

Valley on the March



The Hindwell Valley from Rodd Bridge to Knill, with Radnor Forest at right top corner

Valley on the March

A HISTORY OF A GROUP OF MANORS
ON THE HEREFORDSHIRE MARCH
OF WALES

Lord Rennell of Rodd



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LONDON
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

NEW YORK TORONTO

1958

Oxford University Press, Amen House, London E.C.4

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BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI KUALA LUMPUR

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

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*To the
Memory of
my Father*

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List of Principal Abbreviations used in the Text and Footnotes

- D.B. Domesday Book. Transcript of the Herefordshire survey in *V.C.H. Herefordshire*.
- B.D.B. *Herefordshire Domesday*, Pipe Roll Soc., Publication No. 25, New Series, edited by Galbraith and Tait, 1950.
- Cal. Cl. R.* *Calendar of Close Rolls*.
- Cal. Pat. R.* *Calendar of Patent Rolls*.
- C.P.C. Canterbury Prerogative Court.
- C.Y.S. Canterbury and York Society.
- B.M. Addl. MS. British Museum: additional manuscripts.
- Harl. Harleian MS. in British Museum.
- F.F. *Feet of Fines*.
- f. and ff. Folio(s).
- I.P.M. *Inquisitio(nes) Post Mortem*.
- L.P. *Letters Patent*.
- P.R.O. Public Record Office.
- T.R.E. 'Tempore Regis Edwardi' (the Confessor): a Domesday abbreviation.
- R.C.H.M. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: *Herefordshire*, vols. i, ii, and iii. H.M. Stationery Office, 1931, 1932, 1934.
- V.C.H.* *Victoria County History of Herefordshire*, vol. i, 1908.
- Trs. Rad. Soc.* *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*.
- Woolhope* *Transactions of the Woolhope Club, Hereford*.
- Duncumb: &c. Duncumb's *History of Herefordshire*, vols. i and ii; and the later additions to the first two volumes by various authors dealing with separate hundreds and published after Duncumb's death, e.g. 'Duncumb i or ii', or 'Duncumb: Grimsworth (hundred)'.
- Ekwall E. Ekwall: *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names*, Clarendon Press, 2nd edition, 1940.
- Robinson, *Castles*, &c. C. J. Robinson, *A History of the Castles of Herefordshire*, James Hull, Hightown, Hereford, 1869.
- Robinson, *Mansions*, &c. C. J. Robinson, *A History of the Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire*, James Hull, Hightown, Hereford, 1873.
- Rowse A. L. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth*, Macmillan, 1951.



Introduction

THIS book began as a series of notes, and, later, articles, about the countryside where I live and where my ancestors lived for several centuries. It is concerned with a valley which runs into England across Offa's Dyke on the Middle March of Wales. I thought when I began that there were few records or documents for so remote an area and that most of my material would have to be found in local tradition and topography. I hoped that I could put together for the benefit of my friends, my neighbours, and my family all that there was to be written in a short time and a small compass. How wrong I was! As my searches progressed I found myself involved in the tangled web of pre- and post-Domesday manors, fields and field shapes, medieval rolls and records, Elizabethan taxation, and Civil War disputes. The material proved so abundant, especially for the eighteenth century, that my notes became a book and I had to call a halt with the reign of Queen Anne. Even so, I have been unable to use all the material I have, and it still keeps on coming in.

The outcome is a volume of local, but still very local, history which a number of historians and specialists who have seen the draft or excerpts have urged me to publish.

It is perhaps true that local histories, especially in their relation to geography and topography, written by people who have the advantage of close association with land and lore, can serve as raw material for those who have encouraged me so much to do this work. Anyway, I am very grateful to them for the pleasure it has given me over a period of nearly ten years in such leisure as I have had. I hope that the data and references I have collected may save historians who paint on a wider canvas than I, the trouble of collecting

detail and sieving, or, as we would say in the country, riddling it for their own purposes.

Much of the compilation and writing has been done in the course of travel by sea and air. It was begun one late rough autumn on a tramp steamer in the North Atlantic: it was finished in the air over the Northern Pacific. Although I can say, as my father wrote:

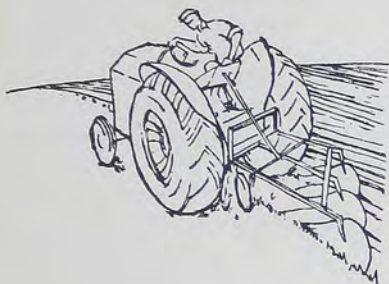
I have drunk the everlasting fountains
Flowing downward from the infinite to me,
Seen the magic of the moonrise in the mountains
And the glory of the sunset on the sea,

I always yearn when I am away to return to the home of my ancestors in this quiet valley on the March where the purpose and continuity of human life on the land for a thousand years are so pleasant and rewarding.

My thanks for their help, often unconsciously rendered, go first and foremost to my friends: the men who work on my farm, and to my neighbours. Without their memory and knowledge this book would never have been written. Much of the most arduous work of research was done for me by Miss Edith Scroggs of the Public Record Office, and Mr. W. H. Howse, F.S.A., of Presteigne: they have gone on contributing material long after I thought the text was finished. I am particularly grateful to them, as I am to Mr. A. L. Rowse of All Souls and Professor R. F. Treharne of Aberystwyth for their help, guidance, and encouragement.

I am indebted to the Director General of the Ordnance Survey for permission to use maps prepared by the Royal Geographical Society based on Ordnance Survey material. The map of the two north-western Domesday Hundreds of the county, based on an early Ordnance Survey sheet first appeared in the Centenary volume of the Woolhope Club of Hereford in an article on the identification and distribution of Domesday manors: I am grateful to this old-established

field society for permission to use it. The maps (Fig. 1) on p. 53 are reproduced by kind permission of the authors of *The Domesday Geography of Midland England* and the Cambridge University Press. The air-photographs were made for me by my friends Hunting Air Surveys Ltd. Most of the other illustrations were made by my son-in-law, Michael Dunne: the vignettes are by his wife, my daughter.



RENNELL
The Rodd
July
1958

CHAPTER I

Of the Land and Landscape

ABOUT half-way between the Dee and Severn estuaries on a line from Chester to Cardiff lies the high ground of Clun and Radnor Forests rising to over 2,000 feet. They are not forests in the sense of ever having been deep woodland like Arden or Wychwood. They are high open moorland, easy to cross for active men on foot or horse, but wild and bleak and thinly peopled. The northern boundary of this high land is the Severn Valley which divides it from Berwyn: the southern edge is the Wye Valley which divides it from Mynydd Eppynt and the Brecon Mountains: and, as everyone knows, the Severn and Wye rise near each other on either side of Plynlimon which looks down on the Cardigan coast near Aberystwyth. The eastern slopes of Radnor and Clun Forests are the Middle March of Wales.

The two great highways into, or what is historically more important, out of, this part of Wales are guarded by Shrewsbury on the Severn and Hereford on the Wye when the two rivers have spilled out of the hills into the Western Plain of England. Between them, the Teme Valley runs down from Clun Forest and is held by Ludlow. The fortresses of Shrewsbury, Ludlow, and Hereford are woven into the history of the March of Wales, and the history of the Welsh March cannot be separated from the story of the kingdom of England for five hundred years.

The three fortresses covered the middle reaches of the main valleys. West of them in the smaller valleys before they forsake the foothills lay advanced posts with their castles in the uncertain military territories which were the frontier districts of western England since the end of the Roman era through the dark centuries to the Norman Conquest, and then on through the Middle Ages to the epoch of the Tudors who finally subdued the March.

Even today there are no main highways over the high

land of Brecon and Radnor to the western sea, except one modern road from Presteigne and New Radnor to Aberystwyth which climbs over high ground in its rambling passage. There is not a single east-west railway line through central Wales. West of Presteigne and New Radnor, or more precisely just west of Builth on the Upper Wye and Rhayader on the Aberystwyth road, is an expanse of some three hundred square miles of highland without a road fit for wheeled traffic. North-south roads along the March itself there are, but they are few and steep, for they climb over the watersheds between the eastward-flowing rivers.

The smaller Clun and the Lugg rivers, like the greater Teme, with their tributaries, also flow towards England out of the hills of the Middle March. They are the lesser passes from Wales to the Western Plain and were much used by raid and counter-raid. The focal or strategic points of these lesser ways, the outposts of the great fortresses, were the castles and towns of Knucklas, Clun, Knighton, Presteigne, Old Radnor, and Kington. These, with Ludlow, were the western defences of the Middle March. Of their wars and battles, and of the intrigues of their lords is woven much of the fabric of English kingship from William the Norman, till Henry Tudor broke the power of the lords at Bosworth and forged the United Kingdom.

This book is about one of these lesser valleys of the March. It is not a famous valley. It did not produce famous people. No epoch-making events took place in it, though it had its part in many. It did not provide any more lasting monument than it still displays: the persistence of rural life over a thousand years with the same recognizable structure and foundation which it had before the Norman Conquest.

This is not a textbook of history or of geography. It is simply an account of the continuity of people in a small area of England and of the families, in particular of the Rodd family and its neighbours, who lived in the valley for many centuries. No moral is intended and no lessons are to be drawn from what is written, except perhaps that after a thousand years of farming the land is more fertile than ever before.

This product of some research and observation on the

spot has been set down in the hope that further local studies may be undertaken in other parts of England and Wales where the same evidence of continuity must exist in records, human memory, and above all in the shape and structure of the land. For the study of geography and topography can, as is well known, contribute a great deal to history, both where written records are available and even in the absence of written or archaeological information. But without detailed local knowledge of fields, hedges, paths, even trees and soil, a great deal of historical information may be missed by students who have not the opportunities which a farmer in the course of his daily work can glean. The reason why fields lie in a particular way, why hedges occur where they do, why paths run and trees stand as they do, why some things grow here but not there, can rarely be appreciated without an intimate knowledge of the land. When this knowledge is available, a wealth of new historical data can be fitted in with other scraps of knowledge. Such very detailed and local information can, however, rarely be obtained without living on the land and for choice cultivating it, or seeing to its use. It can obviously never be acquired about a very large area. A study like the present one must therefore inevitably be very local and by the nature of things must, perhaps ought to, become both detailed and personal. What is here written may seem unduly subjective to those living in the world of pure research. If no apology for this is possible, it is only right to warn the reader about the quality of this book and the sort of facts it thus contains.

The valley of this book is today called the Hindwell Valley. On eighteenth-century and earlier maps the brook which flows down it, more or less from west to east, was called by the more attractive and obviously earlier name of Waddel or Waddle. The Hindwell, as it is proposed to call it in order to avoid deliberate archaism, flows into the Lugg which rises in the hills behind Presteigne, itself just in Radnorshire; and the Lugg in due course joins the Wye not far from Hereford. Both the Hindwell and Lugg Valleys are passes from Wales into England. At the upper end of the narrow flat-bottomed Hindwell Valley is the Radnor basin lying under the mass of Radnor Forest over one spur of

which runs the way to Penybont in the Ithon Valley and to Builth on the Wye. The road climbs up a cwm containing the settlement of Llanfihangel nant Melan, a little beyond which passing over high cols it forks to these two places. Although the passes over this spur of Radnor Forest are well over 1,200 feet, the track by Llanfihangel nant Melan is nevertheless an old one, for there is no lower way. At the col on the Penybont fork of the road is the Tomen, a ditched tump on one side of the road and an earthwork on a hillock on the other side. The main element of the Tomen looks Norman, but there are outworks which look older. Either, or both the works, may have been a Roman or even pre-Roman outpost on the pass: it is a site which could well have been occupied from very early days. The view from it is exhilarating.

The cwm which comes down from Radnor Forest by way of Llanfihangel nant Melan carries the Summergil brook. At New Radnor the cwm opens into the Radnor basin—an undulating and well-cultivated plain, crossed by the Summergil and the Knobley brooks which also flow down from Radnor Forest. Towards the eastern edge of the basin just north of Walton cross-roads the Summergil and Knobley brooks disappear in a dry watercourse and their names are lost. A few hundred yards away, however, at Hindwell Farm is born the Hindwell brook out of a pond and neighbouring springs. There is no doubt that the water of the Hindwell is Summergil and Knobley water from the south-western slopes of Radnor Forest, for the Radnor basin is a great gravel soakaway, the old bottom of a glacier lake. In spite of lying in the 35-inch rainbelt,¹ the Radnor basin farms in a dry summer are hard put to find water for their stock. Their fields dry out over the gravel and the often shallow surface soil gets parched. The gravel bottom and light topsoil are important historically: they account for the long permanent settlement of the district.

By the time of the last glacial age, many of the main valleys of the Welsh hills along the March had already been formed; but the ice cap of central Wales which covered the country from Plynlimon to Radnor deformed or transformed them

¹ As compared with, say, 28 inches for central Herefordshire.



Knill water meadows and the cwm under Herrock Hill

by the flow and retreat of the eastern glaciers of the ice cap. One such eastward-flowing glacier came down the Llanfihangel nant Melan cwm and filled the New Radnor basin to a depth of 1,000 to 1,700 feet above sea-level, overtopping in other words the hills which bound the eastern and southern sides of the plain. Another, but separate, glacier born from the same ice cap descended the Lugg Valley; a third one, and the biggest, flowed down the Arrow Valley over Kington and on towards Leominster. In its flow it created, and in its retreat it left, a lateral moraine along the hills north of Kington, by Staunton-on-Arrow and Aymes-trey as far as the great terminal moraine at Orleton, which blocked the old channel of the Teme and diverted it northwards. South of Orleton, the old Teme channel is now occupied by the Lower Lugg at and beyond Leominster.

The lateral moraine of the Arrow Valley glacier is believed by some to have been responsible for blocking the Radnor basin at the Gore pass and creating a lake where Walton now stands on its gravel bottom. The overflowing lake as the ice melted on Radnor Forest eventually cut a gap in the basin rim at Knill between Knill Garraway and Burfa Hill, joining the lake waters to the Hindwell Valley which provided its main overflow channel to the Lugg system downstream of Presteigne.

The Lugg glacier and subsequent system were in their turn diverted by the same lateral moraine of the Arrow Valley glacier at Woodhouse bank near Shobdon. Another lake was formed east of Presteigne of which Byton bog survives today as evidence. The melting waters of the ice cap raised the level of the Lugg lake at Byton till it cut a spill-way through the hills by the narrow gorge of Kinsham to the Wigmore Lake basin, from which it debouches at Mortimer's Cross into what was the old Teme Valley drainage channel in the Leominster plain. Prior to the creation of the lateral moraine which blocked the Lugg at Woodhouse bank, this river left the hills west of Shobdon and joined the old Teme channel round about Kingsland and Leominster. The old course of the Hindwell Valley was also blocked by this terminal moraine between Wapley and Rodd Hurst, north of Titley where the Kington-Presteigne road

and railway cross the bank which barred the old channel to the Arrow near Staunton-on-Arrow. Evidence of the great lateral moraine of the Arrow glacier can be seen in numerous erratic blocks from the characteristic igneous rock of Hanter and Stanner west of Kington, and by the typical tumbled moraine country with groups of small lakes and ponds near Titley, Staunton-on-Arrow, and Shobdon.

This, at any rate, is the geologists' account of what happened in this interesting area, and in the main it is certainly true.¹ Nevertheless, local knowledge suggests that the ridge at the Gore pass between Kington and Walton in the Radnor basin is not part of the lateral moraine. It appears rather to be a partially formed spill-way over a rocky ridge of harder rock than the one which the waters of the Radnor glacier eventually cut between Knill Garraway and Burfa to join up the Hindwell Valley and the Llanfihangel nant Melan glacier system. Moreover, the bank at Wapley may be a terminal or lateral moraine of the Hindwell Valley ice as well as part of the Arrow Valley lateral moraine.

This is perhaps not so important as is the fact that all these valleys show evidence of having been glacier lake bottoms during various stages of retreat of the ice. They all, especially the Hindwell, contain small transverse barriers of morainic origin and material which at one time during the retreat of the ice and declining waterflow produced strings of local lakes and bogs. Some of these survive in name or fact. A farm fold at Knill in the fields of the cwm under Knill Garraway and Herrock is called Lakeside Buildings where arable and water meadows now are. Broadheath Common between Combe Bridge and Presteigne was evidently till recent times a swampy heathland; though now good arable it was still called La Hethe in the sixteenth century. Byton bog defeated the efforts of the agricultural drainage experts even in the crisis years of the 1840's and 1940's to remove the last surviving glacier lake of the system. Enough time geologically has not yet elapsed for the spill-way of the Lugg diverted by the Woodhouse bank at Byton

¹ Dwerryhouse and Austin Miller, 'The Glaciation of Clun Forest, Radnor Forest and Some Adjoining Districts', *Geological Journal*, 1930, vol. lxxxvi, p. 96.

into the Kinsham–Upper Ley gorge to be cut deep enough to drain the remnants of the glacier lake. Here and near Mortimer's Cross can be seen most characteristic moraine dams formed by the great lateral Kington–Orleton moraine. They constitute two of the most spectacular and clear examples one could wish to see of the glacial deformation of an old valley system.

In the Hindwell Valley itself, at the level of the Rodd settlement, is a bank of gravel on which The Rodd, Little Rodd, and Rodd Farmhouse stand, with the modern Kington–Presteigne road running just below them under the bank. The road crosses the Hindwell at Rodd Bridge where the river has scooped a passage through the gravel to a shelf of rock, once a ford before the road bridge was built. For over a mile above this point, as far as Nash Farm, the river has made for itself quite a deep, broad gully in the gravel lip of a small glacial lake. At Rodd Bridge, between the steep right bank and the north bank at Corton, the gully was broadened out to 350 yards and the stream fans out below Rodd Bridge ford into a sort of deltaic formation of leats and back brooks between water meadows. The various channels rejoin some three miles downstream, not far from the confluence of the Hindwell with the Lugg. The deltaic nature of the land is emphasized by the course of the Lugg where it debouches from the hills below Presteigne, running more or less parallel to the Hindwell delta streams for three miles.

There is an interesting parallel to the disappearance of the Summergeil water above the Hindwell pools in the existence just below The Rodd of two ponds fed by copious springs just west of the branch railway line from Titley to Presteigne and between the line and the Titley–Presteigne road. The springs which feed these ponds have nothing to do with the Hindwell: most of them are well above the level of the brook bed. The underground water which feeds these ponds was traced as a subterranean watercourse by two dowers in 1939 working quite independently of each other. They separately plotted the same course of this large water supply on a 24-inch Ordnance Survey sheet along a line running up the Hindwell Valley west of the Rodd houses. The

underground stream is evidently fed by the water collected in the Hindwell Valley basin independently of the Hindwell brook which has no tributaries from the steep hills either side as far west as the Herrock-Burfa gap beyond Knill. All the water from these hills disappears into the gravel soak-away of the valley bottom and flows as an underground stream.

These local physical features and the associated soil structures are of considerable historical importance. They have determined the location of settlements and, of course, also the run of roads and tracks. For, although it may be obvious when one thinks about it, one must never forget that early cultivation need not be looked for in what was marshy land, or on land liable to flood, or near the banks of meandering brooks which change their courses—and along all the flatter runs of the Hindwell are examples of abandoned meanders. In later times, the lie of land enabled the deltaic parts of the Hindwell and the Lugg between Presteigne and Kinsham to be used for splitting the streams into irrigation and drainage channels. Examples of these irrigation systems survive at Knill, at The Rodd, where they have been restored to use, and in the Combe area. But if in later centuries the vagaries of these streams could be put to use, in earlier days permanent cultivation was only possible on the higher banks of the valleys away from flood and marsh and changing channels. Hereabouts it is only on dry ground away from flood-level that early settlements and field systems need be sought, however tempting the fields of modern agriculture in the lower-lying ground drained by later generations may seem to be. Flood-free contours are a governing factor in seeking remains of early cultivation.

Unfortunately for the student, most maps are inadequate for this sort of study since even the 50-foot contours of the 6-inch Ordnance Survey are too widely spaced for use in detailed local determinations. Nevertheless, the shape of fields or groups of fields on the 6-inch and 24-inch Ordnance Survey sheets can, if taken in conjunction with the general lie of land and some grasp of the early technique of cultivation, give a *prima facie* indication of what may have taken place. It is important to remember in considering detailed

local topography that once a field has been 'made' for cultivation, or reclaimed from the forest, its original shape will tend to survive while extensions to it or from it can frequently be deduced. Persistent earthworking creates singularly indestructible features. They become very obvious when the difficulty of flattening even comparatively recent ridge and furrow land is experienced. Paths cut deep by traffic between fields persist as field boundaries long after they have ceased to be used as thoroughfares. The tremendous labour of digging banks away by hand means that it was rarely attempted: they survive until the bulldozer begins to operate. Hedges may decay or disappear, but the alignment of hedgerow trees and the banks on which they stood often persist. Very old hedge and ditch boundaries can frequently be distinguished from later hedges and ditches made to sub-divide the 'long fields' when the shorter horse plough teams superseded the three, four, and five yoke of oxen and made the shorter furrow length preferable to the two- and three-furlong field.

Agricultural characteristics depend mainly on the geology and physiography of the ground. What is characteristic of sandstone loams will not be applicable to clay lands, of the light soils of southern Herefordshire to the peaty lands of the Radnorshire foothills. The shape and extent of fields, their boundaries, and their relation to farmsteadings will depend much more—perhaps entirely—on topography and physiography than on the race and culture of the population. Geography and all that it implies has been too much neglected by archaeologists and especially by those anthropologists who have tried to relate agricultural technique mainly to cultures instead of to soil. One sort of soil and country may lend itself to changing and improving cultures imported by immigrants or evolved by natives: but another type of soil and topography will inevitably tolerate only one sort of farming technique, irrespective of the origin or background of the cultivator, or of later improvements imported by other races.

The settlements with which this book deals are all in valleys which have been subjected to geologically fairly recent glaciation. They mainly lie on gravel covered with

more or less deep loam—the sort of land that drains and dries easily, and does not lend itself to heavy forest cover. Both in the Radnor plain and the Hindwell Valley, the arable land lies on gravel on fairly flat valley bottoms with the brooks so incised as to preclude any but riparian flooding. The sides of the Hindwell Valley are steep. The rock of the hills both sides, and generally in the district, is Silurian shale except for igneous extrusions in small areas around Stanner Rocks and Hanter between the Hindwell and Arrow. There is an isolated outcrop of Aymestrey limestone at Nash Scar in the Hindwell which is agriculturally a blessing and important because it produces, and for long has provided, ground and burnt lime which Herefordshire generally lacks. It also gives adequate road stone, but not good building stone, because it will not dress or fracture conveniently: in consequence most of the local houses are made of more or less stratified and more or less hard shales which do not dress or weather particularly well. The igneous Hanter and Stanner rock quarried at Dolyhir and The Gore near Old Radnor and Kington is only useful for road stone. The tops of the hills on the south side of the Hindwell contain many small local quarries of thinly laminated shales which were worked to provide stone roofing slates. The quarries were accessible only by pack tracks along the top of the scarp at the 1,000-foot level about Little Brampton as far as Knill Garraway and Herrocks. As a result of the indifferent quality of local material, few of the houses in the district display good ashlar work. Such as can be seen, is for the most part of Devonian sandstone imported from eastern Herefordshire, most of which is composed of the pink rock and red earth of the Western Plain of Midland England.

A characteristic of the Hindwell Valley which has affected local settlement and agriculture very markedly is a belt of clay running along both sides of the valley at the 700-foot contour. The belt is particularly noticeable near Knill and then along the 600-foot contour from Little Brampton all the way to Combe, some miles east of Presteigne. The line coincides, and not by chance, with the lower level of the woods which fringe the cultivated land of the valley floor. The same phenomenon along the northern sides of the



Wapley Hill and, to right, Rodd Hurst bank

Hindwell Valley exists but is rather less striking. It is these belts of clay land which have determined the upper limits of cultivation on both sides of the valley. Neither earlier nor today has the farmer succeeded in conquering this cold and wet land. There is therefore every reason to suppose that the present woods are on the site of woods which have always existed and which for many centuries have restricted cultivation to land below the 500-600-foot contour. When the clay gives place to rock and peat towards the tops of the southern side of the valley, the hills become the bare, grassy moorland of the upland pastures and sheepwalks of Herrock, Rushock, Knill Garraway, and the other hills running east and west along the line of heights which concern this story. On the northern bank, forest covers and covered the tops. The same features are generally true of the Lugg Valley above and below Presteigne.

With the present area of cultivation in the Hindwell Valley thus sharply limited by woodland due to a well-marked geological feature engraved on the terrain, the pattern of agriculture, forest, and moorland of today is therefore substantially what it was. It is then possible to picture what the land looked like a thousand years ago. During the historic period, at any rate, the river beds, except for individual meanders, ran along much the same courses, along which grew the same sort of trees. While the cleared areas of today which are not liable to flood were perhaps a little more extensive than a thousand years ago when little or no artificial drainage had been done, the areas in which to look for agricultural land are, broadly speaking, where the arable land is today. The encroachment of cultivation on forest land wherever this has been possible is thus usually obvious from the lie of the land or by the shape and type of the fields. The reverse, the encroachment of woodland on marginally cultivated land, is equally clear. Where this has occurred the process follows a pretty constant and obvious pattern. In the immediate neighbourhood of streams or boggy patches, alder, willow, some poplar, and ash predominate. On the marginal clay belt away from the underlying gravel, thorn, ash, and oak develop with rowan above certain altitudes. Beech and elm only come in

the areas of former cultivation. Birch and aspen come in the cold and sourer soils, especially in the limited areas of abandoned marginal land where the grass has become too poor for grazing and which has never been tilled because too boggy.

The woodlands have particular historical significance. Not only do they mark very ancient limits of cultivation, but on account of their persistence for geological reasons they have become associated with territorial divisions. Many parish boundaries therefore follow the edges of woods. Instances in the Hindwell area are the Titley-Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton parish boundary along Burcher Wood, the Knill-Lower Harpton boundary at Knill Garraway Wood, the Walton-Knill boundary at Middle and Burfa Woods, the Lower Harpton-Walton and Walton-Old Radnor boundaries at Navages Wood, the Cascob boundary at Forest and Ack Woods, and so forth. On the other hand, a particularly obvious and important boundary, Offa's Dyke, with which we shall have a great deal more to do, does not serve as a parish boundary at all, except for a few hundred yards in Ditchfield at the bottom of the Knill pass hard by Ditch Hill Bridge on the Walton-Presteigne road.

Although on the very edge of Herefordshire towards the Welsh hills, the woodlands in this district are characteristic of the county as a whole. Ecologically, they partake of England rather than of Wales. Herefordshire is still the most wooded of the West Midland counties. Woodland even now accounts for 8 per cent. of the area of the county compared with 5.3 per cent. for the West Midlands as a whole and with 5 per cent. for England. The glory of the Herefordshire woodlands is the oak. On the whole, except where the Forestry Commission, especially in the Presteigne-Wigmore area, has regrettably introduced conifers in its plantations, the charm as well as the value of these woodlands is in their hardwood sorts, and such regeneration as is allowed to occur is in the traditionally English oak, ash, and thorn combination. The Hindwell and Lugg Valleys still happily possess a substantial growth of the oak which Herefordshire formerly contributed so largely to the shipbuilding of the West of England. In the age immediately before railways

and steamships, schemes existed to use the Lower Lugg to float oak down to the Severn estuary by way of the Wye. As long ago as 1696, a private Act was promoted to remove a mill at Bridge Sollers on the Middle Wye above Hereford to increase trade and the carrying capacity of the river for ships' timber for H.M. Navy.¹ Hereford is one of the counties pre-eminent in the use of oak for house building which survives to this day from the sixteenth and earlier centuries in the 'black and white', and brick or stone with oak, styles of construction. An interesting feature of the oak timber trade of the county was the return up-country for house construction of 'second-hand' oak, originally used for ships. The primary roof timbers of a large number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century houses in the county bear evident marks of earlier use.

The major changes in the agricultural and forestry aspects of these parts have taken place only during the last few decades, dictated by the economic stress of the two World Wars. This is more especially true of the Second World War when the felling of forest and the ploughing of upland sheepwalks and moorland with heavy machinery, intensive liming, and the cultivation of new varieties of cereals, roots, and potatoes not known even a generation ago, took place on a considerable scale and altered some of the millennial features of the land. How far these clearances and reclamations will last is difficult to say. They were undoubtedly made possible only by very recent improvements in mechanical and scientific techniques, the absence of which precluded such work being done even during the 'Hungry Forties' of last century when much marginal land was for the first time brought in. It is doubtful whether even the enclosures of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries did as much to alter the agricultural topography, at any rate of the higher ground round the Hindwell Valley, as did the work done in the fifth decade of the twentieth century. The reason of course is that although the enclosures of the nineteenth century deprived many commoners of their rights and frequently their livelihood, the use to which the enclosed land was put, at

¹ Duncumb: Grimsworth, p. 26; also Cohen, 'The Non-tidal Wye and its Navigation', *Woolhope*, vol. xxxv, pt. ii, 1956, pp. 83 et seq.

any rate over the 800-foot level, was not substantially different from the use to which the common land had previously been put, namely the pasturing of sheep and, to a lesser extent, cattle. The real change brought about by enclosure was that the sheep and cattle belonged to the landowner or his tenants instead of to the commoners. Recent change, however, has altered the appearance of the reclaimed uplands by the elimination of the furze, heath, and scrub to which so many of the medieval and more modern land records refer. With these have also disappeared, under the devouring tread of the bulldozer, boundary walls, age-old hedges, hedgerow vegetation, and even ancient monuments. Nevertheless, a comparison of land tenure and ownership in 1844 with modern conditions in the parish of Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton shows that over a century ago there was already no common land except the woods of Nash which now belong to the Forestry Commission. The sheepwalks of 1840 were still sheepwalks in 1940; in 1840 they are described as belonging to the Harley family, but, as in earlier epochs, here at any rate, they were in fact used for grazing only.

