and another reeve, probably a villein of the manor, was overseeing the agriculture in 1326-7, although "bailiffs" were rendering account by the late fifteenth century.

(b) The Early Economy

The early economy of the demesne can be followed haltingly in the Pipe Rolls of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, when for the most part it was entrusted to the sheriff by the Crown. Unfortunately most of Worcestershire is missing from the earliest roll (1130), but the Red Book of the Exchequer shows the farm in 1154-5 set at £12 per year, payable by the sheriff to the Crown; this continued until 1199-1200, after which a slightly larger sum appears as redditus assisus, here perhaps a synonym for firma, but since the mill is separately accounted for it may be that the "fixed return" refers to rents and other regular income, as it did in the later thirteenth century. The existence of a firma does not preclude a sort of direct management, since the sheriff presumably would have to put in a bailiff, who would account to him³⁷.

Agricultural detail does not appear until 1182-3, when the Crown had just resumed the manor; in that year 12s was claimed by the sheriff pro seminandis terris dominii; the seed bought for 12s might sow on average twelve acres, and presumably the purchase was a makeweight. In the same roll the sheriff is seen to be paying in 22s 3d for corn and cheeses and other minutis rebus sold in Hanley in the previous year, so the productivity of the demesne is not in doubt. In 1184-5 the sheriff paid 35s to cover two and a half years rent for assarts in Hanley, probably in Blackmore, and new stock had to be brought into several local demesnes of the honour of Gloucester in that year, in the shape of oxen, cattle and pigs; this restocking may have been the result of a justices' visitation on behalf of the Crown³⁸.

In 1194-5 the sheriff accounted for 40s for Hanley corn sold to make up the farm (ad perficiendam firmam) and similar arrangements were made for surplus corn in Bushley and several other royal manors. In 1195 hay was sold from Hanley to the value of 10s, and 2s 1d was raised from hay sales in 1199-1200. We saw earlier that in this latter year over £24 was made from sales of grain "from the Malvern assarts". Surplus agricultural produce suggests some good years on the demesne and a justification for expanding it. Seed was bought in 1200-01, costing £12 9s 6d (but for various manors), and in 1202-3 seed worth 76s 8½d was bought at Cranborne in Dorset, a distant manor of the honour³⁹. This latter seed was intended probably (the roll does not make it clear) for Hanley, Bushley, Eldersfield, Fairford and Tewkesbury, and if it bought say twenty five quarters of wheat it would be enough to sow about 100 acres; by the same token the purchase of 1200-01 would sow 325 acres. It may be that new demesne arable in the local manors of the honour of Gloucester was putting pressure on grain for seed, and although inter-manorial purchases within a wider lordship are natural, carrying it from Cranborne could imply a sudden shortage, as if development of new arable was too rapid.

These purchases of seed were made at a time when, for two years, the manor was run by two Crown appointees, after many years during which the sheriff rendered account as the Crown's agent. Such an arrangement was common after such a long period, and enabled the Crown officials to make up deficiencies which had accumulated; so in these two years demesne agriculture was put on a surer footing by the purchase of seed corn, the mill was repaired, the fishponds were refurbished, there was expenditure on building work in the curia, and a claim was made for the wages of the procurator vinee⁴⁰. A demesne parcel leased for 7s 3d in 1200-01 might be about thirty acres; by such piecemeal leasing of the demesne the officials were probably trying to maximise its value. Perhaps there was a temporary shortfall in villein labour services, so that the demesne could not be worked efficiently, and the same may be the reason for John de Tadelstorp's lease of forty acres for 10s in 1208-9⁴¹; this entry continues to be seen until 1212-13, by which time the new demesne at Blackmore had presumably settled down, and the forty acres taken into direct management⁴².

(c) The curia and the garden (Map III.1)

Building works (pro operationibus) in 1200-01, costing 12s 10d, were presumably in the curia; castle building costs do not appear until 1207⁴³. However the curia is not recorded as such until the IPM of 1296, when it is capitalis curia cum edificiis bartona gardino curtilagio, the whole being valued at 3s per year. In the 1307 IPM this has become "the site of the manor, worth nothing except as a lodging for the lord" (situm manerii nichil valet per annum nisi tantummodo pro perhencionacione domini), but the garden is worth 2s. In the next IPM (1315) all this is recorded rather ambiguously as an enclosure (clausura) "inside the barton of Blackmore and Hanley", worth 2s. The lord's lodging might be thought superfluous after the building of the castle, but it is mentioned again ("a house occupied to the lord's use") in the late fifteenth century accounts. Perhaps it was more often the steward who lodged there. The 1315 information is repeated in 1349 and 1359, but in 1375 only the garden is mentioned, now worth nothing because the [fruit?] trees have been cut down. In 1416 Eleanor le Despenser has one third of the manor assigned in dower, and while she has one third of everything else available, including the castle for example and the garden, the buildings of the curia are not among the assets; on the other hand, the grangia was made available to the duke of York's household in 1409-10, and a lock was bought for it as soon as they arrived. The two bay house called Le Heyhouse "in the barton *alias* Hanley Stabul' ", leased in the late fifteenth century, was a hay barn not currently required by the demesne, and even from the grangia, next to the graveyard, there was no income at this time, so presumably it could not be leased. The hay crop in 1479-80 was in fact carried in fourteen cartloads to the lodge in the park (later Lodge Farm), where it would be available for the deer. On the whole the demesne farm or "barton" had lost much of its traditional role, and its name suggests that it was now used mainly for horses.

Unfortunately there is not sufficient detail at any period to enable a plan of buildings in

the curia to be drawn, but they stood in the northern part, with the garden to the south, and the whole covering about fifteen acres. The north-south limits are indicated in the 1416 IPM and the fifteenth century accounts, with the grangia next to the graveyard and the garden abutting the castle area. Eleanor le Despenser's portion of the garden is the southern third, near the site of the former windmills which can be seen on the aerial photograph (Fig II.1). The east and west limits of the curia would be marked by fences, which probably ran alongside two paths, both recently ploughed out. The eastern fence probably followed the line of the road to Upton, while that on the west divided the curia from Hanley park, and followed the path which passed from the church southwards to the Wyke gate of the castle. The path which probably marked the southern limits leads from the Upton road to the castle. Thus the castle opened into a roughly triangular curia, continuing the lord's private domain. Wyke in this context must indicate either the curia itself, especially the manorial dairy buildings, or the village (OE wic (1) dairy farm (2) settlement: cp vicus). The garden might be expected to be about two acres, but orchards should probably be added. Seignorial gardens were usually stoutly fenced, and valued by the lord both as a status symbol and a resort for leisure. Profit was less significant; certainly in Hanley the garden when we see it was no great asset, for in 1326-7 the whole crop (in grosso) of pears and apples was sold for 2s, and in 1479-80 it seems that the bailiff would have leased the leeks and chives, but there was no crop, or at any rate no surplus; this reminds us that the records often conceal the value to the household when in residence of fresh fruit and vegetables, and other amenities of the garden ⁴⁴.

The omission of the main elements of the curia in 1416 may suggest that it was falling out of use; later in the century it seems from the above evidence that stables were the noteworthy feature, and in fact between 1479 and 1534 the annual accounts show repairs only to the lodge in the park, the mill and the castle, and none to any buildings in the curia; and since up to 1501 at least the manorial court was held in the castle, it is possible that most other manorial functions had also been transferred there. The leasing of demesne to tenants, both land and buildings, will have diminished the importance of the curia, and the leasing as we shall see had begun in the early fourteenth century⁴⁵. As for Blackmore, our information is restricted to the 1326-7 account, when the grangia and buildings there were re-roofed and keys were bought for the gate of the barton. It is obvious that there was a separate establishment at Blackmore, in spite of the careless wording of the 1315 IPM, but as we shall see below, it was probably not needed beyond the mid-fourteenth century in its fullest form. As for its location, it was remarked above that a clue may be the house known still as Blackmore Grange, which lies between the arable and the park. The buildings at Blackmore were probably only agricultural, although accommodation was no doubt found for the Blackmore messor who was one of the five famuli; the others will have had quarters in the curia at Church End.

(d) Demesne Arable (Maps III.2 & II.3)

So many different figures are given in the IPMs for the acreage of demesne arable as to

encourage disbelief; yet trends can be observed, especially the decline in acreage which is shown in 1349, confirming the evidence of the 1326-7 account. Perhaps the figures deserving most credit are those which appear to be attempting some precision. For example in 1307 there were said to be 145 acres specifically at Blackmore, and another 125 acres presumably in the eastern section of the demesne. Similarly in 1315 the jurors reported exactly 260 acres and half a rood, an exactness which implies incidentally that these were statute acres. The 1296 IPM, reporting 151 acres, must have omitted one or other of the demesnes, for there is no reason to think that both were not in a sound state; in 1262 for example the IPM on Richard earl of Gloucester had recorded his Hanley assets in three parts: Hanley itself, Blackmore, and the forest (*sic*) of Malvern, demonstrating the status of Blackmore. But the figures available after 1315, except for 1337, agree on reporting a smaller arable demesne. This shrinking area of arable, as was noted above, is first deduced from the account for 1326-7, where £2 10s income for pasture on frisc is one of the clues, and another is the fact that only eighty acres were sown (Table III.2). We must suppose then that the 1337 IPM entry of two carucates is merely repeating earlier information; as we saw above the account is more likely than the IPM to give an accurate picture, and it seems possible that the Blackmore demesne arable, like thousands of acres in the rest of the country, was given up well before the Black Death⁴⁶.

The 1359 IPM indicates a three course rotation on 120 acres, which confirms the evidence of eighty acres sown in 1326-7 and the 1349 figure of eighty six and a half sown acres⁴⁷. In 1375 the sixty acres recorded must be the acreage sown from a further reduced total of ninety acres. The 1416 IPM includes no demesne arable, although other assets of the demesne appear in the dower assignment; we can presume therefore that it was now all sold or leased to tenants for use as arable or pasture at their discretion, which explains the growth of the land market there. From 260 acres in 1315 the arable demesne had been halved by 1327 and had disappeared completely into sale or leasing before 1416. Further leasing, mainly of the eastern demesne, is detailed in the late fifteenth century accounts, which begin in 1479-80. Table III.1 shows the information recorded between 1307 and 1416.

The minister's account for 1326-7 clearly describes a turning point in demesne agriculture in Hanley. Partly no doubt because adverse climatic conditions had diminished yields, in the years for example between 1315 and 1318, and partly because such famine years may well have reduced the labour available for the demesne, the arable acreage in hand had been reduced to 120 acres ⁴⁸. Since much of the eastern arable was apparently in strips or small parcels, mingled with tenant strips, Blackmore was the obvious place to achieve a tidy reduction; at any rate demesne parcels in the east continue to appear in deeds throughout the century and later. Along with the frisc, some of the original demesne pasture in specified locations, including the parks, was also leased, bringing in another £1 15s 8d. Frisc seems to be a term for ex-arable which might be ploughed again as need arose. Acreages are not given, but if we use a value of 6d per acre, as recorded in the 1315 IPM, the result is 170 acres of old pasture and new frisc; and if this is added to the 120

acres of arable still retained, the total acreage is about right. The arable recorded in 1337 is said to be "near the castle", which would confirm that Blackmore had accommodated most of the frisc and borne the brunt of the retrenchment; but it had not yet gone out of business completely, as is demonstrated by the repairs in the barton already noted and the work of the reap reeve there in 1326-7.

	<u>Arable Acreage Recorded</u>	<u>Total Arable Acreage</u>
1307 (IPM)	125 at "Hanley" 145 at Blackmore	270
1315 (IPM)	260 & half a rood	260 & half a rood
1326-7 (Account)	80 sown	120
1349 (IPM)	86 ¹ / ₂ sown	c. 120
1359 (IPM)	80 sown	120
1375 (IPM)	60 sown	90
1416 (IPM)	None	

Table III.1 : Demesne Arable 1307-1416

The sown acreage in 1326-7 is given in so many words in the works and granary sections of the account, and the eighty acres include both winter and spring sowings. The winter work would have taken place in October or November, before the frosts, and is recorded although the account does not strictly begin until early December: no account survives for the period from Michaelmas 1326 to December, which is the point at which the Crown had resumed tenure. The nine month account which does survive casts some light on the ways in which the reduction in demesne arable was managed. The demesne was still cared for partly by the famuli, of whom there were five, the successors in a sense of the eight or nine servi of 1086; they will be seen in more detail below. They included a tentor and a fugator to work the plough; it appears from the account that there was only one demesne plough by this time, although there were two harrows. In the stock account we find eight boves and two affri, which would be sufficient to draw the plough and the harrows, and to perform other tasks on the demesne⁴⁹. That this represents a reduction in draught animals is indicated also by the sale of five loads of hay for £1 5s. Ploughing and harrowing works for tenants in the 1315 extent had been 121 selions, and 124 selions were ploughed by works in 1326-7 (some thirty acres, if at four selions per acre, which is a figure given

in the account); so there was no recalculation of ploughing services, but with the shrinking arable and the consequent overall reduction in demesne labour requirements, as many as 963 winter works could be sold; this raised £2 0s 1³/₄d, while ploughs and harrows were hired for a total of twenty three man-days at a cost of 7s 8¹/₂d; the management was thus in pocket, even though not all the winter works pertained to ploughing. Other works sold included 106 threshing works, 14 mowing, 45 harvesting and 105 bedripes, but some threshing and mowing was bought back. Table III.9 below illustrates these figures in the context of labour services as they affected tenants.

The works actually performed covered only twenty nine of the eighty sown acres, although the tenants had to weed all eighty; fifty one acres then remained for the demesne plough and the implements hired from the tenants. If the twenty three hired tenant ploughs got through an acre per day each, twenty eight acres would be left for the demesne plough; but these figures can only be estimates, since the hire of ploughs was spread over the winter sowing of wheat and rye and the spring sowing of barley and oats. Fallow ploughing is not mentioned and presumably was not carried out, at any rate in this particular year; nor is it clear whether the land was ploughed more than once before sowing⁵⁰. The difference in cost of winter and spring sowing is noteworthy: it may be supposed that the land was easier to work in the spring, when only nine tenant ploughs were needed for an acreage similar to that ploughed in the winter by fourteen, which also cost twice as much to hire per day

All the rye and barley seed was bought in, with one quarter of the required wheat and half the oats; and if the eight quarters of oats received in rent from Mathon and Colwall tenants had not been used for seed, more would have had to be purchased: it appears from the 1315 IPM that this payment had been commuted to 13s 4d, but the option of commutation was not exercised in 1326-7, the grain itself being more important. The purchase of seed, both for sowing and for the livery of the famuli, must indicate a shortage: some wheat was received from the constable's predecessor but there was no grain to sell. The seed might have been bought from tenants, but they too had probably restricted their arable to their subsistence needs, since most of the additional arable leased to them appears to have been used for pasture. There was a theory that corn from other estates would give better yields, and we saw that in the twelfth century seed corn came to Hanley from Dorset⁵¹. Nothing can be gathered from the account concerning yields, but there is a consensus which calculates that in the fourteenth century wheat and barley produced about four times the seed sown, with oats yielding three and a half times and rye three⁵². These figures have been applied to the Hanley data and are given in Table III.2, providing some notion of the management and productivity of the demesne at this time.

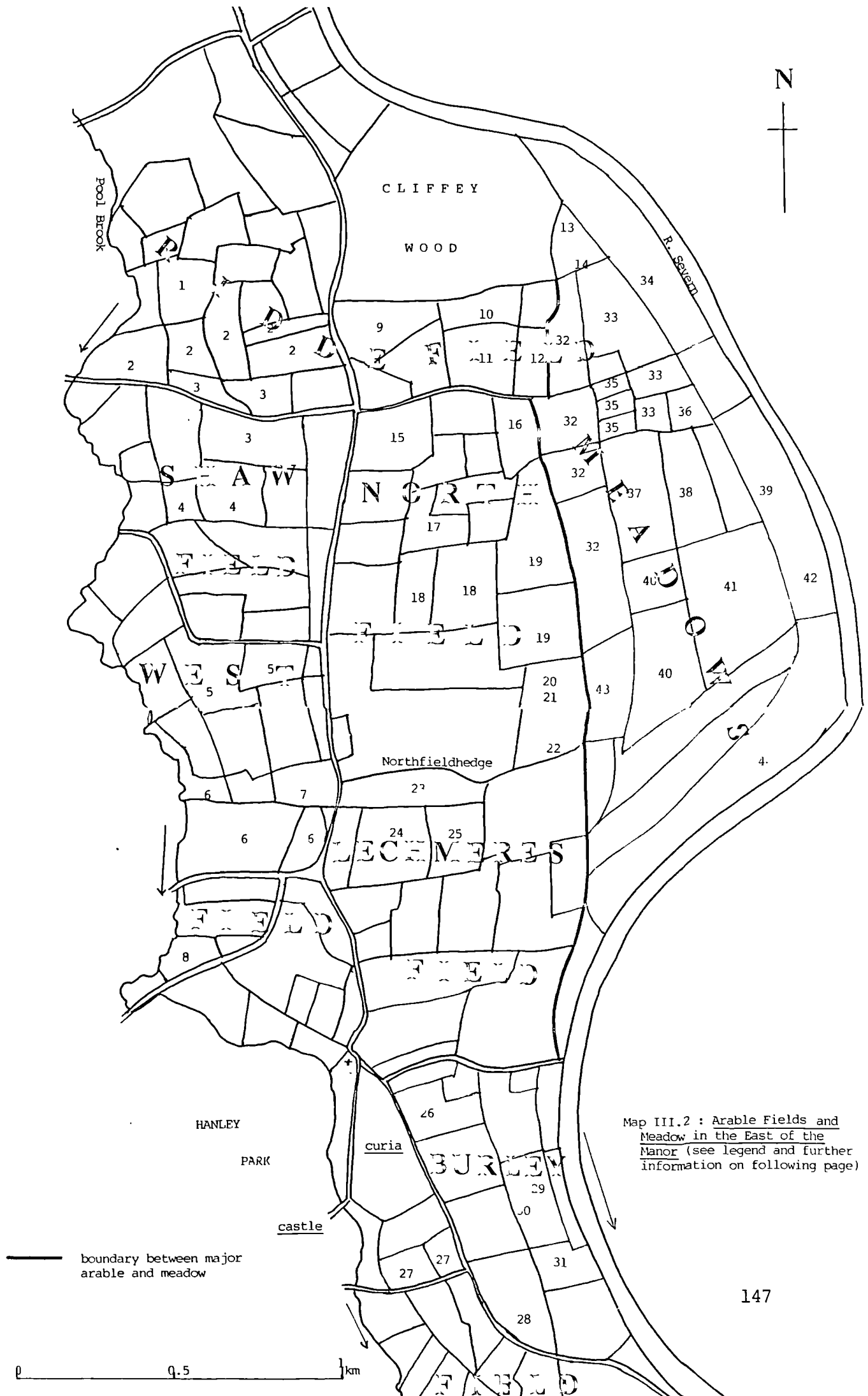
The demesne continued with diminished arable, and a combination of unreliable grain prices and increasing profitability of pasture, which was of course less labour-intensive, may have militated against any revision of policy⁵³. We saw that the last ninety acres must have been leased between 1375 and 1416; and the accounts of 1479-80 record all works sold and no payments made for any agricultural work except mowing. Four acres of arable are leased at 3d per acre, an ancient

price; leases of "land", "land and/or pasture", "pasture" and "frisc" are worth in total £6 1s 8d, but the only acreage given is a parcel in Bedelesbuttes of five acres, leased at 1s 6d per acre. At this rate £6 1s 8d would mean about 100 acres of leased demesne; bearing in mind that the Blackmore demesne was not in the reckoning, this must be near the truth. The 1479-80 accounts report five tenements where rent has had to be reduced, seventeen paying only a portion of their rent, and various lands and tenements to the value of £3 5s whose tenants have left and their whereabouts are unknown; it seems then that the manor was in a state of economic depression⁵⁴.

Season	Crop	Bought for seed -----	Used for seed (quarters) -----	Sown per acre	Acreage sown	Acreage ploughed by services	Acreage ploughed demesne & hire	Ploughs hired	Estimated yield (quarters)
Winter	Wheat	2.125	8	0.375	23	15	26	14	32
	Rye	5.5	5.5	0.313	18				16.5
Spring	Barley	11.125	11.125	0.625	19	14	25	9	44.5
	Oats	6.375	13.75	0.625	20				48
Totals (acres)					80	29	51		

Table III2 : Management of the demesne arable 1326-7

Information about the distribution and location of the demesne arable can be extracted from the above sources, and from deeds where it is given as a boundary (see also Map III.2). In the east, there was compact demesne in Burleyfield ("near the castle", IPM 1337), and probably in Northfield at Kyngfurlonge (cp. Kyngynhull (L58); neither compact arable nor demesne strips have been noted in Westfield. The Burleyfield arable included, in the north of that field, Constable Furlong, which was no doubt allowed to the constable of the castle; Roger de Hanley presented the 1326-7 account as "constable and keeper of the castle and manor of Hanley". Its precise position, south of the church and eventually taking in some of the curial area, can be plotted from Edmund Lechmere's estate book of 1760⁵⁵. Bedellbotes of the accounts, being land allowed to the beadle, is coupled with Revebottes, and they seem to lie together in the Shiremede area, in the east of Northfield ⁵⁶. A reeve was supervising the agriculture in 1326-7 (the ploughs were hired at his request - prepositi festinacione), and the beadle would be his assistant. They are both shown in the account as having works and rent allowed, amounting to 6s 3¼d for the reeve and 3s 6¼d for the beadle. Kyngfurlonge is probably the lord's cultura mentioned in a deed of 1330 (L24), its name possibly suggesting Anglo-Saxon royal demesne, although there was a King(s) family in



Map III.2 : Arable Fields and Meadow in the East of the Manor (see legend and further information on following page)

Map III.2

The Map shows the arable and meadow lying between the river and the Pool Brook. The main field boundaries are medieval; the bounds of the smaller lands are based on the 1797 Enclosure Map (HWCRO BA 816 Ref 269.81/2), by which time, as the Map shows, there was very little open field left to be enclosed. The main open fields were Northfield, Westfield and Burleyfield, but Riddefield and Shawfield were also manorial fields, while Lechemeresfield appears to have been privately owned. Like the open fields, the meadows alongside the river were available to tenants generally, whether ^{as common or} for rent or for purchase. The numbers on the Map indicate parcels of land which can be located, using information on the whole from the deeds, dating from the late thirteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century. Further names, of land not precisely located, will be found in Appendix I .

Name	No.	Earliest reference	Date	Name	No.	Earliest reference	Date
<u>(Riddefield)</u>				<u>(Lechemeresfield)</u>			
Buvley	1	L118	1469	Pubbehull	23	L81	1429
Le Ley	2	L127	1471	St Clements Land	24	L173	1506
Deranthull	3	L127	1471	Bytten furlong	25	L96	1456
Licefield	9	L170	1505	<u>(Burleyfield)</u>			
Bylfield	10	L170	1505	Custable furlong	26	Min's Acc	1479
St Clements Land	11	L153	1478	Churchefelde	27	L76	1411
Hommefurlong	12	L75	1410	Otehale	28	L110	1461
Clyvelodefurlong	13	L34	1351	Efurlong	29	L18	1322
Le Longcroft	14	L34	1351	Longeheuedlond	30	L2	c.1290
<u>(Shawfield)</u>				Gerolduslond	31	L95	1436
Radelay	4	L87	1444	<u>(Meadow)</u>			
<u>(Westfield)</u>				Westmore	32	L14	1318
Hyllenheye	5	L188	1512	Boterwelle	33	BL73669	1302
Prioursfelde	6	L157	1491	Lawemedwe	34	L38	1356
Assecrofte	7	L66	1398	Bousals	35	L164	1501
Pennecrofte	8	Rental	c.1550	Oughley	36	L148	1486
<u>(Northfield)</u>				Overhomme	37	L61	1393
Spyttescrofte	15	L164	1501	Mapelmedue	38	L65	1397
Sondehulle	16	L14	1318	St Clements M.	39	L188	1512
Bonerysclose	17	L92	1455	Le Homme	40	L73	1407
Colefelde	18	L92	1455	Schiremede	41	Min's Acc	1326
Medowfelde	19	L174	1508	Cademedowe	42	L196	1516
Le Cokshute	20	L207	1521	Oddemedue	43	L43	1369
Kyngynhull furlong	21	L58	1391	Severn Meadow	44	L23	1329
Staunteley furlong	22	L73	1407	(this is also the name given to the whole of the eastern meadowland)			

Hanley, recorded in the early fourteenth century accounts; otherwise in Northfield it is a case of demesne strips or small blocks of strips mingled with tenant strips. In Burleyfield blocks seem to have been the rule, but strips occur in Shawfield (L188), in Northfield at Partricheforlong (L22), in Berkeleye(L57) south of Gilberts End, in the Riddefield area to the north and west of Cliffey wood (demesne parcel leased in 1479-80), and in Clyvelodeforlong (L34) and Longecroft (L20), which were both to the east of Cliffey. In the west, the demesne arable has already been noted (Map II.3). Table III.3 illustrates the distribution of known demesne arable throughout the manor.

Compact

Northfield	in Kyngefurlonge (in south west of Northfield)
Burleyfield	south of the <u>curia</u> , east of the castle
Blackmore	between the north boundary of the manor and Aylers End Street, reaching eastwards to the path through Horton

Strips or Small Blocks

Northfield	in Partrichefurlong (in south west of Northfield)
Shawfield	?
Riddefield	north and west of Cliffey
Clyvelodeforlong	east of Cliffey
Longecroft	east of Cliffey
Berkeleye	south of Gilberts End

Table III.3 : Distribution and Location of Known Demesne Arable

The demesne land at Hanley had never been extensive in relation to the size of the manor, comprising a maximum of 270 acres of arable, and a modicum of official pasture and meadow which will be seen below. There had never been more than two ploughs, and labour services must have been vital, especially in the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, when two demesnes were in production. The mixture of compact arable and demesne strips in the east probably has a pre-Conquest origin, as is argued by D Hall for various settlements in the east Midlands, but the early pattern cannot be recovered for Hanley; however, such names of lost settlements as Wylton, Wotton and Huntwick, along with several furlongs, all in the east of the manor, may point to pre-Conquest arrangements⁵⁷. The wholly compact arable in the west was an easily managed and organised response to population pressures, and no doubt also a conscious attempt by the Crown to maximise revenue. The abandoning of this demesne in the first quarter of the fourteenth century brought new opportunities for peasants, many of whom must have had their own land for the first time.

(c) Demesne Pasture

One of the many inconsistencies in the IPMs lies in the recording of pasture. Firstly they

tend to give either the acreage or the value, but not both: secondly they are ambivalent about the pasture in the parks, which may well have varied from time to time; and thirdly, even where they report reduced arable, they tend to be silent on any corresponding increase in pasture. What they are always concerned with is the historical core of demesne pasture, which lay both at Blackmore and in the east, and is usually said to comprise forty two and a half acres, with a value, where given, of 6d per acre. We have seen that the accounts compensate to some degree for these deficiencies, in that they record leases, which however include leases of frisc or ex-arable; but fortunately we have in the 1326-7 account a list which takes all the frisc parcels together and then gives what appear to be the original pastures, although perhaps not a complete list (Table III.4). The only difficulty is that at a nominal 6d per acre, their value would represent seventy one acres. Apart from that in the park, much of the eastern pasture is between Northfield and Severn Meadow; Mordstowe, if it is at the Rhydd, may be the original pasture of the hamlet there. Another parcel of demesne pasture emerges in the 1416 IPM, in the shape of Houghleyesforlong, which along with Rammeshurst and Bedelesbottes constitutes the dower third; by its name it was originally arable, and again it lies on the line between Northfield and Severn Meadow; later it was counted among the school lands as Uffleys Meadow (Chapter IV below). As for Westmore, except in 1326-7 it is always meadow, and along with Uffleys it serves to remind us that expediency governed the specific uses of land.

	Value	<u>Acres @ 6d</u>	<u>Location</u>
Hanley Park*	16s 0d	32	north and west of the castle
Blackmore Park	5s 0d	10	west of Blackmore End
Mordstowe	5s 4d	10 ¹ / ₂	The Rhydd?
Westmore	3s 4d	6 ¹ / ₂	between Northfield and Severn Meadow
Rammeshurste	3s 6d	7	----- ditto -----
Woltepare	1s 6d	3	(unlocated)
Revebottes & Bedellbotes	1s 0d	2	between Northfield and Severn Meadow, in the Shiremede area, lying together
	(total	71)	
various pastures on the frisc	50s 0d	100	(ex-arable locations)

* "pasture in the park and no more because the rest was grazed by the lord's oxen and cattle"

Table III.4: Demesne Pasture 1326-7

Some of the pasture is described as several, that is separate from the rest and enclosed, and sixteen works were expended in 1326-7 on making fences around the several pasture inside Blackmore Park. Two lime bark ropes bought to tether the affers (pro affris affirmandis) in the pasture may indicate that some demesne pasture was unfenced, or it may be that the demesne beasts were at times put on the open commons, and probably on the fallow. In 1326-7 sixty seven works making hurdles for the lord's sheepfold were sold as not required, so there was or had been a demesne flock; we saw

above that sheep's cheeses were sold in small quantities, but there is no mention of wool and no suggestion of any significant sheep farming at any period. Other sales in 1326-7 are only what might be expected from limited demesne pasture, much of it in woodland; for example, the milk of seven cows, six salt beef carcasses and nine bacons brought in a total of £2 15s 6d; what is visible however may be only the surplus after household needs had been met. The pasture, in spite of such seemingly small returns, was nevertheless being fully grazed, at any rate in 1409-10, when the duke of York with his household was staying in the castle: thirty bovetti which they had brought with them had to be sent to Bushley Park for pasturing, and a large number of wethers, pigs and calves had to be purchased during their visit.

(f) Demesne Meadow

It was noted above that hay was sold from the demesne on at least two occasions in the late twelfth century. There is no earlier record of demesne meadow, although the oxen for two ploughs in 1086, for example, will have required hay as winter feed⁵⁸. In the thirteenth century, only the 1296 IPM reports meadow; the figure is twenty seven and a half acres, which on later evidence seems to be excluding the Blackmore element. On more than one occasion the twin demesnes seem to have presented a puzzle for the jurors. The meadow is best understood from the 1326-7 account (Table III.5), which provides locations and measurements from some thirty six acres; the figure of precisely thirty six acres and one perch had appeared in the 1315 IPM, by its exactness implying an effort at accuracy. By 1479-80 the accounts show that little had changed, although there was some leasing and the value had risen to 1s 6d per acre from 1s in 1296. By the sixteenth century all the old eastern meadow was probably leased, since in 1545 the grant of the manor specifies only meadows in the parks. The majority of the demesne meadow was always located in the east of the manor, close to the river, where it was alongside tenant parcels and common meadow; it was no doubt enclosed, but according to the 1359 IPM it was open to tenants for common grazing after mowing until the Purification. Only La Mor' belonged to the Blackmore demesne in the west.

	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Location</u>
Lechemer	4ac 12½p	east of Lechmeresfield
Shiremede	12ac 3r 6p	south east of Northfield
Westmore	13ac 1r 6p	between Northfield & Severn Meadow
La Mor'	5½ac	Blackmore (on Northbrook?)
Total	35ac 2r 34½p	

Table III.5 : Demesne Meadow, 1326-7

In the 1337 IPM the meadow was allegedly dry and hilly (siccum et montanum), not a believable description of meadow which in 1375 was said to be reduced to eight acres, "and no more because it

lies near the Severn and is frequently flooded (multotiens demerguntur)". In spite of these problems, and although only six acres are given in 1416 as the dower third, the meadow seems quite healthy again in the 1479-80 account. Here there are eighteen acres in Westmore, nine in Shiremede, and the rest at Overlaunde in Blackmore Park; the eastern meadow is roughly in the same places as before, and although Lechmer has disappeared on paper (perhaps now absorbed into the Lechmere family territory) not too much should be read into the apparent changes in Westmore, which covered large areas of both demesne and tenant meadow, and in Shiremede, where in 1479-80 a parcel called Shiremedeshorttes which was supposed to be leased could not even be found. As for the western meadow, with the Blackmore demesne now inactive the meadow at La Mor' had been replaced by meadow amid the launds of Blackmore Park, its crop probably destined as fodder for the deer. In Hanley at large there can scarcely ever have been a shortage of meadow, unless at times poorly maintained floodbanks and an overflowing river prevented access to the extensive Severn meadows.

The account of 1326-7 reveals something of the management of the demesne meadow. Seventy seven mowing works, valued at 2d each, were available from forty eight customary tenants, and sixty were used, with two being allowed to the reeve and one to the beadle. These labour services were worked in the eastern meadows, while the five and a half acres at La Mor' were mown ad tascham, that is for an agreed payment (of 5d) per acre. Thus the cost of mowing there was 2s 3½d, while the spreading and turning of the hay cost 6d, and one man was paid 1d for a day's work in stacking and laying it (cuband') in the barn. The income from works sold was only 2s 4d, so that if five cartloads had not been sold for £1 5s there would have been a deficit; such a surplus may be explained by the halving of the demesne arable, so that there were fewer plough beasts to be overwintered. In 1479-80.

1326-7 Account

<u>INCOME</u>		<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	
14 works sold	2s 4d	Mowing (5½ ac)	2s 3½d
5 cartloads sold	£1 5s 0d	Spreading & Turning	6d
		Stacking and Laying	1d
<u>Totals</u>	<u>£1 7s 4d</u>		<u>2s 10½d</u>

1479-80 Account

<u>INCOME</u>		<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	
75 works sold	12s 6d	Mowing (c. 36 ac)	7s 0d
herbage sold --		Spreading	6d
in Shiremede (9ac)	13s 6d	Turning, etc	7s 9d
in Westmore (18ac)	£1 1s 6d	Repair of banks	3d
in Overlaunde	10s 0d	Carrying to the lodge	4s 8d
<u>Totals</u>	<u>£2 17s 6d</u>		<u>£1 0s 2d</u>

Table III.6 : Demesne Hay, 1326-7 and 1479-80

when the demesne arable was fully leased, all seventy five of the mowing works (still worth 2d) were sold, and also most of the hay. The cost of mowing and gathering in that year, including one man for a day at 3d to repair the banks (ad emendanda fovilia - floodbanks?), and the carriage of hay to the lodge (sc. for the deer), was £1 0s 2d, but the income from the sale of herbage and sale of works was £2 17s 6d, so that there was a clear profit.

(g) The famuli

We meet with the five famuli only once in the available documents, in the account for 1326-7. Four of them form a traditional group of tentor (to hold the plough), fugator (to drive the plough beasts), carator (carter) and daya (dairymaid or dairyman). The work of the plough has already been briefly noted; there was a single, unwheeled, plough to be held and guided and a selection of eight oxen and two affers to be goaded and driven. As well as a cart or carts (caratar'), the carter also had to care for a plaustrum, a wain for which a lime bark rope was bought. The daya (the word can be masculine or feminine) would oversee the production of milk from the seven demesne cows, which brought in 18s, and the making of (sheep's) cheeses, which were worth 11s 4d; additionally during the previous year the stock was augmented by five calves. Against this the dairy account showed expenditure of 3d on rennet (renles), 4d on six earthenware butts (ollis buttis), and 3d on one ell of gauze (cauctias') for wrapping (inuchiandis) the cheeses. Butter was also produced, two pounds of it being used for greasing the plough and a cart.

The occupations of these four famuli are common to many manors, but at Cuxham for example there was also a shepherd, an occasional gardener, and a cowman. Hanley had its cowman, although he was not officially a famulus, but a customary tenant who was allowed 2s 3d in rent for herding the lord's cattle; apart from the plough oxen the lord's herd included two bulls and one bullock, and in the previous year there had been beef cattle, since six salt beef carcasses were sold at 4s each. The last of the five famuli at Hanley is the reap-reeve (messor) at Blackmore. The messor does not generally appear among manorial famuli, but Blackmore had a special position as a detached demesne, where work throughout the year still needed separate supervision, even though the arable there had been very much reduced. The messor was sometimes also the hayward, or the overseer of hedges and boundaries, and Haywardsfield at Blackmore may have been his perquisite⁵⁹.

The payments in cash and kind made to the famuli at Hanley compare quite closely with those recorded for Cuxham, but the Cuxham servants did rather better on balance; they received rather more grain and the daya had special liveries of wheat and barley, although the others made do with mixed corn⁶⁰. At Hanley there was some barley but little wheat; in fact 2qr 1b which is claimed as wheat in the grain account is elsewhere in the document described as dross corn (scurral'), and the majority of the livery was rye, mixed corn and oats, the latter being used to make meal for the pottage of the famuli, for which 2 bushels of salt were also bought.

	<u>HANLEY</u>		<u>CUXHAM</u>	
	<u>Cash</u>	<u>Kind</u>	<u>Cash</u>	<u>Kind</u>
Plough holder	2s 0d	4qr 2b	2s 0d	5qr 2b
Driver	1s 6d	4qr 2b	1s 6d	5qr 2b
Carter	1s 6d	4qr 2b	2s 0d	5qr 2b
Dairymaid	1s 0d	3qr 4b	1s 0d	4qr 5b
Reap-reeve	1s 6d	4qr 2b	-----	-----

Table III.7 : Payments to famuli, early fourteenth century

The cash was paid, or at any rate accounted for, at the Annunciation, and the livery of grain was made at the rate of two bushels every three weeks, except for the daya, who received two bushels every four weeks. These are Hanley figures, and the more generous Cuxham figures can be seen alongside them in Table III.7. At Cuxham the smaller allowance for the daya was thought to be because she ate at the lord's table during harvest, or perhaps because there was opportunity for private gain from milk sales in the dairy. It is interesting that in both manors the daya received less, and in fact the other similarities are so regular that they must reflect a wider situation, with conventional rates for famuli: the two manors had quite a different history of management and lordship.

It has been calculated that four acres of arable would be needed to produce thirty six bushels: the Hanley grain allowance for the famuli would therefore require eighteen acres⁶¹. This cost to a manor, along with the cash wages, meant that the administration would be inclined to work the famuli to the full, and in Hanley some of their time may have been occupied in the garden, in the absence of an official gardener, in shepherding the demesne flock as required, in making ale and so forth. It is likely that they saw themselves exploited, which along with increasing work opportunities elsewhere may explain why after 1350 famuli were often breaking their annual contracts and leaving their home manors to make more affluent lives in other places⁶². In Hanley they were in any case probably superfluous by 1416, when the IPM shows that there would be little for them to do.

A question often asked is whether the grain allowance plus the cash wage was intended for an individual servant or whether it might cover also a wife and family. It is true that the famuli generally lived in the curia, but that does not preclude accommodation there for a family, nor the possibility, as at Cuxham, of the famulus holding his own land and enjoying other valuable perquisites⁶³. If four quarters of grain each per year was the regular allowance for retired people living by agreement on their children's holdings, it might seem that the famulus had just enough for one person's sustenance, but if wages and other possible emoluments are added, and if his wife also worked, there would be little economic argument against the famulus being married⁶⁴. On the other hand, when labour was plentiful the lord might find enough young bachelors for one year

contracts.

Whether married or not while they were in service, some no doubt married when they left the familia. For example Henry le Dryver at Cuxham took over a cottage with one and a half acres, along with his wife, in 1321. In Hanley we have evidence in personal names of ex-famuli or perhaps their descendants who became prosperous : for instance the 1275 Subsidy Roll records William le Holdare (sc. tentor) paying 2s, Robert Messor paying 1s 4d, and Gregory Carectarius paying 2s 6d; and incidentally such names must have resulted in their cases from some lengthy service on the demesne.

(h) Rents and Services

Our earliest information about rent income is in the Pipe Roll for 1199-1200, when the sheriff accounted for £7 7s of assize rent for half a year, including the mill. This is clarified in the

<u>1296 IPM</u>	£	s	d
Assize rents of free tenants	2	10	0
Rents and services of 83 customary tenants	21	14	10¼
Total	24	4	10¼
<u>1307 IPM</u>			
Rents of free tenants	6	7	3½
Rents of "sokemen"	9	2	8¾
Value of services*	7	13	10
Total	23	3	10¼
<u>1349 IPM</u>			
Rents of Assize	15	8	6
Value of services	9	11	3
Total	24	19	9
<u>1479-80 Account</u>			
Assize rents of free and villein (<u>nativorum</u>) tenants	19	16	0¼
Sale of [all] services	9	8	11
Total	29	4	11¼
Add: Woodpenny	8s	0d	
Potters	6s	6d	
<u>Auxilium</u> and <u>de certo</u>	£5	6s	8d
Total	£6	1s	2d to be added

*part-total calculated from the extent : some manuscript deficiencies

Table III.8: Value of Rents and Services

following year, when the assize rent total for a whole year, without the mill, is £12 12s. No more is heard of rents until the 1296 IPM, which as will be seen above in Table III.8 distinguishes free from customary tenants and includes the value of labour services in the total of just over £24. This total roughly persists in those subsequent IPMs where the detail is reasonably intact, and is still seen in the late fifteenth century accounts, although over the years its make-up shows some variety. Other cash items accruing to the lord included the payment of "Wodepany", which at 7s 6d (8s 0d in 1315) might plausibly represent one penny each from the eighty three customary tenants of 1296; the extra rent from the potters, which was apparently sixpence per head and amounted to 6s 6d at its maximum; and two de certo (i.e. fixed, determined) payments from the customary tenants of £2 at Michaelmas (15s in 1315) and £3 6s 8d at the Hockday visus; this latter payment is said in the Customary to be for their privileges as tenants of Hanley and the chase. It will be noted that these extra burdens all fell on the customary tenants, who thus contributed the majority of the total income from tenants of up to £30.

Labour services represented only a notional income for the manor if they were actually worked; but in fact when we meet them in the late thirteenth century (IPM) each of them already has a money value, and in 1326-7 the account shows that about 67% of them were sold, bringing in a cash income of about £4, as seen in Table III.9⁶⁵. This income may well have fluctuated from year to year according to the needs of the demesne, but we have no other contemporary information for comparison. The total value of services in 1326-7 is somewhat less than the figures given in the IPMs because the account is for nine months only: for the same reason the number of

	Total works	Value	Number worked	Value	Number sold	Value	Value per work
Hurdles	69½	1s 5¼d	[2]*	½d	67½	1s 4¾d	¼d
Winter works	1331	£2 15s 5½d	367½	15s 3¾d	963½	£2 0s 1¾d	½d
Mowing	77	12s 10d	63	10s 6d	14	2s 4d	2d
Harvest	108	13s 6d	63	7s 10½d	45	5s 7½d	1½d
Bedripes	107	13s 4½d	[2]*	3d	105	13s 1½d	1½d
Ploughing, etc	124	10s 4d	124	10s 4d	none	----	1d
Brewing/malt	39	6s 6d	[4]*	8d	35	5s 10d	2d
Brewing/water	20	1s 8d	none	----	20	1s 8d	1d
Threshing	109	9s 1d	[3]*	3d	106	8s 10d	1d
TOTALS	1984½	£6 4s 2¼d	628½	£2 5s 2¾d	1356	£3 18s 11½	

*works allowed to reeve and beadle

Table III.9 : Labour Services 1326-7 (9 December to 19 August)

individual works is also lower, with 1984½ in the account, compared with 2772 in the 1349 IPM, which provides the fullest picture we have.

The IPM of 1307 is especially informative: the works of over sixty of the villeins can be read in a damaged manuscript and the names of thirty of these "sokemen" can be identified; the villeins are not styled thus elsewhere, and possible reasons will be examined below. The sokemen are divided into groups, related partly to the services which they owe for their tenements, and which presumably they could perform by substitute if they wished. For example William Whitemar and his group of fourteen others work every week for one day between Michaelmas and the Gules of August, except for the weeks of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, and in addition to this weekwork they have specified ploughing, harrowing and sowing (three selions each); then they have haymaking and harvesting duties, and must also make malt and provide hurdles. Threshing is unaccountably omitted from the 1307 IPM, but appears later. Walter Broun does twice William Whitemar's works, while others perform half or three quarters of them. There are several quotas in other groups which are given as a proportion of William Whitemar's works but which have not been included in his group; it may be then that the groups are related also to lands in particular parts of the manor, an arrangement which might go a little way towards easing the work of the administration; and by the same token William Whitemar, the exemplar of a group of fifteen, may also have been responsible for ensuring the delivery of its services. He will be seen again later in a discussion of services from the tenant's viewpoint.

