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A MEDIEVAL WOODLAND MANOR: HANLEY CASTLE,
WORCESTERSHIRE
BY
JAMES PATRICK TOOMEY

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School of History
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Chapter I HANLEY IN ITS REGION AND ITS EARLY HISTORY

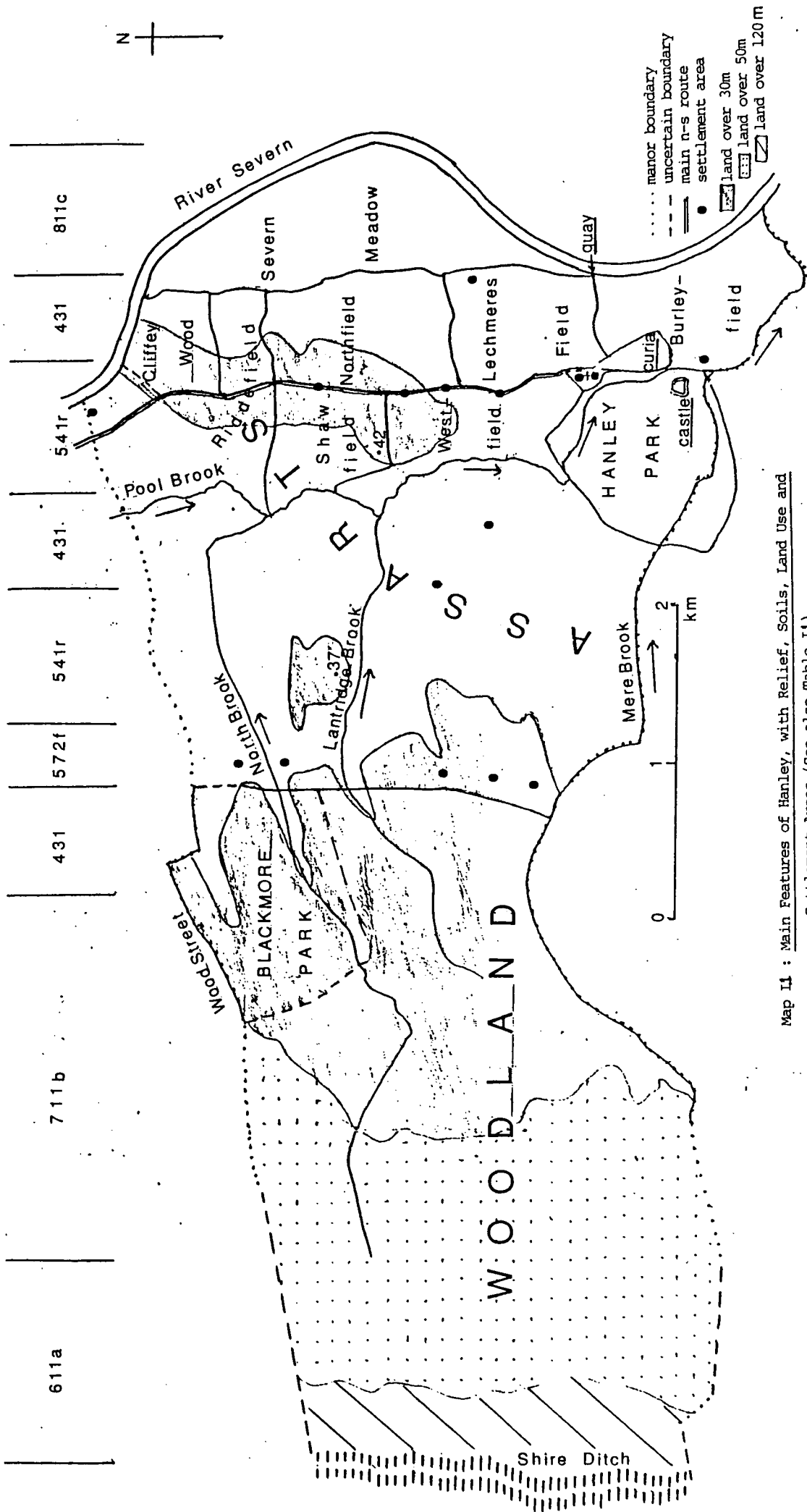
In setting Hanley in its region some particular topics must be explored which are special to that region. A prime question is how much the physical environment with its wooded landscape influenced the development of settlement and society; and another important question is the effect on that society of the artificial legal system imposed by the afforestation of one hundred square miles of land. It will be necessary therefore to scrutinise the forest and chase of Malvern on a new level, to elucidate its political and economic history, to draw its geographical bounds, and to look closely at its landscape and land uses. Malvern forest has often been ignored by historians, yet it is a tractable example of a medieval forest, and one which can now be studied in the fresh light of the emerging history of Hanley, its leading manor.

1. GEOLOGY, SOILS, TOPOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

The land rises from 13m in the east to 375m in the west, where the manor reached the Shire Ditch at the top of the Malvern hills. The effective manor for agriculture in the medieval period, that is the area east of Blackmore park and Hanley Swan, does not rise much above 30m, but there are one or two heights, such as Wynns hill in Shawfield (42m) and Lantridge (37m), amid what is gently undulating terrain. Relief and main features are shown in Map I,1, which also shows soil zones. Table I.1 illustrates geology, soils and land use across the manor¹.

The geology is divided broadly into three zones: the alluvium of the river side, which supports meadow especially: the clayey-loamy soils, including fluvio-glacial drift, which lie on the Mercian Mudstone and support all the agricultural and industrial areas of the medieval manor, along with most of the woodland; and thirdly the Pre-Cambrian igneous rocks of the foothills and of the Malvern hills themselves: where these rocks are faulted against the Mudstone there is a line of springs². All these Mudstone soils are said to be capable today of growing cereals, especially winter cereals, and can support dairying, stock rearing and short term grassland³. In Hanley in medieval times they were used similarly for mixed farming, but not indiscriminately, since there were preferred arable areas and woodland pasture predominated in the west. The major open field arable of the east was on the first river terrace and its approaches; the Blackmore arable, further west, was on soil of the Whimple 3 Association, and the soils of both these areas are derived from drift. The Brockhurst Association soils of the woodland west of Hanley Swan were not wholly cleared until after the medieval period.

Drainage of the area is generally transverse and it will be seen below that the brooks of the manor in their west-east passage towards the Severn serve as bounds in specific tenement patterns; and of course Mere brook on the south and an unnamed stream on the north (along with part of the ancient Wood street) are the bounds of the manor itself. Just as the drainage is transverse, so for the most part are communications, with as many as five named "streets" running east-west; it is the modern line of these which is shown on maps below, although it does not always



Map II : Main Features of Hanley, with Relief, Soils, Land Use and Settlement Areas (See also Table II).

EAST	Soil Assoc'n	Geology	Soil Characteristics	Location in Hanley	Medieval Use	WEST
	(811c)	Alluvium over Permo-Triassic reddish mudstone	Slowly permeable, seasonally waterlogged, reddish fine loam	riverside meadows, including Severn meadow and Blackmore	major demesne and tenant meadow;	
	Worcester(431)	Permo-Triassic reddish mudstone	reddish clayey soil over mudstone	e. parts of Northfield and Burleyfield	major open field arable; demesne wood	
	Wick 1 (541r)	river terrace drift over gravel	deep well-drained coarse loamy and sandy soils	w. part of Northfield, the Leys, Shaw field, Westfield, Hanley park; terrace rising to 42m & falling to Pool brook	major open field arable & park; pasture intermingled; meadows on Pool brook & Mere brook; assarts & s'ment	
	Worcester(431)	see above	see above	westwards to a n-s line roughly from Priestfield to Gilberts End farm, through Horton	early assarts, for arable & pasture; meadow on Pool Brook & Mere brook; settlement	
	Wick 1 (541r)	see above	see above	terrace rising gradually west of above line, to a line through Lantridge (37m); falling to 30m contour	some assarts; some ploughing or later replanning; meadow on North brook, Pool brook, Mere brook	
	Whimple 3 (572f)	Drift over Permo-Triassic reddish mudstone	reddish fine loamy over clayey soil with slowly permeable subsoils and slight seasonal waterlogging	western portions of the five western Ends, including Hanley Hall area	12th cent planned tenements; open field arable at Blackmore End; pasture intermingled; meadow on brooks as above; settlement	
	Worcester (431)	see above	see above	eastern part of Blackmore park area, to a n-s line through Stable farm	park with some pasture; woodland largely uncleared until 17th cent	
	Brockhurst 1 (711b)	Permo-Triassic reddish mudstone and alluvium	slowly permeable seasonally waterlogged reddish fine loamy soil over clayey soils; igneous detritus from the hills spreading eastwards	westwards to c.70m contour, a line roughly through Cocon Cottage farm; almost reaching the fault line	woodland with some early clearings (eg Cocon?); some pasture	
	Malvern(611a)	igneous rocks: granite, diorite, dolerite, quartzite, etc	shallow soils; dry and porous west of the spring line (c. 120m contour)	foothills and hill tops	thinning woodland & rough pasture	

* generally known as Percten Mudstone in this area

Table 1.1: Geology, Soils and Land Use (after JM Ragg et al, Soils and their Uses in Midland and Western England (Harpden 1984), fig 73)

coincide precisely with the medieval line. Drainage and communications cut across the river terraces and the general lie of the land as it rises from the river.

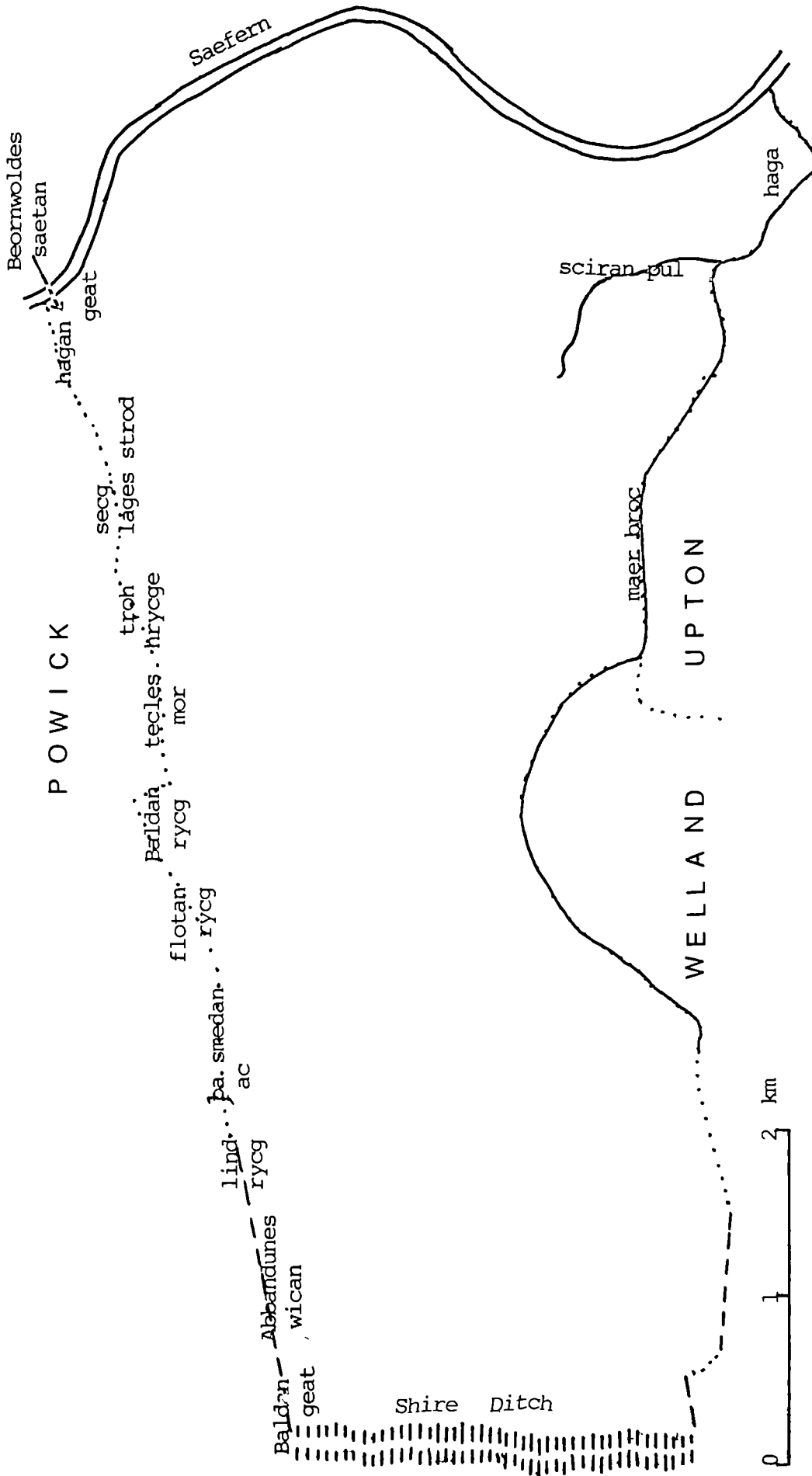
It is established that there were climatic variations in the medieval period, both short-term and over longer periods⁴; but it is unlikely that twentieth century mean temperatures (c. 50°F) and rainfall (c. 26" per year) are significantly different⁵. They contribute today to the variety of land use, including orchards and garden crops, which the deeds and other documents show to have been also the medieval pattern in Hanley; medieval yields of grain were of course lower, with many non-climatic factors operating⁶. A vineyard in Hanley in 1200 may hint at a milder climate at the time, but we know nothing of the quality and volume of its product⁷. Hanley is not far from the northern limit of viticulture in any period, but Bushley, Severn Stoke and Tewkesbury were other local manors which had medieval vineyards⁸.

2 THE PRE-CONQUEST EVIDENCE

Prehistoric activity of some nature at Hanley is suggested by the find of a scraper at Roberts End and two scatters of flint in the east of the manor⁹. Recent investigations have led to surface finds of Romano-British pottery on three sites in the Quay lane area, including an assemblage of some seventy sherds from a terrace overlooking the river and a sherd in the area of the later haga in the south east¹⁰. The prehistoric and Romano-British periods in the region as a whole will be examined below, but even such flimsy evidence as Hanley so far provides might suggest that here as elsewhere the Anglo-Saxons found an "old country", already a palimpsest and not a blank sheet¹¹.

There is no Anglo-Saxon charter or boundary clause for Hanley, but it so happens that clauses survive from the tenth century for Powick on the north of Hanley, and for Upton on the south¹². The relevant features revealed by these clauses are shown on Map 1.2. The Powick clause begins in the south east corner of that estate, where lies Beornwoldes saetan, apparently at the Rhydd on the river Severn; since his seat was near a haga, Beornwold was perhaps an Anglo-saxon forester; the hagas themselves indicate pre-Conquest woodland management. The next landmark is in fact the hagan geat, the entrance or the road leading to the haga, which seems to be on the site of Cliffey wood (OE clif haeg).

After the haga we have the secg lages strod, "the marshy overgrown land of the sedge pool", followed by troh hrycge (possibly Trowlidge in Guarlford) and by more marshland, or perhaps moorland, in tecles mor: OE *taeccels possibly signifies a boundary¹³. It may be that the boundary here, between Guarlford and Blackmore, is following Pool brook instead of taking the less obvious southerly line which it follows today, although this current boundary looks to be an ancient line, with its deepcut stream still flanked by hedged banks. Baldan rycg comes next, and along with Baldan geat it seems to take the line of the ancient Wood street to the Wyche cutting; both are probably associated with Baldehyalle of Domesday Book¹⁴. Between these last two



Map I2 : Features of Anglo-Saxon Boundary Clauses

(after D Hooke, Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter Bounds,
 (Woodbridge 1990), 208-11, 244-7)

features are flotan rycg(the flat ridge?), smedan ac(the smooth oak) and lindrycg(the lime ridge), and they are followed by Abbandunes wican, perhaps the dairy farm on Abban's hill, a name otherwise not known; but the line has certainly now reached the hills, and the site seems to be near the Wyche, possibly providing its name. Baldan geat is presumably the later Baldyate, the boundary of the wood granted to Great Malvern priory by the earl of Gloucester in the tenth century and the place where the chief forester had his gallows¹⁵. At Baldyate the Powick boundary clause turns north, while from later evidence the Hanley boundary turns south to follow the ridge of the hills, where the Shire Ditch, which was to mark the boundary of Hanley and the limit of the chase, may well have had a predecessor; the ridge was the ancient boundary between the dioceses of Hereford and Worcester and may also have divided the territory of the Hwicce from that of the Magonsaetan¹⁶.

The Upton boundary clause describes that part of the southern boundary of Hanley which lies between the river and the point where the western bounds of Upton turn south, at Gilvers Lane. Here we find the maer broc, that is the boundary brook (OE maere), which still divides Upton from Hanley. The bounds follow this brook eastwards to the place where it joins the sciran pul (the bright pool or stream), which is now called Pool brook. Having crossed Pool brook the line now goes to a haga, and along (ondlong) the haga to the Severn. It is possible in view of the wording ("along") that haga here indicates the fence rather than the enclosed woodland itself, the fence following the course of the Mere brook¹⁷; any woodland within such a fence must have been cleared at an early period to make arable as part of Burleyfield; the de Grava family (OE graf, grove) held land in the area at "Grava iuxta Sabrinam", and such names recall the original landscape¹⁸. Clifley wood survived throughout the medieval period as the demesne wood at the site of the other haga.

The southern boundary of Hanley to the west of Upton forms the northern boundary of Welland, another Anglo-Saxon estate, but without boundary clauses; it is not seen as a separate manor in Domesday Book, where it is probably subsumed under Bredon, whose woodland it contained. The clauses under discussion show north and south boundaries of Hanley in very much the same locations as today, except perhaps, as we saw, between Guarlford and Blackmore. This Anglo-Saxon estate of Hanley, demonstrated by the boundary clauses of its neighbours, is later seen as a Domesday manor, and a medieval manor and parish, all largely coterminous¹⁹. Further evidence of Hanley's Anglo-Saxon existence, derived particularly from field and settlement names and from matters related to the church, will be examined below.

3. THE DOMESDAY EVIDENCE : THE TWO ENTRIES

Information about Hanley in Domesday Book is entered in the returns for both Gloucestershire (163b) and Herefordshire (180d), but not in the Worcestershire folios (Table I.2). It is with the Gloucestershire returns because it had been a member of the large manor of Tewkesbury; it was held in the time of king Edward by Brictric, who had evidently first attached it

to Tewkesbury²⁰. Forthampton was a similar case, and the Gloucestershire entry states that both these manors had been held by earl William (sc. after Brictric) before becoming part of the king's revenue at Hereford. It was earl William who had annexed them to his farm at Hereford, an arrangement which the king did not disturb, and thus they appeared in the Herefordshire folios along with the earl's other Worcestershire manors, namely Bushley with Pull Court, Queenhill, Elderfield, Suckley, Martley and Feckenham. William FitzOsbern, earl of Hereford, had been granted these manors at the Conquest, and the way in which he dealt with them adds weight to the theory that he was in fact a palatine earl in Worcestershire as well as in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire; this theory will be examined further below. William was killed in battle in 1071, after which his son Roger held until 1075; he however rebelled against the king and forfeited to the Crown²¹. It is clear from the two Domesday returns that the record at Tewkesbury was earlier and less full than that kept at Hereford, and clear also that the Hanley juries were dependent not so much on their own local knowledge as on the information kept by the lord's officials.

<u>Gloucestershire entry (163b)</u>	<u>Herefordshire entry (180d)</u>
4 hides not in demesne belonging to Tewkesbury manor;	4 hides;
2 demesne ploughs TRE;	2 demesne ploughs;
40 villeins and bordars:	20 villeins, 17 bordars, a reeve - with 17½ ploughs among them;
8 slaves, male and female	9 slaves, male and female; 6 swineherds render 60 swine and have 4 ploughs; a forester holds half a virgate; one villein of Baldehalle renders two ora of pence to this manor;
a mill at 16d; woodland in which there is a <u>haia</u> ;	a mill at 2s; woodland 5 leagues between length and breadth; this has been put outside the manor; a hawk's eyrie there.
it belonged to earl William;	Brictric held it;
now it is with the king's farm at Hereford;	the king holds it.
value TRE £15, now £10.	

Table 1.2 : Domesday Entries for Hanley

It was these officials who would deal with the commissioners who were sent out on their "circuit"; the circuit in question contained Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire and Cheshire, and commentators have seen a common

approach to the inquiry within a given circuit²²; others however have noted discrepancies between counties in the same circuit, and that could explain to some extent the lack of uniformity in the Hanley returns²³. According to the *Inquisitio Eliensis* the commissioners were instructed to take evidence from the sheriff, from all the barons and their Frenchmen, and from the whole hundred; and from the priest, the reeve and six villeins of each vill. They were to ascertain the name of the manor, who had held it in king Edward's time, who held it now (1086), how many hides there were, how many ploughs in demesne, how many belonging to the people (*hominum*), how many villeins, how many cottagers (*cotarii*), how many slaves, how many free men, how many sokemen, how much woodland, meadow, pasture, how many mills, how many fisheries, how much the whole was worth altogether, and how much each free man or sokeman had; all was to be reported under three dates, namely at the time of king Edward, the time when king William granted it, and now (*quomodo sit modo*); and finally the commissioners had to discover whether more could be got from it than was being got²⁴.

It can be seen in the case of Hanley, and indeed it is true of many other manors, that much of the required information is missing; yet there is much material for discussion. Hanley's four hides when it belonged to Tewkesbury were part of a total of ninety five, all exempt and free from geld and royal service, whether in demesne or not (163c); the exemption seems to date from before 1066. Such detail may have been stored at Tewkesbury, to be confirmed perhaps by the hidage book kept at Winchester²⁵. The same hidage is repeated in the Herefordshire entry, and seems small in proportion to the manor size; but that the hide is not a land measure is shown for example by the case of Powick (174d), which with only three hides maintains forty five and a half plough teams and at least seventy eight male population, while Ripple with Upton (173b) shows twenty five hides for its forty two teams and fifty eight males. The hide seems originally to have been rather related to geld, in that it was a pre-Domesday assessment of land values by which geld was apportioned. A number of hides, initially in multiples of one hundred, was apparently allocated to a shire, and distributed to the "hundreds" of the shire and thence to the manors²⁶. Worcestershire, Maitland's near perfect example, had by his reckoning 1204 hides for its twelve hundreds; but there are problems over the hides of Droitwich, and indeed over those of Hanley and of other manors which were annexed to Hereford. Ratings of four hides, as at Hanley, and multiples thereof, are thought to be based on a "hundred" of eighty hides, replacing largely five hide units in some places before 1086²⁷. Hides in Domesday Book can perhaps be over-emphasised, since ultimately it is not so much a geld list as a tenurial and property list, if it faithfully gives the information desired by the king²⁸.

The vitality and worth of a manor is probably better indicated by numbers of ploughs, although again there are anomalies. In Hanley there are twenty three and a half ploughs in all, including only two on the demesne. The demesne plough numbers are typically small for a royal manor, where there was possibly greater emphasis on the land of the tenants with its revenues²⁹. The tenants in fact had sufficient ploughs (one plough for every 2.1 recorded tenants) to conduct

an efficient arable enterprise, both in their own interests and those of their royal lord. As JD Hamshire says, "Overall the royal demesnes (sc. of the west Midlands) exhibit a statistical profile that might be expected from estates that were largely geared to maximising cash revenue for the Crown"³⁰. But if this implies that rents were more significant than services in 1086, it must be added that in Hanley services are still prominent when we first see them in the early fourteenth century, although by that date commutation was an alternative³¹.

If it is argued that a demesne plough might correspond to 100 acres of arable and a tenant plough to fifty, the sum for Hanley comes to 1275 acres³². This would mean arable of about two square miles in a manor of about nine square miles, roughly half of which was given over to woodland; meadow, pasture and waste remain to be accounted for, but these are not recorded. The density of ploughs for the clays of the Avon valley and the Mudstone of the southern part of the Plain of Worcester (east of the Severn) has been calculated as varying between 3.7 and 4.5 per square mile; elsewhere in the county except the upland parts the figure is between 2.6 and 3.0³³. Hanley's density, with twenty three and a half ploughs in nine square miles, is 2.6, which is a respectable figure considering the extensive woodland. It can certainly be argued that good use was being made of that part of the manor which was available for agriculture. The location of the Domesday arable is impossible to determine precisely, but as will be seen below the east of the manor seems to have been more developed agriculturally than the west until the twelfth century.

The figures for Hanley's **people** in the two Domesday entries are not dissimilar. There were clearly both bordars and villeins, along with slaves, and the Herefordshire folios provide another insight with the reeve, the swineherds and the forester mentioned. To collate the two entries, there is a maximum of forty eight households, excluding slaves, which means a possible population, using the conventional multiplier of 4.5, amounting to something over 200. The case for considering slaves as householders has been put by JS Moore, but we cannot be certain³⁴. In any case great caution is needed in estimating Domesday population, for where omissions have been detected they are quite dramatic: the censarii of Burton abbey were omitted for some manors, so that the multiplier for those, it is suggested, should be fifteen or sixteen³⁵. As for the different elements of population, a table constructed to describe this aspect in the royal manors of Worcestershire in 1086 shows 36 per cent villeins, 48 per cent bordars and 8 per cent slaves, the remainder being described in other ways. The Hanley figures are a little higher for villeins, if we count the swineherds as villeins, and rather lower for bordars; for slaves, at 17 per cent, the Hanley figure approaches the high Gloucestershire percentage in the same table, but as will be seen below, a high percentage of slaves seems to be a feature of the forest as a whole³⁶.

Free men as such are scarcely mentioned in the returns for the western circuit and there are only eight in the whole of Worcestershire³⁷. It is possible that they have been omitted, but equally some may be there in the guise of bordars, who are thought to be the predecessors of the

"smallholders", who were generally free³⁸. People like the forester may however have been free men of a higher status, rather like the thirty six radmen recorded in the county. The six swineherds are from a total of eight in Worcestershire, and of the few noted in the rest of the region there are four at Forthampton, and all are recorded in afforested manors³⁹; that there was some under-recording is illustrated by the 370 swineherds in Devon. At Hanley they rendered sixty swine, probably one for every ten kept: at Leominster for example (180a) each villein with ten swine gave one in payment for pannage⁴⁰; the notional 600 swine in Hanley would readily find pannage in the woodland to the west. The Hanley swineherds had four ploughs, proportionately rather more than the rest of the tenants, so that with a domestic economy enhanced by their swine they were men of some relative worth.

The slaves in Hanley will on the traditional view have been predecessors of the famuli, the men working the demesne land, the women used as cowhands and dairymaids, and all housed on the demesne at the lord's expense. Slaves had certainly provided the "core of demesne labour" in the late Anglo-Saxon period; an eleventh century lease in Luddington shows twelve slaves along with two teams of oxen and 100 sheep⁴¹. JS Moore's suggestion is that the male slaves at least should be counted as heads of household, since there is a number of places where they have land and a share in plough teams and so were possibly cottagers⁴². On the other hand there is the argument that if Roman ideas of slavery persisted as the only model available to Anglo-Saxon lords, then the traditional notion of complete subjection and ownership is more feasible in 1086, even if in due course it was to be modified as lords found it economically more efficient to give a slave a smallholding and a measure of freedom⁴³. Even so when we see the Hanley famuli in the early fourteenth century accounts all five of them are closely dependent on the lord, with wages in cash and in kind and employed as ploughmen, carters, haywards and dairymaids.

The demesne and much else in the manor would be the province of the reeve (pracpositus), who is one of only fifteen recorded in the county. Eleventh century reeves were substantial and important officials, and in a royal manor the man "placed in charge" would be a royal appointee. He might be responsible to a steward who dealt with a group of manors, and who in the case of royal manors would answer to the sheriff; the king's steward for the Hereford firma may well have rendered his account to the sheriff of Herefordshire in 1086, although by the time of the early Pipe Rolls any anomaly has been corrected and it is the Worcestershire sheriff who is accounting for Hanley dues at the Exchequer⁴⁴. As an alternative arrangement in 1086 it has been suggested that without intermediaries the reeve personally rendered his account to royal officials, a system which would ensure direct control of a royal manor⁴⁵.

The last to be recorded is the forester, who holds half a virgate. When we see the office historically it is held by the Hanley family, as a hereditary serjeanty, with the holding increased to one and a half virgates⁴⁶. The Domesday entry for Bushley (180d) states that the Bushley forester also held half a virgate, and that they had both been appointed by earl William to guard the

woodlands: they are the only foresters mentioned in the county in 1086, although other afforestations are recorded⁴⁷. We are not told how they were to divide the care of the forest, but the haia recorded in the Hanley woodland must have been among the responsibilities of the Hanley forester. The purpose of a haia is described in the entry for Kington (176c): habebant i haiam in qua capiebantur ferae; and in Crofton in Shropshire (256b) there is a haia capreolis capiendis. It is obviously a managed area, perhaps containing a largely treeless, fenced enclosure into which deer might be driven for various reasons; that would imply contiguous woodland and a gate or some entrance to it, such as the hagan geat which is seen in the Powick boundary clause; Clifley wood then is one candidate for the Domesday haia, while the other is the haga of the Upton bounds, better placed perhaps for the demesne and the vital parts of the manor⁴⁸. Finally in the woodland at Hanley there was a hawk's eyrie, another responsibility for the forester. There were four eyries in Bromsgrove (172b), in woodland which on paper is only a little larger than Hanley's, but no others are recorded in Worcestershire. The Gloucestershire entry is quite vague about the Hanley woodland, but at Hereford the officials were concerned not only to provide measurements for it but also to record it as being in the forest: haec missa est foris manerium. Malvern forest, of which Hanley was the head, will be discussed in detail below, and methods of measuring the woodland in the forest will be looked at there, along with arguments for its location.

The mill, which is seen in both entries but with a slightly increased value at Hereford, is one of just over 100 recorded in 264 Worcestershire manors⁴⁹. Presumably some manors genuinely did not have mills, either relying still on handmills or sharing facilities with other manors, especially if in the same lordship⁵⁰; it must be remembered also that Domesday is only a glimpse, and some mills may have been omitted because they were out of use when the survey was taken. The value (sc. at farm) of the Hanley mill, at a maximum of 2s, is well below average, but not unusual among the values given in this part of the county⁵¹; Eldersfield for example (180d) is also worth 2s and Braces Leigh (175c) is worth 4s, while the highest value in the immediate woodland area is at Leigh itself, where two mills are valued together at 10s 9d. On the other hand Tewkesbury (163b) had two mills worth 20s, but it was the caput of a large manor and a town with thirteen burgesses and a market; its mills moreover were probably driven by the Avon and lying near the major commercial waterway of the Severn, so that they could doubtless attract trade from a wide area. Hanley's mill on the other hand, on the assumption that it was on the site of the later Burley mills, was powered by the Pool brook, which would probably require some modifications if it was to supply a satisfactory flow.

A low value mill on a slow flowing stream might well have been a horizontal mill, of a simple design and without gears, many of which are presumed to have been built in England from the ninth century, although the evidence is largely circumstantial⁵². Values however may be misleading; for example they might be expected to be related to the number of ploughs in a manor, but such a relationship is hard to seek⁵³: in the case of Hanley there are twenty three and a half ploughs for a mill valued at 2s, while in Eldersfield a mill of the same value serves only

fourteen ploughs. If numbers of ploughs and consequent area of arable in a manor did not determine a mill's value, the implication is that the work of a mill was not restricted to the bounds of a manor.

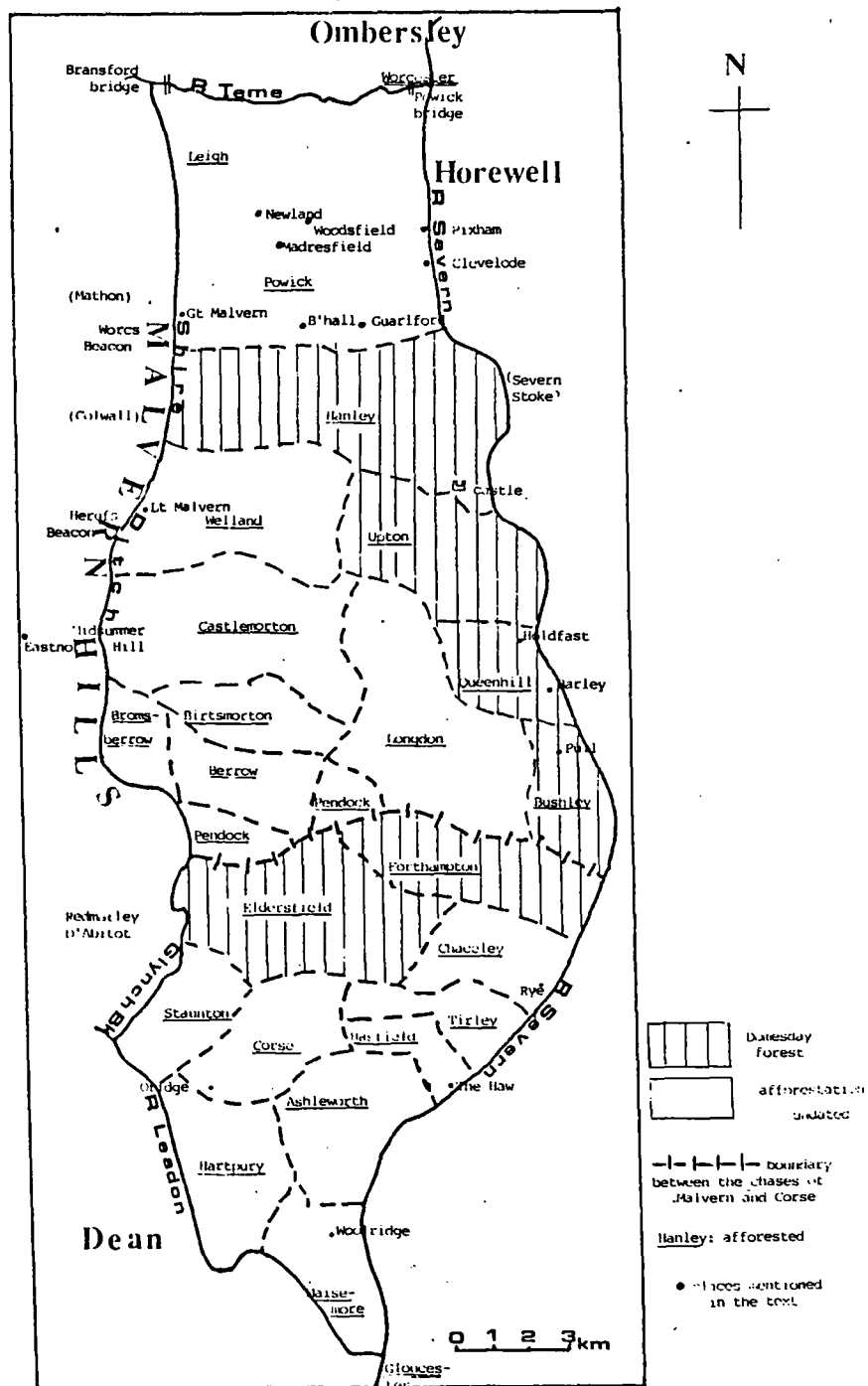
The value of a manor itself is often no easier to account for; the Gloucestershire entry shows Hanley's value falling to £10 from its pre-Conquest figure of £15; no separate values are given for the six FitzOsbern manors in the Herefordshire folios which are said together to pay £50 as farm; and since of those manors Suckley alone (172b) was worth £18 before 1066 it is doubtful if Hanley's value at Hereford was more than the £10 of the Gloucestershire record. Such reducing values come at a time when values of royal manors in Worcestershire generally had increased by 50 per cent⁵⁴. The value of Hanley was not much greater in 1154 when the sheriff rendered account of 59s for a quarter, and this farm became ossified at £12 per year in subsequent Pipe Rolls⁵⁵.

The final Herefordshire entry concerns a villein of Baldenhall who pays two ora of pence "to this manor". It is clear therefore that Baldehyalle is not in the manor of Hanley; although assumed to be lost, a location has been suggested for it at Hall Green, which lies about three quarters of a mile north of the Hanley boundary, and is thought to recall in its name an earlier Baldenhall Green⁵⁶. The evidence for its territory depends to some extent on the location of Baldan rycg and Baldan geat of the Powick boundary clause, which has been examined above. In 1275 the villata de Baldehale covered a wide area, at any rate for subsidy purposes, containing Newland, Woodsfield, Guarlford, Great Malvern and "Nova Buria", and the late fifteenth century bailiff's accounts for Hanley show that villagers of Baldenhall still paid eggs to the forester⁵⁷. This, like the Domesday rent, will have been for pasture or pannage; wood rights seem to have been available to all chase tenants (according to the Customary), but at Hanley and presumably elsewhere they made a nominal payment of Woodpenny. What the Baldenhall villein was paying notionally was two ounces (ora) of Scandinavian silver coin, although no doubt in practice the payment in 1086 was in ordinary pence; one ounce was equivalent to 16d, and it is not uncommon to find mill values given in this unit, as indeed was the value of Hanley's mill⁵⁸.

4. MALVERN FOREST AND CHASE : THE CONTEXT FOR HANLEY

(a) The Forest Area in the Pre-Conquest Period

The royal forest of Malvern and the later chases of Malvern and Corse have been neglected by forest historians, deterred no doubt by a shortage of hard evidence compared with the more ample documentation of some other forests⁵⁹; court rolls for example are largely absent and there are no forest eyre records. Other individual forests in the midlands however have received attention, and there has been considerable work on the general history and nature of forests, so that any new study of a forest does have a context⁶⁰. Map I.3 shows the maximum area of Malvern forest, a total of just over 100 square miles; the bounds are the river Teme on the north, the Severn on the east, the Shire Ditch and the line of the Malvern hills on the west, and the river



Map 1.3: The Forest of Malvern and the Chases of Malvern and Corse

Leadon on the south west; between the southern end of the Shire Ditch and the Leadon the boundary was probably the Glynch brook⁶¹. The forest stretched almost to Worcester in the north east and to the edge of Gloucester in the south, thus covering all the Malvern plain and the largely low-lying land north-north west of Gloucester, which is properly part of the Vale of Gloucester; the whole is considerably more extensive than is often realised, and evidence for its extent will be provided below. Moreover Malvern forest itself was surrounded by others, namely Dean on the south west, the bishop of Hereford's chase (although never a royal forest) on the west, Ombersley on the north, Feckenham on the north east and Horewell on the east.