In spite of all modern machinery, the fundamental element of farming in this area still is, as it has been for centuries, sheep, with cattle and arable only in the more favoured lowlands. Much could be written of the historic and economic importance of sheep and wool in the Middle March. The sheep markets of Knighton and Kington were in their way as important as the castles of Ludlow, Wigmore, and Ewyas. They are still important in the economy of England. They are still as concerned as they used to be with the relation of England to Wales. To them come, as they formerly came, the sheep of the highlands for sale into England: from them are taken sheep to go back to the hills for exchange of blood. It was of sheep of the valleys which these markets served that the poet said:

The mountain sheep are sweeter
 But the valley sheep are fatter
 Wherefor we deemed it meeter
 To carry off the latter.

To sum up: geological and physical conditions have set

close limits within which to seek and find the history of agricultural settlement. From these conditions can be deduced what the countryside looked like a thousand years ago. Such written and traditional historical evidence as exists accords closely with deductions which are possible from the geographical and topographical data available. That this concordance is as remarkable as it is, is because the area has not been affected in any way by industrialization. Modern improvements like railways and roads have really done no more than emphasize the broad outline of development during the period under consideration.

The Hindwell Valley and adjacent areas contain a type of settlement which, in extent and character, has continued virtually unchanged for a thousand years. The amount of population carried during these ten centuries does not seem to have varied a great deal. On the whole it is probably lower now than in the Middle Ages. The standard of living has risen as husbandry improved. Then, as now, the area is inhabited almost exclusively by people whose livelihood comes from the land or has to do with the land. On their land there neither dwell nor dwelt any others. Even the sizes of the farms and their boundaries are in most cases unaltered, in spite of great social and economic changes. What is more important and to their greater glory, they are today among the best, most careful, and most successful farms in the world, for in these thousand years of continuous cultivation they have added to the fertility of their land and steadily increased the output of their acres.

CHAPTER II

Of the Ages before the Norman Conquest

THE first known settlements in the Hindwell Valley area are just west of the valley itself in the Radnor plain north and west of Walton cross-roads. They form a group, quite extensive, but not remarkable for size, of megalithic remains with several outstanding tumuli probably of the Neolithic or Bronze Age periods. The group is interesting on account of the siting of all the monuments on the plain, instead of, as is far more common, on the heights of open moorland or bare hills which lie at hand all around. The usual reason why prehistoric remains are not found in low plains or valley bottoms is the intractable character of dense forest land and northern jungle for people with primitive tools living in numerically small groups or settlements. That such remains should exist in the Radnor plain is explained by the physiography and ecology of the area. The relatively shallow layer of soil over the gravel bottom of lake basins did not lend itself to heavy forest growth which, on the other hand, predominated and still exists on the hill-sides and many of the hill-tops roundabout. The sparser forest vegetation of the Radnor plain and the capacity of the land there and in the Hindwell Valley to dry out when it lies above the riparian flood-levels of streams, made the area particularly suitable for early cultivation and therefore for the settlement of primitive people whose preference for a low and relatively protected site as compared with the bleak surrounding uplands needs no emphasis in the climate of the Welsh March.

Besides a number of earthworks on the lower land the area also contains two important hill-top camps on Burfa or Ditch Hill at the entrance of the Hindwell Valley from the Radnor plain and on Wapley Hill at the eastern end of the valley.

Burfa¹ is a naturally defensible wooded hill of 1,000 feet.

¹ Cf. R.C.H.M., vol. iii, introductory matter.

The top is heavily fortified with earth ramparts and ditches and became incorporated into Offa's Dyke which they almost certainly antedate. The 'camp' guards the pass into England from Radnor. Wapley¹ is an even more defensible hill with a steep northern scarp overlooking Combe and Broadheath, two to three miles south-east of Presteigne. The 'camp' banks of Wapley, now overplanted with the Forestry Commission's loathsome conifers, contain an area of 25 acres with a well near the summit whose perennial water at 600 feet above the Hindwell Valley still supplies the needs of the forester's cottage. Wapley was a warren in the Middle Ages. The eradication of the rabbits to make planting possible produced a positive result in the economy of the countryside by the infestation of the lower-lying farms over several square miles when the rabbit population was displaced until myxomatosis put a welcome end to the rabbit generally. Tradition, without any evidence in history, ascribes Wapley Camp like so many other works on the March to Caradoc. It also alleges that Owen Glyndwr used it in 1401 when he took Radnor Castle and advanced on Pembrokeshire, only to suffer defeat at the hands of Edmund de Mortimer in Henry IV's reign. In origin, both Burfa and Wapley are probably pre-Roman but may have been used later.

Of the many other earthworks in the Hindwell Valley area apart from the dykes or ditches of which more later, some are obviously Norman and medieval, but many are certainly pre-Norman, Roman, and pre-Roman, and were perhaps used by successive generations and peoples. Around Walton is a group of several periods: at Castlering Wood about a mile north of Evenjobb, at Womaston, at Castle Nimble near Old Radnor, at Kinnerton, and at Castle Mound near Barland. The Warden and Stapleton Mounds near Presteigne are medieval castle sites but are also likely natural sites for earlier occupation. The same may be said of sites at New Radnor, Kington, and Lyonshall.

Although the Romans held Wales by the great quadrilateral of Carmarthen, Caernarvon, Chester, and Caerleon, the last two of which were Legionary headquarters, and by

¹ Cf. R.C.H.M., vol. iii, introductory matter.

a network of smaller military establishments, Herefordshire was not much Romanized, and probably remained essentially British in character. Nevertheless, the impact of Rome is clearly marked on the face of the county. Kenchester near the Wye five miles west of Hereford was quite an extensive Roman settlement known as Magnis;¹ its Roman remains are comparatively well known outside the county. Another smaller Roman or Romano-British settlement at Leintwardine, eight miles north-east of Presteigne, has been identified as Bravonium. Neither Kenchester nor Bravonium had much military significance, though the latter had a perimeter bank with perhaps a stockade. They were both civil settlements and 'stations' or staging posts. It is, however, probable that an earlier Roman fort or settlement existed at Hereford itself, pre-dating that at Magnis.

Several Roman main and by-roads have been traced partially or continuously in the county. The Antonine Itinerary records Iter XII as running from Isca (Caerleon), the headquarters of the II (Augusta) Legion, by Burrium (Usk), Gobannium (Abergavenny), Magnis (Kenchester), and Bravonium (Leintwardine) to Viroconium (Wroxeter in Shropshire), and so to Chester, the headquarters for three centuries of the XXII (Valeria Victrix) Legion. The original line of this road probably ran through Hereford and Monmouth, the Abergavenny-Kenchester line being a later development. From Bravonium another Roman road, the Antonine Iter XIII, ran south-east to Ariconium, which has been identified as an ironworking centre at Weston-under-Penyard, and from there to Glevum (Gloucester). Quite an extensive network has been traced in the county of Hereford.²

If Leintwardine was a Romano-British civil settlement and not a garrison post there must have been military posts farther west in the Presteigne area, apart from the Castell Collen (Llandrindod) and Caersws complexes. Furthermore, in addition to the great military road on a north-south alignment joining the Legionary headquarters of Caerleon

¹ The locative form is used; the fuller original name remains doubtful.

² Cf. Dudley, in the Woolhope Club's Centenary Volume *Herefordshire*, chap. x; Margary's *Roman Roads in Britain*, vol. ii, chap. 2 (Phoenix House, 1957).

and Chester, another north-south road must have connected Forden Gaer and Clyro on the Wye either directly or on the Knighton-Presteigne-Kington alignment. A Roman 'marching camp' near Hay on the Wye has been identified, but more permanent Roman posts, the counterparts of the later medieval castles on this line along the Welsh foothills, are likely and may yet be identified among the many earthworks which exist between Leintwardine and Clyro.¹

The history of the epoch between the end of Roman authority in Britain and the rise of the earliest known kingdoms of England is one of the most tantalizing and aggravating in our history. We know that there was government. We know that here and there considerable cultural development existed. But when Rome withdrew, what happened, for instance, to the frontier posts and settlements like Bravonium on the Herefordshire border? Who were the people who we know lived in them? How were they governed? How did they survive? Since we know that many did survive, they must have had an organization among themselves. What was it? Were the people in part or at all Christian? And, if so, from which side did their Christianity come? What, in short, was this frontier world on the Middle March of Wales?

Of the centuries before the Norman Conquest of Herefordshire it has been written:

The early history of the district . . . is impenetrably obscure. No traditions of its conquest have survived. The Western Midlands as a whole were far from the centres of Old English historical writing, and the ancient Church of Hereford has produced no body of local charters in any way comparable to that which has come down from the neighbouring Worcester. In the aggregate, a considerable number of facts relating to pre-Conquest Herefordshire are recorded on good, or at least passable, authority. But they are inadequate to support anything approaching a continuous history of the Shire.²

The earliest recorded bishop in Herefordshire was called Putta; he was consecrated by Theodore of Canterbury and

¹ Nash-Williams's *The Roman Frontier in Wales*, *passim* (Cardiff, 1954).

² Stenton in R.C.H.M., vol. iii, p. lv.

died between 676 and 688.¹ The bishopric served a people called the Hecani, and later, according to pre-Conquest sources, the Magesetenses or Magesaetan, of whom it is particularly recorded that they were the first to run away at Ashingdon (Assandun) in 1016.² A charter of King Edgar refers to them at Staunton-on-Arrow, five miles south-east of Presteigne. In the seventh and eighth centuries the Magesaetan were ruled by sub-kings under the Mercian royal house descended from Penda; they are recognizable by their names beginning with M. By the middle of the eighth century a see was established at Hereford. In 803 a Council of Canterbury was attended by Wulfheard, described as 'Herefordensis ecclesiae princeps'. At the time of Offa, the Magesaetan had disappeared as an independent entity and Herefordshire as far west as the districts with which we are concerned was under the direct rule of the Mercian kings. The most famous of these, Offa, is commemorated by his great monument, the Dyke, which ran from the Dee to the Wye, much along the line of the present Welsh border, and right through the country of this story. Offa's Dyke and the Lower Wye have ever since been regarded as the traditional boundary between England and Wales.

Offa's Dyke is particularly well represented in the Hindwell Valley area. It can be seen very clearly south of Knighton where it crosses the Lugg Valley above Presteigne about half a mile west of Discoed. It passes just east of Castle Ring and Evenjobb, just west of Barland, and east of Walton, skirting Burfa Hill and the camp which was incorporated in it. The Dyke then crosses the Hindwell Valley at its narrowest part and climbs to 1,200 feet on Herrock Hill. Here it makes a bow to the west, following the steep rim of the hill, after which it takes a sharp turn east on to Rushock Hill still at over the 1,000-foot level, and is marked by three conspicuous yew-trees, a landmark visible for many miles around known as the Three Shepherds. From Rushock, the Dyke is generally accepted as descending to

¹ Probably *not* the Putta who was Bishop of Rochester and resigned in 676 to go to live among the Mercians; loc. cit.

² Loc. cit.; *Cart. Sax.* 1040; *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* 1016.

Kenel Wood near Oatcroft Farm behind Eyewood where it disappears. Discontinuous sections have been traced in the Arrow Valley and its tributary the Curl brook, again some miles away near Yazor, and over Garnons Hill as far as Bridge Sollers on the Wye. South of this point the boundary was the Wye itself. Some learned writers have supposed that in the densely wooded Devonian country south of Rushock the Dyke was discontinuous and was not constructed in the valley bottoms where the forest was virtually impenetrable. But there is also record and evidence that south of Rushock the Dyke had two alignments, and it is likely that the discontinuous parts either represented unfinished sections which were abandoned in favour of a more easterly trace, or a line which was largely and deliberately destroyed. The more eastern alignment is, however, not entirely continuous either, though if natural features are included it is certainly much more so than the westerly line.

Now, it is recorded in the *Gwentian Brut* that, when in 765 the Cymry devastated Mercia, Offa made the great Dyke, '... whereupon in 776 the men of Gwent and Glamorgan entered Mercia and razed it [the Dyke] level with the ground'.¹ Then, in 784, 'Offa made a Dyke a second time nearer to himself leaving a piece of ground between Wye and Severn where is the tribe of Elystan Glodrydd', whose area is known to have included this district.

Two alignments therefore seem to have recorded history. The alternative, eastern and thus more probably the second, alignment seems to have run from Rushock along Little Brampton Scar and by Little Brampton Wood on the south side of the Hindwell Valley to Burnt House whence it followed the deep sunk Green Lane to Rodd Hurst. Crossing the col which divides the Hindwell from the Arrow Valley, the line then seems to have run along the bank at the top of Ashley Vallet Wood to Wapley 'camp' and so to Stocklow and a point near Milton cross-roads. From here a well-formed dyke, locally known as Rowe Ditch,² strikes south

¹ Quoted by Hercules Read and Reginald Smith in *V.C.H.*, p. 259.

² 'Rugedyke' in the Middle Ages. A 'ditch' in local dialect is a dyke or bank. When a Herefordshire countryman 'hedges and ditches', he makes the hedge and the bank below the hedge. If he digs out what in ordinary English is the 'ditch', he is said to be cleaning out the 'gutter'.

across the Arrow Valley to the Kington road half a mile from Pembridge. Although in part obliterated by farming operations, this alignment can be traced by banks and names to Yazor and Bridge Sollers.¹ Burfa Camp and the salient in the Dyke on Herrock made by the curve round that hill and the turn across Rushock, on which a second defensive position exists in the banks on Knill Garraway, the southern counterpart of Burfa Camp, are common to both alignments. There are a number of other banks and works probably connected with the Dyke in this area, requiring more detailed study. The later alignment also incorporated Wapley 'camp'.

Whether or not there were two alignments and whether or not the line from Rushock to Pembridge was the second one, the latter is a sensible trace, more sensible perhaps, from the point of view of military topography, than one running through the forest from Lyonshall to Garnons. Nevertheless, Green Lane on the eastern alignment, though definitely a well-used ridgeway, is not obviously characteristic of the construction of most of the rest of the Dyke.

The line of Offa's Dyke in this neighbourhood has little general connexion with parish boundaries.² On Rushock for a small stretch it divides Knill parish from Kington Rural, and between Burnt House and Wapley along Green Lane the second alignment divides Titley parish from Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton parish. The western alignment crosses the parishes of Lower Harpton, Evenjobb, and Discoed, leaving the manor parishes of Knill and Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton wholly in England and those of Old Radnor & Burlingjobb, and of Walton & Womaston wholly on the Welsh side. Some sections of the second alignment conform rather more to parish boundaries between Staunton-on-Arrow and Combe, and between Staunton-on-Arrow and Pembridge parishes. But there is no great significance in this, since the greater conformity of this alignment with parish boundaries from Herrock to Milton cross-roads is in

¹ Cf. *V.C.H.*, p. 259. The author agrees with the alignment of a dyke as there described except that after Rushock the line followed the banks at Little Brampton Sear and did not run through Scutchditch Wood as suggested.

² In this feature Offa's Dyke has a close analogy with the Wansdyke. Cf. Burne, *More British Battles*, p. 25 (Methuen, 1953).



The Tomen above Llanfihangel nant Melan

fact due to the very prominent topographical feature of the escarpment along the southern side of the Hindwell obviously from earliest time an inescapable geographical feature in farm and manor organization. It is not the limited concordances of certain sections of the alignments of the Dyke with parish and therefore manorial boundaries but the discordances which are striking. The conclusion is inescapable that these local units of settlement and administration which today are parishes and in the Middle Ages were manors, came into existence at a time when the Dyke was not a local boundary of any great significance. But this is capable of different interpretations.

In what is now Radnorshire, west of Offa's Dyke, are numerous villages and places bearing obviously English names. In the Hindwell Valley area most of the villages in the Radnor basin fall into this category and they are west of the Dyke. Other obvious and important villages in the neighbourhood west of the Dyke are Kington, Huntington, Staunton-on-Wye, &c.

It is hard to believe [writes Stenton]¹ that such a name as the Radnorshire Burlingjobb, in Domesday Berchelincope, (a village in the old ecclesiastical parish of Old Radnor) can have come into being later than the time of Offa. These place names have not yet been fully investigated, and any argument from them is hazardous but they certainly raise the possibility that, in this quarter, the line chosen for Offa's Dyke may have meant surrender of English territory to the Welsh.

This is legitimate assumption and is reinforced by the story of the second alignment of the Dyke after the events of A.D. 776-84.²

Geographically, the Kington district and the Radnor basin partake as much of English Herefordshire as the Hindwell, Lugg, and Arrow Valleys. They are both areas facing eastward on the edge of the Welsh hills. If they had been English places before Offa, why did the later territorial and military divisions into manors disregard the monument which Offa built as a political boundary so completely? The alternatives seem to be that the English place-names west of the Dyke

¹ In R.C.H.M., vol. iii, p. lvii.

² See above, p. 21.

post-date the boundary: or that they became manorial tenures of pre-Dyke settlements between the time when the Dyke had ceased to be regarded as a boundary and some years before Domesday. As against the latter argument, it must be remembered that although the Dyke after Offa's day was over-run by the Welsh many times and the ground was regained by the English up to and west of it, the great Dyke continued to be regarded as a political boundary for centuries after Offa's death. A political dividing line is obviously involved in the laws of Egbert. Again after Harold Godwinson's reconquest of the March following Gruffydd's campaigns, penalties incurred by Welshmen found east of the Dyke were re-enacted.¹ This was, moreover, at a time when Harold himself, as well as certain pre-Conquest Norman knights, held settled lands west of the Dyke in the old English lands which Godwinson had reconquered. The significance of the Dyke as a political boundary in fact continued till Henry II's reign and even after. Why then did the Dyke have so little effect on manorial tenures and boundaries as perpetuated in parish boundaries, which as we shall see in the notable example of the manors of Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton, Knill, Discoed, and others, display evidence of having remained substantially unaltered for the best part of a thousand years? The only explanation seems to be that the manorial organization grew up around old English settlements on either side of the Dyke at a time when the Dyke was not a definite political boundary as it was in Offa's day and later again became in the days, for instance, of Harold. In other words the English settlements in Radnorshire west of the Dyke which became Domesday manors pre-dated Offa, whose political or military boundary did involve a surrender of these areas of English settlement.

There is in the Domesday Book a description of the organization and administration of the district called Archenfield, between the Wye and the Monnow, an unsettled area which had not by then been properly assimilated into Norman England. From the reign of Athelstan there survives

¹ Restrictions on the Welsh in England continued throughout the Middle Ages; cf. below, Chap. V.

an ordinance concerning the Dunsæte who are otherwise unknown but whose territory seems to have lain north of Gwent. Their district, divided by a river presumably the Wye, was partly English and partly Welsh. The ordinance is in the form of a treaty between the English Witan and the Welsh leaders. It regulates the relations between the two parts of the Dunsæte in matters of cattle, transit, and manslaughter.¹ Such an area also must have been the Radnor basin and the high ground between New Radnor and the Wye Valley west of Offa's Dyke where political authority swung from side to side of the border for many generations after the original English settlements were made.

In the tenth century Western Mercia was divided into the shires of Gloucester, of Hereford, and 'of the shrub', that is Shropshire, with Shrewsbury, a name derived from the same origin, as its capital. By this time the city of Hereford was already of sufficient importance to give its name to the county. The division of the land had ceased to be on a tribal basis; a large piece of Magesætan territory became Shropshire. The districts of Archenfield and Ewyas were still not included in Herefordshire as being substantially Welsh and only partially under Mercian administration. But, while by Edward the Confessor's reign Hereford was already a county, it still had no defined western boundary. It probably included those parts of the Radnor basin and the English manors west of the Dyke which are in Domesday catalogued under that county.² Herefordshire was later consolidated under the financial reorganization of the county by Henry I, but its border character was still recognized in the Pipe Rolls and in the annexes to the Balliol Domesday³ by the description 'Herefordshire in Wales'. The Radnor basin counted as Herefordshire until it became incorporated in a new county of Radnor in Henry VIII's reign.

During the incapable government of Edward the Confessor, a number of Norman knights began to appear in

¹ Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, vol. i, pp. 374-9, quoted in R.C.H.M., vol. iii, p. lviii.

² *Apud Duncumb*: Huntington, p. 54. Duncumb is of course wrong in saying that Offa's Dyke marked the extreme western limit of Domesday Herefordshire.

³ See below, p. 43.

the border country. Apart from the king's Norman background and his desire to reward his Norman friends and relations, the policy of settling Norman knights in the March was, in part at any rate, prompted by his desire to have some sort of military organization of ostensible loyalty to himself in an area which was not only liable to suffer from the depredations of the Welsh, but which lay within the sphere of the active jealousies of the powerful English earldoms of Leofric of Mercia and Godwin of Wessex. Edward's choice of knights thus to reward and upon whom to rely, was not happy. To Ralf the son of Drogo, Count of the Vexin Norman and Earl of Worcester prior to 1049 and Goda, Edward's sister, the king granted before 1050 the *comitatum* of Hereford and the earldom of the Magesaetan lands: whereupon Ralf built the castle of Hereford sometime probably before 1055.¹

Other adventurous and more unruly, but perhaps more competent, knights took the opportunities offered in this era to carve out estates for themselves on the border. Richard le Scrob settled in the Ludlow district within a few miles of which he built, near the present village of Orleton, the castle of Auretone, better known in history as Richard's Castle. At Ewyas where the Golden Valley debouches into the plain of Hereford another very important castle, and possibly the first of all the Norman castles in the shire was built, probably by one Osbern surnamed Pentecost, the uncle of Alured of Marlborough.

The castles of Hereford, Auretone, and Ewyas (Harold) were thus, as is commonly accepted, built before the Conquest, and being built by Normans were almost certainly of the 'motte and bailey' type which is regarded as a typically Norman style of military work and associated with their post-1066 activities. It is important to remember that at any rate in these cases a post-Conquest type of castle was being built several years—a decade perhaps at least—before the Conqueror landed his knights. How many more such 'motte and bailey' castles were built before 1066 and possibly by Harold Godwinson himself as a result of his experience of the Norman military art? We do not know for certain.

¹ Cf. Hoveden in *Complete Peerage*, *passim*.

Another early Norman castle in the Middle March was built at Wigmore by William fitz Osbern, Count of Breteuil and Steward of Normandy, in what the Domesday Book called 'waste land known as Merestun which was held by Gunnert in King Edward's day'. Whether or not this castle also was pre-Conquest would seem to depend on whether Earl William fitz Osbern came to England before Hastings or not. There is no evidence that Earl William was among the Norman knights on the Welsh March but it is known that he was Duke William's principal and most trusted officer in the pacification of England after the Conquest, and that he played a predominant role on this border directly after 1066, although the main immediate trouble was then in eastern England. Earl William was made Earl of Hereford and granted the Isle of Wight by Duke William, according to Orderic Vitalis in 1070 but according to Florence of Worcester *before* the Conqueror left England in 1067.¹ Now Ralf fitz Drogo, who became Earl of Hereford after Sweyn in 1050, died on 21 December 1057 and it is commonly accepted² that Duke William visited England in 1051 when Earl William fitz Osbern may have accompanied him or may have been in the country with the other Norman knights whom Edward the Confessor had brought in. All this is conjecture but the part played by William fitz Osbern on the border, including the building of the strategically important castle of Wigmore, is more readily understandable if he had been familiar and associated with the March before the Conquest.

All these castles in greater or lesser measure concern this story. Richard le Scrob's son, Osbern,³ who eventually inherited Auretone, was granted in the western part of the country by the Conqueror numerous manors including all those in the Hindwell Valley and several around Presteigne. A mile from the latter place he built, very soon after the Domesday survey,⁴ a castle at Stapleton which for centuries

¹ Orderic Vitalis in *Hist. Ecc.* (French edn.), vol. ii, p. 218; *V.C.H.*, p. 270; Hoveden and Florence of Worcester in *Complete Peerage*.

² Though also disputed, cf. Douglas in *English Hist. Review*, vol. lxxviii (Oct. 1953), No. 269, pp. 526-45.

³ Not to be confused with Osbern 'Pentecost'.

⁴ Cf. below, Chap. V.

was the head of an important lordship. Wigmore Castle, by Domesday granted to Ralf de Mōrtimer, became the *caput* of the Honour of Wigmore as well as the centre of what was for several generations the most powerful family in England. Ewyas, known as Ewyas Harold by reason of its part in Harold Godwinson's great campaign on the border and to distinguish it from the later de Laci castle of Ewyas Lacy (Longtown), was one of the most important castellanies of the March. By the Domesday survey it had been granted to Alured of Marlborough, nephew of Osbern surnamed Pentecost the original builder, though much happened in the interval, for Earl Harold in the course of his restoration of order on the March had destroyed the fortress and Earl William fitz Osbern had rebuilt it.

The sequence of events in the confused period before the Conquest is still in some doubt, especially with regard to the movements and intentions of Earl Godwin and Harold, his son. Their predominance in England and the hostility to them of Mercia and the Normans in Herefordshire alone run as a visible thread through the period. With Edward the Confessor's grant of the *comitatum* of Hereford to Ralf fitz Drogo, the Norman knights who had come into the country had set about acquiring lands and loot 'working all the harm and besmear to the King's men hereabouts they might', as the Peterborough Chronicle records, with no real care for the safety of the March. Richard le Scrob from Auretone and Osbern Pentecost from Ewyas Harold were among the principal offenders. In 1051 Eustace of Boulogne, Earl Ralf's stepfather and brother-in-law of the king, landed at Dover on a visit to England, probably in search of plunder. The arrogance of his followers led to a serious fracas. The king directed Earl Godwin, in whose earldom Dover lay, to punish the citizens. Godwin declined to do so and used the occasion to lay complaint against the behaviour of the Norman knights in Herefordshire. The latter, perhaps with some support from Leofric of Mercia, interpreted this to the king as rebellion. Earl Godwin and his son Harold, who also were having trouble with the Church, had to flee the country and were exiled.

At this juncture Gruffydd ap Llewellyn, the ruler of

Gwynedd and Powys, observing that the leadership of the thanes in Hereford had departed with Earl Godwin and Harold and that the Norman knights were disunited and principally interested in getting rich quick at the expense of the inhabitants of the shire, raided into England in force. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the Anglo-Norman forces before Leominster on his way to Hereford, returning unmolested and unpursued into Wales. The March was in fact wide open.

Choosing a moment when King Edward's ships had been withdrawn to refit, Earl Godwin and Harold landed in England in September 1052 with much support even outside Wessex. London rose in their favour as did Herefordshire where the Norman knights threw in their hands and departed, some for the coast and some across the seas. Osbern Pentecost fled to Leofric of Mercia whence he eventually found his way to Scotland. Except for Earl Ralf whom the king seems to have kept by him the Norman knights were outlawed. It seems likely that it was at this time that Ewyas Harold was razed and the Herefordshire borderland fell under the sway of Harold Godwinson, his brother Sweyn who had been Earl of Hereford before Ralf fitz Drogo having died in 1052.

But peace on the Middle March came not yet. In 1053 Earl Godwin died and Harold succeeded to the paramount position in England. Harold's second test came in 1055 when Aelfgar, son of Leofric of Mercia, was outlawed and fled to Ireland. There he procured a fleet of Viking ships and joined forces with Gruffydd ap Llewellyn in another savage invasion of Herefordshire in the course of which the anglicized Welshmen of Archenfield became one of the principal targets of Gruffydd's wrath.

The Welsh raid got to within two miles of Hereford where on 25 October 1055 they were encountered by a mixed force of Herefordshire levies and Frenchmen from the Richard's Castle garrison under Earl Ralf. With his usual incompetence, the king's nephew in the absence of Harold succeeded in getting himself convincingly routed. Hereford was sacked and fired. Even King Edward now recognized the danger and accepted the only possible remedy. From his

winter quarters at Gloucester he sent for Harold Godwinson to deal with the situation; Earl Ralf he wisely kept by his side. Late as the season was, Harold collected enough men to chase Gruffydd and Aelfgar back into the hills where he could not follow them. They sought peace on the basis of the status quo, a boundary running from Brampton Bryan on the Teme to Willersley on the Wye. Peace was signed at Christmas 1055, but the new boundary left Knighton, Kington, and Huntington with all their manors on the Welsh side of the border. Inevitably, the peace could not last long. Fighting broke out again next summer when Gruffydd defeated an English force at Glasbury on the Wye, some miles upstream of Willersley. Raid then succeeded raid, till even Leofric became apprehensive. Through the good offices of Bishop Ealdred of Worcester, he made common cause with Harold. The combined threat counselled Gruffydd to do homage to King Edward. Then in 1057 Leofric died and Harold's enemy Aelfgar, whose daughter had been married to Gruffydd, succeeded to the earldom of Mercia. An uneasy peace endured till 1062, when Gruffydd again felt strong enough to resume the offensive. He raided in force as far as the Severn. Harold retorted in a brilliant campaign by carrying the war right into Wales, this time with troops and equipment suited to the country. In a raid at Christmas 1062 Harold burnt Rhuddlan, the palace of Gruffydd, who only just escaped with his life. In May 1063 Harold invaded Wales from the west, landing his troops in Cardigan Bay. At the same time his brother Tostig invaded the north from Chester. By the summer Gwynnedd was over-run and Gruffydd was cornered: but the end of this phase of the border wars really came only when, murdered by their own hands, the Welsh lost one of their greatest leaders in Gruffydd ap Llewellyn on 5 August 1063. A new frontier was imposed on the Welsh which left to England in the Middle March much of what is now Radnor and Montgomeryshire west of Offa's Dyke. And there was peace under Harold's now undisputed leadership of England as the Earl of Hereford in succession to Ralf who had died in 1057 leaving only an infant son. Had Ralf lived and been a stronger man, he might as King Edward's nephew have

contested the throne of England against Duke William, the claimant in succession, and Earl Harold, the effective ruler. But nothing now stood between these two strong men, Harold and William, save a dying king. The decision of war was inevitable. The climax came at Hastings.