Twenty two sokemen in 1307 have half a day's weekwork, and these may be some of the thirty two villeins who are said in the 1296 IPM to hold six acres each. In that case the eighteen who perform a full day's weekwork, including William Whitemar and his group, may be half-virgaters, holding twelve acres⁶⁶. Seventeen have no weekwork at all, but have to stack hay for two days, for example, and provide bedripes; these "boonworks", which were only theoretically voluntary, are given a value of 1½d each and are by now part of the manorial labour service system; 383 are recorded in the 1315 IPM, yet only 107 appear in the 1326-7 account, where some of them may be disguised under other headings⁶⁷. In any case they were all sold in that year, as not required on the declining demesne arable.

In all there is a bewildering variety of individual programmes in 1307, and to add to the confusion the two subsequent IPMs reveal major adjustments; for example the tenants who do the plough works now have no weekwork, which is given to others as their sole service apart from harvest work, and much of the detail is expressed differently. It is of course a mark of the changing needs or changing policies of the manorial management, but the problems of managing such a complexity were doubtless a factor, along with the need for cash income, in the increasing sale of works and the move towards complete commutation. The actual burden of works in Hanley is not exceptional, and the general pattern is a common one. On some estates, such as those of Gloucester abbey, a basic similarity in services has been detected between manors, but it cannot be seen for example between Hanley and Bushley, a neighbouring manor of the honour of Gloucester,

where there are many different customs; for instance, Bushley has "Mondaymen" and the ploughing and manual works are much more closely defined, some of them amounting to as much as three days at certain times of the year ⁶⁸.

(j) The Manorial Mill (Map III 1)

The manorial mill is always a significant demesne asset, in that it brings income both in the form of rent paid by the miller, whether in cash or in kind, and in fines when tenants are caught grinding elsewhere; villeins especially were obliged to perform suit of mill. A mill at Hanley, as we have already seen, was recorded in Domesday Book, in both the Hanley entries, with a value of 1s 4d or 2s. At the conjectural rate of one mill for every fifty households in 1086, one mill at Hanley would be about right⁶⁹.

This early mill, possibly a simple horizontal water mill in view of the relatively low value, may have been situated on Pool Brook, on the site of the later Burley mill; this seems to have been the only site for any manorial mill in the east. The mill appears in the Pipe Rolls of 1199-1200 and in the following year; its value was by this time £2 2s, so that it might now be a substantial vertical mill. The value was at times eroded by repairs; for example in 1200 there was only 18s 4d left after the mill pond had been refurbished at a cost of 22s 4d⁷⁰.

It is not clear when the windmill came to Hanley, but it makes its first appearance in England at large in the late twelfth century⁷¹; at Hanley it is not seen until the IPM of 1296 when the molendinum ventricum, possibly in the charge of that William molendinarius who paid 1s 2d to the 1275 subsidy, was valued at 13s 4d per year. The watermill must have gone out of use, since the continuing documentary evidence is of one mill only, and that a windmill, until the middle of the fourteenth century. By 1349 the IPM shows a watermill again and in 1416 the grant in dower is of one third of two mills, along with their pools, which of course again points to water mills.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Detail of Mill(s)</u>	<u>Reference</u>
<u>1086</u>	watermill (horizontal?)	Domesday Book
<u>pre-1200</u>	watermill (vertical?)	Pipe Roll 1199-1200
<u>pre-1296</u>	windmill (postmill?)	IPM 1296
<u>pre-1349</u>	watermill	IPM 1349
<u>pre-1416</u>	two watermills	IPM 1416

Table III.10 : The Chronology of Mills in Hanley

These two mills are specified in the account for 1533-4, and described in a licence to alienate dated 1546 as "two water mills under one roof called Burley Mills" (L248). Although such pairs of mills were sometimes in tandem, at Hanley they were side by side, each with its own pool, as will be seen below. They may have been used at times for different purposes; grinding malt for example

must have consumed a great deal of mill time, whether for the demesne, or for tenants, who were obliged to grind at the lord's mill; in Hanley the only extant court roll, for a single court in 1367, names forty three tenants who paid a fine, or in effect a licence fee, for brewing ale⁷². Table III.10 above shows the development of mills in Hanley.

The windmill was repaired in 1326-7 at a cost of 1s 2d. For this a rynd, that is an iron fitting for the aperture in the upper stone, was purchased, along with steel bills for dressing the stones and a key for the mill door. Mills of both types were often under repair; for instance, when the duke of York and his household stayed at the castle in 1409-10 some wheat was taken to Strensham on occasion because the Hanley mill could not grind it. But this situation was temporary, and may have been equally caused by limited capacity: certainly up to 50 quarters per month of wheat and malt were ground there during the rest of their stay, although a horsemill at the castle must have been a useful auxiliary. Late in the fifteenth century, when the mill can be seen again through the accounts, repair costs again loom large and it was frequently not working⁷³

From 1479 to 1488 repairs to the mill were a constant claim by the bailiff, with total expenses exceeding income, as will be seen below. The mill pond and dam were repaired in 1479-80 with at least 250 feet of timber; this was after the pond had been drained, an operation which occupied one man for five days. The most expensive single project in that year, costing 11s, was the digging of two del' clapyons; the word has not been found elsewhere. The sluices which served as floodgates were also repaired, and this, with the rebuilding of the water course (sc. the leat running to the wheel?), cost 8s 6d. The work was specialised, and the lord of another (unnamed) manor was paid for the services of a carpenter to cut and assemble the timber for the sluices⁷⁴.

In the same year other repair work led by the eponymous Andrew Carpenter consumed twenty eight man days, and included the construction of a trough (le trowe) to take the flow of water under the wheel, and the making of a second wheel; it would seem then firstly that the wheel was undershot, and secondly that there were still two mills, as in 1416. Two cartloads of clay were brought in to seal the work. Repairs were also carried out on the mill house, for twenty seven man days, and on the mill gate or door, and inside the mill itself money was spent on a new spindle, two gudgeon pins for bearings, and a new millstone; the latter was brought from Tewkesbury at a cost including carriage of 18s 4d. All these items, like the rynd and the bills mentioned earlier, appear to have needed regular replacement. As for wheels, new ones had to be built three times within five years. Table III.11 shows expenditure in materials and labour over six extant accounts between 1479 and 1488; it will be seen that £12 7s 7d was laid out, while the income at £1 13s 4d per year from the lease amounted only to £10 in the same period.

In the next decade too the mill was often a liability for the manorial management, with £6 7s 4¹ d being spent on the mill pond alone in 1494-5. But despite such outlay we find that in 1497-8 the farm had to be remitted on the grounds that the mill was in complete disrepair. The

<u>1479-80</u>	£	s	d
Repair of mill pond, including two <u>del' claporys</u> (11s)	1	2	0
Repair of floodgate, including replacing the watercourse (<u>cursum</u>)		8	6
Repair of mill machinery, including making a trough and a new wheel, provision of one spindle (1s 4d), two bills (6d), two gudgeon pins (1s 4d), and a new millstone (18s 4d); repair of mill gate (8d); repair of mill house (9s)	2	18	6
<u>Total</u>	4	9	0
 <u>1480-81</u>			
Repair of mill walls		1	4
Provision of two spindles		2	2
Building a fish weir (<u>grate</u>) to keep the fish safe (<u>pro salva custodia piscium</u>)		11	8
New water wheel		7	0
Repair of sluices (<u>lez lowpys stagni</u>)		2	0
<u>Total</u>	1	4	2
 <u>1481-2</u>			
Repairs, unspecified	<u>Total</u>	1	10 4
 <u>1484-5</u>			
Repairs, unspecified, and one new wheel	<u>Total</u>	11	0
 <u>1485-6</u>			
Making a trough		2	6
Cleaning out the floodgates		6	0
Making a staunnke for the mill	1	10	4
<u>Total</u>	1	18	10
 <u>1487-8</u>			
Repairs to the dam (<u>caput</u>) of the mill pond	1	14	6
Repairs to buildings, including work of carpenter, lathmaker, tiler, dauber, etc		19	9
<u>Total</u>	2	14	3
 <u>Grand Total</u>	12	7	7

Table III.11 : Cost of the Mill in the Late Fifteenth Century

manor as a whole was suffering a malaise throughout the period, as was seen in the discussion above on the use of agricultural land. Tenants were hard to find, and it may be a pointer to social problems that while the mill was dilapidated the stocks were repaired at a cost of 2s. After a repair to the floodgates in 1500-01 the mill may have come into use again, but in 1533-4 the farm was again remitted because the (two) mills had over many years slipped to the ground (per multos annos claps' ad terram). Robert Hyde was the miller at the time, as his father or grandfather had been in 1479-80. The mills were restored by 1546 (L248), and thereafter seem to have been working until this century.

The low profitability of the mill in the fifteenth century can be paralleled elsewhere. There is no doubt that in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, although we have little relevant evidence for Hanley, the demesne mill was a considerable asset; this was after all a time of well structured and productive manors, with lords being able to insist on suit of mill. But by the fifteenth century mills had reached what R Holt calls "the end of the golden age". Labour costs were a factor in reduced profits, leading indirectly to lower rents and leases. The more adventurous landowners in a manor, in a less rigid manorial climate, may have set up their own horsemills for their tenants, and the supplementary horsemill at the castle may have pointed the way in Hanley; certainly the demesne mill did not offer the reliability which would be required. But what cannot easily be explained, except by alleging inertia, is why the demesne management was content year after year with an unprofitable mill, which it might have been wiser to rebuild completely or to close down; financial control in a Crown manor at the end of the fifteenth century seems to have left much to be desired⁷⁵.

The water mill was located at the south east corner of the castle moat, about 150 yards north of the hamlet of Burley. One of the wheels was driven by a race in an embanked leat which was diverted from Pool Brook at the point where it runs under Gilberts End Street (Map III.1). The main stream of Pool Brook was then fed into the race by sluices and weirs at a point to the south west of the church. The race continued southwards to the north east corner of the castle, where it ran into the moat, the eastern arm of which was in effect the mill pond for the easternmost wheel. A second leat, diverted from the Mere Brook, ran into the moat at the south west corner, and by filling the moat on the south provided a pond for the other wheel. Two sluices or floodgates at the junction of the ponds controlled the water flowing under the two wheels, and the tail races after leaving the mill merged to join Mere Brook just before that stream runs into Pool Brook. These arrangements of course do not predate the period when the castle with its moat was built in the early thirteenth century, although it is not unreasonable to assume that the earlier mill was on the same site. Most of what has been described can still be seen today, although the second leat is now dry and the restored mill building shows only one sluice⁷⁶.

The windmill of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries might be expected to be in or near the main arable land, and of course in an elevated position; there were few such positions in Hanley, but a post mill which could be turned to face the wind might be less

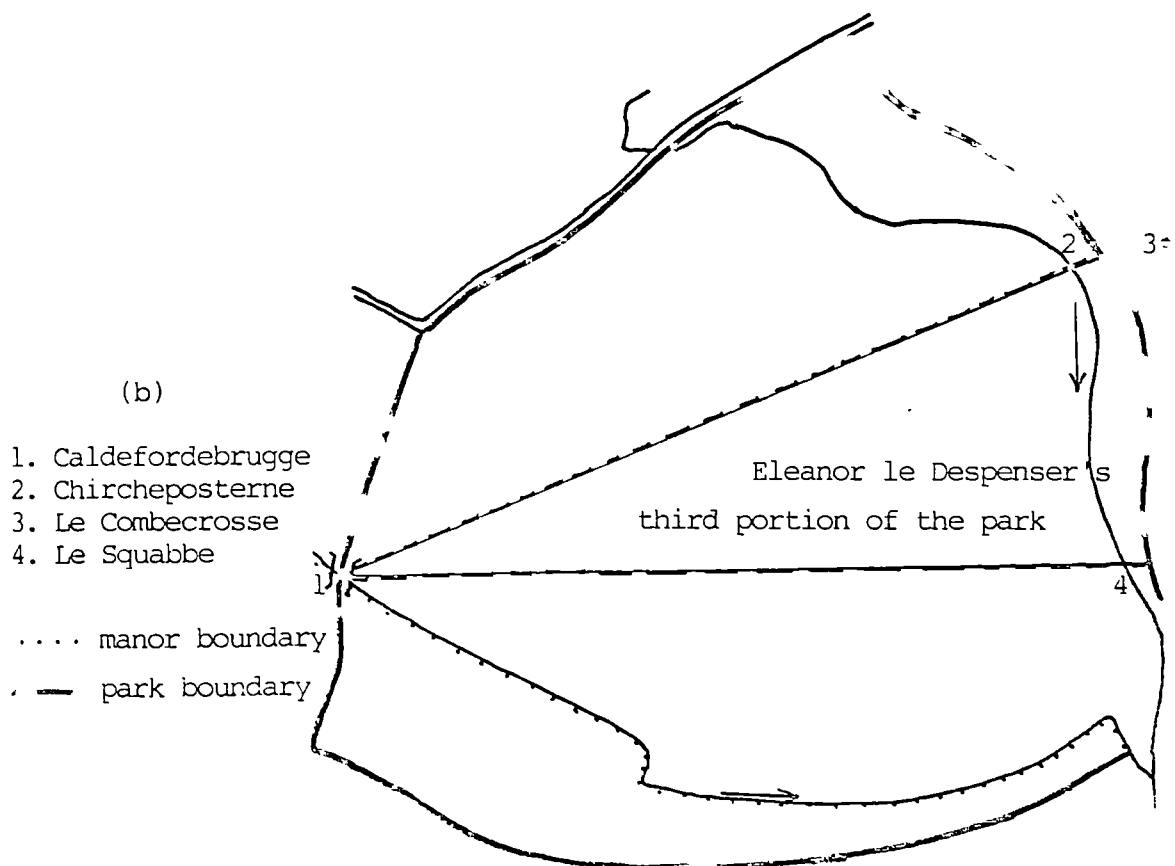
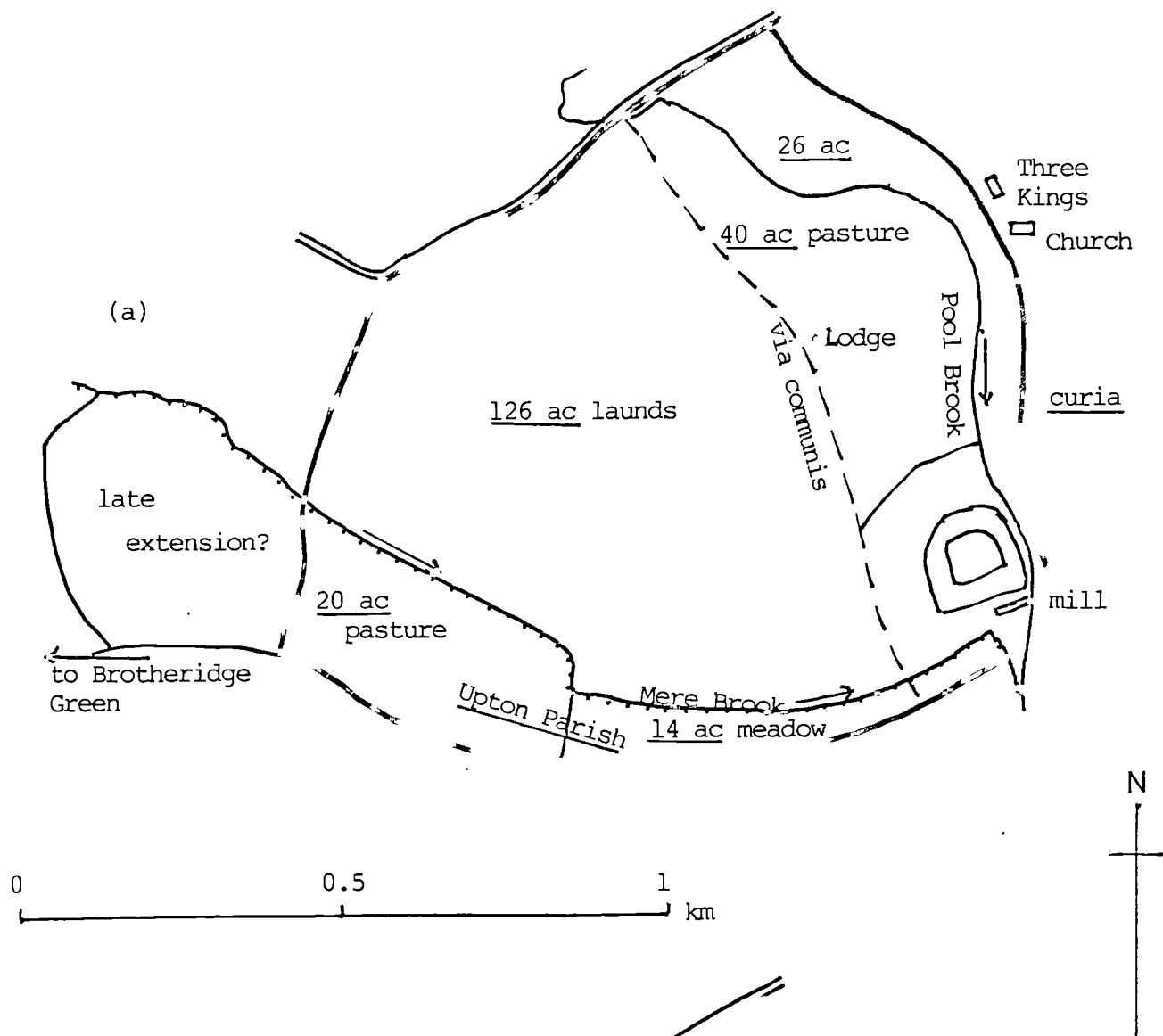
demanding in terms of site. In the east of the manor the castle mound is the obvious spot, and in fact there was a windmill, on rollers, on the castle site in the nineteenth century⁷⁷. But in the medieval period such a position would be inconvenient both for lord and tenants, and the conventional location in or near the fields is more likely. It is interesting then that an aerial photograph (Fig II.1) shows three adjacent ditched circular features about thirty five feet in diameter to the north east of the castle, inside the curia, and well placed for all the eastern arable. Such a diameter would suit a windmill mound and comfortably take cross trees about twenty feet long, with the post resting on them⁷⁸. Windmills side by side have been noted elsewhere, either operating together or one replacing another⁷⁹. The Hanley features are not respected by the ridge and furrow, which however covers the whole curia and in its final form will be considerably later than the fourteenth century. Altogether the balance of evidence points to windmill mounds, but prehistoric features such as barrows cannot be excluded.

(k) The Parks and the Demesne Wood

(i) Hanley Park and the Lord's Fishponds (Maps III.1 & III.3)

We have already seen a number of Pipe Roll entries in the second half of the twelfth century which imply that the eastern demesne was well established by that time. The fishponds, seen as early as 1172-3, imply the presence of the park, which is later seen to be protecting them : in 1202-3 the fishponds and haia together cost £9 10s to repair, and haia in this context may stand for the park fence, which lay to the east of the ponds. The implication is that Hanley park existed in the late twelfth century, some years before it is first seen in the documentary evidence. The park is first named in 1229, when the king reminds his officials that only the demesne stock must be pastured there, along with any other beasts sent there for fattening for the lord's larder; and in the same year two oaks from the park were given to the abbot of St James's abbey, Northampton, for the tower of the church⁸⁰. There may have been no official imparking with licence, since it was a royal park in a royal manor in a royal forest. The likelihood is that the pre-Conquest haga, the Domesday haia, and the twelfth century park formed a continuum of hunting and other woodland facilities, even if not always on exactly the same site.

It is impossible to determine the original extent of the park, but it is clear that it varied in size and shape from time to time. For example according to the 1359 IPM it is a "new park", implying either refurbishment after the Black Death, or surplus land taken in, or both; and tenants' land was added to it at some point before 1439 when Richard Beauchamp (who died in that year) granted land in Upton to the prior of Little Malvern in return for land which he had imparked at Hanley⁸¹. Further appropriation of tenants' land is recorded in the late fifteenth century accounts, when allowances of rent and (nominal) services were still being made to several tenants whose land had been imparked at some time before 1470-80⁸². This suggests that at this time of park enlargement there was a stock of untenanted properties to allot in compensation, and that a larger park was a more efficient use of land than tenements becoming unoccupied and bringing no



Map III.3 : Hanley Park

(a) in 1545 (PRO C66/778 m8)

(b) assignment of dower in 1416 (PRO C138/22)

income. We do not know the location of the land brought into the park on these occasions, but it can be assumed that economic imperatives dictated similar minor changes throughout its history. At the same time when the bounds can be glimpsed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they are well defined, as we shall now see.

By the assignment of dower in 1416 Eleanor le Despenser was accorded one third of the manor. Her third of the park is said to extend in length from Caldefordebrugge to the gate called Chircheposterne, and in breadth from Le Combecrosse to the pool called Le Squabbe; these points can all be located on the park fence, and Map III.3(b) shows that she was given the central portion⁸³; the boundary lines of her third shown on the Map are notional, simply joining the designated points on the fence. It can also be seen from the Map that the park, with its gate to the church, came very near to Church End, with the fence on the north east running close to the church itself and just behind what is now the Three Kings, where the ground dips towards Pool Brook. The 1545 grant of the manor to Edward Lord Clynton gives more detail, and demonstrates how the park of 250 acres was divided into compartments, a system which would provide efficient management of woodland (coppicing for example could be separated from other activities), clearly fenced pasture for demesne stock and deer, and suitable areas for meadow; the latter could be provided in both parks alongside the streams which purposely run through them⁸⁴. The information in the grant, coupled with fieldwork, enables a reasonable plan of Hanley park to be drawn (Map III.3) One of the specific points made is that the mill was outside the park (a molendino adiacente ab extra palam dicti parci), which would mean that the fence was interrupted on the south side of the castle, where the moat would be sufficient security; but in the immediate vicinity of the mill the line of the fence is uncertain. Clear reference is made to Pool Brook and Mere Brook, which latter "runs from the west in a curve (arcuatim) to the mill"; the fence on the east, where the park abuts the curia, is also mentioned, and the lodge (now Lodge Farm), through which there runs [north-south] "a common way anciently employed to a certain hamlet (villatam) afterwards destroyed for the enlargement of the park"; it is hard to say whether this represents yet another requisition of land, or whether it is a reference to the earlier incident cited above; the conservatism of documents is a commonplace. The hamlet in question may lie at either end of the via communis, but has not been located.

The park is said to be in the parishes of Hanley and Upton, and it does indeed extend south of the Mere Brook to the Brotheridge Green road, where the fence is confirmed by fieldwork: perhaps parish and manorial boundaries need not be observed for a park which belonged to a royal manor. The fence in fact can be seen at various points on the perimeter, presenting usually as a ditch with banks, or simply as a strip of land on a field boundary which is still respected by cultivators. Many of the measurements in the grant appear to be in statute acres, which assists in mapping the compartments (Map III.3)⁸⁵. For example, the figure of twenty six acres given for the eastern compartment (with no land use specified), which is said to lie between a stream (uno torrente: sc. Pool Brook) and the eastern fence, serves to confirm the line of that

eastern boundary, which divided the park from the curia. The next compartment westwards is forty acres of pasture, said to be between Pool Brook and the north-south via communis mentioned above, and this again is an accurate measurement, if the immediate environs of the castle are ignored. The next compartment however causes some difficulty: between the via communis and the western fence, and stretching south to the Mere Brook, there are said to be two launds of eighty acres, where the actual area is 126 acres. After this, pasture south of the brook in Upton parish, and reaching to the fence on the west, is said correctly to total twenty acres. Finally Netherlowe Meadow, with its acreage unspecified, may be the land alongside the brook to the east of this pasture, but there is some confusion as there is meadow of the same name in Severn Meadow⁸⁶. In passing it should be pointed out that the 1326-7 figures for demesne meadow and pasture, discussed above, cannot be related to these sixteenth century figures, when land use in the parks must have changed over the centuries.

The postulated meadow covers about fourteen acres, making a total acreage of 226. The discrepancy in the launds cannot be explained, but the overall deficit could be more than made up by including in the park an area of thirty three acres, on the south west, where the rounded profile of a possible fence is still betrayed by a field boundary; but it seriously breaks the line of any satisfactory shape for the park as a whole, and may have been if anything a late and short-lived accretion. Ignoring this, it must still be acknowledged that the park does not display the rounded shape of many early parks, but of course in 1545 we cannot see the early shape, which must have been distorted by the incorporation of tenant land and no doubt by other alterations as need arose⁸⁷.

The now drained fishponds can also be made out, all provided by the flooded Pool Brook. One of these was alongside the eastern moat of the castle, where the work of 1480-1 presumably ensured that the lord's fish did not escape into the mill pond: here the miller often had his own perquisite in the shape of eels, which were commonly paid in rent. This fishpond to the east of the castle was probably controlled on the north by sluices under the raised causeway which led from the north east gate of the castle. Further ponds were in the park itself, probably from the twelfth century, as we saw above: they appear to have extended northwards as far as the weir near the church. In 1204 the Pipe Roll records that the sheriff of Gloucester was paid £2 7s 5½d for transporting the king's bream from the fishery at Hanley to Marlborough. There had been repair work in 1172-3, at a cost of 26s 8d, and in 1201-2 (pro vivario de Hanleia plantando), but the cost in that year cannot be isolated from other payments. In 1410, when the duke of York's household was in the castle, a good supply of coarse fish seems to have come from the ponds, and the fishing was carefully organised in that men were hired to go in with nets and a key was bought for Le Stwe. An incident confirming their existence in the mid-fourteenth century is mentioned below, and altogether there is no reason to suppose that the fishponds were not a continuing asset to the lord, an asset however which is only rarely quantifiable⁸⁸.

In spite of what would be a well constructed pale or fence, probably including a stout

wooden palisade on the outer bank, the park was occasionally entered illegally. For instance, in 1347 a commission of oyer and terminer heard Hugh le Despenser complaining that various persons broke his park at Hanley and entered his free chase at Malvern, hunted in these, fished in his several fisheries in the park, and carried away fish from there and deer from the park. A rabbit warren in the park, called Blyndeheye, might also have represented a temptation or a challenge; it was leased in 1480 for 13s 4d, but in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the land of that name had been arable (BL Add Ch 73657; L33), a reminder of the variety of land use to be found inside parks. Ridge and furrow in the park appears on aerial photographs and can be observed on the ground, but the dating of it is problematical; much of it may have been formed after the park fell out of use⁸⁹.

It is difficult to measure the value of the park, since its contribution in timber and underwood, in deer and fish for the lord, and in pasture for the demesne stock is largely invisible. The IPMs tend to report that it is worth nothing beyond sustenance for the game, although in 1315 the herbage for the game is valued at 10s, and pasture worth 16s was leased to tenants in 1326-7. The duke of York's household in 1409-10 got most of their everyday wood from Blackmore and Cliffey and hunted for Christmas at Tewkesbury and Bushley; the park may not have been at its best. Agistment brought income of 8s 4d in 1479-80, but many expenses also are recorded in the late fifteenth century accounts. In 1478 John Savage, knight, was granted the offices of constable of the castle and keeper of the park with a fee of £5, while later keepers (without the other offices) were paid £3 0s 8d or 2d per day. Fencing costs are commonplace, ranging from 6s in 1479-80 to £4 3s 4d two years later and £9 14s 5d (for both parks) in 1490-1; surprisingly in 1485-6 three cartloads of rails were brought to the park from the demesne wood at Cliffey; such post and rail fencing of course was not for the major external pale, but presumably for the internal enclosures which careful management required⁹⁰.

Repairs to the lodge, on the site of the later Lodge Farm, are claimed in six of the accounts between 1484 and 1502, and the total cost was £10 7s 3d. Keys, hinges, hooks, staples and locks, costing 9s 9d, were essential items in 1484-5, but the most informative account is that for the following year. Repairs then included the thatching of the barn at the lodge and the daubing of the barn walls; the daubing was carried out by two women, who were paid 3d each. The lodge building itself was also repaired and daubed, along with the stable, and tiles and ridges were provided for the roof of the lodge and of the castellum. This was a look-out tower, from which the keeper might oversee the game and watch for intruders; or on grand occasions, with kings or lords hunting in person, it might serve as a vantage point for courtiers and guests to watch the kill⁹¹.

The park was not included in the grant to John Hornyold from the Crown in 1560, having been leased to John Badger in 1555. The last keeper was appointed by the Crown in 1606⁹². Only Blackmore Park is shown on seventeenth century maps such as Speed's. In about 1760 however Edmund Lechmere is recorded as holding "Church Park", lying in the north east corner of the original Hanley park, but this does not appear on the Enclosure Map later in the century; it is

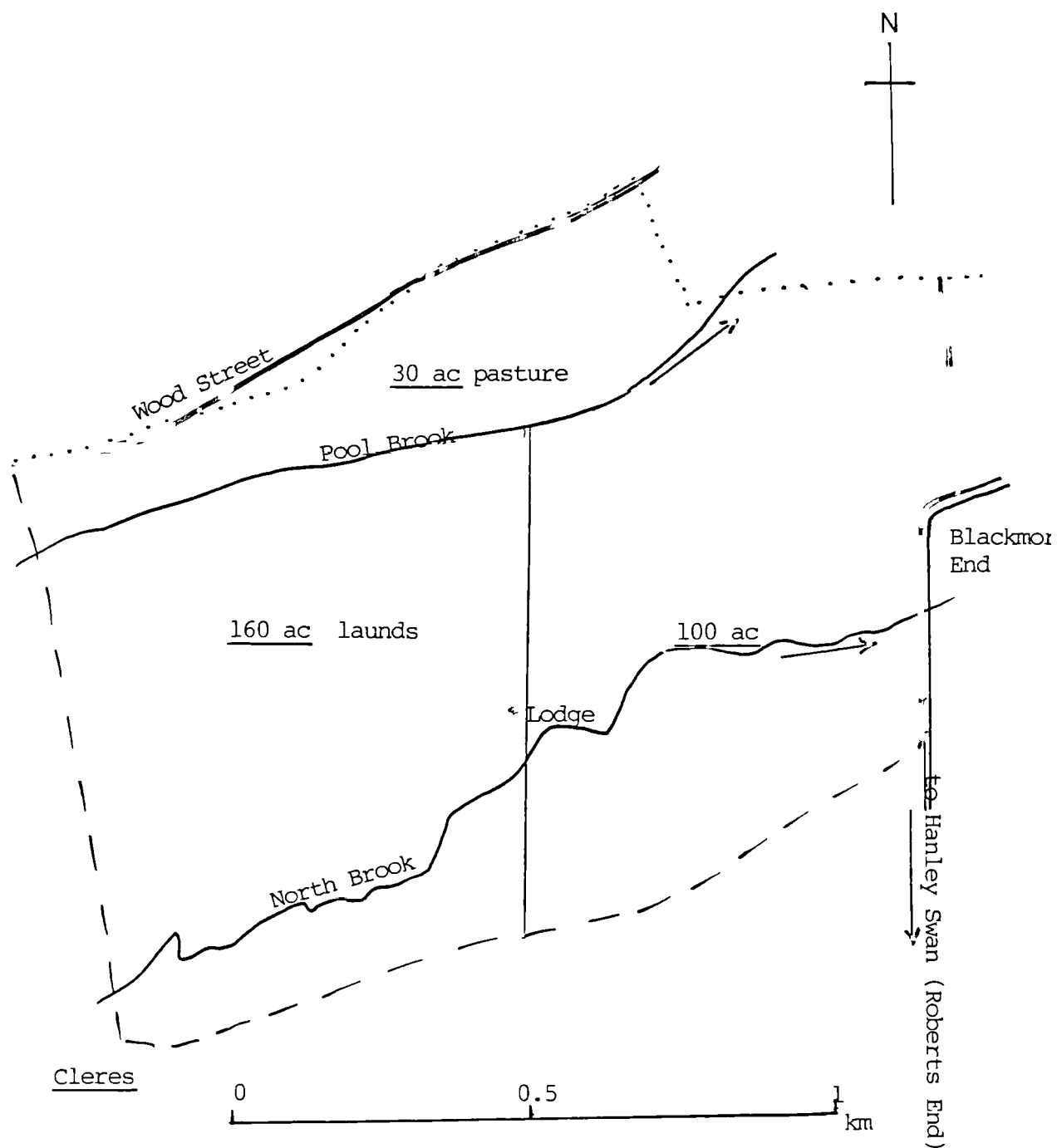
unlikely to have contained deer, since he had a deer park at Severn End until 1790. Only the regular field pattern, unusual in this older part of the manor, now betrays the former presence of Hanley Park⁹³

(ii) Blackmore Park (Maps I.1 and III.4)

A park at Blackmore was probably established in the late twelfth century, when the other facilities of the western demesne were being developed, but it is not seen in the record until the account of 1326-7, when some of its pasture was leased, and twenty one perches of fencing was repaired inside the park at a cost of sixteen winter works valued at ½d each⁹⁴. In the 1349 IPM it is said to be newly imparked from arable; since the park at large already existed, this must mean that further arable had been included, a process which was seen in Hanley Park only after the Black Death and into the next century, but at Blackmore there was earlier retrenchment as the demesne arable was reduced. Such addition of land also illustrates the often piecemeal nature of the construction of any park, linked as it must be to the changing needs of the manorial economy⁹⁵. In the 1375 IPM the park is said to contain 100 acres, the first note of its size, and as usual it was worth nothing beyond the maintenance of the game: we do not know by how much it might have grown, but this was a period when in some areas of the country land was actually being disparked because of a shortage of labour for repairs⁹⁶.

In 1409 the duke of York's accounts show that Blackmore Park was much more productive in wood for the household than Hanley Park: for example during the months of November and December 240 wainloads (plaustr') of wood were carried from Blackmore to the castle, and 82 wainloads of faggots during March the following year. The accounts of the late fifteenth century frequently contain claims for repair, usually for internal fencing, which cost on average £1 5s 0d per year between 1479 and 1501, about the same as for Hanley Park; but in 1485-6 there were repairs to the palisade (palacii) costing £4 11s 10d. The parker was paid £3 0s 8d, and although there was sporadic income from agistment and pannage, it can only have been the "invisible" earnings from timber and deer and of course status that persuaded some lords to keep such parks⁹⁷.

The sixteenth century saw disputes over the park. John Hornyold had leased it from the king in 1546, fourteen years before he purchased the manor⁹⁸. The last Crown keeper, John Russell, was apparently reluctant to surrender the park, and in May 1548 John Hornyold, having found "his woods wasted and spoiled and the great part of the said grounds rotted up with swine and sown with hemp, and deer destroyed", came with supporters to the park to impound Russell's beasts. In this he claims to have been riotously opposed and prevented from hunting. In 1554 there were further Star Chamber proceedings, on this occasion brought against Hornyold himself by John Knottesford, one of the officers of Malvern Chase, which of course remained with the Crown⁹⁹. The accusations were of rioting, destroying fences, and assembling "in a most warlike manner" at the Cleres, ten feet from the deer leaps of the park; Hornyold's reply was that while the Crown



Map III.4 : Blackmore Park in 1545 (PRO C66/778 m8)

held the chase, to which his deer would escape if the leaps were destroyed, he had a lease of the manor (he certainly held it in 1555, as was noted above), to which the park was appurtenant. The fact that they had no control over the chase continued to be a frustration for the Hornyolds until the disafforestation.

By the nineteenth century the park theoretically covered one and a half square miles, although some of it was working farmland. This growth largely obscures the early boundaries, and the late medieval documents which were helpful in defining Hanley park give less assistance in the case of Blackmore. The dower portion of the 1416 IPM names four points on the perimeter, but only "Baldernggestile" is potentially useful; if it can be associated with Baldenhall and Baldan geat it will lie near Wood Street, which in any case is the likely northern limit of the park, as it is of the manor itself in that vicinity. Thus all that can be said about Eleanor le Despenser's portion is that it was the northern third. The 1545 grant divides a park of 290 acres plus unspecified meadow into three main compartments. The first (100 acres) reaches from the southern fence to Pool Brook ("a certain stream running through on the north"); the curved line shown as the conjectural southern fence in Map III 4 is a path which appears on the Enclosure Map, and south of it is "Thirde Land" which by its name must be the product of disafforestation, when the king's third was sold. West of this first compartment are three launds totalling 160 acres, the boundary between the compartments being a north-south line through the lodge (later Home Farm). The third compartment is of thirty acres of pasture "beneath" (subtus) the launds (that is, on the north side, where the land slopes down to the brook), and this section extends to "the fence on the north", which as we saw is on the line of Wood Street; there is some doubt however about the western boundary, which has been drawn on the Map notionally to embrace the stated acreage, and also about the north east boundary, for although a fence can still be seen running north from Blackmore End Street it may be late. The eastern fence is visible along the western edge of the road which runs south to Hanley Swan¹⁰⁰. The meadow, called Overleymedow, cannot be located. The park continued to descend with the manor, becoming partly ornamental in the eighteenth century, and it preserves something of its identity to the present day.

(iii) Cliffey Wood (Map III.2)

Cliffey (OE clif haeg) was, as we saw in Chapter II, the haga of the Powick charter, at or near which Beornwald had his seat; it is the enclosure at the cliff, that is the almost perpendicular river cliff which makes the northern boundary. It was possibly also the haia of Domesday Book, although for this the area of Hanley Park and its vicinity may have stronger claims, discussed above. However that may be, it was and remained the demesne wood of Hanley, and as a result the management of it can be seen at times in the surviving documents. There is no reference in the Pipe Rolls, but in the 1315 IPM it is a wood called Clyfhey, which belongs to the demesne, and covers fifty acres; it is however worth nothing because it is cut down, a formula which is repeated in the IPM of 1349, and doubtless refers to regular coppicing, with the stools awaiting regeneration. In 1359 an additional reason is given for its lack of value, namely that it lies in

common for the whole year; this is unusual, and perhaps reflects weak manorial management in the aftermath of the Black Death; in later years it was efficiently used by the authorities and some income came from leasing.

Among its other purposes, it helped to supply the castle when the lord was in residence, but we can glimpse this only through the duke of York's accounts for 1409-10. His household had access to all demesne amenities, but had to pay for labour, which therefore appears in the accounts. The figures at the end of December summarise the operation of providing wood for the castle in the previous two months. 194 man days had been used to cut down and trim large firewood, and 164 man days to cut wood for faggots; and although most of this work had apparently been done in Blackmore, thirty three wainloads of faggots were sent from Cliffey to the castle. The supply of charcoal to the castle in the same period had required the services of a master collier and two others for the whole of October, and thirty five man days to cut the wood for the charcoal, which was then taken to the castle in twenty wains; unfortunately we cannot say how much of the charcoal came from Cliffey. However, when reckoning is again made at the end of April, sixty four further wainloads of faggots have been delivered from Cliffey, the result of the work of seventy man days. The household left the castle in June, but to the end much of their wood was coming from Cliffey.

In the late fifteenth century the accounts show agistment as a source of income, and in 1479-80 the agistment was farmed for 18s 4d. At this time the wood was sometimes called a park, and its issues were included with those of Blackmore and Hanley parks. In 1533-4 its pannage brought in £1 10s, the same as Blackmore's, while Hanley Park produced £1 1s 8d. Wood was not often sold, but in 1492-3 the bailiff realised £10 from "loppe and cropps" in Cliffey. On the whole it must have been a profitable wood, although as with all demesne assets the profit is usually invisible in that it was consumed by the lord's household. There was some expenditure on fencing; for example, in 1326-7 seventy two perches of fencing were set around as a repair, and a fence (*sepem*) is mentioned again in the 1416 IPM. The bank of the outer pale can still be seen in parts, and there are wood banks and compartments inside, but these regular patterns in what is still a working wood probably obscure the medieval arrangements. It now comprises sixty nine acres, but in the 1545 grant it had apparently been reduced to twenty, although this may be a reference only to the enclosed pasture; at this point it was called Cliffey Coppice, confirming its main purpose.

There is no problem over the location of Cliffey Wood, since all the documentary evidence, including some deeds (e.g. 1.82, 1.174), confirms the medieval wood on its present site. In the late fifteenth century accounts, when everything including the chase was with the Crown, other woods are mentioned which do not belong to Hanley; for example Baldenhall (on the north of Hanley), and Bruerne, The Hook and Southwood (on the south), are listed so that their foresters' expenses may be claimed; only Cleres was in Hanley manor, lying south of Blackmore Park¹⁰¹.

(l) The Courts

In the absence of court rolls, except the roll for one court in 1367 described below, we must rely on other evidence for the manorial and the forest or chase courts. The perquisites are recorded three times in the Pipe Rolls, in 1195-6, 1199-1200 and 1200-01. In the first two instances the figures are for only half a year, but the average annual income over the three years can be calculated at £2 11s 7d. However only in the third instance are court pleas (placita) specifically mentioned, and it may be that perquisitiones by itself means simply the non-standard receipts from the manor¹⁰². To add to the obscurity, it is uncertain whether any Malvern forest court receipts are included; such receipts were later given separately in the manorial accounts, but in the twelfth century they might instead be subsumed in the pleas of the forest, which for example Robert de Hanley accounted for in 1165-6, and Gilbert de Hanley ten years later.

The only evidence for thirteenth century courts is from the IPM of 1296, where a round figure of £1 is given for manor and chase courts together; this figure appears again in 1337, and becomes £5 6s 8d in the IPMs of 1349 and 1359, evidently including the de certo payment of £3 6s 8d; the IPMs of course tend to deal in agreed values rather than actual returns. More convincing figures are seen in the account for 1326-7, when three court days were held at irregular intervals in the space of eleven weeks, from early April to late June: but since there is no other court revenue in an account which runs from December to August, much of the record is obviously missing (Table III.12). What can be seen is that on each day both a manorial court and a chase court were held, but no visus franciplegii is recorded, which in many manors would be held twice per year and in Hanley in the late fifteenth century was held annually in April or May. The "view" organised the tithing groups, by which tenants were supposed to regulate each other's behaviour, but this aspect had become a formality by the late thirteenth century: its more enduring role was in regulating such matters as the assizes of bread and ale, and in trying criminal cases. In Hanley of course the sheriff's writ did not run, and the lord had his own gallows at the Rhydd, so the visus might be expected to be significant¹⁰³.

The proceeds of the three manor courts in 1326-7 averaged 13s 2d per court, while the chase court produced an average of 8s 6d after the forester had been paid. If extrapolated for a complete year, containing say ten court days, the total proceeds might be over £6 for the manor court and over £4 for the chase court, all of which would represent a noteworthy part of the manor's income. The more limited information for the five week account of 1330-1 tells of lower proceeds per court but an interval of only three and a half weeks: the classic interval was three weeks¹⁰⁴. It is impossible to say how often courts were held in 1367, the year of the surviving roll, but in 1352 (BL Add Ch 73687) the interval for Hanley Hall courts had been theoretically three weeks, and it may be that at any given period the main manor, the submanor and the chase had a similar pattern for their courts; however no rolls survive for the Hall manor. The roll for 1367, for two courts held on the same day in September, shows 5s 7d income from the chase court and £1

12s 11d from the manorial court. This latter figure is larger than many of those in the late fifteenth century accounts, where we next pick up court information.