Only sporadic evidence is available so far of **prehistoric** activity in the area of the forest, although of course it is overlooked by the three hill forts of the Malverns, namely the Worcestershire Beacon, the Herefordshire Beacon (British Camp) and Midsummer Hill, which are dated to the late Bronze Age and the Iron Age⁶². The occasional scatters and single finds of flint in the plain might suggest that there was no more to look for than transitory workshop sites or hunters passing through in the Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Ages, were it not for the case of Pendock. In Pendock alone Professor CC Dyer has found thirteen flint sites which might point to prehistoric land use; this compares with only eighteen sites or individual finds in all the rest of the area under discussion, so that if methodical searching were possible in other places much more activity might be revealed⁶³. Nor should it be forgotten that prehistoric man must have made many more items of wood than of stone, especially in a woodland area, and that these will mostly have perished.

Settlement in the Bronze Age is indicated by burials of that period reported near the Worcestershire Beacon hill fort in the nineteenth century, and at Midsummer Hill the excavators more recently reported Beaker period and late Bronze Age pottery made from "local marly clay deposits" ⁶⁴. At Mathon, to the west of the hills, a Bronze Age "cemetery" was excavated, and there was conjectured continuity of settlement from the late Bronze Age into the Iron Age⁶⁵. It is not in fact until the Iron Age that the hill forts come into their own. Some consider that by then they were controlling extensive territories, but it might be a mistake to think of them as large centres of population which exploited the farmland in the vicinity, a theory which if only because of steep slopes and distances would present some logistical problems for the local economy⁶⁶. Rather they should be seen as tribal or septal oppida, focal points of course, and potential refuges in times of danger either for early pastoralists, as has been argued for the southern part of the plain, or for the inhabitants of small farmsteads on the lower ground, some of which may also have been associated with the pottery industry; and no doubt pottery as well as food rents went as tribute to the powerful hill fort rulers⁶⁷. It was presumably in the Bronze and Iron Ages that the British name moel bryn (the bare hill) was given to the Malvern hills, by people who looked up to the treeless hill tops from the largely wooded country on both sides; the name in fact confirms both those landscape elements⁶⁸. Although occupation sites in the plain have not been identified by excavation, air photographs show what could be Iron Age/Romano-British fields at Hanley and

Powick, and again at Powick an enclosure has been recorded with a single entrance on the east⁶⁹. There is also the potential of low-lying hill forts, which have been noted at Gadbury Bank in Eldersfield and Dripshill in Guarlford⁷⁰. But by and large it has to be said that the study of the prehistory of the region is still in its early stages.

The Roman period begins with the abandonment of the hill forts, as is suggested by the archaeological evidence. The burning of huts at Midsummer Hill has been attributed to the arrival of the troops of Ostorius Scapula in the late 40s of the first century⁷¹. Certainly it would have been impossible for the Romans at that juncture, operating against Caratacus and the Welsh tribes, to countenance heavily defended native sites in their rear. But in one way or another, no doubt with great disruption temporarily to their pattern of life, the native Britons seem to have survived, and the industrial and commercial traditions of the area lived on in the continuation or resurgence of the pottery industry⁷². There must still have been substantial woodland, and while native mixed farms may well have continued in existence the economy can be thought to have been largely woodland-based.

That the Roman administration exploited the resources of the countryside is both expected and well known: the areas to the east of the Severn, such as the Avon valley and the Cotswolds, were systematically developed, to the extent that land was an investment and large estates were constructed, to be run by bailiffs and manned by native workers, many of whom were enslaved⁷³. Withington in Gloucestershire has been postulated as just such an estate, and arguments have been adduced for continuity of population and farming there, along with integrity of boundaries, into the Anglo-Saxon period⁷⁴. The evidence is not easy of interpretation, but the possibility cannot be denied, that the estate of a villa, which in this case can be shown to be contiguous with the probable estates of other villas, survived to become the 4,000 acre endowment of an Anglo-Saxon minster.

In the Malvern plain if estates had existed in the Roman period they might not be those of the conventional villa, equipped mainly for arable farming⁷⁵; but it is possible to argue for estates based on timber production, along with pottery and other related industries. Especially in the first decades of the Roman military occupation, but thereafter too without significant diminution, there was demand for timber and woodland products on a very large scale, whether for building or industrial purposes, and it is highly likely that such a need was catered for in a structured fashion. Up to twenty five acres of mature woodland might be required for the initial construction of an auxiliary fort, and it is estimated that at least 18,000 six foot lengths of timber were needed merely for the corduroy beneath the rampart of a legionary fortress, and about 144,000 pieces for the total defences: additionally much squared timber was used in the many buildings on a military site⁷⁶. There were also civilian and administrative buildings, and wood needed day by day to service the industries of a growing province. Legionary fortresses at Wroxeter and Gloucester and a defended settlement at Worcester may have been among the clients for

Malvern timber, easily shipped along the Severn⁷⁷; and local industries using wood, apart from pottery and tanning, would be iron smelting at Worcester and salt production at Droitwich⁷⁸. The charcoal industry and its consumption of woodland has been little investigated, but it must have been important in the Malvern plain⁷⁹.

An estate to exploit the woodland of the Malvern region might well be based in the Hanley area, an estate providing timber quotas from carefully managed forestry and exporting this and other products by road and river. Such an estate with such functions might be an imperial estate; it is estimated that fifteen per cent of the land area of the empire was imperial property by the year 300, and although imperial estates have yet to be identified precisely in Britain it would be surprising if there were none⁸⁰. There are certainly signs of much greater organisation and specialisation than has often been assumed; for example Romano-British pottery from the Malvern area has been found imported to the arable and sheep farming areas east and south east of the Severn, and it may be that they sent some of their own products across the river in return⁸¹.

The condition of the Malvern woodland and its extent by the end of the Roman period can only be conjectured, but we are reminded of probable growth of population and spread of farmland not only by thirty two pottery scatters in the Pendock fields but also by finds in Hanley, noted above, and in Malvern Link, Welland, Little Malvern, Powick, Queenhill, Bushley, Tirley, Chaceley, Hasfield, Hartpury and Ashleworth, although none of them have involved large quantities to date; and the pottery industry itself will have contributed to the spread of farmland, being responsible for clearing of wood for kiln fuel and employing workers who were almost certainly part-time farmers⁸². If in addition the provincial government did actually sponsor estates for the exploitation of woodland resources we must assume by the fifth century a woodland area rather more limited than that recorded later in the charter bounds and Domesday Book, an area therefore which might have regenerated through less intensive usage in the interim⁸³. One result of any woodland regeneration is thought to be that Romano-British settlement sites might not be obviously available for re-use by Anglo-Saxon settlers, making it that much harder to demonstrate continuity. It is worth noting that only on one site in Pendock did a concentration of Romano-British pottery coincide with a medieval scatter, suggesting indeed that "woodland regeneration over a large area in the post-Roman centuries guaranteed an interruption in settlement continuity"; and as for size of population, Professor Dyer's view on Pendock is that it could have been "at least as extensively cultivated and even as full of people c. 250 as it was to be c. 1250"⁸⁴.

Before looking at Anglo-Saxon settlement it will be useful to examine briefly some traces of the survival of **British language and culture**. It is likely that in the west they never disappeared completely, and after the withdrawal of the Roman administration British names continued in use in the case of Malvern, Pendock, Severn, Leadon and Teme, while British kings ruled in the sixth century in Bath, Cirencester and Gloucester, and the former tribal area of the

Dobunni apparently became more or less in toto the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of the Hwicce⁸⁵. If British names for small streams and rivulets are thought to illustrate the enduring vitality of British culture, on the grounds that "a new language speaking group, if settled in strength, will quickly rename minor waterways"⁸⁶, then the Malvern plain has examples such as the Codra in Powick to support the argument⁸⁷. The continuation of indigenous population in some strength may perhaps also be demonstrated at Droitwich, where salt production went on largely uninterrupted in the post-Roman period, implying the persistence of markets and continued woodland management for charcoal⁸⁸; however, much of the post-Roman pottery from Droitwich was not made locally, which confirms the view that the production of Severn Valley ware had virtually ceased⁸⁹.

It is impossible to put precise dates on the Anglo-Saxon settlement of the Malvern plain, but the kingdom of the Hwicce, which extended west of the Severn, was established in the early seventh century, and it can be supposed that after the defeat of the British kings at Dyrham in 577 there was a period of gradual immigration and settlement. It is not clear when the Anglo-Saxon estates came into being, but in the case of Hanley if the boundaries of a conjectured Roman estate had somehow survived during the intervening "British period" there might have been continuity as postulated for Withington. Hanley would have made a very serviceable "economic land unit", perhaps more heavily wooded after regeneration than a perfect balance would require, but nevertheless offering a variety of land uses, ranging from arable to hunting, and a variety of resources; the various "Ends" may even be relics of smaller land units within such an estate, possibly wood pasture hamlets poised to grow in the later medieval period⁹⁰.

The extant documentary evidence for the Anglo-Saxon presence in the area begins in 825, with a charter concerning swine pasture in Leigh Sinton, which the swineherds wished to extend by taking in extra woodland. Then, in a charter dated 889, the ealdorman Athulf grants the villages of Upton and Welland, said to have belonged at one time to king Ceonwulf, to the church of Worcester⁹¹. This charter is recorded by Dugdale, but the original is lost, so that its authenticity is in doubt⁹². What it suggests if genuine is that these two villas were well established and valuable by this time, a finding which in view of all the circumstantial evidence is not surprising. In the year 962 six mansae at Upton were granted by bishop Oswald to his thegn Cynelm; this charter is generally regarded as authentic and it carries the contemporary boundary clause for Upton already discussed⁹³. The great charter of king Edgar, dated to 972, which confirms their lands to the monks of Pershore, is seen as dubious by some authorities, but its boundary clauses for Leigh, Powick, Longdon (including Castlemorton and Birtsmorton), Eldersfield, Chaceley and Staunton afford considerable landscape detail which does not of course depend for its value on the authenticity of the charter⁹⁴. Bounds of a mansa in Redmarley Dabiot are attached to a charter of 963, and another relevant charter, regarded as genuine and with contemporary bounds, is for Pendock (with Didcot) and is dated to 967⁹⁵. Finally the Deerhurst charter, existing only in a fourteenth century copy but presumed to be genuinely dating from the time of king Edward, gives bounds for parts of

Tirley, Corse and Oridge, and so extends the landscape evidence to the southern area of the later forest⁹⁶.

Granted that the landscape features mentioned in the charter bounds are on the peripheries of estates, yet there are sufficient of them to give an intelligible picture. It is clear that the plentiful woodland of the area to be afforested was broken into by settlements which were the valuable property of kings, thegns and churches, and the names of these settlements are themselves illuminating. For example Leigh is OE leah meaning a clearing in woodland, perhaps for pasture or sometimes indicating woodland itself, and Hanley is the high (OE han) clearing, with its two hagas⁹⁷. Powick is probably the wic (dairy farm or settlement) of *Poha's people, while Hardwick, just to the south of Pendock, is the wic of the herd or flock. Upton is the tun upstream from Ripple, of which it was a member at Domesday, while Birtsmorton and Castlemorton are tuns on the mor (the waste or the moorland), and Staunton is revealed as the stan tun (OE stan, stone, perhaps the tun on stony ground. Madresfield (OE feld, open land), along with Woodsfield, Eldersfield and Hasfield, is described as open in contrast perhaps to woodland or hilly ground. Pendock (Welsh pen, hill and *heiddiog, barley) suggests arable on rising ground, while further south Chaceley is possibly the clearing in the yew wood (OE ceatewes leah), and Tirley the round clearing (OE trinde). Oridge (Harridge) is the hagan ridge, and The Haw, east of Hasfield, is another reference to a haga. Corse is derived from the Welsh for bog or fen, making Corsmersc of the charter bounds a tautology. Finally in the extreme south of the plain Hartpury refers to pear trees (OL piige), Ashleworth to ash trees, and Maisemore when first named was apparently moor or waste.

The specific features in the boundary clauses add more detail to this broad landscape information. Leigh has Eadwoldincg leah, the clearing of Eadwold, and there is arable or meadow (an aecer) associated with it; but there is also a hagan geat, and the later Madresfield brook is seemingly called the hunting brook (waethe burnan : OE wath, hunting, but possibly waeth, a ford); and the sand seathas (OE seath, a pit) seem to be in the area where a Romano-British tile kiln was excavated, at Sandlins farm, so that the sand pits may have been associated with the industry⁹⁸. In Powick the overriding impression is of woodland, in spite of the various felds and in spite of the absence of woodland in the Domesday entry, an example of Domesday shortcomings being made good by the charters⁹⁹. Clearings in the woodland are indicated by cust leahe (cust referring to Quist hill?) and steapan leahe (the steep clearing, perhaps on the hill slopes), but on the south east there is the haga of Cliffey wood, and elsewhere there is snaed hege (fence or haga belonging to an enclosed wood), troh hrycge (OE treow, a tree), lind rycg (the lime ridge) and the scirhylt (shire wood?); along with these general woodland indicators is a series of trees, including oak and lime, which must have been landmarks. Powick's features are completed by names suggesting communications, such as ealden straet (the old ?Roman road), Cardan stigele (the stile of *Carda), and Codran ford (a crossing of the Codra).

Upton's feld seems to consist of arable land (pone feld a be pan wuda swa sulh 7 sipe hit

gegan maege - the open land always by the wood as plough and scythe are wont to go), but feld as we have already observed is not bound to be arable, even though at a later stage the word was regularly used for individual arable fields belonging to a settlement¹⁰⁰. Upton also has aecer geard, a fence probably for the arable, but by contrast elsewhere on the estate there is sec mor and fulan mor (sedge marsh and foul marsh), with the word mor here probably bearing the meaning more commonly given to merse¹⁰¹; and for woodland two hagas are mentioned and there are two named oak trees as landmarks. The Longdon boundary clause begins with the hedge of Wilferth's meadow, possibly in Bushley, and Tidbriht's hamme or water meadow. Crops are shown by pis brec, land broken for growing peas, and woodland by a wulf haga, presumably a fence against wolves which in its turn suggests the presence of some kind of deer park; there is also a second haga with its geate, and on the west, in Castlemorton, is a swyn geat, that is access for swine to winter pastures which were apparently on the hill slopes. Some hill paths are still known as "pig paths".

The manmade parts of Pendock's boundary landscape include a bridge, a road (straete), two areas of feld, some meadow, a furlong of ploughland (herth landes) and a grass enclosure (gaerstune). Woodland is shown by the north fence (northgeardes), the north clearing (northran styfcing), a swin hagan, a grove(graefe), and a fence on a wooded hill slope (hvrst geard); the picture is completed by a rushy hollow (risc hale) and a salt glade (sealt leage), the latter pointing to the presence of the flooding river and the "slightly saline springs" of the Mudstone in the Longdon Marsh area; tidal waters came to Worcester until the mid-nineteenth century¹⁰². The bounds of Eldersfield show a bradan leahe (OF: bradan, broad) and a hagan leahe, testifying to the presence of woodland: there is also the black moor or marsh, which has a way across it (blacan mores forda), and a risc hale, but the bounds of Eldersfield do not touch any arable or meadow. In Redmarley Dabiot, which however, as we shall see below, was probably not in the forest, there is a salt way fording the Glynych brook (sealter forda ondlong Glences) and a heah straet, presumably a major route; there is feld in miclan feld, and clearings in longan leage and byrce leage (birchwood clearing); arable is denoted in three places, namely two headlands (Ceolan heafden and heafodstige - Ceola's headland and the headland path), and an old balk (ealden gemaeres)¹⁰³. Chaceley has Cumbran weorthe (Cumbra's enclosure or farm) and woodland is shown by a graefe, while the Staunton bounds are mainly points on streams and include a bridge and a ford, emphasising communications. Further south the peripheral landscape of Corse, Tirley and Oridge is very much like that of the north, with enclosures in the woodland (one of them is mar hagan, the haga on the boundary), marshy ground, moorland and farmland; the latter is specified as arable (Duddes akere) and pasture (leas hricg)¹⁰⁴.

It is not unreasonable to assume that land on the perimeter of estates was less cultivated than that of the interior, where settlements tended to have their arable within reach; any arable at all on the boundaries is therefore noteworthy. Where arable predominated on estates, as in the Avon valley, references to it are also predominant in the charter bounds¹⁰⁵. Although the main

impression in the area later to be Malvern forest, which we have just examined, is one of woodland, yet there is sufficient arable, with pasture and meadow, to suggest a successful mixed economy based on a number of settlements which were the focuses of their estates in the late Anglo-Saxon period. It will be seen below that there must have been over 250 ploughs in 1086, so that it was hardly the landscape which was described by William of Malmesbury shortly after the Conquest as vastissimo illo saltu quod Malvernum vocatur¹⁰⁶; there was certainly plenty of woodland pasture, as saltus is best translated, but it was not the waste or wilderness which has sometimes been deduced from William's words¹⁰⁷. For the Normans this countryside had many of the familiar prerequisites of a forest, which of course implies much more than mere woodland, with enough in the way of natural resources and manmade economy to make it potentially profitable; revenue would come both from products and from the dues which could be exacted under forest law; and to judge by the number of hagas, even if the name does not always imply hunting, yet hunting was already prominent. It is therefore no surprise that shortly after the Conquest perhaps the whole of this landscape was declared a forest¹⁰⁸.

(b) Domesday and the Later Forest

Although there were some eighty royal forests only twenty five are referred to in Domesday Book and Malvern is one of these¹⁰⁹. Initially only the woodland was said to be "put in the forest", but there seems to be no doubt that whole manors were eventually seen as subject to forest law. Tenants were thus forbidden free hunting and restricted in their use of timber, wood and foliage in order to preserve cover and food for the deer; afforestation also limited access to pasture for their animals, and to some degree inhibited assarting of land for arable cultivation and settlement¹¹⁰. Table I.3 shows the manors whose woodland, according to Domesday Book, constituted the forest of Malvern; against each manor are given the extracts which refer, either directly or obliquely, to woodland and forest. The manors involved were Hanley, Bushley with Pull, Queenhill, Upton, Forthampton and Eldersfield, with in some cases other settlements named within them. A variety of expressions is used to describe afforestation. For Hanley the woodland was "put outside the manor", and a similar formula is employed for Queenhill and Eldersfield. In Forthampton the woodland is said to be "in the enclosure of the king's woodland", while for Upton it is simply "in Malvern" and "in the forest". As was seen above, the Bushley/Pull entry records the appointment (before 1071, the year of his death) by William FitzOsbern, earl of Hereford, of two foresters who had themselves been "put outside his manors" to guard the woodlands. Map I.3 shows the whole of any manor whose woodland was actually said in 1086 to be in the forest, and it distinguishes those manors from the others in the Malvern plain which either then or later were part of the forest, the evidence for which will be seen below. Parish boundaries are used because it is impossible to isolate geographically all manorial holdings: and in any case, as we saw with Hanley, there is some coincidence between the bounds of Anglo-Saxon estates, medieval manors and ecclesiastical parishes¹¹¹.

folio	manor	woodland
180d	Hanley(Herefs entry)	-woodland 5 leagues between length & breadth -put outside the manor(<u>missa est foris manerium</u>) -a forester holds half a virgate -6 <u>porcarii</u> render 60 swine -a hawk's eyrie
163c	Hanley(Gloucs entry)	-woodland in which there is a <u>haia</u>
180d	Bushley/Pull(Herefs entry)	-woodland 1 league long and as wide -earl William put two foresters outside his manors (<u>extra suos [sic] maneria</u>), one from Hanley and the other from Bushley, to guard the woodlands -a forester holds half a virgate
173b	Bushley (1 hide) (Worcs entry)	-woodland ½ league long & 3 furlongs wide
180d	Queenhill(Herefs entry)	-the woodland has been put outside the manor (<u>est foris manerium missa</u>) -1 <u>porcarius</u>
173b	Queenhill(1 hide) (Worcs entry)	-2 furlongs of woodland
173b	Upton(member of Ripple; entered under Worcs only)	-woodland ½ league long & 3 furlongs wide, <u>in Malferna</u> -from this land [the bishop] used to have the honey and hunting and whatever issues there were, and 10s in addition. Now it is in the forest. The hishop [now] receives from it pannage and firewood and [wood for] repair of houses
180d	Forthampton(Herefs entry)	-woodland 3 leagues between length & breadth -it is in the enclosure of the king's woodland (<u>in defenso silvae regis est</u>) -4 <u>porcarii</u> render 35 swine -a hawk's eyrie
163c	Forthampton(Gloucs entry)	-woodland there (<u>ibi silva</u>)
180d	Eldersfield(Herefs entry)	-woodland 2 leagues long and 2 wide -it has been put outside the manor (<u>extra manerium est missa</u>)
174d	Eldersfield(Worcs entry)	(no woodland given)

Table I.3 : The Forest in Domesday Book : Recorded Woodland

It can be argued in the case of Malvern that what is recorded in Domesday Book is the whole of the afforestation imposed by 1071; on the other hand such an area is incomplete geographically. However that may be, all the manors cited had been given after the Conquest to William FitzOsbern, earl of Hereford, with the exception of Upton, to be considered below¹¹². In his appointment of foresters it is possible that earl William was acting for the Crown, but equally Malvern with its core of his own manors may have been his private forest; if so, such independence of action might be thought to confirm his status as a palatine earl not only in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, as is generally accepted, but also in Worcestershire¹¹³. His authority is well shown also by the manner in which he granted away churches, tithes and other assets from each of his manors in Malvern, along with a tithe of the forest itself, to the abbey which he had founded at Lire in Normandy¹¹⁴. Only the Herefordshire folios record the afforestation, and the officials at Hereford kept the details and reported them to the commissioners. These latter had not been required to record forests, but a forest which had been controlled by a tenant-in-chief or an earl palatine might be worth describing.

When earl William's son forfeited his estates in 1075 the forest, whether comprising only earl William's manors along with Upton or already covering the whole of the Malvern plain, would now certainly belong to the Crown¹¹⁵. There seems to have been a problem over Upton, which had belonged to the bishop of Worcester, but which is said to be now (*modo*) in the forest, as if it had not been part of the original plan. The bishop had lost important privileges in Upton, including the hunting; he was however recompensed with the same privileges in the woodland of Bredon manor (173a), which lay at Welland¹¹⁶. There is a hint here of obstacles to a sweeping afforestation of the whole area, and it has to be said that there is no firm evidence of afforestation beyond that described in Domesday Book until the twelfth century.

Of the two foresters the one appointed from Hanley became the chief forester, and the office was held by the Hanley family, who were still living at Hanley Hall as foresters in the late fifteenth century¹¹⁷. The Pipe Roll for 1165-6 shows the Hanleys accounting for pleas of the forest (*Robertus de Henlea reddit computum de xl s. de misericordia de placitis Alani de Nevill' de foresta*), and the same manor of Hanley, eventually with its castle, was not only the base of the chief forester but also the centre of forest administration¹¹⁸. This may suggest that the Norman kings visited Hanley frequently; as JA Green remarks, "It would make sense if prime hunting reserves most used by the king were more carefully protected than those he rarely visited"¹¹⁹. The forest in the Hanley area was indeed carefully protected, and there may have been some forerunner of the castle. For his responsibilities Gilbert de Hanley by 1212 had the additional virgate in Hanley noted above, and no doubt he was also using his position to increase his private holdings. The foresters at Bushley/Pull were the Columba family, who probably held the half virgate recorded in 1086 and later held the manor of Pull by the same serjeanty of "keeping the *haja* of Bushley"¹²⁰; again the office is hereditary, and the family is recorded in the Pipe Rolls

from 1155-6 as holding additional land in Bushley and Eldersfield, for which they paid £4 10s, which the sheriff accounts for¹²¹. It is interesting that the family seems to have been connected with the Hanleys : in the twelfth century William de Colecumba is described as the son of Simon de Hanley, who was probably chief forester c. 1170, so that in practice the Hanley family had control of the whole forest ¹²².

The six manors whose woodland was afforested at Domesday can be taken as examples in attempting to **measure the woodland area** of the forest as a whole; details are given in Table I.3 and the woodland of the remaining manors, where known, is given in Table I.4. Measurement depends on the length assumed for the league and on the interpretation of the various formulae. The league is generally regarded as one and a half miles, but JH Round suggested a Worcestershire league of only half a mile (four furlongs), on his argument that in the Worcestershire folios there is no measurement greater than three furlongs¹²³. There are however examples of four furlongs at Croome (173b), Grafton Flyford (175a) and Bellington (177b), and figures above three also occur in Gloucestershire (one measurement of five furlongs and one of six) and in Herefordshire (two of four and two of five), which were counties belonging to the same circuit¹²⁴. In all three counties, it is true, most of the furlong measurements are of three or below, but the conclusion to be drawn might rather be that these were the measurements, along with the frequent half a league (six furlongs) and multiples of one league, with which juries and officials felt familiar. We must then assume the conventional league of one and a half miles or approximations to it, bearing in mind that there was probably very little accurate and deliberate mensuration¹²⁵.

In the Domesday entries under discussion there are three formulae. In the first (Bushley, Upton and Eldersfield) both dimensions are given, so that it is possible to arrive at an area measure by simple multiplication; in the second (Queenhill) only one dimension is given, and here there is a general assumption that the figure represents both length and breadth, so that two furlongs means 2 x 2 furlongs; in the third (Hanley and Forthampton) the woodland is said to be n leagues between (inter) length and breadth, and here again the the convention has been to assume that the area will be n x n. In that case however Hanley's woodland of "five leagues between length and breadth" would cover an area of 56.25 square miles in a manor of just over nine square miles, and Eldersfield would have woodland twice the area of the manor. O Rackham interprets the inter phrases as meaning the sum of the length and breadth, so that five leagues between length and breadth might represent either 3 x 2 or 4 x 1, producing for Hanley figures of thirteen and a half or nine square miles, both of them too large¹²⁶. The figures would be a little more acceptable if Hanley's woodland were thought to include Powick, which has no woodland in Domesday Book, and perhaps Forthampton's to include Queenhill, which has none in the Herefordshire entry; but it might be safer to say that we do not understand many of these woodland measurements and we cannot be certain how much woodland was in Malvern forest. However Worcestershire as a whole is seen as the most heavily wooded of all Domesday counties, with woodland covering forty per cent of its surface¹²⁷.

<u>folio</u>	<u>manor</u>	<u>description of woodland</u>
175c	Leigh	woodland 3 leagues long & 2 wide
174d	Powick	(no woodland given)
173a	Bredon (woodland in Welland?)	woodland 2 leagues long & 1½ wide; the bishop has 10s from it and the issues of honey, hunting and other things
174d Eve A 60	Birtsmorton	(no woodland given)
174c	Longdon (incl Castlemorton)	woodland 3 leagues long and 2 wide
168b	Bromsberrow	woodland 2 leagues long & 1 wide
173d Eve A 135	(Overbury &) Pendock (wood- land in Berrow?)	woodland 1 league long and 1 wide
173a	Pendock (east?)	woodland ½ league long & ½ wide
174c Eve A 53 Eve C 108	Staunton	woodland 1 league long & ½ wide
174d Eve A 55 Eve C 106	Chaceley	woodland 3 furlongs long and two wide
163a	Ashleworth	no woodland given separately : member of Berkeley
166b	Hasfield	no woodland given separately : member of Deerhurst
166b	The Haw	" " "
166b	Oridge	" " "
166b	Rye	" " "

- - Corse, Tirley, Hartpury and Maisemore are not entered in Domesday Book

Table I.4 : Parts of the forest not given as afforested in Domesday Book -
recorded woodland

<u>folio</u>	<u>manor</u>	<u>villeins</u>	<u>bordars</u>	<u>others</u>	<u>slaves</u>	<u>meadow</u> (acres)	<u>tenant</u> ploughs	<u>demesne</u> ploughs
180d 163c	Hanley	20 (40)	17	8	9 (8)		21½	2 (2)
180d 173b	Bushley/Pull	4	8	5	8	20	5	2
180d 173b	Queenhill	9	3	2		8	4½	1
173b	Upton* (incl Holdfast)	20	15	1	5	20	19	3
180d 163c	Forthampton	8 (20)		4	6		6	3 (2)
180d 174d	Eldersfield	13 (12)	13 (12)	6	5 (10)		11 (14)	3 (3)
175c	Leigh (incl Bransford)	14	52	1	4	30	37	5
174d	Powick*(incl Pixham, Clevelode, Madresfield)	17	49+	13	24+	20	40	5½
174d	Birtsmorton	4	5			12	3	2
174c	Longdon (incl Castlemorton)	10	17	1	8	40	6	3
168b	Bromsberrow	11	8		1		14	1
173d	(Overbury with) Pendock*(incl Berrow)	8	4	1	4	5	6	1½
173a	Pendock (east?)		3		4			2
174d	Staunton	3	8	1	4	12	5	
174d	Chaceley	3	9		11	28	3	5
TOTALS		144	211	43	93	195	181	39

Notes

1. Bracketed numbers, relating to manors with two entries in Domesday Book, are not included in totals
2. The Upton figures represent half of the Ripple totals, of which Upton was the only member; they can only be estimates
3. The Powick figures for bordars and slaves should be increased by an unknown amount: the 'radmans' had several (plures) bordars and slaves
4. The Pendock figures (173d) represent half of the Overbury/Pendock totals
5. None of the above information is recorded for Ashleworth, Hasfield, The Haw, Oridge and Rye; Corse, Tirley, Hartpury and Maisemore are not entered in Domesday Book

Table I.5 : Selected Domesday Book statistics of the forest area

Nor is the amount of **arable** in the forest area any easier to estimate. Table I.5 shows 181 tenant ploughs and 39 demesne ploughs, but four manors in the south of the forest are not recorded at all and for several others there is no information about ploughs. However, extrapolating from the Hanley figure of 2.5 ploughs per square mile we might expect 250 ploughs in the 100 square miles of forest at its maximum. The recorded ploughs are in the proportion of 4½ tenant ploughs to every demesne plough; the notional 250 therefore could be seen as 205 and 45 respectively. By the formula suggested in the earlier discussion on the Hanley ploughs there would be 14,750 acres of arable, or 23 square miles. It is interesting that nowhere in the relevant Domesday entries is it said that there could be more ploughs in a manor; however this might be interpreted, it is in contrast with many other forest areas, which J West has demonstrated were generally "underploughed" and recorded as such in Domesday Book¹²⁸; it may be that in Malvern the areas available for arable were considered as being satisfactorily exploited. As for meadow, it has been estimated that one acre is required to sustain one ox¹²⁹. At eight oxen to a team, admittedly to some extent a notional figure, our 250 ploughs would be drawn by 2000 oxen, which would consume therefore over three square miles of meadow¹³⁰. Obviously there was meadow in the forest, and Table I.5 shows what is presumably demesne meadow; but in general meadows along the Severn are recorded infrequently¹³¹.

It will be seen from Table I.5 that the number of **people** recorded in the forest is 491 but again there are many omissions in the south. Of this number 93 are slaves, mainly on the Worcestershire manors: at almost 20 per cent this figure for the forest is a higher proportion than in Worcestershire at large, where the figure is 16 per cent¹³². The proportion of bordars is near the county average, at just over 40 per cent; in fact one might expect many more smallholders, if that is what they are, in the woodland; detail from the southern manors might have made a difference. Applying the multiplier of 4.5 and taking slaves as non-householders there is a total population visible of almost 2000.

The above discussion of woodland, arable, meadow and population is based on the maximum extent of the forest; but as we saw, it is impossible to judge whether the forest was complete in 1086. However, for those manors not actually stated to be afforested in Domesday Book there is generally twelfth century evidence of afforestation; this was in any case a period of general forest expansion¹³³. The documentary evidence for the afforestation of these areas will now be examined; Map 14³ refers. The manor of Powick, which as we saw was given no woodland in Domesday Book, was at least partially afforested by the early part of the century. Evesham A, a manuscript related to Domesday, shows that this manor stretched to include part of Bransford in the west (Eve A 64) and to Clevelode (A70) and Pixham (A67) in the east, and that it embraced Madresfield (A65) and by implication Guarlford and Baldenhall, along with Newland, Woodsfield and the Great Malvern area¹³⁴. Licence for assarting implies afforestation, and in 1127 the king confirmed to the monks of Great Malvern, who leased the manor from Westminster, their new assarts in Woodsfield and "Limberga"¹³⁵; and somewhat later the woods of Newland, Woodsfield

and Baldenhall, along with "Northwood", were added to the assarts "without prejudice to the hunting"¹³⁶; that is, the assarts would still be under forest law in that the deer would have precedence.

At **Welland** the "bishop's forest" in 1182 was in the custody of Robert Bagepol and by the same year thirty acres of it had already been assarted at fulan mor on the north west boundary of Upton¹³⁷. Richard I in 1189 freed 113 acres for the bishop at Upton and 34 at Welland "from pleas and regard of the forest", and in 1196 the bishop was permitted to assart another 300 acres of his wood in Welland¹³⁸. The substantial woodland still remaining after agricultural development was considered as belonging to Bredon, a manor of which Welland was a member, although its membership was not mentioned in Domesday Book (173a). Extents of Bredon with Welland in the thirteenth century illustrate the links; the issues of the bishop's wood in Malvern are shown, an avercman of Bredon was entitled to one oak per year from Malvern, and Bredon manor collected pannage rents from Welland¹³⁹. The bishop also had woodland at "Malverne super Montem", possibly Little Malvern, for in 1200 he granted to the monks of that priory their fuel and an oak tree annually¹⁴⁰. The bishop appears to have had some freedom in the management of his woods, but his woodwards must have been aware of the forest around them and the authority of the chief forester; grants of woods to individuals were usually accompanied by an obligation to appoint suitable woodwards and to exercise general custody for the Crown, which was always reluctant to relinquish all rights; and in spite of everything such woods were often still covered in some measure by the courts of the chief justice of the royal forests and his justices in eyre, who enforced where they could the assize of the forest¹⁴¹.

That **Longdon** was also in the forest in the twelfth century is implied by a charter of Henry II (c. 1195), granting to William Folliott of Longdon all his assarts in Worcestershire¹⁴². Some of these assarts may have been in **Castlemorton**, known as Morton Folliott, so placing that also in the forest. "Morton" was certainly in the forest early in the next century, when Robert Calvestail in 1210 held six acres "in Merton (sic) by serjeanty of keeping the forest of Malvern"¹⁴³; such subforesters must have been appointed in many areas, but few have been noted. The case for parts of **Leigh**, including some of Bransford, along with **Birtsmorton** and **Bromsberrow**, rests partly on the Customary of Hanley and the chase, where the lords of Bromsberrow and Birtsmorton are named as free suitors to the chase court, and Bransford bridge is seen to mark the north western limit¹⁴⁴. The lords of Castle Leigh and Bromsberrow are presented for default in the one surviving chase court roll, and **Berrow** appears in the chase when the lord is listed in the estreats of the "forester of Calvest' " in 1479. Berrow is listed in Evesham A (A135) as part of Overbury with Pendock, and it was a chapelry of Overbury¹⁴⁵; it is possible then that the Domesday woodland of Overbury with Pendock (173d) was in Berrow. **Pendock** itself was afforested by the late twelfth century at the latest: in 1189 a grant was made to the Knights Hospitaller of four and a half acres of assart there, and in 1175-6, according to the Pipe Rolls, the

Pendock family had paid fines, probably for assarting ¹⁴⁶.

South of Eldersfield and Forthampton the afforestation evidence again begins in the twelfth century. In 1179 earl William of Gloucester confirmed to the monks of Gloucester all their old and new assarts in **Maisemore, Hartpury, Morton, Corse, Woolridge** and "Corswelle"¹⁴⁷; these had been granted by Henry I, who also gave them some land at Maisemore before 1112¹⁴⁸. The forester of Malvern was forbidden at that time to enter Woolridge or "Corswelle", an example of "apparent disafforestation"; there is however no doubt from later evidence that they were truly in the forest, but as with the bishop's wood at Welland there was some flexibility¹⁴⁹. These southern limits of the forest are hinted at in the Customary, which allows to the tenants of Hanley pasture rights from Powick bridge to Maisemore bridge; Hanleysfeld in Maisemore, in a charter of 1340, is a name which strengthens the evidence for a link which is not otherwise mentioned or explained, except of course that Hanley was the caput of the forest and the Hanley family were the chief foresters¹⁵⁰. Afforestation in the south is further confirmed by a charter of Count John of Mortain dated 1189x1191, which is a quitclaim to the monks of Gloucester of "all my wood at Woolridge (Wivelrugge) which is inside the bounds of my forest of Malvern (infra metas foreste mee de Malverna)"¹⁵¹; and another charter of 1199 speaks of Corse wood "in our forest of Malvern"¹⁵². Woolridge is just north of Maisemore, and there is no doubt that the forest of Malvern came to the north western edge of Gloucester.

Places unaccounted for above include **Chaceley**, where one of Westminster abbey's tenants in 1280 was Simon the forester¹⁵³, and **Hasfield, Tirley and Ashleworth**, which are shown to be in the chase by an IPM of 1350, while the court roll of Corse chase of 1615 confirms the presence of **Staunton**¹⁵⁴. In the south only Redmarley Dabiot might remain to be explained; there is no evidence for its afforestation, and Staunton tenants claimed common rights only to the east of Glynch brook, as if that were the chase boundary¹⁵⁵; additionally the list of ameracements attached to the Perambulation of 1584 includes a fine for a tenant of Castlemorton "for hedging in Redmarley with chase wood", seeming to imply that Redmarley was not itself in the chase. Thus then, from Leigh and Powick to Maisemore, and from the hills and the Leadon to the Severn, we have the forest of Malvern, with parts of it known to have been afforested by 1086 and the rest included either at the same time or shortly afterwards.