It was thanks to Harold's defence of the March and the final defeat of Gruffydd's men that Duke William after Hastings found the western border of England secure and no cause for anxiety. It was also his first care to have it remain so. The influence of the Godwin family, great as it was in England just before the Conquest, was nowhere by then more powerful than in the county of Hereford where the material possessions of both Harold and the English royal family were very considerable: and Duke William was only too well aware of the intrigues which had taken place between Mercia and Wales against their common foes, the Norman knights and the predominant Godwins.

More than anything else he had done, the border campaigns had enhanced the power of Harold. His association with the Middle March especially had led to the acquisition of numerous manors, most of them according to the Domesday record in his personal possession. The claim by some historians that it was Harold who pushed the border of administered England west of Offa's Dyke cannot be substantiated. The fact that there are recorded in Domesday so many manors west of the Dyke as 'geldable', that is as recognized fiscal units of assessment, *tempore regis Edwardi* implies and supports the view already expressed that they ante-dated Harold quite considerably. Many of these manors, especially in the Kington, Huntington, and Radnor basin areas, are described as held by the King (Edward), Queen Edith, and Earl Harold before the Conquest. Only a few, notably those of the Hindwell Valley group, are recorded as held by Normans before the Domesday record. This particular group, as will be seen in the next chapter, was held T.R.E. by Richard le Scrob or Osbern, his son. Very few other Norman knights of the 1050-66 period seem to have acquired manors as far west as this. The implication involved in King Edward's and Harold's tenancies is clearly that they were already recognized manors dating from a

period well before the wars of Gruffydd ap Llewellyn. How long before, is not known, nor is there any record of who held these manors before King Edward and Harold acquired them or reconquered them from the Welsh. But one explanation of the high number of manors hereabouts held by King Edward and Harold is that they kept what they had taken by right of conquest from Gruffydd himself or his forebears. This, however, does not mean that they created them then as manors for the first time. Indeed, the fact that they were already 'geldable T.R.E.' suggests the opposite, namely that they were, as previously suggested, manors of some standing already well before 1050, and to judge by their names, 'English' settlements at that.

The distribution of Harold Godwinson's manors in Herefordshire according to the Domesday record is interesting. In round figures, Harold held between forty and fifty manors in the county, assessed at about 200 hides. Eighteen of these manors with 60 hides were in that corner of the county where the Domesday Hundreds of Elsedune and Hezetre meet, that is to say in the area between Willersley and Winforton on the Wye and the Radnor basin, which area includes Eardisley, Kington, Huntington, Titley, Presteigne, and Old Radnor in the immediate neighbourhood of the Hindwell Valley. His other major holdings were in the Domesday Hundreds of Stratford, Radelau, and Cutestorne, that is, on the whole, still in the western part of the county. A summary of his former holdings at Domesday reads as follows:

<i>Hundred of</i>	<i>Hides</i>	<i>Manors</i>
Elsedune . . .	43	16/20
Hezetre . . .	17	2
Stratford . . .	12	4
Radelau . . .	38	7
Cutestorne . . .	42	8
Bremesse . . .	22	4
Stapleset . . .	13	2
Tornclau . . .	2	1
Plegelget . . .	3	1
Approximate, rounded off, totals. . . .	190	45/50

Of these, King William after the Conquest took for him-

self, in Elsedune 24 hides and in Hezetre 17 hides. In other words, he took, probably for political reasons, the border manors, where Harold's standing had been the highest. In this area King William also took most of King Edward's manors. Elsewhere in the county, Harold's manors were granted to various Norman knights without any recognizable basis for distribution.¹ Harold's two largest manors were at Cowarne of 15 hides in Radelau Hundred, and at (Old) Radnor of 15 hides, next door to the group of the Hindwell Valley manors all of which were in Hezetre Hundred. The manor of Radnor included Old Radnor church on a shelf of rock overlooking the Radnor basin commanding two passes into England by the Arrow and Hindwell Valleys. The motte and bailey which survives hard by the church by local tradition was Earl Harold's castle.

So many of our ideas of history lie in memory like autumn leaves fallen from stunted trees planted in our minds at school. It comes almost as a shock to realize that the Harold who died defending England against the simultaneous invasions of Harold Hardrada and Duke William of Normandy, who had been named King of England by the Witan in 1066 but was never crowned, who had restored and held the March of Wales for fifteen years against Gruffydd of Wales and Leofric of Mercia, for years dominated the Middle March and perhaps the whole country from an almost unknown and disregarded base at Old Radnor.

Harold Godwinson's moat and castle mound lie a few yards south of the lovely fifteenth-century church of St. Stephen of Old Radnor. The stronghold and church look across a sweet basin of manor and farm-land. On the western horizon is the open moorland of Radnor Forest rising to over 2,000 feet, and practically uninhabited except by sheep, grouse, and buzzards. The plain itself is dotted with homesteads, small white houses with slate roofs, and substantial farm buildings. It has been argued that the earthworks at Old Radnor could not have been an important castle of Harold or of anyone else for they lie tucked in under Old Radnor Hill and are overlooked; moreover, that the 'motte

¹ A table showing the manors held by or of Harold and to whom they were granted in chief is contained in an appendix to this chapter.

and bailey' of Old Radnor was a Norman fort and so post-Conquest.¹ A suggested alternative site for Harold's castle, at New Radnor on the road up the Llanfihangel nant Melan cwm, is inherently improbable geographically, militarily, and economically. But from Old Radnor or from some site near by Harold's men could observe and command all the country which raiders from Builth and Penybont, or from the Upper Ithon Valley, Maelienydd, Kerry, and Clun must cross to enter England by the Arrow or the Hindwell Valleys. Raiders from Maelienydd might enter either valley unobserved from New Radnor and be through the passes before men on foot or pony could catch up with them.

The site of Old Radnor church must always have been an observation point and probably a strong point for a lookout post on Old Radnor Hill. The turret on the present church tower was a signal beacon for centuries: until quite recently, it still carried an iron cresset. It is an obvious landmark for the ridgeway and drovers' roads from west to east as well as from the north.

In spite of being overlooked by Old Radnor Hill, the motte and bailey near the church have an obviously defensible quality. If it was not itself Harold's keep, it was related to one of several other defended sites in the plain. About a quarter of a mile north by west of the church on the slope of the shelf of the hill is a site called Castle Nimble. It consists of a circular moat and bank with extensive adjoining rectangular enclosures, probably once stockaded. An old track winds up from them through bracken and boulders to the church. Another track leads north to some large tumuli near Knapp Farm on the present Walton-New Radnor road. About a mile farther north again is a group of megalithic remains. The track from Castle Nimble to Old Radnor crosses an area which seems to have been a fairly extensive settlement: like Castle Nimble, the date can only be determined by excavation. Castle Nimble and the motte and bailey of Old Radnor are militarily interdependent. A mile north-east is another large, defended site with a moat and mound at Womaston. It guards more directly the entrance to the Hindwell Valley. It, too, cannot have been

¹ But see above, p. 26, on pre-Conquest 'Norman' castles.

otherwise than a part of an important military complex connected with Old Radnor. Harold Godwinson's stronghold in the Radnor basin must be regarded as the whole complex of earthworks in the Walton area. Precisely which of the sites was Harold's own or main castle is not material to the story. But tradition in the abiding memory of country folk is often surprisingly accurate and that tradition associates Old Radnor with Harold, which if taken with Castle Nimble is not inconsistent with military and topographical conditions.

The fifteenth-century church of Old Radnor is a noble and beautiful monument. It is surprising to find such wealth of remarkable work in the church of a now remote and sparsely inhabited parish. St. Stephen's church serves no town or village: the only hamlet today in the parish is the group of houses at Walton cross-roads. The small village of Evenjobb was formerly in the parish of Old Radnor but it is two miles away from the church. The modern church of that parish at Evancoyd was only built last century when the parish was divided. The existence of a so large and well-adorned church at Old Radnor connotes the existence there, rather than at Evenjobb, of the original centre of the parish, and that is consistent with tradition. The broad nave and aisles of St. Stephen's with their light windows looking over the plain to Radnor Forest can hold 200 people and more. The wooden screen across the whole breadth of the church is one of the finest and best preserved in the country. It leaves the impression of having been made by the devotion of a monastic establishment rather than by local craftsmen working for reward. The organ case with its linenfold panelling dates from 1500: it is the only perfect example of its period in the United Kingdom.¹ The font is fashioned from a large ovoid block of stone with its top flattened and hollowed to a basin: in the bottom are cut four rudimentary feet. The stone is reputed to have come from or been associated with the group of megalithic remains in the plain below. The use of prehistoric and pagan high places for Christian worship is, of course, well known all over the world. The site of St. Stephen's church may well have been a place of

¹ *Freeman's English Organ Cases*, 1921.

worship for the people of the plain long before the Christian era. Such a centre, as well as the good lands which made up the 15-hide manor of Radenoure, would explain apart from military considerations the choice of this site for Harold Godwinson's stronghold on this turbulent frontier.

History has its revenges. When Harold fell at Hastings the English kingship fell with him. He was not even given a decent burial. His domains were forfeit to the Norman Conqueror. But the Norman knights who came before the Conquest and many of those whom Duke William settled on the March, have disappeared from history and have left no descendants. Braose, Bohun, Mortimer: they are not even names today in Herefordshire and they have been forgotten by the people who still remember Harold Godwinson of Old Radnor Castle. And Godwins still live on the land in the Hindwell Valley within a few miles of where Earl Harold dominated and farmed the Middle March.



Old Radnor Church

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

Manors recorded in Domesday as having been held by Earl Harold, or of him

(Numbers in brackets refer to notes at end of appendix)

<i>Domesday Hundred</i>	<i>Manor (1)</i>	<i>Hideage</i>	<i>DB Tenant in Chief (2)</i>
ELSEDUNE	MATEURDIN, MATHEWURDAM	2	King William
	HERDESLEGE (Eardisley)	2½	„ „ (6)
	STIVICHEWORDIN, CHICWURDINE (Chickward)	1	„ „
	CICUURDINE, CHICWURDINE (Chickward)	1 and 3 virg.	„ „
	ULFMESTUNE	2	„ „
	HANTINETUNE (Huntington)	3	„ „
	BURARDESTUNE, BURACDESTONE, BOLLINGESHULLA (Bollingham)	1	„ „
	HERGESTH (Hergest)	1	„ „
	BRUDEFORD (?Breadward)	2	„ „
	CHINGHTONE, KINTONA (Kington)	4	„ „
	RUUESCOP, RUISSOC (Rushock)	4	„ „
	RUISCOP, RUISSOC (Rushock)	1	William de Scohies (Schoies)
	WILLAUESLEGE and WIDFERDESTUNE (Willersley & Winforton)	4	Ralf de Tosny (Todeni or Toen)
	LENEHALLE (Lyonshall)	5	Roger de Laci (3)
	TITLEGE (Titley)	3	Osbern fitz Richard le Scrob (4)
	WALELEGE (?Ailey)	2	Gilbert fitz Turolde (5)
	HERDESLEGE (Eardisley)	½	Hugh l'Asne (6)
	CICUURDINE (Chickward)	1 virg.	Hugh l'Asne
	MAURDINE, MAUURDINE	2	Griffin fitz Meriadoc (7)
CURDESLEGE	1	„ „ „ (7)	
HEZETRE	BERCHELINCOPPE (Burlingjobb)	2	King William (8)
	RADENOURE (Old Radnor and Walton)	15	„ „ (9)
STRATFORD	EATUNE (Eyton)	5	Hereford Canons (10)
	BURLEI	½	Roger de Laci (11)
	STRADFORD (Stratford)	2	Alured of Marlborough
	CLAUNGE (Clehonger)	5	Ansfrid of Cormeiles
TORNELAU	SUCWESSEN (Sugwas)	2	Hereford Canons (12, 13)
BREMESSE	WADINTONE, WIDINTONA (Withington)	8	„ „ (12, 13)
	ETTONE, EATONA (Eaton, in Foy in Archenfield)	2½	Alured of Marlborough
	PENEBRUGE (Pembridge in Archenfield)	9 less 1 virg.	„ „ „ (14)
	MERCHELEI (Marcle)	3	Thurstan fitz Ralf (16)

<i>Domesday Hundred</i>	<i>Manor (1)</i>	<i>Hideage</i>	<i>DB Tenant in Chief (2)</i>
RADELAU	ARCHEL (Yarkhill)	2	Roger de Laci
	BRISMERFRUM (Castle Frome)	5	" " "
	MERCHELAI (Little Marcle)	5	" " " (3)
	STRETTONE (Stretton Grandison)	3½	William fitz Baderon (3)
	WITEUUCHE (Whitwick)	2	" " " (3)
	SPERTONE (Ashperton)	5½	" " " (15)
	COURE (Cowarne)	15	Alured of Marlborough
CUTESTORNE	LUDE (Lyde)	2	Roger de Laci (3)
	BURGELLE (Burghill)	8	Alured of Marlborough
	HOPE, BRUNESHOP (Brinsop)	5	" " " (17)
	MONETONE, MONINTONA in STRADELEI (Monnington in Golden Valley)	5	" " "
	BROCHEWRDIE, BRODEWORDIN (Bredwardine)	5	" " "
	MIDEWDE, MIDELWUDE (Middlewood)	2	Gilbert fitz Turolde
	DODINTONE, DORSINTON (Dorstone)	7	Drogo fitz Poinz
STAPLESET	MALUESHULLE (Mansell Gamage)	8	Roger de Laci
	BRUGE, BRIGE (Bridge Sellers)	5	Hereford Canons (12, 13)
PLEGELGET	COLINTONE	3	" " (12, 13)

NOTES

1. The spelling of hundred and manor names follows, in the main, the spelling in Balliol Domesday (see Chap. III). Where two manor names are given, the second name is that of the Balliol MS. or the marginal annotation in the Balliol MS.: the second variant is only given where it differs substantially from the form in the Domesday text. The manor names in brackets are the modern equivalent place-names where these can be reasonably identified.

2. The tenants in chief are the names given as such in the Domesday text and not those of holders given in the Balliol text marginalia, which are applicable to a somewhat later period. The tables are designed to show what happened to Harold Godwinson's manors at the time of the grants after the Conquest as recorded in 1086.

3. Recorded as held by Turchil of Harold.

4. There were two manors at Titley, one in Elsedune and the other in Hezetre Hundred. Both were granted to Osbern fitz Richard le Scrob in the 1086 record. The former was before the Conquest held by Harold; the latter was held by T.R.E. Osbern fitz Richard himself.

5. This manor is recorded as having a *domus defensibilis* (one of the two in Elsedune Hundred). The other one was at Eardisley. Walelege has been believed to be represented today by the group of Willey sites, 2 miles NNE. of Presteigne. The difficulty is that the *domus defensibilis* of Walelege is recorded as in Elsedune Hundred, whereas the Willey sites are in what was Hezetre Hundred or even the Lenteurde Hundred of Salop. The satisfactory identification of virtually all the Elsedune and Hezetre Hundred manors within the geographical boundaries of the hundreds as they can be identified therefore rules out the identification of the *domus defensibilis* of Walelege as being one of the Willey sites. Walelege in Elsedune was most likely at or near Ailey in Eardisley.

6. Neither of the two entries of land at Eardisley formerly held by Harold and in

1086 held by the king and Hugh l'Asne indicate that the main manor at Eardisley with its *domus defensibilis* was ever held by Harold, as was the *domus defensibilis* of Walelege, or by King Edward. The former is catalogued under Roger de Laci's lands as formerly held by Edwin and as not paying customary geld or included in any hundred.

7. Mauuerdin and Curdeslege have not yet been satisfactorily identified. The suggested identification of the former with Marden is untenable as being right out of the neighbourhood of Elsedune Hundred and the rest of Griffin's lands. Both manors should lie in the Eardisley-Kington area.

8. Burlingjobb is recorded in D.B. as *Sol tenuit T.R.E.* Burlingjobb adjoins Harold's head manor (in this part of the county) of (Old) Radnor. Although both these manors, with Osbern fitz Richard's manors in the Hindwell Valley, are in Hezetre Hundred, they adjoin Harold's manors around Kington and Huntington in Elsedune Hundred which King William also seized. It seems probable that Burlingjobb manor, which lies south of, and adjoins, (Old) Radnor manor, was part of Harold's head domain.

9. For the site of Harold's castle at Old Radnor manor, see argument at pp. 33-35. D.B. records that the 15 hides 'were and are waste' but carried thirty ploughs, and further that 'Hugh l'Asne says that Earl William fitz Osbern gave this land to himself when he gave him (that is to Hugh l'Asne) the land of his ancestor Turchil'. This suggests that Turchil may have held Radnor manor before Harold. For political reasons, no doubt, King William granted to himself this important head manor of Harold, rather than leave it in Earl William's tenure.

10. Given by Earl William to Walter the Bishop.

11. Held by a thane of Harold's.

12. Given back by King William to Walter the Bishop.

13. Recorded as 'unjustly' held by Harold.

14. This is Pembridge in Archenfield, and not Pembridge in the Leominster district. It is so described in *V.C.H.* but the annotator in *B.D.B.*, p. 114, suggested that it had been erroneously transferred in Domesday to Bremesse Hundred whereas it should have been in Stratford Hundred where the Leominster Pembridge is more or less situated. There is really no justification for this suggestion: the reference to Alured of Marlborough's Pembridge follows an entry for Ettone (= Eaton in Foy) which is in the immediate vicinity of Pembridge in Archenfield in which neighbourhood Alured also had the castellany of Ewyas Harold.

15. Recorded as held of Harold by Wluni.

16. Recorded as held of Harold by Brititne.

17. Recorded as formerly held by Osbern Pentecost, uncle of Alured of Marlborough 'when Earls Godwin and Harold were exiled'.

CHAPTER III

Of the Domesday Manors

DUKE WILLIAM of Normandy's first preoccupation after the Conquest was to secure the March of Wales. North of the *comitatum* granted to Earl William fitz Osbern in the Herefordshire area, the king proceeded to create the Palatine county of Chester with a quasi-Palatine earldom of Shrewsbury in between. In Herefordshire Earl William refortified Ewyas Harold: numerous other castles were built along the border. Within four years of Hastings, Hereford was pre-eminent among the shires of England for its Norman castles and fiefs.

King William had good reason for appointing the loyal and energetic Earl William to hold the Herefordshire border lands. The population of the shire as a whole, still more so the Welsh beyond the border, were showing no signs of willingness to accept Norman rule. The powerful Englishman Eadric, surnamed the Savage by the Normans, dominated Herefordshire and Shropshire and, as usual, in the tangled web of border politics found the Welsh quite ready to intervene in any adventure which looked promising.

In their company Eadric '*Herefordensem provinciam usque ad pontem amnis Luege [the Lugg river] divastavit ingentemque praedam reduxit*', after which he successfully retired into Wales, as Florence of Worcester records.¹ That was in 1067. In 1068 three illegitimate sons of Harold raided the Bristol Channel, and Earls Edwin and Morcar in alliance with the Welsh started a revolt in Mercia. These enterprises proved abortive, but Eadric remained in the field. By the early part of 1070 Earl William had, however, mastered the trouble in the west: Eadric made his submission to the king, receiving back some of his lands. When in 1070 Earl William returned to Normandy he had pacified the border and completed the organization of the March from Ludlow

¹ *Chron. Worcester* (English Hist. Soc.), vol. ii, p. 2.

to Chepstow. He was killed in Flanders in the following year, leaving as his monument in England a chain of Norman strong points on the Welsh border and a number of boroughs which he had created to organize urban centres. The enlightened franchises and the laws of his boroughs like Ludlow and Hereford served as models for the rest of England.

What neither the king nor Earl William seems to have quite foreseen was the power which these military border fiefs with their numerous great castles in a Palatine administration¹ placed in the hands of the Marcher Lords. The original grants of land to the great border families, the Lacis, the Mortimers, the Bohuns, and the Braoses, were made in part by Earl William himself. Others were grants by the king, or confirmations of the earl's grants. Alured of Marlborough's grant of land, though not so extensive in this part of the world as that of many others, included the rebuilt castle of Ewyas Harold. The grant was confirmed by the king, as Domesday records: 'He himself surrendered to him [Alured] all those lands which Earl William had given him and confirmed him in his tenure of that castle.' The largest of the original grants of land in Herefordshire was to Roger de Laci. It consisted of some ninety manors with the castles of Ewyas Laci and Clifford guarding two main passes between England and Wales. Ralf de Mortimer in addition to his castle at Wigmore, which Earl William had made in the 'waste called Merestone', received some seventeen estates in Herefordshire besides others in Shropshire. His Herefordshire lands were highly productive to judge by the Domesday returns, and this may account for the early growth to importance of the Mortimer family which was destined to overshadow the Lacis and even the throne of England. Within a few years of the Domesday survey the Mortimers began to extend their domains in the direction of Presteigne and the Hindwell Valley at the expense of the Scrob family, the original grantees in that area.²

¹ That is the Palatine earldoms of Chester, Shrewsbury, Hereford, and Glamorgan.

² Cf. Round on Domesday in *V.C.H.*; Stenton in *R.C.H.M.*, Intro. to vol. iii; Bannister, *Herefordshire and its place in English History*, Hereford, 1912; D. Jerrold, *An Introduction to the History of England* (Collins, 1949), chap. 10.

The first recorded history of the Hindwell Valley manors is in the Domesday Book which for Herefordshire is a puzzling, tantalizing, exasperating, and enthralling document. It displays problems and peculiarities unknown elsewhere in England. This is perhaps natural in a border county which contained important Mercian and Wessex thanes, pre-Conquest Norman knights, and a large element of Welsh.

One of the great difficulties in considering Domesday Herefordshire has always lain in the definition of the Domesday Hundreds of the county. The county is usually considered to have contained sixteen hundreds.¹ Duncumb lists twenty-four, but includes in his total two hundreds mentioned in the Herefordshire catalogue as belonging to Worcestershire, several names which are obviously or probably variant spellings of the same names,² and some names which do not appear to be really hundreds at all since they are shown as comprising only one manor or a very few manors each: in certain cases these 'hundreds' are only referred to once in the texts. An example may be quoted of such a 'hundred' in the north-west of the county. Lene manor is described as in Lene Hundred, the only sole reference in Domesday to any manor in that 'hundred'. The name Lene or Leine, however, recurs in the names of King's Lene (Kingsland), Orleslene (Eardisland), Monecheslene (Monkland), Lenhale (Lyonshall), and Lenhale (Leinthall), all manors situated in or around the middle Lugg River plain, the centre of which is Leominster. Lene in fact seems to be the pre-Domesday name for the Leominster plain area. It is relevant that the great manor of Leominster which 'Queen Edith had T.R.E.', one of the greatest agricultural estates in England, was not included in any hundred in Domesday: nor were its many outlying but then dependent manors, though situated geographically in hundreds the boundaries of which can be ascertained. The manor of Leominster and these dependent manors may thus have been the area or an administrative district called Lene before Domesday.

The problem of the Herefordshire Domesday Hundreds is further complicated by the fact that within a short time of

¹ See *V.C.H.*, p. 302.

² Duncumb, vol. i, p. 59.

the survey of 1086 eleven of the Domesday Hundreds disappear and five new hundred names not mentioned in the survey turn up. Two of the new hundred names, Huntington around Kington, and Wigmore, closely connected with the story of this book, are the names of manors in the Domesday Hundreds of Hezetre and Elsedune which are among the vanished divisions. Finally, the boundaries of the post-Domesday Hundreds, which were hundreds named in Domesday, are not conterminous with those of the survey.¹ These difficulties, added to some very varied and free spelling of names of manors or errors of transcription, have till recently made the identification of many Herefordshire Domesday manors both puzzling and doubtful. The modern historian is, however, particularly fortunate in now having available a second Domesday text for Herefordshire.

This work, the original of which is in the library of Balliol College, Oxford, has been published in facsimile and transcript by the Pipe Roll Society with invaluable notes.² The manuscript was made for the Exchequer Office in 1160-70 from the original Domesday text of 1086 which it follows closely but not entirely. The great value of the Balliol transcript is that many of the manor names have been corrected where errors of transcription or obscurities in the spelling occur in the original text. In the margin of the Balliol manuscript are certain other additions which again correct the spelling of place-names and record some changes of tenancies since the original grants. This document has made it possible to identify nearly all the hitherto unidentified manors, at any rate in the north-western corner of the county. With some additional local research it is now possible not only to place all the manors, except about three in the two north-western hundreds with which this story is concerned, but also to establish with tolerable accuracy the boundaries of these two vanished Domesday Hundreds.

Added to the Balliol Domesday manuscript are a number of folios of somewhat later date. These consist of summaries, inventories, lists of hides and tenants, a statement of the

¹ Cf. *V.C.H.*, pp. 301-2.

² *Herefordshire Domesday*, Pipe Roll Soc. No. 25, New Series, 1950, edited by Galbraith and Tait.

ferm of Herefordshire, and an extract of the Pipe Roll for the county for 1171-2, which are invaluable substitutes for the missing Pipe Rolls for the shire of Henry I's reign. One of these additional folios contains the first recorded reference to Presthemede (Presteigne) which does not figure in the Domesday survey though it probably already existed in the eleventh century if not before. Numerous other problems have also been cleared up, notably the establishment beyond reasonable doubt that the manors described as of certain hundreds were actually in their proper divisions and that no manors of other hundreds need be sought in them, or vice versa. This, as will be seen, is of particular importance in connexion with the post-Domesday manor of Stapleton and the hitherto mistaken attribution of the Domesday *domus defensibilis* of Walelege to Wilkey north of Stapleton.¹

Hezetre Hundred with which we are mainly concerned was called, it is supposed, after the hundredal meeting-place at 'the Hazel tree'. Such meeting-places at physical features antedate Domesday and being, in this case, a tree or trees, it is not surprising that the actual whereabouts of the place has been lost to memory. No place-name has been found which gives a clue. A possible lead to the area in which the Hezetre hundredal meeting-place might have been situated is, however, contained in an inquisition on the boundaries of Herefordshire dated to the reign of Henry III (1216-72). This document² which is discussed later contains the following phrase: 'In the Hundred of Stretford the valley of the Lugg otherwise the land of the Lord of Richard's Castle [that is the descendants of Osbern fitz Richard le Scrob] ought to come [to the hundred court] at Rowe Ditch under Pembridge. . . .' Note that the locus of the hundred court was not at a named place but 'at Rowe Ditch', a named and extant dyke which can truly be described as 'under Pembridge', on the second alignment of Offa's Dyke. The description of the land in question as 'in the Hundred of Stratford' would be correct after the disappearance of the Hundred of Hezetre for which the document thus also

¹ See Chap. V, p. 124.

² P.R.O.: Inquisicio de divisas per XXVII: C. 145/19/12.

gives an approximate limiting date. The section of Rowe Ditch 'under Pembridge' in question lies in the Domesday Hundred of Hezetre and runs from Milton cross-roads by Leen Farm where it crosses the Arrow to Pitfield Farm, a mile south-west of Pembridge.

Hezetre Hundred occupies the north-western corner of Herefordshire from the Leominster plain and the hilly country north-east of Wigmore to the undefined border with Wales. It includes the Lugg and Hindwell group of manors and a large area of fertile land around Kington as far south as the Wye at Whitney. The Domesday Hundred as described contained numerous manors which lay west of Offa's Dyke, notably Cascob and Discoed in the Lugg Valley above Presteigne, and Old Radnor and Burlingjobb in the Radnor basin. North of Hezetre came the Lenteurde Hundred of Salop. South-east of Hezetre lay the Elsedune Hundred of Herefordshire with part of its southern border on the Wye. Elsedune Hundred included a large group of manors around Eardisley and Kinnersley, and ran east by Sarnesfield and Dilwyn to the ecclesiastical estate of Leominster. It included also the Huntington group of estates south-east of Kington and also west of Offa's Dyke. The Roman road from Kenchester to Leintwardine called, as in other parts of England other Roman roads were also called, Watling Street, was the approximate eastern boundary for several miles of both Elsedune and Hezetre Hundreds.

The name of Elsedune Hundred apparently survives in Elsdon¹ Farm about one mile south of Lyonshall not far from, but west of, the western alignment of Offa's Dyke. However, there is near Eardisley on Hurstway Common at the turning to Lower Welson a great oak called the 'Council Oak'. It is 31 feet in circumference at 6 feet above ground. It is said locally to be '1500 years old' and to have been a 'Meeting Place'. From the oak there is a magnificent view down the Wye Valley to the hills beyond Hereford: in the other direction the view is north-east to Upper Welson and Quebb. The name 'Welson' may of course be, as much as 'Elsdon', the survivor of 'Elsedune'. The great oak is hollow

¹ Cf. Woolhope Club Centenary Volume, p. 136.

because fires had been lighted in it and though the main boughs are broken and rotten, the young growth is quite healthy. The cottager near by believes the oak stands over a spring: at any rate he has a well with water at 20 feet. Less than a mile away at Woods Eaves the jury of the Court Leet and Court Baron of the Manor of Eardisley used to mark in memory the start of the perambulation of the manor by hoisting a lad into an oak (? the Council Oak) and burning a bolting of straw under him: the perambulation finished at the oak.¹

In Hezetre Hundred, King William held Harold's former manors of Radnor and Burlingjobb. In Elsedune Hundred the king similarly took over Harold's manors² as well as those belonging to King Edward, together with Whitney on Wye which was held by one Elward and adjoined the manor of Willersley and Winforton which was one of Harold's.