The list of estreats for 1478-9 has already been examined in respect of the two chase courts held. The forester of Calvestail was collecting on behalf of the manor court as well, and some of the detail will be discussed below. The pattern at this period was of only three court days per year: a manor court and a chase court were held on the same day, on two occasions, in the months of January and September (or thereabouts) and a visus with manor court was held in April or early May; the visus, although never falling on the traditional Hockday, was usually held within a week or two of it¹⁰⁵. The exact timing of the courts no doubt depended on the availability of the steward, who had to officiate in more than one manor, and on liaison with the forester, who presided at the chase court and held a court for his own submanor. Days for manor and chase courts in the late fifteenth century, as recorded in the accounts, were predominantly Wednesdays and Thursdays, with four held on Saturdays and two on Sundays; no day was excluded, but Thursday, market day, shows eight courts and Wednesday six, of the twenty four recorded. For the visus again these two days were the commonest. The limited number of courts, compared with the early fourteenth century, must nevertheless have been effective in controlling the manor; it may be that some business such as entry into holdings was conducted privately between tenants and officials, and in any case such business at a time of economic depression will have declined¹⁰⁶. Court revenues will reflect this (Table III.12), and will also show the effects of reduced population (Table II.1 above). The way in which lords or their stewards could differ in their perceived need of courts is demonstrated by a comparison with Bromsgrove, which had three-weekly courts in the same period, although total annual revenues were very little more than at Hanley¹⁰⁷.

The total income from court perquisites in any given year at the end of the fifteenth century proves to be much less than the estimate for 1326-7, as Table III.12 will show. Over the accounts of thirteen extant years between 1480 and 1500 the average is only £2 4s 9d for the manor court and visus, and £1 16s 5d for the chase court, net of the forester's third.

1326-7			<u>1492-3</u>		
Wed 8 April 1327(M)	7s 10d		Sat 14 Dec 1492 (M)	£1 6s 1d	
.. (C)	12s 0d		.. (C)	19s 8d	
Tues 5 May 1327 (M)	18s 10d		Mon 20 May 1493(V&M)	13s 3d	
.. (C)	9s 2d		Wed 14 Aug 1493(M)	5s 1d	
Thurs 25 June 1327(M)	12s 11d		.. (C)	18s 11d	
.. (C)	4s 4d				
<u>Totals</u> (estimated for full year):			<u>Totals:</u> (V&M) ----	£2 4s 5d	
(M) c. £6; (C) c. £4			(C) ----	£1 18s 7d	

Table III.12: Examples of Court Patterns and Revenues (V = visus, M = manor court, C = chase court)

There is no information about venues of courts until the roll of 1367, when the two courts were held "in the chase" and "in the manor" respectively¹⁰⁸. In the late fifteenth century the courts held on the same day were "in the chase" and "at the castle". For the manor court there may have been an earlier venue in the curia, and in any case there may have been times when lords in residence found it inconvenient to have large numbers of villagers in the castle. For the chase court the forester's Hanley Hall is an obvious candidate, although it would be easier both for officials and for tenants to hold both courts in the same place, namely the curia or the castle. But there was a tradition of a panelled room in Hanley Hall in which the chase courts, and presumably Hall Manor courts, were said to be held. In 1590 however, according to the depositions made by tenants, the chase court was held at "the church house"; the Russells were foresters and by this time Hanley Hall was perhaps regarded solely as a private dwelling¹⁰⁹.

Something of the activities of the courts can be seen through the 1367 roll. In the chase court twenty seven people were presented for trespass in the vert, and although not all would be from Hanley, there are several Hanley names. Among those amerced sums up to 4d are some quite significant tenants, such as three members of the Hondy family who had their own Hondiesfeld at Gilberts End, Robert atte Grove who in 1354 had witnessed a deed of John le Forester, constable of the castle, and John Hancock who had been a juror in 1359¹¹⁰. The officials who made the presentments were the foresters of Baldenhall, Cleres and the Hook, along with the ranger. The manor court record in 1367 contains some eighty four different names, most of which occur also in the deeds and elsewhere. Among the forty three who had brewed against the assize were members of the prominent Blondel, Frewyn and Grove families. Twenty tenants, including Robert Lechemer, were amerced 6d each because they did not provide a boat (vacellum) to carry the lord's provisions; they must produce the boat within eight days, on pain of half a mark. This obligation, which will have been attached to one of their tenements, is not otherwise known. Edward le Despenser was lord, and presumably his household was in the castle at the time. A noteworthy case was Nicholas Whitmer's suit against John Hale, who had forcibly entered his house, imprisoned his wife, and stolen £20; this was a large sum perhaps, but Whitmer was a prominent tenant who witnessed deeds from 1362 (L44), and whose family in the following century formed a marriage alliance with the Lechmeres, as will be seen below. Robert Frewyn, of a family which appears perhaps more than any other in the deeds, was involved in a dispute over a horse worth 2s; he was distrained for the debt but then went out to recover the horse vi et armis from the beadle. In another case the homage was required on oath to adjudicate as to whether Jakettes de Gonley had assaulted the lord's servant, as a result of which the lord had allegedly lost his services to the cost of 10s. This seems to be an example of the friction that might be expected between the vill and the castle.

The estreats of 1478-9 are the nearest thing we have to a fifteenth century court roll. John Blundel and John Cavill are the only certain Hanley names in the chase estreats, both of whom were amerced small sums, but their offences are not stated. For one of the manor courts on

the other hand all the detail of the roll is given. Thus we find agreed payments made for absence by the abbot of Westminster for his lands in the chase, William Hoghton for his manor of Birtsmorton and Berrow, John Bromwich for Bromsberrow and John Powyke for Muchgros, which was at Longdon Hill End; all are said to owe suit to Hanley manor court, although the chase court might be their proper place. It was suggested above that the case of the tenant who carried away an oak tree before sunrise belonged strictly to the chase court, and perhaps the proper business of the two courts was not clearly defined, at any rate in the mind of the official who provided the list of estreats. Even so, it is hard to see why a plea of debt between tenants of Little Malvern and Ripple should have appeared in either of the courts held at Hanley; on the other hand fewer and fewer tenants held land in only one manor, and they had therefore presumably some choice of court¹¹¹.

(m) The Manorial Economy in the Late Fifteenth Century

The accounts for 1326-7 and 1330-1 are for part years, and it is not until the year 1479-80 that we have the first of a series of accounts which provide a more comprehensive picture of the manorial economy. These late fifteenth century accounts, which have already been referred to, are extant for large parts of the estates of George, duke of Clarence, whose Warwick lands, including Hanley, escheated to the Crown after his attainder in 1478¹¹². The accounts of the Warwickshire estates of the duke of Clarence, namely Warwick itself and eight Arden manors, have been edited by RH Hilton, and the Hanley accounts display many similarities¹¹³. The demesne was mostly leased, so that there were many fixed charges to be met by the bailiff, who attempted to ameliorate his position by claiming all available allowances, especially in the matter of rents and repairs; generally the repairs would be to the conventional manorial assets, but in Hanley the castle repairs were an extra burden on the manor. The account for 1479-80 is summarised in Table III.13.

There are some heads of account, under which the minister insists there is nothing to report; for example there had been no tak of pigs at Michaelmas, since there had been no mast, and in fact there had been no pannage at all, either in the chase or in the parks; no wood or underwood of any description had been sold, nor any herbage from the fishpond (*Squabbs*) in Hanley Park, which was evidently dried up and used as agricultural land¹¹⁴; and there had been nothing [sc.beyond the needs of the household] from the lord's garden in the way of garlic, leeks and chives. In most years at this period there was a small working surplus, of up to £4, for which the bailiff was liable. He paid this and there were no arrears until 1493-4, but arrears in 1501 had grown to over £11, and they gradually increased, rising to £110 in 1533-4; but the income and expenditure were still largely unchanged, at around £50 under each head. The figure of £10 for wood sold in 1492-3 turned out to be a one-off payment, and may have been an agreed figure for sales over a number of years. From 1499-1500 only £2 was allowed in defect of rent; but the bailiff soon began to compensate for this by increasing other claims, and by the following year the

(Arrears - nil)	£	s	d
Assize rents (by rental drawn up in 1469)	18	1	1¼
Increase in rents (since 1469)	1	14	11
Leases (demesne land and two buildings)	6	7	2
Aid (from customary tenants)	2	0	0
Extra rent from potters, for clay		2	6
From the "chaplain of the vill", for dead wood for his hearth		3	6
One pound of cummin from James Wodeward			3
Back rent (by new rental)	1	7	1
Agistment in Blackmore Park	1	10	0
Agistment in Hanley Park and warren	1	1	8
Agistment in Cliffey Park (<i>sic</i>)		18	4
Leases of land in the lord's hands			6
Lease of the mill	1	13	4
Sale of herbage in pasture and meadow	2	7	6
Sale of works (recte £9 8s 10½d)	9	0	0
Sale of oat rents from Colwall and Mathon		13	4
Sale of hen rents		5	4
Court perquisites (including £3 6s 8d <i>de certo</i>)	5	3	3½
 Total CHARGE (i.e. income)	 52	 9	 9¾
 Lithes to vicar of Hanley	 1	 0	 0
Allowance of rents for lands enclosed in Hanley Park		11	8
Defect of rent (customary land without tenants)	5	16	2½
Fee of constable of castle and keeper of Hanley Park	5	0	0
Fee of gatekeeper (<i>janitor</i>) of castle	3	0	8
Fees of six chase and park officials	18	4	0
Fee of bailiff	2	0	0
Steward's expenses re courts	2	13	9
Bailiff's expenses, going to Warwick to meet the auditor		2	0
For mowing demesne meadow, labour and carting	1	0	2
For fencing in Hanley Park		6	0
For fencing in Blackmore Park	1	10	8
Repairs to the castle	4	17	10
Repairs to the mill	4	8	10
 Total DISCHARGE (i.e. expenditure) (<i>recte</i> £50 11s 9½)	 50	 11	 1½
 The bailiff owes (<i>et debet</i>)	 £1	 18s	 8d

Table III.13: Minister's Account for 1479-80

balance was back to normal. There is no sign of the rising income trend in the 1480s which was noticed on some of the bishop's manors, but the artificiality of the system tends to obscure the picture¹¹⁵.

The main income variable from year to year over a fifty year period was court perquisites, but there was a change in agistment income from 1490-1, when the total for the three parks (including Cliffey) was reduced from £3 10s to £2, and at the same time the figure for sale of herbage was halved at the audit; all other items were leased to the bailiff at fixed figures, and any

surplus produced would be his to retain, or set against arrears, which in fact he rarely did¹¹⁶. There was a similar artificiality about the discharge side of the account, but in the matter of defect of rent, where he had some room for manoeuvre, the bailiff claimed that an increasing number of tenements could not be let; even so his allowance for defect was pegged for periods of years, and when it reached more than £12 (over one half of the total assize rent) in 1499-1500 it was dramatically cut, as we saw above¹¹⁷. This was achieved by eliminating all claims except those involving demesne meadow and Constable Furlong. The other major variable in expenditure was repairs, to the parks, the mill and the castle. Although having castle repairs charged to the manorial account of a relatively impoverished vill might distort the picture, yet the repairs themselves were a source of employment which in turn might mean readier payment of rents and dues, and the bailiff must have reasoned that with the "invisible" income from his office he could repair the castle and still be in pocket. Certainly there is no evidence that these Crown appointees were poor men; members of the Frewen family of Hanley, and outsiders like Knottesford and Savage, presumably accepted the office willingly, intending to profit from it. Table III.14 shows repairs recorded from 1479 to 1502. No further repairs were claimed for the castle after 1494-5¹¹⁸.

	*Parks			Mill			Castle			Other
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	
1479-80	1	16	8	4	8	10	4	17	10	
1480-1	2	18	10	1	4	2	3	12	6	Pinfold 2s 8d
1481-2	5	18	0	1	10	4	3	9	2	
1484-5	6	14	1		11	0	1	2	8	"Calverbrege" £1 2s 0d
1485-6	6	0	10	1	18	10	3	7	1 ¹ / ₂	
1487-8	1	12	9	2	14	3	12	18	9	
1492-3	2	7	6							
1493-4	7	11	0					18	7	
1494-5	1	0	0	6	7	4 ¹ / ₂	7	2	6	
1497-8	2	6	10							Stocks 2s 0d
1499-0	3	1	10							
1500-01	1	1	10	1	5	6				
1501-2	1	5	7							
Totals	43	15	9	20	0	3 ¹ / ₂	37	9	1 ¹ / ₂	

*"Parks" includes fishponds and lodge in Hanley Park

Table III.14: Repairs Claimed in Late Fifteenth Century Accounts

Another onerous duty which fell on Hanley manor was the payment of the chase officials; this absorbed over £18 annually, and the chase court brought in very little towards it. The bailiff received a fee of £2, and in the first years of the Crown tenure the office often went to a Hanley tenant. But William Frewen, who had also held the office in 1462 (L113) and 1473 (BL Add Ch 41390), was succeeded in 1481-2 by John Chenedo, an outsider; however Roger Frewen was his deputy, and William returned in 1483-4. John Grove, probably of Hanley, then served for a year, after which Sir John Savage of Elmley Castle was appointed; he held also the offices of constable of the castle and keeper of Hanley Park, for which he received £5, and was parker of Blackmore

(£3 0s 8d) and steward; in the latter capacity his expenses for holding courts usually came to £2 or £3. He appointed deputies, especially James Knottesford, who was also bailiff in his own right from 1502 to 1505. The Knottesfords were officials on the estates of Great Malvern priory and had not appeared in Hanley before the 1480s; and although John Savage in 1520 could style himself "of Hanley Castle", he too was an outside appointment¹¹⁹. As other Crown placemen followed, such as John Dyngley, groom of the chamber, who was keeper of Hanley Park in 1511-12, and John Pate, groom of the wardrobe, who was joint bailiff in 1513-14, there is no sign of improvement in the economy, granted that the accounts become more and more stereotyped and real information is limited. In 1533-4 the account shows tenants still hard to find, while the manor now has to pay £23 4s 8d in fees to manorial and chase officials, and the mill is in ruins. While in some parts of the country the seignorial economy had apparently ceased to stagnate by this time, it may be that Hanley did not see really better days until later in the century¹²⁰.

3. THE ECONOMY OF THE TENANTS

(a) Villein or Free?

A dearth of court rolls and early rentals means that we know next to nothing about individual villein rents, and other dues like heriots and payments for transfer of villein or customary land; nor is there direct information about any tenant involvement in the organisation of agriculture, about the size and physical arrangement of tenements, about immigration and emigration, size of families, attitude to law and order, and conditions of life generally. What we do have in Hanley is some three hundred charters or deeds, which are for the most part the title deeds of tenants, both villein and free, to free land which they have bought or sold. Something of the economy of tenants and their use of land, if only free land, can be deduced from these deeds. Such land, even if in a submanor like that of Hanley Hall, was generally (after the statute Quia Emptores in 1290) held of the chief lord, who through his officials seems to have kept a firm grip on both manorial and submanorial tenants during most of our period¹²¹.

The preponderance of free tenants in a manor like Hanley may have put a special value on freedom. One of the more interesting surviving documents records a manumission (L13a): Gilbert de Clare under his own seal in 1314 manumitted Robert son of Robert de Grava of Hanley, his serf (nativum), and granted him to Sir Roger Tyrel, one of his knights, along with his whole household (sequela) and all their lands and chattels, to be free of every yoke of servitude and serfdom (navvitat); in other words, Robert was granted his personal freedom. There would probably be a payment for such a grant, no doubt much sought after by those of servile status, and that Robert de Grava senior was no indigent serf can be presumed from his frequent witnessing of deeds and his presence as a juror at the IPM of 1315; and he was himself apparently free by 1319 (BI Add Ch 73673). Another example of the value placed on status and freedom is the case recorded in an Inquisition held at Worcester in 1293 to discover the circumstances of the death of

Adam le Yep, who had been found drowned at Clevelode; it was alleged that Walter Broun had killed him in a dispute over debt, but it emerged that Adam had been distrained by the bailiffs of the earl of Gloucester to take servile land in Hanley, against his will, and he had often insisted that he would hang or drown himself before taking the land on servile conditions, so that Walter Broun was acquitted. Adam must have been a villein, but possibly the authorities were insisting that he was in fact of servile birth (nativus de sanguine). Status was very important, and had he survived he might well have been pressing for that sokeman status which his fellow villeins had temporarily achieved, at any rate in name, by 1307 (IPM). The case shows incidentally that there may have been some land in Hanley set aside for serfs or at least traditionally associated with them; again, court rolls might have cast some light on this question¹²².

(b) Tenant Land

Arable land available to tenants is recorded in five open fields, namely Burleyfield, Northfield, Westfield, Shawfield and Riddefield (Map III.2), in forty four other areas called feld or campus, in thirteen furlongs (some inside the open fields), twenty six crofts, four "acres", and thirty other variously named arable areas, including several "leys" (Appendix I). Most of this information, which is bound to be incomplete, emerges from the deeds, and so it refers to free land. Without court rolls, customary land administered by the manorial officials is not easy to define or locate, although it can be assumed to have been spread fairly evenly over the manor; even in the Blackmore area, where there was perhaps a greater proportion of demesne and free land, there must have been new customary holdings in the late twelfth century to work the developing demesne, and of course the demesne arable there was eventually turned into tenant holdings. Villeins must have had their messuages and probably crofts, to go with their arable holdings: the IPM of 1296 recorded six acres for thirty two customary tenants, holding in villeinage, while fifty one customary tenants had tenements of different sizes (diversa); what meadow they had is not clear. The standard holding may also have included six acres of wood, or the produce of it: a writ of king Henry VII in 1488(L154), when the manor was with the Crown, charges Richard Beauchamp to give John Cavele possession of one messuage, six acres of land and six acres of wood in Hanley, and it is to be given "according to the custom of the manor", which implies that there had been an appeal to the Crown over a villein holding. If so, it says much for the determination of the officials over the years that a standard holding was still intact.

The land of free tenants was sometimes confined to a several croft, but was more often supplemented by strips purchased in the open fields, in other crofts and in other arable areas. The deeds suggest that the open fields were more significant than in some other woodland localities, although there was no shortage of small enclosures¹²³. John Bars in the late thirteenth century (L2) sold four selions in the west field of Burley and three in the south field (Burleyfield may have been physically divided), along with meadow in Severn Meadow; this is typical of many sales of land in the open fields. Sometimes the arable in question was reasonably large and compact, such as the nine selions with headlands which Richard Protfoot sold in Gilberts End in the early

fourteenth century (BL Add Ch 73664), but some arable holdings were fragmented and scattered, although they might lie in the same general area of the manor. For example, in 1318 (L14) Robert Felipe sold in one transaction parcels of six, five, four and two selions; three of the parcels were not far apart, near Roberts End Street, while the fourth was in Northfield; and the sale also included enclosed meadow next to Westmore. A small estate, given in about 1330 (L25) to his son by John atte Grove, consisted of a cottage with curtilage in Severn End, three butts and a headland at Aldenhalestile, probably in Burleyfield, and two other small parcels in different parts of the same open field. Arable strips in the main open fields were seemingly not enclosed, with tenants relying on metas et bundas (L24); however, in some of the smaller fields and crofts there is evidence of enclosing, as in Prutfotesfeld in 1334 (BL Add Ch 73678), where a parcel of arable consisting of ten selions and two headlands was marked by hedges. Crofts were often divided into tenant strips, resulting sometimes in quite small parcels; for instance, in 1357 Robert Hondy sold one daywork of land in Serlecroft in Aylers End (L40), which was bordered on one side by the hedge alongside Lantridge, not too far from other Hondy land. Many tenants however had selions and parcels in several places, which they presumably must have cultivated by detailed arrangements with family members and perhaps with subtenants; but the question of communal organisation must also be addressed.

For demesne land in the open fields a limited rotation system has already been noted, although it is clear that Hanley was not completely dominated by its open fields but enjoyed also a good measure of severalty; as BK Roberts says, "individual townships [in the woodland] can fall at any point on the scale between these two extremes"¹²⁴. There is not complete agreement on the history and operation of field systems, but there is a consensus that there are three essential elements, namely division into strips, common grazing of stubble and fallow, and manorial courts to administer and underpin it all with the involvement and perhaps at times the impetus of the tenants¹²⁵. In Hanley there is no doubt of the first element, the second is clear from the 1326-7 account and from the 1359 IPM, which reports in demesne one carucate of arable "of which two parts are worth 10s and the third part lies fallow and in common for the whole year", and the third element follows from the other two. Since tenant land and demesne land lay together, at least in Burleyfield and Northfield, and in some smaller fields, rotation on demesne land must have meant rotation for tenants, except perhaps on any furlongs which belonged wholly to the demesne and could be conveniently fenced off. Some of the thirteen furlongs recorded (Appendix I) may therefore have had arrangements independent of the fields in which they lay, springing perhaps in some cases from an origin as separate entities¹²⁶.

As for the crofts and other smaller non-demesne arable areas, some as we saw were held in severalty and others divided into tenurial strips. Obviously they need not follow any manorial system, but total laissez-faire would bring inefficiency and confusion. Although it is theoretically possible to arrange small arable areas in groups and agree communally on some form of rotation, it was more probably neighbours within them who came to their own agreements¹²⁷.

Such agreements might have meant that some areas were devoted to specific crops which grew especially well there, and this may account for such names in Hanley as Ricroft (L87), Otehale (L110) and Lynlonde (L16)¹²⁸. One alternative to any rigorous system is convertible husbandry, with the same land being used as required for arable or pasture; the need for regular pasture on fallow may have been less pressing in Hanley than elsewhere, since a woodland manor provided a greater variety of opportunities. But in the main open fields fallowing habits persisted after the medieval period, although the scope was gradually delimited by enclosures: in the seventeenth century those enclosures which had originated in the open fields were still thrown open for grazing after the autumn work was completed, and in 1795 the manorial survey preparatory to parliamentary enclosure showed that the forty three acre remnant of Northfield had a traditional three course rotation, while many crofts and small fields had four courses, or a less formal mixture of husbandry with fallow every few years¹²⁹.

A parcel of meadow was often sold along with arable, usually nearby. For example, in 1319(L15) Walter Broun sold an eight selion "acre" in Northfield, and half an acre of meadow in Boterwelle, which was in Westmore, on the eastern edge of Northfield. By 1351(L36) some of the land in this area was being used flexibly: Matilda in the Venne sold two selions and a gore and a piece of meadow, all in Northfield, and another selion in the same field which was next to another tenant's pasture; the latter would probably be enclosed, as would the blocks of demesne arable which had by now been leased as pasture. Meadow is not recorded in Burleyfield, and the arable of Eyfurlong (L18) apparently reaches to the river, extending over the land which might be expected to be used as meadow by tenants in the Burley area; but Boremedue (L65) or Bur Medow (L140), in which parcels were sold in 1397 and 1476, lay in the Severn Meadow area, and may have been originally the meadow of the burh of Burley. In the sixteenth century and later, meadow is often bought and sold in "day's maths", thought to be about one eighth of an acre, and there is evidence in Hanley deeds of earlier systems of annual alternation and "sharing at mowing time"¹³⁰. Meadow for tenants in Blackmore also appears in the deeds, for example in 1423 (L79), when a parcel of meadow is included in the sale of a holding in Blackmore End; but of course Blackmore had nothing like the expanse of meadow which was to be found in the east.

(c) Rents and Services

Information about rents is mostly imprecise, but if we take the thirty two tenants each with six acres and paying in all £10 17s 3d in rents and services in 1296, and if we assume that they were all on equal terms, then they each paid 6s 9½d. If then we examine the services of William Whitemar, and assume for a moment that he was a quarter virgater, it will be seen (Table III.15) that their value is 4s 1½d, leaving his rent at 2s 8¼d, or thereabouts. Two thirds of the services in general were commuted (Table III.9), which meant a payment of roughly two thirds of the value, about 2s 8d. William had also to pay his penny for wood, and his share of a total of £5 6s 8d in auxilium and de certo; with about one hundred villeins this might amount to about 1s 1d. Thus the

cash he had to find came to 6s 6¼d, before any amercements, tallages, licences and other exactions which were a consequence of holding customary land. In the bishop's manor of Aston, which also had quarter-yardlands for some villeins, the rent was 3s 0d, but the services were valued at twice those of William Whitemar; the larger total might be related to greater tenant prosperity in a manor which was within easy reach of the Worcester market, but perhaps also lighter services might be postulated for a woodland manor with a small demesne and tenants who might claim ancient demesne of the Crown¹³¹.

Working one day per week from Michaelmas to Gules of August, value of a day's work ½d	1s	10½d
Ploughing and harrowing three selions at the winter and spring sowings, total value		3d
Mowing one "lawe sithe"		2½d
Stacking hay for two days at ½d per day		1d
Carting one load of hay		1d
Working one and a half days per week from the Gules of August to Michaelmas, providing one other man, at 1½d per day	1s	4d
Carting one load of corn		1d
Making malt twice before Christmas		2d
Making one hurdle at Pentecost		¼d
TOTAL	4s	1¼d

Table III.15: Services of William Whitemar, 1307 (IPM)

William Whitemar, although holding customary land, was a man of some substance. In the 1275 subsidy either he or his father had paid 10s, which was the third largest sum paid, after Gilbert de Clare and Thomas de Hanley; then he was in the land market in 1280 (L1), and a juror in 1307 for the Inquisition which recorded his labour services. Five others recorded with labour services in 1307, of a total of thirty legible names, had paid to the subsidy; considering the lapse of years this is an impressive proportion, and might suggest that Hanley villeins had no problem in living in a cash economy. At the same time some might have preferred to work more services rather than pay the commutation, especially if they had access to labour in the shape of strong sons; on the other hand values of ½d per day were so trivial that they might pay their commutation and set their sons to wage labour elsewhere ¹³². But in practice the manorial officials controlled the services and exacted them as needed in the interests of the lord's economy¹³³. One way for villeins to secure greater independence and enjoy more options was to enter the land market.

(d) The Land Market

It has been accepted for some time that villeins did transfer land by charter, especially after the Black Death, in spite of an assumption that it was legally and practically impossible. A villein was held to be closely attached to the manor by his rent and services, by registration in the

manor court of the land which he was allowed to hold in villeinage, and by heriots and marriage fines and other restrictions on his life and his movements; and even when he simply wanted to take over the family holding he paid a fine and did fealty. These arguments, along with the general needs of the manorial economy and its complex system of labour services, would certainly militate against the alienation of villein land, although it was considered by MM Postan in his discussion of the Carte Nativorum of Peterborough abbey that the villein charters there referred to villein land in some cases; at the same time he thought that "the most significant feature of the charters is not the status of the land but the status of its buyers and sellers"¹³⁴.

For Hanley the information on services attached to the IPM of 1307 provides the names of some thirty villeins (called sokemen on this occasion), some of whom can be seen again in the later documentary evidence. Among those villeins active in the land market was Jordan Finch: about the turn of the century (BL Add Ch 73667) he sold a tenement for an unspecified consideration and a rent of 2d, and he sealed the charter with his own seal, the device of an eight pointed star and the inscription JORDANI VI. .¹³⁵; and at about the same time (BL Add Ch 73670) he leased his meadow in Brocfeld for twelve years, receiving a consideration of 12s in silver. Richard Magote was the second party in these transactions, and in another in which Walter Finch sold him some land in the same area (BL Add Ch 73666); Richard, who himself is not listed among the sokemen, was apparently tidying up his holdings. Jordan Finch was buying land also, as when he acquired the whole tenement in Hanley of Cristiana Dumbelton, a widow, for a consideration of silver. Another villein seen in the land market is Peter atte Wode, who was a juror in 1307; having been one of four trustees for the lessor of a meadow in Westmore in 1302 (BL Add Ch 73669), he purchased in the same year (L11) half of another meadow, for which he paid £1 as a consideration and 6d in annual rent to the chief lord. Walter Broun (L8, L15), William Whitmer (L1) and Richard Isbel (L22) were also in the market, the latter transferring three selions in Northfield to his son in 1328. Of the other villeins named in the 1307 IPM, Robert in the Hale (BL Add Ch 73669), Reginald le Gard (L20), and William Isbel (L21) paid to subsidies in either 1275 or 1327, and are seen as witnesses to deeds. Finally John Blundel, who was a villein juror in 1296 and 1307, witnessed twenty three deeds between the late thirteenth century and 1312 (L13), although witnesses to deeds were supposed to be personally free¹³⁶. In witnessing, in possessing their own seals, and in dealing in free land, these villeins behaved as free men. Dealing in free land gave prospering villeins an opportunity to expand their holdings and use their surplus cash purposefully.

Since it is impossible from the deeds themselves to say whether the parties are villein or free, lists like that of 1307 are invaluable. For free tenants there is a list dating from the same period, in a charter dated 1319 (BL Add Ch 73673). By this charter Edmund de la Mare of Hanley gives to Thomas de Hanley (the forester) 23s 11d in annual rents received from twenty one named tenants, all of whom are said to be free tenants: some of the individual rents are very small, and it is likely that in many cases the tenants held other land, although some may have been

authentic smallholders. Eleven of them can be seen to be active in the manor in various ways, and some were involved in the land market. John Toky for example, whose free rent is 1s 6d in Edmund de la Mare's charter, had in the earlier years of the century (L4, L5) bought a messuage with curtilage and a separate croft, all in Roberts End, for unspecified considerations of silver and a total rent of 11d; and in 1300 (L10) he had received quitclaims of rent from Edmund de Hanley son of Thomas the forester, and of Peter's Pence from Thomas himself, lord of Hanley Hall submanor. Robert de la Grove, whose rent to Edmund de la Mare was 6d, probably had interests also in Baldenhall; either he or his father in about 1280 had sold a messuage and curtilage there, with an acre of land, for £2 and annual rent of 2s. Another free tenant in 1319 is Robert le Wodeward, who was a juror in 1307 and 1337, and witnessed twenty eight deeds between about 1300 and 1337. There is no obvious distinction between villeins and free men in the land market, which was of course in free land; we know nothing of any villein land market in Hanley¹³⁷.

The market can be studied further in the fifteenth century, but here we have no names of villeins, although we must assume that they were still involved. There is however a list of free tenants in the IPM of 1416, where Eleanor le Despenser is granted their rents as part of her one third dower portion; they represent then either one third of the total number of free tenants, or one third of the total value of free rents. Some forty seven tenants pay an average rent of 2s 3d, and forty names can be deciphered. Three of them had been jurors in 1392, when they swore to the birth at Hanley and baptism in Hanley church of Edward Carent in 1369¹³⁸. Twenty two of the names appear in the deeds; some, like William Hanley (ten deeds) and Nicholas Whitemere (thirteen) are seen only as witnesses, but Richard Trygge is an example of a free tenant busily buying land. Between 1393 and 1415 he was involved in seven purchases; four of them brought him extra meadow in Severn Meadow, and in one case (L61) 20s in silver would be payable by the vendor should he be dispossessed. As often occurs in this period the use of some of the meadow had to be alternated with other tenants, and in one deed (L67) a condition is that one tenant's Botemeduwe is to be exchanged annually with Mapelmeduwe, which belongs to another. Such regulations suggest that good quality meadow was at a premium at this time. In the same period Richard Trygge is seen buying two parcels of land and three headlands at Assecroft, probably in the Southend area (L66), thirteen selions in Northfield with pasture at the end of each (L75), and twelve selions and two gores in Hullefeld at Gilberts End (L77). There are also two sales, in 1423 (L79) and in 1435 (L84), in each of which he acts jointly with Richard Edryche, ex-vicar of Hanley; the land in question lies between Blackmore End Street and Aylers End Street, at the other end of the manor, and consists of a messuage and a croft called Pryckecroft, along with five dayworks of arable and a meadow in Haywardesfeld, and the whole of Jamysfele next to it. Of course we cannot say what proportion of Richard Trygge's transactions is represented here, but even by this evidence he was building a significant estate through his ventures into the land market; he was described in 1422 (L78) as a wheeler, and one can only suppose that he was a master craftsman, employing others. Incidentally his rent apportioned to Eleanor le Despenser as dower was only 4d,

and it is clear that in many other cases too the rent given in the 1416 IPM represents only a portion of a tenant's total holding.

Richard Trygge was a Hanley man, according to the deeds, and the family name persists to the end of the century (L161) and beyond (L191). But there are other men in the market who are by definition outsiders, such as Richard Hetthrop of Upton, shepherd, who in 1309 bought three selions in Burleyfield (L12), and Robert le Ostiler of Little Malvern who bought two parcels of land in the Blackmore End area in 1322 (L19). Roger de Parys, who had been the king's carter in 1326, when timber was brought from Iron Acton to the castle, had apparently settled in Hanley: in 1331 he sold a parcel in Burleyfield (L26) and in 1349 his widow sold her tenement in Burley and twelve selions in the east of the manor (L33)¹³⁹. As time goes on the outsiders tend to come from further afield, so that for example in 1456 (L93) John Camdeyne of Stowe had a messuage to sell in Church End, with six acres in Lechmeresfield. Presumably coming from Stow on the Wold, he is an example of town to country migration, that is if he actually lived in Hanley; it is interesting that John de Tadelstorp, who leased demesne land in Hanley in 1208-9, came from the same area. But the traffic is not all one way, and as early as about 1300 William Juvenis of Ripple had given Thomas de Hanley the annual rent of a messuage in Ripple¹⁴⁰; and when in 1422 (L78) we find that Roger Grove, burgess of Bristol, has a messuage in Hanley, we might conclude that he is one of the extensive de Grava family who has left home but kept an interest in Hanley property¹⁴¹.

(e) Ancient Demesne

A peculiarity of the 1307 Inquisition is that the villeins who were described as customary tenants in 1296 and 1315 are for this occasion called sokemen, which might suggest that the matter of **ancient demesne** had been raised. A manor which had been given as terra regis in Domesday Book, whether in 1066 or 1086, was technically ancient demesne of the Crown. The status meant firstly that the villein tenants might claim to be protected by law and by custom, equally with free tenants, in the enjoyment of their tenements¹⁴²; they could secure this protection by two remedies, namely the little writ of right close, returnable in the manor court, and the writ of Monstraverunt, which allowed them to petition against their lord in the royal courts if their privileges were denied¹⁴³. Secondly, they did not have to serve on juries or inquests outside their own manor, they could be tallaged only with the king's consent, they did not contribute to the expense of knights of the shire, and they did not pay tolls and custom dues¹⁴⁴. Hanley tenants had this latter privilege in any case by the customs of the forest or chase, but to secure the others and be treated as villein sokemen they would have to appeal to Domesday Book¹⁴⁵. There is no evidence, as there is for some manors, that they had in fact appealed between 1296 and 1307¹⁴⁶; yet it would seem that they had done, and that they did hold the status temporarily of villein sokemen, one result of which may be the fine detail of the services recorded in 1307, with the intention of ensuring that they were determined and not arbitrary. Their return to custumarii in 1315 may have resulted from an appeal by the lord, who was entitled to consult the record in his own interests¹⁴⁷. In fact in

1519, when it may have mattered rather less, the tenants of Hanley, along with those of Tewkesbury, were finally granted the relevant privileges and it was accepted that they belonged to the ancient demesne of the Crown¹⁴⁸.

(f) The IPM Jurors

Without the social and agrarian information of such documents as court rolls the tenants of Hanley do not emerge as three-dimensional characters, but some brief biographies are possible. Eighty or so tenants served as jurors on inquisitions between 1296 and 1391, and it is proposed to flesh out these names and their family names, from information given in a variety of contexts. The number of jurors seems to have settled at twelve by the time of our first IPM list in 1296, although in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries a range of between six and fourteen has been demonstrated elsewhere, at any rate for juries involved in manorial surveys and customals¹⁴⁹. In their composition juries tended to be a mixture of substantial tenants and those less prosperous, and of free and unfree. In Hanley in 1307, when we have clearest picture, there are probably six villeins and six free tenants (indicated in the lists below by V and F, or by a question mark if there is doubt over status). In identifying the jurors and following them up there is the well known problem of nomenclature; surnames were not always passed down, a man might take the name of a widow if he succeeded to her husband's tenement, occupational names and nicknames sometimes replaced family names, and indeed any one man might be known by several names¹⁵⁰. A further caveat is that the evidence which has survived for Hanley names is an unknown, but probably small, proportion of the whole, so that for example if a man is seen only once or twice that does not of itself argue only a fleeting presence in the manor or a life of relative obscurity.

The jurors in the earlier lists under discussion belonged by and large to well established families, and whether villein or free they played some part in the manor, and were often involved in the land market. But in 1337 there are three possible "outsiders", although they presumably had some holding in the manor. The 1349 inquisition (held on 4th March), which recorded that the potters were dead, must have been in session as the Black Death gripped Hanley, yet there are still many old names on the jury. However in 1359 there are seven "new" tenants in the jury list, including five identified by their names as coming from Cowleigh (to the north west of the Malvern Hills), Ryall (across the Severn from Upton), Hinton (in Gloucestershire), Pulle (probably La Pulle in Bushley) and Longdon. None had ventured far, but in any case, since there are no other references to them, they may not have lived in Hanley; they would presumably sublet their land, which they took as a short term investment after the Black Death, unlike Richard Ferour and John Hanecockes, the other two, who appear to have arrived in the 1350s and settled in the manor. By 1391 there were one or two like this, who had not been visible before 1350, but the majority were from well known families with a long term stake in Hanley¹⁵¹.

IPM 1296 (PRO C133/77)

Thomas de Hanlegh [junior] (F): chief forester (L1); paid 18s to 1275 subsidy, and also paid under Mathon; in land market (BL Add Ch 73660, etc); frequently first witness, especially re land in Hanley Hall submanor; not recorded after 1319 (BL Add Ch 73673); family recorded from 1165-6 (Pipe Roll) until 1619 (HWCRO BA1531 Ref 705.134/37).

Robert Calvestayl (F?): witness to quitclaim c. 1300 re rents in Morton Folet (BRL M45/422) to John de Hanley; Robert Calvestail, probably an ancestor, named in PR 1209-10; in late fifteenth century members of the family worked as foresters in the Castlemorton area, where their part of the chase bore the same name (Estreats, 1478).

John de Hanlegh (F): forester's family; recorded in quitclaim above, and witness 1300 (L10).

Robert de Monte (?): paid 1s 8d to 1275 subsidy (if same as Robert del Hulle); witnessing deeds from c. 1290 (e.g. BL Add Ch 73666) to 1322 (L18); a probable ancestor, also Robert, named in PR 1210-11 as one of two overseers of work on the castle; the family may have given its name to Hills Farm on Roberts End Street.

John Blondel (V): juror and sokeman 1307 IPM; witnessing deeds from c. 1290 (BL Add Ch 73666) to 1312 (L13); surname seen from c. 1200 re land at Blackmore (Darlington, *Worcester Cartulary*, 25), and continues in juries and deeds, etc., until 1416 (Adam Blondel a free tenant) and 1478 (Estreats); Thomas Blundell clerk (of Welland) 1501 (L165).

Robert de Grava [senior] (?): dealing in land in Baldenhall c. 1280 (Madresfield calendar, 20); his son, also Robert, manumitted 1314 (L13a); juror 1315; John and Robert atte Grove paid to 1327 subsidy; surname frequent in deeds until 1516 (L199), but since "Grove" appears to have been a settlement there may have been more than one family.

Henry le Bonde (V?): a villein by definition? others of the same name paid to the subsidies of 1275 and 1327; John le Bonde a sokeman in 1307; no other references to Henry le Bonde. The name may be generic rather than a family surname.

Adam de Lechemere (V): surname first seen in 1275, when three Lechmeres (not Adam) are listed in the subsidy roll; Adam a sokeman in 1307; Alice Lechmere a free tenant in 1319 (BL Add Ch 73673); the family is seen throughout the deeds and documents and continues in Hanley to the present day (see below); no other references to Adam after 1307.

Robert Jordon (?): no other references, unless e.g. son of Jordan Finch (BL Add Ch 73666).

Peter Aspelon (?): paid 2s 8d in 1275; juror 1293 (inquisition at Worcester re Walter Broun); regularly a witness until 1302 (L11); a probable ancestor ("Absalon" - no Christian name) overseer of work on the castle with Robert de Monte (above) (PR 1210-11); the surname continues to be recorded until 1328 (L22).

Robert le Forester (F): forester's family (BL Add Ch 73660); witnessing between c. 1280 (Madresfield calendar 20) and 1302 (L11).

Robert le Bonde (V?): witness 1309 (L12); see above on Henry le Bonde.

IPM 1307 (PRO C133/129)

Robert le Wodeward (F): the Woodward family had their own submanor (L88, L149, etc); difficult to distinguish father and son (both Robert) in late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries; one or the other seen from 1275 (subsidy roll) to 1337 (juror); surname continues until 1487 (L149); possibly related to the Hanleys.

Robert atte Grene (F?): no other references; Walter atte Grene paid to 1327 subsidy, but several greens in Hanley and possibly more than one family with this name.

John Apsolon (F): free tenant 1319 (BL Add Ch 73673); witnessing until 1328 (L22); for family see under Peter Aspelon (1296).

John Blundel (V) : named as sokeman in this IPM, with harvest supervision duties; juror 1296; see above (1296).

Peter atte Wode (V): named as sokeman in this IPM; buying meadow in 1302 (L11); trustee re lease in 1302 (BL Add Ch 73669); if the same as Peter de Bosch, witness in 1309 (L12a).

Robert Tele (V): named as sokeman in this IPM; paid 1s 6d in 1275; no other references to Robert, but the surname continues as party, witness, etc, until c. 1550 (Hanley Hall rental); John Tele a free tenant in 1416 IPM.

William Whitemar (V): named as sokeman in this IPM; paid 10s in 1275; buying land pre-1283 (L1), witness in 1296 (BL Add Ch 73668); surname continues to be seen until late 15th cent.

Geoffrey Serle (F): buying land late thirteenth century (L3); free tenant in 1319 (BL Add Ch 73673); land in Serlecroft sold 1357 (L40); surname seen until 1523 (L215).

Walter Girid (F?): no other references.

Gilbert . . . (?)

Adam Funan (V): named as sokeman in this IPM; no other references, unless recte Fynch (Adam Fynch paid 5s 0d in 1275).

William Broun (V): named as sokeman in this IPM; buying meadow 1337 (BL Add Ch 73679); surname seen until 1361 (L42).

IPM 1315 (PRO C134/42)

Thomas de Hanlegh [junior] : see above (1296 IPM).

Robert de G[rav]a : see above (1296 IPM).

John Simund : witness to deeds from c. 1300 (e.g. BL Add Ch 73666) to 1336 (L30); surname not seen thereafter.

John . . .

. . . de la Hulle : for family, see on Robert de Monte (1296).

Gilbert Swift : no other references.

. . . Wodeward : for family, see on Robert le Wodeward (1307).

Robert ?Harmlie : no other references.

Gilbert ate Grove : see on Robert de Grava (1296).

John Phelyp : no other references, but Gilbert Phelipp named as a sokeman in 1307, and Robert his son dealing in land in 1318 (L14); surname not seen thereafter.

John Rowar : no other references.

Robert by the Wode : free tenant 1319 (BL Add Ch 73693); no other references, but see under Peter atte Wode (1307).

IPM 1337 (PRO C135/51)

Roger de Hanleye : chief forester: son of Thomas (q.v. 1296 and 1315); paid 2s to 1327 subsidy, and paid also under Suckley and Mathon; first witness regularly from 1319 (BL Add Ch 73675) to 1344 (BL Add Ch 73684); constable and keeper of the castle and manor, for the Crown, 1326-7 (Minister's account).

Robert de la Grave : son of Robert (1296) q.v. : he or his son witnessing until 1365 (BL Add Ch 73692) and amerced in chase and manor courts 1367.

Robert le Wodeward : ?son of Robert (1307).

John le Wodeward : see under Robert le Wodeward (1307); witnessing and party from 1319 (L15) to 1388 (L55); probably three generations, all John, cannot be separated; paid to 1327 subsidy; juror 1349 and 1359.

John Blundel : witness from 1341 (BL Add Ch 73681) to 1356 (BL Add Ch 41386); juror(or his son) 1349 and 1359; for family see 1296.

[Robert] le Ostiler : of Little Malvern, but buying land in Hanley 1322 (L19); witness between 1340 (BL Add Ch 73680) and 1342 (BL Add Ch 73683).

Adam Moyses : no other references; John Moyses witness in 1319 (BL Add Ch 73673) and 1320 (BRL Worcs H29 710); otherwise surname not seen until 1544 (L245).

John Bacon : no other references.

Adam le Porter : he or his son witnessing and dealing in land (L34) between 1328 (L22) and 1360 (L41); probably Adam junior a juror in 1349 and 1359; surname seen until 1484-5 (Minister's accounts).