As for the location of the woodland within the afforested manors, although an overview will be attempted, there are not many direct clues, except perhaps in Hanley itself. Here, as will be seen in more detail later, the woodland was largely to the west of a line north-south from Blackmore to Hanley Swan, an area which is called boscum Malvern' in fourteenth century deeds (eg L5); to the south of it is the "Flatts and Cleeres", which in the 1628 survey for disafforestation contained "great trees but little timber and much other good underwood"¹⁵⁶. This woodland towards the hills, represented also in 1628 by "the earl's wood or Hanley common", will have been within reach of the homes of the Domesday swincherds. Woollysfelde in the vicinity of Blackmore

End suggests the former presence of wolves, which in the twelfth century Walter de Beauchamp and his men were given licence by the king to hunt in the royal forests of Worcestershire¹⁵⁷; and Derefalwode (deer fold) in the same area in the late fifteenth century accounts points to the management of game. There are also many Hanley field and place names which imply early clearance of woodland, extending across the manor. Cliffey in the east was the demesne wood but will nevertheless have been subject to forest law, and the official duties of the sixteenth century keeper of Cliffey extended westwards across the chase. Other woodland in the east was preserved in the park at Hanley, which along with Blackmore park indicates the need eventually to concentrate hunting; the chase in the wide sense was profitable in exactions, but private woods, small assarts and increasing settlement would make hunting across the whole chase gradually less practical.

The Hanley pattern, with the major woodland towards the west, seems by and large to be repeated elsewhere in the forest. The assarting in Powick, noted above, was in the centre and west of the manor, and it can be assumed that as with Hanley the east was developed first, with 43½ ploughs tilling the arable in 1086, while the woodland in the west awaited assarting. There was of course the woodland pasture of the saltus vastissimus, and the original grant of land for Great Malvern priory had included "the wood as far as Baldyate"¹⁵⁸. The Cliffey forester's "walk", according to the Perambulation, reached to the Link and Howsells; at Howsells there was some of Leigh's woodland, which also stretched north towards the Teme at Bransford.

Welland as we saw contained the bishop's wood, which Nash says was near the mill, and the woodland of the Little Malvern area, again in the west¹⁵⁹. The appointment of bishop's woodward was supposedly hereditary, and so seldom appears in the registers, but bishop Montacute records an appointment in 1334 and the Welland woodland made up a large part of the chase in 1628¹⁶⁰. As for Upton, the Domesday entry (for Ripple) states that the woodland is in Malferna, since nowhere is Ripple itself said to be in the forest or chase, which did not extend across the river, the woodland in question must be on the Upton side. Assarting at Upton in the late twelfth century was noted above, and in 1194 William de Saltmarsh paid five marks "for retaining the park at Upton until the king's return from Normandy"¹⁶¹; the park site may be marked by Stanks Lodge (stank being related to Latin stagnum, (fish)pond), on the south central boundary of the manor, while the rest of the Upton woodland, running north from this, will have been a southern extension of the Hanley hunting grounds, with their haga on the Upton boundary and woods in The Hook, which later had its own forester and in 1628 was described as parcel of the chase. The woodland of Anglo-Saxon Upton, according to the charter bounds, had extended south east to Longdon Heath, where wuda and another haga were recorded. Upton's woodland may have merged into Longdon's in this area, which in turn may represent that "part of Longdon" which was in the chase in the sixteenth century. The late fifteenth century estreats show a fine in the chase court for the lord of Muchgros, which was probably further west at Longdon Hill End¹⁶². East of Longdon, the Domesday woodland of Queenhill and Holdfast has not been exactly located;

in Bushley there was certainly woodland in the south of the manor, where Bushley park is probably the successor of the haia mentioned above.

The swyn geat of the charter bounds, in the extreme south west of Longdon, suggests a further tract of Longdon's woodland, and some of it may also have been in Birtsmorton, which is given in Evesham A (A60) as part of Longdon, and in Castlemorton, as was seen above. "Half the forest which belongs to the manor of Morton" was bought by the abbot of Westminster before 1246, probably to make a private wood, and in the 1628 survey the remnants of the woodland in Castlemorton still belonged to Westminster¹⁶³. "The wood of Morton" had appeared also in 1241, when Walter de Longdon gave to the priory of Little Malvern all his lands in Hollybed (Olbed) extending from the wood of Morton to the land of Richard de Muchgros¹⁶⁴.

In Pendock recent work has demonstrated early clearance of woodland in both east and west of the manor¹⁶⁵, Berrow's part of the chase in 1628 extended from "Warnters Down" to the Ledbury-Tewkesbury road; the woodland of Bromsberrow was south of Charmills Pool, which according to the Customary was officially the southern limit of the forester's jurisdiction, after the forest was divided into two chases. In Forthampton in the twelfth century the monks of Tewkesbury were permitted to assart at Swinley, in the west of the manor, possibly the home territory of the four Domesday swineherds¹⁶⁶. Some of Eldersfield's woodland can be seen in the south of the manor, where it adjoined Corse; here was concentrated the major woodland of this part of the forest, which remained as Corse lawn (sc. laund) until the eighteenth century¹⁶⁷. Assarts of about 1240 in the east of the manor of Corse are recorded in the Westminster abbey muniments, and at the end of the century there was further assarting in the west¹⁶⁸. The king in 1199 granted to Adam de Netheweie six acres "in the forest of Malvern under Corsewood (Corswde) next to the covert of the wood"; this assart was in fact in Tirley, whose woodland seems to have been mostly in the west, as was the case also with Chaceley and Hasfield. In Maisemore and Hartpury in the thirteenth century the monks of Gloucester held their woods free of the view of the earl's foresters, and unrestricted except for the earl's hunting¹⁶⁹.

The status of **Colwall** and **Mathon** in relation to the forest and chase was ambiguous. They lie on the western side of the hills, beyond the Shire Ditch, but the eastern part of Mathon, comprising mainly Mathon common, was historically in Worcestershire. No woodland is recorded in any of the Domesday entries except a haia in Colwall (175c, 182b, 184c, 186c). The tenants of both villas paid for agistment in the chase, the payment being first recorded in the IPM of 1315: three quarters of oats came annually from Mathon and five from Colwall. Such payments would suggest that these villas were not themselves in the chase, and there is no indication, in Domesday Book or elsewhere, that they were afforested. However the distinction between belonging to the chase in the full sense and simply enjoying pasture rights became blurred over the centuries, and these villas were often in later times, as in the Depositions of 1590 and the Survey of 1628, said to be members of the chase¹⁷⁰. The origins of the link between these villas and the chase may lie in the fact that the forester's family held land in Mathon, which is recorded in the early thirteenth

century¹⁷¹; or the link may have been established in the later part of that century when the earl of Gloucester, as will be seen below, was appropriating land to the west of the hills; on the other hand what is essentially a food rent could have much earlier origins¹⁷².

Whatever the links, the inferior status of the tenants to the west of the hills was sometimes emphasised by the chase authorities. For instance in 1540, when there was concern about overstocking of the commons, an order was made at Hanley court forbidding them to drive their cattle beyond the Shire Ditch¹⁷³; this prohibition was incorporated in the "Rules of the Chase" later in the century, and they were forbidden also to take timber "out of the hills", which they must have been doing illegally; their payments after all were specifically for agistment, and wood rights were not available to people outside the chase¹⁷⁴. This meant that their common of pasture would then be confined to Mathon and Colwall commons, and their wood presumably was got by licence from the bishop of Hereford's chase or from their own manorial resources. In 1628 however the surveyors for the proposed disafforestation included both commons in the chase, amounting to 600 acres in all, in spite of the bishop's protestations regarding Colwall that the king's chase did not extend into Herefordshire¹⁷⁵; they were in due course allocated to the Crown and sold off for enclosing, while the tenants actually secured allotments on Hanley common in lieu of chase rights¹⁷⁶. They had made the most of a claim which was not the strongest, and for a levy of eight quarters of oats per year and none of the burdens of afforestation they might be thought to have emerged with profit.

The assertion that **Severn Stoke** was in the forest and chase arose from rather different misconceptions¹⁷⁷. It is of course on the east bank of the Severn, and so beyond the boundary. Severn Stoke is more likely to have been in the forest of Horewell, which was disafforested for the bishop of Worcester in 1218¹⁷⁸. The misunderstanding arises because its lord owed suit to the court of Hanley, but it was to the manorial court rather than to the chase court; the manor of Severn Stoke was held by the Cliffords as of the manor of Hanley, as is clear for example from the IPM of 1315 and the court roll of 1367¹⁷⁹.

During the twelfth century the **farm of the forest** was in the hands of the sheriff of Worcestershire. In 1141 the empress Matilda confirmed to William de Bello Campo the castle of Worcester, and the shrievalty and forests of the county, by the same farm as his father Walter had paid¹⁸⁰. The Beauchamps had been granted the hereditary shrievalty by king Stephen in 1139, although they did not hold it without interruption¹⁸¹. An entry in the Red Book of the Exchequer for 1155-6 shows the sheriff accounting for 60s for the farm of the forest of Malvern, and in the previous year he had paid one mark for a quarter of a year de firma fori (recte foreste?) Malverniae¹⁸². The Pipe Rolls from 1158 continue to record the farm of 60s and in 1200 the sheriff, in addition to having custody of the forest and the farm of the manor of Hanley for £22 14s 1d, renders also 64s 4d for the pannage of the forest, an item not previously mentioned separately; and the farms were still the same in 1217-18, when they are recorded (in arrears) for the last

time¹⁸³.

Robert de Hanley was noted above as rendering account for the **pleas of the forest** in 1165-6, but the pleas of Malvern are usually not given separately; more often the sheriff's render de placitis foreste will cover all the forests of the county. In the same roll for 1165-6 Aldwin de Hanley and William de Burley (Burlega) render half a mark each, perhaps for assarts, but names related to Malvern are on the whole infrequent; 1175-6 however is a year which includes William de Braci (lord of Madresfield) with a fine of 150 marks, Gilbert de Hanley (20 marks), William de Staunton (40 marks), Robert and Walter de Pendock (2 marks) and William the potter (half a mark), but unfortunately the reasons for their fines are not given, although some assarting can be assumed¹⁸⁴. In 1200 the pleas and perquisites of the forest were recorded separately for Hanley and Bushley, recalling still the two foresters appointed by William FitzOsbern¹⁸⁵.

Although it was officially farmed out to the sheriff, who theoretically answered to the Crown, the **lords of Hanley** seem to have been allowed a measure of independence in the control of the forest, perhaps because they were often members of or associated with the royal family. Independence was particularly exercised by earl William of Gloucester, grandson of Henry I, who held the manor in the middle of the twelfth century. For example in a charter to the monks of Little Malvern, which is a thirteenth century forgery but probably depending on a genuine original, he grants them decem acras de Malverna over and above what his father had given them in the same forest, thus adding to their assarts in the forest already granted by the bishop of Worcester; the payment for the ten acres and confirmation of the bishop's grants was 56 marks, a pointer to the lucrative revenues to be got from holding the forest¹⁸⁶. Again, in a general confirmation to Tewkesbury abbey he grants and confirms to the monks their pasture rights and undisturbed pannage in bosco meo de Malvernia, and his attitude to the forest is generally proprietary¹⁸⁷. The next lord of Hanley, after a six year tenure by the Crown, was count John of Mortain, brother of the king, who had been created earl of Gloucester on his marriage to earl William's daughter. He is known in any case to have enjoyed special terms, with his own exchequer¹⁸⁸, receiving the farm and other issues of his estates "which had been liberally granted by the king"¹⁸⁹. As was noted above he permitted assarting in Welland and quitclaimed his wood at Woolridge to Gloucester abbey, granting the monks free warren over all their land in the forest of Malvern.

Some have assumed that the forest came into lay hands as a chase as late as 1290, when Gilbert de Clare married Joan d'Acre, daughter of the king¹⁹⁰; in fact, as we have seen, the Crown's control in the twelfth century was only tentative, and in 1217 Gilbert de Clare, nephew and heir of Isabel who was ex-wife of king John and daughter of earl William of Gloucester, was granted **the manor, the castle and the chase**; in the Hundred Rolls of 1278-9 where the grant is recorded it is called both the chase of Hanley and the chase of Malvern, and the use of the word chase indicates that it has left the Crown¹⁹¹. It is certainly not seen again in the Pipe Rolls after

1217-18¹⁹². From this time, when Malvern ceases to be a royal forest, Malvern and Corse begin to be treated separately and the name Malvern is in general reserved for the northern part of the area. It is not certain whether Pendock went to Malvern or Corse, but otherwise from later evidence the boundary between the two chases is clear, and it will be noted from Map I.3 that Eldersfield and Forthampton, which were both specified as forest in Domesday Book, were eventually in the chase of Corse.

(c) Malvern Chase, from the Early Thirteenth Century to its Demise

Of the two chases which now emerged, Malvern as time passed was the more prestigious, as might be expected from its early history and especially since it contained the centre of chase administration. The ambiguity over the names "forest" and "chase" occurred also in forests and chases elsewhere¹⁹³; and as late as 1272x1295 Gilbert de Clare confirmed to the abbot of Gloucester the grant of the manor of Maisemore "quod est in foresta nostra de Cors"¹⁹⁴. The **pre-eminence of Malvern** is seen in various ways over the years, but it is not always reflected in values; for example in 1263, when the estates were with the Crown during the minority of Gilbert de Clare, separate valuations are given for the two chases, and in that year the figures were £46 for Corse and only £56 for Malvern, including Hanley¹⁹⁵. Fifty years later however the earl's manor of Stoke Archer and the chase of Corse were together worth less than £10, while the chase of Malvern, but along with the castle and manor of Hanley, had a value of £37¹⁹⁶.

Gifts of deer tend to be recorded only when the hunting was in Crown hands. Thus in the three years from 1204 to 1206 thirty six fallow bucks (damos) and sixteen stags (cervos) were given from Malvern by king John, including sixteen bucks to the bishop of Hereford, for which he gave four good dogs in exchange¹⁹⁷. The next record is in 1262 when four bucks and four does were given from Corse, and in the following year three bucks from Malvern¹⁹⁸. But such small numbers recorded may be misleading; the taking of one hundred does for the king in Malvern and Corse in 1263, with the venison being carried to the Tower of London, suggests in fact a well-stocked chase of which only glimpses are seen¹⁹⁹. Such hunting to order would be carried out by appointed huntsmen under the command of the chief forester, but there was hunting for pleasure as well; kings stayed at Hanley, en route between Tewkesbury and Hereford and between Gloucester and Worcester. King John stayed twice in 1209 and again in 1213, Henry III in 1267, Edward I in 1282, Edward II in 1324, and Edward III in 1330 and 1332²⁰⁰. The duke of York brought his household to the castle for eight months in 1409-10; he had at least a theoretical interest in hunting, having written a treatise called "The Master of Game", but the household accounts for his visit give no clues to his activities, although he sent men to hunt at Tewkesbury and Bushley, and of course his stay from September to June would include the main hunting season, ending at the "fence month"²⁰¹. Game was of course managed in all reputable chases and parks, and some details of the Malvern procedures will be seen below²⁰².

The late thirteenth century in Malvern was marked by a famous dispute between the bishop of Hereford and the earl of Gloucester. Earl Gilbert (the Red Earl) had in 1275 appropriated the bishop's chase at Colwall and his warren at Eastnor, and two years later he commandeered still more of the bishop's land to the west of the hills, some of it in the Mathon area²⁰³. An assize of 1278 found for the bishop, asserting that his land extended to the top of the hill (usque ad cacumen montis)²⁰⁴. The result was that the earl in 1287 caused the **Shire Ditch** to be cut, to mark off his chase and, as he said, to prevent his deer disappearing into the bishop's chase; in Camden's time the Ditch was "viewed with astonishment", and can still be seen in parts, running from the Worcestershire Beacon to Midsummer Hill, on the eastern slope, just below the ridge²⁰⁵. At Little Malvern the ditch trespassed on the land of the bishop of Worcester, who by an agreement of 1291 had to be recompensed by the annual payment of two bucks and two does from Malvern chase, to be delivered at the palace of Kempsey, or during a vacancy to be collected by the bishop's men from the castle gate at Hanley²⁰⁶. The payment was still being demanded in 1321, when it was seven years in arrears, but it is not heard of later²⁰⁷.

Further information about Malvern chase is derived from a collection of documents which survive in a copy of 1601 but which cast light on the earlier regime; the booklet in which they were transcribed was probably prepared for the Hornyolds who purchased the manor of Hanley in 1560, and although they were not granted the chase it obviously impinged on their lordship and they needed to know as much as possible about it²⁰⁸. The earliest document is a Customary, said to date from the time of the Red Earl, and there is also an Inquisition of 1558 to establish the rights of queen Mary in the chase, and a Perambulation dated 1584. The depositions of another Inquisition made for queen Elizabeth in 1590 are preserved by Nash, and along with a sixteenth century list of "Rules of the Chase" they have already been noted²⁰⁹. The chase had reverted to the Crown in 1478, when George duke of Clarence was attainted²¹⁰; and although the lord of Hanley was traditionally lord of the chase the tradition was ignored in the case of John Hornyold. The Crown's decision to retain the chase was to be of great significance in the next century. The documents mentioned above, and indeed whatever we know of the chase from other sources, together fit well with what is understood of conditions in royal forests in the twelfth century, although there are inevitably some local rules and customs; but there is no sign of any material change in administration, and in the condition of tenants, when the forest left the Crown²¹¹. We must now examine the impact of forest and chase law on Malvern at large and on the manor of Hanley in particular.

The framework of **forest law** begins to be visible in the early twelfth century, in the so-called "Laws of Henry I", who in his Coronation Charter of 1100 had firmly announced that he would retain all forest in his own hands, to the disappointment of many who hoped for some amelioration of conditions²¹². It is apparent that all the practices which were to continue to prove irksome were already employed in 1100, all springing from the premise that the deer belonged to

the king and that their welfare was of overriding importance. The commentary of the Dialogus de Scaccario dated to 1177 emphasises the essential freedom of all the beasts of the forest, namely the red, fallow and roe deer and the wild boar, and this freedom was to be respected no matter who owned the land which had been afforested²¹³. The Assize of the Forest (or of Woodstock) in 1184 confirmed this rigorous approach, with penalties to be exacted in the forest courts for unauthorised hunting, and strict rules under which wood might be taken: it was vital not to deprive the deer of their food and their cover²¹⁴. Hunting at night was especially frowned upon: in Malvern illegal hunting of any kind resulted in imprisonment in the castle dungeon at Hanley, which was called Bandbury chamber, or in Gloucester²¹⁵.

It was laid down that the local royal forester, that is in the case of Malvern the chief forester, was to have oversight of all woodland whether granted to others or not. The penalty for failure in this was a personal fine, which in Malvern according to the Customary was 25s for each offence; and if he allowed demesne woodland to be destroyed the forester would pay with his life, a punishment not imposed in Malvern, to our knowledge. Although commoners did have some rights to take necessary wood in Malvern those who transgressed in this were severely dealt with, unless they evaded the penalty by invoking the ancient custom by which the forester must follow the trespasser and his wain to his home and "attach him there, if he can put his bow between the leading oxen and the gatepost of his house". This seems to have given the offender a sporting chance, and raises the question of whether the laws in general were always applied as severely in practice as the theory required.

Clerks were to be discouraged from hunting, in accordance with the ostensible wishes of the Church, and foresters were to arrest them without regard to their status: in the fifteenth century, according to some marginalia in two manuscripts in the British Library, William de Hanley was contravening this regulation on hunting and indeed seems to have been notorious for it; he was not clerk of Hanley, but probably belonged to the forester's family²¹⁶. The Assize of the Forest also made plain the rules for the inspection of assarts and for attendance at forest courts: the multiplication of courts was troublesome for forest inhabitants, for they already owed suit to their own manorial court, and the burden was not eased by the requirement that all males over twelve would be subject to the jurisdiction: whether this obtained in practice is uncertain, but the frequency of courts is not in doubt. In Malvern, at any rate in the early fourteenth century, the chase courts were held at roughly five week intervals, on the same day as Hanley manorial court: this coincidence was no doubt convenient for Hanley tenants, but not for others in the chase²¹⁷.

The rules for the hambling of dogs are also spelt out, and these were still adhered to theoretically in Malvern in the late sixteenth century: the rule for Malvern was that dogs had to be inspected twice every seven years, and two claws were to be cut from their forefeet if the dogs could not be drawn through a strop of eighteen inches and a barleycorn. The court which was held at Hanley following the Perambulation in 1584 dealt with twenty two cases of dogs which were oversized and unhambled, all of which dogs were apparently brought to the court, although in the

end it seems that the owners were amerced instead of the dogs being hambled; what had begun as an effort to prevent dogs being used in unofficial hunting was now in effect no more than a licence to keep a dog. The Assize was concerned also with **industrial activity** in forests; in particular there were precepts for tanners, who were not to live in the forest, that is presumably in the covert (coopertum) of the forest²¹⁸. Actually in Malvern there were more regulations for potters than for tanners; they paid extra rent and they were under restraints; for example in the "Rules of the Chase" people making pots, bricks or tiles were not to light a kiln between the feasts of St Andrew and St David, a period of three months, under penalty of 6s 8d. Since this was a time when there would not be too much to do on the land, the regulation must have been irksome to the farmer-potter whom we would postulate for Malvern.

The Assize of Woodstock was followed by the **Forest Charter** of 1217, which in the aftermath of the Great Charter proposed some concessions, including a general reduction of forest area; there is no evidence of concessions in Malvern, which in any case at this point was leaving the Crown ²¹⁹. By and large forest laws became for Gilbert de Clare his chase laws; it was no doubt sensible to use a code which was ready made and well tried, albeit widely resented. Two incidents might illustrate this resentment in Malvern: in 1217 Gilbert son of Holdwein, probably by his names a member of the chief forester's family, was killed on the path between Great and Little Malvern, a case which was dealt with at the eyre of 1221, although the murderer was never found²²⁰; and in 1338 John Wodewarde, whose name implies his occupation, was killed in "Malvern Wood", and an inquisition was ordered, although we do not know the outcome²²¹. Another case of the 1221 eyre, involving an unidentified man found dead in the "covert" of the forest in the parish of Hanley, specifically raises the question of the murder fine (murdrum)²²². This was an obligation to be met originally by the hundred and later by the manorial frankpledge, if the murderer could not be found, and unless it could be proved that the victim was English rather than French; if "Englishry" could be demonstrated then there was no murdrum²²³. The eyre was apparently told that there was in any case no murdrum in the covert of the forest of Malvern, by ancient custom, nor did Englishry have to be established (non est praestanda Englischeria); and again, in the case of a Bushley man killed by a Hanley tenant after an ale at Tewkesbury, it is insisted that the fine is to be paid everywhere in the manor of Hanley except in the covert²²⁴.

The same legal distinction between covert and manor is to be seen in the Customary in the matter of **punishments** for felons and murderers; the Customary is probably late thirteenth century and there is now no mention of Englishry. Those taken within the covert are to be brought before the chief forester, who will sit in judgement according to the common law at "Sweete Oaks"; if found guilty they are to be executed with the axe by which (with the horn) the forester holds office, and the bodies are to be taken to hang on the forester's gallows at Baldyate. Murderers in Hanley manor, on the other hand, are to be arraigned by the constable of the castle, whose judgement seat was apparently in the east of the manor "beneath the Rudgeyway", and they are to be executed by hanging at Rhydd Green. Two such murderers were reported hanged at Hanley at

the eyre of 1221, and Hangman's lane, not far south of Rhydd Green, is still a reminder of the constable's jurisdiction. The privileged nature in various other respects of the manor of Hanley is emphasised by further points in the Customary: it lays down safeguards for the manorial court by imposing penalties if an action is taken to another court, and stipulates a fine for entry to the lordship without a writ of right close, thus confirming the manor as ancient demesne of the Crown and effectively excluding the sheriff²²⁵. Other privileges, in this case for all manors of the Honour of Gloucester in the chase, included liberty of trade throughout the kingdom, with freedom from tolls; the manors concerned would be Hanley, Bushley, Eldersfield and Forthampton, but we have no information as to how such privileges worked in practice.

According to the Inquisition of 1558 all tenants of the chase had **rights of common** throughout, but the Customary suggests that only Hanley had such a wide privilege in the matter of pasture rights, its tenants being permitted to common from Powick bridge to Maisemore: some local rules of intercommoning were no doubt applied from time to time. As for wood rights, all chase tenants did have, again presumably under some local codes, rights of housebote, ploughbote, cartbote, heybote and firebote, on payment of attachments, a reminder that many of the "fines" recorded are payments for permits or licences. The tenants of Hanley also paid "Wodepeny", which is recorded in the early Inquisitions post Mortem.

The **chief forestership**, as we saw, was the perquisite of the Hanley family, holding it by the traditional rent of axe and horn, although a deerskin was substituted for the horn by the time the office was sold in the fifteenth century. A list of known chief foresters is in Table III.17 below. Initially of course the chief forester controlled the whole forest, but as the division into two chases became established his influence was to some extent but by no means completely limited to the northern chase. Some of his payments and opportunities for profit are found in the Customary. First of all he had his one and a half virgates, and he and his family continued to acquire land in Hanley and elsewhere, as some of the deeds relating to Hanley illustrate²²⁶. He developed a substantial submanor, which provided a base for twelfth century assarting, which led in turn to the foundation or expansion of at least three settlements or "Ends" in Hanley, as will be seen below: to the tenants, whose chief lord was usually visible only through his steward, who was probably preoccupied with several manors, the forester was the day to day power in the manor of Hanley. The Customary reveals that except for timber trees, which were due to the lord, he had access to all kinds of wood and controlled the commoners' use of it: he had also one third of all attachments in the chase, one third of stray cattle and of swine illegally pastured, and one third of felons' goods and forfeitures. An ancient payment of eggs and hens at Easter and Christmas from tenants of Colwall and Baldenhall came direct to the chief forester²²⁷; he also claimed the right shoulder of every deer killed, an entitlement which may be an echo of the traditional hunt of Normandy, with its etiquette and ritual butchering, when the right forefoot was presented to the lord of the hunt and the other parts of the deer to the huntsmen in order of seniority²²⁸. In the chase the left shoulder was for the subforesters and the humbles or entrails for the ranger. How many right

shoulders per year might be received by the chief forester is hard to say; the information is sporadic and confined to the Crown's tenure. It has been estimated that in the late fifteenth century "an ideal earl's household" with an income of £2,000 might consume 140 deer per year, although in practice the figure was often lower; at that time the earls of Warwick held the chase, and they were preceded by the Despencers and de Clares, and although such magnates did have other hunting grounds yet Malvern (and Corse) must have played a part in supplying the household and of course in providing gifts of deer, which were a significant feature of a magnate's largesse²²⁹. Like all such officials the chief forester must also have made some irregular profits, although there is no direct evidence; the recorded misdemeanours and depredations of the foresters of Feckenham and Dean will not have been unique²³⁰.

From his income the chief forester paid one rider and two footmen, according to the Customary; the late fifteenth century accounts show that subforesters, for Southwood, Baldenhall and Cleres, along with a ranger, were paid out of the manor of Hanley, and at various times foresters for Cliffey, the Hook, and "Calvestail" are mentioned; but we do not have the full picture, so that for example we have no relevant information about the duties of the Woodward family of Hanley, who held a submanor with court and appear frequently in the deeds. The chief forester was theoretically appointed by the lord of Hanley; when Malvern was still a royal forest a charter of earl William of Gloucester dated 1147x1171 granted to Gilbert de Hanley the land which belonged to his father and his ministerium de foresta²³¹. We know of only one occasion during a tenure of over 400 years (pre-1071 to 1479) when the office went outside the Hanley family: in 1330, when the manor and chase were with the Crown, one of the king's yeomen was appointed to the office of forester of the chases of Malvern and Corse, and presumably he briefly collected the revenues²³². In 1479 Nicholas Hanley, son and heir of Simon the forester, granted the office by charter to Richard lord Beauchamp, along with its various perquisites: one of them, which had not been seen previously, was the right of market (stapula) of all beasts slain in the chase, excluding presumably those killed for the Crown²³³. It is clear that by this time, with a number of deputies both in Malvern and in Corse, the effective jurisdiction of the chief forester did not go far beyond Hanley itself. The same grant also gave Beauchamp the one and a half virgates which were held by serjeanty, but left Nicholas in possession of Hanley Hall; this, no doubt the forester's family home since the eleventh century, was sold the following year to Beauchamp and seven others, after which the Hanleys become gradually less prominent²³⁴. There is further discussion of this in chapter III below.

Ministers' accounts for 1326-7 and 1330-1 show chase courts held at intervals of between three and a half and seven weeks, and bringing in an average of 6s 6d. Unfortunately we do not have the court rolls, but it is clear from other sources that the chase laws were often breached. There were complaints by Hugh le Despenser, lord of Hanley and the chase, of illegal hunting not only in the chase but also in his park at Hanley, and a little later he was objecting to people entering his "free chases of Malvern and Corse"²³⁵. In 1347 the alleged malefactors included a

servant of the abbot of Winchcombe, along with the parson of Madresfield and men from several other local townships²³⁶. As JR Birrell notes, poachers came from all ranks of society²³⁷; and it was still so in Malvern in 1533 when the prior of Little Malvern, and other monks "disguised with coats, swords and bucklers", entered Malvern chase to kill the king's deer, selling the skins to a Hereford tanner²³⁸. It is ironic perhaps that Little Malvern priory was supposed to be a house of correction for the monks of Worcester. The chase court roll of 1367 is concerned mainly with offences against the vert, presented by three foresters and a ranger and producing amercements totalling 5s 7d. The chase court can be seen again in the list of court estreats of 1478-9; it was held "in the chase", presumably at Hanley Hall. The forester of "Calvestail", who worked in the Castlemorton area, had been given the task of collecting arrears for two courts, on behalf of himself and other foresters, including the chief forester. He was attempting to collect ninety two amercements, which were mostly of 4d or less, suggesting vert offences or licences to take wood, and his potential total was £1 1s 4d. Manor courts for Hanley had been held on the same days as the chase courts, and arrears were listed in the estreats for those as well, leading to some confusion; for example a tenant of Upton was apparently dealt with in the manor court of Hanley rather than the chase court for carrying away an oak tree before sunrise, and he was amerced 1s 8d. Similar confusion of business in manor and forest courts has been noted in the swanimote rolls of Feckenham forest, although on the whole distinctions were observed²³⁹.

Anxiety about the depletion of timber and underwood in the chase can only have been sharpened by the kind of operation taking place on the Westminster manors in Corse and Malvern during 1345, when "the high wood as well as the underwood" was felled and sold and the proceeds delivered to queen Philippa²⁴⁰; the manors will have been Longdon and Powick (with Madresfield, Newland, and Clevelode), all in Malvern chase, and Corse, Chaceley and Staunton, in the chase of Corse; it need not be assumed that there was complete clearance on such occasions, but the woodland did continue to shrink, until in the third quarter of the sixteenth century John Hornyold was complaining about its rapid destruction, this time largely because of new settlers in the area who were making bricks and tiles on a large scale²⁴¹. The notebook of the keeper of Brewern walk in 1576, who seems to have covered parts of Hanley, Upton, Longdon and Castlemorton, shows a minstrel amerced for digging clay, so perhaps people were doubling or even changing their occupations in order to share in the profits of a still lively industry²⁴².

The Customary lays down that "certain verderers, viewers and riders, by the terms of their tenancy, have power to ride and perambulate the townships of every lord, from Charmills Pool (in Bromsberrow) to Powick bridge and Bransford bridge"; this is what Henry Dingley and his nine fellow verderers did in their **Perambulation** of 1584, and Dingley wrote a lively account of an occasion which he must have enjoyed. In addition to dealing with dogs, as we have seen, they had to examine hedges, which must be no higher than two and a half feet in order to permit free movement for the deer; and they were given a staff of the right length to assist their measuring, as a result of which twelve tenants were amerced for unlawful hedges. The Inquisition of 1558 had

reported about 600 deer, so the height of the hedges was still of some importance. The riders also had to view highways, ditches, watercourses and encroachments, and they amerced one tenant for erecting a cottage with wood illegally got from the chase. The depositions of a local jury of 1590 illustrate the continuing special status of the deer; one juror deposes that they may feed anywhere in the manor of Hanley, whether the land is several or common, except in the lord's park at Blackmore (which must have contained a separate herd), and another juror states that if they do stray into the manor of Hanley they may be taken back without trespass. Numbers seem to have been maintained into the following century; there were still some wild red deer in 1614, when two men were charged with killing one (a "sore deer") in Malvern chase²⁴³. The continued presence of managed deer is indicated in 1628 when 100 were taken for the king, some in Corse and the rest in Malvern, while in 1631 John Russell, now chief forester, was given 500 in partial compensation for his loss of income at the disafforestation²⁴⁴.

The Crown survey in 1628 of "His majesty's chase in the counties of Worcester, Hereford and Gloucester" was inspired by king Charles I's financial needs, and would lead to disafforestation²⁴⁵. By this time in any case the chase was losing something of its special identity and becoming more difficult to administer; for example we hear of no more chase courts after the Perambulation of 1584, and the first indictment for a chase offence at the Quarter Sessions is recorded in 1608²⁴⁶. The picture of the chase presented by the Survey is of a collection of parcels of land which represented the commons and waste of several chase townships, some of which parcels will have served as covert for deer. In this, our final view of Malvern chase, the townships affected are Leigh, Hanley, Upton, Little Malvern, Great Malvern, Welland, Castlemorton, Longdon, Birtsmorton, Berrow and Bromsberrow: Mathon, Colwall and some other parts of Herefordshire are included, erroneously as has been argued above; Powick, Queenhill and Bushley do not appear and must have had no covert or common worth including, although Bushley park had been said to be still part of the chase in 1496²⁴⁷. Many of the parcels are said to contain no timber, although in some there was good underwood; some areas were no more than "coarse bracks" and bushes. The most extensive and best wooded areas were Bishop's wood or Welland common, Castlemorton common, and the woodland in the west of Hanley called Earl's wood or Hanley common; but even these, comprising over 5,000 acres from a total of 7,464 acres, had little or no large timber. The chase had outlived its usefulness in many ways and the Crown had probably seized the right moment for rationalisation.

None of the land or "soil" belonged directly to the Crown, which was concerned only with what might be got for surrendering the chase rights, which had been retained since 1478; in exchange for this effective disafforestation the Crown would hope to persuade the lords and the chase commoners to agree to the division and allocation of the commons and waste, providing two thirds for the commoners and one third for the Crown. On the face of it such a scheme might seem to be in everybody's interests: the Crown would get its money by the intended sale of its allocation, the tenants might acquire extra land and would be free of the disabilities of living in the

chase, and the lords would have the opportunity of buying land from the Crown third. The scheme was however opposed in varying degrees by both lords and tenants²⁴⁸; men like John Hornyold and Edmund Lechmere in Hanley put the case for their smallholders who depended critically on common rights, and whose rents, they no doubt reasoned, might be at risk in a new situation; and the lords in general were holding out for generous compensation for themselves should the plan go through. John Russell for example, whose family had bought the chief forestership in the late fifteenth century, had much to lose in the long term, in the shape of all the privileges and perquisites of his office, and there were many others who depended on the existence of the chase for income and status. As for the tenants, especially the poorer ones, many were genuinely frightened by the prospect of change; they understood the existing system, having come to terms with it over many generations, and they saw or imagined positive advantages of living in the chase; above all they could not imagine life without their common rights, which in the nature of things they had taken for granted and which they valued only when threatened²⁴⁹. Such men must have been among the "multitudes of riotous and dissolute persons" who turned out to make their case, alarmed among other things by rumours that the king would take the whole commons, or at any rate all the best land²⁵⁰. The protesters were reinforced by a number of squatters and newcomers, who saw their chance but had in reality quite tenuous claims. In the end the Crown agreed to take a fair mixture of qualities of land and the compensation terms were generally accepted, with tenants being allocated common land for their own use, which they would hold freely and could enclose, and all outstanding chase fines remitted. In Hanley 593 acres were laid out "for the parish" (sc. the tenant parishioners), as is shown on a contemporary map, and the commons began to be enclosed²⁵¹.

The king immediately sold his third for £5000, and as expected some of it was soon afterwards purchased by the very landowners who had been so vociferous in their opposition²⁵². In due course, after attempts by some tenants during the confusion of the Civil War to reverse the enclosing of the commons, much additional arable became available and the general aspect of the country between the hills and the river was transformed²⁵³. It was a revolution in agriculture which perhaps also stimulated further enclosure in the older parts of manors like Hanley, where albeit slowly the now inefficient open field system began to be further eroded by private enclosures, so that when the time came for the parliamentary enclosures of the late eighteenth century there was relatively little to be done. Although much of the covert of the chase was felled and cleared at the disafforestation, some of course remained, and even some common pasture survived, for example on parts of the royal third which could not be sold for arable. Much of this remaining common disappeared at the parliamentary enclosures, but some of the old chase can be seen today at Castlemorton and Malvern, where common of pasture is still sometimes claimed²⁵⁴.