In Hezetre, Ralf de Mortimer held Wigmore Castle and all the manors in the western and northern part of the hundred as far south as Ledicot, Shobdon, and Staunton-on-Arrow. He also held a manor called Pelelei, which is certainly Pilleth on the Lugg above Presteigne. He held no lands in Elsedune Hundred. Four manors in Hezetre Hundred other than those held by Osbern fitz Richard, to which we will shortly come, were held, as to three by Roger de Laci, who also had seven in Elsedune around Lyonshall and Eardisley, and one by Hugh l'Asne, who also had two portions of $\frac{1}{2}$ hide at Eardisley and 1 hide and a virgate at Chickward. Hugh's manor in Hezetre was Bernoldune, one of the few unidentified manors in the hundred. He also held a 'Lege' manor in Elsedune which is not to be confused with the 'Leges' of Hezetre to which we shall come in due course.

The remaining lands in Hezetre were held by Osbern fitz Richard le Scrob, whose *caput* was Richard's Castle in Cutesborne Hundred. One of his manors was extra-hundredal though geographically in Hezetre. He is described in Domesday as having held the manors T.R.E.; he received them from his father who acquired them during Earl Ralf's

¹ Leathers, *Folklore of Herefordshire*, 1912, p. 150.

² Listed in appendix to Chap. II.

régime. Osbern also held, outside Hezetre and Elsedune, five¹ other manors, including Bodenham and Ludford near Ludlow which is now in Shropshire but was then in Domesday Herefordshire.

Translated from Domesday Latin into English, the inventory of Osbern fitz Richard's lands in Hezetre and Elsedune reads as follows:²

Osbern son of Richard in Hezetre Hundred holds Mildetune. He himself held [it] T.R.E. There [are] two hides geldable. On the demesne is one plough and [there are] six villeins with three ploughs. There [are] three serfs and one bordar. The woods are four furlongs [taking] length and breadth together. It was waste. Now it is worth 20 shillings.

The same Osbern holds Boitune. He himself held it T.R.E. There [are] two hides. On the demesne is half a plough and [there are] four villeins and two bordars with two ploughs and there could be two more. There is one [wood containing] broce [brushwood]. It was worth 12 shillings: now 20 shillings.

The same Osbern holds and held Bradlege as one hide, and Titlege as three hides, and Bruntune as one hide, and Chenille as two hides and Hercope as half a hide, and Hertune as three hides and Hech as one hide, and Clatretune as two hides, and Querentune as one hide, and Discote as three hides and Cascope as half a hide.

On these eleven manors is land for thirty-six ploughs but it was, and is waste. It never paid geld. It lies on the Marches of Wales.

The same Osbern holds Lege and held it. There is a half a hide and there could be one plough. There is one villein. It was worth as much as 5 shillings.

In these wastes have grown up woods in which the same Osbern practices hunting. And from them he has what he can take.

There is nothing else.

The same Osbern, in Elsedune Hundred, holds Titlege. Earl Harold held it. There are three hides geldable. There is land for six ploughs. It was and is waste. Nevertheless there is one 'haia' in a small wood.

¹ The manor of Rechesford (Rochford near Tenbury) in Vlfei (Wolphy) Hundred is rubricated in B.D.B., p. 63, f. 33, as 'O. fil' Hug', which the editors in their note at p. 119 interpret as Osbern Lord of Richard's Castle. This Osbern fitz Hugh was the grandson of the Osbern fitz Richard of Domesday and son of the Hugh who married Eustachia de Say and took her family name. Cf. B.D.B., p. 119, and genealogical table.

² B.D.B., p. 65, f. 34.

This laconic but dramatic account could scarcely be bettered. It summarizes the early history of the Hindwell Valley in which most of the manors lay on the March of Wales after the wars of Gruffydd ap Llewellyn and perhaps also of Eadric the Savage. Rich in quality, for the group of eleven manors on the Hindwell and Lugg had enough land for no less than thirty-six ploughs, the land had for the most part gone back to bush, and woods had grown up where Osbern could find no more to do than hunt, for—*nil aliud* as the text says—there was nothing else.

Before considering the identification of the manors, it may be well to make some comment on the terms used in the inventory. The hide, originally an area adequate to support a freeman, had by Domesday become a fiscal unit of assessment. A hide varied in different parts of England even as an areal unit, just as the acre once did until it was fixed by statute as 22 yards by 220 yards, that is 1 chain by 10 chains or 1 furlong. The hideage assessment of a manor in Domesday is therefore in no sense a precise indication of the acreage of a manor. Moreover, the fiscal assessment of a manor referred primarily to arable or improved acreage. Thus two manors of 1 hide each might vary in actual amount of arable acreage and much more so in the amount of pasture, heathland, and woods which went with the manor.

Another Domesday areal measurement, also a fiscal conception, was the carucate which has been accepted as of Norman origin, whereas the hide seems in the main to connote a pre-Norman organization and assessment.

A plough refers, of course, to a team of plough oxen which, according to the Exchequer, for assessment purposes was usually a 'notional' team of eight oxen. In practice, 'a plough' in the official mind was therefore a 'fiscal plough' rather like the 'fiscal hide'. But there is evidence in England of plough teams of four and six beasts. In one of the addenda of the mid-twelfth century to the Balliol Domesday are given the numbers of oxen on the royal manors of Marden, Lugwardine, Stamford, Linton, and Wilton in the county. In each case, the number is a multiple of six, while the Domesday records of the number of ploughs on the desmesnes of Lugwardine and Marden, which had each eighteen oxen, is

given as three. On these manors, at any rate, the normal plough team thus seems to have been of six oxen.¹

The various categories of men living on the manors in order of duties and subordination are not easy to define. In the highest degree were the villeins, who possessed a holding, as a rule a virgate of land or $\frac{1}{4}$ hide, but frequently smaller, and scattered about the manor fields in strips or plots. Analogous probably to villeins were the *bovarii* who kept the oxen. Where *bovarii* are not specifically mentioned, their duty probably fell to the villeins, who might apparently own cattle themselves, even if they were in theory the property of the lord of the manor.

A category of Domesday tenant peculiar to Herefordshire and the neighbouring counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and Shropshire are the *radmanni* or *radchenistres*. They were probably 'free men' since under Deerhurst in Gloucestershire where their holdings were important they are recorded in Domesday as *radchen idest liberi homines*. Their status is thus clearly not that of servile people, though in Gloucestershire they were liable to certain duties of ploughing and mowing. Since they do not seem to be French, and are certainly not Welsh because all those tenants that were of these sorts are specifically so described, the 'radmen' may represent what later came to be yeomen, who had been cultivating land for their own account before the Normans came.

Below the villeins and associated degrees came the 'bordars' and 'cottars' with smaller holdings, and finally below them the *servi* and *ancillae* who had no property and were land slaves. In addition to all these, there was the Norman element, other than the lords, represented by knights (*militares*), 'Frenchmen' (*francigenes*), and sergeants (*servientes*) who all seem to have been of foreign origin.²

The Domesday descriptions of woodland are difficult to render accurately. There is a *haia*; and at Titley a '*haia* in a

¹ Cf. B.D.B., p. xxxii.

² Cf. *V.C.H.*, p. 286. A catalogue of the recorded Domesday population of Herefordshire is contained in Darby and Terrett's *Domesday Geography of Midland England*, C.U.P. 1954, at p. 73; see below, p. 80.

wood'. A *haia* was an enclosure surrounded by a hedge from which the name derives. A 'haia in a wood' could thus be an enclosure for sheltering or rounding up game animals or stock. Then there is a *broce* which evidently was an area of brushwood, suitable perhaps for providing kindling or oven firing but free from large trees which the deciduous forests of the area would contain with less accessible brushwood.

In his comment on the Herefordshire Domesday survey Round considers that where areal units are given in hides, there is evidence of English possession, but when land is reckoned in carucates, it may be regarded as having been acquired or settled in a more recent epoch. On this definition, the Osbern manors were ancient English units which concords with other evidence. But Round goes on to recognize in this area the significantly old English 5-hide unit, traditionally the minimum holding of a thane, mainly, as it seems, on the strength of the 15-hide manor of Radnor, the 5-hide manor of Norton near Presteigne in Domesday Shropshire, and the 5-hide manor of Leine.¹ It is difficult to follow his reasoning here because, with the exception of these three manors, the 5-hide unit, either as a manor unit by itself or as a unit made up of several smaller manors contiguous to each other, is conspicuously absent hereabouts. The importance of the 5-hide unit has been demonstrated in other parts of England: its very absence in these border hundreds of Herefordshire is significant. The tight-fitting manors in the Hindwell Valley only make up 5 hides if Chenille is included with Bradlege, Hech, and Bruntune,² but geographically Hercope goes with Chenille and the latter as we shall see is always treated separately from the other three and is usually found in a different lordship. Again, with the exception of Norton there is no 5-hide unit or grouping in the Lugg Valley. The fact is that the topography of the Lugg and Hindwell Valleys militates against the 5-hide grouping.

The commentator continues by pointing out that the Hindwell and Lugg Valleys constituted 'an English pro-

¹ For Leine see p. 42.

² For the modern place-names see p. 55 below.

montory into Wales¹ and he notes that only a little of the land involved is beyond Offa's Dyke. This, of course, needs a good deal of qualification in the light of further identifications of manors since his comment was written. The lack of any relation between Offa's Dyke and manor or later parish boundaries has already been mentioned. His reference to these manors as constituting a promontory into Wales and his apparent surprise when he writes 'yet in Domesday the Hindwell Valley was described as in Herefordshire' is difficult to explain when in fact many English manors T.R.E. lay west of Offa's Dyke as far as Huntington, Harpton, Burlingjobb, and Cascob. There seems little doubt that these valleys and the whole Radnor plain were considered to have been administratively in England well before 1066. Furthermore, geographically, if taken with the Kington group, there is of course no question of these lands being a promontory into Wales: today Presteigne parish survives as a salient of Wales into England.

It would have been particularly interesting to have had for the Hindwell Valley manors a catalogue of the inhabitants, since in spite of their being described as waste they were not necessarily uninhabited in 1086. The experience of even catastrophic devastation during two world wars in Europe has been of the tenacity of the peasant on his farm in spite of death flying intensively through the air. The Domesday classification of 'waste' probably means no more than that a manor was not productive or fully productive or an organized enterprise which could pay full dues and taxes in money or kind. It does not follow that there was no cultivation or inhabitation of 'waste' land. It is nevertheless quite understandable, though unfortunate, that the classification of 'waste' has caused the omission of any reference to the classes or numbers of people living on such land. The only circumstantial evidence for the population quota of manors in this area are the meagre recorded figures for Mildetune and Boitune manors. That the eleven devastated manors could have had as many as thirty-six ploughs suggests a once much denser population on their 18 hides than had survived at Milton and Byton; and this is confirmed to some

¹ *V.C.H.*, p. 265.

extent by the population of Wapley and Staunton manors.¹ The actual available land for arable at Bradlege, Hech, Bruntune, Chenille, Hercope, and Cascope is, as will be seen, pretty limited. They could not have used much more than one plough each in most cases and perhaps two at Chenille. The conclusion is that more arable land was available at Hertune, Discote, and Titlege and that this accounted for the large number of estimated ploughs which could have existed.

There is no evidence about when these manors became waste. Since, however, the two neighbouring manors of Mildtune and Boitune had been restored and were paying geld by 1086, the devastation is on the whole more likely to have occurred during the Gruffydd wars than under Eadric the Savage's period of activity. The two restored manors are east of the main group of waste lands which lie on the very border or west of Offa's Dyke. There is some evidence of considerable reclamation from 'waste' in the Domesday record between 1066 and 1086.

The identification of Domesday manors is an engaging pursuit to which many people have devoted a great deal of time and occasionally some acrimony. Where written records in deeds and state papers do not provide direct evidence, recourse has to be had to geographical conditions and the similarity of Domesday names with existing place-names. The real difficulty of this method is that sufficiently detailed local knowledge of physiography, topography, and agriculture are usually not available to the commentator. Indeed, an adequate amount of this sort of knowledge can only be possessed by any one person of a very restricted area. It is difficult to have enough knowledge even of a hundred let alone a whole county to make reasonable deductions where written records do not exist. Even when considerable local topographical and agricultural knowledge does exist for a restricted area, little bits of new information keep on turning up which provide either additional, or, unfortunately, contradictory evidence. The process of identification must therefore be a continuous one and no apology is needed if in a few years' time the author has new ideas even about his

¹ See below, p. 66.

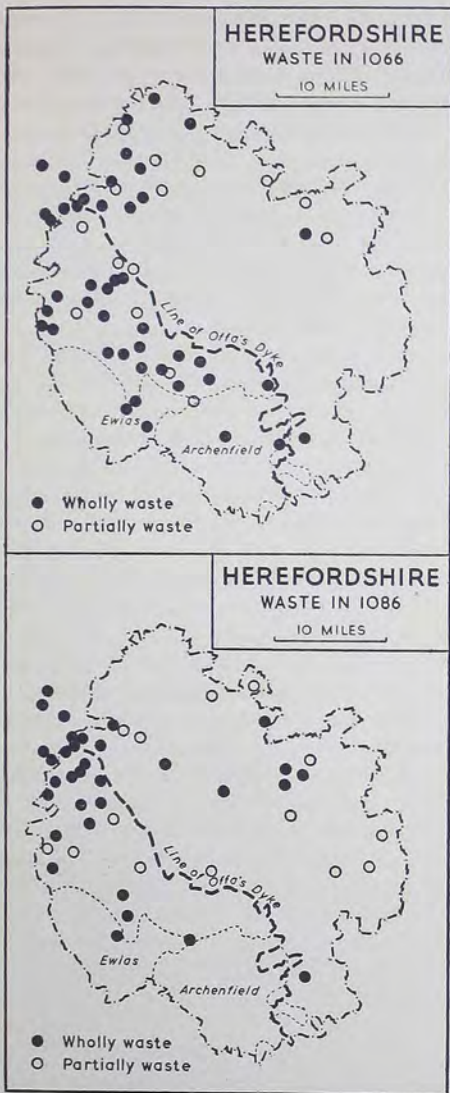


FIG. 1. Herefordshire waste manors
 from 'The Domesday Geography of Midland England',
 Darby and Tessel. C.U.P. 1954.

own district. Nor is any apology necessary either for limiting present identifications to a very small area and so leaving much more important problems on one side. Finally the point must again be stressed that even an intimate knowledge of topography is not enough without some knowledge of agriculture. It is no use identifying a Domesday manor with an existing place-name even on good *prima facie* historical and geographical grounds if you cannot at that place find the sort of ground where a manorial agricultural enterprise could have been carried on: it is no use seeking to identify manor fields in what was a swamp or a blasted heath or 1,500 feet above sea-level.

Many of the identifications which follow accord with those given in the *Victoria County History* by Round and others, and in Duncumb's and his successors' studies for the history of Herefordshire. They are based mainly on traditional or documentary material, though in some cases on circumstantial evidence only. Several of the identifications now given for the first time represent the product of recent research by the author using local knowledge and the help of friends. These identifications are discussed in greater detail than is necessary for the accepted identifications contained in the works mentioned.¹

The Domesday record of Osbern's lands begins with the fairly detailed note on Mildetune and Boitune manors. It then goes on to mention the eleven waste manors of Bradlege, Titlege, Bruntune, Chenille, Hercople, Hertune, Hech, Clatretune, Querentune, Discote, and Cascope as a group, and ends with a more detailed note on Lege. The order in which the manors are mentioned is important because it is a guide to their relative positions. The order of listing follows in the main the logical course a man might take coming from Richard's Castle to visit Osbern's domains and returning to his principal centre. After the identifications given in the following list evidence will be presented for the identification of each manor in turn.

¹ Since these works are under constant and detailed notice in the following pages, references page by page in text or footnote would be out of place and the reader is referred to the quoted works generally.

- MILDETUNE = Milton, is about one mile south-west of Shobdon.¹
- BOITUNE = Byton, is about two miles NNW. of Milton and the same distance NW. of Shobdon.
- BRADLEGE = The Rodd, is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles SSW. of Presteigne at the eastern end of the enclosed part of the Hindwell Valley and on the right bank.
- TITLEGE = Titley, is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of and adjoining The Rodd. The present village is on the Presteigne-Kington road; the manor lands run up to join The Rodd lands. Osbern held two manors at Titlege, both of 3 hides: the second one was in Elsedune Hundred, that is, south of the Hezetre Titlege. It also was waste.
- BRUNTUNE = Little Brampton, is one mile south-west of The Rodd in the Hindwell Valley and on the right bank.
- CHENILLE = Knill, is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles WSW. of Little Brampton in the narrowest part of the Hindwell Valley and right on the river.
- HERCOPE = Little Harpton, is one mile upstream of Knill at the end of a cwm off the narrowest part of the Hindwell Valley where it leaves the Radnor basin: it is on the right bank of the Hindwell close to the stream and under Herrock Hill.
- HERTUNE = Harpton, is on the right bank of the Summergil brook about three miles west of Lower Harpton and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from New Radnor. Intervening between Hercope and Hertune was the manor of Radenoure (Old Radnor) which had been Earl Harold's and passed to King William. Hertune is the westernmost of Osbern's manors. The listing order now returns eastwards with
- HECH = Nash, on the right bank of the Hindwell between Little Brampton and The Rodd, just north of the track which connected all the manors in the valley and Bradlege and Chenille directly.²

¹ The most convenient maps to refer to are the 1-inch Ordnance Survey sheets 128 and 129; as a starting-point: Shobdon is near Mortimer's Cross, seven miles north-west of Leominster.

² Connecting with the manor track by way of Nash ford over the Hindwell.

Returning by the north, or left bank, of the Hindwell which can here be crossed at Nash ford, with its surviving pack bridge, the listing order then gives

CLATRETUNE = Clatterbrune, at the entrance to Presteigne on the Clatter brook with its land lying between the Lugg and Hindwell due north of The Rodd.

QUERENTUNE = is probably just up stream of Presteigne near the junction of the Presteigne-Knighton and Presteigne-Discoed roads.

DISCOTE = Discoed, is on the Lugg two miles above (west of) Presteigne.

CASCOPE = Cascob, is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Discoed in a cwm in the hills at the head of the Cascob brook, a small tributary of the Lugg.

Returning from Cascope towards Shobdon and Richard's Castle, past Discote and Clatretune, but following the north bank of the Lugg, north of Boitune and on through the Kinsham gorge, you come to

LEGE = Upper Lye, on the left bank of the river about two miles from Aymestrey where the Lugg bursts out of the hills and turns south. After leaving the hills the traveller would use Watling Street, the Roman road from Leintwardine and Wigmore to Mortimer's Cross, and then go by Croft to Richard's Castle.

Lege is the last of Osbern's fourteen manors in Hezetre Hundred. At the time of the survey only the three eastern manors, Mildetune, Boitune, and Lege, were working. Between these and the eleven waste manors of the western group, there is a gap of two miles. The manner and order in which they are listed and described are topographically logical and follow known old tracks.

In addition to these manors Osbern also held Wapletone (Wapley) which is included as an extra-hundredal manor formerly belonging to the ecclesiastical manor of Leominster. Wapley lay on the southern slopes of Wapley Hill and was more or less conterminous with The Rodd and Titley manors.¹

¹ See below, p. 65.

The manor of Milton (Mildetune) contains the first piece of available arable south of Shobdon which was called Scepedune and was held by Ralf de Mortimer who had a solid block of land all the way from Wigmore, four miles farther north. The land due south of Shobdon was marsh and some of it still is on the eastern and southern edges of the airfield built during the 1939-45 war. Milton stands on a dry open ridge, running south-west of Shobdon down to the Arrow Valley. This identification follows tradition and is accepted by Duncumb and the *Victoria County History*. Milton was a manor of 2 hides and had one plough in the demesne with, in addition, six villeins and three more ploughs, three serfs, and one bordar. It had been waste but was then geldable and valued at 20s. It lies in an extension northwards of the parish of Pembridge but close to the border of Staunton-on-Arrow parish. Pembridge parish today is a large area which includes several manors and is a later composite parochial unit.

The manor of Byton (Boitune) lies at the western foot of Shobdon Hill, in a well-drained area below Shobdon Woods and looking west over Byton bog, a relic of one of the Hindwell-Lugg glacier lakes. This bog once extended towards Combe, where the Lugg and Hindwell meet, and Broadheath Common, the eastern end of which was also obviously liable to flooding from both streams. North of the Lugg runs a track (now a lane) to Presteigne clear of the flood-level: it is reached by crossing the Lugg where it enters the hills near Kinsham, eventually to flow past Upper Lye and emerge at Aymestrey. Byton was a 2-hide manor valued at 12s., but later worth 20s.; it lies between the 500- and 600-foot contours. There evidently was a settlement, probably where Byton hamlet now is, in Domesday because, in addition to half a plough team in the demesne, there were four villeins and two bordars with two more ploughs and land enough for two more ploughs still. The wood, which contained 'broce', was probably one of the low woods at Byton or near Kinsham on the Lugg bank. This identification follows that of other authorities; the manor coincides with the small parish of Byton which adjoins the Milton extension of Pembridge parish. Both Milton and Byton

were manors held by Osbern T.R.E. Milton was perhaps restored from Byton after sharing in the devastation of the other eleven waste manors farther west.

The identification of Bradlege as The Rodd does not follow other authorities which were in doubt about it. The identification is, in the main, derived from field names and local knowledge, which would scarcely be available to anyone not living on the land and farming it. Some authorities¹ had suggested that Broadheath between Byton and Presteigne was intended, oblivious of the fact that lower Broadheath must have been bog and the whole of it at best heathland partly liable to flood from both Lugg and Hindwell. Its eastern end is still liable to floods when the two rivers come down in spate to meet near Combe Bridge. The fields on either side of the Shobdon—Presteigne road between Combe Bridge and the 'Cat and Fiddle' display no marks of being old manor fields. On the other hand, west of the 'Cat and Fiddle' they display every characteristic of having been old arable fields. Here the land is not liable to flood because of a low rise of ground between the Hindwell and the Lugg stream beds. But this flood-free land is certainly the manor arable of Clatretune. There is, in fact, between this land and the junction of the Lugg and Hindwell at Combe Bridge—substantially what is Broadheath Common with its relatively modern farms—no area free from flooding or permanent bog of sufficient size to have contained another manor. Though, of course, much later in date, the Assize Roll of 1292 dealing with the tenure of 'La Hethe' (as Broadheath was known in a series of documents concerning Presteigne and its immediate neighbourhood) uses language which is quite categorical. It records after inquiry that 'La Hethe was neither vill, borough, nor hamlet'—and it certainly wasn't a manor either.²

At one moment Combe seemed a possible identification of the original Bradlege. Combe presents an interesting problem. It is not referred to recognizably in Domesday but is described by that name as a manor not very long after.

¹ Thus in *The Domesday Geography of Midland England*, p. 111.

² Quoted *in extenso* below in Chap. V, p. 138; Assize Roll, J.I. 1/302, f. 27d, 20 Edw. I.

The name obviously comes from the *cwm* in Wapley Hill, below which the sixteenth-century black-and-white farm manor-house now stands on the right bank of the Hindwell. Such old flood-free arable as existed at Combe lies on the right bank: nearly all the neighbouring fields on the left bank up to Combe Bridge were and are low lying. Combe manor was entered in the lordship of Stapleton and Lugharnes, about which there is a good deal to say hereafter: that is, it belonged to the lordship which after Domesday included many of the manors of the Hindwell Valley. But no manor of Stapleton or mention of Lugharnes occurs in Domesday. The inclusion of Combe in the Stapleton lordship is perfectly natural. What is peculiar is that whereas all that lordship was in Hezetre Hundred or later in Wigmore Hundred, Combe is sometimes recorded as in the later Huntington Hundred which in Domesday was substantially Elsedune Hundred. Geographically Combe thus seems from time to time after Domesday to have become an Elsedune-Huntington enclave in Hezetre-Wigmore Hundred. What the reason for this is, is not known. Its separateness from the surrounding manors of Boitune and Clatretune is emphasized by its constitution today as a small parish with no church, dependent ecclesiastically on Byton or earlier probably on Presteigne. It looks as if Combe when it became a manor after Domesday was created by a lord of Huntington. Nevertheless, a Stapleton Manor Roll of 18/19 Edward IV, namely 1480, records that the lords of the manors of Herton, Byton, and Combe 'made fines with the Lord [of Stapleton] for suit of court' paying respectively 2*s.* 6*d.*, 1*s.*, and 2*s.* Whatever hundred claimed Combe it is thus clear that its lord of the manor then recognized Stapleton as his superior.¹ Combe is recorded by Duncumb² as a township of Presteigne consisting of 599 acres and with, in 1804, a population of 96 living for the most part in the houses on the road from Combe Bridge to the cross-roads at Byton Hands which overlooks Byton bog.

The alternative and certainly correct identification of the

¹ Manor of Stapleton Roll, 18/19 Edw. IV, in bundle marked 'Not Stapleton' in the muniments of Major R. Harley of Brampton Bryan.

² Duncumb: Huntington, p. 107; also vol. i, p. 203.

Domesday Bradlege manor as The Rodd came about in another way and quite simply. The first obvious peculiarity about the civil, churchless, and wholly rural parish of Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton was that it contained two known Domesday manors, Nash or Hech, and Little Brampton or Bruntune, with a sizeable piece of cultivable land of about the same size as the manors of Nash and Little Brampton left over. On examining the ownership and occupation of the Little Brampton, Nash & Rodd farms about a hundred years ago, the striking fact emerged that, in spite of many changes in the ownership of land and the tenancies of the farms in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, neither did the three farms hold land outside the parish nor did farms in other neighbouring parishes hold land in the parish of Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton. It is still the case today that farm ownership and farm tenant boundaries coincide with the parish boundaries. Of Maitland's generalization that a place 'mentioned in Domesday will probably be recognised as a vill in the thirteenth, a civil parish in the nineteenth century . . .',¹ the converse is also true: that a civil parish of the nineteenth century consisted originally of one or more manors of the Domesday period, except of course where synthetic modern parishes such as, in this area, Kington Urban and Kington Rural, were created in modern times to meet the needs of developing local government.

Thus there seemed to be a *prima facie* case for thinking that The Rodd was a manor unit like Nash and Little Brampton within the parish. This presumptive evidence was fortified when the same circumstances governing owner and tenant boundaries were seen to be applicable to the neighbouring manor and parish of Knill, and generally to other agricultural entities in the Hindwell Valley neighbourhood. The Rodd manor farm unit might, therefore, be the hitherto unidentified Domesday manor of Bradlege, in spite of no apparent similarity of name.

Consideration of the place-names involved, however, did disclose that the recent appellation of the main house as Rodd 'Court' only dated from about 1912, prior to which

¹ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 12 (Cambridge, 1897); cf. also Lady Stenton quoted on p. 92.

the house was shown on maps as 'The Rodd' or 'The Rodds'. On certain earlier maps on which 'The Rodds' appears, a 'black-and-white' house near the 16th-century main Rodd house is shown as 'Little Rodd', while the hamlet $\frac{1}{4}$ mile south-west is called 'Rodd Hurst', thus justifying the plural name of 'The Rodds' for the whole group. A fair measure of antiquity for the name 'The Rodd' is given by medieval documents as early as the thirteenth century where the form La Rode is used for the place, and de la Rode or de Rode or de Roda for the people who lived there.

Now the meaning of The Rodd or La Rode is given by Ekwall¹ as 'rod', in Old English 'a clearing'. The same authority gives as the meaning and origin of Bradlege or Bradley, which occurs in this and analogous forms in many counties, a 'wide leah' in Old English. Of 'leah', Ekwall writes that 'the original meaning was an open place in a wood . . .', either a natural open place, or glade in woodland where clearing had taken place. He adds: 'Names in "—leah" are naturally most common in old woodland districts.' Thus, here, Bradlege or Bradley means a wide or broad clearing in woodland. There is, therefore, a striking association in the meanings of both the place-names, Bradlege and Rodd. Rodd Hurst certainly, and The Rodds perhaps, as late as Domesday could obviously well have been described as a 'clearing'² or 'broad clearing in the wood'.

The fairly strong presumptive evidence that The Rodd might well be the Bradlege manor of Domesday became conclusive by the discovery that certain field names of The Rodd farm and of land farmed by Nash farmers but contiguous to the fields in question of Rodd farm used the name of 'Bradley'. The fields in question are fields³ Nos. O.S. 138 and 139, which are called 'Bradley's' and 'Lower Bradley's', No. O.S. 144 called 'Bradley's Pasture', and No. O.S. 154, a barn and fold called 'Bradley's Barn' standing in No. O.S. 149 which is called 'Bradley's Barn Pasture'. Plot No. O.S. 143 in the 1928 edition of the 24-inch Ordnance

¹ Ekwall, pp. 372, 55, 278; cf. also *English Place-name Elements* (Cambridge), vol. ii, p. 86.

² For older roads and means of communication having a bearing on this problem in and near the Hindwell Valley manors see Chap. IV.

³ 6-inch Ordnance Survey sheets, Herefordshire: X.NE. and X.SE.

Survey sheets is called Bradley's Cottage, a modern nineteenth-century cottage which in the 1903 edition is called Nash Cottage because the cottage was and is tied to Nash Farm to which O.S. 154 and 149 now belong. The present structures at Bradley's Barn and Fold are probably not more than two hundred years old: the timbering is not heavy enough to warrant putting an earlier date to the building. But the structure is surrounded by stone walls and there are several lines of old thorn trees and deep cart tracks in O.S. 142 which suggest considerable antiquity of occupation. This is especially true of the track from Bradley's Barn down the hill, in 'Moor Pasture', O.S. 140, skirting Rodd Wood to the lane which runs from Rodd Turnpike corner (on the Presteigne-Titley road) to the modern main Presteigne-New Radnor road by way of Broadhurst¹ Bridge over the Hindwell. Another track from Bradley's Barn runs up hill to join the 'Green Lane', a ridgeway along the crest of the hills of the south bank of the Hindwell from Rodd Hurst (and farther east) to Herrock and Rushock Hills, which, as already mentioned, is on the alternative trace or second alignment of Offa's Dyke.