Thomas de Neuwynton (Gloucs?): no other references.

. . . de O . . . enton : no other references.

John de Cremenhull : no other references.

IPM 1349 (PRO C135/105)

[two or more names illegible]

Adam le Porter : see above on 1337.

William Baugh : no other references; surname seen later, from 1454 (L91) to 1547 at least

(L252).

John Speot : paid to subsidy 1327; probably an earlier John named as a sokeman 1307; surname first seen in 1275, when William paid 2s to the subsidy, and continues in deeds, etc, until 1479-80 (Minister's accounts).

William Whitemer : amerced 6d in manor court 1367, one of twenty tenants who failed to provide a boat to carry the lord's provisions; for the family see 1307.

Adam Blondel : father and son seen as witnesses between 1318 (L14) and 1369 (BL Add Ch 73693); for family see 1296.

Thomas le Wodeward : witnessing deeds from 1343 (L32) to 1357 (L40); for family, see 1307.

William Broun : witnessing deeds from 1349 (L33) to 1361 (L42); leased meadow in 1337 (BL Add Ch 73679); possibly same family as William Broun, named as sokeman 1307.

John le Wodeward : two or three of the same name: see 1337.

John Blondel : father and son : juror 1337 and 1359; witnessing from 1341 (BL Add Ch 73681) to 1386 (L52); or John, son of Robert, recipient of a quitclaim in 1365 (BL Add Ch 73692).

John le Wodeward senior : father of John above : see 1337.

IPM 1359 (PRO C135/145)

John de Hanleigh : chief forester; frequently first witness from 1343 (L32) to 1374 (L48); dealing in land 1352 (BL Add Ch 73687), etc.; for family see 1296.

***John de Coulee** (Cowleigh, Herefs) : no other references.

***Richard de Ruyhale** (Ryall) : no other references.

John Wodeward junior : see 1349.

Adam Porter : see 1337.

John Wodeward senior : see 1337.

***John de Hinto[n]** (Gloucs?) : no other references.

***Richard Ferour** : witness 1363 (L45) and 1365 (BL Add Ch 73692); surname continues to 1480 (witness to grant of forestership).

John Blundel : juror 1349; for family see also 1296.

***John Hanecokes** : witness 1364 (L46); amerced in manor court (brewing) and chase court 1367; surname seen from 1356 (L38) to c. 1550 at least (Hanley Hall rental); juror 1392 (or a relative).

***John atte Pulle** (Pulle in Bushley? or cp. Pool Brook, and Pool House in Burley area); no other references.

***Robert Muchegros** (of Longdon - VCH 4, 114): no other references in Hanley.

* New tenants after Black Death

IPM 1391 (Cal IPM 15-23 Ric II, 67)

Robert Lechemer : free tenant 1416 IPM; amerced in manor court 1367, one of twenty tenants who failed to provide a boat to carry the lord's provisions; party and witness (?father and son) from 1357 (L39) to 1407 (L73); for family, see 1296 and below.

Nicholas Whytemer : free tenant 1416 IPM; witness from 1375 (L49) to 1415 (L77); for family, see 1307 and 1349.

Walter Bondy : (Le Bonde?) - see 1296. Walter, or his father, a party 1361 (L43); surname not seen after 1411 (L76).

William Speot : named as plaintiff in manor court roll 1367; seen as witness and party (L52) until 1392 (L60); for family, see 1349.

Thomas Henteloue : free tenant 1416 IPM; amerced (or his father) in manor court 1367 (brewing); witness 1396 (L64); surname still seen in 1479-80 (Minister's accounts).

Robert Boner : amerced (or his father) in chase court 1367; surname seen between 1327 (subsidy roll) and 1573 (HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134/59).

Richard Porter : amerced (or his father?) in chase court 1367; witness 1389 (L56); for surname, see 1337.

William Hondy : amerced (or his father) in manor court 1367 (brewing); surname seen from 1342 (quitclaim - BL Add Ch 73683) to 1423 (L80).

John Robyns : no other references.

John Pen senior : witness from 1369 (with John Pen junior - BL Add Ch 73693) to 1407 (L71); surname seen from 1221 (Eyre Rolls 1077) to 1435 (L84).

John Hancokes : amerced (or a relative) in chase court 1367; for family, see 1359.

John Whythed : witness 1396 (L64); constable of Hanley 1397 (Putnam, *Proceedings* (1938), 402).
John Kyng : amerced (or his father) in chase court 1367; described as former tenant of free land, 1416 IPM; surname seen from 1326-7 (Minister's accounts) to 1392, but perhaps earlier (*Kyngenhull* in Northfield) and later (sale of house called Three Kings in Church End, by Richard Kings, in 1710) (HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 706.134/6xiv).

Table III.16 : Jurors between 1296 and 1391

(g) Two Significant Families : the Hanleys and the Lechmeres

The family called **de Hanley** was headed by the chief forester who was also lord of the submanor of Hanley Hall, sometimes known as Hall manor. It has already been noted that the forester held half a virgate in 1086 for custody of the forest, a demesne which was later enlarged to one and a half virgates, and his perquisites have been outlined in Chapter I above. From a variety of documentary evidence it is possible to construct a list of those who were chief foresters and lords of the manor from the middle of the twelfth century (Table III.17); in the deeds they are normally styled simply **de Hanley**, and as (invariably) first witness their status is clear. The term "forester" is used more often to describe other members of the family, or yet other men who were subforesters; and the confusion is increased by the presence of several members of the Wodeward family, who were possibly related and had their own submanor called Wodewards (L48, L149).

The first name we have is that of **John de Hanlega**, named in a charter of earl William of Gloucester dated c. 1150, in which his land and the office of forester are granted in heredity to his son **Gilbert**, who may well have been responsible, as argued above, for the settlement called **Gilberts End**. By 1165 we find **Robert de Henlea** (connected similarly with the foundation of **Roberts End**) rendering account for the pleas of the forest, and he is succeeded by another **Gilbert**, or perhaps two, since we do not hear of **Thomas** until 1230, when he too appears in the Pipe Rolls. This **Thomas de Hannleg**, son of **Gilbert**, is then seen in a charter of c. 1240 (BL Add Ch 73655), in which he is granted rents in Brochenda and Hanley which had once been paid to his father, and which are to be discharged by payment of an arrow on the feast of St Botulph in the house of **Thomas de Hanley**, that is Hanley Hall; the significance of St Botulph will be examined below. It is another **Thomas de Hanley**, son of **Thomas** and **Juliana**, who is seen as a party in a deed of 1274 concerning land at La Suthide in Mathon, in which the family had a long term interest: in 1275 he paid 18s to the subsidy, the highest payment after **Gilbert de Clare**, and he paid also in Mathon. He was a juror in 1296 and 1315, and a series of deeds from the late thirteenth century (e.g. L1 : few deeds are precisely dated before 1300) to 1320 includes over twenty in which **Thomas** is first witness; in two of the deeds of this period suit of **Thomas's** court is demanded (BL Add Ch 73662, 73663), and many of the others are probably also concerned with land in Hall manor. **Roger de Hanley**, son of **Thomas**, is the next forester and lord; he is noted from 1319 (BL Add Ch 73675), and between 1322 (L16) and 1344 (BL Add Ch 73684) he witnesses again more than twenty deeds as first witness; he was constable and keeper of the castle and manor with **Blackmore** in 1326-7, and a juror in 1337.

Roger's successor was John de Hanley, who is seen witnessing deeds, including nine as first witness, between 1343 (L32) and 1374 (L48): in a deed of 1352 (BL Add Ch 73687) he requires suit of his court, so it is clear that he is lord, but "John le Forester" appears also, at times in the same deeds. This latter John was constable of the castle from 1343, an office previously held by Roger. The confusion that arises at times in the identification of people named in the deeds is at its worst in a deed of 1343 (L32), in which John le Wodeward senior is a party, John le Forester, constable of the castle, is first witness, and other witnesses are John de Hanley, John le Wodeward junior and Thomas le Wodeward. John le Forester is not seen after 1353 but John de Hanley was a juror in 1359 and a witness until 1374.

No deeds are dated between 1375 and 1383, but when they resume the forester and lord is another Thomas de Hanley, who is followed about 1432 by Simon Hanley; both again are prominent first witnesses, with twenty nine deeds between them up to 1462 (L111). In his will of about that date (L89) Simon Hanley left his property in Suckley and Lulsley to Katherine his wife, with remainder to John Hanley, his son, and then to Margaret his daughter; in this way he provided for John, who was not to become forester, and for Margaret, who was his only daughter. He left his place in Church End also to his wife, and after her death to the chantry priest of St Clement, a matter which will be discussed below. Simon's son and heir was Nicholas Hanley, who witnesses deeds from 1462 (L112) until 1487 (L152), including twenty in which he is first witness. But in 1479 he sold the chief forestership and the land belonging to that office to Richard lord Beauchamp, and in 1480 (BL Add Ch 73695) he granted to Beauchamp and seven others the manor house called Hall Place with all appurtenances in Hanley, Upton and Welland, along with reversion of the lands and rents held in dower by his mother; in effect he was selling, in addition to the office, the manor house and the demesne, all the lands which had been accumulated over the years. The sale and reversion went through in spite of objections from Thomas and Roger Hanley (his brothers?), of London and Kempsford (Gloucs) respectively, who asserted that they had purchased from him the reversion of the forestership and the manor. Nicholas was allowed a small estate and may have continued to live at Hanley Hall until his death, at some point after 1487 (L152).

His successor as head of the family, although no longer chief forester or lord of Hall manor, seems to have been William Hanley, who in 1508 (L174) lived in Southend and possessed other messuages in Hanley; he still had an interest in the family chantry, as will be seen below, and he witnessed several deeds, as did his son Henry, who described himself in 1521 (L206) as a yeoman and was a trustee of the school. Another William (who styled himself of Severn Stoke, and later of Wymondham in Norfolk) and John (perhaps his son) were yeomen later in the century, and the family name is seen for the last time in 1619 in the will of Jane Hanley, widow of John, who left domestic items and small sums of money¹⁵². The Hanleys sold up in 1480, at a time when the Crown became chief lord, tenants were in short supply, and the balance of agriculture was changing, but it is hard to say how much these factors influenced their decision. While some had already emigrated to London and elsewhere, and while those at home were content to join the

yeoman class, others took their place. From 1543 the Russells of Strensham held the submanor and the forestership; the income and privileges of the latter office disappeared at the disafforestation, but the Russells were well compensated, while after various leases to members of his family the manor of Hanley Hall was eventually purchased by Edmund Lechmere in 1743¹⁵³.

<u>*Date</u>	<u>Chief forester and lord of Hall manor</u>	<u>Main References</u>
1147x 1165	John de Hanlega	Patterson, <i>Charters</i> , 63
1147x 1165	Gilbert de Hanlega, (son of John)	" "
1165 1175	Robert de Henlea Gilbert de Hanlea	Pipe Roll 1165-6 Pipe Rolls between 1175 and 1207; <i>RBE</i> 567; Stenton, <i>Eyre Rolls</i> 966 (1221)
1230	Thomas de Hannleig' [sen], (son of Gilbert)	Pipe Roll 1230; BL Add Ch 73655 (c. 1240), 73660 (c. 1270), etc.
1274	Thomas de Hanleye [jun], (son of Thomas)	Subsidy Roll 1275; <i>VCH</i> 4, 139 re Mathon land; BL Add Ch 73666, 73668 (c.1300); BRL, Shrewsbury (Talbot) Calendar, Worcs H29/710 (1320)
1322	Roger de Hanleye, (son of Thomas [jun])	L16 (1322); Subsidy Roll 1327; BL Add Ch 73684 (1344)
1343	John de Hanleye	L32 (1343); L48 (1374), etc.
1383	Thomas de Hanleye	L50 (1383); L81 (1429), etc.
1432	Simon Hanley	L82 (1432); L111 (1462), etc.
1462	Nicholas Hanley, (son & heir of Simon)	L112 (1462); <i>Cal Close 1476-85</i> , 648-9, re sale 1479; BL Add Ch 73695 re sale 1480; L152 (1487)

* The date is the earliest date when the new forester is noted

Table III.17: Chief Foresters and Lords of Hanley Hall Manor, c. 1147 - 1480

The demesne land of Hall manor is not recorded until 1479, when detail is given at the time of the sale, and we find that the land belonging to the forester's office comprised the following:

Byckemore	16 acres
Lontrygge	25 acres
Seggesley	3 acres
Syrpole	5 acres
Codericslands	6 acres

Table III.18: Demesne Land of Hall Manor

The total is 55 acres, and presumably it incorporates the one and a half virgates of the serjeanty holding. The only known Coderic locally was a radman of Powick in 1086, but there is no recorded connection with Hanley. The location of Lontrygge is known, between Roberts End Street and Aylers End Street, towards their western ends, and Syrpole is also known, lying against

Malvern wood in Blackmore End (L167); it might be expected that some of the other places would be in Gilberts End, where Hanley Hall lies, but although Byckemore and Seggesley are seen in personal names in various deeds, there are no precise locations. From the information given in 1480 it appears that further demesne land had at some point been acquired in the shape of Swynnesley (on Roberts End Street next to Forthey) and Roggersmedowe, in Severn Meadow; this latter may have been purchased by Roger de Hanley in the early thirteenth century, while earlier demesne meadow may have lain with the arable¹⁵⁴. More demesne is shown in the rental of c. 1550, when five parcels of demesne are leased; two are in Sondley (Gilberts End), while the others lie in Le Ferts (recte Serts? - assarts) and Symkynsfelde in Roberts End, Bateley in Gilberts End, and Laues Ridge meadow in Severn End; apart from the meadow they are not too far from the manor house. However, the other tenements which are listed in the rental and which were accumulated for rent over the years are scattered throughout the main manor; there are eighty two in all, and they include land in Church End, Burleyfield and Northfield, so that the forester through his holdings alone had wide influence in Hanley. Thirty seven free tenants can be identified, with eighteen customary tenants and five holding at the lord's will; some had more than one tenement, and no doubt had holdings also outside the manor of Hanley Hall. The rents totalled £12 4s 6d, and the total value of the manor to the Russells in 1550 was £22 11s 2d, which included the site of the manor and the demesne land valued together at £9, and a mill at £1.

Hanley Hall itself lies near the Mere Brook, in the south of the Gilberts End area and on the southern boundary of the main manor. Being the seat of the chief forester the house was the day-to-day hub and centre of the forest as well as of the submanor. The present building probably dates from the mid-sixteenth century, and the interior is not earlier than the seventeenth. The plan is of a two-storied hall block, of two bays, with a cross wing at each end. The remnants of a moat can be seen on the west side, but although there is a large pond to the north west it is not possible now to detect the fishponds or the mill which were recorded in the sixteenth century and later¹⁵⁵.

The second family to be discussed was originally called **de Lechmere**, later simply Lechmere, and they have survived in Hanley from at least the thirteenth century to the present day. As we saw above (chapter II) when examining the settlement at Severn End, there was a tradition that the Lechmeres had arrived with the Conqueror and been given land in Hanley. But Domesday Book reveals nothing, nor do the Pipe Rolls, which occasionally do mention names of important tenants. However, the few extant twelfth century charters of the earls of Gloucester are concerned strictly with the forest, and three of the four Hanley charters surviving from the first seventy years of the thirteenth century belong to the manor of Hanley Hall, so perhaps it is not surprising if any early Lechmere presence is not recorded¹⁵⁶. The verdict must be not proven. Very few Hanley names are in fact visible until the subsidy roll of 1275, when three Lechmeres are seen, in a list of seventy names Reginald and Richard Lechmere pay 2s and 1s 8d respectively, and no sum is given for Philip, whose name is crossed out. Thirty eight of the tenants pay more than

Reginald's 2s, so that even given all the caveats which surround the interpretation of tax rolls it cannot be said that the Lechmeres were financially prominent. Their tenement at Severn End was apparently a villein holding, for Adam Lechmere was named as a villein sokeman in the IPM of 1307; Alice Lechmere however held some free land at a rent of 8d in 1319 (BL Add Ch 73673), and Robert called Wilkin Lechmere had been in the land market in 1309 (L12a), when he received a quitclaim for arable land at Longcroft in Northfield, on the edge of Severn Meadow. Perhaps a villein family, now prospering, was moving towards freedom, although it should be remembered that different branches of a family might have different personal status, and it will appear below that a later Robert still had a villein holding, or at any rate a holding which involved some service to the lord, in 1367. During the years following 1275 Lechmere land is frequently mentioned as a boundary in deeds, so that we hear of Henry and John between 1326 (L21) and 1339 (L31); all the land concerned is in the area of Severn End and Northfield, with Lechmeresfield beginning to be seen, but it is not until it emerges (L25) that John is the son of Henry that we can suggest relationships; even so it is not clear how many branches of the family there were. Henry Lechmere had another son, Robert, to whom he granted a messuage in Severn End in 1339 (L31), lying on the north of Quay Lane.

Henry Lechmere is not seen after 1339, but in 1345 (BL Add Ch 73685) a charter concerning another messuage in Severn End gives as a boundary the placeam of his son John, which may be the main family residence, on the site of the house now known as Severn End; the same charter has William Lechmere as one of the witnesses, a name otherwise unknown, unless he lived long enough to have witnessed a charter in 1398 (L66). Of the two brothers, John is not recorded after 1352 (L37), when his land is mentioned as a boundary (such mentions however can be made for long periods after the tenant has died or sold the land), but Robert was active in the decade after the Black Death and his purchases made a solid contribution to the family prosperity at a time when land was readily available. Two of them are seen in charters of 1357 (L39 and L40), dated the same day, when he extended the family interests into the west of the cultivated manor by investing in a croft in Aylers End, a dieta in another croft nearby, and five selions and associated meadow in La Newelonde, which lay between Aylers End Street and Blackmore End Street, towards their western ends. In 1363 (L45), describing himself now as son of a gentleman (generosus) (but the deed has been tampered with), Robert bought a parcel of meadow in Severn Meadow, and in 1367 he appears in the court roll as one of twelve who failed to provide a boat for the lord, an obligation which presumably was attached to one of his holdings. Only ten Hanley charters survive for the 1350s and eight for the 1360s, so it would not be unreasonable to assume that we see only a fraction of Robert Lechmere's land deals.

Another Robert followed as the main Lechmere witness of deeds in the later fourteenth century, and in 1416 he and John Lechmere, perhaps his son, were listed as free tenants in the IPM. In 1460 (L109) John and Elena his wife quitclaimed some meadow in Severn Meadow, but the late fifteenth century belongs to Richard (son of John and Elena?), who after Robert in the mid-fourteenth century was the second medieval begetter of the later prosperity; he is thought also

to have built the house at Severn End (replacing John's placea), part of which was incorporated in the later house until the destructive fire of 1896¹⁵⁷. Richard, like Robert before him, took advantage of a recession in land values, which is highlighted by the ministers' accounts from 1479 onwards. In 1459 (L105, L106) Richard and Johanna his new wife were given a moiety of the lands and tenements of his father-in-law, John Whytemere, whose ancestor William had paid 10s in 1275; William's services as a villein were listed in the 1307 IPM (Table III.15), so here was a merger of two old villein families which had prospered. Like the Lechmeres, the Whytemere family had interests mainly in the east of the manor, and such a marriage settlement must have made Richard Lechmere a major landholder there. This Whytemere estate was immediately put in trust by Richard (L108), and descended to his son Thomas in 1506 (L173), when he married Eleanor Frere of Claines; the property included a messuage called Le Whittemere (at Southend), arable in Lechmeresfield and Northfield, and meadow in Severn Meadow¹⁵⁸. Meanwhile Richard was consolidating in Lechmeresfield, parts of which had always been let or sold to others, by purchasing eighteen selions in two transactions in 1469 (L118, L120), six of them abutting Northfelecheche, the southern boundary of Northfield. He also bought parcels in Northfield itself, at Le Kyngynhull (L118) and Le Sladole (L140), and a croft called Voveley, which lay a little outside traditional Lechmere territory, north of the later Holloway Farm on Roberts End Street. Then in 1473 (L136) he purchased (with two others) all the lands in Hanley of John Tele, whose family dealt in land in the east of the manor (e.g. L14, L72, L96) and who himself had been consolidating (L134, L135).

It is impossible to say what proportion of Richard's purchases is seen in the surviving deeds: as for sales, any deeds which might record them would be kept by the purchaser as evidence of title (unless a chirograph provided two copies), and might only appear in the Lechmere archive if they were transfers within the family¹⁵⁹. Richard did however quitclaim land at Wodewelle in Northfield in 1490 (L156), and in Shirpullefeld in Blackmore End in 1502 (L167), and such quitclaims are often made by a vendor. He is not recorded in the west otherwise, although he probably still held the land which Robert had bought there in 1357. Typically for the deeds of the period, the cost of land bought or sold is never stated. Richard began also to look beyond Hanley: in 1501 for example (L166) it transpires that he had been involved in a dispute over the manor of Daunseys in Welland, which had been recovered from him and others in the king's court at Westminster. At the same time other members of the family also had outside interests, such as his son William who with others, including Robert Throckmorton, sold his lands in Powick in 1494¹⁶⁰. By 1504 Richard was dead (BL Add Ch 41389); since 1442 he had witnessed thirty six surviving charters and been a party in fifteen others, sometimes with his wife Johanna, who quitclaimed the Whytemere lands in 1506 (L172). Three weeks later Thomas Lechmere, second son of Richard, and his wife Eleanor came into the Whytemere inheritance (L173).

Richard's son and heir was John, described as such in 1509 (L175), and it seems likely that as first son (L173) he inherited the Severn End house and lived there (L176). In 1509 he

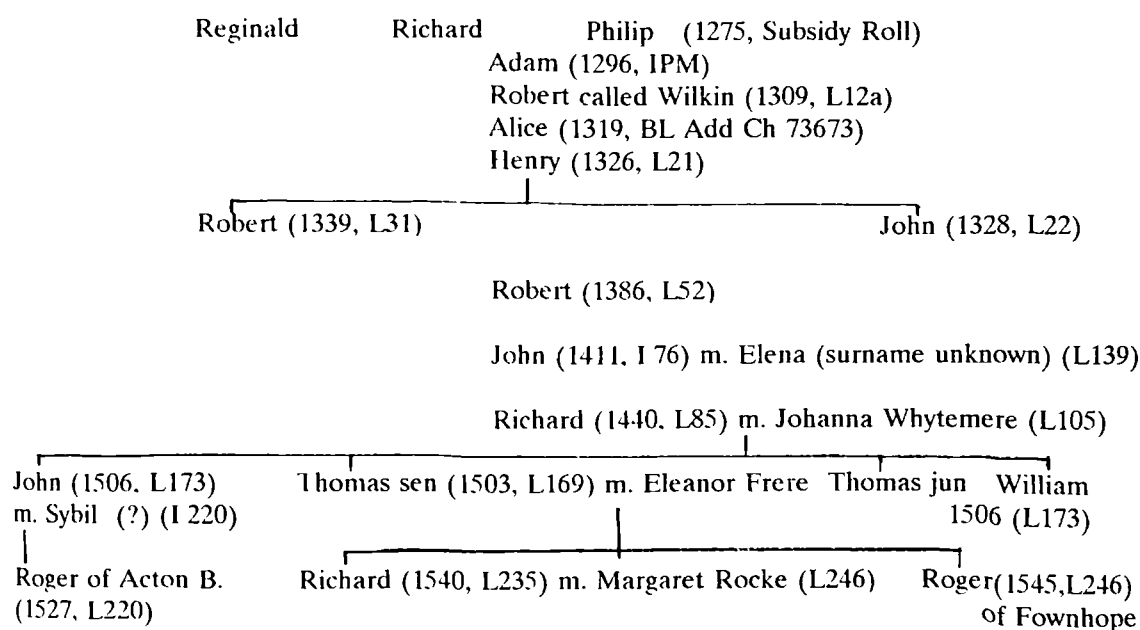
quitclaimed a messuage and in 1527 (L220) he passed another to trustees for his son Roger, but none of John's other deeds are extant. With John at Severn End, Thomas may have lived at Le Whitemere, but in 1512 (L188) he received from his father's feoffees, at the instance of his mother, a messuage near Ryddegrene, along with a large estate in the east of the manor, which included arable in Northfield and Shawfield, meadow in Severn Meadow and Westmore, and pasture in Le Hyettes, which was on Blackmore End Street south of Priestfield Farm; it is likely therefore that Thomas went to live at the Rhydd, in a house on the site of the later Rhydd Court, which was a Lechmere property built in the late eighteenth century¹⁶¹. The earlier history of this Rhydd Green estate, before it came to Thomas, is not apparent. Richard Lechmere had three other sons; William, the third son, has been noted above in Powick, but he also inherited some land in Lechmeresfield, which he sold to his older brother Thomas in 1519 (L202). The fourth son, Nicholas, is recorded only once, along with his brothers, in the reversionary clause of the deed which granted the Whytemere lands to Thomas (L173). The fifth son was also Thomas, named junior on the two occasions when he is recorded; he sold land in Lechmeresfield and Northfield in 1517 (L199), and in Buvley (Voveley?) and Shawfield in 1521 (L209); in each case the land had been inherited from his father and was sold to Thomas senior and his wife Eleanor.

Thomas Lechmere senior might be described as the third medieval architect of the family fortunes; he seems to have overshadowed his eldest brother John both in land business and in position in the community, and it was his line as we shall see which continued in Hanley. He was in demand as a trustee, for Henry Hanley for example, between 1508 (L174) and 1511 (L185), and in 1523 he was one of ten trustees of the school who took over land from an earlier body, most of whom had died; the Lechmeres continued to be involved in the school into the twentieth century¹⁶². The land bought by Thomas in ten surviving deeds between 1516 (L192) and 1530 (L226) included several parcels in Severn Meadow, and arable in Burleyfield, Northfield and Lechmeresfield; and he witnessed seven deeds between 1504 (BL Add Ch 41389) and 1521 (L207).

The son and heir of John Lechmere of Severn End was Roger; but in 1540 (L235), describing himself as of Acton Beauchamp, he sold his inheritance in Hanley for an unspecified sum to his cousin Richard, eldest son of Thomas, and thereafter he is not recorded in the Hanley documents. Richard's younger brother, another Roger, is seen in 1569, the year after Richard's death, receiving the manor of Fownhope in Herefordshire from his brother's will, but there is no sign of him before then, except as a witness in 1545 (L246)¹⁶³. Certainly as far as the deeds tell, it was Richard who was head of the family in Hanley from 1540. In 1541 (L237, L239) the family lands in Hanley were settled on Richard and his wife, Margaret Rocke of Ripple, who herself had brought "a fair inheritance" to the Lechmeres, and in 1544 we see him as one of a new body of eight trustees of the school¹⁶⁴. In the following year (L246) he took the opportunity offered by the dissolution of Little Malvern Priory to buy the priory's meadow in Hanley, which cost him £7. The year 1547 saw him appointed as high collector for the hundred of Pershore of the "loving contribution" granted to the king; he was thus responsible for collecting over £224 from forty two

townships¹⁶⁵. In the 1550s his land deals in Hanley seem to have been largely devoted to tidying up and consolidating his arable in Northfield, partly by purchase and partly by exchange, but he was also developing interests in Ryall (a submanor of Ripple), probably through his wife; they had copyhold land there, with their children as undertenants, and in 1560 Richard took a lease of one third of the manor of Ryall Court¹⁶⁶.

The chief members of the family during the medieval period can be seen in Table III.19, which incorporates information which was not readily accessible to earlier writers¹⁶⁷. The later history of the Lechmeres is reasonably well known, and the line contained such distinguished figures as Nicholas, who was a baron of the exchequer in the 1680s and left an account of his life which included the tribulations of a Parliamentary gentleman in the period of the Civil War¹⁶⁸. From the mid-seventeenth century Nicholas and successive Lechmeres made purchases in Hanley, such as the manor of Hanley Hall in 1743, and added to their estates beyond Hanley, with seventeen manors purchased or leased in the south of the county. Some were acquired as opportunity arose and held quite briefly, such as Welland which was bought from the Parliamentary Commissioners in 1648 but returned to the bishop at the Restoration in 1660; but others, such as Staunton and Eldersfield, were still Lechmere property in the early twentieth century¹⁶⁹.



(Dates given denote the earliest record of the individual)

Table III.19 : Genealogy of the Medieval Lechmeres

These two families in their different ways and in overlapping periods exercised a controlling influence in Hanley. The forester's family had its ancient roots in the vill, and held land and responsibility probably before the Conquest. They were concerned both with public duties and with the administration of their submanor; this they consolidated by building new settlements in the assarts of the west in the twelfth century, and later by acquiring further land, and rents of free tenants, particularly of smallholdings. They had probably a major interest in the pottery industry, and its temporary collapse as a result of the Black Death, along with diminishing returns from land in general, may have represented a turning point in their fortunes; in the 1350s for example they were having to offer leases of seventy years at trifling rents, whereas in 1296 an eight year lease of pasture and meadow had produced 24s simply as a premium (BL Add Ch 73668, 73687, 73688, 73689). They survived of course, and continued their leadership role, for instance in supporting the church and endowing the school, as will be seen below; but by the end of the fifteenth century their economy had finally succumbed to the depression. In theory it should have been a flexible economy, with some diversification in the shape of rents, returns from pottery interests, and the forester's perquisites, and it is difficult to pinpoint specific areas of weakness beyond those arising from the general economic malaise; but we know that the forester's powers in the chase were constantly challenged until in the end they were effectively restricted to the Hanley area, and it is possible also that the west of Hanley, where much of their land lay, may have been to some degree neglected by the chief lord after the second demesne ceased to flourish.

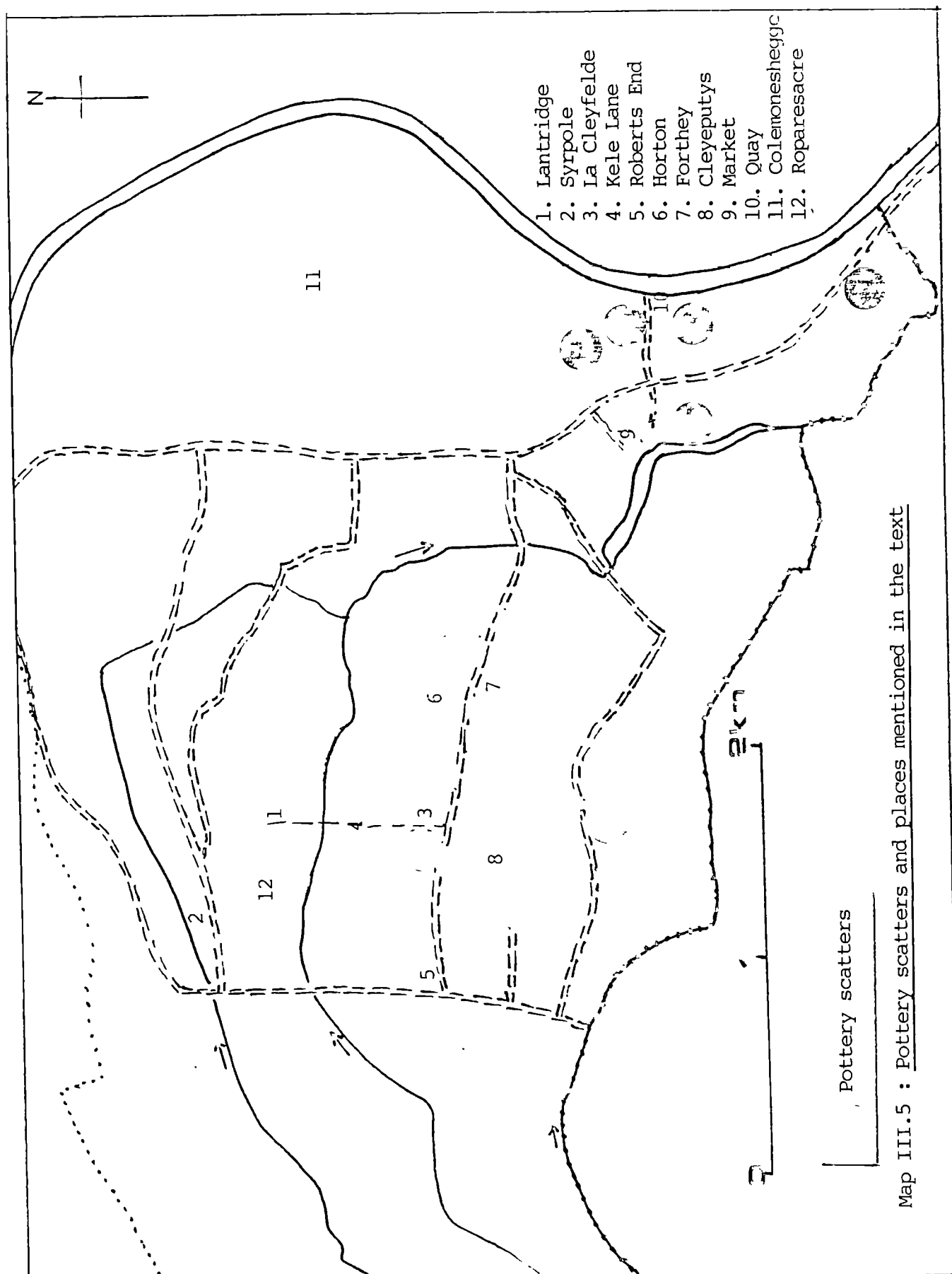
The Lechmeres on the other hand prospered in the economic conditions of the late medieval period. They had begun with less, both in the way of status and perhaps more significantly in the way of obligations, and it may be that they were instinctively freer to seize opportunities, especially after the Black Death. At any rate by their singlemindedness and by enterprising policies they increased their holdings, and were able to regard themselves as gentry by the late fourteenth century. In entrepreneurial spirit they continued to buy up and enclose parcels of land in the east of the manor, and by judicious marriage alliances to enlarge their estate even further, until by the late fifteenth century they must have had agrarian control in the east and could no doubt dictate agrarian policy, and with it the prices of land; and thus they became wealthy enough in the early sixteenth century to embark on a policy of leasing and buying manors elsewhere. They appear to have reached an accommodation with the Hornyolds, the new lords, in the later sixteenth century, and continued to dominate the east of the manor. But their strength lay not only in the old arable and meadow which they had carefully chosen over the years, but also, in contrast with the Hanleys, in the fact that they were untrammelled by submanors, demesnes and courts, so that they could pursue what they did best, the purchase and sale of land for profit; and they did of course take on public duties, both locally and nationally, when they were ready and able to do so.

(h) Tenant Industries : the Potters and Others

The best known industrial tenants of Hanley were the potters, but even for them the documentary information is limited and archaeological work is just beginning. An important study by JR Birrell has demonstrated the essential relationship in the medieval period between landscape and industry, and has shown also how smallholders with time to spare from their limited agriculture, often with a pastoral emphasis, would enhance their incomes by part-time work in the woodland. In the case of Malvern forest, and Hanley in particular, the landscape provided the raw materials for pottery and tiling, in the shape of clay and fuel, while the human resources came from those families which lived in or on the edge of the gradually retreating woodland. Their services to the demesne, as free smallholders, would not be excessive, their limited land did not employ all the potential family labour, and their personal freedom no doubt stimulated individuality and independence; at any rate these were the people who worked in the claypits and kilns and workshops of the pottery industry¹⁷⁰.

Pottery production in the Malvern area has been demonstrated for the Iron Age and Romano-British periods, but although a site as near as Madresfield has recently been excavated, none of this early industry has so far been placed in Hanley itself¹⁷¹. Nothing more is known until the twelfth century, when inclusions of Malvernian rock serve to identify pottery from the area which reached Worcester, Hereford and Gloucester¹⁷². By this time the Hanley potters were in production, especially "on the lands of Gilbert the forester where the potteries lie"¹⁷³. In the thirteenth century Malvernian cooking pots went north as far as Shrewsbury, and by the late fourteenth century "the ubiquitous products of the Malvern potters" were being traded to Usk, where they later completely replaced the products of the collapsed local industry¹⁷⁴. Recent archaeological work has produced evidence of manufacture in Hanley in the fifteenth sixteenth centuries, but it is not possible to say without further study of fabrics and typology how much "Hanley ware" is included in the assemblages from other sites¹⁷⁵. In the sixteenth century the distribution area remained relatively wide, with perhaps one third of Bristol's domestic pottery coming from the Malvern region, and a jug even finding its way to Cork in Ireland¹⁷⁶. The seventeenth century saw the gradual decline of the industry, although brick and tile making continued in the area into the nineteenth century¹⁷⁷.

Although we cannot say exactly how important the Hanley area was in the context of the Malvernian pottery industry, yet it is from Hanley documents that we learn most about the potters of the chase. By the late twelfth century it appears that there were potters among the forester's tenants, as was noted above, and in the IPMs we find other potters who were paying a special rent to the lord of Hanley; and although these never seem to be in large numbers, the forester's potters may well have been quite numerous. In 1296 there were thirteen of the chief lord's group, making clay vessels (ollas luteas) and paying 6s 6d at Michaelmas; this clay rent of 6d per head was



presumably over and above their assize rent, probably as cottagers¹⁷⁸. By 1307 there were only four, paying 2s, but this may be a quirk of the inquisition, since in 1315 an indecipherable number paid 5s for clay (pro arsillo habendo) and 1s 1d for dead wood; although expressed differently, this sounds very much like the 1296 situation. Unfortunately nothing can be learnt from the 1326-7 account, since its eight months do not include Michaelmas, but in the 1349 IPM the potters reappear, only to be reported as dead; the amount they used to pay has been erased in the manuscript, in the interests presumably of realistic accounting, so we cannot number them, but now they pay nothing : pottarii qui solebant reddere pro arsillo habendo . . . ad festum sancti Michaelis mortui sunt, idcirco nunc nihil reddunt. It has been noted above that quite a few of the more significant tenants survived the Black Death, and if the potters were wiped out it may be that their involvement with river trade made them especially vulnerable¹⁷⁹. By 1416 they were re-established, for the dower award includes one third of their rent for digging clay (pro argillo fodiendo), and in the 1479-80 account the sum of 2s 6d was rendered, again as a clay rent; if this represents the true situation the numbers could have dropped to five. None of this of course allows for any illicit potting, which a tenant might do on his own land using his own clay, nor does it allow for the potters who did not pay to the main manor. The documentary evidence for the late sixteenth century reveals two men describing themselves as potters, namely George Addis of Picken End in 1586 and William Woodcock in 1592¹⁸⁰. This was the period when John Hornyold was claiming that new settlers especially were destroying the woodland to get fuel for their kilns¹⁸¹; the pressure he was able to apply as lord of the manor no doubt contributed to the demise of an industry which he must have perceived was now of little value to the manor, and disafforestation in the 1630s both diminished the wood supply and provided new wage-earning opportunities for tenants on the newly made farmland.

Amidst a large number of surnames indicating occupations, no eponymous clay workers can be positively assigned to Hanley until Richard Tyler (in the 1478 estreats), and Richard Potter, who was one of thirty four witnesses at the seisin when Richard Beauchamp sold the forestership in 1480. Richard Potter was forester of Blakedenhale at about the same time, and John Potter was parker of Blackmore, so the family seems to have risen socially if they began as peasant potters; there is certainly nothing in the evidence of the documents to suggest that the earlier working potters were any other than low status tenants, and the dearth of appropriate surnames may confirm that for most of them the work represented only a portion of their livelihood¹⁸².

As for the location of the industry in Hanley, the first clue, noted above, is the lands of the forester. Of the original demesne land of the forester, Lantridge and Syrpole might have been the home ground of his potters, being certainly in the west of the manor and near the woodland (Map III.5). As for the potters of the main manor, La Cleyfelde and Kele (kiln?) Lane have been seen above in the discussion of settlement, lying in Roberts End to the west of Horton. To the south of Horton lies Forthey, the site of JD Hurst's work on the only pottery kiln so far excavated in Hanley¹⁸³. Forthey may even have been the original Potters Hanley; this name does not occur

until 1542, but in that year (L242) Richard Frewen, previously "of Fortey" (L240), was described in a deed as of Potters Hanley.

If areas like La Cleyfelde and Le Forthey were pottery centres - the latter with its haga or separate woodland and its own Clay Pitts - they must have embraced not only clay pits and kilns but also storage areas and workshop buildings, along with stone-lined pits for the preparation of clay and storage of water; and as ready supplies of brushwood ran out, more would have to be brought regularly from the western woodland, by carts or pack animals, along Roberts End Street¹⁸⁴. When the clay was worked out new supplies might be transported over short distances from other areas, such as Cleyeputys in Mousefield, where land changed hands in 1480 (L144); this was on the southern side of Roberts End Street, close to Picken End, where George Addis was seen above as a potter in the late sixteenth century. An alternative to transporting clay, of course, was to move the manufacturing site, but this would probably involve a new dwelling also, with a modicum of arable and pasture, and so would not be straightforward. There would certainly have to be careful organisation of space, and it is thought that up to one third of an acre might be needed for each unit, to allow for the pottery processes alone. The total area of La Cleyfelde, assuming that it extended as far north as Lantridge Brook, was about thirty acres, so that it could theoretically have housed a number of kilns with associated dwellings and land. Adam Frewen was buying land in that field in 1388 and 1389 (L54, L56), and other Frewens also had land there: the Frewens of Forthey seem as likely as anybody to have prospered through the pottery industry, perhaps letting land for kilns to their subtenants and even working as middlemen in the trade¹⁸⁵.

That it was not a haphazard business can be assumed from what we know so far of the nature of the Malvernian industry, in which Hanley played its part. Marketing required some planning, and while Hanley market itself was no doubt one outlet, potters must have taken their products also to other local markets, like Tewkesbury and Worcester, and shipped them further afield. The river, reached by the quay at Hanley, was a great asset, and the scope of Hanley quay is demonstrated by the fact that it dealt with most of the "harness" of the Duke of York's household in 1409: forty two waggon loads came by water from Cardiff to the castle at Hanley¹⁸⁶. Wood Street, accessible from places like Forthey by several north-south tracks, could readily carry pottery by road either to the ferry at the Rhydd or to Herefordshire and beyond. R. Hodges writes of "the highly efficient marketing strategies of potters", a view which is supported by distribution evidence¹⁸⁷. By the fifteenth century the middlemen were ensuring wider distribution, and resultant economies in transport costs may have meant a cheaper product and thus increased demand¹⁸⁸. How much their ancient freedom from tolls meant to Hanley potters is impossible to say, but it must have been a factor in the economy and perhaps helped to keep the industry going in difficult periods. Nor should the "hidden trade" be forgotten, with its many ways of buying and selling which avoided the official gaze¹⁸⁹; this would include door-to-door selling, which might mean that Hanley tenants for example would not be found purchasing pots in Hanley market¹⁹⁰.

Other woodland crafts which might be expected to have been practised in Hanley have

left little documentary trace, except in surnames and place names. Thus the charcoal burners are represented by Colemoneshegge in Northfield(L9), perhaps signifying a haga where they especially worked, and the ropers by Roparesacre in Blackmore End (L39), probably the arable land belonging to some ropemakers; it must be remembered that such crafts tended to be part-time occupations, pursued by tenants who were equally or even mainly agriculturalists. Tanning does not appear in the documents until quite late, with a manorial tanhouse in 1556, next to Burley Mill¹⁹¹; but there are two butchers (carnifex) in the late thirteenth century (1275 Subsidy Roll and BL Add Ch 73660) and a John Skynnare in the 1367 court roll. There are smiths or "wrights" of course, as in any vill, and carpenters, turners and wheelers¹⁹². The numbers however are small, since the evidence is mainly from deeds; in other manors such as Halesowen long series of court rolls have provided ample lists of crafts and occupations¹⁹³. One difficulty lies in estimating whether a surname implies that the person was actually carrying on that occupation or only that an ancestor did. Until the mid-fourteenth century, when we find either a Latin adjective, such as Gregory carectarius (1275 Subsidy Roll), or an English/French noun, such as Thomas le Lorimer (1326-7 account), the descriptions may well point to a current occupation; but later people, like Hugh Flechare (1367 court roll) and Edward Hooper (1478 estreats), are probably merely the descendants of earlier fletchers and hoopers, and not necessarily in Hanley. On the other hand, wooden goods like arrows and barrels must have been manufactured in the vicinity.