(d) The Chase of Corse

We left Corse in the early thirteenth century when it was detached from Malvern to

become a separate chase, although separation in every detail, since the chases were contiguous and under the same lordship, was unlikely to be achieved. The impression of Corse from the limited evidence is of an area more heavily wooded than Malvern and less developed for settlement, but as was noted above there was assarting in many places in the twelfth century, and in Corse manor itself there is a mention of Corsefield and further assarts in the thirteenth century²⁵⁵. The Domesday evidence on ploughs was inconclusive; thirty six were recorded but for several manors there was no information, and the same was true of woodland²⁵⁶. Foresters appear in the thirteenth century, the earl of Gloucester in the 1260s having foresters in Maisemore, Chaceley and the Corse/Eldersfield area²⁵⁷. In 1273 the foresters were allegedly arresting men in Corse for chase offences and sending them to Worcestershire, where they were being imprisoned without trial, probably in the castle at Hanley²⁵⁸. One man was accused of stealing five sheep and beheaded, presumably by the chief forester of Malvern with his official axe. The earl's steward caused further offence by fining men from all the villis in the Corsewood area for not having dogs hambled; and he fined them 3s, so it was said, whether they had a dog or not. Moreover his bailiffs had entered the manor of Hasfield, where it was asserted they had no fee, and forcefully abducted certain tenants to be imprisoned in Wales until they agreed to fine with him for £11; the subject of the dispute is not known. Furthermore the earl was claiming warren in the whole area outside the covert, which of course would restrict any hunting even of small game by the tenants.

Such issues reported in the Hundred Rolls extracts in the late thirteenth century are symptomatic of the resistance by Corse tenants to the earl's traditional chase rights. Above all they did not wish to be governed from Malvern chase or to be regarded as part of it. In fact between 1290 and 1356, when it was often with the Crown for brief periods, Corse is repeatedly distinguished and named separately²⁵⁹; but there were other times when it was convenient for officials to take the two chases together, and in the early fourteenth century the Crown on occasions appointed the same man as keeper of both²⁶⁰. In 1349 however the Gloucester jurors at the Inquisition on the death of Hugh le Despenser went so far as to insist that "there is no free chase called Corse"; they maintained that much of both the wood and the soil belonged to the abbots of Westminster and Gloucester, among others, a statement which was true but which wilfully set aside the principle of a forest or chase; for this involved another layer of authority and jurisdiction superimposed on land which may admittedly have belonged to others. Neither Hugh nor his ancestors, it was asserted, "had ever had any soil or wood in Corse", which was only partly true (since they ignored Eldersfield) and in any case irrelevant. Indeed it was alleged that "they only held Corse by usurpation and encroachment in respect of beasts of the chase of Malvern, which were accustomed to come and go at Corse and there to feed and be sustained"²⁶¹. That such arguments had little effect is shown by the subsequent history of the chase.

The foresters of Corse chase were in the early fourteenth century said to be paid out of Tewkesbury manor, and the keeper was designated "keeper of the manor of **Stoke Archer** and the chase of Corse"²⁶². These statements are clarified by an entry in the Patent Rolls at the end of the

century, when Thomas le Despenser's estates were in the king's hands by his death, and a grant is recorded to the king's esquire of the custody of the chase of Corse "receiving the ancient fee of £12 yearly from the manor of Archerstoke"²⁶³. Stoke Archer as such was a manor of the bishop of Worcester, but a portion of the vill was in Tewkesbury hundred; this portion had descended with the manor of Tewkesbury as a possession of the earl of Gloucester, who had three plough teams there in 1220 and a messuage and two carucates in 1314²⁶⁴. This payment from Stoke Archer, which was on the other side of the Severn and not in the chase, may represent an early link, with the earl's manor perhaps holding detached woodland or pasture rights in the chase²⁶⁵.

By the late fifteenth century the chase was known as Corse Lawn, an indication that launds for pasturing deer were still significant, but there was also much common pasture. It passed to the Crown, with Malvern, in 1478, and having been granted away in 1547 along with the manor of Tewkesbury, it returned to the Crown on forfeiture until 1629²⁶⁶. The only extant court roll, dated 1615, shows that the chase court was at that time held at Witcombe Yate, which is on the eastern boundary of the parish of Corse²⁶⁷. There are typical presentments of offences against the vert, and a list of Ordinances, which no doubt date partially at least from an earlier period. For instance, if a man cut down a tree the woodward could only apprehend him if, while standing on the tree stump, he could throw his horn beyond the head of the leading ox of the wain that was carrying the tree away: it is another example of the sporting chance, to be compared with the forester and his bow in Malvern. In general the court roll displays anxiety about the woodland, and even for the deer the woodward was allowed to cut only as many branches at one time as the deer could toss over their heads. But as was seen above, deer were still being provided for the king in 1628, and although it was granted away in the interim it was again "the king's chase of Corse" in 1673²⁶⁸; but unlike Malvern it had not been thought in 1628 to have financial potential for the Crown. In due course the ownership came to the Dowdeswell family of Pull Court, who were holding the manor of Corse from the mid-seventeenth century and lived probably on the site of Lapule, the manor held by the Bushley forester of Domesday Book²⁶⁹. Late in the next century Corselawn chase was still large enough to overflow into the parishes of Eldersfield, Chaceley, Tirley, Hasfield and Hartpur²⁷⁰.

The parishioners of Corse at this time were pressing for enclosure; the commons were regularly overstocked and were regarded as of little value, and enclosure seemed to be the only remedy²⁷¹. Commoners who lived outside Corse parish but who traditionally commoned inside it had to be compensated, rather like the Colwall and Mathon tenants in Malvern, but at least the Corse commoners belonged to the chase in the full sense. The process of enclosure was hampered by disputes between tenants and squatters, but there was not the kind of riotous agitation which had occurred in Malvern at the disafforestation, and enclosure was achieved by Act of Parliament in 1797. Only a small area was left of the common of Corselawn, on the boundary of Chaceley and

Eldersfield, and it survived as common into the twentieth century²⁷².

The latter part of this chapter has touched on many aspects of the royal forest and chase of Malvern, clarifying its boundaries and defining the position of Corse. The whole area was originally Malvern forest, and Corse was detached in the early thirteenth century, but not without the forester continuing to claim some jurisdiction there and the tenants resenting being governed from Hanley. The restrictions imposed on the forest tenants did not prevent them reaching some sort of accommodation or modus vivendi with the forest laws and those who administered them. Resentment surfaced at times, but on the whole they were reasonably content to pay their dues provided that they could augment their income by exploiting the woodland, and there will have been many occasions when blind eyes were turned by officials; and they must have been fairly secure in the knowledge that an excessively oppressive forester who brought tenants to a state of revolt would be unwelcome to lords who needed a docile tenantry to maintain the economy. The resultant balance of interests ensured the survival of the forest until neither party needed it any longer.

CHAPTER I : REFERENCES

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2. Buchanan, "Worcestershire", 418.
3. Soil Survey (1983), *passim*.
4. CC Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages : Social Change in England c. 1200-1520* (Cambridge 1989), 258 sq.
5. Buchanan, "Worcestershire", 428.
6. Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 127-31; JZ Titow, *Winchester Yields : a Study in Medieval Agricultural Productivity* (Cambridge 1972), 1-33, and see his Appendix P for a comparison of medieval and modern yields.
7. *Pipe Roll 2 John* (1200) (PR Soc ns 12, 1934) 127. Demesne vineyards seem to have become much less important by the end of the thirteenth century, as imported wine became more readily available, see Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 62, 259.
8. *VCH Worcestershire*, vol 4 (1913), 46, 192. At Tewkesbury in the early fourteenth century there was a vintner and eight *vindemiatores* : M Altschul, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England - the Clares, 1217-1314* (Baltimore 1965), 218.
9. HWCM 07102, 08250, 11632.
10. HWCM 15922, 15923, 18518; I am grateful to JD Hurst for the identification of the sherd in the later *haga* area.
11. C Taylor, *Village and Farmstead : a History of Rural Settlement in England* (London 1983), 107; HPR Finberg, "Continuity or Cataclysm" in *Lucerna* (London 1964), 1-20.
12. D Hooke, *Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter Bounds* (Woodbridge 1990), 208 sq, 244 sq and *passim*: I am indebted to Dr Hooke's work for much of the detailed interpretation of the boundary clauses. See also HPR Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (2nd edn, Leicester 1972), 110, 116-7; GB Grundy, "Saxon Charters of Worcestershire", *Trans Birmingham Arch Soc* 53 (1928), 19-98. at pp 43-9 (Powick) and 92-5 (Upton).
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14. BS Smith, *A History of Malvern* (Leicester 1964), 21-4; and see below for further discussion of "Baldenhall".
15. *VCH Worcs*, vol 2, 137, 318.
16. *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 93; Finberg, *Early Charters*, 225-6. For the territory of the Hwicce, see AH Smith, "The Hwicce" in JB Bessinger and RP Creed eds. *Medieval and Linguistic Studies in*

Honour of FP Magoun jr (London 1965), 56-65. An earlier ditch may be indicated by in trenchato Hereford in a charter of 1175 : A Mawer, FM Stenton, FTS Houghton, *The Place Names of Worcestershire* (English Place Name Society vol 4, 1927), 212; Darlington however, in his commentary on this charter, considers that the reference is to another ditch at the foot of the hills, to the west : RR Darlington ed, *The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory* (Pipe Roll Society 1968), 132-3.

17. Hooke, *Worcestershire Charter Bounds*, 247.

18. There are references to Grava in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, e.g. a charter of Robert de Grava, dated c. 1280 (Madresfield Calendar, HWCRO BA 892, Ref 970.5.99/1, No. 20).

19. For Bredon, see CC Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society : the Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester, 680-1540* (Cambridge 1980), 70. For some comments on boundaries, see M Aston, *Interpreting the Landscape* (London 1985), 40 sq. RH Hilton notes that about half the manors/vills in Kineton and Stoneleigh hundreds were coterminous : RH Hilton, *A Medieval Society : the West Midlands at the End of the Thirteenth Century* (London 1966), 125. See also RA Dodgshon, "The Early Middle Ages, 1066-1350" in RA Dodgshon and RA Butlin eds, *An Historical Geography of England and Wales* (London 1978), 81-117, at p 100 sq; and D Roffe, "Pre-Conquest Estates and Parish Boundaries : a Discussion with Examples from Lincolnshire" in ML Faull ed, *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford University Department for External Studies, 1984), 115-22.

20. F and C Thorn, eds, *Domesday Book, Worcestershire* (Chichester 1982), note on EG 1; PH Sawyer in PH Sawyer ed, *Domesday Book : a Reassessment* (London 1985), ch 5.

21. FM Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (3rd edn, Oxford 1971) 610-3.

22. VH Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book* (Oxford 1961), ch 5; idem, *Domesday Book : its Place in Administrative History* (Oxford 1974), 41.

23. IIC Darby, "Domesday Book and the Geographer" in JC Holt ed, *Domesday Studies* (London 1987), 101-119, at p 104 and passim.

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27. I horn and Thorn, *Worcestershire*, Appendix I.

28. JH Round, *Feudal England* (London 1895), 53 sq, 119; Galbraith, *Making Domesday Book*, 179; idem, *Domesday Book : its Place*, 39.

29. JD Hamshere, "Domesday Book : Estate Structures in the West Midlands" in Holt ed, *Domesday Studies* , 155-82.

30. ibidem, 162.

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"near-contemporary surveys" of the estates of the nuns of Caen.

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34. JS Moore, "Domesday Slavery" in *Anglo-Norman Studies* xi (1988), 191-220.

35. JF Walmsley, "The censarii of Burton Abbey and the Domesday Population", *North Staffs Journal of Field Studies* 8 (1968), 73-80.

36. Hamshere, "Estate Structures", 165 (Table 3).

37. Monkhouse, "Worcestershire", 234.

38. CC Dyer, "Towns and Cottages in Eleventh Century England" in H Mayr-Harting and RI Moore eds, *Studies in Medieval History presented to RHC Davis* (London 1985), 91-106, at p 93; for a discussion of the role of borders, especially in or on the edge of the woodland, see SPJ Harvey, "Evidence for Settlement Study : Domesday Book" in PH Sawyer ed, *English Medieval Settlement* (London 1979), 105-9, at pp 107 sq.

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42 Moore. "Domesday Slavery", 201.

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47. Monkhouse, "Worcestershire", 246-7.

48. See D Hooke, "Anglo-Saxon Landscapes of the West Midlands : the Charter Evidence" (*British Archaeological Reports* 95, 1981), 234 sq, for a discussion of the term haga; see ibidem 245 for arguments that the Upton haga is the Domesday haia.

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50. R Holt, *The Mills of Medieval England* (Oxford, 1988), 10-11; the other FitzOsbern manors were Queenhill, Bushley, Forthampton and Eldersfield.

51. ibidem, 12.

52. ibidem, 4-5, 119.

53. ibidem, 13.

54. Monkhouse, "Worcestershire", 238.
55. *RBE*, 656; *Pipe Rolls of 5 Hen II (1158-9)* (PR Soc 1884) vol 1, 23.
56. Smith, *Malvern*, 21 sq.
57. JW Willis Bund and J Amphlett eds, *Lay Subsidy Roll for the County of Worcester c. 1280 (recte 1275)* (WHS 1893), 95.
58. Atkin, "Herefordshire", 98. The value of Hanley's mill was thus one and a half ora.
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61. *VCH Gloucestershire* vol 8, 275. It has not been generally realised that Malvern forest was originally so extensive : e.g. *VCH Worcs*, vol 2, 317. The boundaries were well marked by natural features; for problems in the mapping of some chases, see e.g. M Higham, "The Boundary of Burton-in-Lonsdale Chase", *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 66 (1994), 91-105.
62. SC Stanford, *Midsummer Hill : an Iron Age Hill Fort on the Malverns* (Leominster 1981); M Wheeler, "The Herefordshire Beacon Hill Fort", *Arch J*, 109 (1952), 144-8. For a description of the three hill forts, see *VCH Worcs* vol 4, 421 sq.
63. CC Dyer, "Dispersed Settlements in Medieval England : a Case Study of Pendock, Worcestershire", *Med Arch* 34 (1990), 97-121, at pp 102-4; HWCM, passim; Gloucestershire CC Sites and Monuments Record, 5591 (Maisemore). A Neolithic polished stone axe, a barb and tang arrowhead (Beaker period?) and a broad flint knife from the Bronze Age have come to light recently on a Romano-British pottery production site near Madresfield : CJ Evans and L Jones, *North Fnd Farm, Madresfield, Phase 2 Interim Report and Full Post-Excavation Assessment* (Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit, Report 351, 1995).
64. Stanford, *Midsummer Hill*, 138, 151.
65. JEH Blake, "Some Remains of the Bronze Age at Mathon", *Trans Birmingham and Midland Institute Arch Soc* 39 (1913), 90 sq.
66. Stanford, *Midsummer Hill*, 166; the author considers that the territory of Midsummer Hill

may have extended to Castlemorton. Bromsberrow and Ledbury, covering c. 50 sq km.

67. For pastoralists postulated in the southern lowlands, see CJ Bond, "The Marshlands of Malvern Chase" in RT Rowley ed, *The Evolution of Marshland Landscapes* (Oxford University Dept of External Studies 1981), 95-112. For Iron Age and Romano-British pottery made in the region, see Chapter III below, note 171.

68. Ekwall, *Place Names*, 297.

69 Cambridge University Collection AP CQG-41; HWCM 6066, 05742.

70 HWCM 03717, 07786; for Gadbury Bank, see also *VCH Worcs* vol 4, 421.

71. Stanford, *Midsummer Hill*, 168.

72. PL Waters, "A Romano-British Pottery Site at Great Buckmans Farm", *Trans Worcs Arch Soc* 3rd series 5 (1976), 63-72. For recent work at Madresfield, see Evans and Jones, *North End Farm*. A kiln site was excavated, with possible settlement areas; pottery recovered dating from first to fourth century AD amounted to over 50,000 sherds.

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74. HPR Finberg, "Roman and Saxon Withington" in Finberg, *Lucerna*, 21-65. For recent arguments against continuity, at any rate at the institutional level, see AS Esmonde Cleary. *The Finding of Roman Britain* (London 1989), 188-205.

75. P Salway, *Roman Britain* (Oxford 1981), 624 sq; J Percival, *The Roman Villa* (London 1976), 91-105. For non-villa settlements, see R Hingley, *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain* (London 1989), 11-12, 95-110 and *passim*. For the continuity of estate boundaries in France, but difficult to prove in Britain, see *ibidem*, 105-9. See also S Appelbaum. "Roman Britain" in HPR Finberg ed, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* (Cambridge 1972), vol Iii, 5-268, at 250 sq.

76. Webster, "Prehistoric Settlement", 47.

77. P Barker, "The Origins of Worcester", *Trans Worcs Arch Soc*, 3rd series 2 (1969), 44 sq.

78. Salway, *Roman Britain* 637 sq; Webster, "Prehistoric Settlement", 50-51.

79. Salway, *Roman Britain*, 631 .

80. Hingley. *Rural Settlement* , 127.

81. DPS Peacock, "Romano-British Pottery Production in the Malvern District of Worcestershire", *Trans Worcs Arch Soc*, 3rd series 1 (1965), 15-28.

82. JNL Myres, *The English Settlements* (Oxford 1986), 204-5.

83. Schumer, *Wychwood*, 5; Rackham, *Ancient Woodland*, 131; for a discussion of "Dark Age regeneration" of former arable, and the evidence of pollen analysis, see M Bell, "Environmental Archaeology as an Index of Continuity and Change in the Medieval Landscape" in M Aston, D Austin and C Dyer eds, *The Rural Settlements of Medieval England* (Blackwell, Oxford 1989), 269-86, at pp 275-7; the author is concerned to point out that while there is evidence in some places for regeneration there is also significant environmental support for continuity of land use in the post-Roman landscape.

84. Dyer, " Pendock", 116.

85. M Gelling, *Signposts to the Past: Place Names and the History of England* (2nd edn, Chichester 1988) ch 4; D Hooke, *The Anglo-Saxon Landscape : the Kingdom of the Hwicce* (Manchester 1985), 12-20; DC Cox, "The Vale Estates of the Church of Evesham c. 700 - 1086", *Vale of Evesham Historical Research Papers* 5 (1975), 25-50 (this article argues for the continuity of all kinds of boundaries); A Savage ed, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (London 1982), sub anno 577.
86. HR Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest* (2nd edn, London 1991). 7.
87. Hooke, *Worcestershire Charter Bounds*, passim. For interpretation of place names in general I have relied on Gelling, *Signposts*, passim; Ekwall, *Dictionary Place Names*, passim; M Gelling, *Place Names in the Landscape* (London 1984), passim. See also eadem, "The Place Name Volumes for Worcestershire and Warwickshire: a New Look", in Slater and Jarvis, *Field and Forest*, 59-78. The name Codra in Powick is thought to be from the Old Welsh cou (a hollow) and Welsh dwr (water), and another stream called the Croma is probably from the British *crumba (crooked). The wen broc in both Pendock and Redmarley Dabiot charter bounds may be connected with the Welsh gwyn (white); Chaceley has a stream called the an (cp. Welsh onn, ash trees), and in Staunton there is the Glynch brook (British *glanic, cp. Welsh glan, pure, clean). These examples, culled from the boundary clauses of Anglo-Saxon charters, and much more frequent here than further east, lend support to the general view that Anglo-Saxon settlement made slower progress as it moved westwards, arriving at a relatively late date beyond the Severn.
88. JD Hurst *Savouring the Past : the Droitwich Salt Industry* (Hereford and Worcester CC. 1992), 14; idem, "Major Saxon Discoveries at Droitwich", *Current Archaeology* 126 (1991), 252-5.
89. 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 p 281
90. D Hooke, "Pre-Conquest Woodland : its Distribution and Usage", *Agr Hist R* 37 (1989), 113-129, at p 122; CC Taylor, " The Anglo-Saxon Countryside" in T Rowley ed, *Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Landscape* (BAR 6, 1974), 5-15; idem, *Fieldwork in Medieval Archaeology* (London 1974), 94-102; for a discussion of prehistoric land units. see A Fleming, "The Dartmoor Reaves" in HC Bowen and PJ Fowler eds, *Early Land Allotment in the British Isles* (BAR 48, 1978), 17-22 and idem, *The Dartmoor Reaves* (London 1988), passim.
91. Hooke, *Worcestershire Charter Bounds*, 102-3; Finberg, *Early Charters*, 106.
92. J Caley, H Ellis. B Bandinel eds, W Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London 1849), vol 1, 609.
93. Hooke, *Worcestershire Charter Bounds*, 244-7; Finberg, *Early Charters*, 110; Grundy, "Saxon Charters" (1928), 92-5.
- 94 Hooke, *Worcestershire Charter Bounds*, 177-230; Finberg, *Early Charters*, 116-7; GB Grundy, "Saxon Charters of Worcestershire", *Trans Birmingham Arch Soc* 52 (1927), 164-5, 172-5; idem, "Saxon Charters" (1928), 43-9.
95. Hooke, *Worcestershire Charter Bounds*, 264-8; Finberg, *Early Charters*, 56, 61, 114; Grundy, "Saxon Charters" (1928), 25-30, 50-53.
- 96 Finberg, *Early Charters*, 79-85.
97. See M Gelling, *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester 1992). 6. for a recent discussion of leah; for the distinction between leah and tun, see eadem, "Some Notes on Warwickshire Place Names", *Trans B'ham and Warks Arch Soc* 86 (1974), 59-79.

98. PL Waters, "A Romano-British Tile Kiln at Upper Sandlin Farm, Leigh Sinton, Worcestershire", *Trans Worcs Arch Soc* 40 (1963), 1-5; Hooke, *Worcestershire Charter Bounds*, 218. Sand in Hanley is suggested by Sondesley (BL Add Ch 73664), later Sondley, at Gilberts End; and sand has been observed geologically at Forty Green: see Hurst, "Medieval Ceramic Production Site", 118.
99. Hooke, "Pre-Conquest Woodland", 121.
100. Gelling, *Place Names*, 235 sq.
101. Maynard, "Place Name Elements", *passim*. aecer can sometimes signify meadow or simply a measure of land, not necessarily arable : D Hooke, "Open Field Agriculture : the Evidence from the Pre-Conquest Charters of the West Midlands", in T Rowley ed, *The Origins of Open Field Agriculture* (London 1981), 39-63, at pp 44-5.
102. Bond, "Marshlands", 97.
103. Grundy, "Saxon Charters" (1928), 50-2.
104. Finberg, *Early Charters*, 82-4.
105. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 26 and Map 3.
106. N Hamilton ed, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglicanorum : William of Malmesbury* (Rolls Series 1870), 285; Hooke, "Pre-Conquest Woodland", 126-7. For observations on Anglo-Saxon settlements and "manors", see TH Aston, "The Origins of the Manor in England" and "A Postscript", in TH Aston et al eds, *Social Relations and Ideas : Essays in Honour of RH Hilton* (Cambridge 1983), 1-43.
107. e g Smith, *Malvern*, 14.
108. C Petit-Dutaillis, "Les Origines franco-normandes de la 'Forêt' anglaise" in *Mélanges d'Histoire Offerts à M Charles Bémont* (Paris 1913), 59-76; *idem*, *Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History II* (Manchester 1914), 166 sq; JA Green, "Unity and Disunity in the Anglo-Norman State", *Hist Research* 63 (1989), 115-34. Hagas of course may not always indicate hunting; an area of woodland may be used for other purposes, and where haga means a fence it is open to various interpretations.
109. Rackham, *Ancient Woodland*, 177.
110. Young, *Royal Forests*, 22, 27, 30, 65-6 and *passim*.
- 111 But for an attempt to isolate and measure the more complex manorial holdings, see JD Hamshere, "Domesday Worcestershire" in Slater and Jarvis eds, *Field and Forest*, 105-24, at p 118.
112. Earl William's tenure is shown by the Herefordshire entries in the case of Bushley/Pull, Queenhill and Eldersfield, and by the Gloucestershire entries in the case of Hanley and Forthampton. Domesday text is taken from the Phillimore (Chichester) editions: F and C Thorn eds, *Worcestershire* (1982), JS Moore ed. *Gloucestershire* (1982) and F and C Thorn eds, *Herefordshire* (1983).
113. WE Wightman, "The Palatine Earldom of William FitzOsbern in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, 1066-71", *Eng Hist R* 77 (1962), 6-17; the author considers that his authority was palatine in Gloucestershire and "very probably" in Worcestershire, but he does not deploy the arguments concerning the forest. See also JH Round in *VCH Herefords* vol 1, 270 and D Walker, "William FitzOsbern and the Norman Settlement of Herefordshire", *Trans Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* 39(1969), 402-12. For the problem of defining "palatinate", with particular reference to

the earldom of Chester, see JW Alexander, "New Evidence on the Palatinate of Chester", *Eng Hist R* 85 (1970), 715-29.

114. C Guéry, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Lyre* (Evreux 1917), 567-9; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol 6, 1092, 1095; *Pipe Rolls 1155-8* (Rec Comm 1844), 64; *VCH Worcs* vol 1, 235 sq, vol 2, 8 and vol 4, 100; JW Willis Bund ed, *Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard* (WHS 1902), 242. For a summary of FitzOsbern's endowments in Worcestershire, see 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, Monograph 5, 1985), 47-60. Hanley church is not mentioned in Domesday Book, but among other proofs of its existence (see Chapter IV below) is the fact that William FitzOsbern gave it to Lire abbey pre-1071.

115. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 610-3.

116. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 70 and Map 4.

117. *Cal Close 1476-85*, 648, 649, 902; HWCRO BA 8397/4 (xiv) Ref 705.139.

118. *Pipe Roll 12 Hen II* (PR Soc 9, 1888), 82.

119. Green, "Unity and Disunity", 126.

120. *RBE*, 568; *Book of Fees*, 43; *VCH Worcs* vol 4, 47.

121. *Pipe Rolls 1155-8*, 64.

122. BL Cotton Cleopatra A vii fo 83b.

123. *VCH Worcs* vol 1, 271-2.

124. In Gloucestershire : Frocester 165c, Wickwar 170a; in Herefordshire : Eastnor 182a, Downton 183c, Weobley 184d, Marston 187a.

125. HC Darby, "The Midland Counties" in Darby and Terrett eds, *Domesday Geography*, 417-45, at p 443.

126. Rackham, *Ancient Woodland*, 113 sq.

127. *ibidem*, 114.

128. West, "Feckenham", 62; there were 14 manors 'underploughed' in Feckenham forest.

129. Darby, "The Midland Counties", 428 and fig 150.

130. For a discussion of the make-up of plough teams, see HPR Finberg, "The Domesday Plough Teams", *Econ Hist R* 66 (1951), 67-71.

131. Darby and Terrett eds, *Domesday Geography*, 247, 441.

132. Monkhouse, "Worcestershire", 234.

133. O Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape* (rev edn London 1990), 165; Young, *Royal Forests*, 11 sq, 25 sq; AL Poole, *Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-1216* (2nd edn Oxford 1955), 29 sq.

134. PH Sawyer ed, "Evesham A, a Domesday Text", *Miscellany I* (WHS 1960), 3-36; HB Clarke, "The Early Surveys of Evesham Abbey : an Investigation into the Problems of Continuity in Anglo-Norman England" (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham 1978); Thorn and

Thorn, *Worcestershire*, note on Powick entry (8, 10).

135. *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 125, quoting *Cartae Antiquae* NN18 and H29; *ibidem*, 186; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol 3, 447. 'Limberga' in Powick may be 'Ad Bergam' of Evesham A (66); Sawyer, "Evesham A", p 27, suggests Berrow for 'Ad Bergam', which does not fit well alongside Bransford (64), Madresfield (65) and Pixham (67), all of which are in Powick.

136. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol 3, 447-8; Smith, *Malvern* 34.

137. Hollings, *Red Book*, 109; Hooke, *Worcestershire Charter Bounds* 244.

138. L Landon ed, *Cartae Antiquae Rolls 1-10* (PR Soc ns 17, 1894), 75-6; Darlington, *Cartulary*, 171; Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 63; Hollings, *Red Book*, 103.

139. *ibidem*, 99, 108, 459, 510, 512.

140. RM Haines ed, *Calendar of the Register of Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Worcester 1327-33* (London 1979), 131-2.

141. Cronne, "Royal Forest", 4; Darlington, *Cartulary*, 244 (No 468) is a grant by king Henry III to the monks of Worcester of their woods in Feckenham and Kinver, but with royal foresters to continue to have care of the game, and the justices in eyre to enforce the assize of the forest in the matter of "waste".

142. J Conway Davis ed, *Cartae Antiquae Rolls 11-20* (PR Soc 33, 1960), 185.

143. *RBF*, 568; *Book of Fees*, 139 sq.

144. In the Customary, Bransford bridge and Powick bridge mark the northern limits for commoning with cattle for Hanley tenants, and similarly for the verderers to exercise their view.

145. *VCH Worcs* vol 4, 258.

146. Conway Davis, *Cartae*, 189; *Pipe Roll 22 Hen II* (PR Soc 25, 1904), 39; Dyer, "Pendock", 108.

147. *Annales Monastici (Gloucs)* (Rolls Series 1863), vol 1, 100.

148. *ibidem*, vol 2, 18.

149. *ibidem*, vol 2, 148; Cronne, "Royal Forest", 5.

150. Gloucs Record Office, D1609 II7.

151. RB Patterson ed, *Earldom of Gloucester Charters to AD 1217* (Oxford 1973), 92; *Ann Mon (Gloucs)*, vol 2, 19; C Johnson and HA Cronne eds, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* 2 (1956), 1658.

152. *Rot Chart* (Rec Comm 1837) vol 1, 21.

153. Gloucs RO, D1099/M37.

154. *Cal Inq IPM*, vol 9, 341; Gloucester Collection Rf 93.2; *VCH Gloucs*, vol 8, 274.

155. *VCH Gloucs*, vol 8, 275.

156. EAB Barnard, "A Survey of Malvern Chase in 1628", *Trans Worcs Arch Soc* 6 (1929), 137-41. HWCRO BA 81 ref 705.24/868 is a copy made in 1835 'from the entry in the Office of HM

Surveyor General'. Barnard's version, which is from a possibly contemporary copy then in Malvern Public Library, requires some amendments in the light of this, viz p 138 corner for bonner, p 139 (line 4) or for on, park for part, p 141 Purlieu for Durley, Eastnor for East.mo.

157. E Mason ed, *The Beauchamp Cartulary Charters 1100-1268* (PR Soc 1980), 1. For Woollysfelde, see HWCRO BA 3762/156(i) Ref b 899.31 (rental c. 1550).

158. Reg Giffard, fo 157.

159. T Nash, *History of Worcestershire* (1781), lxxi sq.

160. RM Haines, *Calendar of the Register of Simon de Montacute, Bishop of Worcester 1334-7* (WHS 1996), 7-8; *idem*, *The Administration of the Diocese of Worcester in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century* (London 1965), 147 and note. Barnard, "Survey", shows the Welland woodland.

161. *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 214 note : quoting Pipe Roll 6 Ric I, m 9d.

162. *ibidem*, 114. For stank, see Latham, *Word List*, s.v.

163. *ibidem*, 49, quoting BL Cotton Claudius A viii fo 48.

164. *ibidem*, 51, quoting BL Harleian Ch 83B, 37, 44.

165. Dyer, "Pendock", 104.

166. *VCH Gloucs*, vol 8, 196.

167. *ibidem*, vol 4, 271; *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 76.

168. *VCH Gloucs*, vol 4, 271 note, quoting Westminster Abbey Muniments 32680 and BL Add Ch 54207.

169. Landon, *Cartae*, 68; *VCH Gloucs* vol 4, 95-6, 282; Ann Mon (Gloucs), 24, 26.

170. For intercommoning, see Schumer, *Wychwood*, 41-3.

171. *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 139: 'La Suthide' however is not South End but South Hyde farm, two miles south of the village of Mathon; see also HWCRO BA 892 ref 9705.99/1.

172. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 16-17, 28-31; N Neilson, "Customary Rents" in P Vinogradoff ed, *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History* 2 (Oxford 1910), especially ch I, 'Food Rents'.

173. HWCRO BA 1533 ref 705.79.

174. HWCRO BA 81 ref 705.24 352.

175. *Cal SP Dom 1629-31*, 486.

176. HWCRO BA 527 ref 899.44 276 (*VCH* researchers' notes), quoting Pat 7 Car I pt 5 (1631).

177. *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 194.

178. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 63.

179. *Cal Close 1374-77*, 307; the list of Edward le Despenser's knights fees includes "one fee in Severn Stoke pertaining to the manor of Hanley".

180. Mason, *Beauchamp*, 4.
181. JA Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154* (PRO Handbooks 24, 1990), 87.
182. *RBE* 662, 656.
183. *Pipe Roll 5 Hen II* (PR Soc 1, 1884), 23; *Pipe Roll 2 John* (PR Soc ns 12, 1934), 127; *Pipe Roll 2 Hen III* (PR Soc ns 39, 1964).
184. *Pipe Roll 22 Hen II* (PR Soc 25, 1904), 39.
185. *Pipe Roll 2 John*, 127.
186. Patterson, *Earldom*, 113; HWCRO BA 81 ref 705.24/77.
187. Patterson, *Earldom*, 180.
188. D Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins* (Cambridge 1986), 166.
189. Poole, *Domesday Book to Magna Carta*, 348.
190. e.g. Nash, *History*, lxxi; *VCH Worcs*, vol 2, 317.
191. *Rot Hund* (Rec Comm 1818), vol 2, 283, 285.
192. *Pipe Roll 2 Hen III*.
193. In Needwood, Staffs, for example, the terms forest and chase were employed interchangeably during the thirteenth century; see Birrell, "Forest and Chase", 24.
194. *Ann Mon (Gloucs)* vol 2, 23.
195. *Cal Close 1261-4*, 285.
196. *Cal Close 1313-18*, 131.
197. *Rot de Obl et Fin* (Rec Comm 1835), 209; *Rot Litt Claus* (Rec Comm 1873) 41, 71b.
198. *Cal Close 1261-4*, 146, 161, 239.
199. *Cal Lib Rolls 1267-72* (HMSO 1964), 779.
200. *Rot Litt Pat* (Rec Comm 1835), vol 1 - Itinerary of king John; *Rot de Liberate ac de Misis et Praestitis Regnante Johanne* (Rec Comm 1844), 120; *Cal Lib Rolls 1267-72*, 312; *Cal Pat 1281-92*, 10, 19; *Cal Close 1323-7*, 52; *Cal Close 1330-3*, 271; *Cal Pat 1330-4*, 322-5, 338, 345, 352, 353.
201. Northampton Record Office, ms Westmorland, Apethorpe, 4xx4. The treatise is edited in WA and FG Baillie-Groham eds, *The Master of Game by Edward, Second Duke of York* (London 1904).
202. JR Birrell, "Deer and Deer Farming in Medieval England", *Agr Hist R* 40 (1992), 112-126.
203. *Rot Hund* (Rec Comm), vol 2, 282 sq; HWCRO BA 257 ref 899.44/276 (*VCH* researchers' notes) quoting Plac Abbrev 193, Hil 5 Edw I (1277).
204. *Ann Mon (Worcs)* vol 4, 476.

205. *ibidem*, 494. It is possible that the ditch already marked the boundaries between the Hwicce and the Magonsaetan, between the two dioceses of Hereford and Worcester, and between the forest and the bishop's chase, and that it was conveniently recut. For Camden's view, see W Camden, *Britannia*, tr P Holland (London 1637); the first (Latin) edition of *Britannia* is dated 1607.
206. *ibidem* 505; Darlington, *Cartulary*, 288-90.
207. *Cal Close 1318-23*, 400.
208. See *VCH* vol 4, 96, quoting Pat 2 Eliz, pt x, m 3 and IPM (ser 2) clxxii, 156, re grant of manor; see also HWCRO BA 10509 ref 989.991/1 (Prattinton Collection). The booklet is HWCRO BA 1751 ref 705.295/2.
209. Nash, *History*, lxxxv; Nash copied the Depositions in 1760 'from the original in the keeping of Edmund Lechmere', but this has not been found in the Lechmere collection in HWCRO.
210. EF Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century 1399-1485* (Oxford 1969), 579 sq.
211. Turner, *Select Pleas*, cix-cxv; the author discusses the differences between forest and chase, concluding that "in general the restrictions under which [the inhabitants] had lived continued, and it was only the machinery by which they were enforced that was altered".
212. Young, *Royal Forests*, 12; Cronne, "Royal Forest", 2-3; W Stubbs ed, *Select Charters* (9th edn Oxford 1948), 119.
213. *ibidem*, 222-3; DC Douglas and GW Greenway eds, *English Historical Documents 1042-1189* (2nd edn Oxford 1981), 563.
214. Stubbs, *Charters*, 185-8.
215. *Cal Pat 1330-4*, 370, records a pardon for Hugh de Couleye (Cowleigh) who had been imprisoned at Gloucester for alleged trespasses of vert and venison in Malvern chase; Banbury (Bandbury) chamber, as the dungeon in the castle at Hanley, is given in the Customary. For further comment on Bandbury, see Chapter IV below, note 69.
216. BL Roy 6 Evii fo 61 and Evi fo 303b. William de Hanley was not alone; see e.g. DM Stenton, *English Society in the Early Middle Ages 1066-1307* (4th edn London 1965), 117 : "Ecclesiastical persons, from archbishops down to unbeneficed clerks, hunted with zest".
217. PRO SC6 1068/7.
218. For a survey of industrial activity in forests, see JR Birrell, "Peasant Craftsmen in the Medieval Forest", *Agr Hist R* 17 (1969), 91-107.
219. Turner, *Select Pleas*, Appendix I; Young, *Royal Forests*, 60-8.
220. DM Stenton ed, *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Lincs 1218-9 and Worcs 1221* (Selden Soc 53, 1940), 1076.
221. *Cal Close 1385-9*, 469, 640.
222. Stenton, *Rolls*, 1077.
223. Stubbs, *Charters*, 218-9 (Dialogus de Scaccario X); Poole, *Domesday Book to Magna Carta*, 393-4.
224. Stenton, *Rolls*, 1110, 1330; *Pipe Roll 5 Hen III* (PR Soc ns 48, 1984-6).