It is quite possible that the site of Bradley's Barn and the neighbouring Bradley fields was the original 'clearing in the Wood', though it is very unlikely to have been the site of a Domesday manor since it lies too high for early agriculture on the 800-foot contour. The Domesday manor is much more likely to have been either at Rodd Hurst which is $\frac{1}{2}$ mile north-east or at the site of The Rodds where, on the 500-foot contour, as we shall see, the old arable fields can be traced.² Although it is probably unnecessary to speculate on why the name Bradley survived only in these fields and at the barn and fold, there is a quite simple and probable explanation which will be understood by any countryman with an appreciation of the lie of land.

The fields lying south of Rodd Wood associated with the name 'Bradley' are on the 800-foot-high ground which separates the Hindwell Valley manors from lands of the two Titley manors. The parish and manorial boundaries between

¹ Although the bridge and road are modern the name seems to be an echo of Bradlegc.

² See Chap. IV.

the former group and the latter runs along the Green Lane. All the fields north of the Green Lane belong to and are farmed by the Hindwell Valley farmers. It would, however, be quite reasonable for a stranger not knowing the farm boundaries to have supposed that these fields, the 'Bradley' fields, were farmed by Green Lanes farm which they adjoin. But Green Lanes farm belongs to the Hezetre-Titley manor and is in Titley parish. Such is the persistence of the old manor boundaries that this farm only farms land to the south of itself running down the slopes towards Titley, though economically it should farm the 'Bradley' fields which lie well away from Rodd or Nash. Any local person speaking to a stranger about these fields would naturally always refer to them as 'Bradley's' to make clear that they were not 'Titley's' as they look to be.¹

The first references to the manor in the middle thirteenth century already use the name 'Rode';² with one or two exceptions the name Bradlege or Bradleys had by then already disappeared, though there seems to have been quite a number of prominent people in Herefordshire in the Middle Ages—but not later—of the name of de Bradeleghe, de Bradele, or de Bradley.³

The next Osbern manor in the group of eleven in Domesday is so obviously Titley that no further evidence need be adduced for identification. The name means Tita's Ley.⁴ 'Titlege' is twice referred to in Domesday as held by Osbern, once in Hezetre Hundred and again in Elsedune Hundred. Many commentators have assumed that plural entries of a named manor in the survey were evidence of careless and faulty compilation of the inventory from more than one list. This explanation is difficult to accept where the particulars of the two (or more) entries of the same name differ widely from each other in description. Provided that land in the

¹ The argument for Bradlege = Rodd was presented in *Trs. Rad. Soc.*, vol. xiv, of 1944: the main conclusions stand, but the author has since then modified certain other deductions, notably on the subject of Querentune manor and the post-Domesday manor of Combe (see above).

² e.g. *Curia Regis Roll* 72, 4 Hy. III (1220); concerning a virgate of land 'in Rode': from the middle of the century the references increase in number.

³ Described in Chap. VI.

⁴ Bannister, *Place-Names of Hereford*, pp. 185-6, and Ekwall, p. 453.

area is available for more than one manor, far the easiest and most logical assumption is that there were in fact two (or more) tenements in the one place-area, that is, of course, when the entries differ widely from each other in particulars. We shall come in due course to the Cascob manor where Domesday has an entry under this name, in the two surveys for Herefordshire and Shropshire. Here the particulars are the same in both cases and as the manor lay in a remote corner where the two counties met and could reasonably have been placed in either, the same single manor is obviously intended.

For Titley the particulars of the two entries are only a few lines apart in the Domesday text and the most careless scribe could not have failed to notice a slip in compilation if really only one Titley manor existed. Both were held as stated by the same tenant, the particulars differing from each other in that¹

- (i) Titley in Hezetre is one of eleven manors, which Osbern 'holds and held' 'on the March of Wales', 'which was and is waste', and 'never paid geld'. It was of 3 hides.
- (ii) Titley in Elsedune was formerly held by Earl Harold, where 'there are three hides geldantes' with land for six ploughs, which 'was and is waste' but where there 'nevertheless ("tamen") is a "haia" in a small wood'. This entry follows the entry about all the Osbern waste lands in which there was nothing except hunting.

There is plenty of arable land for two manors below the 600-foot contour around the present sprawling village of Titley with which must be included the park and farm land of the mansion of Eywood, until fairly recently the property of the Harley family, who were Earls of Oxford. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the lands both of Eywood and of Titley Court were much embellished by 'landscaping' to make parks around the residences. The village of Titley also grew a good deal and a new turnpike road was constructed to connect Presteigne with Kington

¹ Cf. B.D.B., f. 34.

by way of Rodd Hurst and Titley, to take the place of the old turnpike which ran over the top of the hills on the south side of the Hindwell and came down by Oatcroft to a point on the present Kington road near Rushock, west of Eywood. The effect of all this has been to modify local topography very considerably.

The existence of two Titley manors in two different hundreds must be accepted. They thus fix the boundary between the two hundreds precisely if the sites of the two manors can be ascertained. Happily evidence does exist in the archives of Winchester College to identify the manor arable fields of the Hezetre manor of Titlege. The college deeds from the reign of Henry II include Court Rolls for 1290 and accounts from 1397.¹ A map of the college lands shows the village and fields around the church and Titley Court before the layout was affected by building, 'landscaping', and road-making. From these documents, it is perfectly clear that the arable fields of Osbern's Titlege manor in Hezetre Hundred ran north-west from the church. This leaves the second Titlege manor which Earl Harold had before Osbern T.R.E. in the Eywood-Flintsham area a mile or so south of Titley church.

Soon after Domesday, and continuously thereafter, there occur references among the manors of le Scrob, and later of the Stapleton-Lugharnes group of estates to a manor and vill of Attecroft. The association of this name with places like Wapley, La Rode, Staunton-on-Arrow, &c., makes it quite clear that the place was in their neighbourhood. These references are too numerous to quote here, but many of them will appear when this group of manors is considered in the Middle Ages and Tudor era. Attecroft can readily be identified with Oatcroft, the name of the home-farm lying 800 feet in the dingle above the mansion of Eywood. It seems highly probable that 'Oatcroft Farm' preserves the name of Attecroft manor when this developed into a residential manor-house on the former manorial holding of the Titley manor in Elsedune Hundred. While the old land remains as stated unidentifiable on account of the changes wrought in

¹ Private correspondence with the archivist of Winchester College to whom the author is indebted for the information and a photograph of the estate map.

the eighteenth century to create Eywood Park, the land between Flintsham and the mansion in its park is entirely suitable for an early manor in elevation, aspect, water-supply, and fertility. The use of the name Attecroft-Oatcroft to distinguish the holding from Titley in Hezetre needs no labouring.

The boundary between Elsedune and Hezetre Hundreds, starting from the west, must, therefore, have followed the crestline of Hergest ridge leaving Burlingjobb in the latter and the Hergest manors in the former hundred. It then crossed the Arrow Valley to the ridge of Bradnor and Rushock Hills, leaving the Rushock manors in Elsedune and Knill in Hezetre. From Rushock Hill it cut in two the present settlement of Titley, leaving Oatcroft Farm and Eywood in Elsedune and crossing the modern road south of Titley Court. East of this point the boundary included in Hezetre, geographically but not administratively, the Domesday manors of Wapley (Wapleton) and Staunton-on-Arrow (Stantona).

Both the Titley manors, to which we shall come again, are found as might be expected from Osbern's ownership in the post-Domesday manor of Stapleton and Lugharnes. The records of this lordship also refer to Titley as an ecclesiastical holding of the abbey of Tyron.¹ This is obviously the Hezetre Titley manor which Osbern held T.R.E., some of the lands of which now belong to Winchester College. The other Titley manor in Elsedune later is found to depend from the lordship of Huntington.²

Wapley (Wapleton), the extra-hundredal manor which Osbern held 'as it is said' of the king and which he held T.R.E., is one of the large group of manors recorded in Domesday under the heading: 'These lands below written lay with [the manor of] Leominster in the time of King Edward.' Wapley manor is represented by the arable land at Stansbatch in Staunton-on-Arrow parish on the southern slopes of Wapley Hill. It was thus contiguous with Osbern's manors of Bradlege and Titlege, but unlike these was not

¹ Duncumb, vol. i, pp. 203 et seq.

² *I.P.M.* Hy. VII, vol. i, 549, Ser. II; vol. v, 96, c. 142, Ser. II; f. 16407/E. 150; also *FF.* 38 Eliz. C. 25/2/135, Hilary 1596.

waste. It had 2 hides 'geldantes' and was worth 20s. with one 'radchenist', one villein, and 22 bordars with six ploughs between them. Ralf de Mortimer's neighbouring extra-hundredal manor of Staunton-on-Arrow of 2 hides was also working and was worth 40s.¹

Walking over the hill by Green Lane after leaving the manor arable fields of Titley in Hezetre Hundred, the Domesday surveyor of Osbern's lands would use the track from Titley church which runs beside one of the old arable fields, and reaches the crest of the hills on the south side of the Hindwell Valley at a high fold, now called Burnt House, where the old turnpike from Presteigne to Kington used to cross the hill. From Burnt House he would look straight down the scarp of the hill on to Little Brampton which was Osbern's Bruntune in the parish of Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton. The present lovely and interesting sixteenth-century farmhouse of Little Brampton surrounded by its contemporary farm buildings, lies on the track which connects the Hindwell Valley manors from Knill to Rodd along the foot of the hills on the right bank of the river above flood-level at the 550-foot contour. The old arable fields of Bruntune lie along this old track.²

The Little Brampton manor lands marched with Nash down the valley and with Knill up the valley farther west. Records of Little Brampton are difficult to follow because of numerous references to several other Bramptons in Herefordshire. It is 'Little' today because of the greater and better-known Brampton Bryan near Leintwardine, the seat of the Harleys with the ruins of their castle, from which their extensive lands once spread across the county as far as Eywood and the sheep-walks of Little Brampton and Knill. There is also a Brampton Abbot near Ross as well as several Brampton or Brompton localities in neighbouring counties. The name of Little Brampton and other Bramptons is reputed by Ekwall to mean the "'tun" where broom grows' but Bannister³ gives the meaning as 'the tun of Bran (or Bron)'. The former meaning obviously accounts for the

¹ B.D.B., ff. 8v and 20v, pp. 12 and 38.

² See below, Chap. IV; there and elsewhere called the 'Manor Road'.

³ Bannister, *The Place-Names of Herefordshire*, p. 24.

frequency of the name and might be applicable to Little Brampton, on account of the furze and heathland high up above the site. But there is no doubt that Bannister's version is more correct so far as Little Brampton is concerned, for the place is still locally always known as Bron. The lane, a section of the old Manor Road between Rodd and Little Brampton, is invariably called Bron Lane. There was at one time a June (St. John's day) fair at Little Brampton called Bron Fair. The traditional date locally for planting roots is 'at the time of Bron Fair', namely 21/22 June. The fair still survived—just—till lately when a few horses were brought for sale. The date, the Summer Solstice, is significant. This local use of the name 'Bron' represents an interesting survival of an age-old name in the living memory of local people. It is significant incidentally that the 'a' in words like 'Bran' tends in the west of England, as compared with Midland and Eastern counties, to become 'o' or 'u'.

The next Osbern manor to the west is Chenille, today called Knill. It became the most important of the Hindwell Valley manors on account of the two families which lived there, the de Knills and the Walshams who inherited from the former and held the land till the beginning of this century. Both families contributed distinguished men to the county and the country. The 2-hide manor of Chenille constituted and constitutes the small parish of Knill with its own church dating from, at any rate, the thirteenth century.¹ Its land also lay and lies wholly within the parish boundary which included some high sheepwalks on Knill Garraway. This manor and the next small Osbern manor farther west in Lower Harpton parish were closely associated in the Middle Ages. The boundaries of the two parishes are also in part the boundary between Herefordshire and Radnorshire today and so the border between England and Wales.² It was only in very recent years that Knill Farm land, the old manor land, was extended beyond the parish boundary to include Burfa Hill in the newer Radnorshire parish of

¹ *Register of Bp. Thomas de Cantilupe*, 18 Sept. 1277, when the rectors of Knill and Brampton (*not* Little Brampton) failed to appear at Leominster to receive orders (C.Y.S.).

² Cf. Offa's Dyke at this point; see p. 22 above.

Evenjobb: more lately still this extension has come to an end, when Burfa Hill was taken over by the Forestry Commission and Knill Farm is again what Knill manor was.

The old arable of Knill can be traced without much difficulty on either side of the modern road to Presteigne on the left bank of the Hindwell. The manor-house stood near the small church of St. Michael on the steep edge of a bluff over the river. Though on a small scale, the site is

ERRATUM

P. 68, line 8. *For* Little Brampton, *read* Brampton Bryan

Valley on the March

feet high less than a mile away, is crossed by Otta's Dyke. In the spring the steep sides are clothed with bluebells: the tops are yellow and brown with furze and bracken above the pale green of the opening beeches.

The manor-house of Knill Court was enlarged and much too lavishly embellished in the Victorian-Jacobean manner of the late nineteenth century. It had lost nearly all its older architectural features. A fire gutted the house when in use as a school in the Second World War. It will never be rebuilt. The gardens and pleasure grounds of this ancient settlement are reverting to the waste which they were when Osbern had the land. Some future generation of botanists may be puzzled by the growth of exotic trees descended from the fine specimens planted by the Walshams a few decades ago. Knill Farm is now owned by the former tenant family: it is a beautiful farm well farmed. Succeeding generations of this family are maintaining the continuity of cultivation which has been the story of the Hindwell Valley

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Evenjobb: more lately still this extension has come to an end, when Burfa Hill was taken over by the Forestry Commission and Knill Farm is again what Knill manor was.

The old arable of Knill can be traced without much difficulty on either side of the modern road to Presteigne on the left bank of the Hindwell. The manor-house stood near the small church of St. Michael on the steep edge of a bluff over the river. Though on a small scale, the site is as dramatic and beautiful as any in the county. The sheer edge of the rock is lapped by the waters of the stream. Beyond, and below the house, is a deep green expanse of water-meadow, criss-crossed by irrigation and drainage ditches. It is a residual marsh descended from a glacier lake whose lip was near the ford where the track from Knill crosses the Hindwell to join the Manor Road to Little Brampton, Nash & The Rodd, clinging to the foot of the steep right side of the valley above flood-level. The fold yard in the cwm opposite Knill serves the amphitheatre of water-meadow under Herrock Hill and below the terrace of Knill Court. It is still called Lake Buildings. Beyond the emerald green basin are the hanging beech and oak woods of Knill Garraway and Herrock. The open moorland, 1,200 feet high less than a mile away, is crossed by Offa's Dyke. In the spring the steep sides are clothed with bluebells: the tops are yellow and brown with furze and bracken above the pale green of the opening beeches.

The manor-house of Knill Court was enlarged and much too lavishly embellished in the Victorian-Jacobean manner of the late nineteenth century. It had lost nearly all its older architectural features. A fire gutted the house when in use as a school in the Second World War. It will never be rebuilt. The gardens and pleasure grounds of this ancient settlement are reverting to the waste which they were when Osbern had the land. Some future generation of botanists may be puzzled by the growth of exotic trees descended from the fine specimens planted by the Walshams a few decades ago. Knill Farm is now owned by the former tenant family: it is a beautiful farm well farmed. Succeeding generations of this family are maintaining the continuity of cultivation which has been the story of the Hindwell Valley

for a thousand years. With the freehold farmer of Little Brampton they have contributed much to maintaining the parish church of St. Michael at Knill as an active Christian place of devotion in this small and remote parish of four dozen inhabitants.

The next manor beyond Knill, Hercope, on the list of Osbern's holdings in this area, has puzzled everyone. The author had considered attributing this manor to Combe until he was struck by the order of listing of manors in Hezetre Hundred in Domesday. From this order and from certain additional evidence, it is now quite clear that Hercope was what is today called Lower Harpton, which needs some explanation.

Lower Harpton is a small churchless parish lying just in England and, as already noted, crossed by Offa's Dyke. It is bounded by the parishes of Knill and Kington Rural in Herefordshire, and by the two parishes of Old Radnor & Burlingjobb and Walton & Womaston in Radnorshire. It contains and contained within these boundaries, only one farm, now called Lower Harpton Farm, the Hill of Herrock, and half a dozen cottages nestling in a cwm of the hill. Even 150 years ago when the agricultural population was heavier than today, Duncumb records it as a township of only 77 inhabitants, the total population of the parish. It is separated from the much larger parish of Harpton & Wolfpits in Radnorshire by the intervening parishes of Old Radnor & Burlingjobb and Walton & Womaston: it has no sort of connexion with the larger Harpton parish, manor, mansion, or estate. Even as Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton, Old Radnor & Burlingjobb, and Knill are parishes consisting wholly of three, two, and one known manors respectively, it appeared that the only *raison d'être* of Lower Harpton as a parish is because it was a manor too; and this was the only available identification if the order of listing meant anything. There is just about enough dry, low, old arable for a $\frac{1}{2}$ -hide manor between Navages Wood and Herrock Hill. The land lies between the 700- and 600-foot contours with a little land below 600 feet, clear of flooding by the Riddings brook which runs from Walton past Lower Harpton into the Hindwell at Ditch Hill Bridge. The explanation

of the name Harpton now offered is that it is a corruption of Hercopetun or Herecoptun in which the name Hercope or Herecope of Domesday lies concealed. This concords with entries in the Knill Parish Register which refer to 'Lower Heracton', and to 'Herton' but never 'Harpton' in the seventeenth-century Hearth Tax Rolls.

An Elizabethan survey of the manor of Herton¹ [*sic*] records holdings in the manor of demesne land, free land, and land held of superior landlords of 112 acres. Of these, 28 acres are described as arable, 27 acres as pasture or meadow, and 57 acres are not described. The only two large plots are of 30 and 18 acres respectively. There were six messuages, all but one of which were held of the lady of the manor who can be identified as the wife, and later the widow, of Francis Knill, and who was buried at Knill on 11 March 1600. Certain of the Herton tenants' names also occur in the Knill Subsidy Rolls. Although the list of parcels of land is not complete and all the acreages are not given, the area described corresponds pretty well with what one could expect of a $\frac{1}{2}$ -hide manor within the topography of Lower Harpton parish. The place, the hills, and field names like 'Herrock' and 'Navage', confirm the association of Herton with Lower Harpton and make it clear that it had nothing to do with the Harpton farther west. There is a reference in the description of parcels of land to the 'poste' or 'highway' which must be the Manor Road along the Hindwell, while those to a 'broadway' seem by contrast to refer to the track up the cwm to the Ridgeway.² In spite of its close association with Knill, Lower Harpton, or as it can more simply be called, Herton, was still technically a manor in 1600, though it had evidently for some time already been virtually absorbed by Knill. It was obviously too small to survive as a separate agricultural manor unit.

Beyond Hercope is Wales, with the dome of Radnor Forest dominating the north-western horizon. From Walton cross-roads the modern road runs west to New Radnor leaving Old Radnor Hill and the shelf of Old Radnor church on the left. Below them the road cuts through the old arable

¹ B.M. Addl. MS. 27605, ff. 111-15, 40-41 Eliz. (1598/9).

² See below, Chap. IV.

fields of Harold Godwinson's 15-hide manor of Radenoure. About a mile from Walton lies the park and mansion of Harpton Court. There is no reason to seek Domesday Hertune elsewhere than, in accordance with accepted tradition, at or around Harpton Court in the parish of Harpton & Wolfpits. There is plenty of good plain land on the 600-700-foot level for the 3 hides of the Hertune assessment.

From this westernmost of Osbern's manors, the Domesday recorder turned back but used the left bank of the Hindwell leaving Knill on his right and the scar of Nash rocks on the left, till he came to a ford over the river about a mile due west of The Rodd. Here the river runs in a fairly deep cut before it fans out into the meanders and marshland at Rodd Bridge where it burst through the gravel of the local transverse moraine. On the bank just across the ford is Nash settlement, now containing two farmhouses, a forge, and a few cottages. Two farms now divide the Nash manor land between them. The wooden footbridge over the Hindwell is carried on massive masonry piers of the older pack bridge.¹ There is ample room between Little Brampton and The Rodd for the old arable fields of the Nash 1-hide manor. Like the other two manors, Nash has its proportion of watermeadow and woodland. Architecturally, the Nash group of buildings is interesting. One of the houses has some very remarkable oak panelling and carved overmantles.² The original Domesday name, Hech, is Ash—the ash tree—the prefixed 'N' having been derived from the dative inflexion of the Middle English definite article, usually combined with the preposition 'at' in the form 'atten': thus 'atten ash' = 'at the Ash tree'. This in due course became corrupted to 'at' or 'atte Nash'. An analogous example of the transposed 'N' can be found in the Oxfordshire Noke for 'atten oak'.³ There is another Nash in Monmouthshire, which is recorded as *Ecclesia de Fraxino*. The families of de la Nasse, Nash, de Fraxino, or de Frêne associated with this manor appear to be the same family, or related branches.⁴

Following in order of listing comes Clatretune manor

¹ Lately rebuilt in concrete!

² R.C.H.M., vol. iii, p. 176.

³ See Bannister, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, and Ekwall at appropriate entries.

⁴ See below, especially Chaps. V and VI.

which name obviously survives in Clatterbrune on the Clatter Brook at the outskirts of Presteigne. The name clearly means the tun on the Clatter(brook). Where the original manor stood is difficult to judge owing to topographical changes due to the growth of Presteigne. A possible site is at Whitewall Farm. The old arable fields of this manor of 2 hides are, however, quite obvious on either side of the road from Presteigne to Combe Bridge, west of the 'Cat and Fiddle' cottage and before Broadheath is reached. The land is above the flood-level of either the Hindwell or Lugg between which it lies.

The site of the next of Osbern's group of manors, Querentune, is puzzling. The name appears, in the inventory, between Clatretune and Discote; it was that of a 1-hide manor. Geographically, the manor ought to be looked for in the Lugg Valley between Presteigne and Discoed. From a vague similarity of names, Kinnerton in the Radnor basin has been suggested but the land there is high, all over the 700-foot level, and that locality would make the order of listing incoherent. The obvious place to seek the manor is somewhere between Clatterbrune and Discoed (Discote) in the Lugg Valley.

The Shropshire Domesday survey records several manors in the Lenteurde (Leintwardine) Hundred which are now in Herefordshire or Radnorshire, including, near Presteigne, Norton, Lingen, and Lege, which will be dealt with later. Most of these were held by Ralf de Mortimer with several more in the Leintwardine-Brampton Bryan-Pedwardine area, as would be expected. But Hugh l'Asne held the important manors of Norton and Knighton, north of Presteigne, each of 5 hides, '*in capite* from the King', but 'they were and are waste'. One Leftet held Norton in Edward the Confessor's time, and there was then a great wood, which can still be seen to have covered most of the country between Lugg and Teme. In addition to Hugh the Ass and Ralf de Mortimer, Osbern fitz Richard held a small manor in this part of Lenteurde Hundred called Achel which Edricus, probably Eadric the Savage, held T.R.E. It was then of 3 hides with six ploughs but by Domesday had become and was waste. In a mutilated inquest of 1304, Edmund de Mortimer

was seized of something at Akhull in Salop. Achel and Akhull have been identified as Ackhill near Presteigne and Oakhill near Stanage, between Knighton and Brampton Bryan.¹ Now, the identification of Achel has a bearing on the site of Querentune. Both Ackhill and Oakhill, as well as Norton, Lingen, and Ralf de Mortimer's Lege at Lower Lye² in Lenteurde Hundred are north of the Lugg. Osbern's Cascope, Discote, and Clatretune are on the south bank of the Lugg in Hezetre Hundred of Herefordshire. The Lugg here, therefore, seems to have been the boundary between Hezetre and Lenteurde Hundreds and so between the counties. Topographically it would be more logical and politically more probable for Osbern to have held Achel = Ackhill on the Lugg, which is near his other Lugg manors and not far from Clatterbrune, than for him to hold Achel = Oakhill near Stanage which would be an isolated manor in the heart of the Mortimer country. Ackhill on the Lugg west of Presteigne therefore seems to be the most probable identification of Osbern's Achel manor in Lenteurde Hundred. We would then have, combining the Shropshire and Herefordshire entries, as the order of the latter part of the list of Osbern's manors: Clatretune, Querentune, Achel, Discote, and Cascope.

At Ackhill, there is good flood-free land for manor arable round the farm and lodge of that name north of the Presteigne-Whitton-Pilleth road which takes off from the Presteigne-Beggar's Bush-New Radnor road at Rock Bridge over the Lugg. There is probably, but only just, room at Ackhill for a manor carrying six ploughs; but the land lies well and would probably justify a 3-hide assessment. There is no room for another manor between Discote and Achel (Discoed and Ackhill). Consequently, Querentune ought to be sought downstream from Ackhill.

The name Querentune should mean the tun of the quern, or millstone, or millstone rock, or even the mill. Just west of Presteigne on the main road is a house called St. Mary's Mill: there are traces of a mill on the Lugg stream 200 yards away and 50 feet below the house. There are also traces of

¹ Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. xi, p. 343.

² Osbern's Lege at Upper Lye is actually on the left bank of the Lugg too.

mills and mill sites lower down the Lugg near Boultibrooke Bridge, where the Norton-Knighton road branches. There are more mill sites or works at several points on the Norton brook below Boultibrooke House, as well as Norton Mill itself which presumably went with Norton manor. But as Querentune was in Hezetre Hundred and the Lugg apparently was the boundary with Lenteurde Hundred, Querentune must be looked for on the right or south bank of the Lugg and not like Ackhill and Norton on the north bank, where all the Norton brook and Boultibrooke Mill sites lie.

There is sufficient land for a small 1-hide manor on good, flood-free, flat land between the 500- and 600-foot contours on the high south bank of the Lugg between the house called St. Mary's Mill and the western end of Presteigne, either side of the Norton¹ road fork. Moreover, as we shall see later, the two old arable fields near St. Mary's Mill are characteristic in shape and size of other similar old arable fields in this group of manors. The name St. Mary's Mill has puzzled people because it never could have been the mill itself, but the dwelling is also called St. Mary's Mill House. Does the name of this interesting little eighteenth-century house with low, bow windows perhaps preserve the memory of Querentune, the manor of the quern or mill? It is probable.

Of Discote and Cascope it is not necessary to say more than that these manors are near Discoed and at Cascob up the Lugg above Presteigne. Discoed now farms a lot of high ground, above the church and settlement which lie in a small steep cwm just above the Presteigne road. The Discote manor land was certainly in the valley with the manor fields near the present main road; the high ground now farmed was too high for an agricultural unit in the eleventh century of the locally uniform type to which all those hitherto considered belong. The Discoed manor arable therefore probably lay near the Maes Treylow cross-roads just west of Discoed and practically on Offa's Dyke. Whether Discote is

¹ The obvious manor arable at Norton Home Farm is, of course, required or the large manor of Norton. There is some good and suitable land at Boultibrooke but this (like the mill sites except for the one near St. Mary's Mill) is north of the Lugg and certainly in Lenteurde Hundred.

a Normanized version of the Welsh *Discoed* or whether *Discote* was Gallicized into *Discoed*, as has happened in other cases of other local place-names, is not material. *Discoed* is a single manor parish with its own church dependent on the mother church of *Presteigne*. A lane runs up the *cwm* to the high pastures at *Thorn* whence green roads and tracks lead to *Presteigne*, *Barland*, *Knill*, and the west. *Discoed* was quite accessible from the *Hindwell Valley* manors on foot or by horse, though today the metalled road which fetches a circuitous route around the high land creates the illusion of *Discoed* being remote from *Osbern's* other manors.

Cascob is another one-manor parish with its own early church. It now consists of a group of small farms lying in a *cul-de-sac*. The branch road from the main *Presteigne-Maes Treylow* cross-roads comes to an end in a *cwm* under the hills. There is an old and obviously well-worn track out of the basin westward which was a direct means of communication before the main roads were built between *Presteigne* and *Penybont* by *Bleddfa* or directly over the moor to *Llanfihangel Rhydithon*. The charming isolation of the *Cascob cwm* is a product of better made and graded but more circuitous modern roads. The $\frac{1}{2}$ -hide manor arable of *Cascob* seems most likely to have lain along the side of the road by *Duffryn Farm*. The manor house was either there or at *Court Farm* near by.

Cascob manor is also recorded in the *Domesday survey* of *Shropshire* in the *Hundred of Lenteurde (Leintwardine)*.¹ The details there given concord so accurately with those of the *Herefordshire survey* that they obviously refer to the same and not to another manor. They provide the additional information that this small $\frac{1}{2}$ -hide manor had land for two ploughs, a wood, and a *haia*.

This completes the tale of the *Domesday manors* of *Osbern fitz Richard* except for *Lege* which is away east beyond *Byton*. The name *Lege* is more confusing even than *Brampton* in its numerous occurrences and variants. The modern forms *Lye*, *Ley*, *Lea*, &c., as single words, occur in

¹ Cf. *Eyton, Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. xi, pp. 341-2; cf. in Chap. V, p. 120.

many parts of Herefordshire and in other counties. Names ending in -lay or -ly are, of course, legion. Osbern's Lege has been identified with The Ley, a very beautiful and well-known sixteenth-century house near Weobley, mainly because it is the best known 'Ley' in the county. There is no reason whatsoever for associating this place with Osbern's Lege.