In the period to 1350 some of the more interesting Hanley occupations are those of Walter passor, the ferryman, John rowar, another river worker (1315 IPM), Robert le Hostiler(L25), who kept an inn, and Edith la Vowlere (L12a, 1309), who would probably have a licence for trapping birds and taking them to market¹⁹⁴. A weaver (textoralius) is recorded in 1300 (L1) and a candle-maker (William le Chandeler) in 1351 (L34); surprisingly there are no fishermen in the earlier documents, although the Severn must have offered many possibilities, even if the lord claimed fishing rights¹⁹⁵. But in all there is sufficient to show that Hanley had its woodland and riverside craftsmen and tradesmen, along with the bakers, millers and clerks who contributed to the economy and society in other ways.

CHAPTER 111 : REFERENCES

1. For a summary of the traditions, see W Salt Brassington, *Historic Worcestershire* (Birmingham & London, 1894) 126 sq. The traditions depend to some extent on BL Cotton Vitell A10 fo 129 and BL Cotton Cleop C3 fos 220a, 221b. See also *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 95. Full references for each stage in the descent and tenure of the manor are given in the Table in Appendix II below.
2. The chronicle is BL Cotton Cleop C3; see also J Caley, H Ellis, J Bandinell eds, *W Dugdale. Monasticon Anglicanum* (London 1849) vol 2, 59 sq.
3. T Nash, *Collections for the History of Worcestershire* (London 1781) vol 1, 556-567. Generally Nash summarises the DB evidence for a parish, but for "Hanley Castle" he gives none.
4. The Worcestershire manors of the honour were Hanley, Bushley, Eldersfield and Queenhill; all had belonged to earl William (180d). For Eldersfield see also *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 77; for Queenhill, see also *ibidem*, vol 3, 488. The Bushley holding was strictly the manor of "Bushley Park", which was centred on the *haia* recorded in the twelfth century : *Testa de Nevill* (Rec Comm 1807) 139; see also *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 46.
5. It has been said that FitzHamon was created first earl of Gloucester : eg by Thomas Habington, the seventeenth century historian; see J Amphlett ed, *Thomas Habington : A Survey of Worcestershire* (WHS 1899), vol 2, 109. But see also RB Patterson, *Earldom of Gloucester Charters . the Charters and Scribes of the Earls and Countesses of Gloucester to AD 1217* (Oxford 1973), 1 sq.
6. Patterson, *Farldom*, 281.
7. The *VCH* writer (*VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 95), as the Pipe Roll shows, is mistaken in implying that earl William of Gloucester never held Hanley.
8. D Crouch *The Beaumont Twins* (Cambridge 1986), 166; AL Poole, *Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-1216* (2nd edn, Oxford 1955), 348.
9. *Rot Hund* (Rec Comm 1818), vol 2, 285.
10. Patterson, *Farldom*, 8.
11. *Rot Hund*, vol 2, 285.
12. Patterson, *Earldom*, 3.
13. For a detailed account of the de Clares and their fortunes in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, see M Altschul, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England : the Clares 1217-1314* (Baltimore 1965). They were related to the Conqueror, and Baldwin son of Gilbert took part in the invasion, the family being granted lands in Suffolk which became the honour of Clare. They prospered in the twelfth century, when Richard ("Strongbow") son of Gilbert led the invasion of Ireland. His son Gilbert was created earl of Hertford in 1136. See also GE Cokayne ed, *Complete Peerage* (1890) vol 4, 37-44.
14. M McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399* (Oxford 1959), 38.
15. Hanley was apparently one of the manors of the honour of Gloucester (along with Bushley, Tewkesbury and Fairford) which stayed with Maud in dower until 1320, in spite of the division of 1317; see Altschul, *Baronial Family*, 170 and Appendix II (pp 304-5). For Maud as next heir, being (allegedly) pregnant, see SJ Madge ed, *Gloucestershire IPMs* (British Record Soc, 1903), Pt 5, 148. When she turned out not to be pregnant her claim to dower lost its validity.

16. The importance attached by the de Clares to the honour of Gloucester is indicated by their patronage of Tewkesbury abbey and their close interest in the chase. At Tewkesbury they financed building work in the thirteenth century, and four of the earls were buried in the abbey, namely Gilbert (d. 1230), Richard (d. 1262), Gilbert, the Red Earl (d. 1295), and the young Gilbert, whose body was brought back from Bannockburn in 1314; see Caley et al, *Monasticon*, vol 2, 61. The honour of Gloucester in the thirteenth century comprised the Worcestershire manors listed above (note 4), along with Tewkesbury, Fairford, Thornbury and Sodbury in Gloucestershire; there were other lands and manors belonging to the honour in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Oxfordshire, Somerset and Surrey; see Altschul, *Baronial Family*, 207 and Appendix II.

17 M Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century 1216-1307* (2nd edn, Oxford 1962), 171, 196 sq.

18. Altschul, *Baronial Family*, Appendix II (p 304).

19. *Cal Pat* 1317-21, 585; McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, 58 sq. Despenser had been banished briefly at the behest of the barons in 1321, but does not appear to have lost his manors in that year : *Cal Pat* 1321-4, 70, 112.

20. *GEC* vol 3, 90-3; *Cal Pat* 1327-30, 422; *Cal CI* 1327-30, 275.

21. *Cal Pat* 1327-30, 492; *ibidem*, 1330-34, 51; *Cal CI* 1339-41, 124, 234. The Crown tenure in 1326-7 and 1330-1 explains the survival of the minister's accounts for Hanley for those periods (PRO SC6 1068 7 and 8).

22. *Cal CI* 1349-54, 11.

23. McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, 487-9. Edward le Despenser was present as godfather at the baptism of Edward Carent in Hanley church in 1369 : *Cal IPM* 15-23 Ric II, 67.

24. Eleanor de Clare, along with the honour of Gloucester, had received the lordship of Glamorgan when the Clare estates were divided; Cardiff castle (and borough) formed the caput of the Glamorgan lordship. Edward duke of York's stay at Cardiff castle, from which he came to Hanley castle, suggests that the Despenser estates, on the death of Elizabeth in 1409, reverted to the Crown and were granted for a time to the duke: see Altschul, *Baronial Family*, 243, 305. In the matter of dower for Eleanor le Despenser, another view is that although dower was granted to Eleanor it was never officially assigned : see C Ross, *The Estates and Finances of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick* (Dugdale Society Occasional Paper 12, 1956), 6 and note. But this would contradict the IPM of 1416, which contains an explicit assignment of dower, including one third of the castle where Eleanor was to have certain specified quarters (see below in chapter IV). For the birth of Elizabeth, daughter of Isabel and Richard Beauchamp, earl of Worcester, at Hanley in 1415, see Caley et al. *Monasticon*, vol 2, 63; see also Ross, *Estates and Finances*, 18.

25. Caley et al, *Monasticon*, vol 2, 63. Like the de Clares, the Despensers had a high regard for the honour of Gloucester and especially for Tewkesbury abbey; Hugh le Despenser (executed 1326) was buried there, after his scattered bones had been carefully collected (*GFC*, vol 4, 269), as were his son Hugh (d. 1349), Elizabeth, widow of Hugh (d. 1359), and Edward, Hugh's nephew (d. 1375). Isabel le Despenser, later countess of Warwick, built a chantry chapel in the abbey for her first husband, Richard Beauchamp, earl of Worcester, who died in 1421. See also N Pevsner, *The Buildings of England : Gloucestershire, the Vale and Forest of Dean* (2nd edn, London 1980), 365-7.

26. *GEC*, vol 8, 59; *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 94; L Toulmin Smith ed, *Leland's Itinerary* (London 1964), vol 4, 159.

27. Caley et al, *Monasticon*, vol 2, 63; *VCH Worcs*, vol 3, 342; Amphlett, *Habington*, vol 2, 111.

28. *VCH Worcs*, vol 3, 342; *ibidem*, vol 4, 96.

29. *VCH Worcs*, vol 3, 342.

30. EF Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century, 1399-1485* (Oxford 1961) 581-2.

31. The original of the 1545 grant is PRO C66/778 m8; it is calendared in *L & P Hen VIII*, vol 20, 1068/35. For the lease in 1547 see *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 95 (note 76), quoting Star Chamber Proc Edw VI, bdle 1, nos 20, 22. For the lease in 1555 see *ibidem*, 96 (note 38), quoting Star Chamber Proc Ph & M, bdle 8, no 60. The *VCH* writer correctly states that John Hornyold was sheriff of Worcester in 1315, but is mistaken concerning a deed of 1334 which he says, following Nash, was "signed at Hanley", so purporting to show the Hornyold family in Hanley at that period. The relevant deed (HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134/74), which deals with a messuage in Worcester, is in the Lechmere collection; John de Hörnyngwold is third witness, after the two bailiffs of Worcester, and the deed is dated not at Hanley but at Worcester. John was also witness to an earlier deed (1323) dated at Baldenhall (HWCRO BA 892 Ref 970.5/99/1 - the Madresfield Calendar), concerning land in the vill of "Bradewell", but there is no extant document connecting the family with Hanley until the sixteenth century. The name *Bradewellys* does occur in Hanley (L122, dated 1469), being arable land in Burleyfield, but it was not of course a vill. The name, meaning broad stream, is not uncommon : M Gelling, *Place Names in the Landscape* (London 1984), 31.

32. HWCRO BA 1533 Ref 705.79; *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 94.

33. For the advowson of the church, see HWCRO BA 5018 Ref 004.00801/60 (Lechmere Estate Book). For information on the later Hornyolds and a description of the late nineteenth century house, see P Hurle, *Hanley Castle, Heart of Malvern Chase* (London 1978), 155-9; see also *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 96-7. I am grateful to Mr Antony Hornyold of Blackmore House for a helpful discussion and photocopies of parts of his grandfather's notebook, which was begun in 1871 and traced something of the early history of the family.

34. Altschul, *Baronial Family*, 310.

35. T Lomas, "The Development of the Manorial Extent", *J Soc Archivists* 6 (1978), 260-273; R Lennard, "What is a Manorial Extent?" *Eng Hist R* 44 (1929), 256-263.

36. PDA Harvey, *Manorial Records* (British Records Association 1984), 21.

37. For a discussion of *firma* and *redditus assisus* in the Pipe Rolls, see PDA Harvey, "The Pipe Rolls and the Adoption of Demesne Farming in England", *Econ Hist R* 2nd ser, 27, No. 3 (1974), 345-59, at p 347. For the problems of deciding from the Pipe Rolls whether a manor was under direct management ("demesne farming") or leased, see *ibidem*, 347 & *passim*. Direct management replaced leasing on the whole by the mid-thirteenth century; in Hanley the sheriff's farm, involving a form of direct management for the Crown, can be traced back as far as 1154-5 : *RBE*, 656.

38. For the justices' visitations, see HWC Davis ed, *Stubbs, Select Charters* (9th edn, Oxford 1913), 254-5; and Harvey, "Pipe Rolls", 346. The stock was for various manors, and the figures for Hanley cannot be isolated. 12s might purchase either four quarters of wheat (3s per quarter is a figure given for the early thirteenth century), which at two bushels per acre would sow sixteen acres; or four quarters of barley (assuming the same price), which at four bushels per acre would sow eight acres : see CC Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages : Social Change in England c. 1200 - 1520* (Cambridge 1989) 101, 112.

39. Cranborne priory in Dorset was a cell of Tewkesbury abbey : see Caley et al, *Monasticon*, vol 4, 467. Cranborne manor belonged to the honour of Gloucester: see Altschul, *Baronial Family*, 224-5 and Appendix II. See also note 51 below. For the calculations of acreage sown, see note 38 above. In 1194-5 only part of the farm (£5 7s for half a year) was paid in the usual way.

40. For the temporary taking over of a manor by the lord's officials, see Harvey, "Pipe Rolls", 352.

41. MM Postan, "The Chronology of Labour Services" in *idem*, *Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy* (Cambridge 1973), 89-106.
42. After 1217, when the manor was granted to Gilbert de Clare, we have no direct information about the type of management. Full references for the Pipe Roll entries are given in the Bibliography below.
43. Pipe Rolls 2 John, 11 John. 12 John.
44. As the text indicates, there is some conjecture in drawing the bounds of the curia. The paths on the east and west are shown on OS maps, from the earliest editions to the most recent (see, e.g. Map Intro.2, above). A tentative plan was drawn of the curia at Cuxham, which contained a similar collection of buildings, with additions such as kitchens, dovecote and latrine, which are not mentioned in Hanley but no doubt existed : PDA Harvey, *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village : Cuxham 1240-1400* (Oxford 1965), 33. The Cuxham curia covered about eight acres, roughly half the area of the Hanley curia; both figures include the garden. For gardens, see CC Dyer, "Gardens and Orchards in Medieval England" in *idem*, *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (London 1994), 113-132. For another tentative curia plan, based partly on excavation, see MW Beresford and JG Hurst, *Wharram Percy. Deserted Medieval Village* (London 1990), 23. For wic, see M Gelling, *Signposts to the Past* (2nd edn, Chichester 1988), 67; J Campbell, "Bede's Words for Places" in PH Sawyer ed, *Names, Words and Graves : Early Medieval Settlement* (University of Leeds 1979), 34-54. For sheepcotes in the curia, handily placed for manuring the demesne arable, see CC Dyer, "Sheepcotes : Evidence for Medieval Sheep Farming", *Med Arch* 39 (1995), 136-64, at p 150; sheep were sheltered in the winter, and some "hayhouses" may have stored sheep fodder : *ibidem*, 152.
45. For leasing of some demesnes on the bishop's manors in the fourteenth century, see CC Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society : the Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester 680-1540* (Cambridge 1980), 118-123. In Cuxham, all was leased after 1359.
46. A Jones "Land Measurement in England 1150-1350", *Agr Hist R* 27 (1979), 10-18. For the circumstances of the contraction of demesnes in the early fourteenth century, see E Miller and J Hatcher, *Medieval England : Rural Society and Economic Change, 1086-1348* (London 1978), 236-7.
47. Rotation may have been in cropping units : CC Dyer, "Documentary Evidence : Problems and Enquiries" in G Astill and A Grant eds, *The Countryside of Medieval England* (Oxford 1988), 12-35, at p 27. For a cautionary approach to the information on rotation in the extents found in IPMs, see HIL Gray, *English Field Systems* (Cambridge, Mass., 1915), 44 sq.
48. For variations in yields see JZ Titow, *Winchester Yields* (Cambridge 1972). For the specific effect of climate on living standards, see Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 258-273, especially Table 19, p 262.
49. A second (spare) plough is possible if the ploughs were pulled by fewer than the traditional eight oxen or if they were used alternately; the number of draught animals used might in any case vary according to the terrain. Two plough shoes (ferreis pedalibus) were bought, but since they tended to wear out quickly one of them may be a reserve. The affii may also have been involved in ploughing : see J Langdon, "Horse Hauling in Early Medieval England" in TH Aston ed, *Landlords, Peasants and Politics in Medieval England* (Cambridge 1987), 33-64. For varieties of plough (the Hanley plough was a foot plough), see *idem*, "Agricultural Equipment" in Astill and Grant eds, *Countryside*, 86-107, at pp 88-90. On the size of plough teams, see also E Miller and J Hatcher, *Medieval England : Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348* (London 1978), 13-14.
50. Only the traditional grain was sown; there is no record in the Hanley account of peas and beans, which were grown on many demesnes : Dyer, "Documentary Evidence", 26.

51. D Oschinsky, *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises of Estate Management and Accounting* (Oxford 1971), 174-5, 325 (Cap 62 of the *Husbandry*); the editor remarks that on the Berkeley estates seed corn was exchanged among the different manors. For regular purchase of outside corn, see also Harvey, *Cuxham*, 51.

52. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 129; Miller & Hatcher, *Rural Society*, 215 sq.

53. CC Dyer, *Warwickshire Farming 1349-c.1520 : Preparations for Agricultural Revolution* (Dugdale Society Occasional paper 27, 1981), 15-16; *idem*, *Standards of Living*, 102, 264-5.

54. *ibidem*, 42-3, 68-9.

55. HWCRO BA 5018 Ref 004.0081/41. The furlong is first seen when leased in 1479-80. It was leased again in 1541 (*L & P Hen VIII*, vol 16, 327) and appears in a collection of tenements in the east of the manor leased in 1724 (HWCRO BA 2411 Ref 705.134/1). In 1760 it is described as having the highway on the east and south, Church Park on the west, and the waste ground near Hanley church called Bowling Green on the north. Bowling Green Lane is today the road which runs from the south east of the churchyard to the Upton-Worcester road (B4211) at a point opposite the mouth of Quay Lane.

56. Bedellbotes is demesne pasture in 1326-7, in 1416 (IPM), and in 1479-80; in the latter year it is distinguished from *Bedelleslonde* ("land and pasture"), which may be the *Bedeles Acre* of 1760. *Revebottes* is first seen in 1326-7 as demesne pasture, and is neglected (*debil*) meadow in the minister's account for 1497-8. For reeves, beadles and bailiffs on the bishop's manors, see Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 64; and for the same on the de Clare manors of East Anglia, see Altschul, *Baronial Family*, 230. In the latter the beadle was the bailiff's assistant in supervising the demesne economy, and the reeve accounted for the manorial income to the receiver. The 1326-7 account for Hanley is in fact rendered by the constable of the castle and the 1330-1 account by the keeper of the manor (sc. for the Crown). We do not know who the ministers were during the Clare tenure.

57. For strip fields laid out over earlier Saxon sites, resulting in the loss of some settlements, see D Hall, "The Late Saxon Countryside : Villages and their Fields", in D Hooke ed, *Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (Oxford 1988), 99-122, at pp 101. 108. For the completion of field arrangements (in Northamptonshire) by the thirteenth century, and subsequent conservatism in such matters, see *ibidem*, 108 sq. For the careful planning and distribution of demesne arable, and a summary of the latest position, see *idem*, "Field Systems and Township Structure", in M Aston, D Austin, CC Dyer eds, *The Rural Settlements of Medieval England* (Oxford 1989), 191-205.

58. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 132; but there was presumably other provender (e.g. oats for horses) to maintain the strength of draught animals.

59. Harvey, *Cuxham*, 75-80; see also Salzman, "*Petworth*", xxvi : in Petworth the reap-reeve was also the hayward.

60. Harvey, *Cuxham*, Appendix IV. For the make-up of liveries on twenty west midland manors between 1281 and 1349, see CC Dyer, "English Diet in the Later Middle Ages" in T Aston et al eds, *Social Relations and Ideas* (Cambridge 1983), 191-216, at Table 5, p 212; a figure of 15% is given for pulses, which do not feature at Hanley.

61. Miller & Hatcher, *Rural Society*, 148, 160.

62. For *famuli* on annual contracts in the later fourteenth century, see CC Dyer with SAC Penn, "Wages and Earnings in Late Medieval England : Evidence from the Enforcement of the Labour Laws", *Econ Hist R*, 2nd ser 43 (1990), 356-76, at pp 363, 366. Contracts are not recorded in the first half of the century either at Hanley or at Cuxham. For the geographical mobility of the late fourteenth century wage earners, probably including ex-*famuli*, see *ibidem* Table 1. Rising wages for *famuli* after 1350 do not seem always to have persuaded them to stay : see Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 221, and *idem*, *Lords and Peasants*, 142. For the general change in attitude of the *famuli*

to their employers in the later fourteenth century, see *idem*, "Changes in Diet in the Late Middle Ages : the Case of the Harvest Workers" in *idem*, *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (London 1994), 77-99, at pp 96-7.

63. Harvey, *Cuxham*, 77. The same question has also been asked about the Domesday slaves : JS Moore, "Domesday Slavery" in *Anglo-Norman Studies* xi (1988), 191-220.

64. Miller & Hatcher, *Rural Society*, 148. Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 133 : some individuals in maintenance agreements received much less than four quarters - see Table 12, p 152 - but perhaps their allowances were made up in other ways (pp 152 sq). For the notion that one quarter of grain might keep one adult alive for a year, see *idem*, "Documentary Evidence", 34.

65. The precise cash income was £3 18s 11½d, but 5s 1d was expended on repurchasing threshing and mowing. On the Beauchamp manor of Elmley Castle in 1345-6 one third of works commuted (i.e. sold) were repurchased : Hilton, *Medieval Society*, 139. On the bishop's manors only one third of the services were commuted at the beginning of the fourteenth century : Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 100. The managers of a manor presumably calculated what equation would yield the best financial results. For the ways in which commutation developed over time, but always as a flexible policy, see Postan, "Chronology".

66. The six acre statement is the only reference in Hanley to precise size of tenement, and may postulate a 24 acre virgate. For local variation in land measurements, see A Jones, "Land Measurement in England 1150-1350". *Agr Hist R* 27 (1979), 10-18

67. Bedripes were perhaps the last service to disappear, being in the nature of boonworks (*precarie*), and it was probably bedripes which were at issue in Hanley in 1401 when Lady Elizabeth le Despenser's "bondmen and tenants in bondage at the manor of Hanley leagued together to withdraw their due customs and services" (*Cal Pat 1399-1401*, 460). Of course heriots and other charges were also frequently disputed. For causes of friction, including boonworks, see RH Hilton, *Bondmen Made Free* (London 1973), 156 and *passim*. Boonworks were demanded in Hanley as late as 1638 : a tenant of three acres of demesne land owed rent which included one day in the harvest (HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705 134 6). For a discussion of the variety and complexity of labour services, see Miller & Hatcher, *Rural Society*, 121-8.

68. In Cuxham the tenant of a half virgate performed two days of weekwork, and a quarter virgater *pro rata*. At Cuxham also the overall burden grew as the population grew, at any rate in the thirteenth century, but individual burdens did not change : Harvey, *Cuxham*, 82 sq. The maximum weekwork at Hanley was similarly two days, with many tenants owing only one day, and some doing only harvest works. In some manors tenants of smaller holdings could expect lighter services or none, but higher rents : M Spufford, *A Cambridgeshire Community : Chippenham from Settlement to Enclosure* (Leicester University Dept of English Local History, Occasional paper 20, Leicester 1965), 28; there is insufficient information to comment on this for Hanley. For an analysis of the services on west midland manors belonging to Gloucester abbey, see Hilton, *Medieval Society*, 131-5; it is apparent that there was some uniformity of practice within this estate, but in the honour of Gloucester the manors of Bushley and Hanley show considerable differences; for Bushley see JW Willis Bund ed, *The IPMs for the County of Worcester*, Pt II (WHS 1909), 20-23, 48-9. Those who worked one day per week at Hanley may in fact be *lundinari*, but the term is not used.

69. Miller & Hatcher, *Rural Society*, 13.

70. For the horizontal mill see R Holt, *The Mills of Medieval England* (Blackwell Oxford 1988), 4-5, 118-122.

71. Holt, *Mills*, 30: there were seven windmills in Worcestershire, including Hanley mill, by 1300. In the south west generally windmill numbers increased markedly in the last quarter of the thirteenth century : CJ Bond, *Medieval Windmills in South Western England* (Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings 1995), 9-10.

72. Holt, *Mills*, 113, 148. at Stratford a mill was reserved for malt. See also Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 156.

73. For repairs and expenses see Holt, *Mills*, 122 sq; as much as one third of a windmill's income might be needed for repairs : *ibidem*, 87. Watermills could be cheaper to maintain, but Hanley's was uneconomic at the end of the fifteenth century; there is no evidence for complete rebuilding, which might have been the answer. For horsemills see *ibidem*, 17-20, 166 and *passim*; they were cheaper to run and easier to repair, and so became popular in times of recession.

74. Floodgates often required large amounts of timber; in 1532 a carpenter building floodgates at Ringwood in Hampshire made eighteen gates with a total height of twenty three feet: LF Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540* (Oxford 1952), 577.

75. Holt, *Mills*, 162-70.

76. This leet and the Mere Brook leet are marked on the 6" OS map (1885), and can still be traced on the ground.

77. For post mills see *ibidem*, 137 sq. The windmill on rollers on the castle site is recorded in EM Lawson, *The Nation in the Parish or Records of Upton-on-Severn* (London 1884), 202.

78. RCHME 106G UK/1345. For cross trees and the construction of windmills, with their foundations, see Holt, *Mills*, 137-44. For the archaeological evidence of mounds and cross trees, see Bond, *Windmills*, 16-18.

79. For adjacent windmill sites, see MW Beresford & JKS St Joseph, *Medieval England : an Aerial Survey*, 63-6, and Fig 23.

80. *Cal CI 1227-31*, 269, 1598 *VCH Northants*, vol 2, 127.

81. *VCH Worcs* vol 4, 215, quoting Ministers' Accounts DL 644 10458, 10460 (Upton accounts). The prior's land was in the east of the manor, e.g. *Prioursfelde*, (L157), at SO 834427.

82. Richard Baron, who is compensated for "Brallis", witnessed deeds between 1440 (L85) and 1478 (L147) His name continues to be given in the later accounts, which insist year after year that the imparking took place *anno precedente*. This is an example of the conservatism that has often to be allowed for in the interpretation of accounts.

83. Caleforde (BI Add Ch 73664, early 14th century) becomes Cawford and Cawfoot in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and lies on the Mere Brook south of Gilberts End Farm; Combe Cross, near the church, has been discussed above; *Le Squabbe* is probably the fishponds in the east of the park; *Chircheposterne* is not seen again, but as the back gate from the church it is on the south side.

84. For compartmented parks, see IM Cantor & J Hatherley, "The Medieval Parks of England", *Geography* 64, pt 2 (1979), 72; see also O Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape* (revised edn, London 1990), 157 and fig 17c.

85. Acreages are based on those given on the 25" OS Map.

86. HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134 77 (deed dated 20 Nov 1556).

87. For shapes of parks, see Rackham, *Trees and Woodland*, 153-4. There is an interesting collection of shapes of east Yorkshire parks in S Neave, *Medieval Parks of East Yorkshire* (University of Hull, 1991), *passim*.

88. *Cal Pat 1345-8*, 307. For eels as rent, see Holt, *Mills*, 96, 130 (Plate 3). In 1204 the bream

from Hanley was wrapped in linen cloths (linea tela) and put in barrels : TD Duffus Hardy, *Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Praestitis Regnante Johanne* (Rec Comm 1844), 83. Bream was a luxury fish, so the Hanley fisheries must have been important: Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 62. plancare may mean to build out a jetty or pier, for fishing, RE Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word List (British Academy 1965), 354, suggests "gangway" (nautical) for plancus : cp. gangplank.

89. e.g. RCHME 106G/UK/1345.

90. *Cal Pat 1476-85*, 94. For types of pale, see Cantor & Hatherley, "Parks", 72. For types of internal fencing, see Rackham, *Trees and Woodland*, 65.

91. For the everyday use of the castellum, see J Birrell, "Deer and Deer Farming in Medieval England", *Agr Hist R* 40 (1992), 112-26, at p 119. For a tower at Leconfield in Yorkshire, noted by Leland as "a fair tower of brick for a lodge in the park", see Neave, *East Yorkshire*, 16. For the "standing" or observation tower (probably) surmounting the lodge in Hatfield Forest, see O Rackham, *The Last Forest : the Story of Hatfield Forest* (London 1989), 176. For the use of towers in ceremonial hunts, see idem, *Trees and Woodland*, 158. At Hanley the tower seems to have stood separately : in 1485-6 the tiles mentioned in the account are "for the tower and for the lodge". The lodge in Odiham Park, Hampshire, rebuilt in the late fourteenth century, has recently been examined in the light of building accounts of the period, and there seems to have been no tower : E Roberts, "Edward III's Lodge at Odiham, Hampshire", *Med Arch* 39 (1995), 91-106.

92. For the grant, see HWCRO BA 1533 Ref 705.79. For the lease, see BA 1531 Ref 705.134/76/8, which is a contemporary copy of the IPM of 1556 on John Pynnocke ; John Badger apparently received the park (with the two mills and adjoining tanhouse) on his marriage to a daughter of John Pynnocke in 1555. For the last keeper, Francis Clare, see *Cal SP Dom 1603-10*, 331.

93. For Church Park, see HWCRO BA 5018 Ref 004.0081 (Edmund Lechmere's estate book, c. 1760). For the deer park at Severn End, see *VCH Worcs* vol 4, 95; and ibidem for a brief later history of the parks.

94. For a park of forty acres before 1280, see BS Smith, *A History of Malvern* (Leicester 1964), 32, but although it probably existed I cannot find the evidence for a park at this period. *VCH Worcs* vol 4, 95 is mistaken in asserting that Blackmore "Wood" was mentioned in the IPM of 1262; the reference is to "Hanel' cum foresta Malvern' et Blakemor' ".

95. Arable to the west of Blackmore End is indicated, in an area which probably did not see arable again until the eighteenth century.

96. Cantor & Hatherley, "Parks", 79. P Stamper, "Woods and Parks" in Astill & Grant, *Countryside*, 128-48, at p 146.

97. It may have been status as much as anything which motivated John Hornyold to take a lease of Blackmore Park, but it gave him a foothold in the manor, which he was subsequently able to purchase from the Crown.

98. *VCH Worcs* vol 4, 95, note 76.

99. ibidem, note 77.

100. The acreages of the 1545 grant were measured statute acres, and compare reasonably well (except for the Hanley Park launds) with those given in the 25" OS Map.

101. *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 94, is mistaken in placing all these woods in Hanley. For coppicing, see Rackham, *Trees and Woodland*, 8-10, 63-5, and passim.

102. Harvey, "Pipe Rolls", 349.

103. For a summary of the court system, see PDA Harvey, *Manorial Records* (British Records Association 1984), 42-53, especially 46-47. A problem in Hanley was to ensure that the chase court did not clash with the manorial courts of other manors in the chase, since some of their tenants at least would have to attend. The manors belonged to a number of lords, so that there would be many stewards to be accommodated.

104. In Eldersfield, another manor of the honour of Gloucester (although leased to members of the Berkeley family), the court rolls show three-weekly courts and visus regularly in the spring and autumn, especially in the fourteenth century (HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134/69, 70, 76).

105. The April/May visus was the conventional Hockday visus, and in the late thirteenth century it seems to have been held on Hockday itself, which was the second Tuesday after Easter (BL Add Ch 73658); the de certo payment of five marks from the Hanley customary tenants was rendered on Hockday, according to the IPMs of 1296 and 1307.

106. Harvey, *Records*, 48, discusses the possibility of business being conducted outside the court sitting. For a decline in business in the courts of the bishop's manors in the late fifteenth/early sixteenth centuries, see Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 265-6.

107. AFC Baber, *The Court Rolls of the Manor of Bromsgrove and Kings Norton 1494-1504* (WHS 1963), 11 sq.

108. This roll is a "stray", which appears to have turned up in auction in the early twentieth century. The date is given as 1376 (recte 1367).

109. The panelled room at Hanley Hall is mentioned in the nineteenth century : Smith, *Malvern*, 36; the possible "church house" at Church End also had a panelled room, in which latterly parish meetings were held : see Chapter II above, note 6. Hanley Hall was probably never larger than a two bay, two story, hall house with cross wings. See also note 155, below.

110. For Hondiesfeld, BL Add Ch 73690; for Robert atte Grove, HWCRO BA 10509 Ref 989.9 91 I xii; for John Hancok, IPM of 1359.

111. See Customary for those who owed suit for their manors in the thirteenth century. For confusion of business, see Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 266; and ibidem, 266-7, for tenants going to courts outside their own manors.

112. *GEC*, vol 3, 93; *Feudal Aids*, vol 5, 322, 326.

113. RH Hilton ed, *Ministers' Accounts of the Warwickshire Estates of the Duke of Clarence 1479-80*, Introduction.

114. G Astill, "Fields" in Astill & Grant, *Countryside*, 62-85, at p 79.

115. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 179.

116. Hilton, *Warwickshire Estates*, xvi-xvii : a similar conservatism was found in these Warwickshire accounts of the duke of Clarence.

117. Some Arden manors suffered up to 40% rent reduction : ibidem, xxi; in Hanley there was a reduction of 30% between the rental of 1469 and the account of 1480; in 1326-7 total rents had been c. £20.

118. *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 94, states erroneously that the last castle repairs were in 1488. For the mill, perhaps the lessee had to pay for some repairs after 1501; but it is not clear why park repairs ceased to be claimed.

119. In 1512-13 Sir John Savage and John his son were granted in survivorship a large number of posts in Hanley manor, in the chase ("master of the hunt of Malvern"), and in other manors : *L & P Hen VIII*, vol 1, 1524/47; for John Savage in 1520, see *ibidem*, vol 3, 1081. John Savage junior was vicar of Hanley from 1517 to 1541, when Ralph Savage was patron : Reg S Gigli, fo 147.

120. For John Dingley, see *L & P Hen VIII*, vol 1, 969/33; for John Pate, *ibidem*, 3408/5. There was a measure of economic revival for example on some of the bishop's manors, with increasing demand for land, although some villis were still economically depressed : Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 279, 282, 292.

121. By the thirteenth century, when our deeds begin, villeins were not simply tenants of the vill, but unfree tenants, holding customary land (as customary tenants) and owing detailed labour services; they are contrasted with the free tenants, who might be wealthy landowners or lords of submanors, but might equally be smallholders, as were many in Hanley, owing either light services or none: RII Hilton, "Freedom and Villeinage in England", *Past and Present* 31 (1965), 3-19. For *Quia Emptores*, see W Stubbs, *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History* (9th edn, revised HWC Davis, Oxford 1913), 473-4. For the way in which the statute worked to limit subinfeudation, see Hilton, *Kosminsky*, 79.

122. For comments on manumission, see MM Postan with JZ Titow, "Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors" in Postan, *Medieval Agriculture*, 150-185, at p 158; the authors found relatively few manumissions, perhaps seven per year, on the bishop of Winchester's manors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and in fact they considered that "outright manumissions, lifting tenants wholly out of villein condition, were [very few] on most medieval manors"; for Hanley there are no other examples. See also *idem*, "Legal Status and Economic Condition in Medieval Villages" in *ibidem*, 278-289, at pp 283-4. Payments for manumission, where stated, tend to be relatively small, e.g. much less than the entry fine for a holding; yet, Postan observes, tenants generally stayed with their holdings rather than seek manumission. It may however have had its attractions for sons, like Robert de Grava, in giving them a chance of acquiring land as free tenants. The puzzle remains however of a man being freed and then granted away. For manumission on the bishop of Worcester's manors, and for the (often narrow) distinctions between serfs and villeins, see Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 104, 269-270; see also RH Hilton, *Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism* (revised 2nd edition, London 1990), 147. Serfs may be the descendants (or successors?) of eleventh century *servi*; for serfdom on the bishop's manors, see Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 269-75. For Roger Tyrel, who was a member of Gilbert de Clare's retinue at the Dunstable tournament in 1309 and served under him at Bannockburn in 1314, see Altschul, *Baronial Family*, 237. The case of Adam le Yep, with his views on freedom, is recorded in Willis Bund, *IPMs*, Part I (WHS 1894), 47-8, and is discussed also in Hilton, *Class Conflict*, 65. Although acquitted on this occasion, Walter Broun in 1303 was charged with the death of a tenant of Powick, but pardoned "in consideration of his services in Scotland" (*Cal Pat* 1301-7, 172). He is an example of a villein (1307 IPM) with his own seal (S WALTERI BRO...) (L15). It is now appreciated that villeins, although of unfree legal status, were not prevented from holding seals : PDA Harvey and A McGuinness, *Guide to British Medieval Seals* (London 1996), 77.

123. For the "predominance of enclosed assarts" in Arden and Feckenham, see Hilton, *Medieval Society*, 21; much of Malvern may well have been similar, but Hanley had important open field arable.

124. BK Roberts, "Field Systems of the West Midlands" in ARH Baker and RA Butlin eds, *Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles* (Cambridge 1973), 211. For possible Anglo-Saxon systems, see HL Gray, *The English Field Systems* (Cambridge, Mass, 1915), 58. For the gradual evolution, as opposed to the imposition, of field systems, see CS & CS Orwin, *The Open Fields* (3rd edn Oxford 1967), 27 sq; see also HSA Fox, "Approaches to the Adoption of the Midland System" in T Rowley ed, *The Origins of Open Field Agriculture* (London 1981), *passim*. A compromise view is that there were original precise but small scale arrangements, which were enlarged as needed: see JZ Titow, "Medieval England and the Open Field System", *Past and Present* 32 (1965). For arguments against a direct continental origin, see J Thirsk, "The Common Fields" in *idem*, *The Rural Economy of England : Collected Essays* (London 1984), 35-57, at p 42.

For an example of communities arriving at an arable system driven by expediency, but not a fully developed orthodox system (in Yorkshire after the devastation of 1069), see TAM Bishop, "Assarting and the Growth of the Open Field", *Econ Hist R* 6 (1935-6), 13-29.

125. CC Dyer, "Power and Conflict in the Medieval Village" in D Hooke ed, *Medieval Villages* (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology 1985), 27-32, at p 29.

126. D Hall, "The Origins of Open Field Agriculture : the Archaeological Fieldwork Evidence" in Rowley, *Origins*, 22-38. See also note 47, above.

127. J Yelling, "The Combination and Rotation of Crops in East Worcestershire 1540-1660", *Agr Hist R* 17 (1969), 21-43; E Searle, *Lordship and Community : Battle Abbey and its Banlieu 1066-1538* (Toronto 1974), 272-86. There may well have been some more formal communal control on some of the crofts, tenants being obliged to open them to others after harvest : Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 331-2.

128. ARH Baker, "HL Gray and English Field Systems : an Evaluation", *Agr Hist R* 39 (1965), 86-91; Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 321.

129. HWCRO BA 5018 Ref 004.00801: BA 4959/7(x) Ref 705.587.

130. Orwin & Orwin, *Open Fields*, 60 sq. For division of meadow, and permanent fencing by individuals as the manorial courts became less effective in supervision, see A Brian, "Lammas Meadows", *Landscape History* 15 (1993), 57-69.

131. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 101 (Table 9), 107-8.

132. Hilton, *Medieval Society*, 144

133. *ibidem*, 139-40.

134. MM Postan, "Charters of the Villeins" in Postan, *Medieval Agriculture*, 107-49; E King, *Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310 : a Study in the Land Market* (Cambridge 1973), 99-125. For examples of tenants making unofficial land transfers, see R Faith, "Berkshire: Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries" in PDA Harvey ed, *The Peasant Land Market in Medieval England* (Oxford 1984), 107-77, at pp 111 sq. There is no hint in the Hanley evidence that villein land was involved.

135. For the device, see Hilton, *Medieval Society*, Plate V(i), and Harvey and McGuinness, *Guide*, 76.

136. *ibidem*, 129.

137. HWCRO BA 892 Ref 070.5.99.1.20 (Robert de la Grove). For a recent discussion of the market in villein land, and transactions recorded in the court rolls, 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."

138. *Cal IPM 15-23 Ric II*, 67

139. *Memoranda Rolls 1326-7*, 2243. For widows selling free land, there are 16 examples in 68 Hanley deeds to 1349, and eight in 146 deeds between 1349 and 1500.

140. Birmingham Reference Library . Shrewsbury (Talbot) Calendar, Worcs M47 424.

141. For some migration patterns in the late medieval period, see Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 271, 366-8; for migration of villeins after 1350, see Z Razi, "Family, Land and the Village Community" in TH Aston ed, *Landlords, Peasants and Politics in Medieval England* (Cambridge 1987), 360-93, at pp 379 sq. For migration to towns before 1348, see F Miller and J Hatcher, *Medieval England* :

Towns, Commerce and Crafts 1086-1348 (London 1995), 330-6. For the view that "immigrant strangers", as distinct from returning natives, took little part in the rural land market until the late fifteenth century, see Harvey, "Peasant Land Market" (1996), 403.

142. F Pollock and FW Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I* (Cambridge 1898), vol 1, 383 sq.

143. For a discussion of ancient demesne, especially as it affected the tenants of the Warwickshire manor of Stoneleigh, see RH Hilton ed, *The Stoneleigh Leger Book* (Dugdale Society 1960), xxiv-xxviii; for the writ of *Monstraverunt*, see *ibidem*, 108. For the view that ancient demesne was connected with certain freedoms in the Anglo-Saxon period, see P Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England* (Oxford 1892), 123-4.

144. EM Hallam, *Domesday Book Through Nine Centuries* (London 1986), ch 4.

145. VH Galbraith, *Domesday Book : its Place in Administrative History* (Oxford 1974), 123 sq.

146. RS Hoyt, *The Royal Demesne in English Constitutional History* (New York 1950), 171-207. See also Hallam, *Nine Centuries*, Appendices, 199 sq : in the lists given of the Chancery exemplifications and extracts from Domesday Book returned on writs of *certiorari* from 1266, there is no sign of Hanley. In fact, the only ancient demesne queries for Worcestershire before 1500 concern part of Powick in 1347, Hanley Child and Hanley William in 1400, and Tardebigge in 1468.

147. *ibidem*, 49. It is possible that they continued to be accepted as sokemen and were *custumarii* in name only; at Bromsgrove, for example, another *terra regis*, there are clear signs that ancient demesne status was granted, although there is no exemplification, etc., and the tenants were only briefly called sokemen, in 1255. The manor however, unlike Hanley, is frequently described as ancient demesne in the Close Rolls. See Baber, *Bromsgrove*, 5-8, 34.

148. *L & P Hen VIII*, 3, Pt i (1519-23), 281.

149. RV Lennard, "Early Manorial Juries", *Eng Hist R* 77 (1962), 511-8. There were 13 jurors in 1391.

150. Hilton, *Medieval Society*, 183.

151. For the Black Death in Worcestershire, see P Ziegler, *The Black Death* (Harmondsworth 1969), 194-5; it seems to have struck Hanley early, no doubt carried by river commerce : *ibidem*, 142. The Hancock family is still seen in the Hanley Hall rental of c. 1550.

152. For the dispute in the Hanley family, see *Cal Cl 1476-85*, 269-71, and BL Add Ch 73696. For Henry Hanley as a trustee of the school, see HWCRO BA 6097 Ref 250.6. For William Hanley of Severn Stoke and Wymondham, see HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134/77/8; for John, see e.g. *ibidem* 37 (deed dated 1584). For the will of Jane Hanley, see *ibidem*. Her husband had spent £200 on land in 1600, and the will probably excludes such land, which may have been the subject of earlier settlements. The parish registers show that John Hanley was married in 1583 and buried in 1605; Francis Hanley (buried 1591) is the only other family member recorded in the registers : HWCRO BA 3348/339 Ref 985.66. There are no family tombs or memorials in the church : see Chapter IV below, note 113.

153. For yeoman as an economic classification, below the gentry, see Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 15; the yeoman might still hold extensive lands. See also *ibidem*, 108, for retrenchment in families which "dropped out of the aristocracy and accepted yeoman status"; the author observes that the worst was over by the 1480s, so the Hanleys are perhaps a late example of a gentry family struggling to adjust to reduced income; but the family may always have had its more indigent

members, for one Henry Hanley was described as a husbandman in the early fifteenth century (L78, L82). For the leases, see HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134/7,14,20,41,46,62; see also HWCRO BA 5699 Ref 705.99. Anne (formerly Lechmere), widow of William Russell, held Hanley Hall in 1672, and she held courts as lady of the manor : HWCRO BA 5018 Ref 004.00801/34; for the purchase of the manor by Edmund Lechmere, see *ibidem*/88.

154. The demesne land in 1479 is recorded in *Cal CI 1476-85*, 649; for further demesne recorded in 1480, see *ibidem*, 648. For Richard de Bikemore, see BL Add Ch 73659; for Robert, Gilbert and John de Seggesley, see L3, L12a; for Godric, who held Clevelode TRE, see Domesday Book, 194d.