225. Stenton *Rolls*, 1206. For a discussion of the "economic forest" and the "legal forest", see PA Stamper, "The Medieval Forest of Pamber, Hampshire", *Landscape History* 5 (1983), 41-52. The Hundred Rolls extracts of 1274 record that the earl and his bailiffs refused to allow the king's sheriff or his coroner to inquire about a death in the manor of Hanley; the manor's privileges were said to be held "per reges Anglorum" : *Rot Hund* (Rec Comm), vol 2, 283. For ancient demesne, see further Chapter III below; the tenants' privileges under ancient demesne were not so readily granted.

226. *RBE*, 567, records his official holding in the early thirteenth century.

227. Hen rents particularly are thought to be payments for early wood rights : JR Birrell, "Common rights in the Medieval Forest. Disputes and Conflicts in the Thirteenth Century", *Past and Present* 117 (1987), 22-49, at p 38. But there is no other evidence that Colwall tenants had wood rights (see above) although they paid for agistment; Baldenhall however was in the chase, and its tenants had wood rights in the normal way, so that the survival of its payment seems to be an anomaly. These may be relics of pre-Conquest arrangements : for example Domesday Book (180d) records a payment from a tenant of Baldenhall to Hanley manor.

228. M Thiébaux, "The Medieval Chase", *Speculum* 42 (1967), 260-74; Baillie-Groham, *Master of Game*, 198.

229. Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 60, 69.

230. Hilton, *Medieval Society*, 244-5.

231. Patterson, *Earldom*, 48.

232. *Cal Pat 1327-30*, 485.

233. *Cal Close 1476-85*, 188.

234. *ibidem* 187 (bis); BL Add Ch 73695.

235. *Abbrev Plac* (Rec Comm 1811), 355; *Cal Pat 1338-40*, 183.

236. *Cal Pat 1345-8*, 307, 469.

237. JR Birrell, "Who Poached the King's Deer?" *Midland History* 7 (1982), 9-25.

238. *L & P Hen VIII* 6, 1603.

239. Hilton, "Swanimote Rolls", 38-9.

240. *Cal Pat 1343-5*, 491.

241. *Cal SP Dom 1547-80*, 470; *ibidem* 1581-90, 16, 571; HWCRO BA 257 ref 899.44/276 (*VCH* researchers' notes) quoting Star Chamber Proc P & M 8/60. For some discussion of the management of woodland in the late medieval period, see D Roden, "Woodland and its Management in the Medieval Chilterns", *Forestry*, 41 (1968), 59-71.

242. HWCRO BA 81 ref 705.24/360.

243. JW Willis Bund ed, *Calendar of Quarter Sessions Papers I* (WHS 1900), 193; *VCH Worcs* vol 2, 333. A fuller version of Dingley's account of the Perambulation can be found in Smith, *Malvern*, 27, 37-8.

244. Smith, *Malvern*, 152; *Cal SP Dom 1628-9*, 65.

245. Barnard, "Survey"; the Herefordshire land named is at Cradley, Ledbury and Eastnor, which were not in the chase, and at Colwall, which along with Mathon has been examined above.
246. Willis Bund, *Quarter Sessions*, 110.
247. *Cal Pat 1494-1509*, 62.
248. Smith, *Malvern*, 151; see also pp 150-58 of Smith's chapter on 'Enclosure' for a more detailed account of the circumstances of disafforestation; and *VCH Worcs*, vol 2, 319-20, for the opposition of local lords, leading to Star Chamber accusations.
249. Birrell, "Common Rights", 24 sq. For some earlier (thirteenth century) anxieties re common rights in the forest of Arden (not a royal forest), see V Skipp, *Medieval Yardley* (London 1970), 27 sq.
250. Smith, *Malvern*, 153, quoting *VCH* researchers' notes; see also *VCH Worcs*, vol 2, 320.
251. HWCRO BA 81 ref 705.24/352 and /366; the map is in the Berington collection and was probably made for John Russell.
252. *Cal SP Dom 1629-31*, 353; *ibidem* 1631-3, 285, 445.
253. Smith, *Malvern*, 157.
254. *ibidem*, 40.
255. *VCH Gloucs* vol 8, 271, quoting Westminster Abbey Muniments 32680.
256. The ploughs are in Forthampton (9), Eldersfield (14), Staunton (5), and Chaceley (8 maximum); there is no plough information for the other manors, either because it is not recorded or because the manors are not seen in Domesday Book (see Table I.5); Ashleworth is recorded as one of several berewicks of Berkeley, but information cannot be isolated.
257. *VCH Gloucs* vol 8, 274 sq; *Cal Pat 1281-92*, 205.
258. *Rot Hund* vol 1, 179.
259. *Cal Pat 1281-92*, 350; *ibidem* 1307-13, 261; *Cal Rot Pat* (Rec Comm), 92; *Abbrev Rot Orig* (Rec Comm) vol 1, 260, 264 and vol 2, 8; *Cal Pat 1321-4*, 112, 222, 403; *ibidem* 1324-7, 331; *ibidem* 1327-30, 41, 187, 485, 500; *ibidem* 1330-4, 37; *ibidem* 1348-50, 413; *ibidem* 1350-4, 93; *ibidem* 1354-8, 68; *Cal Close 1354-60*, 249.
260. *VCH Gloucs* vol 8, 275.
261. *Cal IPM* vol 9, 341.
262. *Cal Close 1318-23*, 400; *ibidem* 1327-30, 275.
263. *Cal Pat 1399-1401*, 183.
264. *VCH Gloucs* vol 8, 12; *Book of Fees*, 311; SJ Madge ed, *Gloucestershire Inquisitions Post Mortem* (British Record Soc 1903), pt 5, 148.
265. For Pendock/Overbury as an example of this, see Dyer, "Pendock", 106, 112; see also D Hooke, "The Anglo-Saxon Landscape" in Slater and Jarvis eds, *Field and Forest*, 79-103, at p 90. Ripple/Upton and Bredon/Welland are slightly different, since in each case the woodland was strictly within the parent manor. For some links on the bishop of Worcester's estates, see Dyer,

Lords and Peasants, 25.

266. *Cal Pat 1494-1509*, 62; Gloucs Record Office D 640/T73; *VCH Gloucs* vol 8, 275.

267. Gloucester Collection Rf 93.2; courts were held at Woodley Stile in the thirteenth century, for Maisemore and the forest of Corse : see *VCH Gloucs* vol 8, 275; *Ann Mon (Gloucs)* 24, 26

268. Gloucs RO C 263.

269. *VCH Gloucs* vol 8, 275; Feckenham (in 1629) was disafforested along with Malvern, but Corse was ignored : *VCH Worcs*, vol 2, 319.

270. ibidem, Map p 272.

271. ibidem, 278.

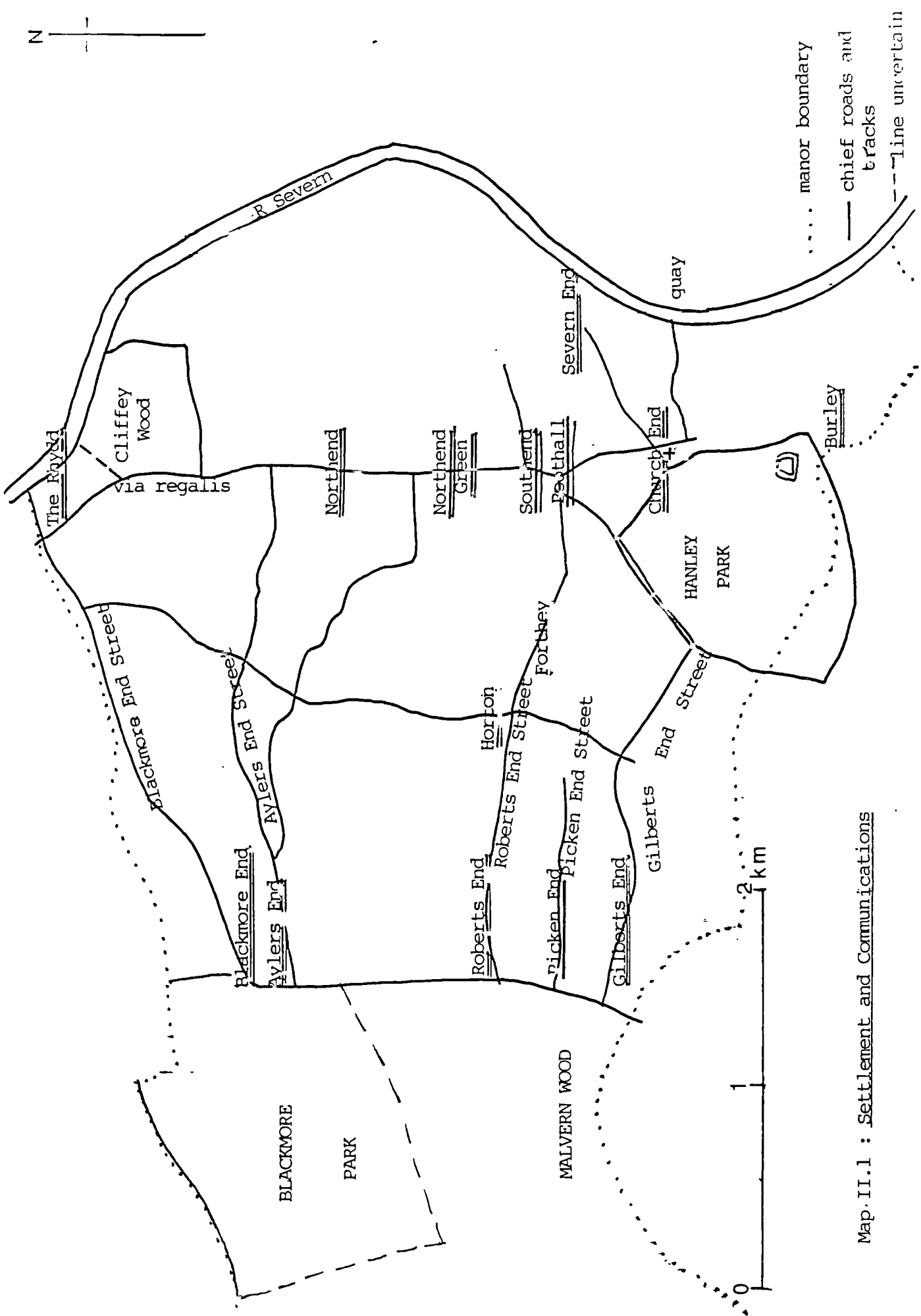
272. ibidem, 274-5.

1. SETTLEMENT HISTORY AND COMMUNICATIONS

Having put Hanley in its wider context we must now examine the pattern of medieval settlement and communications in what was a relatively large manor set in a woodland landscape, a manor which was always in the hands of the Crown or of substantial magnates and which, with its castle, was the caput of a royal forest which became a magnate's chase. All these factors had some influence on settlement, which was also dictated by such considerations as soil quality, ease of clearance and accessibility of land, by the demands of manorial lordship, and of submanorial lordship in the shape of the forester, by the impulses of tenants, and of course by population imperatives, indeed by all the factors which applied mutatis mutandis to settlement everywhere. Insofar as any certain chronology can be discerned there was a general development of new land and expansion of settlement from the east of Hanley to the west, from the river to the retreating woodland, and the different settlements will be considered for the most part in that order (Map II.1).

A tendency by rural historians to polarise settlements as either nucleated or dispersed would leave Hanley stranded somewhere in between, yet with its own appropriate and successful settlement pattern. The dispersed settlement which we should expect of a woodland manor from the nature of the landscape can be plainly seen, but there is also more than a touch of nucleation, reminding us that in spite of some common themes there is a wide variety of types and sites of settlement¹. The nucleation in Hanley, insofar as evidence for it has survived, is in Church End, the settlement which must have been primus inter pares of a number of hamlets in the late Anglo-Saxon period; thus it was the Hanlege or Hanlie (OE han leah, the high clearing: sc. of land above flood level) of Domesday Book, giving its name to the whole manor. Its cultural significance is emphasised by the early ninth century grave marker known as the Lechmere Stone and the early church of St Botolph, both of which will be examined later.

Church End was surrounded by three manorial open fields, namely Burleyfield, Northfield and Westfield; they had the usual selions and multiple tenancy, although we know little of any communal organisation: the only court roll extant gives no agricultural information. Apart from the church itself and related buildings, Church End also contained half the demesne arable (chiefly in the first two fields named above), the curia, the market and the quay, with the park nearby and the castle, from which the forest was controlled (Map II.2); and it will be argued below that there are signs of planning which could suggest an incipient borough at Church End, perhaps in the early thirteenth century. But any nucleation which manorial fields and centralisation of administration might imply does not mean that Church End resembled such settlements as the specialised grain-producing villis of the Avon valley, but rather that in its own environment it found its own ways of meeting its various needs and responsibilities: and it looked out to the rest of the manor, being linked by well established routes with the various hamlets and with the other half of the demesne at Blackmore, and providing for the manor at large a variety of social, economic and



Map II.1 : Settlement and Communications

administrative focuses. Some of these hamlets were characterised by the message and croft of the small assart, although they may not have been without their own communal agricultural arrangements, while others, such as Blackmore, had also eventually their own open fields (in Blackmore's case supplementing or later replacing the demesne there), not large but divided into tenant strips and providing what amounted to a mini-field system. Many of the free smallholders however may have played little part in any system, retaining some sense of independence inherited from a woodland background; such people were not firmly tied to the land, but had extra income from potting and tiling and other woodland industries.

In a manor like Hanley, sustained by both agriculture and industry, there were many advantages in efficient communications. It has already been observed that several roads, or "streets" as they are called in Hanley, ran east-west, with their lines determined by the location of settlements along their length and by the landscape in general². The deeds however, with their references to a via regalis (or variants) (eg L24), make it plain that there was also an early north-south route through Hanley which has not previously been emphasised. This route is now represented by a footpath, now ploughed out in its southern section, which passed through Church End to the east of the church and ran southwards to Upton, with a branch to the castle and the mill (Map II.2); this branch also served to mark the boundary between the curia and the park, as will be seen below. It might be postulated as a pre-Conquest or even earlier line, linking the riverine settlements between Gloucester and Worcester. There is however no charter evidence for this route, although a route did exist on this western side of the Severn in the area north of the Teme, a road which was known as the folc hearpaþ³; and it may be that before the eleventh century the eastern road or the river would have sufficed⁴. The value of the river in communications cannot be overstated.

The "streets" leading from the woodland and the western Ends, and from intermediate hamlets such as Horton and Forthey, found their way directly or indirectly to the Severn, with Blackmore End Street and the southern branch of Gilberts End Street reaching the river at the Rhydd and Hanley quay respectively. This reminds us that such roads had a function as trade routes, carrying pottery and other products of the woodland area. Hanley tenants must also have made use of the major route of Wood Street, which still forms the northern boundary in the western part of the manor and leads, as its name implies, to Malvern Wood (boscum Malvernie : eg BL Add Ch 73662) from the river at Clevelode and the Rhydd; west of the wood it crosses the hills through the Wyche cutting, into Herefordshire and beyond. This route, although not by name, is followed by the Powick charter bounds; north of Blackmore park it is still today a substantial green track and in parts a wide hollow way, with hedged ditches on both sides and presenting the appearance of an ancient boundary⁵.

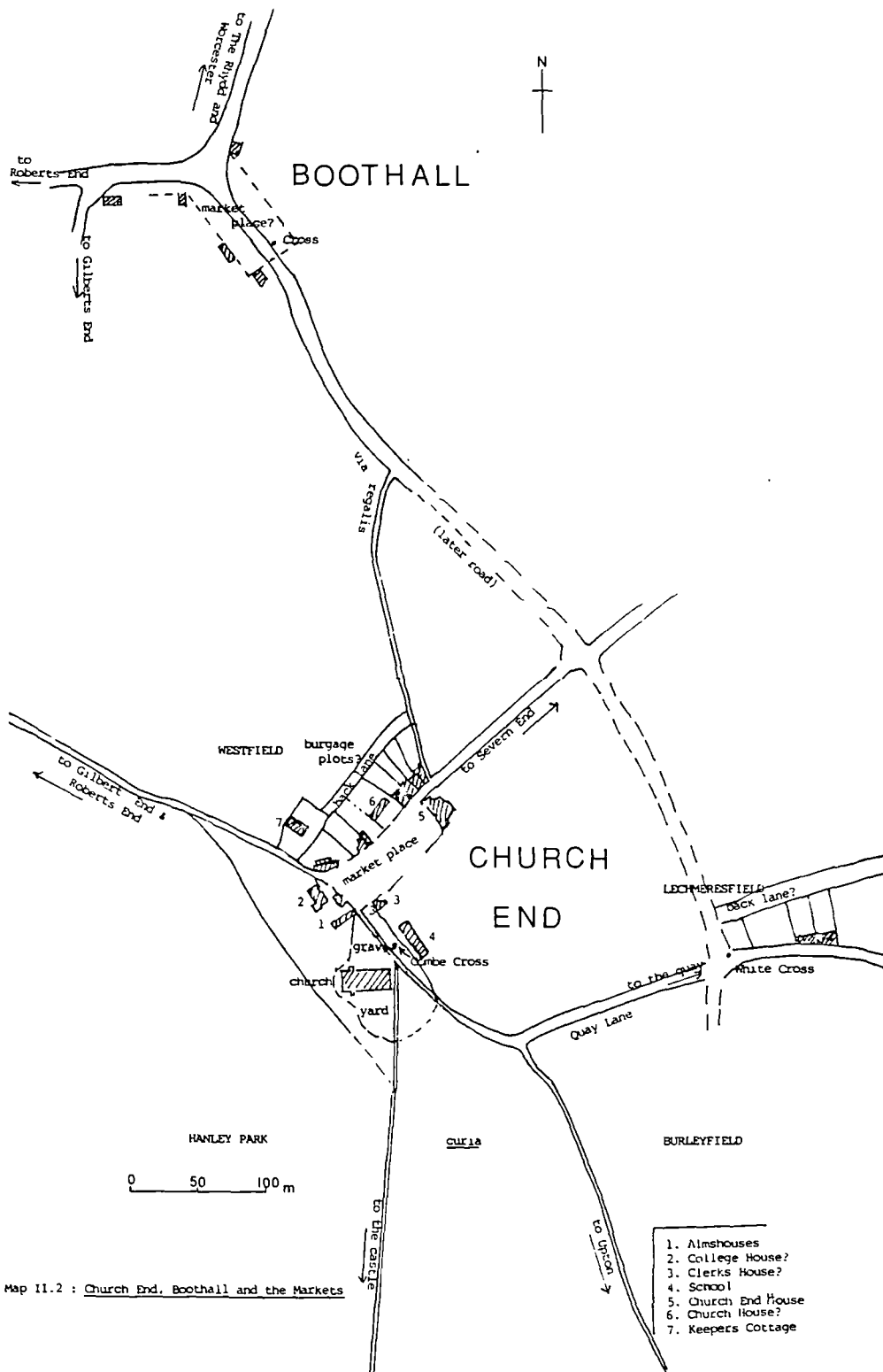
2. INDIVIDUAL SETTLEMENTS

(a) Church End, Quay Lane, Boothall, and the Markets (Map II.2)

Church End as we have seen is the most significant and probably one of the earliest of the settlements in the manor. At its widest extent it was regarded as embracing the Boothall area and at least the south side of Quay lane, but on the other hand in the early sixteenth century a settlement at the quay bore its own name of "Kentin" (L207). The major arable, as we saw, impinged on Church End, and where the inhabitants did not look out over this arable they saw the park on the south west and the curia and castle on the south; but they were not confined, and the road system and the river gave them contact with the rest of the manor and the outside world.

The church was the focus of a group of important buildings of a public or semi-public nature; these include the College House, the Church House and the Clerk's House, all of them chantry possessions. They cannot be as securely located as the School House and the Almshouses, which are still in use; however, several of the buildings in Church End present a late sixteenth or seventeenth century appearance. The house now known as Hobbits provided space for parish meetings within living memory, and may have been Church House, while the house north east of this was at one time the ale house called The Three Kings; it is possible then that the present Three Kings may have been one of the chantry properties, perhaps the College House; incidentally the ale house had belonged to the King family, so the name may have a punning and not a religious origin. As for the Clerk's House, this may be the cottage presently known as White Cottage, on the edge of the churchyard; by its name it will have housed a priest, either a chantry priest or perhaps the vicar's assistant; as it happens the (lay) parish clerk lived there in the nineteenth century, so if it was originally a chantry possession it must eventually have belonged to the church. Such specialised buildings, with occupants who were of some standing and reasonably literate, must have contributed to the influence of Church End and the growth of activity and settlement there; moreover, being related to the church, they are likely to have had predecessors, perhaps as early as the twelfth century⁶.

The tenements in the north west of Church End, which back on to Westfield, are arranged in a way which could imply some deliberate planning; the back lane is still visible, and was apparently called the Vicar's Path in the nineteenth century when it formed a short cut from the then vicarage to the church; the relationship of these tenements to the market will be discussed below. The deeds show some tenements in Church End being bought and sold, but there is not enough detail to construct a plan giving exact or even relative positions. A messuage was sold in 1456 (L93) with the south boundary given as the common way (a commune via); and in 1523 a grant was made to the school trustees of "a tenement with close adjoining, between the royal highway leading from the church to Combe Cross on the south, and Westfield on the north"; if Westfield extended south of the market place (Map II.2) this could be the site of the school, which is discussed further in chapter IV below. The "royal highway" has already been noted, as the main north-south route passing through Church End; the line of the present road (now the B4211) came with the Upton Turnpike Trust of 1752. Two other messuages were sold in 1533 (L228), one of them called Head House. a name perhaps related to the headlands of Westfield, unless it denotes



early burgage plots⁷.

South of Church End, as will be argued later, stood the curia, which must have contained a house for the lord or a "manor house", at any rate before the building of the castle in the early thirteenth century⁸. Here certainly was the demesne barton with grangia, which lay near the graveyard (cimiterium)⁹; the barton is called "Hanley Stabul" in the late fifteenth century and contains a "two bay house called Le Heyhouse"; if this was a hay barn it may be associated with Burybarne close nearby, where the lord also had a pinfold according to the accounts of the late fifteenth century; and the name Burybarne may recall the manor house¹⁰.

The "Hanley" demesne, which would be farmed from the barton, contained 125 acres of arable in 1307 (IPM), the remainder being at Blackmore. Constable furlong was a demesne parcel, but presumably allowed as a perquisite to the constable of the castle; it lay in the northern part of Burleyfield, one of several parcels styled "furlong", all in the early cultivated east of the manor¹¹. Riddefield in the north also contained demesne arable; it is the open field or land belonging to the Rhydd, and it may be that the main settlement took over the arable of waning hamlets, such as the Rhydd and Burley, while keeping the names of their open fields. Other demesne arable will be discussed below. The overall impression of the eastern demesne is of arable both scattered and compact, but within reach of the barton at Church End.

Hanley park loomed over Church End for four centuries, consuming about 250 acres. It can be postulated from the late twelfth century and it was included in the grant of the manor in 1560¹²; a keeper was appointed in 1606 but thereafter the park fades from view¹³. It is discussed in greater detail in chapter III below. The official keepership of the park was often granted to some local landowner or royal servant, but day-to-day keepers of a lower status lived in Church End, where Keeper's Cottage lies on a plot just outside the fence (Map II.2).

Tenements on the north of Quay Lane backed on to Lechmeresfield (which had probably been gradually built up out of Northfield), while those on the south had Burleyfield behind them; they are not seen specifically in the deeds available, but in 1521 (L207) two acres of land in Burleyfield are said to be abutting the road leading from "Whit Crosse" to "Kentin". The line which marked the limit of Lechmeresfield, and was later the boundary of the Lechmere deer park, was probably the back lane for the crofts of the tenements on the north. "Kentin" (recte Kentun?) may have been a collection of tenements and stores at the quay, where at present the eighteenth century warehouses on the south of Quay Lane front an open space where goods might have been landed. The lane itself still contains some late medieval cottages, with evidence on the ground of former buildings in the gaps, and it is no surprise to see from the Enclosure Map that there were several properties between the quay and Church End proper in the eighteenth century. A larger building of seventeenth century date is Herberts Farm on the south side of Quay Lane; Edmund and Henry Herbard appear in the chase court estreats of 1478¹⁴.

Before examining the market it will be useful to consider the four crosses which are recorded in the manor. One was at Northend (Map II.7), and was probably a wayside cross; the

stepped base lies near the road at Northend Farm, while its shaft reputedly forms part of the war memorial in the churchyard. White (Whit) Cross (Map II.2) is now erected at the junction of Quay Lane with the modern Upton-Worcester road, and always stood at some point between the quay and the church¹⁵. This too seems to have been a wayside cross, and its medieval name (perhaps it was given a lime coating) has emerged from the Lechmere documents (L207). There was a third cross at Boothall, still standing in the nineteenth century and shown on the first Ordnance Survey maps; it too could have been an ordinary wayside cross, but in that case it probably had a dual role with its additional relevance to the market, as will emerge below. Finally Combe Cross stood on the edge of the churchyard, between the school and the church, and alongside the medieval "royal highway". It is probably this cross which is said in a deed of 1356 (L38) to be in the road called "Churchewey" at "Le Stretende"; the street in that case is a link from Roberts End Street and Gilberts End Street to the church, where it joins the north-south route passing through Church End¹⁶.

The market comes to our notice in the early thirteenth century, the market day being changed in 1219 from Tuesday to Thursday¹⁷. It is likely that this early market was at Church End, where some of the tenements bordering what was then a rectangular open space have, as we saw, an air of planning, both in their dimensions and in their relationship to Westfield (see Map II.2)¹⁸; it might be unduly speculative to speak of a "plan unit", but a market place with associated tenements is a well known early phenomenon, with the short side of a plot abutting the market place¹⁹. When the manor was granted to Gilbert de Clare in 1217 he may have sought a market grant, or reorganised an existing market, with urban status in mind, and the plots in the north west of Church End would then be intended as burgage plots, however brief the life of the putative borough. There is no sign of it in 1262, the date of the first extant IPM. Of the forty places in Warwickshire and twenty eight in Worcestershire known to have been granted markets between 1100 and 1400 (the majority post-1230) about half developed to borough status; in others the attempt at commercialisation was in some way thwarted and they did not even get to the stage of burgage plots; and of course there would be some, perhaps like Hanley, which fell tentatively between²⁰.

Such a market may have existed informally before a charter grant, even as a Sunday market in the churchyard, in the vicinity of Combe Cross. But the Pipe Roll for 1182-3 records corn, cheeses and minutis rebus sold "in Hanley" from the demesne, which in fact is good evidence, along with the 1219 charter, for a formal market in the twelfth century. As such it would be the only market at the time on the west bank of the Severn between Gloucester and Worcester, although Tewkesbury was not inaccessible²¹. The notional market place, near the church, measures 105 x 35 yards and would certainly be large enough for stock pens if desired there. It lies at a junction of roads, where the route from the quay meets roads leading from the west and north west of the manor, and from the castle (Map II.2, Fig II.1). An extension of such routes gives access to the country west of the hills via Wood Street and the Wyche cutting, to the country east

of and along the Severn via the quay, and to the north and south via the established royal highway.

There seems to have come a point however when either the market place of Hanley was moved or a second market place was added. Boothall as a name, signifying the location there of the market toll booth, or the selling booths, appears at Evesham and Warwick, to give two of several possible examples, although it is true that OE boþl can simply mean a dwelling house²². But the coincidence in Hanley of the name Boothall and a cross might suggest a market place, at a location moreover where there were cottages and perhaps shops at the roadside and again a suggestion of some planning (Map II.2); the hamlet has at least five timbered cottages today, the earliest being ostensibly seventeenth century²³. At the junction of Roberts End Street, along which pottery especially might be brought, and the north-south road, Boothall would be well placed for trade; and if encroachments are discounted, as the Map shows, there is room alongside the road for the "broadened street market" which is seen elsewhere. The name Boothall Green in any case hints at roadside development, as will be seen below in some of the other "greens" of Hanley²⁴. If Boothall replaced the Church End market the change could have been prompted by the Statute of Winchester of 1285, which laid down that markets should no longer be held in a churchyard²⁵. If instead two market places were in use contemporaneously, some specialisation is indicated; stock and grain was the customary division and there is an opinion that Combe may be OE cumb, a corn measure of four bushels, which would imply grain at Church End, where Combe Cross stood, and stock mainly at Boothall²⁶, but the pottery industry at Hanley may also have called for some separate facilities²⁷.

In examining Hanley as a market centre it should also be recalled that the tenants had trading privileges which would enhance the value of their commerce; they were themselves, according to the Customary, "free to buy and sell throughout the realm of England without payment of toll, custom, passage or portage", a privilege incidentally often granted to burgesses. The demesne authorities were also using the market. The corn and cheeses sold from the demesne in 1182-3 were followed by further corn and hay in the later twelfth century, all of which will have gone through Hanley market in the days before it was actually recorded. In 1326-7 sales from the demesne included milk, cows, salt beef, bacon, sheep's cheeses, hides, fruit, hay and coal (carbon' maris), while among the purchases were a plough beast, and grain for the famuli and for seed. Eventually however there must have been competition from Severn Stoke, which lay on a good north-south route and was only a ferry ride away; its market was chartered in 1310²⁸. The market at Upton seems to have begun late, not being recorded until 1416, and it can be assumed that by this time the Hanley market had failed, in view of the Upton market day being also Thursday and in view of the proximity of Upton, which was now a borough²⁹; in making grants the Crown theoretically stipulated a minimum distance between markets, and different days for neighbouring places³⁰. Further light is thrown on the state of local markets in the early fifteenth century by the household accounts of the duke of York who stayed at Hanley in 1409-10; most of the victuals



Fig II.1 : Air Photograph of the south east of the manor,
showing the castle and Church End

(CROWN COPYRIGHT/MOD)

bought locally for the household came from Worcester, Fewkesbury and Lædbury; none came from Hanley, except insofar as the vill might be included in purchases made *in patria*, and significantly none from Upton, the date of whose market might therefore be fixed at between 1410 and 1416. Urban centres of exchange were now vigorously challenging any surviving rural markets; and Tewkesbury of course was the lord of Hanley's own borough, so that some Hanley trade might well have been directed to the market there³¹.

The aerial photograph (Fig II.1) (flown in 1946) shows Church End in its relationship to the other elements of this part of the manor. The paths marking *curia* boundaries on west and east (to be discussed further in chapter III below) had been ploughed out by 1946; they were respectively the track to the castle and the main route to Upton. The hedge boundary with aratral curve, which has also now disappeared, probably post-dates the abandonment of the *curia*, and it is interesting that the ridge and furrow on the west goes in the other direction. The wide stretch of metalling, which runs north-south through the *curia* past the castle with a link to the north east gate, may be related to the demolition of the castle in the sixteenth century; the ridge and furrow overlying it will thus be post-medieval³². Formal construction of roads seems to have been unknown in the medieval period, and the metalling in this road, which is unusually wide in parts and without ditches must be the result of the carting in of stone in bad seasons to provide a surface³³. The presence of the castle must have emphasised the importance of Church End and no doubt gave an extra dimension to the economy there, providing opportunities beyond the norm for many tenants and probably attracting new settlers; Pipe Rolls and accounts tell of labour frequently required on the castle buildings, as will be seen below. The market, the river trade and the park will also have brought settlers and workers to this part of the manor: and disparking, probably a gradual process which culminated in the early seventeenth century, would bring more land and space for growth. The castle had now fallen out of use and the lord chose to live at Blackmore, but there is no evidence that these events or the earlier assarting in the west had any negative impact on Church End, which seems to have proved itself as a versatile and adaptable settlement³⁴.

(b) Burley (Map II.1)

The name (OF *burh leah*) would imply that Burley was a pre-Conquest settlement and that it was land cleared for or near a *burh*. Burley lies immediately to the south east of the castle, and the reference is presumably to the fortification of the higher ground on which the castle later stood: it may even be that Anglo-Saxon settlers found a pre-existing defended enclosure, such as an Iron Age fort, which they would call a *burh*. Romano-British pottery in Burleyfield has already been mentioned. At any rate the implication of the name is that there was a stronghold of some kind on the castle site before the early thirteenth century when king John caused the historical castle to be built. Burley first appears in the Pipe Roll for 1165-6, when William de Burlega paid half a mark; this could have allowed him to assart thirteen and a half acres, at a notional 6d per

acre sown with oats, if indeed assarting is the reason for the payment³⁵. Assarting by a Burley tenant at this period would be in the south east of the manor where the haga was probably being converted to arable, thus enlarging Burleyfield. The de Grava family originated in the south of this area and no doubt turned their own "grove" into arable.

Although Burleyfield was in due course a major open field of the manor of Hanley, it seems in the early period to have been Burley's own field³⁶; thus in the late thirteenth century a deed (L2) still speaks of the west field of Burley and the south field of Burley, implying perhaps that with two distinct fields the tenants of Burley had at one time practised some system of rotation. Possibly in the first instance they represented an infield for regular arable and an outfield for pasture which might be occasionally ploughed³⁷. In addition to possessing its eponymous field Burley probably had its own meadow (Boremedue L65, Burmedow L140); and Burley Mill, historically the manorial mill for Hanley, may originally have belonged in some way to the hamlet of Burley, unless these names are purely locational. The implication of all this could be that Burley predated Hanley, or at least was at one period its thriving contemporary.

Relatively early place names surviving in the Burleyfield area include Aldenhalestile (L25, c. 1330), where John atte Grove (or de Grava) sold three butts and a headland, and Efurlong (L18, 1322), which is a reminder that some land alongside the river (OE ea, river) might be arable rather than meadow. Elynge however (BL Add Ch 73679) is the eel place, and so one of the few references to river fishing; Le Gorde in Severn Meadow is another, the word being used of a fish weir³⁸. Wylton in Burleyfield gave its name to a messuage which is recorded in 1462 (L12), and Richard de Wiltone of Hanley had bought a cottage in Gilberts End in 1344 (BL Add Ch 73684). There is no sign of Wylton now, but such a name may recall an early farm or hamlet. Matilda de Parys, widow of Roger who had been the king's carter employed in work at the castle, sold her tenement in Burley in 1349 (L33)³⁹; it is not clear whether this was a built tenement, and the general impression is that the hamlet of Burley itself had now shrunk and that most of the messuages with access to Burleyfield were on the south of Quay Lane rather than in Burley itself. One or two people still lived at Burley, such as William Garolde who styles himself "of Burley" in 1471 (L129), but of over thirty deeds concerning Burleyfield dated before 1550 none except the Wylton deed describes messuages, and the dealing is all in arable strips. Today there is a very small hamlet with little to show for what must once have been a more significant settlement.

(c) The Rhydd (Map II.3)

With its haga and forester's seat (Beornwoldes saetan) and apparently its own early arable in Riddefeld, the Rhydd has several marks of an early settlement. Both Wood Street leading to the west of the hills, and Blackmore End Street leading to the western demesne of Hanley manor, run from the river at the Rhydd, where at various times there was a ferry and probably a quay⁴⁰. The name (OE ryd) tells of an early clearing, although its modern spelling misleadingly implies an origin in the Welsh rhyd, a ford⁴¹. We find from the Hundred Roll extracts and the Customary that

the constable of Hanley had his gallows at Rhydd Green, which was also one of three sites of the Pershore hundred court, again indicating an old and culturally important settlement⁴² The crossing place would be serviceable for people from the Pershore side attending the hundred court, and for the export of pottery and other goods from the west of Hanley by way of Blackmore End Street. The place of Hanley in Pershore hundred will be discussed below, under Horton.

The tenants were presumably occupied in the trade which came to the river, in the demesne wood (Cliffey) on the site of the haga, and in their own and the demesne's agriculture; arable at the Rhydd forming part of Hanley's demesne has already been noted. People living at or hailing from the Rhydd included John de la Ridde who was buying land at Blackmore in the early fourteenth century (L8) and his father Richard who was leasing meadow in Westmore at about the same time (BL Add Ch 73669); tenants in the Rhydd will have found Blackmore as accessible as any part of the manor. A tenant selling arable in Northfield in 1323 (L20) was Avicia atte Ridde de Clivelode; Clivelode lay to the north of the Rhydd, in Powick manor, and this element of her name is a reminder that then as now the Rhydd was seen to straddle the Hanley boundary, with Rhydd Green, today a small hamlet, mostly on the north side⁴³. The triangle of green to the east of it, which appears never to have been built on, is probably the actual meeting place for the hundred and the site of the gallows. The Lechmeres had an estate at the Rhydd from the early fifteenth century at least (L188), and the settlement continues to be seen in the deeds and other documents; it survives to the present day, but like Burley it has probably shrunk in area⁴⁴.

(d) Severn End (Map II.1)

Severn End is first seen as a name in the early fourteenth century (Sevarnende in L25, 1330), although Richard de Sabrina had paid 6s to the 1275 subsidy; others named in the Subsidy Roll for that year and known to belong to Severn End are Reginald, Richard and Philip de Lechmere. The Roman name Sabrina survives, as might be expected for a major river, alongside the Anglo-Saxon Saeferne, with variants (eg L18, 1322 : Sefarne)⁴⁵. The suffix "End" may be relatively late, but the Anglo-Saxon name Huntwick in Lechmeresfield (L120, 1469) may confirm early settlement in the woodland of the area, being probably the wic of pre-Conquest huntsmen (OE hunta, huntsman). The Lechmeres are said by tradition to have been given land at Severn End at the time of the Conquest, but there is no evidence for this⁴⁶; when we do see them however they are a family of some status. They were dealing in (presumably free) land and witnessing deeds in the fourteenth century, although they also held villein land at times (1307 IPM), including perhaps their main tenement. In 1339 (L31) Henry Lechmere granted to his son Robert a messuage between the quay (communem statham de Sevarne) and the Worcester-Upton road, situated on the north side of Quay Lane, but this was not the main family holding: John Lechmere, another son of Henry, had a placeam in 1345 (BL Add Ch 73685) which was probably the house now called Severn End, which as a building is known to date back to at least the fifteenth century and is historically the seat of the Lechmeres⁴⁷. In 1718 it is described as a messuage with pigeon

house (which still stands), banqueting house and garden⁴⁸. Generally speaking the Lechmere interests lay in the east of the manor, although they did have land in Blackmore End (L39, L40), and at one period they held the manor of Hanley Hall which Edmund Lechmere purchased in 1743⁴⁹. More detailed discussion of the Lechmere family will be found below in Chapter III.