As a matter of fact there are three Leges to be discussed in this context: (i) Osbern's Lege of $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, which he held T.R.E., where 'there could be one plough and [which was] worth 5 shillings'. (ii) Another Lege, also of $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, held by Ralf de Mortimer, and by Elsi T.R.E. where Ralf had one plough with 'three bordars and there could be another plough'. This was evidently slightly the larger or better of these two Lege manors, though also worth only 5s. Domesday spells this manor 'Lecwe', but the Balliol manuscript has 'Lege' in an annotation written over the evident misspelling 'Lecwe'. (iii) Finally, Griffin, son of Meridiadoc,¹ among seven manors also held a Lege of 3 hides which had been held as two manors T.R.E. by Owein and Eilmar. Earl William had given this Lege to Griffin: it had four villeins, three bordars, and two ploughs, and was worth 15s. King William remitted the geld to Griffin and after him to his son. In this manor was a wood which was held by Ralf de Mortimer with 57 other acres. An appropriate cross-reference in the Domesday Book to this is also entered under Ralf's holdings. Evidently Ralf de Mortimer's and Griffin's manors were quite close to each other but not the same manor. All these three references to Lege are under the rubric Hezetre Hundred.

The usual identification of these Leges has been with Upper and Lower Lye respectively, only a short distance apart, west of Aymestre and south of Wigmore. Upper Lye on the Lugg after it has entered the Kinsham gorge lies in heavily wooded country high up above the bank of the river at the 500- to 600-foot level. There is not room in this beautiful broken country for much more arable than would be appropriate to a $\frac{1}{2}$ -hide manor with one plough.

¹ Following B.D.B. spelling. D.B. has Mariadoc.

The Ralf de Mortimer and Griffin lands of Lege must, therefore, be at Lower Lye which, in the case of the former, is also more logical since it lies nearer the main centre of the de Mortimer domains at Wigmore. Although even Upper Lye is almost an enclave of Osbern's in Mortimer country, since Covenhope on the road from Upper Lye to Mortimer's Cross and the important manors of Shobdon and Ledicot were also Mortimer estates, the district of Upper Lye could be considered to march with Byton which was Osbern's, whereas Lower Lye does not.¹

There is land suitable for ploughing at Lower Lye, but it is rather surprising to find two manors in so wooded and broken a piece of country as this is in the heart of the Wigmore hills. The best that can be said about this difficulty is that the identification of Osbern's Lege manor with Upper Lye is tolerably certain and that of the Lege manors of Ralf de Mortimer and Griffin with Lower Lye follows from it. Incidentally the order of naming Ralf de Mortimer's manors in the group in which his Lege occurs is that of a surveyor leaving Wigmore Castle and making a circular sweep north-east and east by Downton, Burrington, Aston, Elton, Leinthall Starkes, Leinthall Earls—then turning west and crossing the Wigmore-Aymestre road—Lower Lye (Lege), Covenhope, Shobdon, Staunton-on-Arrow. The only manor which looks out of place in this order of listing is Ledicot which comes at the end of this list and next before Pilleth: it could rather more logically have come between Covenhope and Shobdon. The Balliol Domesday manuscript clears up not only the mis-spelling of 'Lecwe' already referred to, but corrects the name of Ralf de Mortimer's manor at Hesintune by a marginal note 'id est Asciston', namely Aston, which falls beautifully into place between Elton and Leinthall Starkes. The only one of Osbern fitz Richard's manors which is annotated in the Balliol manuscript as being in the hands of another holder by 1160-70 is his manor of Lege

¹ These conclusions were reached before the Balliol Domesday MS. was published with the late Professor J. Tait's notes with which they fully accord, especially on certain differences from Round's conclusions in the *V.C.H.*, p. 307.

at Upper Lye, the holder of which is described in the margin as Adam de Arundel.

The association of 'Covenhope et Lege' in Feudal Aids might have been regarded as associating Upper Lye rather than Lower Lye with Ralf de Mortimer's Lege were it not for the fact that all the country, in which the two Lyes are, had before the end of the thirteenth century become Mortimer country by which time also several of the smaller manorial units either had disappeared or been merged. All Osbern fitz Richard's manors other than his Lege continue, however, to be identifiable as units in the thirteenth century after the Lyes have ceased to appear.

Ralf de Mortimer's Lege (Lecwe = Lower Lye) is annotated in the margin of the Balliol transcript as being then held by Robert de Mortimer, a collateral branch of the Wigmore family, who became possessed of Osbern's Stapleton manor with its dependent Lugg and Hindwell manors by inheritance.¹ If, as is probable, the twelfth-thirteenth-century Stapleton group still included Upper Lye it is quite logical for Lower Lye to have become associated with this group of, by then, de Mortimer manors.

A list of the Hezetre Hundred manors of Domesday is given as an appendix to this chapter, with their probable identifications with modern place-names. With the exception of Alac (40), the identifications seem tolerably certain.

The Domesday-population figures for Herefordshire are too incomplete for any reliable estimate to be made of the total population of the county. The survey gives practically no figures for the partially administered areas of Ewyas Harold and Archenfield, and does not refer to any inhabitants in the many 'waste' manors of Hezetre and Elsedune Hundreds. It by no means follows that a 'waste' manor which paid no geld was in fact completely uninhabited by 1086 when the frontier troubles of the Gruffydd and Eadric campaigns had been ended for some years. The most recent estimate of population for the county of Herefordshire, as it now is (which excludes certain parts considered to be in the county in Domesday), is contained in *The Domesday*

¹ B.D.B., p. 38, f. 20v, and p. 95; and see below, Chap. V, p. 121.

Geography of Midland England. This summary of the recorded population gives totals as follows:

<i>Rural population</i>				
Villeins	.	.	.	1,730
Bordars	.	.	.	1,271
Serfs	.	.	.	739
<i>Bovarii</i>	.	.	.	142
<i>Homines</i>	.	.	.	134
King's men (Archenfield)	.	.	.	96
Miscellaneous	.	.	.	349
				4,461

The miscellaneous category includes *inter alia* 68 radmen, 47 Welshmen, 19 cottars, 17 freemen, and 11 free oxmen. Bondwomen (*ancillae*) are not included in the totals. The urban population figures are too fragmentary to have any value.

If the figure of 5,000 heads of houses or families is taken, the population for the county, using a coefficient factor of 3.5 to cover women and children, produces a total of 17,500. The density of the rural population, as of plough teams, is, as would be expected, lowest in the frontier district of the north-west and highest in the south-east.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

*Index of Manors and Identifications with Modern
Place-names in the Domesday Hundreds of
Hezetre and Elsedune*

THIS index has been compiled from the data contained in a paper prepared by the author for the Woolhope Club in Hereford and published in 1954 as the Centenary volume commemorating the anniversary of the Society founded in 1851.

The numbers in the left-hand column refer to the lists and text of that paper. The full paper is too long to be included in this volume but may be studied by anyone interested in the subject, since some of the identifications given in this index are qualified in that text. This is notably so in connexion with the manors of Diluen, Leine, Hope in Elsedune, and the group of manors around Kinnersley and in southern Eardisley.

The spelling of the names covers the principal variations between the old Domesday and the Balliol Domesday texts.

HEZETRE

(1) BERCHELINCOPE (BERKELINHOP)	Burlingjobb
(2) RADDRENOVRE (RADENOURE)	Old Radnor
(3) LEINE	Kingsland
(4) WIGEMORE CASTELLUM	Wigmore
(5) DUNTUNE (DUNTONA)	Downton
(6) BORITUNE (BORITONA)	Burrington
(7) HESINTUNE ('id est ASCISTON')	Aston
(8) ELINTUNE (ELINTONA)	Elton
(9) LENHALE (LENEHALE)	Leinthall } Starks
(10) LINTHALE (LENTEHALE)	Leinthall } Earls
(11) LECWE (LEGE)	Lower Lye
(12) CAMEHOP (CAMEHOPE, CAMEHOPA)	Conhope—or Covenhope
(13) SCEPEDUNE (SOBEDONA)	Shobdon
(14) STANTUNE (STANTONE, STANTONA)	Staunton-on-Arrow
(15) LEIDECOTE (LEDICOTE)	Lidécote, nr. Shobdon
(16) PELELEI (PULELAI)	Pilleth on the Lugg
(17) ORTUNE (HORTONA)	Harpton
(18) MILDETUNE (MILDETONA)	Milton
(19) WESTUNE (WESTONA)	Weston in Pembridge
(20) LAUTUNE (LAUTONE, LAUTONA)	Lawton
(21) LESTRET	Street
(22) LIDECOTE	Ledicote
(23) MILDETUNE (MILDESTONE, MILDETONA)	Milton
(24) BOITUNE (BOITONE, BOITONA)	Byton

(25) BRADLEGE (BRADELEGA)	Rodd
(26) TITILEGE (TITELEGA)	Titley
(27) BRUNTUNE (BRUNTONE, BRUNTONA)	Little Brampton
(28) CHENILLE (CHUNULLA)	Knill
(29) HERCOPE (HERCHOPA)	Lower Harpton
(30) HERTUNE (HERTONE, HORTONA)	Quite evidently Harpton
(31) HECH (HETH)	Nash
(32) CLATRETUNE (CLATRETONE, CLATRETONA)	Clatterbrune by Presteigne
(33) QUERENTUNE (QUERENTONE, QUERENTONA)	Just east of Presteigne
(34) DISCOTE	Discoed
(35) CASCOPE	Cascob
(36) LEGE (LEGA)	Upper Lye
(37) WAPLETONE	Wapley by Stansbatch in Staunton-on-Arrow
(38) BERNOLDUNE	Untraced
(39) LEGE	Lower Lye
(40) ALAC	Perhaps Lucton
(41) LUTELE (LUNTELEIE, LUNTELIE)	Luntley in Pembridge

ELSEDUNE

(1) WITENIE	Whitney on Wye
(2) MATEURDIN (MATHEWURDAM)	Untraced
(3) HERDESLEGE (HERDESLEIE)	Eardisley
(4) CICUURDINE (CHICWORDINE)	Chickward, 3 miles NNW. of Eardisley
(5) ULFELMESTUNE (ULFELMESTONA)	Welson nr. Eardisley
(6) STIUNGEURDIN (STIUCHEWORDIN—with an interlineation CHICWURDINE and mar- ginal note CHICWORDIN)	Chickward
(7) HANTINTUNE (HUNTINTONA)	Huntington, west of King- ton
(8) BURADESTUNE (BURACDESTONE, as an inter- lineation BILLINGESHULLE, and the same in the margin)	Bollingham
(9) HERGESTH (HERGEST)	Hergest, WSW. of King- ton
(10) BRUDEFORD	Breadward nr. Kington
(11) CHINGTUNE (CHINCHTONE, KINTONA)	Kington
(12) RUISCOPE (RUUIESCOF, RUISSOC)	Rushock, north-east of Kington
(13) HERGEST	Hergest
(14) BEURETUNE (BEURTON)	Barton, between Kington and Rushock
(15) RUISCOPE (RUUIESCOF, RUISSOC)	Rushock
(16) WENNETONA	Wootton in Eardisley
(17) ELMELIE	Almeley
(18) MIDEURDE (MIDEWRDE, MIDELWUD)	Winforton Wood
(19) WITENIE	Whitney on Wye
(20) WILLAUESLEGE and WIDFERDESTONE (WILAUESLAIA and WILFERTONA)	Willersley & Winforton
(21) ELBURGELEGA (EDBURGELEGA, KINARDS- LEG)	Kinnersley

(22) HOPE (HOPA)	Eardisley area
(23) LENHALE	Lyonshall
(24) WENNETUNE (WENTONA)	Wootton in Eardisley
(25) HERDESLEGE	Eardisley
(26) LETUNE (LECTONA)	Letton
(26A) SARNESFELD	Sarnesfield
(27) RUISCOP (RUISSOC)	Rushock, nr. Kington
(28) DILUEN (DILON, DILUN)	Dilwyn
(29) SARNESFELDE	Sarnesfield
(30) TITLEGE	Titley
(31) WALELEGE	Perhaps Ailey in Eardisley nr. Kinnersley and Kinnersley Castle
(32) CICWRDINE (CICUORDINE, CHICWURDINE)	Chickward
(33) LEGE	Kinnersley area
(34) MATEURDIN (MAWERDIN MAUERDIN)	Untraced (cf. No. 2)
(35) CURDESLEGE	Untraced
(36) LUNTLEY	Luntley

CHAPTER IV

Of Tracks and Fields

A LARGE-SCALE map is an intimate description of the countryside. The more one looks at it, the more one finds; and the more there seems to be left to find, even in an area which one knows quite well. But to read such a map is more than merely reading a description, for maps are also provocative inquisitors. They are always asking you if you know the reason for their statements, and when you think you have found the reason they put another question. There are answers to all the questions and although many of the answers can be found on the map, some can only be found by examining the land itself. This is partly because a lot of information cannot be found on the surface, which is all that the map really tries to record. True, some under-surface facts can be deduced from a surface picture, and additional surface detail, as well as some information from below, can also be found on air photographs. Nevertheless, at long last you must really go and see for yourself to find the answers before you begin with the new set of questions which the map then again asks.

An element of great importance in identifying old settlements and their associated cultivation is the pattern of tracks and paths. They not only served as means of communication to and between manors, or earlier and other agricultural settlements, but frequently grew out of access ways to cultivated plots, or to clearings surrounded by waste or woodland.

Within the compass of this book only the tracks in the immediate neighbourhood of the Hindwell Valley group of manors can be discussed and then only in summary form.

The map¹ which has been prepared from the appropriate 1 inch=1 mile Ordnance Survey sheets shows Offa's Dyke

¹ At p. 118; parts of O.S. 1-inch sheets 128 and 129: Offa's Dyke and the Roman road shown in red, the manors and manor tracks in blue.

and some of the tracks and paths discussed in the following pages and the previous chapter. But the basic map of course also shows communications as they exist today; also shows two highways and the remnants of another, all of which are modern or relatively modern. Their prominence on maps and on the ground has tended to obscure the pattern of paths and tracks associated with the manorial organization of the valley. For a medieval picture these must be mentally obliterated. The three roads in question are (i) the main Presteigne-Kington road which passes just east of The Rodd, (ii) the metalled side-road connecting this road with the Presteigne-Radnor main road, and crossing the Hindwell by a modern bridge called Broadhurst Bridge near Little Brampton, and (iii) the old turnpike from Presteigne to Kington by way of Folley Farm, Nash ford, and Burnt House on the Green Lane ridgeway. The third of these roads was abandoned when the first was built to avoid the steep gradients at Folley Farm and up the south side of the Hindwell Valley to Burnt House where the ascent survives only in an overgrown path called Trap Hill Lane.

For the early medieval period the most important tracks are those which connected the manors with each other all the way from the Radnor basin to the Leominster plain where they joined the Roman road—Watling Street—from Kenchester (Magnis) to Leintwardine (Bravonium).¹ The Manor Road can be followed from Harpton, by way of the manor of Old Radnor and Walton cross-roads to Combe and beyond. The track followed the line of the present main road from Harpton as far as Hercope or Lower Harpton, where the modern road now turns north, crossing the Hindwell at Ditch Hill Bridge in the narrowest part of the entrance to the valley below Burfa Camp and just west of Offa's Dyke. The old manor track kept to the south side of the river all the way. East of Lower Harpton it follows the 600-foot contour round the end of Herrock, circumnavigating the cwm below the hill between the 600- and 700-foot contours and leaving Lake Buildings and all the Knill water-meadows, between itself and the Hindwell. Opposite Knill, the Manor Road comes down again to the 600-foot contour and

¹ See above, p. 18. Antonine Iter. XII.

approaches the river at Knill ford where a short branch crosses the river to Knill itself. The track continues in a straight line from Knill ford to Little Brampton and is the access path to the Bruntune manor old arable fields between which it runs. Here it now becomes a narrow lane roughly metalled and just wide enough to take a cart. From Little Brampton it runs on towards Nash in the same form but very overgrown with hedgerow trees and bushes until near its junction with the modern Broadhurst Bridge road into which it opens out to become the fully metalled and maintained side-road joining the main Presteigne-Kington road just south of The Rodd at what was Rodd Turnpike Cottage before it was, quite lately, demolished. Before reaching Rodd Turnpike, the track runs between certain of The Rodd old arable fields. Throughout the stretch from Knill ford to Rodd Turnpike Cottage the Manor Road is sunk deep below the level of the fields each side. It is obviously of considerable antiquity.

Just east of the Broadhurst Bridge road-Manor Road junction there is a side-road to Nash, about 400 yards away, leading to a ford and pack bridge over the Hindwell. In the opposite direction a track leads up the hill through the woods between Rodd Wood and Wychmoor to Bradley's Barn and joins Green Lane¹ at Green Lane Farm. From Rodd Turnpike to The Rodd is a matter of 250 yards along what is now the main Presteigne road. The name of the lane from Knill and Little Brampton to Rodd Turnpike is Bron Lane. It does not figure as such on maps; but, as already mentioned, Bron is the local name for Little Brampton and recalls the original name of Bron's (or Bran's) Tun.

By The Rodd the Manor Road can be traced in a deep, broad ditch between the next two fields east of the main road. It then emerges into a 20-acre field under Ashley Vallet Wood where it was a well-marked embanked track until this was levelled for cultivation in 1948. The track leaves the parish of Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton by a stile in the boundary hedge and, skirting the back brook of the Hindwell on the right bank, reaches the early post-Domesday manor of Combe at Combe Farm. From here the Manor Road coin-

¹ See pp. 21 and 63.

cides with the main Presteigne–Mortimer’s Cross road to Byton Hands, where a side turning leads to Byton manor. The Manor Road, still on the alignment of the main road, then crosses the moraine col which encloses Byton bog near Woodhouse Farm, whence a lane leads to Milton, and pursues its way to Shobdon, the Mortimer manor of Scepudune. Here the present main road now trends north-east to Mortimer’s Cross, but the Manor Road goes on by a track to Ledicot manor where it crosses the Roman road from Kenchester to Leintwardine about a mile north of Street Court (Lestreet manor). The track continues east of the Roman road to Kingsland, and so into the heart of the great ecclesiastical manor of Leominster. The local importance of this Manor Road cannot be overstated, connecting as it does Leominster and the Roman highway with the Radnor basin and the ways into the Welsh hills. Throughout its course it keeps on flood-free ground south of the Hindwell and Lugg. It requires no bridges and uses only a few easy fords. It is a very ingenious low-level route through the cultivated lands of the district from or into the heart of the March.

Along the crest of the southern side of the Hindwell Valley is a high ridgeway. Between Rodd Hurst and Herrock Hill it is called the Green Lane. Along the edge of the scarp over the Hindwell Valley it is part of the second alignment of Offa’s Dyke.¹ It is a real ‘ridgeway’, and a droving road, probably older in date than Offa’s Dyke itself. On the heathland above Little Brampton Wood, one track branches off to Knill Garraway from which a deeply scored way descends the hillside to Knill ford. The main track over Herrock Hill runs along the line of a well-marked part of the Dyke common to both alignments. Farther west it then leaves the Dyke to turn north at the Gore pass which it crosses transversely to Old Radnor Hill. Beyond Old Radnor the track is uncertain, but it probably passes to the Tomen on the shoulder of Radnor Forest by the point where the roads to Builth and Penybont divide at the Pool of Llynellyn near the top of the cwm of Llanfihangel nant Melan. East of Green Lane Farm the ridgeway crosses the col at Rodd Hurst by a well-marked track following the crest line of the escarpment at

¹ Cf. Chap. II, p. 21.

the top of Ashley Vallet Wood to Wapley with its camp. A case can be made for this ridgeway continuing over high ground all the way to Ludlow.

The old track from Rodd Hurst to The Rodd is now incorporated in the main road to Presteigne. It is very deep-cut until it comes out under the moraine bank on which The Rodd stands. There seems to have been a ford at Rodd Bridge over a shelf of rock and there certainly was another ford at Wegnall Farm where traces exist of a cobbled road—a 'pitched' road as they say locally—from The Rodd to Wegnall and on to the Clatterbrune manor fields as far as Whitewalls. It forms the base track of certain of Clatretune manor old arable fields. There is also another clearly defined track from Wegnall which runs between the east-west Clatterbrune old fields, eventually to join the modern Presteigne-Combe Bridge road on Broad Heath.

Of other tracks in the neighbourhood, it is not necessary to say much more than that an old track from Knill through the Knill old fields on the left bank of the Hindwell to Nash ford and by Corton to Clatterbrune and Presteigne is inherently probable.

The Presteigne-Combe Bridge-Byton road is not an old one. Even on Laby's 1817 map of mail coach and turnpike roads, this road is only shown as a side road. It is a modern growth out of one of the Clatretune manor fields access tracks and must have been even more liable to flood a thousand years ago than it, still, is today.

Along the Lugg Valley there is another manor road analogous with the Hindwell Valley Manor Road. It is represented by a lane at flood-free level on the left bank, from the Lugg Bridge at Presteigne by points near Stapledon, Middle Moor and Bryan's Ground, to Kinsham, Byton, and Shobdon.

When man sets about altering the face of nature even in a small way by clearing the forest or making a plot ready for cultivation, a great deal of work is involved and without continuous work to keep it open, a clearing can quickly disappear back into the forest or bush. It may happen that the type of the invading forest or bush after clearance will be different from its original state. It is, for instance, well



MAP SHOWING MANORS (UNDERLINED) AND TRACKS IN BLUE IN THE HINDWELL AND LUGG VALLEYS IN NW. HEREFORDSHIRE

Compiled from Ordnance Survey, 1 in. = 1 mile, sheets Nos. 128 and 129, by permission of the Director of the Ordnance Survey

known that when the tall trees of a canopy forest have been cut down new growth of lower vegetation may be of a sort which will prevent any natural regeneration of the high forest. Clear falling of indigenous woods even in England without replanting may produce an undergrowth in which the old type of woodland will not necessarily again grow naturally. Thus, an area once completely cleared for cultivation and kept clear for a long time, may not revert in historical time to the original type of woodland, and man will have left his mark. Nevertheless, the native growth of oak, ash, and thorn in Herefordshire on abandoned or neglected marginal farm land is probably not very different from the immemorial woods of the March except where some alteration in the water supply has taken place, or maple, elm, and beech have overtaken.

When, in the course of cultivation or settlement, man starts moving earth he leaves even more indelible traces behind him. Abandoned clearings may revert to woodland, but earth once moved if covered with vegetation before it has been subject to rain erosion has a capacity of remaining put in a way which only millennial change can affect. Erosion is both a curiously rapid and a strangely slow process. A dust bowl can be created in a generation: over-grazing can make a desert in fifty years: but ploughland a thousand years old can still be recognized. The foundation earthworks of a Roman villa betray themselves. A prehistoric trackway cut into the surface of the land by the passage of men and animals five thousand years ago remains. These things become the ineffaceable testimony of human occupation and toil. In the British Isles, where surface erosion is generally speaking a long-term phenomenon, it is almost true to say that when man has been settled for any length of time his traces are indelible until he himself deliberately sets about removing them.

No one who has farmed old land which has been cultivated to ridge and furrow needs to be told how difficult, laborious, and slow is the process of removing the ridges and filling the furrows which have been created by centuries of ploughing in a manner calculated to create or maintain them.

Ridge and furrow has been quoted as a simple example

because it is well known and well appreciated. But banks and ditches are even more lasting evidence though less observed until they are important enough to be classed as 'ancient monuments'. Happily for those who are today trying to increase the size of fields for modern agricultural machinery, not every field is surrounded by a substantial bank and ditch. Nevertheless, a great many fields are surrounded by banks with or without ditches, and every hedge planted around a cultivated field tends to create a bank. Generally speaking, when a field is ploughed forwards and backwards along its most convenient run, a piece of land is left at each end where the plough, whether animal or tractor drawn, turns round to go the other way. This area, the headland, is today ploughed, in conjunction with the other sides, round and round the field to complete the cultivation, and it is good practice to plough the headlands outwards and inwards in alternate years. In older systems with long teams of oxen and horses the cross headlands at each end of long, narrow fields were frequently not ploughed owing to the difficulty of turning a long draught team round a sharp corner in order to plough only a short run. The long sides were therefore ploughed nearer in to both edges than were the end headlands. There is some evidence from the shape of the old arable fields in this district that they were tapered at one or both ends to diminish the area of the cross headlands of a long, narrow, rectangular field.¹

In all good husbandry the plough is and always was worked as close as possible to the side boundaries, both to use the available land as much as possible and also to clear away the weeds at the edges. To get as near the edge as possible, the last furrow slice is most easily turned away from the boundary hedge or fence or bank towards the field or strip. If this process of always ploughing away from the boundary hedge, fence, or baulk towards the field or strip is continued decade after decade, the effect in due course is to produce a boundary bank where originally there was only an unploughed baulk. Not all banks, of course, owe their existence to this, because many are also due to the excavation of a

¹ Cf. Figs. 2 and 7 at pp. 99 and 108.

ditch for drainage. But where no ditch is needed, ploughing will in practice tend to create a bank and where there is a bank and ditch, the bank will tend to grow in breadth at its base and in apparent height with respect to the rest of the field. Even if not deliberately planted, vegetation will grow on the baulk or bank and eventually form the basis of a hedge: and growing hedges with the decay and regrowth of shrub, bushes, and finally trees tend to accentuate and enlarge the bank on which they are planted or have come into being. In countrysides where stones have to be cleared from fields, banks tend to grow in the same way, which is why so often one sees dry stone walls on the top of banks.

In this country, where thanks to the rapid growth of vegetation erosion by rain is rarely present as an active levelling agency, banks once created are very durable. That this is so is widely accepted; but many who are not countrymen fail to recognize how formidable a thing is a bank even when not reinforced by old roots, stumps, or growing trees of all sizes and stones piled on from the field surface. A bank of packed earth 3 feet high and only 2 feet broad at the top and say 6 feet broad at the base contains per yard run 36 cubic feet of earth which weighs a little over $1\frac{1}{2}$ tons. A square 10-acre field has four sides each of one furlong—220 yards. The modest bank described surrounding such a field therefore contains some 1,400 tons of earth. Small wonder that when a bank has come into existence men hesitate to remove it even if free of stumps and tree roots, without modern machinery. As it is equally obvious that banks or ditches did not come into existence unless there was some good reason for them, it follows that the purpose of a bank is significant and that its size and shape are frequently measures of its age and origin.

While all this may be obvious to the countryman and of course nowadays to most archaeologists, the value of banks, ditches, hedges, and field boundaries as historical evidence is still not properly appreciated. Nor can this evidence generally be collected even from a large-scale map because no map yet made will provide much information about the composition of a field boundary. Air photographs can and do give a lot of information: but nothing really takes the place

of going oneself to look on the spot with a knowledge of local conditions.

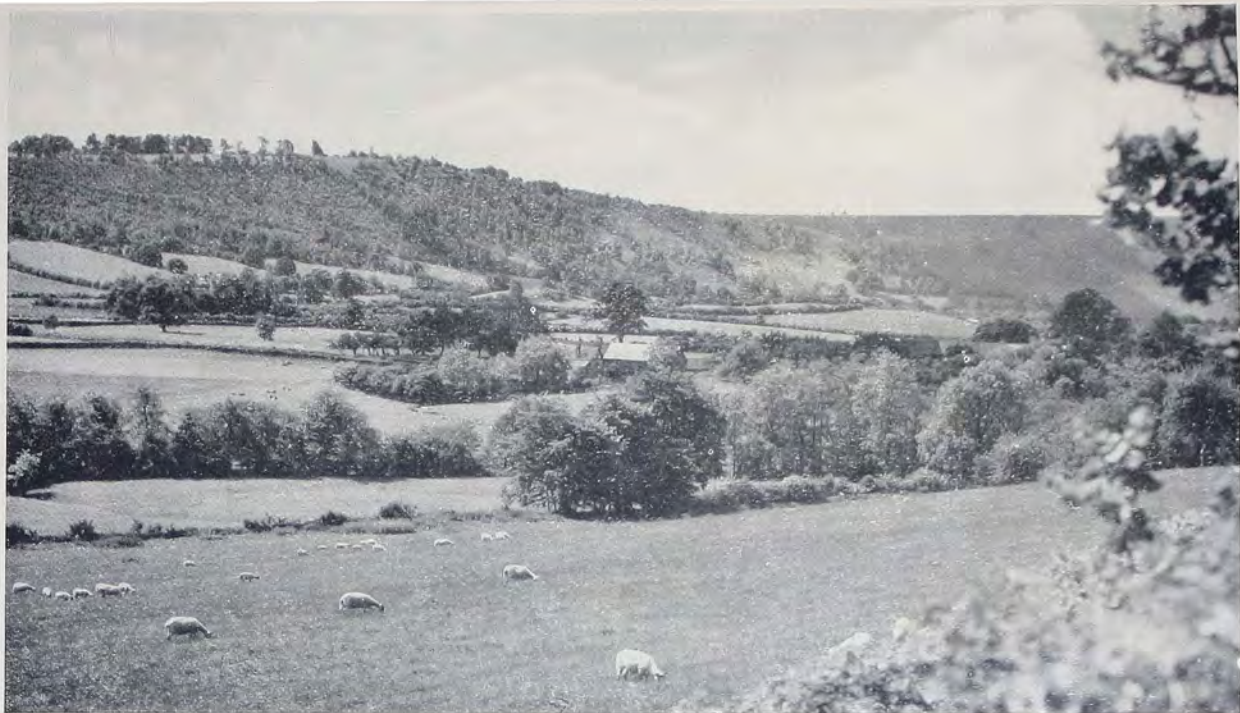
Hedges and banks are very important if one is trying to find out the history of fields because the size and type of one boundary in relation to another may give a very good idea of historical order. When, as frequently happened in recent centuries with improvement in the method, technique, and machinery of agriculture, fields were divided or subdivided or new land was cleared, enclosed, or reclaimed, the type of boundary may provide a clue, if not for when it was done, at any rate for which piece was done before the other. Even where boundary hedges have been abandoned to allow fields to run into one another or banks have deliberately been levelled, large trees, whose stumps were too big to contemplate removing, frequently give a clue to former field boundaries.¹ This can sometimes be seen even on the large-scale Ordnance maps where isolated trees, for instance on parish boundaries running along obliterated boundary hedges, are individually marked.² It is also interesting to note, and often easy to see, where old long fields have been broken up into smaller enclosures owing to changes in land tenure or agricultural technique, until in quite recent times mechanical traction and heavy machinery have become responsible for reversing the process.