155. HWCRO 15951. For the approximate dating of such houses, see M Wood, *The English Medieval House* (London 1965), 216-9; see also, for timber buildings in Worcestershire, N Pevsner, *Buildings of England : Worcestershire* (Harmondsworth 1968), 57-61. For observations on the moat, which was not previously known, and on the interior of the house, I am indebted to Hillary White (pers comm); the moat is especially clear on the west side. For the mill and fishponds at Hanley Hall, see the rental dated c. 1550 (HWCRO BA 372/156(i) Ref b 899.31). In the eighteenth century there were two fishponds (HWCRO BA 2411 Ref 705.134/20) and apparently two mills; one of them was Tuck Mill or Turners Mill on Mere Brook (at SO 821417), and the other was probably at the hall, where there is still a large pond, with weir and sluices; but Gilberts Mill (SO 832422) must also be considered: its name suggests that it belonged to Hall manor, and it was operating in the early 14th century (Mrs J Lloyd, pers comm; BL Add Ch 73665).

156. For the Gloucester charters, see Patterson, *Earldom*, nos. 48, 92, 118, 177; the early Hanley Hall charters are BL Add Ch 73655, 73656, 73660.

157. For the house at Severn End, see *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 90-3; the basic plan was of two wings and a hall. In the matter of the Lechmere family (*ibidem*, 97-8) the *VCH* writer follows for the most part EP Shirley, *Hanley and the House of Lechmere* (London 1883), which is largely a transcript of Nicholas Lechmere's account of the family and his own life in the seventeenth century, but refers also to the tradition of Norman provenance. Shirley's introduction is in many ways unsound, since he did not have access to the deeds currently being examined; it should be borne in mind also that Shirley was the son-in-law of Sir Edmund Hungerford Lechmere, and his account is written very much *pietatis causa*. A pedigree printed in a pamphlet by Thomas W Wood (s.d. but late nineteenth century) is based on Shirley for the medieval period.

158. The house called Whittemere became the vicarage in the eighteenth century, and still stands: Hurle, *Hanley Castle*, Plate 8; see also Chapter II above.

159. An exception might be BL Add Ch 41388, dated probably to 1463; this is a badly mutilated deed, in which a grant is made by Richard Lechmere and two others, probably trustees. A chirograph would provide a copy for buyer and seller; some are noted in Hanley about this period, the earliest dated to 1470 (L125), but both parts rarely survive. For the principle of the chirograph, see LC Hector, *The Handwriting of English Documents* (2nd edn, London 1966), 108-9.

160. HWCRO BA 892 Ref 970.5.99/2/352.

161. *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 98. Edmund, son of Richard, lived at the Rhydd in the late sixteenth century : W Phillimore ed, *The Visitation of the County of Worcester, 1569* (London 1888), 50.

162. HWCRO BA 6097 Ref 250.6. For the school, see Chapter IV below; for the post-medieval school, see *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 516 sq.

163. HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134/77/8.

164. HWCRO BA 6097 Ref 250.6 : apart from the Lechmeres, John Knottesford and several of the Frewens were apparently among the great and the good in Hanley at this period. Margaret Lechmere's burial recorded in 1542 is the first occurrence of the name in the parish registers : HWCRO BA 3348/339 Ref 985.66. Her "fair inheritance" is mentioned in Nicholas Lechmere's

journal (note 157 above).

165. The charge from the king's commissioners to collect the second payment is preserved (L251). The largest individual sum to be gathered in the hundred, via the petty collectors, was £21 4s 4d from Hanley Castle. The first payment (HWCRO BA 8789 Ref 899.49(ii) had produced £2 3s 2d from nine tenants of Hanley, of whom Richard Lechmere had paid 4s.

166. For the land deals in Hanley, see HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134/59 and /77/8; for the land in Ryall, see /77/8. For the Lechmeres in Ryall from 1570, see *VCH Worcs*, vol 3, 490. Richard Lechmere died in 1568, and his burial is the first of the family recorded in the church, although his brass was "mostly gone" by Prattinton's day : HWCRO BA 10509 Ref 989.9.91/1/xii.

167. e.g. Shirley (note 157, above), and *VCH, Worcs*, vol 4, 90.

168. The journal is transcribed in Shirley, above.

169. For the manor of Hanley Hall, see HWCRO BA 5018 Ref 004.00801. For Welland, see *VCH Worcs*, vol 3, 555 : the manor was bought for £110. For Staunton, see *ibidem*, vol 4, 200 : this manor was bought by Lord Nicholas Lechmere in 1721 and was sold in 1901. For Eldersfield, see *ibidem*, 78 : this manor was also bought in the early eighteenth century and sold in the early twentieth. Other Worcestershire manors held at various times between the sixteenth century and the twentieth include Holdfast (1683-1852), Queenhill (1721-1852), Redmarley Dabiot (1698-1812) (but this manor had probably been leased earlier to Richard Lechmere c. 1545, by Edmund Bonner, bishop of London and a native of Hanley), Timberdene (1799-1912), Little Malvern (1766-c.1800), Fladbury (1681-1685), Hindlip (early sixteenth century? Richard Lechmere certainly held the rectory in 1501), Dyers (near Bromsgrove) (1644-1692), Cowleigh (1646-c.1850), Eastington (1661-c.1830), and Bushley Park (1545-1647) (this manor had of course been part of the honour of Gloucester, but was granted by the Crown to Edmund Bonner, who leased it to Richard Lechmere cp. Redmarley above) : see *VCH Worcs*, *passim*, sub vv. The tenure of Eldersfield explains the presence among the Lechmere muniments of series of court rolls and accounts for that manor, beginning in the early fourteenth century : HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134 16, 69, 70, 76.

170. JR Birrell, "Peasant Craftsmen in the Medieval Forest", *Agr Hist R* 17 (1969), 91-107.

171. DPS Peacock, "A Petrological Study of Certain Iron Age Pottery from Western England". *PPS* 34 (1968), 414-27 : the inclusions of some of the pottery discussed originate in the Malvern hills area, and the author writes of specialist potters in the region. See also *idem*, "Romano-British Pottery Production in the Malvern District of Worcestershire", *Trans Worcs Arch Soc*, 3rd ser, 1 (1965-7), 15-28 : pottery from the Malvern region made during the Roman period was found at Wroxeter and Abergavenny, as well as locally; the author suggests a continuum with the Iron Age industry, but with greater use of the wheel. For a specific excavation, of a site dated to the late second century, see PL Waters, "A Romano-British Pottery Site at Great Buckmans Farm", *ibidem*, 3rd ser, 5 (1976), 63-72; the author has identified other kiln sites in the Malvern area by surface finds. For a tile kiln excavation, see *idem*, "A Romano-British Tile Kiln at Upper Sandlin Farm, Leigh Sinton, Worcestershire", *ibidem*, 40 (1963), 1-5; the kiln was making bricks, and various kinds of tiles (*tegulae*, *imbrices*, etc); pottery on the site, presumably imported, included fragments of late second century Samian ware and of a third century mortarium. For recent work on a Romano-British kiln site near Madresfield, see CJ Evans and L Jones, *North End Farm, Madresfield, Hereford and Worcester : Phase 2, Interim Report and Full Post-Excavation Assessment* (Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit, Report 351, 1995). Pottery (over 50,000 sherds) from this site, much of it Severn Valley ware, was dated from the first to the fourth century AD. For a recent overview of Severn Valley Ware, see J Timby, "Severn Valley Ware : a Reassessment", *Britannia* 21 (1990), 243-51.

172. A Vince, "The Medieval and Post-Medieval Ceramic Industry of the Malvern Region : the Study of a Ware and its Distribution", in DPS Peacock ed, *Pottery and Early Commerce* (London 1976), 257-305, at pp 259, 281. For medieval finds in the city of Worcester, including examples

from Worcester and from Malvern potters, see E Morris, "Medieval and Post-Medieval Pottery in Worcester - a Type Series" in MOH Carver ed, *Medieval Worcester : an Archaeological Framework* (Trans Worcs Arch Soc, 3rd ser, 7, 1980), 221-29. For a summary of sites, finds, fabrics, etc, of Malvern area pottery, see MR McCarthy and CM Brooks, *Medieval Pottery in Britain* (Leicester 1988), 203, 352-4, 358, 462, 470-3.

173 Feet of Fines (Worcs), 1196, quoted in VCH researchers' notes (HWCRO BA 527 Ref 899.44/26). This suggests that the forester had his own potter tenants.

174. Vince, "Ceramic Industry", 283. P Courtney, *Medieval and Later Usk* (Cardiff 1994), 45, 117; Usk had been a Clare lordship, and it may be that Hanley pottery began to be traded there during the Clare tenure of Hanley.

175. JD Hurst, "A Medieval Ceramic Production Site and Other Medieval Sites in the Parish of Hanley Castle : Results of Fieldwork in 1987-92". *Trans Worcs Arch Soc*. 3rd ser, 14 (1994), 115-28.

176 Vince, "Ceramic Industry", 286.

177. Smith, *Malvern*. 148, 222.

178. The manuscript reads thirteen potters in 1296 (amending Willis Bund, *IPMs*, Pt I, 56). The forester must have benefited economically from the work of the potters, especially those who were his own tenants, and he may have controlled the industry in practice; the recorded clay rents were paid to the chief lord, but there must have been more potters in the manor at large than the maximum of thirteen implied in the IPMs.

179. For the spread of the Black Death along trade routes, see Ziegler, *Black Death*, 125 sq.

180. EA Fry ed, *A Calendar of Wills and Administrations Preserved in the Consistory Court of the Bishop of Worcester* (WHS 1904), vol 1, 303, 342.

181. *Cal SP Dom 1547-80*, 470.

182. HWCRO BA 8397 4(xiv) Ref 705.139. For Richard and John Potter, see minister's account 1479-80. For potters as "those low grade artisans", see R Hodges, *Primitive and Peasant Markets* (Oxford 1988), 136. See also HE Jean le Patourel, "Documentary Evidence and the Medieval Pottery Industry", *Med Arch* 12 (1968), 101-126, at p 107; the author however is mistaken (p 108) in thinking that the Hanley industry was not restarted after the Black Death.

183. Hurst "Medieval Production Site'.

184. McCarthy & Brooks, *Medieval Pottery*, Ch 1 : "The Manufacture of Medieval Pottery". For clay pits at Forthey (although they could be marl pits for agriculture) see HWCRO BA 4959 7(x) Ref b 705.587 (the survey of 1795).

185. McCarthy & Brooks, *Medieval Pottery*, 76. The Frewens are first seen in the 1275 Subsidy Roll, and flourished in Hanley until the eighteenth century; for example, between 1539 and 1693 forty three Frewen burials are recorded in the parish registers (compared with fourteen Lechmere burials in the same period), but they are a family without muniments, except insofar as some of their title deeds came to the Lechmeres.

186. Northampton RO, Westmorland Apethorpe 4xx4, fo 7. For some comments on transport of goods, see Miller & Hatcher, *Towns, Commerce and Crafts*, 151. Ongoing work by divers at the quay is producing medieval pottery from the river bed (JD Hurst, pers comm, 1996).

187. Hodges, *Markets*, 136. For Malvern pottery in Herefordshire, see Vince, "Ceramic Industry", *passim*.

188. GG Astill, "Economic Change in Later Medieval England", in TH Aston et al eds, *Social Relations and Ideas : Essays in Honour of RH Hilton* (Cambridge 1983), 217-48. at p 227.
189. CC Dyer, "The Hidden Trade of the Middle Ages : Evidence from the West Midlands", *J Hist Geog* 18 (1992), 141-57, at pp 156-7
190. Miller & Hatcher, *Towns, Commerce and Crafts*, 157.
191. HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134/77/8 (IPM on John Pynnocke).
192. For the expected woodland crafts, see Birrell, "Peasant Craftsmen", passim. There was no ironworking in Malvern Forest.
193. Z Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish ; Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen 1270-1400* (Cambridge 1980), passim. For a discussion of "industrial" names, see Miller & Hatcher, *Towns, Commerce and Crafts*, 128-34.
194. For the range of birds which reached the medieval table, see A Grant, "Animal Resources" in Astill & Grant eds, *Countryside*, 149-87, at pp 167-70. Woodland and river birds particularly might have been trapped or caught in Hanley : teal, widgeon and mallard are recorded in the duke of York's household account, along with partridges, woodcock and larks, all found in patria. Le Cokshute (I.207), a reference to the shooting of woodcock, lay in Northfield. For a note on the trapping of birds by licence, and illegally, see Birrell, "Peasant Craftsmen", 104.
195. For peasant consumption of fish, see Grant, "Animal Resources" 170-2 and Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 157-8.

1. THE CASTLE

(a) The Site (Maps INTRO.2 & III.1 and Fig IV.1)

The castle lay in the extreme south east of the manor and parish, in an angle formed by Pool Brook on the east and Mere Brook on the south, both of which were employed to fill the moat. The 20m contour embraces the platform, which however is not much more than 5m above the surrounding land and is not naturally defensible, being overlooked on the north and the west; the platform, which no doubt owes some of its height to the upcast from the moat, covers about one and a half acres¹. Its relationship to the curia and the vill has already been noted, and there was convenient access to the river and to all routes. It was well placed also to be the caput of the royal forest and later chase, and to serve as a hunting lodge and dwelling for lords and visiting kings; at the same time it has many features of a conventional castle and was generally described as a castrum or castellum; it did in fact serve some military purpose in the confusion of the 1320s, as will be seen below, although its role throughout its life proved to be for the most part domestic².

(b) The Early Stages, and King John's Castle or Hunting Lodge in the Thirteenth Century

Arguments have been adduced above (chapter II) for some kind of fortification of the site in the pre-Conquest period, when it may have been the burh which gave its name to Burley. As such it would probably have been a simple ringwork. There are no clues to what happened on the site between the Conquest and the building of the historical castle in the early thirteenth century, but William FitzOsbern, lord of Hanley and earl of Hereford, was a noted castle builder, and had he wanted a rearward base for his operations on the Welsh border he might have refortified Hanley; and if he strengthened a weak position with a motte and bailey, such a structure may in its turn have been levelled when it was decided to redevelop the site; certainly it is a site which might not have been chosen in the thirteenth century had there not already been some significant use³.

The first documentary evidence comes from the Pipe Rolls, which record that between 1207 and 1209 the king spent £70 16s in work on his houses (domorum) at Hanley. From 1209 to 1213 a further £773 4s 5d was accounted for, including £12 6s 4d in expenses of the king himself, perhaps when he held an assize in the castle in 1212⁴. Apart from the assize, king John is known to have stayed at Hanley in 1209 and 1213, and in 1217 his former wife Isabel (de Burgh) was living in the castle at the time of the royal grant to Gilbert de Clare⁵. John spent over £17,000 on building or repairing ninety five castles, and on nine of those, including Hanley, the operations cost over £500 each; Hanley was also one of four completely new castles in this period, although the only one in the west. The fortresses against the Welsh between Bristol and Shrewsbury were refortified at the time, and Hanley as in earlier days may have seemed a useful addition to a king's

military strength, even if it did not stand in the front line⁶.

We do not know how the money was spent at Hanley, but at Kenilworth for example, between 1210 and 1215, expenditure of about £1,000 provided a curtain wall, with gatehouse and towers, and paid for alterations to the keep; a chamber and wardrobe cost £102 in 1212, and a tower was rebuilt in 1219 for £150⁷. These figures might serve as a guide to the extent of the buildings at Hanley which Gilbert de Clare took over in 1217, perhaps before they were completed. There seems no reason to doubt that some of the building would be of stone, which if not found locally could have been brought up the river, as it had been since the Saxon period⁸. Later in the century the castle was in continuous use: Richard de Clare knighted William de Wiltone and Peter le Botiler at Hanley in 1243x1262, wine was carried from the castle to Woodstock for king Henry III in 1267, the prison is mentioned in 1275, and king Edward I, Gilbert de Clare's father-in-law, stayed at the castle in 1282⁹.

(c) The Castle in the Fourteenth Century : from Military Defences to Peaceful Times

As it had at times during minorities in the thirteenth century, the castle again escheated to the Crown in 1314, along with the manor, on the death of the young Gilbert de Clare at Bannockburn. After some repairs, including work on two towers, the castle passed in 1320 to Hugh le Despenser the younger, who had married the king's niece Eleanor, one of the three sisters and heiresses of Gilbert de Clare¹⁰. Although he had inherited Glamorgan *de iure uxoris*, Despenser was anxious to secure the rest of the Clare property in Wales, which might make him a larger honour and strengthen his claim to the earldom of Gloucester: his efforts were supported by king Edward II, but firmly resisted by the marcher lords¹¹. In May 1321, while hard pressed by the Welsh barons and their supporters, he surrendered the castles of Elmley and Hanley into the king's hands, and keepers were appointed¹². In January 1322 the gates and buildings of both these castles were burnt in an attack by the earl of Hereford and the Mortimers, among others, who had already taken and burnt the town of Bridgnorth, and the castles were occupied against the king¹³. In the following month there was an attempt to recover the castle of Hanley, when the keeper was ordered to arrest contrarians, but the outcome is obscure¹⁴. The campaigning had an impact on the area at large, so that for example the prior of Little Malvern sought and was granted protection in his various manors, including Hanley, where he had some land¹⁵. About the same time the king's yeoman was instructed to keep safe the tenants of Tewkesbury, Bushley and Hanley, all of them Despenser manors, which were "for certain causes" in the king's hands¹⁶.

Hanley was not held by the rebels for more than a few weeks, for in March 1322, after Lancaster was executed and the rebellion put down, the keeper was told to revictual the castle for the king¹⁷. In May two royal officials were ordered to keep and survey the wainage (i.e. the demesne land) and stock of various manors, including Hanley, and to "make arrangements therein for the king's advantage"¹⁸. The demesne land in the east of Hanley would certainly have been

affected by the conflict, with some of it lying close to the castle; in fact the fighting of the 1320s, with the inevitable uncertainty and damage to the countryside, may have accelerated the movement from arable to pasture which is first observed in the 1326-7 account (Chapter III above). From 1322 the king began to spend money on the castle at Hanley; the unpublished Pipe Rolls examined by HM Colvin show that almost £1200 was laid out between then and the end of the reign¹⁹. To some extent such expenditure could be justified on military grounds: the damage caused by the rebels had to be repaired, and the castle had to be secured for an uncertain political future; but in another sense it can be seen as a conspicuous example of Edward's protective partiality towards the younger Despenser²⁰.

Since Colvin's work was published the Memoranda Rolls for 1326-7 have been printed, and these, along with Colvin's detail and the 1326-7 account rendered by Roger de Hanley, constable and keeper of the castle and manor, make it possible to describe some of the activity at the castle from the point in March 1322 when it was recovered for the king²¹. Royal carpenters are recorded working in the castle in 1322, 1323 and 1324 under Richard de Felsted, and during these years timber was brought from Wyre Forest in north Worcestershire and from (Iron) Acton in Gloucestershire. The master of the works, Robert de Glasham, was paid 12d per day, and the presence of masons and quarriers shows that some of the work he was supervising was built at least partially of stone²². Lead came from Chester in 1325, and there was eventually a surplus, for in 1328 king Edward III gave his lead at Hanley to Roger de Mortimer²³.

What exactly was constructed in 1322 and 1323 we cannot say, but the building or strengthening of a gatehouse or keep would have been a priority. In January 1324 over 1000 diggers were paid 2d per day for digging a moat, making it sixty feet wide and seven deep; from lip to lip today it is about fifty feet at its widest, and both its depth and width are of course masked by erosion. It is possible that the moat replaced and eliminated an earlier dry ditch, which might have been adequate for a hunting lodge or seigneurial residence, although some arrangement would have been needed to drive the mill wheel, which later certainly depended on the water of the moat²⁴. The king himself was at Hanley from 4th to 6th and 9th to 15th of January, 1324, and with Hugh le Despenser he watched the digging operation, which must have been impressive both in planning and execution, especially since at the same time a hall was being built, along with a "peel" and other works; these, described as "the finest in the land", so pleased the king that in his presence the twelve royal carpenters were given a bonus of 40s each²⁵. The labour force for the moat, with work spread perhaps over a number of days, could have been drafted in from Hanley and neighbouring manors of the honour of Gloucester, at a point in the year when many tenants might have some spare time; on the other hand there were Welsh dikers, who were hired to dig moats. The diggers would have had to find their own equipment, in the shape of spades and shovels, baskets or buckets, and possibly carts. Some of the upcast will have gone on the platform, but the rest may have provided the counterscarp, which can still be traced on the west. A palisade (i.e. peel), probably a stouter wall than the word might imply, was set on the platform perimeter²⁶.

The Memoranda Rolls record payments made between June 1324 and November 1326 to carters and boatmen, and the costs also of procuring timber. Two of the king's carters, Robert (or Roger?) de Parys and John Sayer, were at the castle for the whole of that period, with their waggons and twelve horses²⁷. Their wages, along with feed for the horses and repairs to the waggons, amounted to £196 7s 6d, of which the wage element was 4½d per day for carter and groom together; so although they might be royal carters they were not exceptionally well paid. Three other carters, with six horses and a groom each, provided additional carrying between July 1325 and October 1326, at a cost of £97 10s 8½d. Towards the end of this period, in August and September 1326, eighty seven great oaks were brought to Hanley from the park at Iron Acton, a manor which belonged to the Berkeleys but had escheated to the Crown. The felling, chopping, sawing and carriage of this timber cost £24 19s 4d. Finally John Robyns, the keeper of the king's boat which had been assigned to carry materials and supplies for the castle, was in attendance from July 1325 to October in the following year, a period of increased activity which also saw the extra carters at Hanley. He and his four boatmen, who must have worked from the quay, were paid 3d per day, with repairs to be claimed, and the total outlay was £30 2s 0½d. The timber from Iron Acton was presumably delivered to Hanley by boat, having been taken to the Severn at Berkeley, and then brought from Hanley quay to the castle by the carters. The total expenditure recorded in the Memoranda Rolls is £348 19s 7d over two years, most of it for transport. The timber of course, which belonged to the Crown, is not costed in the accounts; and if none came from Malvern chase, it may be that the king was reluctant to depreciate what were essentially his friend Despenser's assets²⁸.

The last of the carters left Hanley on 1st November 1326, with the castle still held nominally by Hugh le Despenser but effectively in the king's hands, and work on the chapel at any rate uncompleted. Queen Isabella and Roger Mortimer had arrived in Suffolk from the continent in late September, and as they gathered support, so the king and young Despenser left London for the west, probably spending some time at Hanley: certainly then or at some point in the next few weeks armaments were left at Hanley which might be serviceable in a defence. By mid-October the queen was at Gloucester, and at the end of the month, just before the work at the castle was abandoned, the elder Despenser was taken at Bristol and executed; at the same time the keeper of the castle was mandated to defend the tenants of Hanley and the chase against the rebels²⁹. The younger Hugh and the king in the meantime were finding what refuge they could; in early November they were at Chepstow, and on the 16th they were captured at Neath. The king was taken to Kenilworth *via* Monmouth and Tenbury, and possibly Hanley, while Hugh le Despenser was executed at Hereford³⁰.

By the end of November 1326 the Hanley countryside will have become more peaceful, and the people of the vill returned to normal life, but the turmoil of the previous months is highlighted by irregularities in the accounting system. Gilbert Talbot had been constable and keeper of the castle and manor from an undetermined date until 9th December, when he handed

over by indenture to Roger de Hanley. Talbot, first earl of Shrewsbury, had apparently been granted the revenues of Hanley; ironically he had been party to the burning of the castle in 1322 and was at that time branded as a contrariant³¹. He had presumably been pardoned after Lancaster's death, for in 1323 he was keeper of Gloucester castle³². It is not clear why at this unusual time of the year he handed over to the local man, Roger de Hanley, who was chief forester and lord of Hanley Hall; perhaps Talbot was not trusted by the new regime, which was now the de facto Crown. There was another abrupt change on 19th August 1327, when Roger in turn handed over the manor to Robert de Braci, lord of Madresfield, an appointee of the new king, Edward III; but the castle was given a separate keeper, in the person of Thomas le Blount³³.

Roger de Hanley's account then is only for eight months and ten days. The manorial aspects of it have already been examined, and the body of the account contains only one reference to the castle, the purchase of a lock and key for the "Wykegate" (leading from the castle to the curia) at a cost of 3d. But attached to the account are two schedules of items in the castle handed over by indenture, one of them listing miscellaneous small items (minuta staura), and the other the armaments (armatura) which were stored there by the fugitive king, no doubt to be used if circumstances allowed, but in the event never reclaimed. The schedule of armatura lists a variety of armour and weapons in the castle, which postulate an armoury to store them, possibly in a gatehouse or keep³⁴. Sixteen hand-held crossbows with small bolts (minut' quarell') would arm a small company of crossbowmen, who would expect to have towers with slits to fire from³⁵. There were three other crossbows worked by winches, for which hawsers and bolts were provided; these would require platforms, perhaps directly behind the curtain wall or peel, and would be supplemented by the two springalda, which at Hanley were intended to fire bolts fletched with copper but which could also be used for hurling stones and other missiles³⁶. The building work at the castle in 1325 and 1326, especially towards the end, must have been aimed at ensuring sound defences, which could be exploited to the full by crossbowmen and engines of war.

The body armour in the schedule consists of both mail and plate, at a time when the lorica, the coat of chain mail, was being superseded by par' de plat', or pairs of plates. There were three suits of each, with accoutrements; two of the plate suits, being Flemish, were of high quality, and along with two shields bearing the royal coat of arms (scuta de arm' regis Anglie), and two of the fourteen lances, may have been reserved for the king and his favourite³⁷. Twelve more lances with twelve more shields might arm some of the other defenders. The importance attached to Hanley by the king at this time, and his likely intention to return and make a stand there, is displayed further by the presence among the minuta staura of a sealed deed box containing deeds and muniments concerning the king and Hugh le Despenser, which it was obviously intended to recover; the great seal however he had taken with him in his flight, for he surrendered it at Monmouth after his capture³⁸.

Apart from the deed box, and a sealed chest which contained two leather bags, the minuta staura included a handmill with three pairs of quernstones, and a well bucket, all invaluable for a

garrison under siege³⁹. Two fastenings of iron were intended to raise the drawbridge (tach' de ferr' ad pontem levandum), which was probably in front of the "Wykegate", at the north east corner where there is still a causeway⁴⁰. Materials apparently left over from the building operations, which had been curtailed in November, included timber prepared for a chapel (merem' parat' pro i capell' in dicto castro levando); the timber was ready and the chapel presumably was to be built next. It is unlikely that it was the first chapel in the castle, but the building of it was to be a significant event, marked by an indenture dated 6th April 1326, by which the abbot and convent of Evesham had bound themselves, "for benefit done to them and their house by Sir Hugh le Despenser", to provide a chaplain with a clerk to assist him, along with "sustenance, books, vestments, chalices and other things pertaining to such chantry, except houses for their dwelling"⁴¹. Some of the eighty seven great oaks brought from Iron Acton in August and September may well have been earmarked for the chapel; only a few might have been used on other buildings by early November, and some of the rest will constitute the merem' which is listed in the schedule. One hundred Estonian boards, with the nails and the lead, may also have been destined for the chapel, which was probably built early in the next reign; by the middle of 1328 the remaining lead had been given away by the king, and the castle was fit to be used as a residence by Hugh le Despenser's widow Eleanor ⁴². The chapel may have been incorporated in the hall, but this had already been built in 1324, under the eyes of the king, and the wording rather implies a separate freestanding building, apparently constructed largely of timber⁴³. It has been estimated, from a study of the building of Blackfriars priory in Gloucester in the thirteenth century, that one "great oak", which would be at least fifty feet long, provided three complete roof trusses, including rafters and posts, and that perhaps 180 oaks were needed for all the priory buildings, including a large church⁴⁴. There must therefore have been a substantial surplus at Hanley to be used on other buildings apart from the chapel, before the restoration of the castle to Eleanor in late April, 1328: the fifteenth century evidence indicates all the usual buildings on the site⁴⁵.

After the disorders and subsequent rebuilding, the remainder of the fourteenth century saw the castle well maintained. King Edward III paid a brief visit in 1330, and stayed for fifteen days in 1332⁴⁶. IPMs on the tenants in chief repeated the formula that it was worth nothing after repairs: the 1349 IPM recorded that new houses had recently been built, and in that year a nominal £10 was, unusually, deducted from the revenues of the manor to cover repair and maintenance, which would normally be dealt with in the manorial accounts. This was on the death of Hugh le Despenser, son of Hugh the younger, whose widow Elizabeth was in that year granted the castle in dower as her dwelling place⁴⁷. She lived there until her death in 1359, but Hugh's nephew Edward, the next lord of Hanley, and his wife Elizabeth lived at Tewkesbury Park; on Edward's death however in 1375, having been granted the castle in dower, his widow came to Hanley until she died in 1409⁴⁸; she dated a deed at Hanley in 1377, and in 1393 a render of ale was still being made to Edward le Despenser's castle by a tenant of Upton⁴⁹. In 1400, on the

execution and forfeiture of Elizabeth's son Thomas le Despenser, the timber, shingles and laths in the castle, presumably delivered there for further building or repairs, were the subject of an instruction to the escheator, who was not to interfere with them, since they belonged to Elizabeth⁵⁰.

(d) The Castle in the Fifteenth Century : a Fortified Seigneurial Dwelling - and its Demise

The castle continued to be used as a dwelling in the fifteenth century, and although its fortifications were not neglected a military role was probably a secondary consideration. Something is learnt about the buildings from the household accounts of Edward duke of York, covering his stay in the castle for eight months from October to June in 1409-10⁵¹. Many of the household might have been accommodated in the guest chambers, which will be seen in the 1416 IPM, while the hall (aula) with its solar and private rooms would provide lodging for the duke and his immediate circle. One of the purchases for the hall was of 151½ ells of linen for cloths and napkins, and a ladder was bought, perhaps to reach the solar, although a staircase might have been expected⁵². The chapel was still significant, and even before the party left Cardiff castle twenty eight boards had been bought to make a cupboard for the chaplain's copes and a housing for the organ at Hanley. For storage of grain and hay the granary and barn in the curia were used at times, it is not clear whether barns stood on the castle site, although self-sufficiency was the norm, but there was certainly a malthouse, and probably a granary for malt. Even so, two buildings had to be hired in the vill for various periods, one for wheat and the other for malt. Two other buildings were hired as workshops (offic') for a butcher and a launderer, presumably also in the vill. The workshops on the site included a brewhouse and a candlemaker's shop, and a brass foundry which produced three vessels for the kitchen from seventy nine pounds of brass. One of the most intriguing entries is the purchase of wire for the bell of a clock (pro campana orlogii), which might be placed on the side of a tower or keep; it would both emphasise the status of Hanley castle and remind the servants to be prompt in their duties. Most of the household accounts are concerned with the everyday purchase of food items, but enough is recorded incidentally to suggest that the castle at Hanley was built and equipped as well as any; nor is this surprising, since throughout its life it had belonged either to the king or to the greatest men of the land⁵³.

The IPM of 1416 on Richard le Despenser contains an assignment of dower to his widow Eleanor, by which she was to receive one third of the inheritance, while Isabel, Richard's sister, held the remainder. Eleanor's third of the castle comprised a large chamber inside the castle at the end of the hall on the west (or at the west end of the hall), with two stone towers belonging to the chamber and attached to the hall; one third of the pantry and buttery under the chamber on the south; two large houses (curie) inside the castle on the north, opposite the said large chamber, called Les Gystenchambres, along with the rooms underneath; three towers on the south of the castle, and a fourth tower in the corner of the castle, attached to it on the south; one third of the

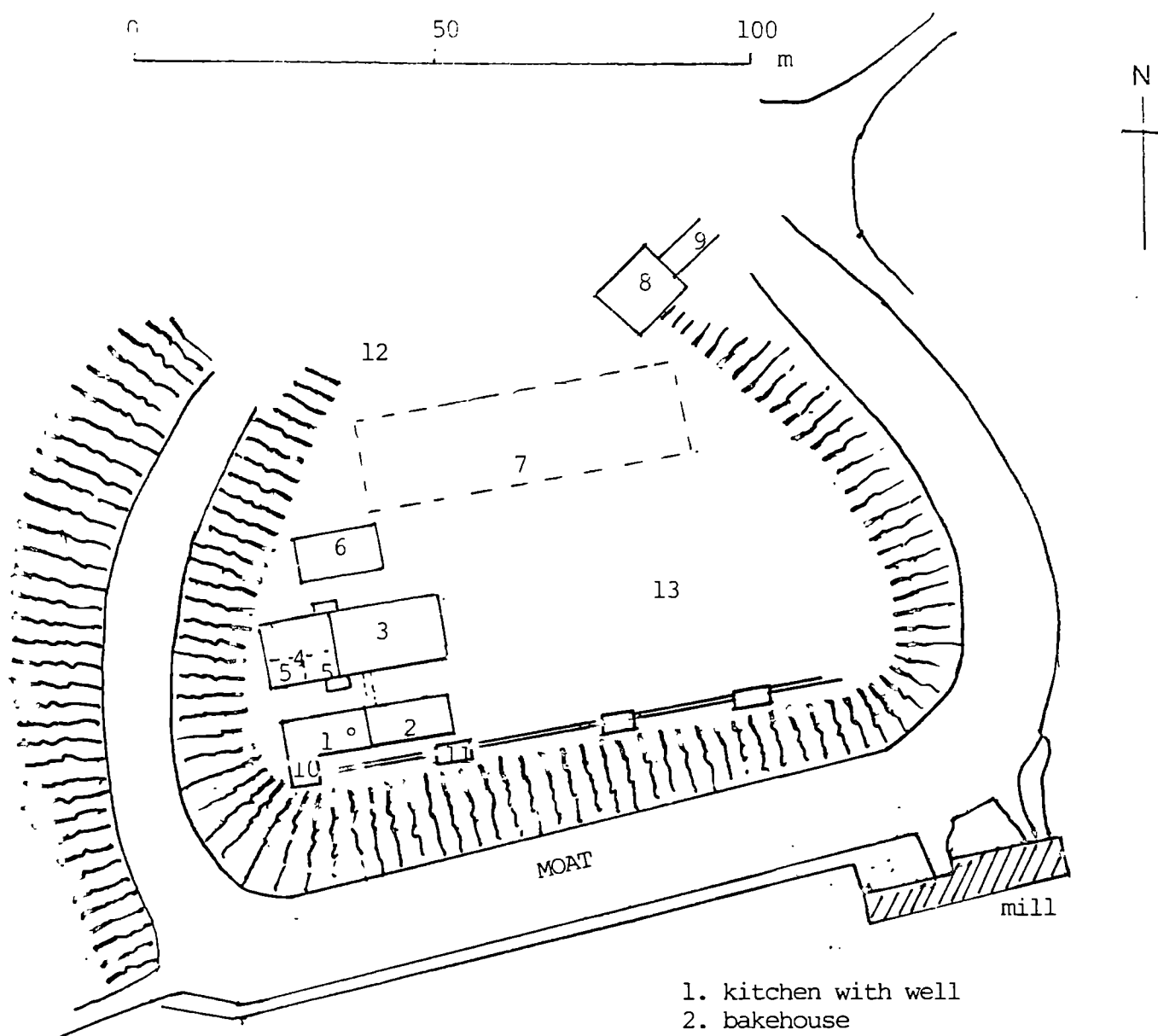


Fig IV.1 : The castle in the fifteenth century

(based on 25" OS map, 1927 edition;
for sources, see text)

1. kitchen with well
2. bakehouse
3. hall
4. solar with towers
5. buttery & pantry beneath solar
6. chapel
7. area of six guestchambers, with rooms beneath
8. gatehouse at the Wykegate
9. drawbridge
10. south west tower
11. towers of south curtain wall
12. site of keep?
13. area of granaries, workshops, stables?

bakehouse and of the kitchen, which lay against (*adiacentis*) the corner tower; one third of the defensive wall (*palacii*) and of the moat surrounding the castle, alongside the said four towers, on the south side; free entry and exit to the towers; free entry and exit to the chapel in the castle; and one third of the manorial garden, namely from the gate of the garden directly facing the garden fence on the west, as far as the moat around the castle. The garden has been discussed above in chapter III; using the above information, Figure IV.1 shows how the buildings might have been disposed on the castle platform. The kitchen, lying against the south west tower, dictates the position of the hall, and the guestchambers are said to be to the north of that; the position of the chapel is conjectural. Several of the buildings were probably set against the curtain wall, but only the bakehouse and kitchen are actually described thus.

The chamber at the end of the two-storied hall seems to be a solar, which was frequently located thus, with service rooms below; solar towers presumably gave the building status and authority, but also had a practical purpose, containing small rooms and garderobes⁵⁴. As for size, timber halls might measure on average 13m by 10m, with solars rather smaller, while masonry halls were generally more spacious⁵⁵. At Hanley stone solar towers would imply a stone hall, and it will be recalled that in the previous century there were masons on the site. Nash in the eighteenth century wrote that the castle had been "a large square structure with four towers, with a keep in the north west corner"⁵⁶; and in 1795 the masonry of the only remaining tower is said to have been removed by Thomas Hornyold to repair the bridge at Upton⁵⁷. The curtain wall, perhaps still the "peel" of the fourteenth century, is here called a *palacium*, which would usually mean a timber palisade; but it was eventually of stone or had stone footings, which can be seen in places today⁵⁸. Eleanor's mural towers might also be of stone, and must have contained serviceable rooms, since it was laid down that she should have access. If there were three towers on each side and four corner towers, as implied by the IPM and by Nash, the defences must certainly have looked impressive. The chapel, in the fourteenth century at any rate, had been a timber building, although possibly with lower courses of stone, but there is no information about the fabric of the guest houses; they were however of two stories and some of them may have lain against the curtain wall on the north. If Eleanor had two there must have been six in all, the others being assigned to Isabel, who as will be seen also lived in the castle; an important household might have twenty to thirty guests at a time, but others also might be accommodated in the guest houses. The bakehouse and kitchen might be timber buildings, although stone of course was safer in the event of fire; they were traditionally, as at Hanley, set against curtain walls or towers, but kitchens would also need to be readily accessible from the hall; what is being described here is a service range, with probably a covered passage way to the hall⁵⁹.

Neither in this catalogue of buildings nor in any other document is a keep mentioned, until Nash. It can be postulated perhaps from the armoury, and from the prison, which will be discussed below; on the other hand, the castle saw little action apart from the 1320s, and if a keep was contemplated after that date it may only have been a status symbol. A gatehouse, which may

have done duty as a keep, is not recorded until the end of the fifteenth century, but would have been essential in the 1320s and was in any case a commonplace; but since it was the preserve of the constable it would not appear in the dower assignment. It is surprising that Eleanor and her household have no share in the stables, which must have existed on the site although they are not documented; but otherwise, apart from one or two workshops, such as a smithy and perhaps a limekiln, the majority of the expected buildings are accounted for either in 1409-10 or in 1416 ⁶⁰.

The detail of the 1416 document makes clear that Eleanor was expected to live in the castle, but it may not have been for long, since in the same year she married Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland⁶¹. Her portion probably went with the other two thirds to her sister-in-law Isabel, who was wife of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Worcester, and whose daughter Elizabeth had been born in the castle in 1415; Isabel married secondly, in 1423 in the castle chapel, Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and their son Henry was born in the castle in 1425 and died there in 1446 (chapter III above). During his tenure of Hanley, between 1423 and 1439, the earl of Warwick "rebuilt" the castle, according to William of Worcester (*fortalicium de Hanley prope Worcestere edificari de novo fecit*)⁶². Some of this work may have been under way in 1427-8, when 5000 "spyking" nails and 2000 "wyndow" nails were bought at Stafford for the repair of buildings in the castle at Hanley ⁶³.

After 1446 the castle was briefly granted in dower, and Cecily, widow of Henry Beauchamp, may have lived there for a while; it is not clear who followed her, but Richard Beauchamp had probably intended it to serve mainly as a dower house. After the Clarence forfeiture in 1478 its fortunes can be viewed again, through the accounts of ministers appointed by the Crown. These show that between 1479 and 1495 the sum of £37 9s 1½d was spent on repairs, although in some years there was no claim and for some others the accounts are not extant (Table III.14)⁶⁴. In 1479-80 one thousand bricks were carried in to repair a building in the castle, at a cost of 6s 8d; bricks tended to be used for chimneys, being fire proof, but some may have been incorporated in the fabric of the building; brick nogging however, as a substitute for wattle and daub, is usually later than the fifteenth century⁶⁵. The same building also required a cartload of tiles and a cartload of sand, presumably for mortar, since in the same account a "pipe" of burnt lime cost 3s 4d. The tiles and sand no doubt were obtained locally, along with three pieces of timber which were carried from Clifley at a cost of 2s; but one thousand shingle nails would be imported. Shingles were generally used on roofs, and perhaps parts of the building were roofed with tiles and other parts with shingles⁶⁶. That the tiles were for roofs rather than floors is shown by the employment of a lathlayer with an assistant for four days; together they would prepare the laths on which to hang the tiles⁶⁷.

The same year (1479-80) saw repairs to the timberwork of the gatehouse and drawbridge. Gatehouses often had chambers above the gate and extensions at the back, providing accommodation and administrative quarters for the constable⁶⁸. From the account of 1485-6 we

find the gatehouse called a castellum pontis, that is a strongpoint at the bridge, or a fortified bridge tower; whether it was a single tower over a central gate or a gate flanked by twin towers is uncertain, but it would be an imposing entrance. If there was no keep, room would be needed in or beneath the gatehouse for the dungeon or "Bandbury Chamber", in which the forester and the constable kept forest and manorial offenders respectively⁶⁹. In these two years, when the gatehouse is mentioned, carpenters, sawyers, plumbers, daubers, tilers and diggers worked on the gatehouse and bridge to a total of some 230 man days, and 500 new tiles were brought in.

The account for 1480-1 deals especially with work on the kitchen and chapel. 1000 tiles were used on roofs, again with a lathlayer employed, and forty eight ridge tiles were bought; there is no mention anywhere of floor tiles but important halls and chapels might be expected to have some, and in the nineteenth century the find was reported on the castle site of a glazed tile bearing the arms of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick⁷⁰. Ridge tiles were manufactured in the Malvern region; according to an Act of 1477 they were to measure 13½ inches by 6¼, so that if they were all for the chapel they might reasonably surmount a roof fifty four feet long⁷¹. The 400 timbers (maeremia) used in 1480-1 were prepared by two sawyers working for five days, after the trees had been felled and trimmed "in the chase". Nine pounds of solder (sowder) and a plumber employed for four days may be connected with the glazing of the chapel or hall. LF Salzman notes that solder was called "glassawdre" at Canterbury in 1485 and that soldering irons appear in the list of glaziers' tools connected with the manufacture and installation of stained glass; a chapel or hall with bespoke floor tiles might be expected to have stained glass, but solder might also be used in the more mundane construction of roofing, lead piping and guttering⁷².

In addition to the repair work on the kitchen in 1480-1, spits and andirons (fire dogs) were made, presumably in the castle's own smithy; its presence might be confirmed by the account for 1485-6, when Richard Dewler, faber, made locks, nails and hooks for the castle buildings. In this same year a louver was made over the kitchen, at a cost of 12½d; more expensive examples could be highly decorative, but this may have been a simple structure, demonstrating nonetheless that the kitchen was in use⁷³. The castle was in fact now being kept on a care and maintenance basis, with the Crown unsure how to use it: the constable's gatehouse was maintained, along with other buildings such as kitchen and chapel which might be needed by a skeleton staff, and by the steward, since courts were held in the castle until 1500-01; but little else was done. There is no breakdown of the relatively large expenditure in 1487-8, and in 1494-5 the only information is that the money was spent on the bridge. Thereafter, well into the sixteenth century, no further repairs are claimed, and it may be assumed that the Crown had decided to cease maintenance; the last constable was appointed in 1512, and the castle began its slide into the dilapidation described by Leland and Habington. The slide was in fact quite rapid, for Leland about 1540 writes that it was "clene defaced", implying that much of the fabric had been carried away. Even so, Nash could describe remains which must have been there within his memory, and as we saw above the site was not fully cleared until the late eighteenth century⁷⁴.