Richard de Sabrina, in the light of what he paid in 1275, was an even more prosperous tenant of Severn End than the Lechmeres; in the whole of the manor only Thomas de Hanley (18s) and three others paid more than he did. The Tele family also had some standing in Severn End: Robert Tele paid only 18d in 1275, but in 1339 (L31) another Robert had a curtilage with orchard north of the quay, a holding which was described in 1456 (L97) as Telesplace. The Hankoc family were neighbours of the Teles, but they do not appear until 1356 (L38) and may have taken land vacant after the Black Death. William (10s) and Gilbert de Wytemere (4s) also appear in the Subsidy Roll; that this family was associated with Severn End, at any rate eventually, is shown by the rental of c. 1550, which includes a messuage called Whyttmers in Severn End, paying a rent of 3s. In 1440 they had been linked by marriage to the Lechmeres. The "white mere" from which they may have taken their name has not been located, but the family continued to be recalled until the nineteenth century by the name of a house on the northern fringe of Severn End which in 1797 was the vicarage; and a sixteenth century house directly opposite Merevale Farm has until recently been known as Whittmeres⁵⁰.

These families, and several others whose messuages are given as boundaries in deeds, had tenements in the rectangle between the Worcester-Upton road and the river meadows, and between the southern edge of Northfield and Quay Lane, in other words probably on the edges of Lechmeresfield. Some messuages will have been obscured by the later deer park, which took over some of the arable of Lechmeresfield, although the ridge and furrow can still be seen. The park and pleasure grounds lay to the west of the Lechmere mansion, while to the east was part of Severn Meadow, which must always have been an asset to Severn End as a settlement; although some of it was demesne many tenants had shares. Along with the meadow there was ready access to the three major open fields as well as Lechmeresfield, and early arable might be indicated by "furlongs" such as Overforlong (L14, 1318), Partricheforlong (L22, 1328) and Houghleysforlong (IPM 1416), all of which were in Severn End; such "furlongs" incorporated in larger fields could indicate pre-Conquest arrangements⁵¹. At all events Severn End in its day was a thriving settlement, probably a pre-Conquest foundation, which was dominated eventually by the Lechmeres but sought after by others for its balance of farming land and its proximity to Church End and the river.

(e) Horton (Map II.5)

Horton lies on the north side of Roberts End Street, about a mile and a half inland from the river; there was eventually arable in the vicinity, but its Anglo-Saxon name horh tun (the muddy or clayey tun) implies that the ground was not readily workable. A large amount of pottery

dating from the thirteenth century onwards has been recovered from the vicinity, and a kiln has recently been excavated at Forthey, to the south east. A sherd of late eleventh to twelfth century Cotswold ware from Horton is the earliest medieval example from Hanley manor as a whole, and there is interesting documentary evidence of Horton's pre-Conquest foundation and significance⁵². The charter of king Edgar dated 972 is a confirmation of their lands to the monks of Pershore, and on the whole it is possible to see in Pershore hundred as we know it the fifty or so places which are listed⁵³. But Hanley is not in Edgar's list, although it is found in Pershore hundred by the early thirteenth century in spite of apparently never having belonged to Pershore; on the other hand the list in the charter does include one and a half mansi at "Hortun"⁵⁴. Commentators have taken this to be Horton in Hampton Lovett, perhaps because it occurs in the list after the Droitwich holdings⁵⁵: but there is no recorded link between Hampton Lovett and Pershore. If however the Horton in Hanley is meant, that might explain both Hanley's presence in Pershore hundred and the description of Horton as a manor, that is a manor of Pershore: it is true that the first reference we have to "Horton manor" is very late (1724), but the surname Horton appears in the deeds in 1532 (L227), and as Dr Gelling remarks, "it is commonplace for names to be recorded [even] in the boundaries of Anglo-Saxon charters and then not to appear again until the nineteenth century"⁵⁶. The fact that a hundred court was held at Rhydd Green (the others being in Pershore itself and at Pinvin) suggests that Horton as a manor of Pershore conferred some importance on Hanley at large; the court no doubt dealt with all Pershore's possessions to the west of the Severn⁵⁷.

The present farm house (Horton Manor Farm) is ostensibly seventeenth century, and it has recently been observed that it was surrounded by a moat; this is only the third moat (apart from the castle) to come to light in Hanley, the others being at Hanley Hall and on a site north of Cŷgnet Lodge at Aylers End⁵⁸. On all counts Horton was one of the early settlements, possibly lying in a woodland clearing before assarting in the east brought messuages and crofts to its door, while later assarting in the west was more methodical: and it may be also that Horton had some part to play in the pottery industry. The surrounding area will be dealt with under Roberts End, since there is no evidence to define the territory of Horton.

(f) Blackmore End and Blackmore End Street: Settlement and New Demesne (Map II.3)

The name suggests that this eventually productive part of the manor had to be reclaimed from waste, probably from moor rather than from marsh⁵⁹. The area lies just above the 30m contour and is sometimes simply called La Mor, as in the 1326-7 accounts, while Blackmore End Street, which runs from the Rhydd, is also known as Morestret (L100); on the analogy of Wood Street (leading to Malvern wood) it is the street leading to the moor, thus emphasising the east of the manor as the standpoint for naming streets. The northern boundary of the manor, already discussed, stays to the north of this route.

Land at Blackmore is first documented in c. 1200, when William Blundel quitclaimed his

land in Stoke Prior to the monks of Worcester; but should his wife survive him and claim the Stoke land he would offer instead equivalent land at Blakemor' , provided that the lord of Hanley agreed; if not, his heir would pay twelve marks, a figure which suggests a fairly large holding⁶⁰. It may be the one and a half carucates which the same William Blundel or his son was disputing with John de Hantindon in 1226⁶¹. What is plain is that there was tenant land at Blackmore in the late twelfth century, with a large parcel in the hands of one tenant. Surprisingly no Blundel appears in the Subsidy Rolls of 1275 and 1327, although members of the family were witnessing deeds about that time (eg BL Add Ch 73666) and John Blundel was a juror for the IPM of 1296; the name occurs quite frequently until the late fifteenth century, when another John is found in the list of estreats for the manor court. After the dispute in 1226 no further references are found to land at Blackmore until the IPM of 1262, when Richard earl of Gloucester died seised of Hanel' cum foresta Malvern' et Blakemor'; this is the first hint in writing of a separate demesne, perhaps added to an existing settlement in the late twelfth century, a date consonant with the opening up of the other western Ends, as we shall see below. New villein land might also be expected, in order to provide services for the new demesne; and if there was little room at Blackmore, some of this might well have been further south, accounting for some of the messuages and crofts there.

Demesne land at Blackmore is confirmed in later documents, especially the IPMs of 1296 and 1307. In the latter year there was more demesne arable at Blackmore (145 acres) than at "Hanley" (125 acres), and while the Hanley demesne seems to have been more scattered, that at Blackmore was all in campo de Blakemor', possibly as two compact parcels, divided by Blackmore End Street. North of the street, the area as far as the north-south path leading towards Horton comprises 65 acres (some of it called Streetland), while on the south the land reaching to the same line comprises 85 acres (some of it called Newland); this looks like the demesne, which in the fourteenth century was leased or sold to tenants, who leave their own names on some of the resultant crofts and fields (Map II.3). This still leaves the question of the location of William Blundel's large holding, but as will be argued below there was probably arable to the west of Blackmore End, where later there was only woodland. The lower value of the arable at Blackmore in 1307 (2d per acre, compared with 3d in the Hanley demesne) may perhaps be a sign of deteriorating soil quality, although in the IPM of 1315 all the demesne land in the manor is counted together at 3d per acre. The probability is that the assarted land would be as good as the older arable, once it was well cultivated and annually manured on a fallowing system. The new demesne acreage at Blackmore may have contributed to the sale of corn "from the Malvern assarts" (de blado essart' de Malverne vendito), recorded in the Pipe Roll for 1199-1200; the total received was £24 16s, which might represent the produce of 130 acres⁶².

"An enclosure inside the barton of Blackmore and Hanley" in the 1315 IPM might suggest only one set of farm buildings for the whole manor, but we have seen the barton and grangia at Church End, and in the 1326-7 accounts we find a grangia and other demesne buldings at Blackmore; roofs were being repaired at the time and keys were bought for the gate of the barton.

The Blackmore demesne then was to some extent free standing. There was still a dovecote in 1556, and a mill recorded in the eighteenth century may be the successor of a demesne mill; Blackmore Grange today is no doubt on the site of the demesne barn, and the mill site may be on Northbrook where weirs are shown on the OS map south west of the Grange⁶³. The barton may have been effectively closed down by the late fifteenth century, when demesne parcels could not be let, while the early fourteenth century accounts and IPMs would suggest that the arable was used as frisc or being dispensed with even then. Demesne agriculture at Blackmore was no doubt at its most productive during the thirteenth century, the core of the "high farming" period⁶⁴.

Blackmore had more demesne pasture than Hanley, at least in 1296 when the pasture at Blackmore was leased for 20s while that at Hanley (seventeen acres) was valued at 8s 6d; even so, in the manor at large there was no shortage of pasture. No doubt more pasture in general was available at Blackmore, not only several, as seen in 1307, but also more informally in the thinner parts of the woodland. The demesne pasture at Blackmore needed twenty one perches of new fencing in 1326-7, and additional pasture was leased at times in Blackmore park, which for example brought in 5s in that same year. The park is recorded for the first time in 1326-7, although in the 1349 IPM it is said to be newly imparked from arable. If the park is on its later site some arable, probably tenant, is implied to the west of Blackmore End in an area which has generally been seen as woodland, thus accounting perhaps for William Blundel's land above. The consensus of the deeds, at any rate from the early fourteenth century (eg L5; BL Add Ch 73662), is that all that part of the manor was boscum Malvern in the medieval period; but a cropmark north of Blackmore wood, revealed on an aerial photograph, seems to be of a double-ditched enclosure, indicating perhaps some prehistoric or Romano-British farming; and the names Coton and Danemoor, both in the later woodland, may infer pre-Conquest activity⁶⁵. The swine of Domesday Book may have found pannage in the woodland close to the later Blackmore demesne, and it is to be recalled that the swineherds had four ploughs, which might mean 200 acres of tenant arable there in 1086; on the other hand, the swineherds are not heard of again, and the only related place name in the manor is Swynnesley, near Forthey, recorded in the late fifteenth century. The putative demesne sheep flocks too may have grazed in the Blackmore area rather than in the more limited pastures of the Hanley demesne; there is no mention of the sale of fleeces, but according to the 1326-7 accounts the minister had received thirty eight sheep's cheeses from his predecessor and had sold seventeen of them. Meadow is not seen separately in the demesnes until the accounts of 1326-7, when five and a half acres was mown at Blackmore; this seems a small quantity, but the IPMs and extant accounts show only thirty six acres of demesne meadow in the manor at large. This must have been sufficient to feed the demesne plough beasts (one acre to each ox), and there was a surplus for deer fodder, as was noted above⁶⁶.

After the demesne arable was released in the early fourteenth century, the tenants of Blackmore did not need to travel two miles or more to cultivate land in the major open fields in the east. The later deeds show a variety of fields, closes and crofts, often divided into strips and

bought and sold piecemeal, especially in the fifteenth century: in fact they had their own version of a field system⁶⁷. Many of the fields, such as Shirpullefeld (L165), stretched southwards as far as Aylers End Street; consequently the North Brook (Northbrok, L8), to which the name (OE sciran pul, the bright stream) may here refer, flowed west-east through the centres of the fields, providing some meadow, which is recorded frequently. Prickecroft in Haywardesfeld is an example of a croft which seems to have run through from one street to the other. Jamysfele similarly ran through, and was sold as a field with a parcel of meadow in 1435 (L84); a deed of 1322 (L19) shows that Panesfeld and Newelond also ran between the streets. Some holdings however, such as Hyetts (L169), did not reach southwards beyond the brook, and as the distance between the two streets increases eastwards, so the brook is more plainly the boundary for tenements which stretched north and south from it.

The earlier Blackmore deeds record transactions in land, usually a few "acres" or selions, and it is not until 1423 (L179) that the erratic survival of deeds allows us to see a messuage being sold: Richard Edryche, formerly vicar of Hanley, sells a messuage, croft, five dayworks of arable and a parcel of meadow, perhaps a complete free holding, although by the fifteenth century villein land too may have come on to the market⁶⁸. In 1497 (L163) Avicia Baugh's former messuage is quitclaimed, and in the 1545 terrier of the vicarage William Smith's messuage at Blackmore End is recorded: he possessed an acre, and a little close called Streetland on the north side of his house. The house therefore will have been on the north side of Blackmore End Street, where there was a number of closes between the street and the northern boundary of the manor, carved out of the old demesne arable: the field pattern today in that area, with its regular north-south lines, still reflects the late medieval arrangements.

More information can be gleaned from later deeds, referring to messuages which may however date from earlier periods. For example Tissarts is seen in 1660 and Woodmans in 1746, and both of these can be located⁶⁹. Exact sizes of holdings cannot usually be gauged, but much of the land was marketed as quite small parcels. The pattern of fields and closes in its regularity is rather different from the pattern in the central and eastern area of the effective manor; it is the difference between planned assarting, followed in this case by a later division of demesne lands, and piecemeal clearance by individuals making smallholdings or adding to them⁷⁰. Such planned assarting, as can be argued in slightly different terms for the other western "Ends", was the twelfth century response to population growth⁷¹.

Thirteenth century tenants living at Blackmore include Richard de Blakemor' (BL Add Ch 73656, dated c. 1240), and Robert and Adam de Blakemore who paid to the 1275 subsidy the relatively large sums of 4s and 2s 6d. In general tenants buying and selling land style themselves of Hanley rather than of Blackmore, but an interesting exception is Walter de Blakemore in the early fourteenth century (L6) who is the son of Walter de Bisseleie (Bushley); Bushley was in the same lordship as Hanley and it was noted above (Chapter I) that the forester probably had family ties there; it may be that some tenants for new land in Hanley were immigrants to the manor. Among

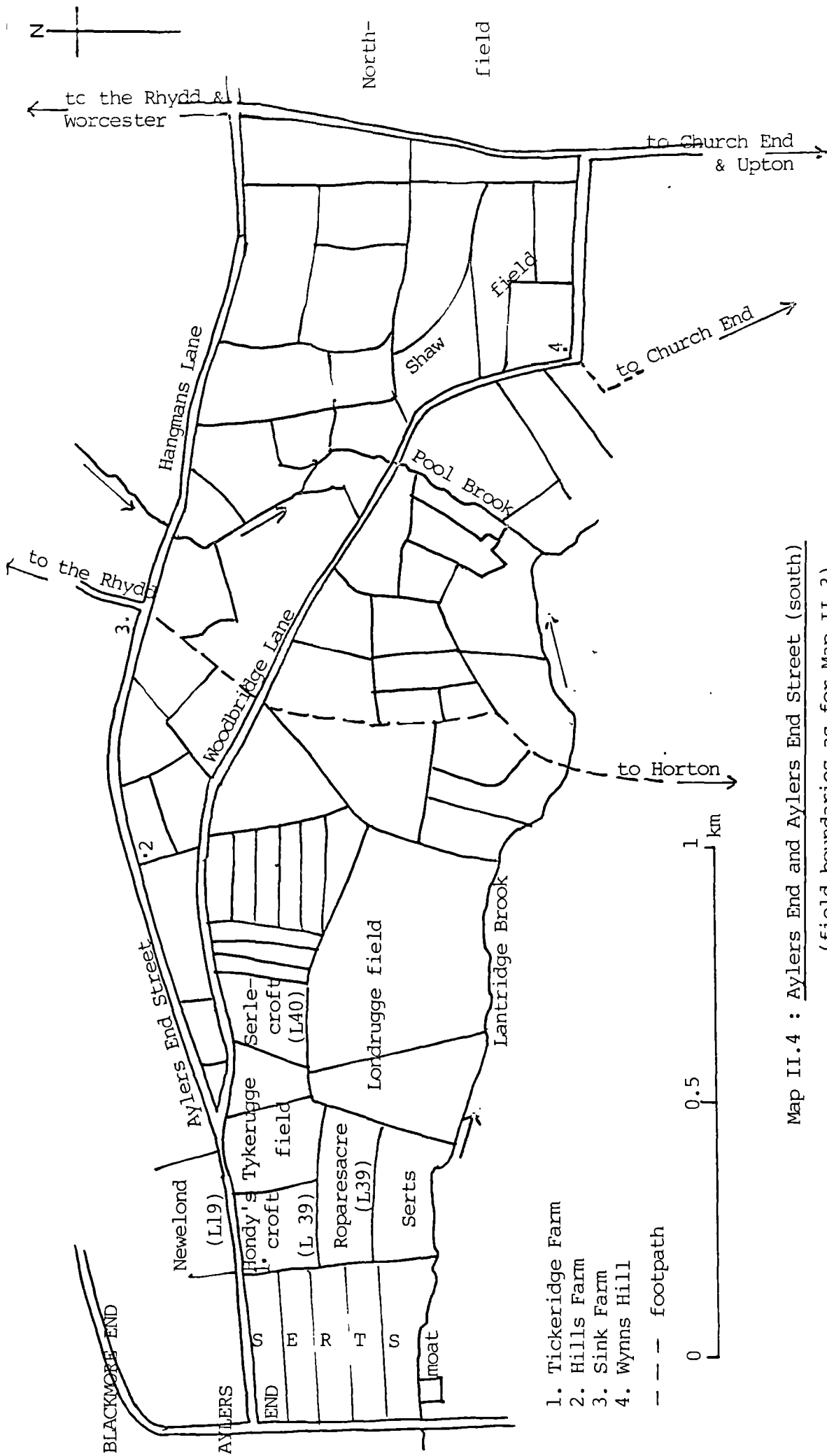
lesser men must have been a number of smallholders, perhaps descended from the Domesday bordars and making part of their living from woodland crafts. Some of the demesne staff and servants will have lived at Blackmore; certainly one of the five famuli in 1326-7 was hayward (messor) there. Avissia le Hayward, who had land in Panesfeld in 1322 (L9), may have been a descendant of an earlier messor : Robert the messor, who paid 1s 4d in 1275, probably had some land if he had to pay to the subsidy.

Blackmore might possibly be seen as a pre-Conquest settlement, with its link to the Rhydd, and five acres of the forester's Domesday demesne at Syrpole (if that is the later Shirpullefeld). The planned seigneurial development in any case made it a significant part of the manor from the twelfth century. Assarting brought new settlers and workers, and as a settlement it probably grew after the demesne was defunct; there was certainly an active land market. Today there is little habitation in the area, which consists of agricultural land and some remnants of woodland, especially the park; much of the woodland of course disappeared at the disafforestation, if not before, but Lower Arles Wood (sc. Earl's Wood) for example is part of the old park. Successive Hornyold mansions in the park have also gone⁷². The three farmsteads on Blackmore End Street, namely Blackmore End Farm, Honey Pots and Priestfield, are ostensibly nineteenth century but may well stand on older sites. Two seventeenth century cottages on the north side of the street and another on the south are the oldest extant buildings (Map II.8).

(g) Aylers End and Aylers End Street (Maps II.3, II.4)

In the earliest reference this settlement is called Aylwynosende (L19, 1322), and the name may be connected with Aldwin de Hanlea, who rendered half a mark in 1165-6, or with one of his ancestors; his thirteen or so assarted acres (cp. William de Burlega above) may well have been the beginning of Aylers End⁷³. The name occurs again in 1221, when Gilbert son of Holdwin was found killed in the forest⁷⁴. At least two Gilberts held the office of chief forester in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries (Table III.17). The coincidence of Gilbert with Holdwin (Aldwin) points to the forester's family, which therefore may have been responsible for founding the settlement, as will be argued below for Roberts End and Gilberts End. However Aldwin in 1165-6 cannot actually be the chief forester, since Robert de Hanley in the same Pipe Roll accounts for the pleas of the forest.

Another significant Aldwin in the area was the reputed founder of Great Malvern priory, and the priory did hold a virgate in Hanley, but rather later, as a gift of Henry III⁷⁵. The same Aldwin has been put forward as the founder of Little Malvern priory also, which held some land in Hanley, but probably only from 1236 when the monks received from Lire the church and other Hanley assets, including a man with half a virgate⁷⁶. But the most likely explanation of Aylers End is still that it was named after Aldwin de Hanlea because he lived there and developed it. The name eventually (eg L79, 1423) becomes Aylewardesende, and Ayloresendstrete appears in 1501 (L165). Another variant is Nailers End, which although it is not found until 1709 may originate as



"atten Aylers End"⁷⁷. There is no evidence of nail making, nor is the modern name Haylers End seen before the nineteenth century.

Aylers End then, although we cannot exclude earlier beginnings for any of these western settlements, is likely to date mainly from the post-Conquest period, burgeoning perhaps at the time when the nearby land at Blackmore was being reorganised, that is in the twelfth century. Some later tenements in Blackmore End were seen to reach south to Aylers End Street, but there were others which belonged more specifically to Aylers End, such as the croft sold in 1357 (L39) by Richard Hondy to Robert Lechmere, a croft which is bounded by Roparesacre and La Newlond and so probably lies on the south side of Aylers End Street⁷⁸. Another croft called Serlecroft, in which the same parties in the same year deal in just one daywork of land, perhaps to rationalise a holding, is clearly on the south of the street, since one boundary is the hedge alongside Londrugge (Lantridge, L40). Other land south of Aylers End Street is in Le Tyckerigge (Tickeridge field), where fourteen acres were sold for a consideration of £8 in 1537 (L233); in view of the price, the acre here might be nearer to the statute acre than strips might be, although the word is frequently used in the deeds to denote a strip or a selion, or perhaps several selions together. The land south of Tickeridge "next to Lantridge brook between the wood and Lantridge hill" was known in the sixteenth century as Sertes, a name which again indicates planned clearance and can be traced back to the early thirteenth century⁷⁹. The field pattern seen in the Serts area on Map II.4 is probably eighteenth century. Both Lantridge (height 37m) and Tickeridge are seen on modern maps; their slopes are manageable and once assarted they would make sound arable.

Aylers End Street continued eastwards from Aylers End proper to become eventually the hollow way of Hangmans lane, and the Enclosure Map shows that it then crossed the Upton-Worcester road into Northfield and Westmore, its line surviving in field boundaries and marking the northern limit of Northfield proper. The link road from Blackmore End Street and the Rhydd, leading south to the Sink Farm area, is also shown on the Enclosure Map, and on the earlier map (1772) of Worcestershire drawn by Isaac Taylor⁸⁰. This old route continues southwards towards Horton; thus it provides access to the south and east of the manor and also connects Horton with the Rhydd. But it also appears to mark a division, of the kind we saw at Blackmore End, between the apparently planned fields and tenements which lie to the west, and a more informal arrangement to the east where the fields and crofts are irregular, perhaps because they originated in individual assarts; such assarts were often small initially, as little as one acre in Feckenham forest, but there will have been some consolidation over the centuries⁸¹. It seems to be a line on which manorial development was stabilised for a time, awaiting the impetus of twelfth century planning; the tenements in the west tend to be set at right angles to Woodbridge lane and Lantridge brook, which served as their bounds. There is also a line further to the west, marked by the path through Tickeridge farm, which is respected by field boundaries and may mark another and later pause in the extension of the cultivated area. Woodbridge lane is the link between Aylers End and Church End; in fact it is continued by a series of paths which lead directly to the church.

Shaw Lane is a branch which forms the southern boundary of Shawfield before joining the main road at Northend. The right angle which is thus formed around Wynns hill may embrace an early furlong. Shawfield, with its Old English name (*scaega*, a clearing), is probably part of the pre-Conquest arable.

The few deeds which can be securely traced to Aylers End in the medieval period are concerned with parcels of free land and do not mention messuages. It may be that most of the messuages belonged to customary tenants and so were not for sale by charter; such tenements at Aylers End may have serviced the demesne at Blackmore. There is evidence of numbers of free tenants in Hanley Hall submanor in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who may have lived at Aylers End. We know nothing of any customary tenants of Hanley Hall or their services on the demesne of the submanor, nor can we say much about the proportions of main manor tenants and Hanley Hall tenants in these western Ends. It may be of course that the forester cultivated his fairly small demesne (55 acres - see Chapter III below) without labour services.

Later, in 1647 and 1675, cottages on the south of Aylers End Street were sold, and a seventeenth century cottage stands today north west of Tickeridge Farm, on the north side of the street⁸² The moated site near Cygnet Lodge has already been mentioned: a small square moat is fed by Pool brook on its way to the Severn; there is a causeway over the moat in the north east corner, leading into the arable of Tickeridge, and another on the west, looking to the woodland. The fields south of Aylers End Street, including Tickeridge, are described in 1583 as "within the town fields of Hanley" and the occupants of the moated site must have held land there in what was still seen as arable belonging to the vill ⁸³. Moated homesteads are said to be linked to the emergence of prosperous freeholders within areas of late settled woodland. There may be more in Hanley than the three presently known, or it may be that strong lordship discouraged defended sites⁸⁴

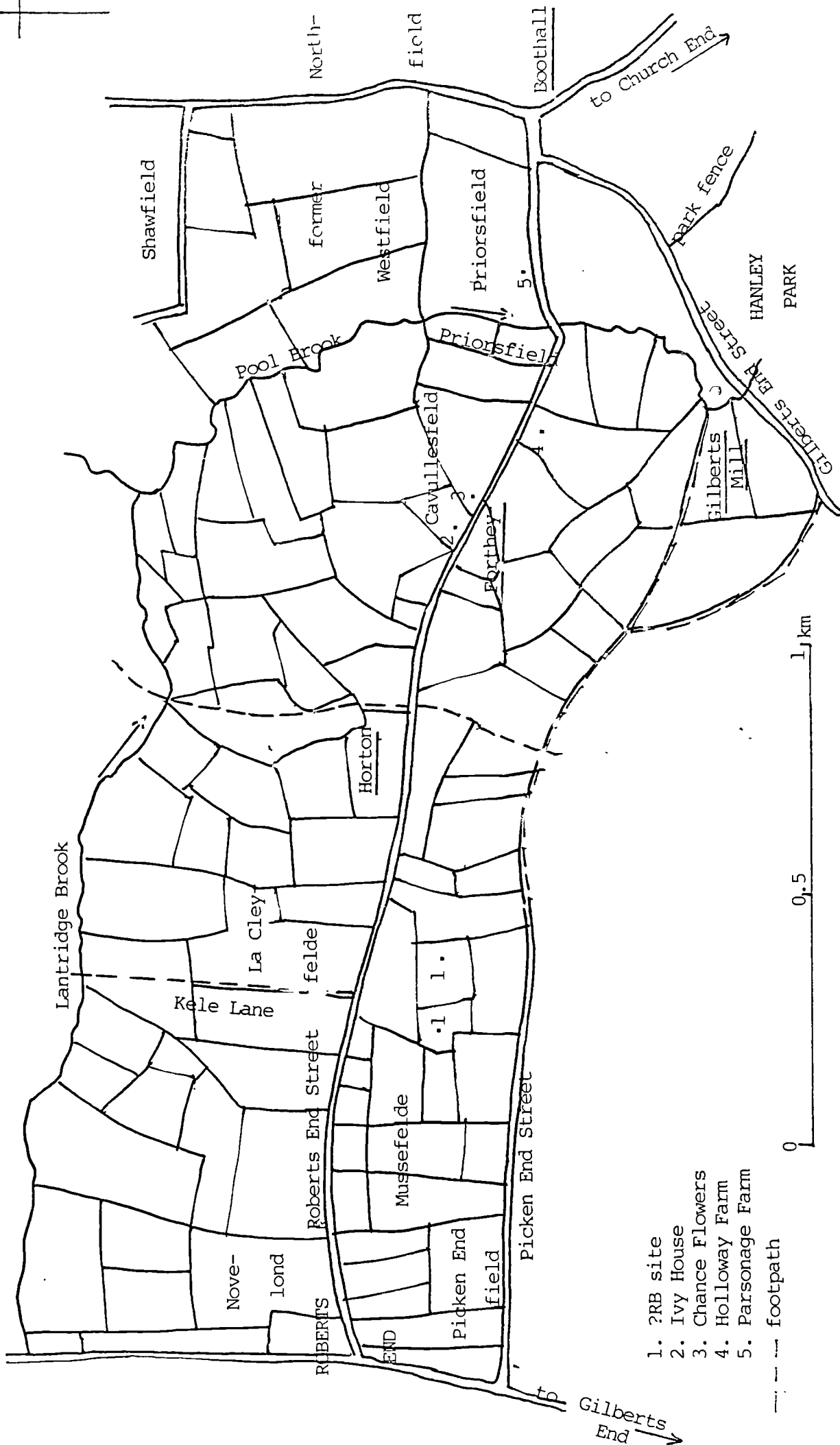
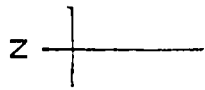
The three farms on Aylers End Street, namely Tickeridge, Sink and Broadacres, may lie on earlier sites, pointing to the rise of the yeoman in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries or even recalling prosperous thirteenth century peasants; any farms resulting directly from enclosure after disafforestation or from Parliamentary enclosure are generally in the west of the manor, beyond the "Ends". The first two of the farms mentioned incorporate seventeenth century building, and although Broadacres is apparently nineteenth century it was previously called Hills farm and was probably the home of the de Monte or del Hulle family (their hill being Lantridge), who appear first in the Pipe Roll for 1210-11 when Robert de Monte and one Absalon are overseeing the work on the king's houses at Hanley (sc. the castle) which cost over £200. It is recorded in the same Roll that they had been responsible for similar expensive work in 1207-8; the de Monte family was trusted and important and lived on Aylers End Street in the new lands of the twelfth century⁸⁵.

(h) Roberts End, Roberts End Street, and Forthey (Map II.5 and Fig II.2)

The settlement of Roberts End stretches along Roberts End Street from Horton to the modern Hanley Swan. Early activity in the area is suggested by what may be small Romano-British fields and a subrectangular enclosure seen on aerial photographs; the site is under pasture and no finds are recorded. It is perhaps a reminder that "some of the woodlands being cleared in the thirteenth century were not fragments of primeval forest but former Romano-British cornfields [regenerated in the early middle ages]"⁸⁶. The name of the settlement seems again to come from the twelfth century : Robert de Hanley was chief forester in the 1160s, and it is likely that he or one of his ancestors gave his name to Roberts End, on the analogy of Aldwin, whom we noted above, and Gilbert who will be seen below. It would seem that while at Blackmore End demesne and tenant land was being assarted or reorganised by the manorial authorities, so the various members of the Hanley family were being permitted to open out further the remainder of the western part of the effective manor.

Some of the area was already occupied by the forester's own arable, that is the half virgate of 1086 which had been increased to one and a half virgates by 1155⁸⁷. The serjeanty recorded in 1086 may have followed from the Hanleys' custody of an Anglo-Saxon hunting forest, which would signify late Saxon occupation in some of the western Ends. Unfortunately we do not get a glimpse of the forester's demesne until 1479, when it still totals fifty five acres⁸⁸. The parts that can be located are between Blackmore End and Aylers End, and in Lantridge, to the north of Roberts End. Some of the earliest available deeds show the chief forester dealing in property at Roberts End: for example Thomas de Hanley sells a messuage with curtilage there in the early fourteenth century (BL Add Ch 73663), and it is clear from this deed that he had his own court, held presumably at Hanley Hall. About the same time his son Edmund sold a croft next to Malvern Wood, apparently abutting the north-south track which linked the western edges of the Ends (L5); this is a route which can be inferred from the deeds but is not actually recorded until Isaac Taylor's map of 1772: it must have been straightened between then and 1797, when the Enclosure Map was drawn. The same croft has a field called Novelond as its northern boundary which may recall the Newlond of Blackmore End as a pointer to assarting.

It is usually possible by examining the deeds to place a tenement on one side or the other of Roberts End Street, to which its boundaries would generally reach. For example in 1383 (L50) a messuage in Robardesende is described as between another messuage (of Henry Adam) on the east and a croft (of John Toky) on the west, and between named land on the south and the highway (altam viam) on the north. Occasionally, as with a cottage and curtilage sold in 1360 (L41), the tenement is simply "near the king's highway"; and even when there is more precision we cannot be sure that the line of the road has not changed; for example, Ivy House in 1761 was on the south of Roberts End Street but now it is on the north⁸⁹. Nevertheless it has been possible to draw a schematic plan (Fig II.2) which shows, between Malvern Wood and Horton, twenty one



- 1. ?RB site
- 2. Ivy House
- 3. Chance Flowers
- 4. Holloway Farm
- 5. Parsonage Farm
- footpath

Map II.5 : Roberts End and Picken End Street (north) (field boundaries as for Map II.3)

properties to the north of the street, seven to the south, and six which may have been on either side, and relationships within each group of two or three. Some of the tenements on the north could perhaps be placed to the east of Horton; the land of Little Malvern priory, for instance, may be at or near Priorsfield, which is just to the west of Pool Brook. Each group of three tenements however, with neighbours as given in the deeds, is consistent within itself, although the groups could be put in different relationships to each other. It is of interest that messuages appear to be spaced out, as in "interrupted rows", but some of the gaps may have been occupied. It can be seen also that some families, like the Tokys and the Hondys, had their own quite large areas, with land on both sides of the street. The time scale is over two hundred years, but it is noteworthy how many of the personal names persist. There is no information about subtenants, or about the actual size of particular crofts, closes and other tenements⁹⁰.

Pottery finds may indicate some of the message sites, and a possible house platform with a concentration of sherds dating onwards from the thirteenth century has recently been noted during fieldwork, to the west of Horton in the south east corner of La Cleyfelde (Map II.5)⁹¹; the pottery industry, which was active in Roberts End, will be examined in more detail below. Among the messuages in the area is Richard Wodeward's, which was sold in 1510 (L179); a probable ancestor, also Richard, had sold parcels in Woddewardysfele in 1449 (L88), which extended north towards Lantridge; thus it is not to be confused with Woodward's Ground, which was south of Gilberts End but nevertheless may have belonged to the same family. The Woodward's seem to have had several branches settled in Hanley, and possibly their name had its roots in a hereditary subforestership under the Hanleys. A rental of the Woodward land dated 1558 shows them claiming heriots and suit of court; they had in fact been claiming suit in the fourteenth century (L48), and according to the 1307 IPM they paid rent of a pound of cumin, which looks like an early rent in kind which could be related to a serjeanty⁹². The submanors of both the Hanleys and the Woodward's were held of the chief lord, as might be expected in what was for long periods a royal manor.

The messuages and crofts, at any rate to the west of Horton, tend to have boundaries making approximate right angles with the line of Roberts End Street, a pattern to be observed still today and no doubt related as before to planned development⁹³; to the east of Horton, again as before, the field shapes tell of the more haphazard arrangements of earlier periods. While the north-south track through Horton can be seen as a dividing line, and as Pool Brook may mark the limit of an earlier stage of growth, so there are other significant lines running east-west; Lantridge Brook for example is the limit for crofts and fields stretching north from Roberts End Street, while on the south the path eastwards from Picken End is a form of "back lane" serving a similar purpose; at present it is largely obscured and at best a brief hollow way, but it is visible for some length on aerial photographs⁹⁴. Such demarcations can be observed throughout the manor and the resulting divisions are expressed schematically in Figure II.3.

The consequence of the twelfth century development of Roberts End was that more tenant

land was available, much of it controlled initially at least by the Hanley family. The fields accordingly were not like the major manorial open fields of the east, and of course there was no demesne of the chief lord at Roberts End: but they did allow for some sort of field system if required, no doubt regulated to some degree by the tenants themselves, but not involving strict rotation, as far as we know. Cavillesfeld, Mussefelde (later called Mousefield) and areas of Lantridge south of the brook are prominent, and many of the smaller crofts had tenant strips, implying some joint approach to agriculture, although it is possible that post-harvest stubble and periodic fallow were not pressingly needed for pasture in what was still to some extent a woodland environment.

Some families in Roberts End persisted over a long period, appearing frequently as parties or witnesses. The Cavill family, with their named field, were consolidating their holdings, buying three messuages and several parcels of land that we know of between 1364 and 1510, and selling nothing: their transactions included a lease of John Woodward's own tenement in 1374 (L48), and others are noted in Fig II.2. The Frewens were also active in the land market, from the early fourteenth century (L29); from the late fifteenth century there were several Frewens who styled themselves "of Forthey". and it was William Frewen as bailiff who presented the accounts for 1479-80: their name appears in over seventy deeds between 1334 and the end of the fifteenth century, and several members of the family were trustees of the school⁹⁵. Something of their holdings can be seen in Fig II.2. Such aggrandizing tenant farmers, who were consolidating and no doubt enclosing, became the "yeomen" of the sixteenth century⁹⁶. Forthey, which is to the east of Roberts End proper, opposite Horton, was the Frewens' home territory; there is little today to speak of a settlement there, although it was the site of a recent kiln excavation, which might associate the prosperity of the Frewens with the pottery trade⁹⁷.