The shape of fields as historical evidence is a rather controversial subject. Much valuable work has been done on systems of cultivation and types of ploughs in different periods of history in this country from prehistoric to relatively modern times. Well known examples of the 'open field' and

¹ Refer especially to p. 104 where the Little Brampton old fields are described.

² Cf. Lady Stenton in *English Society in the Middle Ages*:

'It is often possible by following the line of a parish boundary to trace the outline of an Anglo-Saxon estate. . . . Ancient thorns and old apple trees may no longer be growing on their old sites, but roads still follow their ancient course, although they may be reduced to a green path between two hedges or a line of tree stubs. To the historically minded a country walk can be given a purpose if it is directed along a parish boundary, for it is unlikely that the pedestrian will not find something which shows the intelligent care with which medieval Englishmen kept their parish bounds. Three ancient yews known as the Three Shepherds on Offa's Dyke still mark the point where three parish boundaries meet.' See Pl. VI.



The Hindwell Valley: from north side looking over Nash towards Little Brampton woods.
The 'Three Shepherds' (Yew trees) are on Offa's Dyke at Rushock Hill above Knill

'strip cultivation' systems have been investigated together with the human origins, land tenures, and social organizations apparently involved. Much has also been written on the different types of ploughs and the cultures associated with them. But as a farmer one must be struck by the unduly hard and fast conclusions which have frequently been drawn with insufficient local and agricultural knowledge.

The introduction of a different type of plough does not necessarily involve a change in agricultural system, or mark the introduction of a new culture, or a change of the racial element on the land or in its ownership or its social structure: or vice versa. The introduction of new tools doubtless played a part in certain instances and areas but insufficient regard has always been paid by enthusiastic research workers to the land itself. When facts in evidence fit a theory in one area, it does not in the least mean that the theory will be applicable elsewhere, even if the ethnological facts in evidence are the same. More usually will the dominating causes be climate, soil, and density of population.

Since these observations may be considered provocative by many interested in the theory and practice of the 'open field' system and 'strip farming', it should at once be said that in so far as 'ridge and furrow' land is evidence of either the 'open field' or 'strip' systems (and this is not always so to the extent that some enthusiasts claim), there is little or no 'ridge and furrow' in the fields which are the main subject of this chapter. This is quite consistent with the broad statement¹ that the open field system did not obtain much on the March. The old manor arable fields which are to be described do not bear evidence of strip farming and associated tenant right in the classical forms in which they have been described elsewhere. The few instances of ridge and furrow which can be seen in the area covered by this book are obviously associated with surface drainage.

For the area with which we are here concerned, it may be best to start from a picture of what the Hindwell Valley must have been like before it was cultivated, and as briefly as possible see from the cultivator's point of view what

¹ Cf. Trevelyan, *Social History of England*, chap. i.

men were likely to have done in beginning to cultivate the land.

Primitive man in England lived in places where he could avoid swamps, bogs, and jungle. The English primeval undergrowth was a formidable obstacle to man for millennia—and where it still exists, it still is—not only in cultivation but even in communications. Primitive man therefore, as we know, tended to live on downland and moorland where life was not a constant struggle against brambles, thorns, fallen trees, and swamp, unless the bogland provided refuges from enemies or a specialized culture. There are, however, certain types of lower land where forest and dense undergrowth may be less of an obstacle than on heavy lands like the Sussex and Kentish Weald for instance. Such easier land can be found where the subsoil is gravelly or sandy and where the surface dries out quickly and the soil is not suitable for heavy timber and underbrush. The lands of the Radnor basin were such an area, on which man could settle for cultivation in preference to the heavy Devonian lands farther east or the bleak open hill-tops and moorland of the March. There is no doubt that that is why the megalithic and other prehistoric remains of the Walton area are on lowland sites instead of on the surrounding moors and downs. Early man would have found that even if the bottom of the Hindwell Valley away from the boggy stream beds was wooded, the type of woodland was less formidable than along the slopes of the hills north and south of the valley bottom, or on Devonian land, for the bottom areas of the Knill, Little Brampton, Nash and Rodd farms consist of a relatively shallow layer of soil overlying glacial brash. These lands dry out very quickly after rain; as anyone who lives there knows, the fields are clear of water and even mud a few hours after a heavy downpour. Even if the most primitive man did no cultivation, the quick-drying lands from Old Radnor to Clatterbrune would attract his early successors cultivating only with hand-digging tools. Men would obviously seek to come down as low as they could, subject to keeping off land liable to flood, because of easier access to summer water and a milder climate. Little Brampton and Nash settlements are especially easy to pick out as ideal

agricultural sites where nature would not be too unkind to the early settler. The same is true of parts of the Knill and Old Radnor areas.

The site of The Rodd and Rodd Hurst is a little more complex. The name, like its older name of Bradlege, refers to a 'broad clearing in the wood'¹ and this description seems more applicable to a settlement at Rodd Hurst than to one at The Rodd itself. Rodd Hurst lies on the col between the Hindwell and Arrow Valleys where the ridgeway crosses from the southern escarped side of the Hindwell Valley to Wapley. Moreover, a track from the Presteigne area to Titley and the Arrow Valley crossed the col in the other direction. Rodd Hurst is an inherently likely place for a settlement in a clearing in the woods which obviously covered the whole area. The settlement at Rodd Hurst is in fact in a clearing today. It lies on the edge of the woods called Rodd Wood and Ashley Vallet with Burcher Wood and the Myrax copses behind to the south. Deep ditches and trackways which never seem to have carried water furrow the rough and recently heavily timbered field behind Rodd Hurst, known as Crow's Moor. They suggest both an older and more extensive settlement than is there today, which accords with documentary evidence from the Middle Ages and numerous roughly dressed building stones under the surface. It has the geographical characteristics, including several springs, appropriate to an early settled site. But whoever first inhabited Rodd Hurst must soon have been drawn to the quick-drying lands of the present Rodd manor arable fields on the edge of the gravel bank across the Hindwell Valley in preference to the clayey lands on the slopes around the settlement itself. The Rodd fields were at least as desirable for agriculture as those at Nash and Little Brampton. There is no conflict about the site of the Bradlege manor agricultural settlement in the distance which separates The Rodds from Rodd Hurst, which is the township or vill of Rode or Rodd frequently referred to in medieval records. If one of the two is older than the other, Rodd Hurst is thus probably the original site of the settlement which had the name of Bradlege, even before it became a manor, and

¹ Ekwall, pp. 54, 55, and 278; see above, Chap. III.

when it was only a 'broad clearing in the wood' on a very ancient crossing of trackways at, perhaps, a post on the Dyke itself.

When primitive or even not so primitive man clears and prepares a piece of ground to plant something, he will do so with certain things in mind, such as where the water will run to when it rains a lot, where the sun shines most or best, which way the wind blows, and so on. These elements are common to all cultivators irrespective of race, tools, or technique. The ideal site will probably be a sort of mild ridge or whale back where the ground is not absolutely flat, so that the rain water will run off if the area has a high rainfall, and where most sun will shine in a cloudy country—that is, not under the shadow of a hill for many hours of a day. The shape of his plot or plots will be governed more by the lie of the land than by his tools. He will obviously divide his land up naturally into plots by the paths he uses to go to the different parts without walking over what he has planted. Thus, paths will mark the edges of the plots. This is a very important point: long use of a path perpetuates it but also creates boundaries and, eventually, landmarks. The run of paths or tracks, every one of which has a reason, can thus frequently be a guide to the origin of fields or the boundaries of areas. Nor are fields crossed by old paths without good reason: when this does occur and a new pattern is created relative dating may be deduced.

The introduction of new techniques in ploughing of course affected the shape of plots, and it would be folly to suggest that different sorts of ploughs requiring different sorts of traction did not also affect the shape and size of fields to some extent. After all, we see today how the tractor-drawn plough, like the eight-ox plough team, calls, broadly speaking, for a larger field than the two-horse or the four-horse plough. But it is the quality and lie of the land which mainly governs the type of plough and not the plough which determines the shape of the fields.

A deep-ploughing plough with a heavy team of draught animals will need more space to turn at the headland; long fields may connote long plough teams and vice versa, but it does not follow that all land is best ploughed deep or that

a new sort of deep-ploughing plough is better than an older type of shallow plough, and that therefore a four-yoke plough is preferable to a three- or two-yoke plough. Nor, equally, does it follow that because in one place a long field may suggest the use of a heavy team of several pairs of animals, it is because a new type of plough ploughing deep and so requiring greater traction was used, as compared with, *mutatis mutandis*, a less long field in another place. Finally, heavier land will require a stronger team but not necessarily a deeper plough and so may produce a longer field irrespective of the sort of plough or traction used: and, again, vice versa.

This argument has been developed because when it is shown hereafter which were the old manor arable fields of the Hindwell Valley, this has not been deduced from the style of plough or technique of cultivation used but from local conditions and topography. Nor, conversely, if the conclusions which follow are accepted, do the circumstances constitute evidence for or against a particular ethnic culture or social organization. The shape and size of the old fields in this area are evidence of the sort of agriculture necessarily practised and not necessarily of the racial origins of the people who practised it.

They may, however, give some clue to the social structure of the area which in this respect is peculiar. It remains important to remember that what is true of this part of the country does not necessarily justify similar conclusions being reached elsewhere.

In examining the medieval agricultural settlements in the Hindwell and neighbouring areas one is struck by the fact that those elements which would have guided any fairly primitive cultivators in selecting sites seem to have governed these particular farming enterprises. Whether they were first settled by prehistoric man or not, or by this or that race and culture is immaterial. They could have been of very early origin, but as many of the same elements would obviously have governed the cultivator in other ages, no conclusion about periods or dates is permissible from such evidence alone.

In fact, all the apparently oldest fields in the Domesday

manors in this area ran along low ridges, where these exist in the valley bottoms, or on flat ground with a slight transverse slope. The direction of cultivation seems to have been generally speaking east and west. It is not clear whether there is any significance in this. In the Hindwell Valley itself the reason is probably in the main topographical because the narrow valley bottom runs more or less east and west. But there is evidence of an east and west trend outside the valley also, where the same geographical conditions do not exist.

Having created a long plot of plough land, when more land was wanted for cultivation the next plot was cleared and ploughed, when possible at the side and not beyond the earlier long plot, even if the land beyond was suitable and there was room for extension without running into or up against the next settlement. To cultivate beyond instead of at the side of the original clearing obviously meant a further idle walk for the plough team to the point of work from the point of starting or base. Only when there was no room laterally for new plots were fresh areas cleared for cultivation beyond the original clearings. Presumably, even in this small area, there was for a long time cultivable land to spare for which human resources were not available. When actual fields are examined it will be found that the arable cultivations of the four manors in the Hindwell Valley and elsewhere in the district were islands of cultivated clearings which did not run into each other and which were separated by pasture or uncleared land.¹ From the field shapes and their types of boundary, it is also possible in certain cases to see the order in which cultivation was later extended up the sides of the valleys and from one settlement to the next until, wherever the lie of the land permitted, their cultivated lands became conterminous. The way to recognize this progressive extension of cultivation (where it can be recognized) is in the lie of the fields relatively to each other and in certain characteristic shapes relatively to each other.

The boundary shapes, though they do not provide absolute dating, thus do give a relative scale. It is not possible to say this is a Domesday bank while that is Eliza-

¹ Or bush. Cf. Trevelyan, *History of England*, end of ch. i, bk. ii.

bethan, but it is possible to say this boundary is almost certainly older than that one and, coupled with the shapes of the fields in this group, that these are probably old manorial arable fields, whereas those represent later extensions of cultivation.

The Rodd manor fields and neighbouring plots can be taken as an example. A first plot of land marked A in Fig. 2 is cleared, obviously from the edge of the bank on which

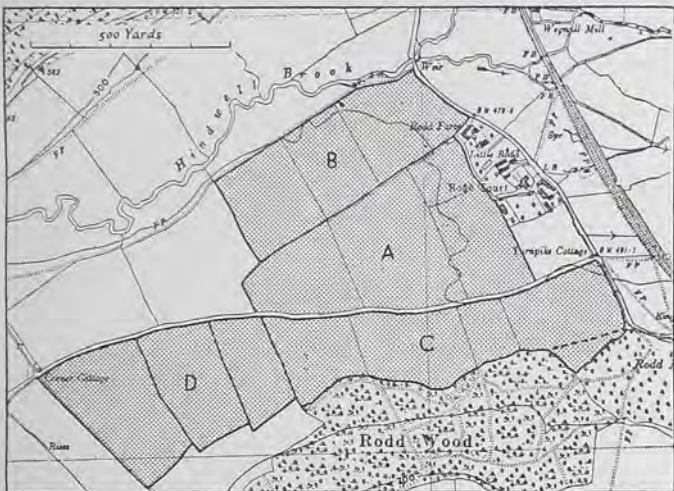


FIG. 2. Rodd fields

the Rodds now stand. Below the bank the land is low lying and full of springs just east of where the Presteigne-Kington road now runs. This plot was cleared from east to west, and as the distance increased the fields narrowed. It is immaterial whether there was already a homestead at the broader eastern end where The Rodd stands, or whether the work was done from Rodd Hurst.

The cultivable area was developed, in this instance, by a more or less parallel field, B, to the north extending as far as where the ground falls away to the river bed which is cut into the gravel across the local moraine bank. Between the two strips was a baulk which is still today a roughly

ballasted farm access track on to which the stones from the fields were (and still are) thrown. The area was then probably again extended, this time by bringing in strip C on the south, the long side of which was carried up the hill to where the woodland now is and where a belt of clay made further cultivation up the hill unprofitable. This edge is on the 500-600-foot woodland contour to which reference has already been made. Between strips A and C a path was left. When communications were opened between the Rodd manor settlement and the Nash settlement, this access road between fields A and C was extended and eventually became part of the Manor Road connecting the Hindwell Valley manor. Thus, field C is certainly later in date than A or B.

All three Rodd fields had a common base-line on the moraine bank. In most other manor field patterns the fields also run in pairs with a common base to each pair and, of course, between them an access road, which frequently developed into a more important means of communication. The grouping of the Rodd fields seems, obviously, to be governed by local topography. There no dry land was available east of the A-B pair. Farther west the land was obviously becoming Nash land: so these three Rodd fields were made parallel to each other.

Clearing field C was obviously harder work: the soil is heavier: the woodland growth was probably heavier: it lies on a more pronounced slope than the other two; and it has a northern aspect. Fields A and B were certainly the first fields to be cleared and used. The transverse hedges which now divide fields A, B, and C are obviously a modern development, probably associated with horse ploughing and modern cropping when the plough ox went out.

In the immediate neighbourhood, between The Rodd and Nash old arable fields, is a group of fields which present a good picture of extensions of cultivation when the method of farming was perhaps changing. They are marked as area D in Fig. 2. Such later extensions of cultivation are quite characteristic in shape. The fields run up the side of the valley transversely to the line of the old fields and access tracks, and not along the valley as do the Rodd, Nash &



hill old fields: first pair either side of road, right centre; second pair beyond, left centre, middle distance; Burfa camp in foreground



Looking west over Knill and Burfa Hill: Knill A and B fields below Burfa right middle; Little Brampton A and B fields right bottom

Little Brampton, and Knill old arable fields. They were clearly worked from a common base along a track in long narrow enclosures which terminate at different distances from the base line. The outer ends bear little relation to each other. Another good example of a group of fields representing a later extension of cultivation is given in Fig. 3: these fields are in Kinnerton parish in the Radnor basin some three miles north of Old Radnor. In all these 'extension-of-cultivation-fields' the lack of concordance of the

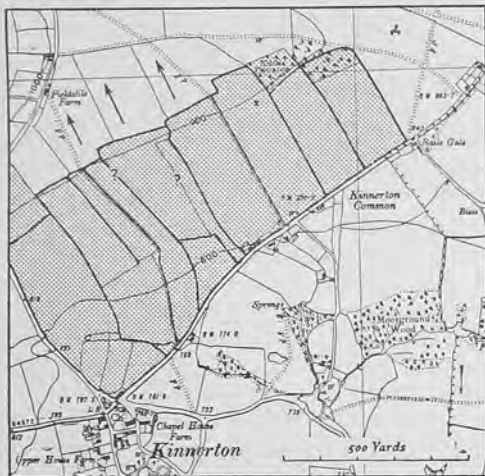


FIG. 3. Extension fields, Kinnerton

outward ends starting evenly from a common base-line is conspicuous. The symmetry of the base-ends on the access track from which the extensions were made is probably evidence of the importance of the paths or roads concerned as means of communication between settlements.

The old fields of Nash can also be identified, though their particular limits and development are more difficult to find on a map without air photographs and personal inspection. The creation of the modern road, taking off from the Manor Road, and joining the Presteigne-Kington and Presteigne-New Radnor road by way of Broadhurst Bridge over the

Hindwell has confused the appearance of the field layout on the maps of today. Further, there is reason to think that at some period the layout of the Nash A-B fields (see Fig. 4) gave place to the layout C-D which corresponds with the present division of the arable fields of Nash between two farm holdings belonging to the two farmsteads at Nash known as Nash Court and Upper Nash Farm. This change in the field pattern may have been fairly early since the C-D run of fields looks as if it was of respectable antiquity. It is, however, pretty certain that the A-B fields are the original old manor arable. The western ends of the Nash A and B fields are well marked and definitely did not extend any nearer to Little Brampton. The two long sides of A are marked by a path and the Manor Road. The south side of B is marked with a heavy boundary hedge. The short eastern sides of A and B are less satisfactory. *Prima facie* they look as if they ought to extend farther east. Field A looks as if the neighbouring paddock field up to the lane from Corner Cottage on the Manor Road to Nash ford belonged to it. Old field B looks as if it ought to include the two modern fields next east up to the continuation of Nash Lane from Corner Cottage southward to the hill-side and the woods. But on the spot it can be seen that this was clearly not the case.

The two fields east of B are divided from each other by a hedge and a ditch coming from a wet place or small spring which drains north. The wet area recurs in the paddock east of A field and is marked by some large trees in the field. This paddock was too wet to plough, as was the area where the spring rises, and the ditch to drain it runs between the two fields east of B. The eastern boundary of field A is a heavy hedge, and though these fields east of A and B may at one time have been brought into cultivation, there is clear justification for supposing that the old A and B fields started as marked in Fig. 4 and not farther east. Incidentally, the spring and ditch east of 'old field' B would not have prevented the D field in the C-D arrangement from being ploughed from north to south, though it would have made ploughing B field from east to west intolerable if the wet area had been included in this 'old field'.



Little Brampton A and B fields: centre, middle distance



Knill, Little Brampton and Nash old fields: Knill pairs left, middle distance; Little Brampton right of centre, middle distance; Nash level with quarry

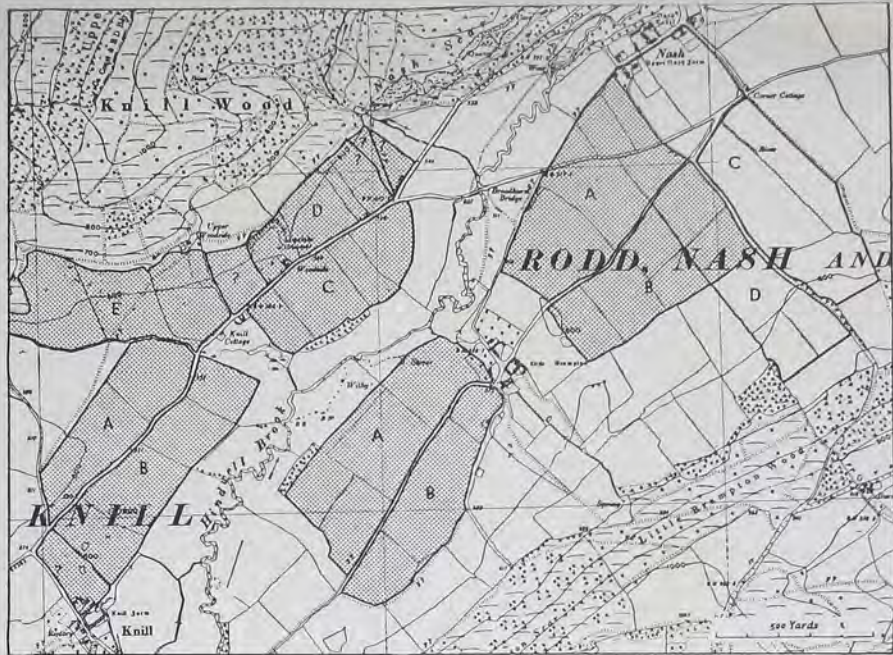


FIG. 4. Knill, Little Brampton and Nash fields

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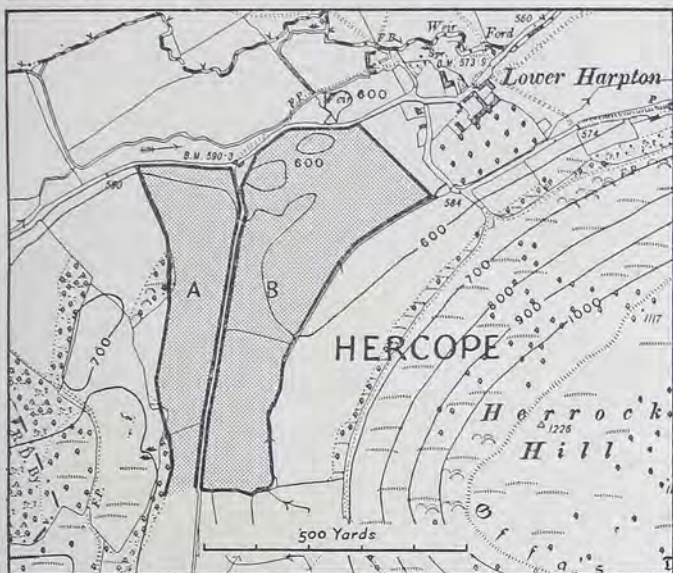
The Little Brampton old fields (Fig. 4) are very interesting. The southern 'old field' B is quite unmistakable and has a path along the south side from which the extensions up the hill were worked. The path between B and A is the Manor Road. Field A by extension now goes to the river, but contains a very distinct dip down to the stream-bed. On a part of the bank bordering this dip is a plantation and along the alignment of the plantation is an old ditch with a few isolated trees at each end, marking the old northern boundary of the field above the dip down to flood-level. The western end of A runs from the corner of the existing field to the edge of the plantation by the isolated trees described. The run of the old A field is thus still quite clear although the old boundary has in part disappeared.¹

There were perhaps five, and certainly four, old fields at Knill (see Fig. 4). The first pair, A and B, on either side of the modern Presteigne road, are obvious. The road was, of course, born out of a path between them. Their modern transverse hedges do not concord. There is a path along the southern side of B. Field C is a semi-elliptical field of the Little Brampton B type. It is divided from D by the Presteigne road. Field D is a small field which is now somewhat broken into by a limestone quarry and disused kiln at its western end. It is quite possible that originally D included the quarry land and ran as far west as the path from Knill Cottage to Upper Woodside. The strip of land above this run of field and below the woodland was not included and is a subsequent clearance. It is sour clay land with rough grass and the division between this strip and the old long field is clearly marked by an old broken-down bank without any hedge today, but none the less quite obvious. Field E from Knill Cottage to Upper Woodside in a westerly direction under the wood may be an old field, but is certainly more recent than the other four. It follows the limit line of economic clearing, hence its peculiar western end shape. The southern edge is bounded by a footpath. The triangle between E and A is a later enclosure to A.

The Hercope (Lower Harpton) and Clatterbrune Fields (Figs. 5 and 6) stand in interesting contrast to each other. For

¹ See Plate VIII.

Hercope there is just enough low, dry ground for the arable of a small $\frac{1}{2}$ -hide manor in the cwm behind Lower Harpton Farm. A likely looking area, which may indeed have been a later addition, is in the cwm opposite Knill at Lakeland Buildings. It was certainly not old original arable: it lies too much under the shade of Herrock as an early



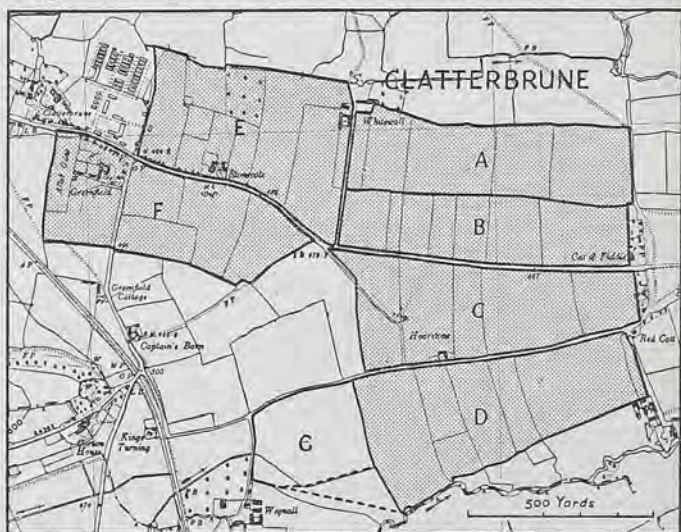
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FIG. 5. Hercope (Lower Harpton) fields

choice for arable in this small settlement. The land in front of Lower Harpton Farm is too liable to flooding to be old arable.

Assessed at 2 hides, Clatterbrune on the other hand has plenty of room for its arable, and six areas at least look as if they were old fields. They are marked A to F on Fig. 6. A to D are typical in shape and in the way in which they lie with regard to each other. E and F are difficult to trace today owing to the extension of house building from Presteigne. Area G was perhaps part of an old field when, together with

D, the farm at Wegnall came into existence after Domesday. The identification of A, B, C, and D, is definitely satisfactory: E and F are more doubtful. The trend of the Clatterbrune fields is east and west: there is no topographical reason why it should not have been north and south. Wegnall, though not a Domesday manor, seems to have be-



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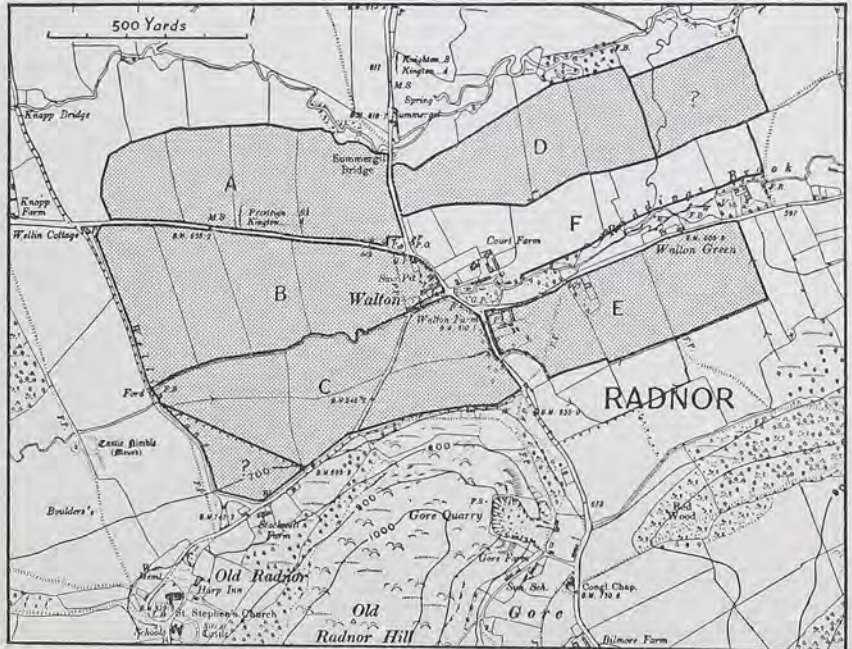
FIG. 6. Clatterbrune fields

come a small manor farm quite early on, and was probably carved out of the wide Clatterbrune lands. Though D and G are near the Hindwell, the stream bed is well below the left bank and these fields are out of flood range. At Wegnall is an old corn watermill, which is still in working order, with a complicated series of leats, drawing water for the fall at the mill wheel from the Hindwell, the level of which for this purpose is governed by a sill at Rodd Bridge. The disposition of the Clatterbrune A, B, C, and D fields suggests that the site of the homestead was near the northwest corner of the block at the farm now called Whitewall. Alternatively, it may have been near the fold yard called

Hoarstone on the lane from Wegnall to Broadheath with a lane directed towards it from the modern house now called Clatterbrune, a little east of Clatterbrook Bridge on the outskirts of Presteigne. Either of these two sites might have been the original settlement: neither of them precludes the present Clatterbrune from having been the site of the Domesday manor.

The manor fields of Harold's 15-hide Old Radnor holding, which King William took over, are easy to locate. They lie under Old Radnor Hill on either side of the Presteigne–New Radnor road. There were probably others at Womaston farther north. The steading for these arable fields was either at Walton where Court Farm is a suggestive name or equally probably at Castle Nimble. The five marked groups of fields, A to E, in Fig. 7 are obvious. A is particularly characteristic in shape. E is somewhat doubtful owing to the proximity of Riddings Brook: but it will be remembered that the Summergil and Riddings streams are very insignificant here and, in fact, disappear into the gravel of this end of the Radnor lake-plain. F is surrounded by water-bearing ditches and probably did not run farther east than is shown; it is doubtfully an old arable field. C is now intersected by the Walton–Old Radnor road; its southern boundary was, however, certainly the parish boundary line of today with Wellin Lane as its western boundary. The diagonal run of the present boundary of Old Radnor and Burlingjobb parish with Walton & Womaston parish at the west end of C is indicative of the former irregular end of this field, worked from the Walton steading, and analogous to the irregular western end of field A. Field D seems to have lost its old northern boundary which was probably among the two surviving hedges and the spinney by the Summergil as shown by the dotted line.¹ The alignment of the Old Radnor fields is noteworthy. Their run is east and west, though the land in the area would equally lend itself to a north and south orientation of most of the fields. The extent of the old arable and surrounding cultivable land and pasture is large enough to justify a 15-hide assessment, more especially if some very interesting field groups farther north near Womaston are taken into account.