Finally we can examine briefly the possible economic benefits accruing to the tenants of Hanley from the presence of the castle. The only satisfactory detail is contained in the household accounts of the duke of York, compiled during his stay in 1409-10. Such a household might contain up to one hundred and fifty people, although we do not know how many actually came to Hanley on this occasion; what we do learn from the accounts is that in seven complete months from November to May the dieta, or expenditure allowed, totalled £648 8s 6¼d. It is difficult to detach from this what might have been spent in Hanley; many purchases were made in patria, that is in the surrounding countryside in a fairly wide sense, and many other items were bought in Worcester, Bristol and London. The household was certainly not dependent on Hanley, but Hanley peasants must have benefited for example in November and December, when £17 6s was spent on cutting and carrying wood and making and carrying charcoal from Blackmore, Cliffey and Hanley Park; and on 5th January, when the catering officer was perhaps shopping for the Epiphany feast, he paid £3 15s 8d for provisions in patria, including three calves, three pigs, thirty nine piglets, twenty two geese and fourteen dozen larks. Added to such examples should be the personal spending in the vill of the household servants; the well known ale houses of Quay Lane must have absorbed some of it. When the household of a lord like Thomas Despenser or the earl of Warwick was in residence, there must have been expenditure not far below that of the duke of York; a lesser household such as a dowager's, which was the norm for Hanley, might be less of a stimulus to the local economy, but during many periods of the castle's existence the tenants of Hanley must have welcomed the opportunities presented even by modest households with occasional guests, although the income was irregular⁷⁵.

2. THE CHURCH, THE CHANTRIES AND THE SCHOOL

(a) The Early History of the Church, and the Lechmere Stone

One of the deeds in the Lechmere collection (L83) (1433-4) is dated "Wednesday after the feast of the dedication of the church (ecclesie) of Saint Botulph in Hanley", and this is the only intimation of such a church. In two other Hanley deeds however, dated c. 1240 (BL Add Ch 73655) and c. 1270 (BL Add Ch 73660), an annual render is specified, of an arrow and a rose respectively, to be delivered on the feast of St Botulph (sc. 17 June); the arrow is to be rendered in the forester's house. and all three deeds belong to his submanor of Hanley Hall.

The historical church of Hanley, lying at Church End, is dedicated to St Mary. If this is the direct successor of St Botulph's, it may be that the dedication was changed by William FitzOsbern, when he gave the rectorial tithes and advowson of Hanley church to his own foundation of St Mary's abbey at Lire, shortly after the Conquest. This in itself postulates a pre-Conquest church, although it is not given in Domesday Book⁷⁶. The manor as a whole in the immediate pre-Conquest period, according to Domesday Book, was held by the thegn Brictric, and he or one of his predecessors may have founded a "thegnly church"; there is in fact a tradition (chapter III above) that Brictric did build such a church for his tenants and retainers. Even if the church of St



Figure IV.2 : THE LECHMERE STONE (Antiquaries Journal, vol. XI (1931))

Botulph was provided rather for the tenants of the Hanley family, as the deeds could suggest, it might still at some point have become the parish church, with the site moving to Church End (if necessary) as the settlement pattern changed⁷⁷. What seems unlikely is that Hanley's church was a minster; although the immediate area to the west of the Severn is without one (unless at Powick), there were minsters at Ripple, Pershore and Tewkesbury; moreover Hanley had no spread of chapelries, and although a large parish it was by no means the size of a typical minster parochia. It may however have had significant rights of sepulture, as will be seen below⁷⁸.

Sixty four dedications to St Botulph are known, the majority of them in eastern England. Until the Hanley dedication was discovered recently there was none further west than Leicestershire⁷⁹. There is however a tenuous link between east and west in the shape of Wenlock abbey, which according to "St Milburg's Testament" was founded from abbot Botulph's monastery at "Icanho", Suffolk, in the late seventh century, and was to remain "under the tutelage" of that church; even so, it is hard to see how the dedication might have got to Hanley from Wenlock⁸⁰. There are two other possibilities. Firstly, cults such as that of Botulph were exploited for political reasons, and thus saints were imported from elsewhere by lords or bishops. Bishop Oswald is known to have had connections with Ely, where he reorganised the house, which contained some of Botulph's relics⁸¹. Alternatively, if Pershore abbey is thought to have been influential in Hanley, which belonged to Pershore hundred, the cult of Botulph may have come from there; he had after all established the rule of St Benedict at Icanho, and must have been known in other Benedictine houses. But by whatever route Botulph might have arrived in Hanley, what is clear is that the Hanley family retained the memory of his church and his feast, probably in a missal kalendar at Hanley Hall, and stipulated the feast for the payment of what appear to be ancient rents.

The Lechmere Stone (Fig IV.2) is a pointer to an Anglo-Saxon church with graveyard, and at the same time a proof of high status people in Hanley. This grave marker, which is kept at Severn End, dates from the early ninth century; its condition suggests that it has not been exposed for any length of time, so it may have been kept in the church from an early period and possibly moved to Severn End in the late seventeenth century when Nicholas Lechmere bought the advowson and the church was substantially repaired⁸². It is made of fine oolitic limestone, not unlike some of the fabric of the church itself, possibly from the quarries in the Bath area; EM Jope has demonstrated that this stone was used in Saxon work along the Severn valley, being brought in by water⁸³. The Stone is carved on one side with a standing figure of Christ as priest, holding a book in the left hand and with a cruciform nimbus; the other side is carved with a circular cross head on a baluster shaft with a stepped base; around the cross shaft and on the edges of the Stone are vine leaves and grapes, a common Christian symbolism. The dimensions are nineteen inches high, eleven inches wide and up to four inches thick, and the carving stands in relief of about one inch⁸⁴. The burial rights at Hanley implied by the Stone suggest some parochial independence, such as was not enjoyed by minster chapels but would be claimed by a

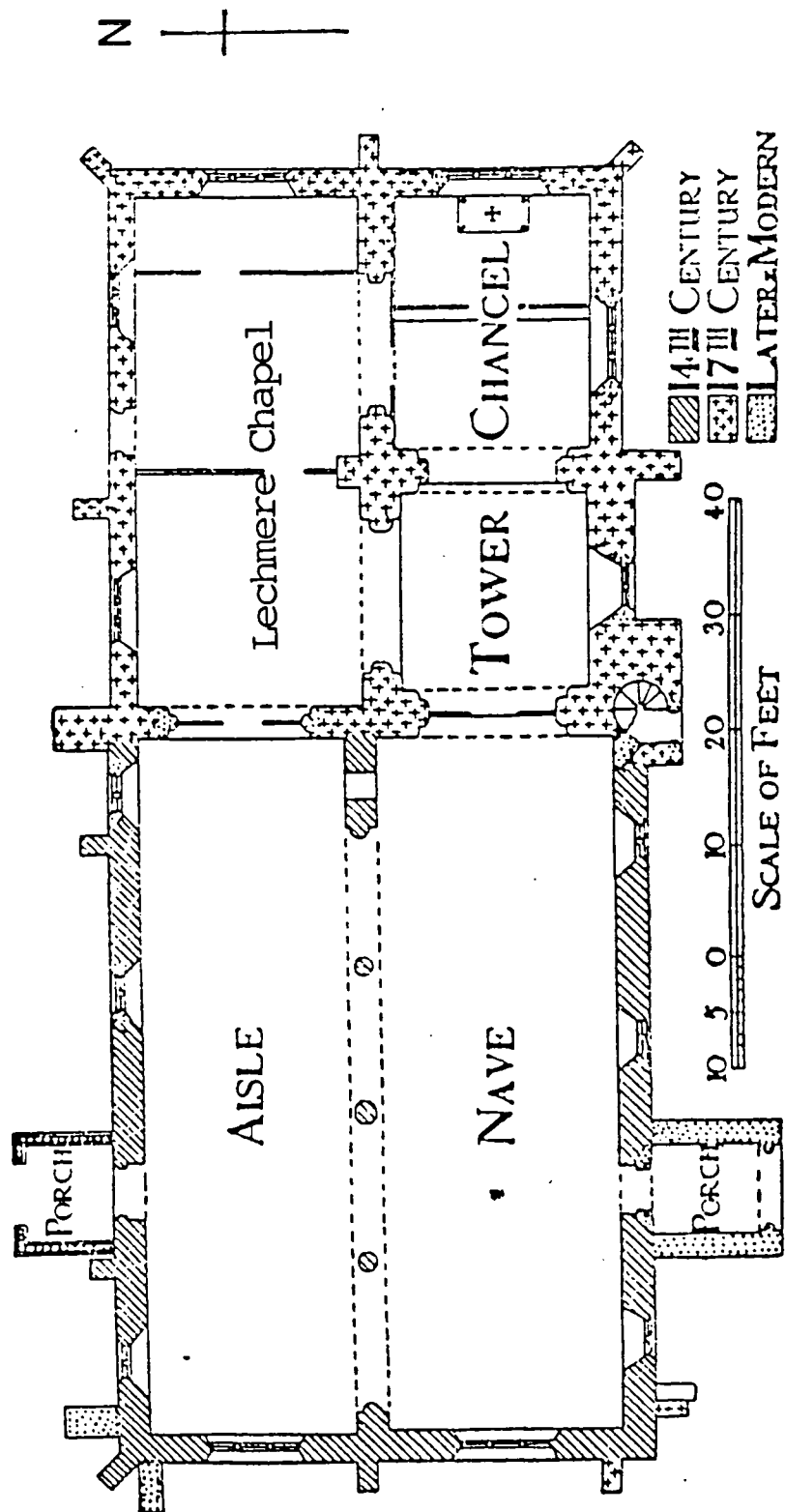


FIGURE IV.3

PLAN OF HANLEY CASTLE CHURCH (VCH WORCS, vol 4, 99)

lord for a church of his own foundation⁸⁵.

(b) The Rectory and Advowson

The gift of the church to the abbey of Lire must have taken place before William FitzOsbern's death, in 1071. The gift was confirmed by king Henry II and by William, earl of Gloucester (1147x1183); the confirmation is of the church of Hanley with appurtenances (sc. especially the tithes), 20s rent from the vill of Hanley, a tithe of the demesne (which proved eventually to be a nominal 20s, given as such in the Pipe Roll for 1155-6), and one man with half a virgate of land⁸⁶. In 1236 the abbot and convent of Lire granted their rights in the appropriated church to Little Malvern priory at a farm of sixteen marks⁸⁷. In about 1280 bishop Giffard excommunicated the prior and monks of Little Malvern in connection with a dispute which they had with Lire concerning the Hanley tithes⁸⁸. An inspeximus of 1317 makes it plain that the grant of 1236 had a clause "saving a sufficient vicarage", either already appointed or to be appointed (taxata vel taxanda) by William de Blois, then bishop of Worcester⁸⁹. After 1236 until the Dissolution the prior of Little Malvern, as rector, exercised the patronage, even after 1378 when the lands of Lire as an alien house were appropriated by the Crown, and after 1414 when Lire's lands in England were given to Sheen priory: from that date however Little Malvern paid the farm to Sheen⁹⁰. At the dissolution in 1535 of both Sheen and Little Malvern, the rectory and the advowson passed to the Crown⁹¹. The advowson was granted to the bishop of Worcester in 1558, and in 1560 it was sold with the manor to John Hornyold⁹². In 1672 Nicholas Lechmere bought it from Thomas Hornyold, and the Lechmere family was still presenting to the vicarage into the twentieth century⁹³. After the Dissolution the rectory stayed separately with the Crown until 1561, when it was granted to the bishop, who leased it at times to the Lechmeres⁹⁴. The bishop, as rector, was impropiator of the great tithes at the Enclosure period, when they were extinguished, and he received 526 acres in compensation, which he leased immediately to Edmund Lechmere⁹⁵.

In Pope Nicholas' Taxation of 1291 the assessed value of the church is given as £15, representing sixteen marks as the value of the abbot of Lire's portion, which of course he was receiving from Little Malvern, and six and a half marks as the assessed value of the vicar's portion⁹⁶. The abbot's portion was in fact a "pension", comprising the value of the church less the vicarage⁹⁷. The demesne tithe was commuted at least from 1155-6, as noted above, and presumably this continued during the years of Lire's direct tenure, until 1236; the cash, along with other revenues, would be collected by the man with half a virgate, who was Lire's representative in Hanley, and delivered to the procurator, who had his office at Lire Ocle, a small cell of Lire in Herefordshire. Likewise, after the grant at farm in 1236, it was specified that the farm should be paid apud Aclam manerium nostrum in Herefordensire. At least five other local manors had "men of Lire", recorded in Domesday Book⁹⁸. A post-Dissolution valuation of the lands of Little Malvern priory shows the Hanley rectory farmed for £12. It is apparent from a rental of the same

period that the priory had other land in Hanley, bringing in £3 2s 2d from twelve tenements⁹⁹.

No location of the rectory glebe is seen until 1660, when a lease from the bishop to Nicholas Lechmere names certain lands excluded from his earlier lease; they comprise ten acres of arable in Huntwick and Watery Butts in Lechmeresfield, and five acres of meadow at Eastmore in Severn Meadow¹⁰⁰. Rectory land in the east of the manor and none elsewhere, totalling thirty nine acres, is confirmed in Edmund Lechmere's estate book of c. 1760 and in later leases: one of the pastures is named as Priorsfield, which lay near Parsonage Farm, the rectory house or parsonage, at the eastern end of Roberts End Street. That the rectory glebe land was in the east reflects the situation in the eleventh century or earlier, when that was the developing part of the manor: but in 1236, when the vicarage was appointed, little was available in the east, as will be seen below¹⁰¹.

(c) The Vicarage

After being ordained in 1236, when Frebert the parson was probably Lire's last rectorial appointee, the vicarage is not seen again until c. 1275 (I.1), when Roger de Morecote is styled vicar of Hanley; a list of all known incumbents, with several new names, appears below (Table IV.1). In 1291, at the time of Pope Nicholas' Taxation, the vicarage was valued at £4 6s 8d or six and a half marks, as was seen above. In 1315, from the IPM, we learn that the vicar had 20s annually from the manor "by ancient custom", and this was still being paid in the late fifteenth century¹⁰². It is possible that this was the tithe of the demesne, diverted from the rectory. A terrier of 1545 shows that in addition to the usual small tithes, the vicar was entitled to the great tithes of forty one tenements, and by 1795, on the eve of parliamentary enclosure, this number had increased, probably by fragmentation of holdings, to 186 tenements from a total of 1194 recorded in the parish. It is unusual for a vicar to be given even a portion of the great tithes, and the implication might be that when the vicarage was ordained, in the early thirteenth century, land in Hanley was at a premium, so that great tithes were added and perhaps the demesne tithe diverted, to make an adequate vicarage¹⁰³. What there was of vicarage glebe was in the east, and may itself have been parcelled off from the rectory; the arable was mostly in Northfield and Lechmeresfield, amounting to no more than three acres, and there was meadow of perhaps two acres in Severn Meadow. The land was valued at 8s in the Valor of 1535. The great tithes belonging to the vicarage came mainly from tenements in the west, which were probably newly occupied in the early thirteenth century and so would be available for tithing. The locations include Roberts End Street (especially Mousefield), Picken End, Iantridge, Tickeridge, Blackmore End and Gilberts End Green, all areas of settlement growth about that period. The endowments of the rectory and vicarage in fact mirror the history of settlement in the manor (see chapter III above).

The vicarage was farmed occasionally in the early sixteenth century, for example at the time of the Valor, when the vicar's portion of great tithes of corn and hay was valued at £2 6s 8d, and his small tithes and offerings at £10 14s 10d. He had the small tithes by convention from all the tenements in the parish, and in 1545 these are listed as wool, lambs, pigs, geese and tithe

calves, to which had been added by 1761 the tithe of hops, hemp, flax and fruit¹⁰⁴. The 1545 terrier also mentions a vicarage house, with a close and orchard nearby; it is said to be "of thirteen bays or rooms of housing with other small houses of office". The vicarage house in 1761, the earliest which can be located, was probably Whittemeres, opposite Merevale Farm, but whether that house ever had as many as thirteen rooms is doubtful¹⁰⁵. At the Enclosure period however the vicarage was deemed to be not much less in value than the rectory; the vicar received 425 acres in lieu of tithe and glebe, while the bishop as rector had only one hundred acres more ¹⁰⁶.

(d)Chuntries and Chapels

The chantry of St Clement has recently been noted from documents in the Lechmere collection. Among them is a contemporary copy (L110a) of the will of Simon Hanley, who was chief forester and was witnessing deeds between 1432 (L82) and 1462 (L111). The will might date from the early 1460s, although it does not appear among those proved in the consistory court after 1451¹⁰⁷. Firstly Simon Hanley leaves his estate in Suckley and Lulsley to his wife, with remainder to his son John¹⁰⁸. His second bequest is his place in Church End, left also to his wife, but after her death to "the priest that singeth or shall sing in the chapel of St Clement in the church of Hanley", to pray for his and his wife's souls, and all his ancestors and descendants. The wording, embracing only the family and without the customary mention of "all the souls of the faithful departed", might suggest that Simon out of family piety is adding to the endowment of a Hanley family chantry¹⁰⁹. The chantry could be assumed from references to chantry lands and buildings, but something of its history and purpose can now be set out¹¹⁰. There are seven references in the extant deeds to the land belonging to St Clement or to the "service" of St Clement, dated between 1488 (L153) and 1518 (I 202); the lands are all in the east of the parish, in Lechmeresfield, Northfield, Westmore and Severn Meadow, which, as was argued for rectory land, may suggest early endowments. There is however no early record, in the shape for example of a foundation charter or of a mortmain licence, which latter would technically be required for a foundation after 1279¹¹¹.

A date before 1290 may nevertheless be postulated: bishop Giffard's register records that in that year he dedicated the high altar at Hanley, a statement which implies the existence of side altars, such as might be used for a chantry¹¹². The north chancel, that is the chancel aisle, is a possible site (Fig IV.3), where there is now the Lechmere chapel; this itself may point to an earlier private use for that part of the church, at a time when the Lechmeres were less eminent, while the Hanley family were in effect lords of the manor¹¹³. Such a chancel aisle was frequently the site of a chapel for a local gild or sodality, but there is no direct evidence of these at Hanley, although other saints linked with the parish have to be explained, as will be seen below¹¹⁴. The nave aisle was probably built or rebuilt in the late thirteenth century, and on the face of it might have had a chancel aisle of the same period, with a side altar¹¹⁵: the early plan of the whole east end of the

church is obscured by the rebuilding in brick in the late seventeenth century after the fall of the tower, but it may be significant that the lower courses of the new building are in stone which resembles the ancient stonework elsewhere, implying rebuilding on the old foundations¹¹⁶.

If founded in the thirteenth century, a chantry may have escaped the formalities because the church was appropriated to Lire and perhaps not firmly subject to the bishop. In that case the Hanley family would need only the consent of the abbot of Lire, as rector, although the chief lord might claim for losses suffered by alienation of land for the endowment¹¹⁷. On the other hand, the chantry may have been conceived simply as a "service", as one of the deeds (L153) in fact describes it. This was not strictly an ecclesiastical benefice, but simply an agreement to celebrate masses by a priest appointed by a patron who had provided an endowment: in such a case the priest would be answerable only to the founder and his successors, but the distinction seems no more than a device to avoid diocesan authority; since, however, many other chantries are not recorded officially, such speculation may in any case be superfluous¹¹⁸. There is similarly no record of the suppression of the chantry, which if it still existed might have been expected in 1545 or 1547¹¹⁹.

References in the early sixteenth century might be taken to indicate that the chantry of St Clement was still active, and in 1516 (L 196, L199) William Hanley was the tenant of St Clement's meadow and St Clement's land in Northfield; in other words it could be argued that he was himself ensuring the rent payments, to support the priest and maintain the buildings. But of course the references could be anachronistic, and it may be that the chantry endowment had been given totally to the school, the foundation of which will be discussed below. However that may be, when the time for confiscation came, the Crown apparently treated the properties of all the chantries in Hanley as one, irrespective of purpose and origin; other chantries will be seen below. In 1551 William Pynnocke held from the Crown a cottage and garden called Le Chauntry Prides Chaumbre and another cottage and garden called Le Almshouse; whether these particular buildings were the properties of St Clement's alone is not clear, but if so the implication might be that the Hanley family had also endowed the almshouses¹²⁰. In 1578 a Crown grant of a large number of properties in various counties, which were "lands concealed from the Crown", included lands of the "late college or chantry of the parish church of Potters Hanley"; it will be seen below that some of these lands already belonged to the school in 1523 or earlier, so the wording may be merely speculative¹²¹. But the Crown still had control in 1588 of Le Collidge House or Le Prides House (probably the same as Le Chauntry Prides Chaumbre), the clerk's house (*domus clerici*) with garden, the church house with garden, a parcel of meadow near Poolbridge, and St Clement's lands called Cagsall meadow, all of which were granted away in that year. It is not easy to see how the church house had belonged to a chantry; it would typically be the building where parish meetings and ales were held, and as such would belong to the parishioners; since they also lost control of the almshouses and the services of several priests who apart from anything else must have been a focus of literacy for the parish, the suppression of the chantries was a blow to their society only partially mitigated by the growth of the school¹²². The possible location of the chantry

buildings in Church End has been discussed in chapter II.

"College" may be the conventional if inaccurate term for the house of a single chantry priest, but if for example the priest of Hanley Hall chapel and those of the parish chantries postulated below lived together in community, the word may not be such a misnomer¹²³. There was also at times an assistant to the vicar needing accommodation, unless he had the clerk's house : Richard de capell' vill' (possibly at Roberts End - see below) between 1479-80 and 1512 (ministers' accounts) paid 3s 6d per year to collect dead wood for his hearth¹²⁴. The Hanley Hall priest is noted in 1357, when John de Hanley got a licence, renewable annually, to have mass celebrated in his house; but Thomas de Hanley appears to have had his own chaplain at an earlier date, for there are fourteen deeds concerning his submanor, dated between c. 1280 and 1304, in which Henry clericus is regularly the last witness of groups which have many names in common and would seem to comprise the prominent tenants and officials of the submanor of Hanley Hall. Moreover all except one of these deeds are in the same hand, presumably that of Henry clericus himself, a vital member of the staff at the Hall both secretarially and spiritually ¹²⁵. Similarly Robert the clerk, alias Robert de Monte, is last witness in four deeds in the early 1330s, again deeds of Hanley Hall and this time associated with Roger de Hanley¹²⁶. Clerks as such, except the vicar, seldom appear in deeds concerning the main manor, and the many different hands suggest a wide and fluctuating secretariat.

Chantry priests, such as the chaplain of St Clement's, were sometimes expected to help the incumbent with services and sacramentals, although clauses limiting this and forbidding the taking of fees might be written into foundation charters, the criterion being the integrity of the vicar's income¹²⁷. With a large church, and a widespread parish, the vicar of Hanley may well have drawn on the assistance of the other priests who lived in his parish. There were seven or more such priests at a given time, one of whom would be the chaplain of the chantry of St Anne; in the parish missal, discussed below, a mass has been added for this saint, who therefore may have been the patron saint of the official parish chantry; land of St Anne, presumably part of the endowment, lay in Burleyfield (L83)¹²⁸. Another addendum to the missal is a mass common to Saints Katherine, Margaret, Cecilia and Mary Magdalene, who may have been patrons of gilds. Chantries and gilds sometimes merged, along with their buildings, and chantry or gild saints might be commemorated en bloc by one priest, perhaps at the main parish altar; this could explain not only the one mass to celebrate all the additional saints, but also the mixture of buildings whose precise ownership was not clear, so that the Crown claimed them as a group connected more or less with the chantries¹²⁹.

The documentary evidence by the nature of what has survived provides only oblique information about the impact of the church on the people of Hanley in the medieval period. But the name Church End itself speaks of the central importance of what was a large and ancient church, with chantries and gilds, and several priests to minister to the spiritual needs of the parishioners and to be of some educated assistance in material affairs as required. The church was

on more than one level the focal point of the vill. For some it was the only place where they met, living in such a far flung parish; families, friends and enemies would gather on Sundays and feast days, and not all with spiritual purpose. Plans would be made for the week's work on the land, labourers might be hired at Combe Cross, sales completed, deeds prepared with the help of the clergy's Latin and by reference to the missal kalendar, baptisms, marriages and funerals arranged, court business discussed, and so on. The spiritual focus of the mass was also, at its best, a stimulus for social bonding among the parishioners; prayers were prominent for the living and the dead of the parish, and a conscientious vicar in his homily could foster social unity and mutual responsibility, if only by emphasising eternal damnation for serious transgressors¹³⁰.

On most days, with a number of priests living in Hanley and each theoretically obliged to celebrate mass every day, there must have been several masses, some of them sung rather than said by a chantry priest if he observed his duty strictly, but the vicar's parish mass would be the one which people felt bound to attend on Sundays and major festivals. On Rogation Days the vicar would pray with the congregation for a plentiful harvest, and there were many other days when the secular and the religious coincided, again strengthening the communal bonds¹³¹. There were big events too, such as the baptism in 1369 of Edward Carent, who was lifted from the font by the bishop of Norwich and Edward le Despenser, his godfather. In Hanley the coincidence of manor, parish and vill assisted the sense of community, and probably also made it easier for obligations to be imposed and monitored; for example the parishioners had to see to the repair of the nave, look after a large church yard, and pay their tithes and their church dues, however resentfully. The organisation of the vill, under the lord and his steward, was paralleled by the organisation of the parish; and if there were times when either or both organisations failed, yet "the interpenetration of village and parish strengthened the fabric of the village community in a way which was astonishingly enduring"¹³².

Finally, the church of St Gabriel at Hanley Swan or Roberts End has been regarded as a late nineteenth century chapel of ease for St Mary's. The present church was indeed built in 1872, but in 1685 the advowson was already of "the church of St Mary with St Gabriel's chapel"; this may be the successor of the "chapel of the vill" which is seen (above) in the fifteenth century, and which had cost £9 14s 5d to repair in 1490-1; and in view of the medieval population in the western Ends it may well have an even earlier origin. Chapels were never systematically recorded, and also fell easy victims to later settlement changes, according to AJ Blair, who adds that they were "the hidden dimension to a parochial system"¹³³.

(e) The School

In the most authoritative account of the school the *VCH* writer traces it back correctly to 1486 at least, and from documentary evidence of 1486, 1523 and 1578 (see below) he points out that some chantry lands were eventually in the possession of the school. It is possible now to add more detail and to show that the school was in fact endowed by the Hanley family, using part or

perhaps all of the endowment of their own chantry, about sixty years before the confiscation of chantry lands led to many other school foundations. We saw that Simon Hanley in his will of the early 1460s (L110a) had left his place in Church End to the family chantry of St Clement, after the death of his wife. His executors were John Ruddyng, William Frewyn and Richard Baron. In 1486 (L148) these same three men granted Owghley (later Uffley) meadow and Redcleveysmedow, which they had from Nicholas Hanley [son of Simon], to the vicar and nine others, members of prominent Hanley families. Although there is no mention of the school in the deed of 1486, nor is it stated that the ten are in fact trustees, yet according to a deed of 1523 these very parcels were school land, and the Crown grant of 1578, of "lands concealed from the Crown", shows that Uffley at least had once been chantry land¹³⁴.

Then in 1487 (L152) a messuage in Church End alongside the king's highway, arguably Simon Hanley's place, was quitclaimed to five of the ten presumed trustees; in the 1523 deed, endorsed school lands, two survivors of the 1486 group granted to a new body of trustees the same tenement lying in Church End, between the royal highway leading from the church to Combe Cross on the south and Westfield on the north (the site of the school), along with a parcel of arable in Westfield and two meadows, one of which is Uffley. Since this meadow and the Church End tenement had been the property of St Clement's chantry, it follows that at least some chantry assets were used by Simon's executors and by his son Nicholas Hanley to endow a school. Although the 1578 grant does not distinguish St Clement's assets from the rest, it is significant that Uffley came from Nicholas Hanley. Such alienation of land from a chantry was no doubt irregular, but the prestige of the family, albeit waning, and the evidently useful intention must have carried weight in any argument; and of course the chantry priest may have already been teaching the children of the parish informally, so that the main development would be that the school was given its own building and its own income in the 1480s, diverted from the chantry endowment. Such an arrangement would mean that it was no longer, even if it had been, strictly a chantry school, and so it would in due course have avoided the chantry commissioners¹³⁵. Not all the information is available of course, and other deeds might well have shown other parts of the endowment, which grew to include lands in Upton and Longdon by 1544; and a terrier of 1675 shows as many as fifty seven items of school property¹³⁶.

It need not be surprising that the forester's family founded the school. They were almost certainly in Hanley before the Conquest, and they were the major landowners under the chief lord. They played some part in the early church of St Botolph, they served at times as constables of the castle, and of course they controlled the forest and the later chase. Although piety should not be discounted, it may be that the foundation of a school endowed from their chantry was not without self-interest; it would certainly maintain their standing and influence in the community at a time when they were having to sell their still prestigious office, and the family homestead which was also their manor house. But their interests coincided with those of the tenants, whom they judged ready to support a school and to appreciate its benefits; Hanley was not an insular community, and

people visiting and migrating to Tewkesbury, Worcester and Gloucester will have observed the advantages of education¹³⁷.

Nevertheless, while in towns a gathering momentum saw schools becoming the norm, rural schools were less common. Grammar schools had been founded in towns from the fourteenth century, often having their roots in chantries, teaching the trivium of Latin, logic and rhetoric; there were also early song schools attached to important churches and cathedrals, and other schools devoted to elementary reading, writing and number. Some schools may have fulfilled more than one function; Hanley school for example might be thought best employed in giving an elementary education to the children, girls perhaps as well as boys, of the more ambitious tenants, who would take a pragmatic view and expect the school to address the family's industrial and commercial interests; yet it must also have taught bishop Bonner (below) his Latin. It was indeed called a grammar school in 1582, but its fortunes fluctuated and its aims were often confused over the centuries, and there were times when it was badly neglected. The Lechmere family were prominent trustees in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but the Hornyolds, perhaps because of the limitations imposed by their recusancy, were never involved. Inevitably we know little of the quality of Hanley education in the late medieval period, and the benefits to the ordinary child cannot be quantified; but the school which produced Edmund Bonner (1500-69), bishop of London, who was born and brought up in Quay Lane, had also in the mid-seventeenth century two closed exhibitions at Balliol¹³⁸.

(f) Vicars of Hanley

It is well known that the Worcester diocese possesses an unusually complete series of bishops' registers, beginning with that of bishop Godfrey Giffard in 1286¹³⁹. The Hanley information contained in them is largely concerned with the institution of vicars. With the help of the registers and the deeds it is possible to compile a list (Table IV.1) which improves on Nash's list and takes the line back to 1234, when the church was still with Lire¹⁴⁰. Frebert in fact may have been a monk of Lire, seconded from the cell in Herefordshire. Roger de Morecote is one of nine new names (all asterisked below): he was also dean of Powick and in this capacity during a vacancy at Great Malvern priory, at some point before 1283, he had custody of the priory for four weeks¹⁴¹. Alexander Flemyng, appointed in 1345, may have died in the Black Death, for there was a new vicar in the autumn of 1349, who almost immediately exchanged benefices with the vicar of Ombersley. There were three further exchanges in the second half of the century; one of them involved Nicholas Bacon, who stayed only a few weeks in 1378 before exchanging with the vicar of Colwall, and in the following year we find him pardoned by the king for theft at Severn Stoke¹⁴².

In 1420 Richard Edryche, who had been vicar for over twenty years, resigned after what sounds like a stroke (per cuiusdam lapsus infortunium in brachio sinistro), and an agreement was made with his successor, in the chapter house of Little Malvern, that he should receive a pension

<u>PATRON</u>	<u>VICAR</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>REFERENCE</u>
Lire	*Frebert ("parson")	1234-5	Feet of Fines Worcs 19 Hen III, 258/4/30 (HWCRO BA527 Ref 899.44/26)
Little Malvern	*Roger de Morecote	c. 1275	Reg Giffard fo 179; BL Add Ch 73660
" "	*Geoffrey de Kyngesleye	15 Oct 1285	Reg Giffard fo 235v; BL Add Ch 73668
" "	Henry called Fraunceys	12 Mar 1304	Reg Ginsburgh fo 28v; L12a
Crown	Richard (Ralph?) Saucer de Stretford	19 Dec 1336	Reg Hemenhale fo 26v; <i>Cal Pat</i> 1334-8, 489
"	*Alexander Flemyng	Dec 1345	<i>Cal Pat</i> 1345-8, 16
Little Malvern	*John Rogers de Febedon	pre-Nov 1349	Reg Sed Vac fo 125v
" "	Richard Golafre	26 Nov 1349	" " "
" "	*Nicholas Bacon	pre-1378	Reg Wakefield fo 16; <i>Cal Pat</i> 1377-81, 347
" "	John Staunton <u>alias</u> Judde	28 Apr 1378	Reg Wakefield fo 16
" "	John Bridport	17 Jun 1382	Reg Wakefield fo 31
" "	Robert Dauncer	2 Dec 1382	Reg Wakefield fo 34v
Crown	*John de Walesby	Oct 1384	<i>Cal Pat</i> 1381-5, 191, 468
Little Malvern	John de Hawkesbury	20 Dec 1391	Reg Wakefield fo 87v
" "	*Richard de Besseford	26 Aug 1398	Reg Tideman fo 31v
" "	Richard Edryche	7 Feb 1399	Reg Tideman fo 33
" "	Walter Clent	23 Nov 1420	Reg Morgan I, fo 21
" "	Richard Edryche	7 Apr 1434	Reg Sed Vac fo 249
" "	Thomas Lyde	21 Oct 1434	Reg Sed Vac fo 256v
" "	Richard Hyde	15 Mar 1435	Reg Sed Vac fo 257
" "	*Roger Holle	pre-1456	HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705,134 (L99, L108, L114)
" "	Thomas Wyeth	30 Mar 1469	Reg Carpenter I, fo 239
" "	John Stephyns	1 Jul 1495	Reg Morton fo 58
Ralph Savage	John Savage	7 Sep 1517	Reg S Gigli fo 147
Crown	John Ricroft	1541	Reg Bell fo 22

(bracketing indicates exchanges; asterisk signifies new name)

Table IV.1 : Incumbents of Hanley to 1550

from the vicarage of £4 13s 4d annually; otherwise, it was said, he would be compelled to beg for his food and clothing, to the shame of his priesthood¹⁴³. However he was chaplain or assistant priest in the parish in 1423 and 1429 (L79, L81), and vicar again in 1434, resigning once more after a few months, this time because of old age; his pension was then reduced to four marks.

which must still have been quite an imposition on what was not a wealthy vicarage¹⁴⁴.

As far as can be seen from their names, and bearing in mind that names suggesting a place of origin become less useful as evidence over time, the vicars came from a fairly wide area. Some of the place names cannot be identified, but Febedon is in Hampton Lovett, Kyngesleye probably in Staffordshire, Stretford in Warwickshire, Staunton and Hawkesbury in Gloucestershire, Walesby in Northamptonshire, and Bridport in Dorset, unless it is the district of that name in the city of Worcester itself; they emphasise the communication which Hanley always had, on various levels, with the world outside¹⁴⁵.

(g) The Hanley Missal and the Influence of Lire

A missal in Cambridge University Library bears an early sixteenth century inscription : "Thys ys the parryshe bocke of Hanley Castell in the county of Woscetur"¹⁴⁶. The kalendar of the missal and some special masses are in two fifteenth century hands, but the main body of it was written c. 1300. There is no record of how or when it reached Cambridge, but the very survival of a parish missal of such an early date is unusual¹⁴⁷. The missal has been referred to by HA Wilson in his nineteenth century edition of the "Evesham Book", which itself was written c. 1300 as a guide to the abbot in ceremonials¹⁴⁸. Wilson notes some "remarkable points of agreement" between the Hanley missal and the Evesham Book in the rituals for the marriage service; in this the Hanley detail apparently coincides more closely with Evesham than with such usages as Westminster, York, Hereford and Sarum¹⁴⁹. But while some Hanley rituals may thus bear some unexplained relationship to Evesham, the Hanley missal is quite unlike Evesham in, for example, many of the elements of the ritual of the feast of the Purification which Wilson examined, and in this again it is not Sarum or any other major usage¹⁵⁰.

Sarum became significant in the Worcester diocese in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, when bishop Giffard attempted to impose the Sarum usage throughout a diocese in which he had found a wide variety of rituals. The main reasons for this variety are given by JW Willis Bund in the introduction to his edition of Giffard's register : the old Benedictine houses had retained some earlier usages, there were exempt houses which had to some degree gone their own way, and there were cells of foreign houses¹⁵¹. He might have added that there were also parish churches like Hanley which were appropriated to foreign houses, and it may be that although much of it is written in the light of Sarum the Hanley missal bears also the marks of Lire, in for example the Purification ritual, reflecting perhaps a particular aspect of the conflict between the bishop and foreign houses¹⁵². There would be arguments that Hanley church was not fully subject to the bishop, so that Lire as rector was entitled to establish usages, some of which might have escaped the bishop's attempts to standardise by imposing Sarum. What we see in the thirteenth century therefore may be a remnant of a more pervasive Lire influence, dating from the appropriation in 1071 and from a period when it is likely that Lire was appointing its own monks or those of its

cells to Hanley.

The kalendar of the missal belongs to the fifteenth century, although it may well be copied in whole or in part from an earlier one. Local saints include Wulstan, Oswald, Kenelm, Ecgwin, Cedda and Eadburga, suggesting that the kalendar at least has a south west Midlands provenance, and may even have been produced in the Worcester scriptorium¹⁵³. There is now in the fifteenth century no sign of Lire, although curiously enough Cedda appears in a twelfth century Lire kalendar¹⁵⁴. No masses are prescribed for these Worcestershire saints in the body of the missal, a point which emphasises a non-Worcester origin for the missal itself¹⁵⁵. There is no entry for the feast of the dedication of the church of St Botolph, but as we saw above it must have appeared in the kalendar of the chapel missal at Hanley Hall. This is a reminder that there would be several missals in the parish, each with its own kalendar; one of these kalendars must have recorded the feast of St Appolonia, which is used to date a deed in 1512 (L186); she is not found in the parish missal kalendar, nor in the Benedictine kalendars, the Sarum missal, the Worcester breviary or even the Lire kalendars, but some kalendar in Hanley had a note of her feast¹⁵⁶.

CONCLUSION

This study of Hanley might not unreasonably be regarded as an example of multum ex parvo. From a slim record, with just a few manorial accounts and IPMs, and one court roll, it has nonetheless been possible to reconstruct the medieval manor and give it some shape and identity. The Lechmere deeds were the starting point, leading to the analysis of other documents and at the same time demanding by fieldwork some understanding of the landscape. The result was a portrait of a relatively large manor and parish, whose standing was emphasised by its place in Malvern Forest and by its castle. The opportunity was presented to map the forest and chase afresh, and to consider its influence on peasant life, while the castle, built as a hunting lodge and the caput of a royal forest, proved later to be a military stronghold linked with the last days of king Edward II, and thereafter a high status seigneurial residence. Hanley also had its pre-Conquest church, highlighted by the Lechmere Stone, a church which was later given to Lire abbey in northern France, and from which through the forester's chantry there came an early school. All these aspects, along with the fact that informative and unexpected documents survived in the shape of the 1275 subsidy roll, the parish missal, and the duke of York's household accounts, provided an unusual historical backcloth for the study of what at first sight may have seemed an ordinary woodland manor, albeit alongside a major river route.

The woodland itself offered scope for industries such as pottery, and the markets and the river were significant in this. The rather small demesne nevertheless reflected in its twelfth century expansion the general urge in that period to clear more land for agriculture. There was fortunately sufficient evidence to be able to consider the elements of the demesne in some detail, with the curia and two parks, and the other attributes to be expected in a demesne which belonged to kings and magnates. The development of settlement in this woodland manor meant that while the

nucleus at Church End with its open fields and amenities was always the social, cultural and agrarian focus, yet a number of hamlets were founded or enlarged, supporting their own arable areas and with land often held in severalty; this pattern of dispersed settlement was the mark of Hanley and other woodland villis.

All in all it has been possible to discover or rediscover the medieval importance of Hanley, whether locally, regionally or nationally. Although it lapsed into some obscurity from the sixteenth century, it can claim Walter de Henley as confidently as can any other Hanley or Henley (Introduction, Note 1), and with its Longelond in Burleyfield and its topographical suitability it might also claim the author of Piers Plowman, who writes that he sat on the Malvern Hills and looked east to a tower set on a toft, with a "fair field full of folk" in between; while there have been other interpretations, it seems reasonable from the text to suppose that William Langland's tower was the castle of Hanley and the felde was the Malvern plain¹⁵⁷. But setting aside Walter de Henley and William Langland, this research might still encourage others to undertake single manor studies even where the prima facie evidence seems to be inadequate.

CHAPTER IV : REFERENCES

1. No archaeological work has been carried out on the castle site. A brief topographical description is provided in *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 433, and there is a survey by M Aston (1970) at HWCN 00285; this survey and the OS 25" map have been used for the present discussion. The *VCH* writer likens the shape of the enclosure to a stirrup, and writes of a possible motte and bailey. For the weak siting of some castles, see NJG Pounds, *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales : a Social and Political History* (Cambridge 1990), 55, 69-70; and if it was conceived mainly as a hunting lodge, the siting would be less crucial.
2. *Rot Lit Cl* (Rec Comm), vol 1, 211b; *Rot Lit Pat* (Rec Comm), vol 1, 162. St Briavels was a castle-cum-hunting lodge, in the forest of Dean: CR Young, *The Royal Forests of Medieval England* (Leicester 1979), 53. The gatehouse at St Briavels did duty as a keep, but the castle has no military history : D Verrey (N Pevsner ed), *The Buildings of England : Gloucestershire- the Vale and the Forest of Dean* (2nd edn, Harmondsworth 1980), 332-3.
3. For William FitzOsbern, who built castles at Chepstow and Monmouth, see F Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (3rd edn, Oxford 1971), 615. For ringworks and early motte and bailey castles, see JR Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications* (Leicester 1990), 3-38. For the excavation of a fortified site dating from the ninth century as a rampart and ditch enclosure to the eleventh century as a motte and bailey, see G Beresford, *Goltho : the Development of an Early Medieval Manor, c. 850-1150* (London 1987). The available aerial photographs show nothing relevant in the interior of the Hanley site (e.g. RCHME 106G/UK 1345; Cambridge University Collection EY-54), but these flights were in the mid-twentieth century when the site, which has now reverted to grass, was used for vegetable crops.
4. *Pipe Rolls* : 12 John (1210-11), which records expenses also for 1207-8, 1208-9; 11 John (1209-10); 14 John (1212-13). The figure of £773 4s 5d includes £100 (150 marks) spent in 1209 and recorded in TD Hardy ed, *Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Praestitis Regnante Johanne* (Rec Comm 1844), 120, 128. For the assize at Hanley, see J Amphlett ed, *Thomas Habington, A Survey of Worcestershire* (WHS 1895), vol 1, 110; see also WH Hale ed, *Registrum Prioratus BM Wigorniensis* [Rental of 1240], *Camden Soc* 91 (1865), fo 63a. For a charter which was produced at the assize, see *Curia Regis Rolls*, vol 6, 56, 99, 168, 180-3, 254, 348, and RR Darlington ed, *The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory* (PR Soc 1968), 231.
5. For the king's stays at Hanley, see Appendix III below. For Isabel, see *Rot Lit Cl* (Rec Comm), vol 1, 322, and RB Patterson ed, *Earldom of Gloucester Charters : the Charters and Scribes of the Earls and Countesses of Gloucester to AD 1217* (Oxford 1973), 8. For separate suites for the king and queen, which however cannot be demonstrated at Hanley, see Pounds, *Medieval Castle*, 194.
6. HM Colvin, *The History of the King's Works* (HMSO 1963), 65-7, 70; the other three castles were Orford in Suffolk, Odiham in Hampshire, and Sauvey in Leicestershire. See also AL Poole, *Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-1216* (2nd edn, Oxford 1955), 299.
7. Colvin, *King's Works*, vol 2, 682-5.
8. EM Jope, "The Saxon Building Stone Industry in Southern and Midland England", *Med Arch* 8, (1964), 91-118, at pp 92, 106-7, and passim. For masonry building and replacement of timber with masonry, see Pounds, *Medieval Castle*, 77.
9. *Ann Mon* (Rolls Ser), vol 4, 142; *Cal Lib Rolls 1267-72*, 312; *Cal Pat 1281-92*, 19; *Itinerary of Edward I* (List and Index Soc 103), 158. In 1275 Thomas Toky, constable of Hanley, arrested John de la Tode of Powick and imprisoned him in the castle, where he died : Assize Rolls 3 Ed I, 1026 m41, quoted in *VCH* researchers' notes (HWCRO BA 527 Ref 899.44 26). See also Chapter II above, note 56.