The land deals of people like the Frewens must be assumed to have been in free land, but the almost complete absence of court rolls means that we have no information about transfer of villein land, and it is just possible that some came on to the market; as for the parties, we know little of their status, but there seems to be no doubt that elsewhere prosperous villeins joined the market along with free tenants⁹⁸. As for buildings, Holloway Farm, Parsonage Farm and Horton Manor Farm may all be on earlier sites, but the visible buildings of the first two do not predate the eighteenth century. Ivy House (probably a fairly recent name) is one of the earliest surviving buildings, dating from the seventeenth century; four cottages of the same period have been identified, including Chance Flowers, north of Forthey, which must have belonged at one time to the Chaunfloure family: Richard Chaunfloure witnessed a deed in 1516 (L194), and with others in the same year he was leasing land in Hanley (L195), while in 1521 (L208) he sold his pasture in Northleyland in Blackmore End⁹⁹. The other three cottages are east of Horton, in the area of the earlier assarts, and may be the successors of dwellings built on small freehold plots (Map II.8).

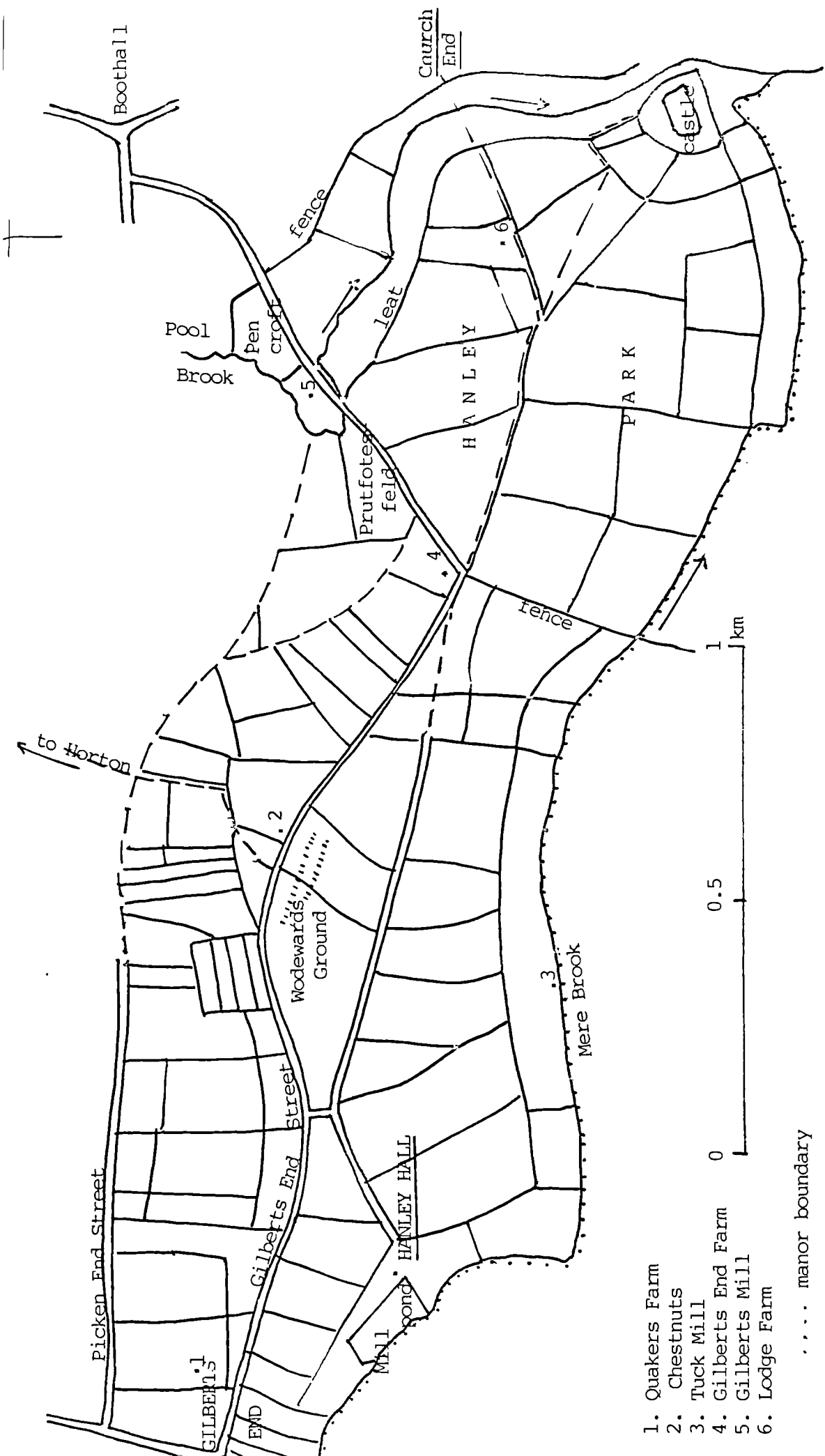
(j) Picken End and Picken End Street (Maps II.5 & II.6)

Picken End first appears in the deeds in the early fourteenth century (BL Add Ch 73672, 73691); if the name is derived from an Old English personal name *Pica, its origin is presumably pre-Conquest¹⁰⁰; an alternative link may be with OE pic, a point, prickle or thorn, and thorn bushes might have been a byword before clearance of scrubland in this part of the manor; Henry in le Thurne paid the quite large sum of 4s 6d in the 1275 Subsidy. As a pre-Conquest settlement it would have good links with Blackmore, Horton and the east of the manor, and of course with the other western Ends if indeed they were contemporary.

The settlement grew up alongside the east-west route, known as Pykestret or Picken End Street, a line which divided the tenements on the south side of Roberts End Street from those on the north of Gilberts End Street, serving as a back lane for both; perhaps only the westernmost tenements were regarded as belonging to Picken End proper, as indeed is the case today¹⁰¹. There is still evidence in the alignment of boundaries that they were related to the line of Picken End Street, which however peters out at the north-south track through Horton, although its line is apparently continued by field boundaries and there is a fork to Gilberts Mill; thus in the medieval period the street reached Gilberts End Street by way of which there was access to Church End and the east. The path to Gilberts Mill would infer that some of the land in Picken End was held by tenants of the forester, who would owe him suit of mill. North of the Picken End Street line it is possible to observe once again that the tenements to the east of the track through Horton are rather less formally arranged than those to the west. Ridge and furrow survives well in the vicinity of Picken End, and there are distinctive headlands, the remnant perhaps of arable which ceased to be ploughed in the fifteenth century¹⁰²

A messuage with curtilage in Pykenende is quitclaimed in 1326 (BL Add Ch 73691), and in the late fifteenth century accounts there is some tenant arable at Pikenhede, when the rent of a daywork was 1s 4d; this may have been in Pickenendfield, which was north of Picken End Street and which was subdivided into tenant parcels, according to the vicarage terrier of 1545; the terrier also lists two closes and an orchard in Picken End from which the vicar received tithes, and there was school land there in the seventeenth century¹⁰³. The rental of Hanley Hall manor dated c. 1550 names among the free tenants Richard Wager, who pays 10d for a messuage with close, called Pykendhall; the name could be derived from OE hale, a corner of land, but there may instead be a memory of a high status house, such as the present Quakers Farm which is a substantially sixteenth century building¹⁰⁴. In the same rental Roger Adys, some of whose family were potters, has a messuage with close called Flexeclosse in Picken End, at a rent of 6d; the growing of flax in Hanley is shown also by Lynlonde (L16, dated 1322).

Cottages and messuages in Picken End continue to be recorded in later centuries, and the vicarage terrier of 1761 mentions a close called Coneycroft on the north of "Picken End Lane"; there was a manorial warren in Hanley park (Blyndehey in the late fifteenth century accounts), but



- 1. Quakers Farm
- 2. Chestnuts
- 3. Tuck Mill
- 4. Gilberts End Farm
- 5. Gilberts Mill
- 6. Lodge Farm

..... manor boundary
 - - - - footpath
 old hollow way

Map II.6 : Gilberts End Street, Picken End Street (south) and the Park
 (field boundaries as for Map II.3)

nothing is known of warrens elsewhere, and any which might have belonged to Hanley Hall manor have not been located. Two of the surviving cottages date from the seventeenth century (Map II.8), but later development, including the destruction of a timber framed building as recently as 1991, has obscured the medieval pattern, which was probably visible until this century¹⁰⁵.

(k) Gilberts End and Gilberts End Street (Map II.6)

Gilbert the forester, son of John de Hanley who was himself chief forester, was granted the office along with his father's land by earl William of Gloucester in 1147x1171¹⁰⁶; it is reasonable to assume that he or an earlier Gilbert gave his name to Gilberts End, an area distinguished also by the forester's seat of Hanley Hall. In the Pipe Roll for 1175-6 Gilbert de Hanley pays twenty marks de misericordia regis pro foresta; not all of this can have been for assarts, especially since the forester also had to account for the pleas of the forest, but some assarting fines may have been included, perhaps at Gilberts End¹⁰⁷. He would be adding tenant land to the one and a half virgates which he held as demesne for keeping the forest.

Gilberts End is first named as such (Gilberdesende) in a late thirteenth century charter of Richard Pen (BL Add Ch 73665), who grants to his son a messuage with curtilage in Gilberts End Street, with a way leading to Gilberdesmulle as one of the bounds. In the rental of c. 1550 William Frewen is recorded as holding a messuage and croft called Pennecrofte, and in Edmund Lechmere's Estate Book of 1760 Pencroft's bounds are described, placing it just north of the recently noted mill site on Pool Brook¹⁰⁸. This then will have been Gilberts Mill, which we saw being used by Picken End tenants; it may be that tenants at Gilberts End, at any rate the western parts, used the mill at Hanley Hall itself, where the pond and sluices survive; this mill is shown on Isaac Taylor's map of 1772, although earlier documentary evidence is lacking. Another mill in the locality is Tuck Mill (alias Turners Mill) on the Mere Brook; by definition it is a fulling mill, but it is marked as a corn mill on the OS map of 1885 and is first met with in 1745¹⁰⁹.

The Pen family were in Hanley in the early thirteenth century, when John Pen found a body in the covert of the forest, and they were apparently tenants of the forester¹¹⁰. Thomas Pen in 1344 (BL Add Ch 73680) sold a piece of land at Jonesende to John le Forester; the name (sc. John's End?) does not occur again, and it may be intended here for the land near Hanley Hall itself. Other tenants near Gilberts Mill were the Prutfote sisters, who sold land in Prutfotesfeld next to Pencroft in 1311 (BL Add Ch 73672); they sold seventeen selions, a gore and a headland, and in the deed there is specific mention of hedges, implying that the selions were enclosed; this might be especially expected in the east of the manor, where outside the open field areas small enclosures seem to have been the rule. Woodward's Ground was a tenement in the western part of Gilberts End, where the field pattern is more regular; on the site there is a possible house platform, with pottery of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries¹¹¹. Lying apparently on the same south side of Gilberts End Street were two cottages recorded in the fourteenth century, one quitclaimed in 1342 (BL Add Ch 73683) and the other sold in 1344 (BL Add Ch 73684); it is not

always possible however to be certain on which side of a street a tenement lay, as we saw with Ivy House above; that the line of Gilberts End Street changed in places is suggested by a disused hollow way south of the present line at the point where the street bulges northwards (Map II.6)¹¹².

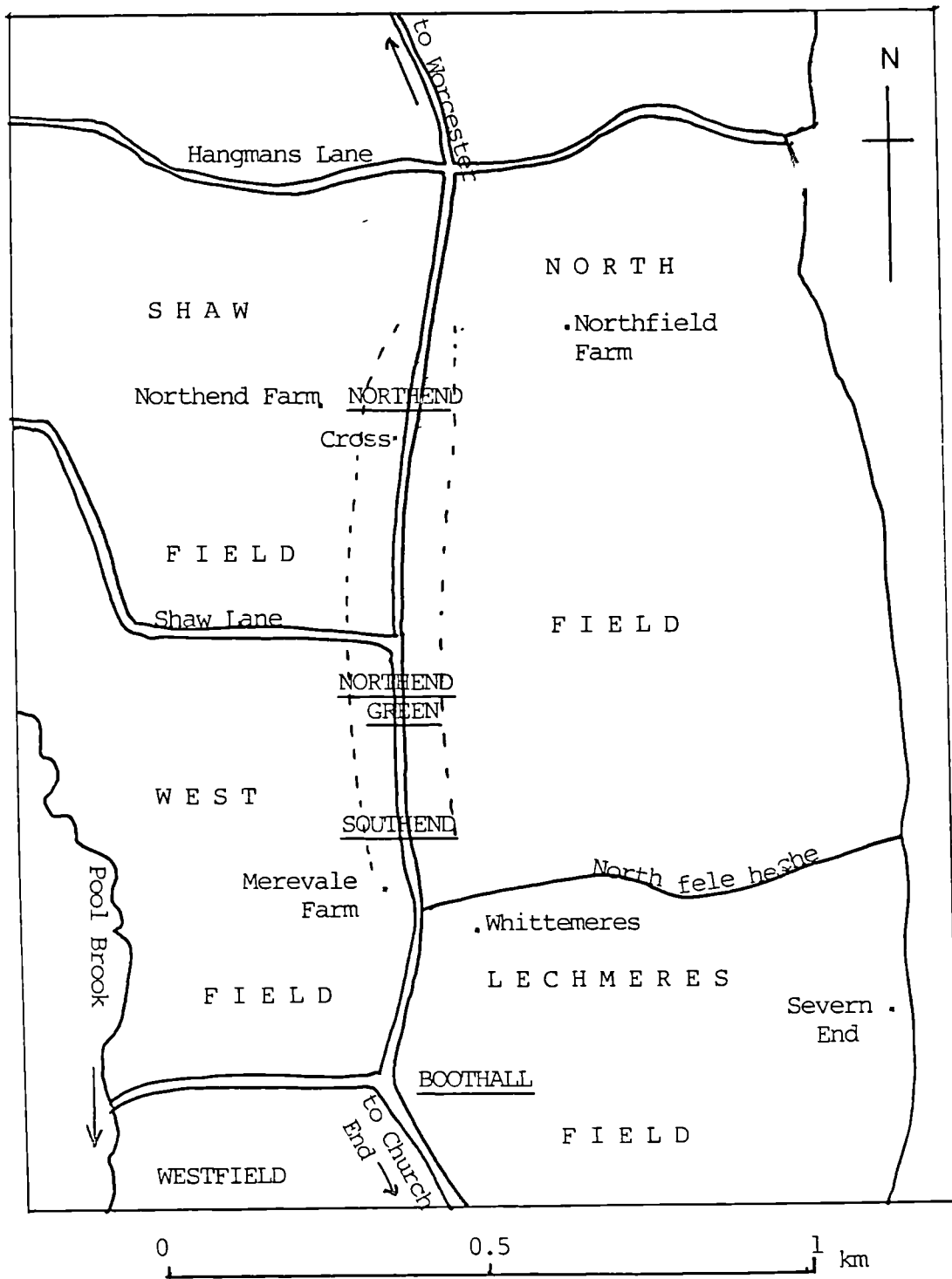
Earlier settlement may have flanked the hollow way; however on Gilberts End Street itself at this point today only the farm now called Chestnuts has buildings earlier than the eighteenth century, although further east Gilberts End farm has some seventeenth century features (Map II.8)¹¹³. Parallel to the hollow way was a yet more southerly path, now defined by a field boundary but shown on the Enclosure map as a path running east towards Gilberts End Farm and thence through Hanley park past Lodge farm to the castle, with a branch to Church End; it is respected by other field boundaries and served as a route from Hanley Hall to the east and also as a back lane for tenements on the south of Gilberts End Street. Presumably this route was not available east of the farm until after the disparking of the sixteenth century; to avoid the park Gilberts End Street itself turns sharply northwards, skirting the park until it emerges at Boothall.

The deeds give the impression of a relatively high population along the whole length of Gilberts End Street, whereas in the other Ends there appears to be, but perhaps misleadingly, a greater concentration in the west¹¹⁴. For example a cottage with curtilage said to be in Gilberts End is next to Sevarstile, implying access to Boothall and the Severn meadows (BL Add Ch 73686, 73693, mid-fourteenth century); and the position of Gilberts End farm again shows the extent of Gilberts End. Carpenteresplace is an important messuage in the area, which was quitclaimed in 1365 (BL Add Ch 73692); John Carpenter paid tax in 1275, and the surname is still seen in the rental of c. 1550. Land next to "Gilberts End Green" is listed in the vicarage terrier of 1545; like some other greens discussed below it may have begun as a strip of roadside pasture, but it is mentioned only once and has not been located. Messuages continue to be seen after the medieval period, for example in the school terrier of 1675 and the Hanley Hall estate lease of 1746¹¹⁵. The path through Horton again appears to mark a pause in development, but it is not so obvious from field shapes as it was further north: the untypical squarish fields to the east of Gilberts End farm were probably measured out when the park was cleared.

(l) Northend, Northend Green and Southend (Map II.7)

The name Southend at least cannot relate to the main settlement at Church End, so it may be that all these three names are expressing a relationship to Northfield, Shawfield, and Westfield, that is to the major arable land in that part of the vill. The inhabitants therefore may initially have been seasonal workers on the arable, part of the unrecorded subculture, who would have squatted and eventually built on the manorial waste at the roadside¹¹⁶. When we see them, both Northend and Southend appear to be linear settlements on both sides of the Upton-Worcester road, merging in the middle into Northend Green.

Northfield itself is first recorded in deeds of the early fourteenth century (e.g. L9, L14) but no doubt had been established for some time before as a major open field. The earliest deed to

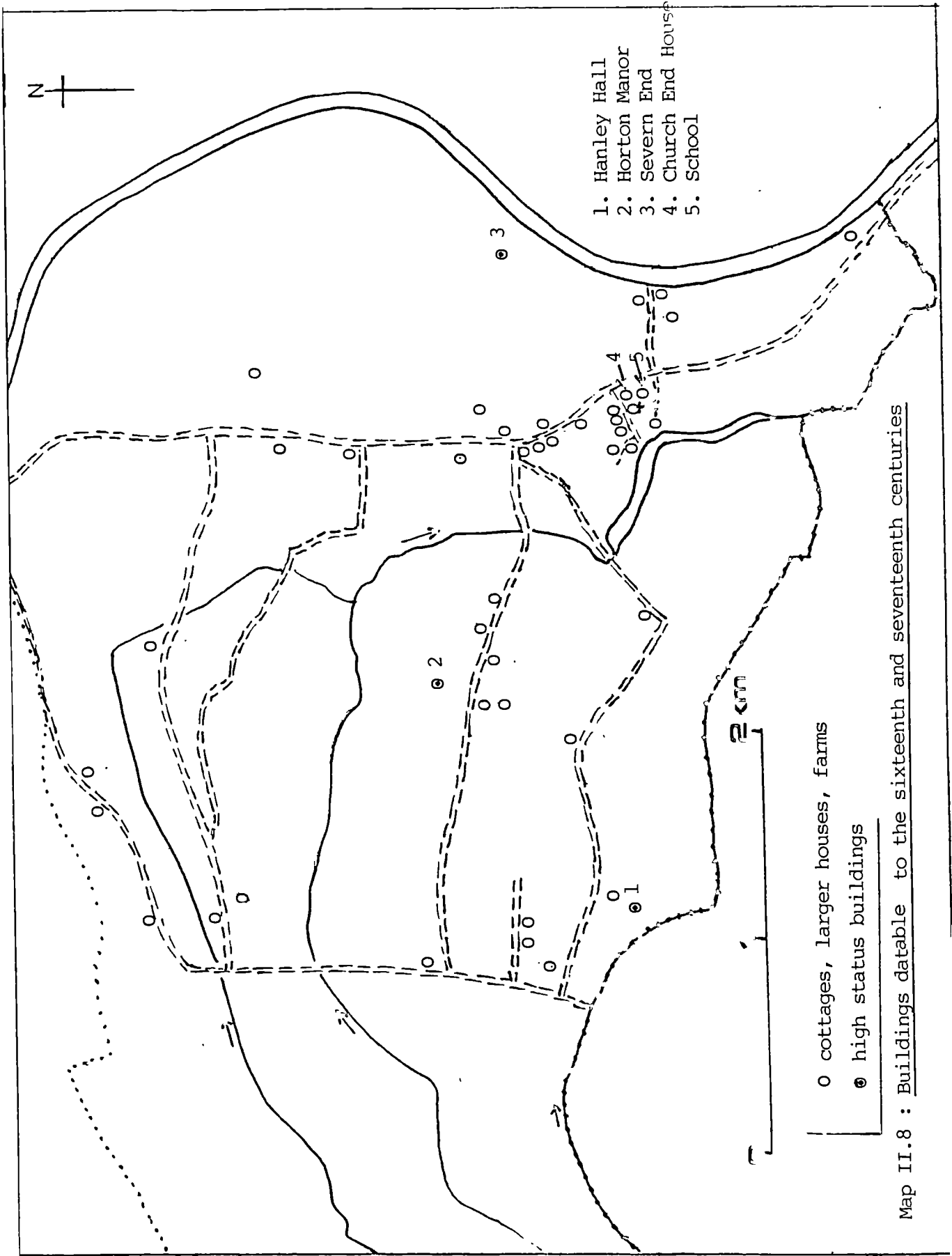


Map II.7 : Northend and Southend

----- approximate extent of settlement

name Northend is dated 1455 (L92), when a messuage with arable attached called Northend Croft is included in a sale by John Carpenter, who elsewhere (e.g. L119) describes himself as of Northend: this messuage by its boundaries proves to be in Northfield, and looks like the predecessor of Northfield Farm; the present building has late sixteenth century elements, but if an earlier messuage lay on that site the implication is that there was some fifteenth century enclosing in Northfield¹¹⁷. Northend Farm on the other hand lies in Shawfield to the west of the main road, and various deeds (e.g. L155) confirm that Northend in fact lay on both sides of the road and stretched from Hangmans Lane in the north to the line of Shaw Lane in the south; Northend Farm again is a sixteenth century building apparently on an earlier site¹¹⁸. From Shaw lane southwards to Merevale Farm, again on both sides of the road, is Northend Green; the farm does not appear by name ("a messuage called Merryvale") until 1683, and the existing buildings date back to at least that period, but earlier messuages are recorded in the area¹¹⁹. Many such "Greens" are thought to have emerged in the thirteenth century, under population pressures, but the lack of early documentation makes dating hazardous; it is possible however that as a piece of common land for grazing Northend Green preceded the settlements at Northend and Southend¹²⁰. Other "Greens" recorded, apart from Rhydd Green and Gilberts End Green already mentioned, are Woodbridge Green (on Woodbridge Lane), Wheelers Green (on Roberts End Street), Burley End Green (at Burley), and Forthey Green (at Forthey, on Roberts End Street); all are first recorded in the fifteenth century or later.

A messuage at Le Southend, sold in 1470 (L125), is east of the main road and immediately south east of Merevale Farm, backing on to the southern part of Northfield at the point where Northend Green runs into Southend; this may be the house called Whittemeres, later The Cottage, discussed above under Severn End. Other messuages said to be in Southend are to the west of the road (e.g. L139 dated 1473), with the arable of Westfield behind them. Beggarmans Lane seems to be the boundary of Southend on the west, and Roberts End Street on the south; the portion to the east of the main road has roughly similar north and south bounds and on the east is backed mostly by Lechmeresfield; as with Northend, the arable is near at hand, and if there was a market at Boothall that may also have attracted settlers to Southend. To think in terms of precise boundaries however for many of the Hanley hamlets would be mistaken; there is sometimes confusion in the minds of the drafters of deeds, and presumably therefore in the minds of the tenants who instructed them, as to where exactly a property lies, especially in the east of the manor. Tenements in Southend continue to change hands into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; a house was rebuilt there in 1745, and Elizabeth Baron's estate in Southend, purchased by Edmund Lechmere in 1760, possessed its own mill, which since the estate included Pencroft may well have been Gilberts Mill, an indication of the perceived spread of Southend into an area which otherwise might well have been called Gilberts End¹²¹. To the north of this, Robert Frewen's tenement in the early sixteenth century was called Kykersend (L171, dated 1505), which if it is a corruption of Church End (OE cirice) again shows uncertainty in boundaries.



Map II.8 : Buildings datable to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

(m) Other Possible Settlements

Among the "End" names is Bisshoppesend(feld), which in the minister's accounts of 1479-80 is arable in the northern part of Shawfield; it may be named from the family of Richard Bishop, who paid 18d in the 1327 subsidy, and could be the land of a single messuage rather than a settlement. Tun names, apart from Wylton and Horton already cited, include Wotton, which in 1479-80 appears to be in one of the parks as a parcel called Wotton Launde, and Toune itself, which may be Horton as the most prominent tun in Hanley: Walter atte Toune was taxed in 1327 at 12d. Coton was deep in the woodland, and may never have been more prominent than the farm hamlet which is there today. Other names indicative of settlement are Dedeworth, in the Severn Meadow area, and Delworhyn (L44, 1362), the latter being the settlement by the dell; both contain OE worðig, which however may mean no more than a single enclosed homestead. Brallis is the obscure name of a hamlet which was destroyed to enlarge Hanley park in the fifteenth century, perhaps an occasion when the park was extended into Westfield. Grava (iuxta Sabrinam - L15) was a settlement in or near the haga, now disappeared. Finally Mordstowe (minister's account, 1326-7) relates to OE morþ (death) and so may be a place of execution; it is unlocated, but since it is demesne pasture the reference may be to the constable's gallows at the Rhydd¹²².

3. THE CHRONOLOGY OF SETTLEMENT IN HANLEY : A SCHEMATIC PLAN (Fig II.3)

It has been possible from fieldwork to postulate some activity in Hanley in the Roman period and from documentary evidence to identify a late Anglo-Saxon estate with a dispersed settlement pattern¹²³. The major elements of this estate were in the east, where Burley and the Rhydd, especially if they had their fields (and Burley mill) adopted by "Hanley", may well have preceded it; but there was probably early settlement also at Blackmore and Picken End in the west, and at Horton and Forthey in the centre, of what became the effective estate and manor for agriculture and settlement. The four hides of Domesday Book were attributed to "Hanley", a name closely associated with Church End, but the Norman manor like the estate no doubt stretched to the hills, and included the woodland in the west. The twelfth century saw the expansion at Blackmore of demesne land, and the foundation or development of Aylers End, Roberts End and Gilberts End under the auspices of the forester's family¹²⁴. Hanley was fortunate in having the space for colonisation as a growing population required it¹²⁵. The forest however was a conservative influence on development, in that assarts required organisation and manpower and had to be paid for¹²⁶. It was probably in the thirteenth century that the "Greens" and other roadside settlements emerged, their occupants working for wages in the eastern arable land. Subsequently there were no new areas of settlement, and this obtains to the present day. In the dispersed settlement pattern Church End was always the focus in the historical period, and had some of the features of a "nucleus"¹²⁷.

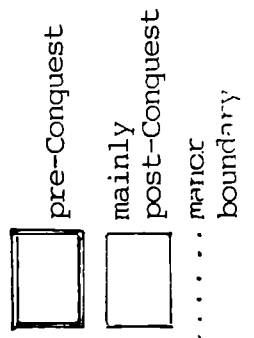
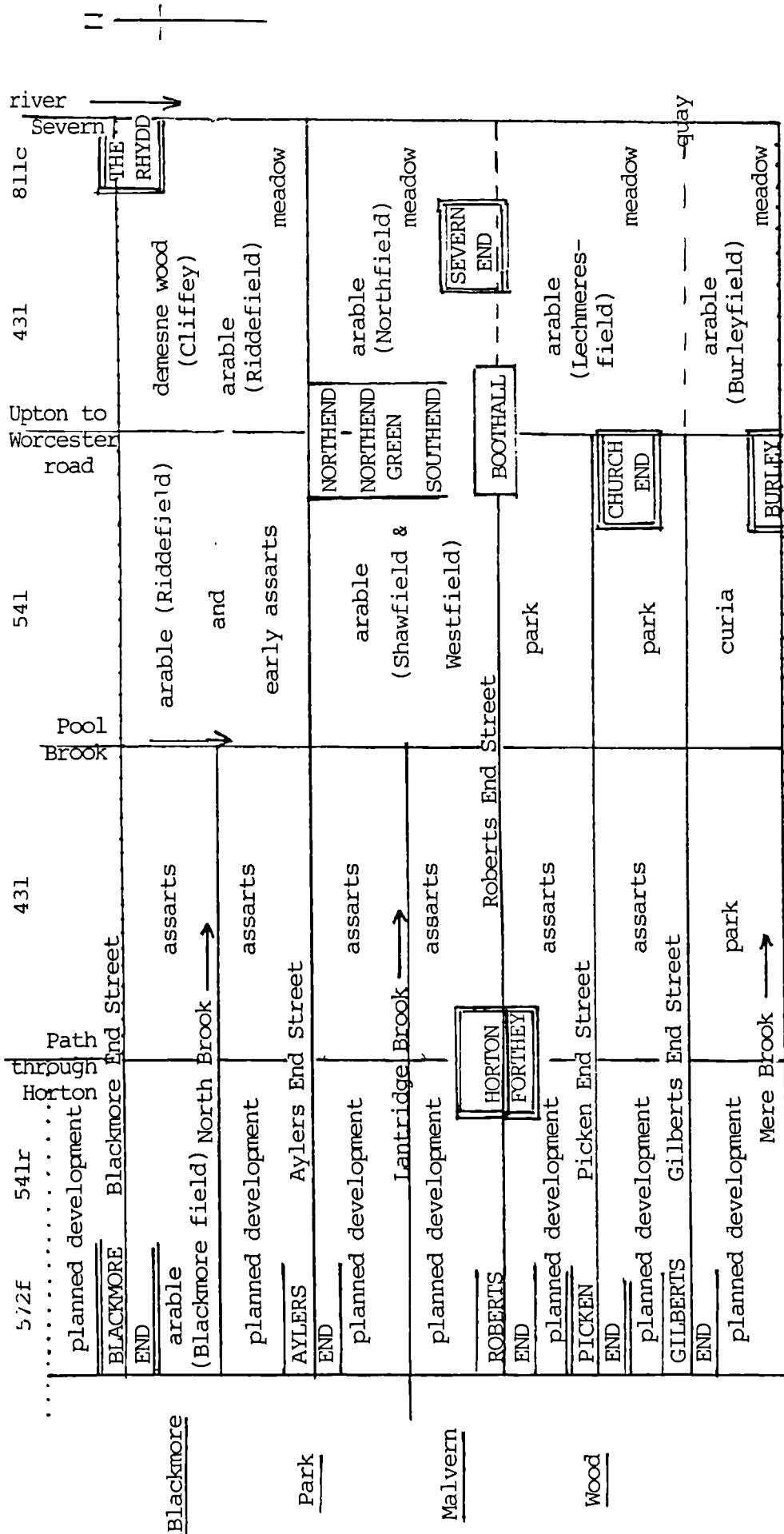


Fig II.3 : Schematic plan of land use and settlement at the end of the thirteenth century showing how roads, paths and streams marked and facilitated the phases of development, in general from east to west

In general the expansion of Hanley was from east to west, and there are well defined north-south lines which mark differences in land use and pauses in development. This can be seen schematically in Figure II.3, which also shows (referring to Map I.1) how geology and soils influence the various processes. For example in the north of the manor the Upton-Worcester road divides the haga and later demesne wood of Cliffey from early assarts, and further south it divides the open field arable from the park; similarly the line of Pool Brook divides a variety of land uses on the east from irregular assarts on the west, and the north-south path through Horton divides these assarts from the more planned development of the twelfth century; this is betrayed by the general tenor of field boundaries on the Enclosure Map of 1797. The schematic plan also shows the significance of natural features and lines of communication running east-west, which similarly serve to divide up the land; for example the stream on the northern boundary, the various streets, and Northbrook, Lantridge Brook and Mere Brook, all serve to provide a back lane or other useful demarcation of tenements and fields. In a sense then the manor can be divided into compartments, which might be thought to make a large manor more manageable. There is of course an admixture of deliberation, opportunity and expediency in the way the manor was developed, and it is hard to say how much of the "compartmentalisation" was the result of any conscious striving towards an orderly pattern; at any rate the result is interesting and could suggest a way of looking at other manors which appear to have developed in fairly tidy stages.

There is however danger in over-simplification of what was a long settlement process; as M Aston says, "any area may display a wide variety of settlement at all stages of development at any one time"¹²⁸. The true dynamism of settlement is complex and elusive, and we glimpse it only spasmodically. Yet something can be teased out, as at Hanley, which in summary shows dispersed settlement, with an eventual nucleus, with deep roots in the pre-Conquest period; it is a settlement structure well able to stand on its own, although the various hamlets would have had less strength and could not have cohered without the estate and manor to embrace and organise them and thegns, lords and tenants to appreciate the potential of the landscape and the value of a diverse economy¹²⁹.

4. POPULATION (Table II.1)

Any discussion of population should ideally be linked closely with what we know of settlement and the economy. Thus it would be satisfying to have clear evidence of an expansion of numbers in the late twelfth century to accompany the development of the western Ends and the new demesne, and of a continuing high level of population during the prosperous thirteenth century. Then we should welcome some convincing numerical evidence for the 1320s, when apparently the demesne economy at any rate began to slump, with the contraction of arable at Blackmore, for the period after the Black Death, which probably hit Hanley hard, especially in the lower social strata, and for the period of economic depression in the late fifteenth century, revealed by the accounts. Unfortunately the availability of figures does not follow this pattern, and

they are never complete and clear-cut, but nevertheless it is possible, using the figures that we do have, to see some trends and reach some albeit tentative conclusions.

The Domesday figures have already been calculated, giving a total population of at least 225, taking the slaves as individuals rather than as heads of household, and using the higher figures of the two entries; at the same time there was the possibility that as at Burton some quite large categories may have been omitted. During the second half of the twelfth century the Pipe Rolls show an active demesne, and the doubling in size of this demesne along with the development of land and settlement in that century and the next, especially in the west, argues for increased population. This is shown to some extent in the Worcestershire Subsidy Roll of 1275, which for Hanley lists seventy taxpayers apart from the lord¹³⁰. The list can be supposed, but not with complete certainty, to have included any eligible tenants of the submanor of Hanley Hall, some of whom in any case may have had land also in the main manor; if instead they are subsumed in Thomas de Hanley's payment of 18s, then there is a significant number to be accounted for. This is only one example of the potential for error in calculation; there are other men, like Robert de Baldenhale and John de Clivelade, who may not have lived in Hanley in spite of having sufficient wealth there to qualify for taxation; in fact, their names occurring at the end of the roll, and together, might be evidence that they were indeed outsiders.

Yet another obscurity is the actual proportion of people who might have paid to such a subsidy. In Hanley the names of at least eight others can be elicited from contemporary deeds, who were prosperous enough to be parties or witnesses to the sale of free land but who did not pay to the subsidy. It is generally supposed that 60 per cent might have paid in 1275, which would give 117 households and a population of 526. In the case of the 1327 Subsidy, it has been calculated for four of the bishop's manors that only 40 per cent paid; if this is applied to Hanley, where forty people paid in 1327, there would be a total of only 100 households and a population of 450. We may be observing here some evidence for relative decline in the 1320s; but since customary tenants alone in the 1326-7 account totalled at least ninety four, the calculations for both these subsidies must be considerable underestimates; in fact, to account for free tenants and subtenants as well, the exemption rates must have been much higher¹³¹. Some of those exempted would be the free, rent-paying smallholders, who would have scarcely any "moveables in stock and grain", and who seem to elude not only the subsidies but also to some extent the IPMs.

If the Subsidy Rolls are difficult to interpret, the IPMs are no better. Generally they record customary tenants by numbers but free tenants by total rents, which cannot be converted into precise numbers of free tenants; and on occasions free and customary rents, along with services, are all put together. The IPM of 1296 records eighty three customary tenants, and as we saw above, in the minister's account for 1326-7 ninety four can be identified from the works section, as owing labour services, and there are ninety seven in the 1349 IPM; incidentally, although this latter IPM recorded the death of the potters, the rest of its information appears to be pre-Black Death. In the woodland manor of Tanworth-in-Arden BK Roberts found a four to one

ratio of free to servile rents in the early fourteenth century¹³². If this formula were applied for example to the 1296 information for Hanley the population would be near to 2,000, reckoning 83 customary tenants and 332 free, and using a multiplier of 4.5; this number of free tenants may be too large for Hanley, bearing in mind what we know from 1416 (below), but at any rate this would emphasise the growth in numbers since 1086, while at the same time confirming the unreliability of figures calculated from the Subsidy Rolls.

In 1416 the IPM showed that one third of free rent income allocated in dower came from forty nine free tenants, which might indicate a total of about 150 in that category: we do not know the number of customary tenants at that period, but even a modest tally would make a total population approaching 1,000, representing some decline since the mid-fourteenth century. Apart from the Black Death, which certainly killed the potters according to the IPM of 1349, the earlier agrarian crises between 1315 and 1322 may have reduced the overall population, although the customary tenants in Hanley seem to have held their own until 1349; it was probably a priority for the manorial authorities, even if a shrinking demesne required fewer labour services, to fill vacant customary tenements¹³³. Further pestilences in the late fourteenth century may well have produced fluctuations, but there is no evidence¹³⁴.

It could be argued that the 1416 conjecture is a little low, in view of the fact that in general woodland manors are thought to have been resilient in economic adversity, a resilience which should be reflected in population¹³⁵; the recovery of the pottery industry after the Black Death is attested by the archaeological evidence, and favourable terms of tenure might persuade free tenants to hold on even to poor land¹³⁶. A manor surviving through its economic diversity might also have attracted immigrants to vacant smallholdings carrying valuable common rights, from other manors where a merely agricultural economy meant that a largely villein tenantry found itself with higher rents and even with increased services (or higher commutation payments) on the demesne¹³⁷. The low rents for smallholders in Hanley can be glimpsed in a deed of 1319 (BL Add Ch 73673), when the rents of twenty one free tenants are sold to Thomas de Hanley; the rents average 1s 2d, and some pay as little as 1d or 2d, although it can be observed from other deeds that the land in question was not always their sole holding.

Whatever the capacity for economic survival in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the extant ministers' accounts for 1479 onwards show that it was difficult by then to secure tenants for customary land and demesne leases. Unfortunately these accounts give us no figures for any category of tenant, but the bailiff was allowed almost £6 in defectus redditus for eighteen tenements which could not be let, including one holding of one and a half virgates. It was at this time that the Hanley family sold the forestership with its lands, and their homestead of Hanley Hall. What is not visible therefore in the limited Hanley evidence is the late fifteenth century recovery which has been noted elsewhere. Some Hanley people at this time may have had the opportunity of additional wage labour: in 1479-80 for example 1,000 bricks and 500 tiles, probably made locally, were used in repairs at the castle, and timber was being cut and brought

from Cliffe Wood; work on the castle absorbed 180 man-days at least in that year, and there was a similar amount of work available at the mill. But not many could benefit from this, and migration to the towns in the area must have been a tempting option. Any fifteenth century downturn in population seems to have continued, for parish returns of 1564 showed a population of 725, and Nash recorded 137 families in 1781¹³⁸. It is surprising that the release of land at the disafforestation did not attract more tenants, but eventually the late eighteenth century enclosure made for more efficiency in agriculture, and in 1901 there were over 2,000 people in Hanley, in spite of Malvern Wells now being a separate parish¹³⁹.

Table II.1 sketches the history of Hanley's population; in summary the figures reflect a considerable increase between 1086 and the early fourteenth century, associated partly at least with the development policy in the west, and a gradual decline after the Black Death which was not seriously arrested until the nineteenth century. The figures must be seen in the context of the discussion above; all that can be claimed is that they do not contradict what evidence there is.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Tenants</u>	<u>Conjectured total</u>	<u>Reference</u>
1086	48 villeins & bordars, etc. 9 slaves	225+	Domesday Book
1275	117 (if 60% paid)	526++	Subsidy Roll
1296	83 customary (others not recorded)	1,000+	IPM
1326-7	94 customary (others not recorded)	1,000+	Minister's Account
1349	97 customary (others not recorded)	1,000+	IPM
1416	150 free (others not recorded)	up to 1,000	IPM
1479		[declining]	Minister's Account
1564		725	Parish Returns
1781	137 families	616	Nash, vol 1, 562
1901		2,000+	VCH, vol 4, 93, 471

Table II.1 : The Limited Evidence for Population (multiplier of 4.5)



Fig II.4 : Air Photograph of the north east of the manor,
showing Cliffey Wood, parts of Severn Meadow,
and the arable to the east of Pool Brook

(CROWN COPYRIGHT/MOD)

CHAPTER II : REFERENCES

1. For dispersed settlement in the Anglo-Saxon period, see MA Aston, *Interpreting the Landscape* (London 1985), 67 sq. It is of course an ancient pattern : *idem*, "Rural Settlement in Somerset: Some Preliminary Thoughts" in D Hooke ed, *Medieval Villages* (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph No 5, 1985) 81-100. For a discussion of the origins of dispersed settlement, see AE Brown and CC Taylor, "The Origins of Dispersed Settlements : Some Results from Fieldwork in Bedfordshire", *Landscape History* 11 (1989), 61-82. For early patterns, see RA Dodgshon, "The Early Middle Ages, 1066-1350" in RA Dodgshon and RA Butlin eds, *An Historical Geography of England and Wales* (London 1978), 81-117, at pp 95 sq. The shift from "the preoccupation with nuclear villages" to "an appreciation of the variety of settlements" has been noted for example by the editors in M Aston, D Austin, C Dyer eds, *The Rural Settlements of Medieval England* (Oxford 1989), Intro p 5; see also CJ Bond, "Settlements in the South West Midlands", *ibidem* 129-148, at pp 132-4. Others who have contributed to the substantial literature on dispersed settlement include BK Roberts, "Village Patterns and Forms : Some Models for Discussion" in Hooke ed, *Medieval Villages*, 7-25; T Rowley, *Villages in the Landscape* (London 1978); CJ Bond, "Medieval Oxfordshire Villages and their Topography : a Preliminary Discussion" in Hooke ed, *Medieval Villages*, 101-123; M Chisholm, *Rural Settlement and Land Use : an Essay in Location* (London 1979); D Austin, "Medieval Settlement in North East England: Retrospect, Summary and Prospect" in BE Vyner ed, *Medieval Rural Settlement in North East England* (Durham 1990), 411-419; PH Sawyer, "The Anglo-Norman Village" in Hooke ed, *Medieval Villages*, 1-6; D Hooke, "Village Development in the West Midlands", *ibidem* 125-154.

2. "Street" names need not imply a Roman origin but "in minor settlement-names it is necessary to allow for the modern dialect sense of stragglings village": M Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape* (London 1984), 82

3. The charter evidence is summarised in D Hooke, "The Hinterland and Routeways of Late Saxon Worcester: the Charter Evidence" in MOH Carver ed, *Medieval Worcester: an Archaeological Framework*, *Trans Worcs Arch Soc*, 3rd series 7 (1980) 39-49. Sealterforda (the ford of the salt carriers) in Redmarley Dabiotot may mark a north-south route making for Welland and Hanley Swan, but the line has not been traced northwards. See GB Grundy, "Saxon Charters of Worcestershire", *Trans Birmingham Arch Soc* 53 (1928). 18-95, at pp 50-1; FTS Houghton, "Saltways", *ibidem* 54 (1929), 1-17, at p 16 and Map, Plate IV. The charter is dated 963 : W de G Birch ed, *Cartularium Saxonicum* (London 1893), No 1109.

4. The eastern road is implied in BP Hindle, "The Road Network of Medieval England and Wales", *J Hist Geog* 2 (3) (1976) 207-221, for example Fig 9. As an example of river travel, the king and his household are said to have come to Worcester navigio in 1295 : *Ann Mon (Worcs)* (Rolls Series 4, 1869), 521. For kings at Hanley, see Appendix III below.

5. D Hooke, *Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter Bounds* (London 1990), 208-215. Dr Hooke's map on p 210 shows the boundary features of the Powick clause lying close to the line of Wood Street west of Blackmore Park. B Smith, *History of Malvern* (Leicester 1964), 3, considers that Wood Street was used in Anglo-Saxon times, and places baldan rycg on the line of Wood Street, which approached 'he Wyche cutting as Baldeyatewey (pp 17 and 22).

6. For the approximate dating of buildings in Hanley see the Sites and Monuments Record of the County Archaeology Service; so, for example, HWCN 05809 (Church End House), 05819 (School), 05827 (White Cottage - the Clerk's House?), 05830 (Hobbits - Church House?), 05831 (Almshouses), 05828 (cottages north east of Hobbits). See N Pevsner, *Buildings of England, Worcestershire* (Harmondsworth 1968), 187-8, for comments on Hanley Castle buildings in general: "a parish rich in enjoyable houses", although he mentions only the church, school, almshouses and Severn End. I am indebted for the information about The Three Kings and the possible Church House to Dr Philip Tufton, churchwarden, who has lived at Hobbits for thirty years; Dr Tufton describes a panelled room in the house, which was used for parish meetings

before his arrival, and he reports also that the cottage on the north east side of his own had a cellar and barrel chute. But see also P Hurle, *Hanley Castle: Heart of Malvern Chase* (London 1978), 131, for arguments that Hobbits was in fact The Three Kings; see also *ibidem*, 60, for White Cottage. For the Clerk's House (*domus clerici*) see VCH researchers' notes (HWCRO BA 527 Ref 899.44/26), quoting Pat 31 Eliz pt 3 m 3 (1588)).

7. HWCRO BA 6097 Ref 250.6. For turnpike roads in Worcestershire, see JB Harley, *Christopher Greenwood, County Mapmaker, and his Worcestershire Map* (WHS 1962), 52, Fig 10. I am grateful to Dr Tufton for information about the Vicar's Path. For "head houses" on twelfth century burgage plots, see E Miller and J Hatcher, *Medieval England : Towns, Commerce and Crafts, 1086-1348* (London 1995), 267. The grant of 1523 is in HWCRO BA 6097 Ref 250.6 (the School deposit).

8. For the planned building of manorial *capita* see Aston, *Interpreting*, 45 sq. "A house occupied to the lord's use" in the Hanley *curia* in the late fifteenth century accounts may be a manor house of sorts, although the castle was then theoretically available. At Cuxham all the manorial buildings, including the lord's quarters, stood in the *curia* : PDA Harvey, *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village : Cuxham 1240-1400* (Oxford 1965), 32-9.

9. At Wharram Percy the manorial buildings stood around a courtyard, with a great barn : MW Beresford and JG Hurst, "Wharram Percy : a Case Study in Microtopography" in PH Sawyer ed, *English Medieval Settlement* (London 1979), 52-85; for a conjectural reconstruction of the buildings see *idem*, *Wharram Percy: Deserted Medieval Village* (London 1990), 23. At Hanley a furlong opposite the *grangia* near the *cimeterium* appears in the late fifteenth century accounts.

10. A two bay building would be about thirty feet long; most west Midland peasant houses and barns were of two bays: CC Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c 1200-1520* (Cambridge 1989), 166. A demesne barn in the late fifteenth century might be expected to be larger if the manor was prospering, but of course it wasn't: *ibidem*, 79-80. See also *idem*, "English Peasant Buildings in the Later Middle Ages", *Med Arch* 30 (1986), 19-45; and Harvey, *Cuxham*, 32 sq. At Cuxham there was a hayhouse in the barton and two five-bay barns. For "bury" as a manor house, see M Gelling, *Signposts to the Past* (2nd edn, Chichester 1988), 143.

11. See CC Taylor in T Rowley ed, *The Origins of Open Field Agriculture* (London 1981), 13- 21, at pp 17-21, for a discussion of the potentially early origins of furlongs.

12. HWCRO BA 1533 Ref 705.79.

13. *VCH Worcs* 4, 95.

14. The Enclosure Map is HWCRO BA 816 ref s.269.81/1&2. Herberts Farm is HWCM 05807. For the Lechmere deer park, see *VCH Worcs* 4, 95. Recent underwater archaeological work at the quay has revealed traces of timber and stone structures, at a distance from the shore which suggests that the course of the river has changed, eroding here into the west bank (JD Hurst, pers comm); see also Intro Note 8 (above).

15. L207 (1521) describes land in Burleyfield "abutting on the road leading from a certain cross called *Whit Crosse* towards *Kentin* in Hanley, on the north". See Hurle, *Hanley Castle*, 31-3, for another view of the crosses, but she did not know of White Cross.

16. For Combe Cross, see IPM of 1416, L161, L243, BL Add Ch 41393, HWCRO BA 6097 Ref 250.6.

17. *Rot Lit Claus* (Rec Comm) 1, 390b.

18. On the face of it there is a rather small triangular space, but when encroachments are discounted (a suggestion which I owe to Professor CC Dyer) the space is rectangular and much larger.

19. For discussion of planning of market areas, see TR Slater, "Urban Genesis and Medieval Town Plans in Warwickshire and Worcestershire" in TR Slater and PJ Jarvis eds, *Field and Forest ; an Historical Geography of Warwickshire and Worcestershire* (Norwich 1982), 173-202, at pp 182 sq; CC Taylor, "Medieval Market Grants and Village Morphology", *Landscape History* 4 (1982), 21-8; K Lilley, "A Warwickshire Medieval Borough: Brinklow and the Contribution of Town Plan Analysis", *Trans B'ham and Warks Arch Soc* 98 (1993-4), 51-60, at p 58; MW Beresford and HPR Finberg eds, *English Medieval Boroughs: a Handlist* (Newton Abbot 1973), 34-7.
20. Taylor, "Medieval Market Grants", 21. For reasons why an early grant may not have been enrolled, see Beresford and Finberg, *English Medieval Boroughs*, 23. Most boroughs were founded between 1200 and 1250, and the majority by lay lords : *ibidem*, 39, 46. For the proliferation of markets in the thirteenth century, the majority being village markets, see RH Hilton. "Medieval Market Towns and Simple Commodity Production", *Past and Present* 109 (1985), 3-23; and for c. 25 small town markets established in the region in the thirteenth century, in response partly to increased demand for manufactured goods by agricultural producers, see *idem*, "Small Town Society in England Before the Black Death", in *idem*, *Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism* (2nd edn London 1990), 19-40, at p 21; see also *idem*, "Lords, Burgesses and Hucksters", *ibidem*, 121-31.
21. Slater, "Urban Genesis", 187-8. For the emergence of markets in the pre-Conquest period at significant places, see RH Hilton, *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford 1975), 91 sq. Upton market was later : see note 29, below. Tewkesbury was on the east bank of the river, but readily accessible from Hanley by water.
22. See Slater, "Urban Genesis", 188, for a discussion of such market places.
23. See HWC 05821, 05822 for two cruck framed cottages; there are at least three others which are on the face of it seventeenth century but possibly on earlier sites.
24. CC Taylor, *Roads and Tracks of Britain* (London 1979) 131: the main route to London at Royston was widened to produce a "cigar-shaped" market place in the twelfth century.
25. W Stubbs, *Select Charters* (9th edn, HWC Davis ed) (Oxford 1948) 463-9.
26. Hurlle, *Hanley Castle*, 31; see also RE Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word List from British and Irish Sources* (London 1965), s.v. **cumba*.
27. For separate markets for particular commodities, see E Miller and J Hatcher, *Medieval England - Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348* (London 1978), 75. For the influence of markets on the peasant economy, see K Biddick, "Medieval English Peasants and Market Involvement", *J Econ Hist* 45 (1985), 823-31. For the "highly efficient market strategies of potters ----- those low status artisans", see R Hodges, *Primitive and Peasant Markets* (Oxford 1988), 136.
28. *VCH Worcs* 4, 193. For burgesses free of market tolls, see CC Dyer, "The Hidden Trade of the Middle Ages : Evidence from the West Midlands", *J Hist Geog* 18 (1992), 141-57, at p 145.
29. *VCH Worcs* 4, 213: there seems to be no direct evidence of either market or borough at Upton before the fifteenth century, but the 1275 Subsidy Roll shows seventy seven tenants paying £14 11s, rather like Hanley, which had seventy tenants paying £13 16s 6d. The market is mentioned in the 1416 IPM.
30. Miller and Thatcher, *Rural Society*, 77 : in practice "distances between markets ranged from about one mile up to about seven miles". See also Hodges, *Primitive Markets*, 138; and J Masschaele, "Market Rights in Thirteenth Century England", *Eng Hist R* 107 (1992), 78-89.
31. Aston, *Interpreting*, 45. For the tendency of magnates, for various reasons, to use the larger markets, see CC Dyer, "The Consumer and the Market in the Later Middle Ages", *Econ Hist R*

2nd Series 42 (1989), 305-26, at pp 306 sq; and for a "hierarchy of markets", see *idem* "Hidden Trade", 146. Tewkesbury market was established in the late eleventh century, along with the borough (*VCH Gloucs*, vol 8, 110), and must have always had some impact on Hanley market.

32. *VCH Worcs* vol 4, 94: the castle is said to have been finally cleared in 1795 (ch IV below). The paths are still shown on OS maps, e.g. 1:25000 (revised for selected changes, 1993).

33. Taylor, *Roads and Tracks*, Intro p xi : "with the exception of the properly engineered Roman roads, all roads and tracks in use before the eighteenth century had no proper surface". But for Saxon metalling recently discovered at Hereford, see R Shoesmith and R Stone, "Burials at Hereford Cathedral", *Current Archaeology* 142 (1995), 400-405.

34. BK Roberts, "Village Forms in Warwickshire ; a Preliminary Discussion" in Slater and Jarvis eds, *Field and Forest*, 125-146, at pp 134-5; the author poses the question of a link between the processes by which some vill[s] [or parts of them?] grew while others declined.

35. *Pipe Roll 12 Hen II* (Pipe Roll Soc 9, 1888), 82; *Dialogus de Scaccario* in DC Douglas and G Greenway eds, *English Historical Documents II (1042-1189)* (2nd edn London 1981), 523-609, at p 563.

36. For the arable of a small community being absorbed into the field system of a larger settlement, see HSA Fox, "Approaches to the Adoption of the Midland System" in T Rowley ed, *The Origins of Open Field Agriculture* (London 1981), 64-111, at p 89.

37. D Hall, "Field Work and Field Books: Studies in Early Layout" in *British Archaeological Reports* 185 (1983), 115-131.

38. I owe the interpretation of *Elynge* and *Le Gorde* to Dr M Gelling (pers comm).

39. *Cal Memoranda Rolls 1326-7* (HMSO 1968) 2120, 2243; Roger de Parys had worked at Hanley from June 1324 to September 1326, as one of several king's carters employed on works at the castle during that period. He had himself sold land in Burleyfield in 1331 (L26), and it would appear that he had married and taken land in Hanley when his employment finished.

40. See Smith, *Malvern*, 194 for a ferry and wharf at the Rhydd in the nineteenth century. In 1307 Simon le Passeur (sc. the ferryman) was granted one third of a ferry across the Severn with appurtenances in Upton and Hanley (Feet of Fines, Worcs, 1 Edward II, No 3, 259, File 14, as quoted in *VCH* researchers' notes); this however was probably the ferry at Hanley Quay. For the Rhydd ferry see also *VCH Worcs* 4, 124.

41. Smith, *Malvern*, 14; Gelling, *Place-Names*, 79.

42. *Hundred Rolls* (Rec Comm) vol 2, 283; Smith, *Malvern*, 36.

43. For the location of hundred meeting places on boundaries, and often near a main road or river crossing, see M Gelling, *Signposts to the Past* (2nd edn, London 1988), 209-214.

44. There are documents from the seventeenth century referring to the Rhydd in Parcel 6 of the main Lechmere collection (HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134), and some from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Parcel 7 and *passim*. More of the putative medieval settlement might be seen from the air, but specific aerial reconnaissance has not been carried out in this area of the Severn valley: see G Webster and B Hoble, "Aerial Reconnaissance over the Warwickshire Avon", *Arch J* 121 (1964), 1-21.

45. For the survival of "Celtic and pre-Celtic" river names, see Gelling, *Signposts*, 90.

46. For an account of the tradition of the Lechmere provenance, see EP Shirley, *Hanley and the House of Lechmere* (London 1883), 9 and footnote. See also Chapter III below, for discussion of

the Lechmere family.

47. *VCH Worcs* 4, 90-93, contains a comprehensive account of the building, with photograph and plan; see also Pevsner, *Worcestershire*, 188.

48. HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134/9.

49. HWCRO BA 5018 Ref 004.00801.

50. Hurle, *Hanley Castle*, 125, 134.

51. D Hall, "Field Systems and Township Structure" in Aston, Austin, Dyer eds, *Rural Settlements*, 191-205. at pp 193-4.

52. 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* 3rd series, 14 (1994), 115-128, at p 125.

53. IPR Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (2nd edn, Leicester 1972), 116-7; Hooke, *Worcestershire Charter Bounds*, 177-230; GB Grundy, "Saxon Charters of Worcestershire", *Trans Birmingham Arch Soc* 53 (1928) *passim*; *ibidem* 52 (1927) *passim*; W de G Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum* (London 1893) vol 3, 585 : Birch reads half a mansus for Horton.

54. *Festa de Nevill* (Rec Comm 1807), 43 : Hanley is referred to as a member of Pershore hundred in 1210-12; see also *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 2. In 1275 a jury of Pershore hundred presented Thomas Toky, constable of Hanley, who had arrested John de la Lode de Powyk to question him about the loss of the earl of Leicester's treasure in Powick, and had imprisoned him in the castle at Hanley; as a result of this incarceration he had died and been buried without the view of the coroner : Ass Roll 1026 m 41 (3 Ed I), quoted in *VCH* researchers' notes (HWCRO BA 527 Ref 899.44 26). The coroner however, according to the Customary, had no jurisdiction in Hanley.

55. e.g. Finberg, Grundy, Hooke (note 53, above). For Horton in Hampton Lovett (in Halfshire hundred) see *VCH Worcs* vol 3, 165; for another Horton, near Bromyard, see *idem* vol 2, 144.

56. M Gelling, "Towards a Chronology of English Place Names" in D Hooke ed, *Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (Blackwell Oxford 1988), 62. The reference to Horton in 1724 is in HWCRO BA 2411 Ref 705.134 13.

57. Pershore hundred contained the following to the west of the Severn: Leigh, Powick, Mathon, Hanley, Castlemorton, Birtsmorton, Longdon, Bushley, Staunton, Eldersfield, Chaceley; Upton was in Oswaldslo until 1760, when it was transferred to Pershore. See *VCH Worcs* 4, 1-3.

58. I am grateful to Professor CC Dyer who confirmed the presence of a moat at **Horton**, which had been noted during fieldwork; it is represented by a dip in the north-south path past the farm, where the path crosses the partly-filled moat; the moat line then turns south towards Roberts End Street. The present farm house is set well back from the road, a feature of high status houses. The water source for the moat is not apparent, but there are wells in the field to the north of the farm suggesting an accessible water table; or the moat may have been dry. For the moat at **Hanley Hall**, see Chapter III below, note 155. The moat at **Aylers End** has been known for some time and is shown on the early Ordnance Survey maps; it may mark the site of a house for the keeper of Blackmore Park.

59. H Maynard, "The Use of the Place Name Elements mor and mersc in the Avon Valley", *Trans B'ham and Warks Arch Soc* 86 (1974), 80-4; Gelling, *Place-Names*, 53-6.

60. RR Darlington ed, *The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory* (Pipe Roll Society 1968), 25 (No 38).

61. *Rot Lit Claus* (Rec Comm), vol 2, 150.
62. *Pipe Roll I John* (Pipe Roll Society ns 10, 1933) 37: the figure of 130 acres assumes a mixture of grain sold at an average price of 2s 4d per quarter, and an average yield of 1.6 quarters per acre : see Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 58, 66, 101, 113, 210.
63. The mill is recorded in HWCRO BA 1751 Ref 705.295b/8; the possible site is at SO 807438. The dovecote is recorded in HWCRO BA 1531 ref 705.134/77.
64. For a discussion of the high farming era, with its increased demesne acreages and increased demand for labour, see E Miller and J Hatcher, *Medieval England : Rural Society and Economic Change, 1086 - 1348* (London 1978), 213-24.
65. Smith, *Malvern*, 32, writes that there was a house at Blackmore by 1280, when its park consisted of 40 acres. but I cannot find the evidence for this. The enclosure is at SO 797433 : RCHM AP 7943/1. Coton is at SO 782427 and Danemoor at SO 796413. There are six taxpayers called Le Denys or Daneys in the 1327 Subsidy Roll for Worcestershire, but none in or near Hanley; the editor writes of a possible Danish colony (Intro xiii).
66. *Cal Close 1476-85*, 648 (Swynnesley).
67. For a discussion of woodland field systems in the west Midlands, see BK Roberts, "Field Systems of the West Midlands" in ARII Baker and RA Butlin eds, *Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles* (Cambridge 1973), 188-231; for field systems belonging to woodland hamlets, see R Hebden, "The Development of the Settlement Pattern and Farming in the Shenstone area prior to the Enclosure Movement", *Trans Lichfield and S Staffs Arch and Hist Soc* 3 (1961-2), 27-39; see also CC Taylor, "Whiteparish : a Study of the Development of a Forest-edge Parish", *Wiltshire Arch Magazine* 62 (1967), 79-102.
68. A working assumption is that the land bought and sold in the deeds is free land, but that either villeins or free men could be involved as parties. Court rolls or other relevant manorial records would be needed to show with certainty that villein land came on to the market. See also MM Postan, "The Charters of the Villeins" in *idem Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy* (Cambridge 1973), 107-149.
69. HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134 20 and 40.
70. For a discussion of ways in which such changes and developments might be instigated or pursued, see PDA Harvey, "Initiative and Authority in Settlement Change" in Aston, Austin, Dyer eds, *Rural Settlements*, 31-43. See also CC Dyer, "Power and Conflict in the Medieval Village" in Hooke, *Medieval Villages*, 27-32: and for lords "playing a relatively passive role" in piecemeal assarting. see *idem*, " 'The Retreat from Marginal Land' : the Growth and Decline of Medieval Rural Settlements" in Aston, Austin, Dyer eds, *Rural Settlements*, 45-57, at p 49. At Blackmore however, where a second demesne was set up, there must have been seigneurial planning.
71. Although we have no direct evidence for Hanley population at this period, there was a 30% increase on the bishop's manors between 1086 and 1170: CC Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society : the Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester 680-1540* (Cambridge 1980), 85-6.
72. Hurlle, *Hanley Castle*, 157 8; *VCH Worcs* 4, 93. The detailed history of the Hornyold houses at Blackmore has not yet been attempted. From the mid-sixteenth century, having made it their manorial centre, the Hornyolds revived the immediate Blackmore area.
73. *Pipe Roll 12 Hen II* (Pipe Roll Society 9, 1888), 82; *Pipe Roll 12 John* (Pipe Roll Society ns 26, 1949), 171.
74. DM Stenton ed, *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre, Worcestershire, 1221* (Selden Society 53, 1934), 1076.

75. *Testa de Nevill*, vol 1, 43.
76. See Smith, *Malvern*, 93-4, for theories about the foundation of Little Malvern Priory. The land is mentioned in L25 and L179. For the gifts of Lire to Little Malvern, see chapter IV below and *VCH Worcs* 4, 100.
77. HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134/40.
78. This is the only hint that ropers lived in Hanley, yet they must have worked in the woodland, as they did until recently in the Wyre forest, for example; the inner bark of the [small-leaved] lime was used to make ropes. See J Birrell, "Peasant Craftsmen in the Medieval Forest", *Agr Hist R* 17 (1969), 91-107.
79. HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134/31 contains a book of vicarage terriers, the earliest dated to 1545, in which Sertes is given among the parcels of land for great tithes due to the vicarage. The vicarage was probably appointed in 1236 (see Chapter IV below); it is likely then that Sertes was available for tithe in the early thirteenth century.
80. Part of Isaac Taylor's map is reproduced in Hurle, *Hanley Castle*, 132.
81. CC Dyer, "The West Midlands" in J Thirsk ed, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol 2 (1042-1350) (Cambridge 1988), ch 3, at pp 228 sq : of 349 assarts in Feckenham forest in the late thirteenth century, 158 were less than one acre.
82. HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134/54 and /25; the cottage mentioned is at SO 814438 (HWCM 05825).
83. Birmingham Reference Library, 335600 DV293.
84. BK Roberts, "A Study of Medieval Colonization in the Forest of Arden", *Agr Hist R* 16 (1968), 101-113. For a brief summary of archaeological progress on moated sites, see JM Steane, *The Archaeology of Medieval England and Wales* (London 1985), 58-61. For a distribution map of moated sites in the region, see Roberts, *Rural Settlement*, 172. For strong lordship, see Introduction, note 30 above.
85. *Pipe Roll 12 John* (Pipe Roll Society ns 26, 1949), 169. It is still called Hills Farm on the 6" OS Map of 1885.
86. Cambridge University Collection, CQG 39, 41, 44 (centring SO 821427); Dyer, "Retreat", 49.
87. H Hall ed, *Red Book of the Exchequer* (HMSO 1896), 656.
88. *Cal Close 1476-85*, 649.
89. HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134/31.
90. For "interrupted rows" see CC Dyer, "Dispersed Settlements in Medieval England: a Case Study of Pendock, Worcestershire", *Med Arch* 34 (1990), 97-121, at p 111. For the nature and size of crofts and tofts, see G Astill, "Rural Settlement : the Toft and the Croft" in G Astill and A Grant eds, *The Countryside of Medieval England* (Oxford 1988), 36-61, at p 50.
91. I am grateful to Professor CC Dyer for observations on the house platform (at SO 822428), and to Mr JD Hurst for the dating of the pottery.
92. HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134/77 contains the rental; the 1479-80 account shows under exitus manerij that it was the Woodward family who paid the cumin, by this time commuted to 3d

93. See Roberts, *Rural Settlement*, 139 sq, for comments on "crofts, tofts and building lines" and "the presence of obvious order".
94. RCHM 4322/106G/UK/1652. For back lanes as part of a village plan, see BK Roberts, *Village Plans* (Aylesbury 1982), Fig 1.
95. e.g. Roger Frewen de Forthey and another granted a tenement in Church End in 1523 to ten school trustees, who included William, Richard, Thomas and another Roger Frewen : HWCRO BA 6097 Ref 250.6.
96. CC Dyer, *Warwickshire Farming, 1349- c. 1520 : Preparations for Agricultural Revolution* (Dugdale Society Occasional Paper 27 (1981), passim).
97. Hurst, "Medieval Ceramic Production Site", 120-4. The meaning of the name Forthey is discussed at length in A Mawer and FM Stenton, *The Place Names of Worcestershire* (Cambridge 1927), 202-4, s.v. Forty Green. But despite their arguments, the terrain does not lend itself to the interpretation of a peninsula of land (OE eg) standing out from (OE forð) marshy or low lying ground. The earliest forms (e.g. L112), although relatively late (1462), seem to show that the second element is haga (Forthey, cp. Cliffhey), suggesting an early piece of enclosed woodland which may well have been useful to the potters, and perhaps partly cleared by them for fuel and then for agriculture.
98. P Coss, *Lordship, Knighthood and Locality* (Cambridge 1991), 131 : the author notes that in the Coventry area the land market spread down to include smaller free tenants in the thirteenth century; the same is probably true of Hanley, although the documentary evidence is mostly rather later. See also PDA Harvey *The Peasant Land Market in Medieval England* (Oxford 1984) Intro, passim; J Williamson, "Norfolk : Thirteenth Century", ibidem 31-105, at p 104, for the use of the market by smaller tenants "to adjust their holding size to economic realities under the pressure of population increase"; T Lomas, "South East Durham : Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", ibidem 253-327, at pp 279 sq, for the complexities of land holding on the bishop of Durham's manors and others in that area, especially the apparent paradox of personally free tenants holding by unfree tenure; some in Hanley were in this situation, like Adam de Lechmere mentioned above, although Adam le Yep evidently drowned himself in the river in 1293 rather than accept land in Hanley to be held in villeinage : JW Willis Bund ed, *IPMs for County of Worcester*, Pt I (WHS 1894), 47-8.
99. HWCRO 05815 (Horton Manor Farm), 05823 (Ivy House), 05814 (Chance Flowers).
100. E Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Place Names* (3rd Edn Oxford 1951), 348 (s.v. Pickenham).
101. Pykestret in BL Add Ch 73672, Picken Street in school terrier (HWCRO BA 6097 Ref 250.6).
102. The late fifteenth century accounts show that it was difficult to lease tenant and demesne land, throughout the manor.
103. HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134/25.
104. HWCRO 05811 (Quakers Farm); for a note on Quakers in Hanley in the early eighteenth century, see Hurle, *Hanley Castle*, 58-9.
105. The cottages are at SO 815426.
106. RB Patterson, *Farldom of Gloucester Charters : the Charters and Scribes of the Earls and Countesses of Gloucester to AD 1217* (Oxford 1973), 48.
107. *Pipe Roll 22 Hen II* (Pipe Roll Society 25, 1904), 39.

108. The site of the mill was surveyed by the South Worcestershire Archaeological Group in 1990 : Mrs M Lloyd (pers comm).
109. HWCRO BA 2411 Ref 705.134 (Turners Mill); the dilapidated buildings survive.
110. Stenton, *Rolls*, 1077.
111. Woodward's Ground at SO 822421; I am grateful to Mr JD Hurst for the dating of the pottery.
112. I am grateful to Professor CC Dyer, who pointed out the disused hollow way.
113. HWCRO 05813 (Gilberts End Farm).
114. For arguments that settlements based on clearings in the woodland tend to be "street villages" see Hebden, "Shenstone", 30.
115. HWCRO BA 2411 Ref 705.134/20 (Hanley Hall estate lease).
116. BK Roberts, *The Making of the English Village : a Study in Historical Geography* (London 1987). 198; P Warner, *Green Commons and Clayland Colonization : the Origins and Development of Greenside Settlements in E Suffolk* (University of Leicester Dept of English Local History, Occasional Paper 4th series, No 2 (Leicester 1987).
117. HWCRO 05804 (Northfield Farm).
118. HWCRO 05805 (Northend Farm).
119. HWCRO BA 2411 Ref 705.134 7, HWCRO 05808 (Merevale Farm).
120. Northend Green is not named as such until 1551 in the extant documents (HWCRO BA 1531 Ref 705.134 59).
121. HWCRO BA 5018 Ref 004.00801 56 and /114.
122. I owe to Dr M Gelling (pers comm) the explanation of Delworhyn and Mordstowe. For a discussion of Coton and similar names, in the context of relationship to a borough, see CC Dyer, 'Towns and Cottages in Eleventh Century England' in idem ed, *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (London 1994), 241-55.
123. For a summary of archaeological work on dispersed settlements, see D Austin, "The Excavation of Dispersed Settlement in Medieval Britain" in Aston, Austin, Dyer eds, *Rural Settlements*, 231-46.
124. With various members of the family naming different areas, there is a possibility that land was being provided for elder sons, or even for brothers of the same generation. For the influence of inheritance in general, see R Faith, "Peasant Families and Inheritance Customs in Medieval England". *Agr Hist R* 14 (1966), 77-95.
125. For manors e.g. in Bedfordshire which had to build on their arable, see Brown and Taylor, *Origins*, 70 sq.
126. For the possible inhibiting effect of forests on assarting, see Dyer, "Retreat", 51-2. For assarting, ibidem, 54; and for the view that tenants were the more important force in such initiatives, see idem in Hooke, *Medieval Villages*, 27-32. For a history of assarting in a specific woodland area see B Schumer, *The Evolution of Wychwood to 1400 ; Pioneers , Frontiers and Forests* (University of Leicester Dept of English Local History, Occasional Paper 3rd series, No 6 (Leicester 1984).

127. Roberts, "Village Patterns", 21.
128. Aston, *Interpreting*, 90; CC Taylor, "Medieval Rural Settlement : Changing Perceptions", *Landscape History* 14 (1992), 5-18; see also Bond, "Medieval Oxfordshire Villages", 109, re the danger of tacit assumptions that settlement forms were static.
129. M Chisholm, *Rural Settlement and Land Use : an Essay in Location* (London 1979).
130. For a discussion of clues to settlement in the Subsidy Rolls, especially 1327, see Aston, "Somerset" 97, and *idem*, "A Regional Study of Deserted Settlements in the West of England" in Aston, Austin, Dyer eds, *Rural Settlements*, 105-128. The 1275 Subsidy Roll for Worcestershire is a fortunate survival, preserved in the Lechmere Collection.
131. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 109, for the calculations from the bishop's manors. Only the Subsidy Rolls of 1275 and 1327 give individual names and amounts for taxpayers in Hanley; the 1334 subsidy provides no similar information, being based on an assessment for the vill as a whole: see RE Glasscock ed, *The Lay Subsidy of 1334* (London 1975), 349. For population expansion in woodland areas (e.g. Stoneleigh, in Arden) between 1086 and 1279 see JB Harley, "Population Trends and Agricultural Developments from the Warwickshire Hundred Rolls of 1279", *Econ Hist R* 2nd series, 11 (1958-9), 11-18; the author found that while population "vigorously expanded" in Stoneleigh during that period, the population figures in the Feldon (e.g. Kineton) "were already fixed in a more stable relationship with the resources of the land".
132. BK Roberts, *Settlement, Land Use and Population in the Western Portion of the Forest of Arden, Warwickshire, between 1086 and 1350* (Unpublished Ph D thesis, University of Birmingham, 1965), ch 4. See also RH Hilton, *A Medieval Society : the West Midlands at the End of the Thirteenth Century* (London 1966), 143 and *idem* ed, EA Kosminsky, *Studies in the Agrarian History of England in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford 1956), 294 sq. The 1349 IPM reports that the potters are dead, but it is presumed that its figures for customary tenants are based on the manorial records which would not yet have been adjusted; the IPM was taken in early March, 1349.
133. I Kershaw, "The Great Famine and Agrarian Crisis in England 1315-22", *Past and Present* 59 (1973), 3-50; the author found that the Clare estates showed few signs of change in that period. See also Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 267. For early fourteenth century population fluctuations in Halesowen and Black Death casualties, see Z Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish : Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen 1270-1400* (Cambridge 1980), ch 2. For the short lived effect on population of the Black Death in the Clare bailiwick in East Anglia, see GA Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth Century England* (Cambridge 1957), 90-99. For a sceptical view of all medieval population estimates see MM Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society* (London 1972), ch 3; and for particular views on post-Black Death estimates in the context of "a tendency which began some thirty years before the Black Death", see *idem*, "Some Agrarian Evidence of Declining Population in the Later Middle Ages" in *idem*, *Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy* (Cambridge 1973), 186-213. For a recent overview of the demographic debate, see R Smith, "Human Resources" in Astill and Grant eds, *Countryside*, 188-212.
134. JML Bean, "Plague, Population and Economic Decline in England in the Later Middle Ages" *Econ Hist R*, 2nd series 15 (1962-3), 423-37, at p 432; we know nothing of outbreaks in Hanley, but there were "national" outbreaks in 1361, 1390 and 1400. For a survey of the population of the bishop's manors between 1348 and 1540, see Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 218-43; the outbreaks in the 1360s brought high mortality, which was probably also true of neighbouring manors like Hanley.
- 135 For recent observations on woodland economies, see CC Dyer, *Hanbury : Settlement and Society in a Woodland Landscape* (University of Leicester Dept of English Local History, Occasional Papers 4th series, No 4 Leicester 1991), 61-2. For emphasis on economic recovery after

the Black Death, see J Hatcher, "England in the Aftermath of the Black Death", *Past and Present* 144 (1994), 3-35.

136. For the archaeological evidence for a continuing pottery industry, see Hurst, "A Medieval Ceramic Production Site".

137. For the "obstinate longevity" of manors with substantial free tenure, see Dyer, "Retreat", 52-3.

138. For late fifteenth century recovery, see Bean, *Plague*. For the parish returns, see G Miller, *The Parishes of the Diocese of Worcester* (Birmingham 1890), vol 2, 259.

139. *VCH Worcs*, vol 4, 93, 471.