10. For the descent of the manor, see also Chapter III (above). For the repairs in 1314, see Colvin, *King's Works*, vol 1, 667, quoting unpublished PR 10 Ed II (account roll 10, 11).

11. M McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century 1307-1399* (Oxford 1959), 58 sq.

12. *Cal Pat 1317-21*, 585. The keepers appointed to Hanley were Malcolm Musard and William Payn; for Elmley, which had been granted to Hugh le Despenser the elder in 1317, see *VCH Worcs*, vol 3, 340.

13. *Cal CI 1318-23*, 511. The general lawlessness of the period is highlighted by a writ of aid for the arrest of Robert Leuier, a rebel, who was said to be at large with an armed force of horse and foot in the forests of Cors and Malvern: *Cal Pat 1321-4*, 322.

14. *Cal Pat 1321-4*, 63; *Cal CI 1318-23*, 512, 513, 516.

15. *ibidem*, 64. Little Malvern of course had the patronage of Hanley church. The priory's land seems to have been in the east of the manor, where they held arable at "Huntwyke" in Lechmeresfield (L120), and in Priorsfield, which lay in the Boothall area (L157); these parts would be especially vulnerable. A rental dating from the time of the Dissolution shows priory land in Hanley worth over £3 in rents, but no locations are given (HWCRO BA 81 Ref 705.24/353/1B).

16. *Cal Pat 1321-4*, 70.

17. *Cal CI 1318-23*, 437; McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, 67, 73.

18. *Cal Pat 1321-4*, 118.

19. Colvin, *King's Works*, 668; Colvin writes (note 1) that the castle had in fact been returned to Despenser by 1324, when it is described as his castle in the Chamber Accounts, from which £200 was paid (Despenser was chamberlain); so the king was footing the bill in one way or another. For the work between 1322 and 1326 Colvin quotes unpublished Pipe Rolls, and describes the building work as "an unusual instance of royal works at a private castle".

20. *ibidem*, 234; Colvin observes that, fearful for the safety of himself and his then favourite Gaveston, the king between 1307 and 1312 had spent more than £2000 on a tower in Gaveston's castle of Knaresborough, and he suggests that "similar motives must be behind the fortification at Edward's expense of Despenser's castle at Hanley".

21. *Memoranda Rolls 1326-7*, 2120, 2243, 2249.

22. For Richard de Felsted and Robert de Glasham, see Colvin, *King's Works*, 180, 217. For timber from Wyre Forest in 1323, see *Cal Inq Misc 1307-49*, 170.

23. *Cal CI 1327-30*, 293. Lead might be used especially on roofs, but possibly also for window glass: Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications*, 169. See also M Wood, *The English Medieval House* (London 1965), 235, 351-2, 358.

24. Allowing for erosion of material into the moat, its present appearance, where it is dry, suggests that it had been deeper than seven feet, but perhaps narrower than sixty feet: no doubt it was frequently cleaned, drained or dredged. King John's hunting lodge at Writtle, probably had a moat from the beginning (1211) : PA Rahtz, *Excavations at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle. Essex, 1955-7* (London 1969), 18. For the two mills driven by separate arms of the moat acting as mill pools, see Chapter III above.

25. *Cal CI 1323-7*, 52; *Itinerary of Edward II and his Household* (List and Index Society 211), 252. Four letters close are dated at Hanley. Colvin, *King's Works*, vol 1, 668 (note 8) erroneously has the king at Hanley only from 11th to 15th January.

26. For Welsh dikers, see CC Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages : Social Change in England c. 1200 - 1520* (Cambridge 1989), 222. At Dumfries (in c. 1300) ditchers brought in from Cumberland included women : Colvin, *King's Works*, 411. For tools, see J Langdon, "Agricultural Equipment" in G Astill and A Grant eds, *The Countryside of Medieval England* (Blackwell Oxford 1988) 86-107, at p 95 sq. At Weoley, spoil from the moat was spread over the interior, actually burying some redundant buildings : Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications*, 144. For peel, see Colvin, *King's Works*, 668: the word can mean a palisaded enclosure, or the palisade itself; it can also mean a tower keep, but not usually in the Midlands : Pounds, *Medieval Castle*, 286. At Flint there was a parapet walk "on the peel" around the outer bailey, suggesting that the peel there was a substantial wall, as was likely also at Hanley; other peels were at Builth and Rhuddlan : Colvin, *King's Works*, 298, 318, 326. Although in some places castle works were performed by serjeanties, there is no evidence of such duties at Hanley : see *ibidem*, 38, 45-6. There was however a carrying service for the lord, which involved certain tenants providing a boat, which presumably would bring goods to the castle : this is recorded in the 1367 court roll.

27. Roger de Parys may have settled in Hanley. He sold land in Burleyfield in 1331 (L26), and is described in the deed as "once king Edward's carter".

28. 2d per day was the going rate for general workers at this period; the carters may have had unrecorded "perks", such as board and lodging while at the castle. For wages generally, see Dyer, *Standards of Living*, chap 8. It would be surprising if sufficient timber could not be found in Malvern Chase, which was presumably with the Crown along with Hanley, or in Wyre, which was a royal forest. Perhaps the king preferred to preserve Despenser's timber and at the same time despoil a park belonging to an enemy; Thomas Berkeley would in the event be one of the king's jailers in 1327 : McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, 94.

29. *Cal Pat* 1324-7, 331.

30. For an outline of the events of the autumn of 1326, see McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, 83-8.

31. *Cal Cl* 1318-23, 511, 120.

32. *ibidem*, 625; *Cal Cl* 1323-7, 220, 404.

33. *Cal Pat* 1327-30, 145.

34. The documentary evidence, which is obviously incomplete, does not mention a keep, but Nash says there had been a keep in the north west corner, although his statement does not read as an eye witness account : T Nash, *Collections for the History of Worcestershire* (London 1781), vol 1, 557. For castles as repositories for armour, see Pounds, *Medieval Castle*, 101. After the decline of the freestanding keep during the thirteenth century, gatehouses were stronger and could have contained armouries : *ibidem*, 102, 107, 171. For the Wyke gate and access to the *curia* and the vill, see Chapter III above; presumably there was always a gate at this point.

35. The archaeological evidence for the use of crossbows in castles is said to be limited : Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications*, 171. King John however is said always to have included crossbowmen in his castle garrisons : GM Wilson, *Crossbows* (HMSO 1976), 4. Hanley certainly had mural towers, recorded in the 1416 IPM, although at what time they were built is unknown; but two were repaired c. 1314 (see note 10 above). For crossbowmen being "select highly paid troops", see M Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307* (2nd edn Oxford 1962), 422. For the use and advantages of the crossbow, see Pounds, *Medieval Castle*, 107, 109.

36. For an example of the springald used for hurling stones, pictured in a fourteenth century manuscript, see HJ Hewitt, *The Organisation of War under Edward III, 1338-62* (Manchester 1966), 71. For springalds and other ballistic weapons, see Pounds, *Medieval Castle*, 109-112.

37. C Blair, *European Armour c. 1066 to c. 1700* (London 1958), 40, 47. McKisack, *Fourteenth*

Century, 238 sq.

38. *ibidem*, 88.

39. The bags may have contained jewellery or coin. There was a well in the kitchen (Northampton RO, Westmorland/ Apethorpe 4xx4, fo 16v), and it will be recalled that the manorial mill was outside the castle wall, so being unavailable to a besieged garrison.

40. For castle bridges, see Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications*, 83-92. The part of the bridge which could be raised consisted of a few feet in front of the gate; the rest of the bridge over a moat was built in the normal way, sometimes as a causeway. The "tach" were presumably chains.

41. *Cal Pat 1324-7*, 258. For castle chapels, see Pounds, *Medieval Castle*, 224-31.

42. For boards from the Baltic used as roofing material, see JM Steane, *The Archaeology of Medieval England and Wales* (London 1985), 131 sq; Wood, *Medieval House*, 294; O Rackham, *Ancient Woodland : its History, Vegetation and Uses in England* (London 1980), 151. Baltic boards also had other uses : in 1338 a timber framed building at King's Hall, Cambridge, consumed 140 boards for six doors, ten window shutters and six screens : LF Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540* (Oxford 1952), 206. For wainscoting of important rooms, including chapels, see Pounds, *Medieval Castle*, 243. For Eleanor le Despenser at Hanley, see *Cal Pat 1327-30*, 422 and GE Cockayne, *Complete Peerage*, vol 4, 269.

43. For freestanding chapels, as opposed to those incorporated in keeps, towers or halls, see Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications*, 151-5. A possible timber chapel, identified by the find of a holy water stoup, was excavated at Hen Domen: P Barker, "Hen Domen", *Current Archaeology* 111 (1988), 137-42; idem, "Hen Domen, Montgomery, 1960-77", *Arch J* 134 (1977), 101-4. Another was at Weoley Castle : A Oswald, "Interim Report on Excavations at Weoley Castle, 1955-60", *Trans Birmingham Arch Soc* 78 (1962), 61-85. Both these chapels however belong to the thirteenth century.

44. O Rackham, WJ Blair and JT Munby, "The Thirteenth Century Roofs and Floor of the Blackfriars Priory at Gloucester", *Med Arch* 22 (1978), 105-22. The oaks were split four ways to make rafters. Eighty two oaks for Gloucester came from the king, mostly from the forest of Dean, between 1241 and 1265. Fifty seven great oaks on a single occasion, as at Hanley, seems unusual. They were becoming harder to find in the early fourteenth century, and many buildings were constructed of smaller trees: up to 1,400 of these were used to build Old Court at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in the mid-century : O Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape* (revised edn, London 1990), 55, 68.

45. *GEC*, vol 4, 270. From the timber available, the indications are that by the 1330s the buildings at Hanley were plentiful, and probably included the six guesthouses postulated by the 1416 IPM (see note 52 below).

46. Letters are dated at Hanley 29 June 1330 (*Cal CI 1330-3*, 271), and between 24 July and 8 August 1332 (*Cal CI 1330-3*, *passim*; *Cal Pat 1330-4*, 322-5, 338-53). See Appendix III below.

47. *Cal CI 1349-54*, 11, 31.

48. *VCH Gloucs*, vol 8, 169.

49. *Cal Pat 1377-81*, 395. The render was half a gallon of ale from the town of Worcester, and the same from the town of Bromyard : *Cal IPM* vol 17, 162.

50. *Cal CI 1399-1402*, 54.

51. Presumably the king granted the castle temporarily to his kinsman, on the death in 1409 of Elizabeth le Despenser, but there is no reference to it in the Patent Rolls. Edward duke of York,

killed at Agincourt in 1415, was the son of Edmund Langley duke of York, and grandson of king Edward III : EF Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century, 1399-1485* (Oxford 1961), 103, 114, 128, 155.

52. There is no precise information on how the household was accommodated; goods were brought from the quay ad hospicium, which generally means the household but can also signify accommodation for guests. A number of guest chambers, probably six, were available in 1416 (IPM). For staircases, see e.g. Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications*, 133, 136.

53. Buildings available for letting suggest a manor in decline, a situation more clearly apparent from the late fifteenth century accounts. Manuscript references (Northampton Record Office, Westmorland/Apethorpe 4xx4) : cloth, fo 17r; ladder, fo 8v; chapel and organ, fo 5r; granaries etc, fos 7r, 8r, 8v; malthouse, fo 7r; hire of buildings, fo 38v; brewhouse, fo 20r; candlemaker, fo 38v; brass foundry, fo 24v; clock, fo 11r. The accounts also record a bakery (fo 7r) and a kitchen well (fo 16v). For clocks, the earliest example being c. 1350 at Windsor, see Colvin, *King's Works*, 262, 640, 802, 875; apparently there were very few pre-1400, so Hanley's is an interesting discovery. They were set on towers or on the side of a keep, to be visible to all the occupants of a castle; they were driven by weights, and sometimes incorporated a bell (campena) for striking the hours, as at Hanley. The wyl, which was bought for 2½d, may have been used to suspend the bell. See also Salzman, *Building*, 61-3 : bells were also used separately to keep workers at their tasks by ringing at various times.

54. Wood, *Medieval House*, 67, 166; Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications*, 133, 136; Pounds, *Medieval Castle*, 190. The hall building, with solar, pantry and buttery in a fairly standard arrangement, is like that described at Writtle in 1419, except that there the chapel was attached to the hall : Rahtz, *Writtle*, 5 sq.

55. Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications*, 109, 111 and Tables 1 and 2. For a recent survey of halls, including continental examples, see M Thompson, *The Medieval Hall : the Basis of Secular Domestic Life 600-1600 AD* (Aldershot 1995), especially pp 74-98 for castle halls.

56. Nash, *Worcestershire*, vol 1, 557. Nash's keep may have been the gatehouse (Pounds, *Medieval Castle*, 270), but at Hanley the gatehouse was in the north east and not the north west. Nash's account in any case is at variance with that of Habington, who in the previous century saw "nothings but a littell rubbyshe and a seelly barne" : Amphlett, *Habington*, 112.

57. *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 94.

58. See also EM Lawson, *The Nation in the Parish or Records of Upton on Severn, with a Supplemental Chapter on the Castle of Hanley* (London 1884), 202-11; this work is of variable historical value, but the authoress states that in the nineteenth century "a considerable extent of the foundation walls nine feet thick was laid bare". Perhaps such a substantial wall belonged to the rebuilding by Edward II, which would mean the the "peel" was more than an earthen bank (see note 26 above), or perhaps it was the curtain of the Warwick rebuilding, 1423x1439 (see below).

59. Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications*, 142. At Weoley (*ibidem* 144) a thirteenth century kitchen 12m x 6m "lay against the defences to the south of the hall, and the two were linked by a covered passage". For guesthouses as an aid to "social distancing", see Pounds, *Medieval Castle*, 273. Eleanor herself might have had frequent guests; for a late thirteenth century lady, Eleanor countess of Leicester, whose numerous guests, at Odiham and Dover, were recorded in her household accounts, see MW Labarge, *A Baronial Household of the Thirteenth Century* (London 1965), 47-51. Twenty or thirty guests at a time might be expected in the household of an earl or bishop : Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 51.

60. There were stables in the curia, already noted, but probably not enough for a large household; for castle stables, see Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications*, 156, and Pounds, *Medieval Castle*, 195. For workshop buildings, see Kenyon, 157, 164-6. A limekiln would be needed for mortar : Salzman, *Buildings*, 149-51. For the constable's quarters in the gatehouse, see Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications*, 135; in the late fifteenth century at Hanley the constable was also paid as janitor. A

room which no doubt existed at Hanley, in view of the record (below) of children born there, is the nursery, and the nurse would have her own quarters nearby: at Elmley castle in the mid-fourteenth century, a lock was bought *pro ostio nutricis* : RH Hilton. "Building Accounts of Elmley Castle, Worcestershire, 1345-6". *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 10 (1965), 78-87. For the place of the nurse in the household, see Labarge, *Baronial Household*, 47.

61. Jacob, *Fifteenth Century*, 321.

62. JH Harvey ed, *William Worcestre, Itineraries* (Oxford 1969), 218. In the 1420s and 1430s the earl of Warwick saw Hanley castle as a family home, but perhaps not on a long term basis, since Warwick itself was also restored. For periods of residence of lords and ladies at Hanley, see Appendix III below.

63. BL Egerton Roll 8517. This is an account roll for Walsall Foreign for the year 1427-8, and the entry is under the heading "Necessities and Foreign Expenses". The nails cost 3s 8d and 2s 8d per thousand respectively, and carriage from Stafford to Hanley was 1s 8d. The payment was authorised by John Verney, one of the chief officials of the earl of Warwick. I am grateful to Mr GMD Booth, Archivist, of Warwickshire Record Office, for all the above detail. Spiking nails were used mainly to secure tiles : Salzman, *Building*, 235, 305. Window nails may have been for shutters: *ibidem*, 255-7.

64. There were no claims for 1490-1 and the following two years: the accounts missing from the sequence are 1482-3, 1483-4, 1486-7, 1488-9, 1489-90.

65. For chimneys and brick nogging, see Wood, *Medieval House*, 225, 287-8. For late fifteenth century repairs in brick at Writtle, see Rahtz, *Writtle*, 10

66. For cost of tiles, see Salzman, *Building*, 140 sq. For lime mortar, *ibidem*, 149-50: mortar was also used to cover wattling, instead of daub : *ibidem*, 188. 253: for words used to describe a measure of lime, see *ibidem*, 149; "pipe" seems to be a new one, more often applied to wine. For shingles, see *ibidem*, 228-9 and Wood, *Medieval House*, 293-4.

67. Salzman, *Building*, 233.

68. For a discussion of a variety of gatehouses, see Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications*, 58 sq.

69. For castle prisons, see *ibidem*, 136-7. The Bandbury Chamber in the castle is mentioned in the Customary of the Chase, as the prison for those found by the forester hunting illegally; they are not to be released except on payment of £5. In the nineteenth century "knocking about like a Bandbury" was a saying still current in Upton to describe anybody in a state of restless excitement, and it was said that in Hanley the term "Bandbury boys" was used for youngsters likely to get into mischief : Lawson, *Nation*, 202-11. There may be a link with OE *bana*, murderer, but the town of Banbury itself is thought to be from a proper name : E Ekwall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names* (3rd edn. Oxford 1947), 23: 24 s.v. Banwell. In any case, the memory of the name was preserved in Hanley, apparently to describe boys who deserved to be locked up in Bandbury.

70. For chapel floors, see Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications*, 155. Glazed floor (and ridge) tiles were manufactured at Malvern, at any rate in the fifteenth century, and distributed towards the south west and into Wales : A Vince, "The Medieval and Post-Medieval Ceramic Industry of the Malvern Region : the Study of a Ware and its Distribution" in DPS Peacock ed, *Pottery and Early Commerce* (London 1976), 257-305, at pp 276-9 and Fig 6. For the find of a decorated glazed floor tile on the castle site, see Lawson, *Nation*, 202; for undecorated glazed ridge and floor tiles on various sites in the vill, see JD Hurst, "A Medieval Ceramic Production Site and Other Medieval Sites in the Parish of Hanley Castle : Results of Fieldwork in 1987-1992", *Trans Worcs Arch Soc* 14 (1994), 115-28. Vince considers that some glazed tiles were produced in Hanley. For tiles on the roofs of all major buildings at Writtle, see Rahtz, *Writtle*, 8.

71. For ridge tiles, see Vince, "Ceramic Industry", 274; also E Morris, "Medieval and Post-Medieval Pottery in Worcester" in MOH Carver ed, *Medieval Worcester*, *Trans Worcs Arch Soc* 3rd ser 7 (1980), 221-54, at p 228 : glazed ridge tiles from the Malvern area are said to dominate the market from the late fourteenth century. For information about the Act of 1477, and the statutory dimensions of tiles, I am indebted to Dr P Hughes; the regulations of course may not always have been observed. For dimensions of chapels, see Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications*, 151-5 : fifty four feet compares well for example with a fourteenth century stone chapel at Pleshey (Essex), which measured c. 57 feet by 23 feet.

72. Salzman, *Building*, 180, 277. Pictorial stained glass became more common in royal and other important chapels from the mid-thirteenth century : Colvin, *King's Works*, 113-4. Glass may have been removed to other sites when buildings were demolished : Rahtz, *Writtle*, 85. The chapel at Elmley castle in 1346 had glass (verura), probably plain : Hilton, "Building Accounts", 87.

73. For louvers, see Wood, *Medieval House*, 277 sq; Salzman, *Buildings*, 219.

74. For the last recorded manorial court in the castle, see Minister's Account 1500-01 (PRO DL 646 10474). Accounts have been examined to 1533-4, and show no repairs after 1495. The last constable, in 1512, was Sir John Savage : *L & P Henry VIII*, vol 1, 1524/47. For the dilapidation, see L Toulmin Smith, *Leland's Itinerary* (London 1964), 135; Amphlett, *Habington*, vol 2, 112. The site of the castle was of course still remembered : the vicarage terrier of 1761 (HWCRO BA 8119 Ref 850/3) mentions "the highway from Burley End to the castle", and it was still a reference point at the time of the parliamentary enclosures, when the last tower was removed by Thomas Hornyold to repair Upton bridge. In the late nineteenth century a house was built at the northern end of the site; the location is still marked by ornamental trees, but the house was burnt down in 1904 : *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 94.

75. Appendix III below shows periods when households were known to have been in residence, and there were probably visitors in the guesthouses. For the spending of aristocratic households, and the numbers they might contain, see Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 49 sq.

76. C Guery, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Lyre* (Evreux 1917), 567-8; see also note 114 in chap I above.

77. For the fortunes of churches in times of shifting settlement, see RK Morris, "The Church in the Countryside : Two Lines of Inquiry", in D Hooke ed, *Medieval Villages* (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 5, 1985), 47-60: in some vills each lord might have had his own church. For this and other aspects of early village churches, see D Owen, "Chapelries and Rural Settlement : an Examination of some of the Kesteven Evidence" in PH Sawyer ed, *English Medieval Settlement* (London 1979), 35-40; C Phythian-Adams, *Continuity, Fields and Fission : the Making of a Midland Parish* (Leicester 1976); J Godfrey, "The Emergence of the Village Church in Anglo-Saxon England" in T Rowley ed, *Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Landscape* (BAR 6, 1974), 131-8; CJ Bond, "Church and Parish in Norman Worcestershire" in J Blair ed, *Minsters and Parish Churches : the Local Church in Transition 950-1200* (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988), 119-58. Domesday Book seriously under-records churches in Worcestershire, mentioning only five : HC Darby and IB Terrett eds, *The Domesday Geography of Midland England* (Cambridge 1954), 258-9.

78. For the location of minsters, see D Hooke, *The Anglo-Saxon Landscape : the Kingdom of the Hwicce*, Fig 24. For eleventh century minsters, see J Blair, "Secular Minsters and Churches in Domesday Book" in PH Sawyer ed, *Domesday Book : a Reassessment* (London 1985), ch 7. The burial rights implied by the Lechmere Stone, a ninth century grave marker, may indicate an independent church, co-existing with neighbouring minsters, but unrelated; not all churches were subject to minsters, and the "system" was perhaps both less systematic and rather later than once thought : E Cambridge & D Rollason, "Debate : The Pastoral Organisation of the Anglo-Saxon Church - a Review of the Minster Hypothesis", *Early Medieval Europe* 4 (1995), 87-104. Hanley however was in Pershore hundred, which might imply a chapel of Pershore minster, but there is no direct evidence to that effect. Known chapels of Pershore were at Allesborough, Martin

Hussingtree, Strensham and Upton Snodsbury; in at least seventeen other places Pershore claimed burial rights, all of them in Pershore hundred in the thirteenth century : Bond, "Church and Parish", 135, Fig 30. It is possible that Hanley church originates in the survival of British Christianity to the west of the Severn : for a discussion, see S Bassett, "Church and Diocese in the West Midlands : the Transition from British to Anglo-Saxon Control" in J Blair and R Sharpe eds, *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester 1992), 13-40. The west bank of the Severn is still called the Christian Shore in some places, e.g Areley Kings.

79. F Arnold Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications* (London 1899), vol 3, Index; F Bond, *Dedications of English Churches* (Oxford 1914), 67. The furthest west of St Botulph dedications is at Sibson, Leicestershire. In a comment on another Leicestershire dedication to St Botulph, at Claybrooke, C Phythian Adams remarks that "the repeated correlation of St Botulph dedications with ancient boundaries, some of them heathen, deserves specialist attention" : *idem*, *Continuity, Fields and Fission : the Making of a Midland Parish* (Leicester University Dept of English Local History, Occasional Paper 3rd ser, 4 (1978); the boundary in question at Hanley would have to be the river Severn, while at Claybrooke it was Watling Street.

80. HPR Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (2nd edn, Leicester 1972), 197-216. P Sims Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800* (Cambridge 1990), 98-9. See also, re "Icanho", SE West and N Scarfe, "Iken, St Botolph, and the Coming of East Anglian Christianity", *Proc Suffolk Inst of Archaeol and History* 35 (1984), 279-301. The foundation charters for Wenlock, cited in the "Testament", are considered by some to be spurious, but this does not deny the existence of "Icanho".

81. D Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford Blackwell 1989), 157, 159, 179; *idem*, "Lists of Saints' Resting Places in Anglo-Saxon England", *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (Cambridge 1978), 61-94, at p 68.

82. L Webster and J Backhouse eds, *The Making of England : Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600-900* (British Museum 1991), 245 (The stone was displayed in the exhibition at the Museum in 1991); D Talbot Rice, *English Art 871-1100* (Oxford 1952), 89; G Baldwin Brown, "The Lechmere Stone", *Ant J* 11 (1931), 226-8. I am grateful to Sir Berwick Lechmere and Mr David Agnew for permission to examine the stone.

83. EM Jope, "The Saxon Building Stone Industry in Southern and Midland England", *Med Arch* 8 (1964), 91-118. The author remarks (p 99) that this Bath stone was used for cross shafts (e.g. Newent and Tenbury), and suggests that the [block for] the Lechmere Stone was brought up the Severn (p 107). For the variety of stone used in early Worcestershire churches, see Bond, "Church and Parish", 151-5. For notes on the history of the building of Hanley church, see *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 98-100; the *VCH* writer does not mention the herringbone-patterned fabric above the west window, or the probably Roman tile or brick insertions in the west wall.

84. The foliage is considered "not of vine character" by Brown (above, note 82). The carving is described as "typically Mercian" by TD Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to AD 900* (London 1938), 186; he adduces the Breedon sculptures as a parallel.

85. Blair, *Minsters and Parish Churches*, 7-8.

86. W Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London 1718), vol 2, 985; Patterson, *Charters*, 176. The tithe of the demesne appears in the Pipe Rolls from 1155-6 as 20s paid by the sheriff to the monks of Lire, and continues to be recorded until 1215-6, after which the manor left the Crown; Gilbert de Clare presumably continued to pay it, but it may in due course have been given to the vicarage : the vicar from 1236 had 20s "from the manor", while the 20s rent remained with the rectory as its land endowment.

87. BL Add Ch 47150.

88. Reg Giffard fo 132v.

89. BL Add Ch 47151. The inspeximus recites a confirmation by de Blois (bishop 1218-37) of the 1236 agreement.

90. D Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions* (Oxford 1962), 127; *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 100; *Valor Ecclesiasticus* vol 3, 244. The events of 1378 and 1414 are well attested, but Guéry, *Histoire*, 166, argues that the English possessions of Lire were not lost until temp Henry VIII and were recorded in the temporalities until 1692; he considers that the attempt to convey them to Sheen was unsuccessful, and he does not mention the appropriation of 1378.

91. *L & P Hen VIII* vol 16, 617.

92. HWCRO BA527 Ref 899.44/26 (*VCH* researchers' notes), quoting Pat 5 & 6 Ph & M pt 2, m 24, and Pat 2 Eliz pt 10 m 3.

93. *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 100.

94. HWCRO BA 527 Ref 899.44/26, quoting Pat 4 Eliz pt 6, m 24; HWCRO BA 5018 Ref 004.00801; for leases of the rectory, see HWCRO BA 2636 Ref b 009.1/37,39,40,47,142. and BA 1531 Ref 705.134/25,41,50.

95. HWCRO BA 816 Ref s 269.81 1,2 (Enclosure Award and Map, 1797); BA 1531 Ref 705.134/41.

96. Reg Ginsburgh fo 44; *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* (Rec Comm 1802), 217; *Nonarum Inquisitiones* (Rec Comm 1807), 298; *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (Rec Comm 1817), vol 3, 244: at the time of the *Valor* the rectory was worth a nominal £12. For comparisons, in Warwickshire, see LJ Proudfoot, "Parochial Benefices in Late Medieval Warwickshire : Patterns of Stability and Change, 1291 to 1535" in TR Slater and PJ Jarvis eds, *Field and Forest : an Historical Geography of Warwickshire and Worcestershire* (Norwich 1982), 203-30.

97. RH Hilton, *A Medieval Society : the West Midlands at the End of the Thirteenth Century* (London 1966), 32. For the pensions paid to Lire by all its churches. see SF Hockey, "William FitzOsbern and his Abbey of Lire", *Anglo-Norman Studies* 3 (1980). 96-105, at p 98.

98. *ibidem*, 100. In **Bushley** (180d) there was a man of the monks of Lire who held one virgate (in Pull); in **Queenhill** (180d) earl William gave to St Mary's, Lire, the tithe of the manor, with one villein holding half a virgate, in **Eldersfield** (180d) St Mary's (sc. Lire) had a villein with one virgate (in Hardwick : *Book of Fees*, 140); in **Forthampton** (180d) St Mary's (sc. Lire) had the tithe of the manor. and a villein with one virgate; in **Feckenham** (180c) earl William gave to St Mary's church (sc. Lire) the tithe of the manor, the church, and a villein with two virgates. William de Iyra paid 4s at Queenhill in the 1275 Subsidy. For Lire Ocle (Livers Ocle), one and a quarter miles west of modern Ocle Pychard, see *Domesday Book (Herefordshire)* (Phillimore), note on 29.3. See also R Iennard, "Peasant Tithe Collectors in Norman England", *Eng Hist R* 69 (1954). 580-96, at p 583; "to combine the donation of tithe with assignment to the recipient monastery of a peasant's services was clearly a very common practice in Norman England" : *ibidem*, 590.

99. HWCRO BA 81 Ref 705.24 354 1B and 353 1R: *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol 3, 244.

100. HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134 41.

101. HWCRO BA 5018 Ref 004. 00801 92. The thirty nine acres comprise Prior's Field c. 17 ac., Bridge Meadow 4 ac., Lazy ground 5 ac., Hither Reddings 8 ac., and Farther Reddings 5 ac: HWCRO BA 2636 Ref 009.1 131. This is presumably in addition to the land named in 1660, making 54 acres in all. Whether William FitzOsbern established the glebe or granted to Lire an existing endowment is unknown.

102. PRO DL 29/644/10457.

103. HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134/31; HWCRO BA 4959 Ref b 705.587/7 (x).

104. *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol 3, 244; HWCRO BA 2358 Ref 721.091/5 : copies of terriers are dated 1545, 1616 and 1761. John Savage had the farm in 1518 (L200); he had previously been steward of the manor and was presented to the vicarage by his father, who had leased it from Little Malvern. Savage immediately re-leased the vicarage for £6 to Robert Knottesford, also a priest, on condition that he in turn provided a priest to carry out the necessary duties. It is apparent that by this time the vicarage was traded without much concern for the parishioners.

105. Hurle, *Hanley Castle*, 134.

106. In summary, at the point of parliamentary enclosure, the possessions of the rectory and vicarage were as follows:

Rectory : revenues of the church; a rectory house (sc. Parsonage Farm); 54 acres of land (including 9 acres of meadow), originally representing 20s in rents; most of the great tithes.

Vicarage: a vicarage house; c. 5 acres of land (including 2 acres of meadow); 20s "from the manor" (sc. the demesne tithe, commuted); the small tithes; the great tithes from specified lands.

107. EA Fry ed, *Calendar of Wills and Administrations in the Bishop's Consistory Court 1451-1600* (British Record Series 1904).

108. This estate, at the northern point of the Malvern Hills, had belonged to the Hanleys since at least the early fourteenth century, when Thomas de Hanley, chief forester, held half a knight's fee there of the earl of Warwick : JW Willis Bund ed, *Inquisitiones Post Mortem for the County of Worcester* (WHS 1909), Pt II, 69.

109. For examples of additional endowments by bequest, see KL Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge 1965), 106.

110. *VCH Worcs*, vol 4. 100, 516; the VCH writer was aware of the buildings mentioned in 1551 and 1578 (below).

111. Wood-Legh, *Chantries*, 6; M Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century 1216-1307* (2nd edn Oxford 1962), 325; GH Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels* (London 1947), 55. The Hanley chantry is not seen in the bishops' registers, unlike several others; Ripple for example, founded in 1320, is well documented, and in fact the original mortmain licence is among the Lechmere papers: HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134 72; see also RM Haines ed, *Register of Wolstan de Bransford* (London 1966), xxxv sq, 173.

112. Reg Giffard fo 322v.

113. The earliest recorded Lechmere burial is in the church, not the chapel; this is Richard Lechmere, died 1568 : in Prattinton's time the brass was "mostly gone" - HWCRO BA 10509 Ref 989.9.91/1 xii. The burial of his wife, Margaret, is recorded in the parish register in 1542, but the location is unknown: HWCRO BA 3348/339 ref 985.66. There are no Hanley family burials anywhere in the church, which might suggest some reorganisation or rebuilding in the sixteenth century, at a time when the family was no longer significant and their tombs along with others might be removed; it is difficult to imagine that the Hanleys would not be buried either in or about the church when the family was in power, and when they had their own chantry which was probably in the chancel aisle.

114. Cook, *Chantries*, 19. The saints are some of those whose masses have been added to the missal (below).

115. Bond, "Church and Parish", 144. The *VCH* writer considers that the nave and nave aisle were rebuilt in the fourteenth century (*VCH Worcs*, 99), but Pevsner says that the aisle at least is of c. 1300 : Pevsner, *Worcestershire*, 187.

116. P Morgan ed, *Inspections of Churches and Parsonage Houses in the Diocese of Worcester, in 1674, 1676, 1684, 1687* (WHS 1986), s.v. Hanley. A plaque bearing the rebuilding date 1674 is on the outer north wall of the Lechmere chapel. The mixture of large blocks of grey oolitic limestone and red sandstone is seen in the lower courses of both building phases. A capital of an octagonal column, of the kind which survives in the nave, may be seen at Herbert's Farm, used to support a mounting block; it may have been removed from the east end at the seventeenth century rebuilding.

117. Wood-Legh, *Chuntries*, 39, 47.

118. *ibidem*, 11, 54, 303.

119. Cook, *Chuntries*, 58 sq; JD Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors 1485-1558* (Oxford 1972), 399, 513-4. Few chantries were in fact suppressed by the earlier Act of 1545.

120. HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134/77.

121. HWCRO BA 527 Ref 899.44/26, quoting Pat 20 Eliz pt 7, m 3; *VCH Wores* vol 4, 516. If the wording is "merely speculative" it need not be supposed that particular lands were actually concealed, especially since in the Hanley case some of the lands belonged to the school in 1523. It is to be noted that the chantry was seen by the Crown as belonging to the parish church, which was sufficient description for the purposes of the grant. This is one of two early references to Potters Hanley, the other being in a deed of 1542 (L242).

122. HWCRO BA 527 Ref 899.44 26, quoting Pat 31 Eliz pt 3, m 3. See also WA Pantin, "Chantry Priests' Houses and Other Medieval Lodgings", *Med Arch* 3 (1959), 216-58, at pp 218, 225, 257.

123. Wood-Legh, *Chuntries*, 15. It might be expected that the Hanley Hall priest would live in the Hall, but this was not a large building, and if the College House was in the sphere of the Hanleys they might have lodged him there. The castle chaplain, insofar as he belonged to the lord when in residence, would traditionally live with the household; it will be recalled that the Evesham grant specifically excluded the provision of accommodation for him and his assistant, which therefore the lord would provide. It is not clear whether a chaplain was employed during the absence of the lord, although the chapel was maintained and the constable may have paid a chaplain. In 1409 the duke of York brought his own chaplain, named Martyn : Northampton RO Westmorland/Apethorpe 4xx4, fo 6r.

124. PRO DL 29 644 10457.

125. HWCRO BA 10509 Ref 989.9.91. The licence was to have mass celebrated *submisse* (i.e. not sung), without prejudice to the mother church (sc. St Mary's), in his house at Hanley; clerks were to be appointed by the year. A time limit was not unusual in such licences : E Mason, "The Role of the English Parishioner 1100-1500", *Jnl Ecclesiastical Hist* 27 (1976), 17-29, at p 22. The deeds naming Henry clericus as last witness are : L3, L4, L5, L6, L7, L8, L10, BL Add Ch 73661, 73662, 73663, 73664, 73668, 73670, and HWCRO BA 892 Ref 970 5.99/1/20.

126. L25, L26, L27, BL Add Ch 73677.

127. Cook, *Chuntries*, 93, 102; Wood Legh, *Chuntries*, 272.

128. Hanley Missal (below), fo 245. The priests in addition to the vicar would be : his assistant (the "chaplain of the vill"), the Hanley Hall chaplain, the castle chaplain(s), the chaplain of St Clement's chantry, the chaplain of St Anne's chantry, the chaplain(s) for the joint parish chantries. The commemoration of St Anne did not become common in calendars until the late fourteenth century : CR Cheney ed, *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History* (London 1978), 42. The size of the church implies some prosperity at times of building and rebuilding, for example in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and c. 1300.

129. Hanley Missal, fo 247. For the merging of chantries, see Wood-Legh, *Chantries*, 10. Masses for saints of the parish chantries (i.e. St Anne and the four others) are in the missal; there is none for St Clement, whose mass would be in the missal belonging to that (private) chantry. For parish gilds or fraternities, established for the material welfare of their members and to pray for their dead, see HF Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Medieval England* (London 1919), 8 sq and *passim*. There were also craft gilds, but there is no evidence for them at Hanley, although a potters' gild would not be out of place. Gilds were confiscated along with the chantries : *ibidem*, 19, 60, 132.

130. At its best the clergy's literacy would be helpful, but for example a study of the level of learning among chantry chaplains in the county of York in 1548 reveals that only 35% could really be described as learned : Moran, *Growth*, 147. For the social dimension of the mass, see J Bossy, "The Mass as a Social Institution", *Past and Present* 100 (1983), 29-61.

131. E Miller and J Hatcher, *Medieval England : Rural Society and Economic Change, 1086-1348* (London 1978), 106-110.

132. For the baptism, see *Cal IPM 15-23 Ric II*, 67. For the interpenetration of church and village life, see Miller and Hatcher, *Rural Society*, 10.

133. *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 100. For the advowson in 1685, see HWCRO BA 527 Ref 899.44/26, quoting Inst Book 1685. For repairs to the "chapel of Hanley" in 1490-1, see ministers' accounts. For the "hidden dimension", see Blair, *Minsters and Parish Churches*, 15. For the post-medieval fortunes of the church, see Hurle, *Hanley Castle*, 49-67; the documentary survival, for example of churchwardens' accounts, is mainly from the late seventeenth century and later: parish registers, with gaps, date from 1538/9 (HWCRO BA 3348/339 Ref 985.66).

134. After the 1547 Act confiscated lands were commonly used to endow schools or to continue existing schools : AF Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* (2nd edition, London 1916), 318-28; but in Hanley the school was endowed at least sixty years earlier. The deed of 1523 is at HWCRO BA 6097 Ref 250.6, a deposit containing the main school documents. For the *VCH* account of the school, see *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 516-9. Houghleys furlong had once been demesne pasture (IPM 1416), and the meadow would be a part of it.

135. Jacob, *Fifteenth Century*, 667; there are many examples of schools taught by chantry priests : Leach, *Schools*, 197 and *passim*. The use of chantry lands to create an independent endowment, before the suppression, is unusual.

136. The deed of 1544 is in the school deposit, above; the 1675 terrier is at HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134 25.

137. There is a tradition that the potters founded the school : see Hurle, *Hanley Castle*, 69. This can still be considered true after a fashion, since the Hanley family, on whose lands the early potteries lay and who must have had potter tenants, obviously had a major stake in the industry (Chapter III above). Tewkesbury had a school in the fifteenth century, Worcester from the fourteenth century, and Gloucester probably from the twelfth : Leach, *Schools*, 227; 221, 312; 115, 125.

138. For the momentum of school development in the York diocese, see Moran, *Growth*, 221 : "nobles, gentry, townspeople and villagers were all becoming involved", and there was expanding lay interest in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In Worcestershire, the grammar school at Rock, beginning as a chantry school in 1513, is another example of an early village school : N Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London 1973), 314; see also *idem*, "The Medieval Schools of Worcestershire", *Trans Worcs Arch Soc* 3rd series, 6 (1978), 43-51. Orme however omits Hanley, while Moran shows that in general more medieval schools could be brought to light : Moran, *Growth*, 93, 95 and *passim*.

For fees paid, see Leach, *Schools*, 139, 172, 196; fees were eventually laid down in school statutes, but many statutes required the school to be "free" : *ibidem*, 119 and *passim*. At Hanley in 1582 the endowment was said to be "for the sustenance and maintenance of the free school and grammar

school master in Hanley for ever", so it may well have been designated free from the outset. To what extent girls attended the school in its early days we do not know; in 1601, when questions were asked about the income by a commission appointed under the Statute of Charitable Uses, the tenants of the school lands acknowledged that the rents were "for the maintenance of a learned and sufficient schoolmaster priest to teach and instruct children in Hanley Castle and [to maintain a school house and a dwelling for the master]"; but whether "children" included girls is debatable : *ibidem*, 88-9; Orme, *Schools*, 54-5. For the vicissitudes of Hanley school in the later period, see Hurle, *Hanley Castle*, 70-92. Boners Place at Severn End was sold by the sister and heir of Edmund Bonner in 1573 (HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134/59). The name is first seen in the 1327 Subsidy Roll. Another Hanley man, Dr John Baron (the name is first seen in 1429 -L81), was master of Balliol 1705-22 (*VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 93), and was presumably educated at the school.

139. HWCRO BA 2648 Ref b 716.093; parcels 1 to 9 contain the registers from 1268 to 1570. See also DM Smith, *Guide to the Bishops' Registers of England and Wales* (R Hist Soc 1981), 214-31.

140. Nash, *Worcestershire*, vol 1, 566.

141. Reg Giffard fo 179, 49v.

142. *Cal Pat 1377-81*, 347.

143. Reg Morgan fo 21

144. Reg SV fos 249, 256v.

145. E Ekwall, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names* (3rd edn, Oxford 1947), *passim*.

146. CUL Ms Kk 2.6. The inscription is on fo 135v. I am grateful to Miss JS Ringrose, Under Librarian, Cambridge University Library, for enabling me to examine the missal. For the dating I rely on Mr HM Pink, sometime Keeper of Manuscripts in the Library, who prepared a description (unpublished) of the manuscript in 1922. This document is kept with the missal in the Manuscript Room.

147. The missal may have come into the hands of a recusant family, perhaps the Hornyolds, after the Reformation; they did of course purchase the advowson with the manor in 1560. Equally it may have left the church earlier, since it is not so worn as to suggest constant use since c. 1300. Inevitably many Latin service books were destroyed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but even in earlier times they were not always secure : the breviary of Hallow was stolen from the church on Ascension Day in 1339, while the parishioners were processing in the churchyard (Ilaines, *Register Bransford*, 9).

148. HA Wilson ed, *Officium Ecclesiasticum Abbatum secundum Usum Eveshamensis Monasterii alias Liber Evesham* (Henry Bradshaw Society 6, 1893), 183-5 and notes.

149. The Hanley marriage service is transcribed in WG Henderson ed, *Manuale ad Usum Ecclesiae Eboracensis* (Surtees Society 63, 1874), 163*-165*.

150. The ritual for the Purification is on fo 180 of the missal. See also Wilson, *Officium*, 57-60, 189, 191; J Wickham Legg ed, *The Sarum Missal* (Oxford 1916).

151. JW Willis Bund ed, *Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard* (WHS 1902), cxv sq.

152. Matthew, *Norman Monasteries*, 59. Worcestershire churches given to Lire, apart from Hanley, were Eldersfield and Feckenham, although of the three only the Feckenham donation is mentioned in Domesday Book (180c); in all, over forty English churches belonged to Lire in the thirteenth century : Guéry, *Histoire*, 157 sq.

153. If Little Malvern had a scriptorium, the kalendar could have been written there; Lire had