¹ Cf. field A of the Little Brampton group.



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FIG. 7. Radnor manor fields (Womaston lies 1 mile north-west of Walton)



Lugg Valley: old fields between the two farms, left foreground; Maes Treylow at valley junction with the Lugg River in middle distance; Presteigne in distance.

The Harpton (Hertune) fields have been much disturbed by eighteenth/nineteenth-century park and garden landscaping. The old fields cannot readily be identified, but there is both plenty of room and scope for them in the area between Downton House and Harpton Court.

Without going into too much further detail, some identifications of old arable fields in the Lugg Valley above Presteigne must be included in this account, if only to show the extent of the field system which has been described in and near the Hindwell Valley.

The two old fields of the Cascope (Cascob) manor seem to lie along the Presteigne-Cascob road between Court Farm and Pentre. They are rather long and thin, but this is due to the narrowness of the valley. They lie on flattish land between the 700- and the 800-foot contour above the flood-level of the Cascob brook. There is no available land which is flood free and below the 700-foot line either near Cascob church (840 feet) or near Court Farm.

The Discote (Discoed) manor fields are probably to be found near Maes Treylow. One of them, A type, lay along the Maes Treylow-Cascob road, two other 'probables' are B type (or as much as is necessary) along the Maes Treylow-Beggars Bush road separated from the other one, C, by a wooded gully and Offa's Dyke; the other end of C goes on as far as Discoed itself. Field B is one of the very few—if it is an original field—in the neighbourhood which does not conform to the usual east and west lie. There is one other possible field, D, south of the road to Presteigne and east of Lower House Farm. The identification of the Discoed fields is not quite as satisfactory as many others in these local manors because of the north-south orientation of B, but they are nevertheless fairly obvious because there is no other area where the Discote old fields could well have been. The country up the cwm behind Discoed itself is far too high for early agriculture while most of the ground north of the Presteigne road at Discoed is liable to flood.

At Ackhill (Achel), there is a pair of obvious fields. The lower of the two fields is intersected transversely by two ways, the eastern one of which—a side road from Norton to

Rock Bridge on the Presteigne road—looks very like the base line or eastern boundary, the small modern field to the east of it being a doubtful addition to the original old manor field. These two fields on or below the 600-foot contour conform in lie to the general local practice.

Although Norton manor is really outside the subject of the Hindwell manors the siting of the extensive old arable

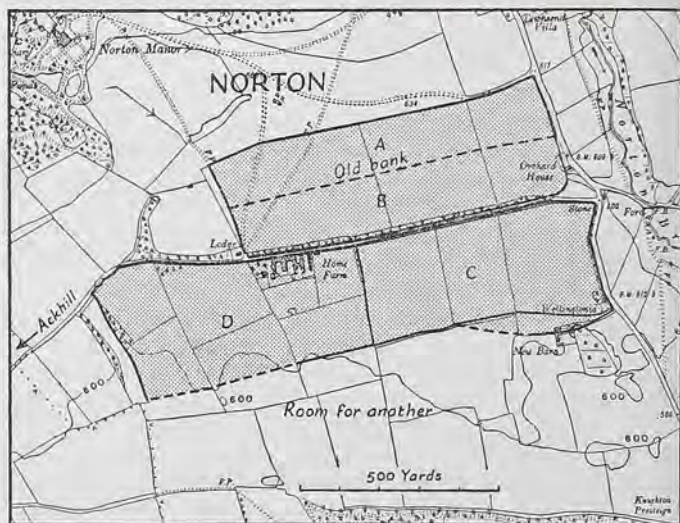


FIG. 8. Norton manor old fields

fields on either side of the track to Norton Home Farm from the Presteigne–Norton road is so obviously characteristic as to deserve mention. The terrain here has allowed of rectangular broad fields of the same sort of proportions as in the smaller manors of the Hindwell and Lugg Valleys. The northern of the two main areas was evidently divided longitudinally by a bank and perhaps a hedge which has disappeared leaving a very clear trace. There is room for more old arable fields north and south of the two main blocks—more than sufficient for a 5-hide manor. The flat ground between 650 and 550 feet is extensive enough to



Lugg Valley upstream from Presteigne (in foreground) with Querentune A and part of B fields:
in right foreground

have permitted a north-south orientation for the fields, instead of which a clear and characteristic east-west orientation occurs. The track to the Home Farm divides the two main blocks of Norton manor fields while a transverse track leads straight to the next manor of Ackhill (Achel).

The old fields at Osbern's original manor of Titley in Hezetre, while obscured by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century topographical changes, bear the same general character-



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FIG. 9. Presteigne fields

istics of A and B type fields already noted. Although they have been substantially broken up into smaller plots, one block of Winchester College¹ land provides the clue for an A-B pair. The estate map at Winchester gives the clue to the lie of the old manorial arable of this manor. The detailed identification involves more description than is justified here.

The last of the groups of manor arable fields with which it is proposed to deal is that to which the site of Queren-tune manor has been attributed, between St. Mary's Mill House and the western end of Presteigne. The two A-B fields are the long, tapering plots of ground running east and west of the Norton road and north of the Presteigne-Rock Bridge

¹ Cf. above, Chap. III.

road. The Norton road is the base path dividing the two fields: the Presteigne-Rock Bridge road is the longitudinal access road common to both fields. The northern boundary of the two fields is formed by the edge of the steep bank which drops to the Lugg stream bed. There is no trace, nor would there have been any need, of a bank, with or without a hedge, along the edge of this steep drop. The Ordnance Survey sheets do not show this steep fall and consequently the tops of the fields which were these old arable fields look quite different on the map to what they do on the ground. The eastern one of the pair of fields is now almost completely over-built by the houses of Presteigne. The tapered shape of these fields is due to the narrowing of the land available on the bank above flood level. If there were companion fields south of the road, they are not at all obvious: the fields there are probably extension cultivations up the slopes of the Warden Hill.

This necessarily brief, though also necessarily detailed, examination of the sites of old manor arable fields in the Lugg and Hindwell Valleys, most of them belonging to Osbern fitz Richard, leads on to an analysis of the sizes and shapes of the fields mentioned. From this some interesting conclusions are apparent. In the following pages are tabulated the shapes and sizes of the fields. The dimensions have been estimated by measuring the areas from the 6-inch and 24-inch Ordnance Survey sheets where the present fields which go to make them up actually correspond in aggregate to the original long arable fields, or by estimating the dimensions when the old boundaries have in part disappeared but can be guessed from surviving marks. As a convenient unit of measurement the present standard chain of 22 yards has been used. Apart from the convenient size of the unit, the individual and average sizes recorded in chains produce significant results. For those who have forgotten their tables of measurements, it may be recalled that 10 chains or 220 yards = 1 furlong and that an area of 1 chain or 22 yards by 1 furlong or 220 yards is 1 acre or 4,840 square yards. Therefore, 1 furlong or 10 chains by 1 furlong or 10 chains is 10 acres.

Since the old fields are not necessarily rectangular and

frequently do not have straight sides, because of local topography and the way they came to be cleared or brought into use, certain arbitrary but perhaps sufficiently accurate methods of calculating their dimensions in chains have been adopted. The estimates have been made from maps and inspection on the sites.

<i>Manor</i>	<i>Field</i>	<i>Approx. length in chains</i>	<i>Approx. breadth in chains</i>
CLATTERBRUNE	A	34	9
	B	34	say 8
	C	34	6/14 say 10
	D	34	8/16 ,, 12
	E	25	13/19 ,, 15
	F	28	10/12 ,, 10
	D-G	46	8/16 ,, 12
Average of A, B, C, D*		34	9½
RODD	A	29	5/18 say 11
	B	26/30 say 29	10
	C	38	8
Average of A, B, C		32	9½
NASH	A	30/33 say 32	8/16 say 13
	B	29	8/16 ,, 10
Average of A, B		30½	11
LITTLE BRAMPTON	A	34	15/9 say 11
	B	35	8
Average of A, B		34½	9½
KNILL	A	24/32 say 29	12/7 say 9
	B	38/42 ,, 40	8/12 ,, 10
	C	31/34 ,, 33	11/8/10 ,, 10
	D	24/28 ,, 26	10
	E	26/27/32 ,, 29	11
Average of A, B, C, D, E		31½	10
Average of A, B, C, D		32	10
Average of A, B, C		34	10
CASCOB	A	31	8
	B	30	9
Average of A, B		30½	8½

* For E, F, and G see text at p. 106.

Manor	Field	Approx. length in chains	Approx. breadth in chains
DISCOED	A	42/46 say 44	7/13/11 say 11
	B	56	8/16/13 „ 13
	C	24	14/10 „ 13
Average of A, B, C*		41	12
ACKHILL	A	26	9
	B	30	11/5 say 9
	(B+C)	40	12/5 „ 10)
Average of A, B		28	9
NORTON	(A	39	6)
	(B†	39	5) II
	C	26	11
	D	27/30 say 29	15
	D less E	29	12
Average of A, B (perhaps one field)		39	6
A, B, C		34	7
A, B, C, D		33	9½
A+B, C, D		31	12
QUERENTUNE	A	34	15/4 say 9½
	B	difficult to ascertain owing to the sprawl of Presteigne but probably about the same.	
Average of A, B, say		34	9½
OLD RADNOR- WALTON	A	32	9/11 say 10
	B	33/36 say 34	7/17 „ 11
	C	36	16/10/12 „ 11
	D	42	9
	E	30	10
Average of A to E		35	10

The acreages of the fields are purposely not given because even where modern field boundaries follow the line of old field boundaries and the Ordnance Survey sheets record the areal measurements, area totals or averages in acres would have to be in misleadingly finite figures. Furthermore, where one or other old boundary have disappeared or partially disappeared, estimates of acreage are difficult to make without

* See text at p. 109.

† Breadth of B includes a recently planted shelter belt of trees beside the road.

measurements on the ground and less satisfactory to tabulate in comparative form than linear dimensions. Again, although the area of the old arable fields was probably wholly cultivated and the boundaries arose accordingly, there may well have been plots within the enclosures which were not cultivated, on account of wet patches, heavy trees, or irregularities: field acreages in these cases would be very misleading. Finally, acreages have been omitted because it seems far more likely that what the early cultivators took into account was length and breadth and not surface areas when they made their clearings, while hideage assessments of the Domesday epoch were probably made on output values rather than on surface. If anyone wants to think in terms of acres, he need only remember that 30 chains by 10 chains = 30 acres, with the reservation that the multiplication of an *average* length of, say, 31 chains by an *average* breadth of, say, 10 chains will not necessarily measure up to 31 acres, either on the ground or according to the field areas of the 24-inch Ordnance Survey sheets.

The first thing that strikes the eye in the table is the number of fields of about 34 chains long by 10 chains broad. In the Hindwell Valley group, Clatterbrune fields, E, F, and G seem to belong to a different system and A, B, C, and D seem to be the original ones. Analysing these figures a little further, it looks as if Clatterbrune A, B, C, and D; Rodd A and B and perhaps, but not certainly, C; Nash A and B; Little Brampton A and B; and Knill A, B, C, and, but not certainly, D are units of about the same size, shape, and probably period allowing for differences of terrain. Although some of the Norton ground produces about the same sort of sized fields, there is a fair amount of variation from the 34 by 10 chain type. At the same time, Norton remained throughout history an important and prosperous manor of a size which was larger and more productive than the Osbern manors. The area occupied by the Norton fields tabulated is all open and flattish land which presents few of the topographical obstacles to extensions and variations from original 34 by 10 chain type present in the Hindwell Valley land. The Discoed group is quite anomalous; either the fields belong to a different system or the sites of the fields have not

been properly identified. The Ackhill fields are rather smaller than the average and the Walton ones rather larger, but still of the same order of magnitude. The Walton ground, as at Norton, is topographically easy. Although the Titley and Harpton manor lands have been too defaced by building, park 'landscaping' and subdivision to be readily assessable, there is plenty of room and some evidence for the 34 by 10 chain type fields. Hercope is tucked away up a cwm and strictly governed by the topography; it could well have been of the 34 by 10 chain régime within the limitation of terrain.

One may fairly conclude that the 34 by 10 or 33 by 9 chain field, of the order of 30 to 35 acres, represented something quite definite in the mind of the creators of these agricultural units, just as definite as their desire, whenever possible, to secure an east-west orientation on dry land at not over about 600 feet. It is particularly remarkable that at Clatterbrune, Walton, and Norton the lie of the land would have permitted considerable variation in size and orientation, but the old fields even there generally conform to the régime of the other old fields in the neighbourhood.

A feature which is clearly seen in air photographs is that their ends farthest from the starting-line of cultivation, whether the fields lie side by side, or end to end, seem to taper away to a narrower breadth. Indeed, the 'snout' end of these fields is what makes them easy to pick up in most cases from air photographs in spite of their having been cut up by transverse hedges. Another point which must be pertinent is the way in which these fields so frequently lie in pairs, on which a three-year rotation is difficult to work. One can, of course, work a three-year rotation on a set of four fields, if perhaps less conveniently than on three plots or six plots. But pairs of fields connote either a two-year rotation or alternatively strip cultivation of parts of each field, of which practice none of these fields bear any trace.

It is difficult to reach any satisfactory conclusion about concordance, if such exists, between hideage assessments and the number of 34 by 10 chain fields. All that can be said is that a 1-hide manor seems to have involved one pair of 34 by 10 chain fields giving an arable area of, say, 70 acres, which is not an improbable result in a district of narrow

valleys and not altogether easy agricultural topography. This seems to apply to the smaller manors rather than to the larger ones like Norton and Radnor, where, however, all the possible old fields may not have been tabulated: they might bring the number up to five pairs for their 5-hide assessments. In this context one may perhaps assume that by the time the hideage assessments were made, secondary extensions of cultivation had already been begun and had been devoted to arable. It may indeed be that the A-B pairs with subsequent C-D pairs of 34 by 10 chain fields are older than the hideage assessments and were not in themselves the basis for the latter. On the whole, there seems to be little value in trying to relate hideage assessments to probable arable acreages of the old 34 by 10 chain fields with or without later additions. All that it is probably true to say is that a 2-hide manor had more arable acreage than a 1-hide manor; and so on.

South of Stapleton Castle is a block of flood-free land suitable for cultivation and now cultivated. It corresponds to the Clatterbrune land on the opposite side of the Lugg river. At first sight the map shows three blocks of fields south-east of Stapleton Castle which in size, aspect, and lie look as if they were old arable fields. They provide a good example of how misleading a map can be without local inspection, for on examination the northern run of the three existing fields at Stapleton Castle Farm could never have been cultivated as arable field: the land is too wet and the east-west run of this block of three fields is at several points cut up by necessary and heavy surface draining which would have effectively prevented long field cultivation. The next block of two fields to the south is a possible, though small, old arable field, as is the next block of three fields adjoining the lane leading to Middle Moor and Bryan's ground on the Presteigne-Stapleton track—the old manor road from Ackhill and Norton north of the Lugg to Kinsham and Upper Ley. South of this track the ground slopes steeply to the low-lying Lugg shelf. Out of the considerable area of ground between Stapleton and the Lugg there are thus only two possible but rather doubtful old arable fields. There is not enough land of characteristic formation and pattern to adduce as evidence of a manor (like

the others described earlier in this chapter were) having existed here. If the old arable fields of the Hindwell manors are of Domesday and pre-Domesday epoch, the failure to find convincing examples of them in the large area around Stapleton is consistent with its omission as a manor in the Domesday survey. The same line of argument can be shown to be applicable to Combe. That in both cases there was flood-free cultivable land at these places explains their early post-Domesday development into manors. Conversely these conclusions suggest that the old arable fields discussed in this chapter probably were made in a period perhaps quite a lot earlier than Domesday.

The shape, size, and pattern of the March manor fields needs a great deal more work than has been possible in this brief local study. The layout of the larger manors, particularly Stapleton and Radnor, needs investigation in the light of their more numerous surviving records. But this falls outside the scope of this study since the former is a later creation than the group of manors now under examination and the latter is *sui generis* in that it was both much larger and more important.

CHAPTER V

Of the Manors of Stapleton and Presteigne in the Middle Ages

THE history of the Hindwell and Lugg Valley manors after Domesday cannot be considered otherwise than in connexion with the manors and lordships of Presteigne and Stapleton. They both present problems.

Neither Presteigne nor Stapleton is mentioned in Domesday. Both had castles, the dates of the building of which are not known. By 1300 both manors evidently included urban settlements of some local importance. Both of them were not only manors but important head manors with dependent sub-manors. They lay less than a couple of miles apart in a countryside which was certainly in Domesday very sparsely inhabited even as compared with the rest of Herefordshire. They belonged to different families and depended in their turn from different Honours. Presteigne had a church and served as the ecclesiastical centre for a number of neighbouring parishes which had no churches. There is no record of any church or chapel at Stapleton: at the most there may have been an oratory in the castle, but all the evidence points to the castle and its families being ecclesiastically under Presteigne.¹ Both the castles stood on eminently defensible hill-mounds and were militarily well sited. Presteigne was strategically the sounder of the two because it commanded the entrance to the upper Lugg Valley and a ford or crossing over the river: Stapleton lies below the point where the Lugg debouches from the hills.

The first recorded reference to Presteigne, as Presthemede, which means 'The House or Home of Priests',² occurs in one of the folios³ annexed to the Balliol Domesday manu-

¹ Howse, *The History and Legend of Stapleton Castle*. Privately printed in Leominster, Herefordshire, in 1946.

² Ekwall, p. 356.

³ B.D.B., ff. 40, 40v, and 41, and p. 79; also note at p. xxi.

script where it is recorded that 'at Presthemede Osbern fitz Richard has seven hides'. The folio is not later than the Balliol transcription of the Domesday text: it has been dated to Henry I's reign, *c.* 1128-39. This annexed folio makes no reference to the Domesday text which sets out Osbern fitz Richard's Hindwell and Lugg manors, nor does the folio contain in either marginalia or text any reference to seven particular hides at Presteigne. There is no evidence about whether these hides lay together or scattered. The name Presthemede—The House of Priests—and this early reference to the place in the Balliol folio suggest that it may well have existed at the time of the Conquest despite no mention of it in Domesday. If it was just a house for priests with no land, there is no particular reason why it should figure in the catalogue. The neighbouring Domesday manors of Queren-tune and Clatretune accounted for the immediately local cultivable land.

The absence of a reference to Stapleton, which became an important manor so soon after Domesday as it did, surrounded with good agricultural land, is more puzzling: but the land there does not display evidence of old arable fields such as were associated with Osbern's Domesday manors.¹

The earliest reference to Stapleton² is in a description of the Herefordshire border-land following the reorganization of the central government by Henry II (1154-89) after the Civil Wars of the Stephen period. A distinction between the administrative shires of England and the March administration of the Welsh border is made. The Herefordshire border land is specifically described as including the lordships of 'Stapleton & Lugharnes', Wigmore, Huntington, Whitney (on Wye), Eardisley, Winforton, and Clifford, as well as, by then, the land of Ewyas Harold farther south. In an inquisition in Henry III's reign (1216-72) the western boundary of Herefordshire is described. Radnorshire of course had not yet come into existence: it only became a county by statute of 27 Henry VIII, *c.* 26. This inquisition specifically refers to

¹ Cf. Chap. IV, pp. 99 et seq.

² *V.C.H.*, p. 361 and sources quoted there. Eyton in his history of Shropshire has a reference to Stapleton as being in the hands of King John in January 1207 during the minority of Margaret de Say: vol. xi, p. 344.

the Lugg Valley domains of the lord of Richard's Castle, evidently Stapleton and its dependent manors.¹

The statute of Henry VIII establishing a shire of Radnor follows the documents of Henry II and III in defining the western border of Herefordshire as including in this county Ewyas Harold, Ewyas Lacy, Clifford, Winforton, Eardisley, Huntington, Whitney, Wigmore, Lugharnes, and Stapleton,² which were among those 'lordships, towns, parishes, comotes, hundreds and cantreds formerly in the Marches' and 'lying between the said County [of Radnor] and the shires of England . . . and being no parcel of any other shires . . .'.

The 7 hides of Osbern fitz Richard noted in the Balliol folios of 1128-39 cannot be related to any group of his lands in the Hindwell or Lugg Valleys mentioned in the Domesday survey: moreover, the contemporary Balliol transcription of the Domesday text makes no reference in the body or margin in this context to changes of tenure since 1086. It is therefore inherently likely that these 7 hides of Osbern at Presteigne refer to his newly created manor of Stapleton. This is to some extent substantiated by the importance which Stapleton had already acquired in Henry II's reign, 1154-89. We can thus suppose that within a few years of Domesday Osbern created a new and rather important estate which became his 'caput' manor for his Lugg-Hindwell group of tenancies. That the 7 hides were described in 1128-39 as 'near Presteigne' and not as 'at Stapleton' points to the greater importance and antiquity, as a place, of the former. There is no evidence at this period of any castle at either place. It was at this time that the Scrob family, which as will be shown had adopted the name of de Say, was certainly in occupation of Stapleton land. Since the family held the Hindwell and Middle Lugg manors as of Stapleton for some time afterwards, they presumably so held them at that time too. By 1219, however, Stapleton passed by inheritance to a branch of the de Mortimer family: and by 1240 at any rate the 'Lordship and Manor of Presteigne' [*sic*] was also in the hands of the de Mortimer family, but of the main line of Wigmore. By 1244 the Warden Castle at Presteigne had come into existence and was held by or of the de Mortimers

¹ Quoted *in extenso* below, p. 164.

² 27 Hy. VIII, c. 26, pt. III.

of Wigmore, who had also become possessed of the former le Scrob manors on the Upper Lugg above Presteigne, except Cascob only.

Since it is scarcely conceivable that two de Mortimer families could have built themselves two castles a couple of miles apart, it looks as if the Warden Castle at Presteigne must have been built by the de Mortimers of Wigmore to offset Stapleton while it was still a de Say manor, probably a little time therefore before 1219, and actually as we shall see perhaps before 1200. Since it is also unlikely that the Wigmore de Mortimers could have been allowed to build the Warden while the de Says still held the manors upstream of Presteigne, it follows that whenever it was that the castle at Presteigne was built, it coincided with, or was related to, the passage of the Upper Lugg manors from the de Says to the Wigmore de Mortimers. On documentary evidence this could have happened at any time during the period 1130 to 1200. In fact, however, the dates can be narrowed further. In 1155 Henry II proceeded against Hugh de Mortimer, who was in revolt against the Crown, on account of his resumption of lands granted to the Wigmore dynasty by Stephen. Henry II besieged and reduced the de Mortimer castles including Wigmore. In view of the king's relationship to the de Say family,¹ the de Mortimers are not likely by that date to have been in possession of, or allowed to retain, the de Say lands upstream of Presteigne.

The loss of the Upper Lugg manors by the de Says to the Wigmore family and the building of the Warden Castle at Presteigne therefore most likely took place within the period 1160 to 1200, and probably in the later rather than in the earlier part of this time. Stapleton Castle thus almost certainly antedated the fortress at Presteigne. In spite of the loss of the Upper Lugg manors the lordship of Stapleton and Lugharnes continued to hold some of the Hindwell and most of the Middle Lugg manors, including the post-Domesday manor of Combe. Certain of the Hindwell manors, however, came partially or wholly under the lordship and manor of Presteigne as will be shown.

¹ See below, p. 126, for the inheritance of Margaret de Say on the death of her father in 1195.

The hides attributed to Osbern fitz Richard in the annexed folios of the Balliol manuscript, namely a total of $26\frac{1}{2}$ hides, is considerably less than Osbern is recorded as holding in the Domesday texts. But these two lists, the list of hides and the list of tenants, are in several respects not as complete as those in the main Domesday survey text. If Osbern in the lists in these two annexed folios is, therefore, shown as holding less than at Domesday, it does not follow that between 1086 and the dates of these two lists, say, *c.* 1107-28 and 1128-39 respectively,¹ the Scrob family had already begun to lose estates, at any rate to the de Mortimers. The totals in these two lists for the de Mortimer holdings show no gains in land since the Domesday survey.

Quite early on Stapleton received a grant of a market from King John, in 1216. In 1223 a regrant of the market to William de Stuteville for his lifetime was made by Henry III. Here occurs a strange event. In 1225 Presteigne only two miles away also received a grant of a market from the king, to William fitz Warin, for the term of the king's life on payment of a fine of 1 palfrey and 5 marks. Now, William fitz Warin though Castellan of Hereford had no connexion with Presteigne, and, as it turned out, the whole grant was an error, recognized as such in a later document of 1229 when the 5 marks fine was remitted. Nevertheless, the people of Presteigne in due course received their market all the same by a grant in 1304 upon the death of the then Edmund de Mortimer. They were also given the advantage of a second fair.² What is of particular interest is that two places so close to each other as Stapleton and Presteigne should both have been allowed to possess markets. They evidently by Henry III's reign were quite important and populous centres, for which there is also other evidence.

Today Presteigne is the assize town of Radnorshire with a population of some 1,200 souls. Stapleton has disappeared; all that remains is a few scattered farms and cottages. It is

¹ B.D.F., ff. 40, 40v, 41, pp. 77-79; and p. xxi.

² I am indebted to Mr. Howse of Presteigne for digging out these details: the documentary evidence is in P.R.O. Close Roll, 13 Hy. III; Fine Rolls, C. 54/28, m. 16, 7 Hy. III, and C. 60/24, m. 8, 10 Hy. III. Cf. *Trs. Rad. Soc.*, vol. xxvi, 1956, pp. 43 et seq.

nearly as difficult to account for the disappearance of Stapleton as it is to see the *raison d'être* or even the economic possibility of two such substantial groups of population existing side by side a couple of miles apart in the arduous conditions of agriculture on the Welsh border in the early Middle Ages, in an area which is described in the Domesday survey as being or having been, substantially, 'waste'.

Presteigne certainly had a church which later became a dependence of the abbey of Wigmore. The ford or crossing of the Lugg at Presteigne was also quite an asset to the Lordship, although the Lugg hereabouts was nowhere a formidable obstacle. There is in fact another quite adequate crossing a little downstream of Stapleton. In later centuries Stapleton was a more important lordship than Presteigne and in the hands of great families of the county when the de Mortimers of Wigmore had faded into the limbo after the Battle of Bosworth. The growth and, even more, the decay of sites are always fascinating subjects for historical speculation.

'Stapleton' means the 'tun of the steeple, pillar, or post'.¹ The hillock on which it stands would obviously tempt anyone to use it for a 'tun'—and a castle. The proposition put forward, attractively enough,² that Stapleton³ was the Domesday *domus defensibilis* of Walelege on account of the proximity of the Willey sites just to the north, is unfortunately not tenable.⁴ The suggestion rested solely on the similarity of those names. There was also the reference in a document of 1259⁵ to 'Wylilege Welshry' in close connexion with Stapleton; this document almost certainly does refer to Willey Old Court, or a tenancy thereabouts. Willey in the fifteenth century was a manor of the Stapleton domain where manor courts were held as they also were at Cascob and Rodd.⁶ The mere fact that the name in 1259 is 'Wylilege *Welshry*' seems however to differentiate it from some similar name elsewhere. The term 'Welshry' is frequently used of settle-

¹ Ekwall, p. 356.

² By Howse, *op. cit.*

³ Blount *apud* Robinson, *Castles*, &c., p. 124, is of course quite wrong in identifying Stapleton with the Domesday manor of Stepedune [*sic*] which is Shobdon.

⁴ See Chap. III, p. 44.

⁵ See below, p. 127.

⁶ Stapleton Manor Court Roll, 18/19 Edw. IV, in bundle marked 'Stapleton No. 1' in muniments of Major R. Harley of Brampton Bryan.

ments on the March to denote that they, or the appropriate parts of them, were inhabited by Welsh, as opposed to those called 'Englishry' inhabited by English, population. Kington, for instance, was divided into two quarters or wards, locally known on account of the way the English and Welsh lived in their own districts as Kington Englishry and Kington Welshry. Throughout the medieval period there were restrictions on Welshmen owning land in England without penalties or sureties.¹ For what it is worth, moreover, the name in the 1259 document is written Wylilege and not Walelege. Walelege, with its *domus defensibilis* as has been explained, was in Elsedune Hundred, whereas Willey was in Hezetre Hundred if not in the Lenteurde Hundred of Salop, and there is now no reason or justification in the light of current knowledge to look for Elsedune Hundred sites elsewhere than in Elsedune, or Hezetre sites than in Hezetre Hundred.

According to the Balliol manuscript Osbern fitz Richard le Scrob was apparently still alive in the reign of Henry I. The Balliol text records no change of tenure of his estates by 1128-39 though it is, of course, possible that the Balliol manuscript entry may refer to a time a few years earlier than that reign. The family name of le Scrob disappears early in history, when Osbern's son, Hugh, married Eustachia de Say and their children assumed their mother's name which was perhaps more aristocratic and certainly more euphonious than their father's. The two sons of this marriage, again called Osbern and Hugh, married Amicia and Lucy, daughters of Walter de Clifford: their sister, the third daughter, was Henry II's Fair Rosamond. Osbern and Amicia de Say apparently had no issue, and Hugh inherited from his father Richard's Castle, the Barony by Tenure of Burford, Stapleton Castle, and the dependent Hindwell Valley and Lugg manors below Presteigne. Osbern fitz Hugh paid scutage for 15 knights at Richard's Castle in 1160-1 and was charged to scutage in Wales in 1189-90; he died before the end of 1194.² Hugh and Lucy had two sons of whom one only, Hugh, had

¹ Cf. Chap. II, p. 24, and see also Duncomb: Grimsworth, p. 27, quoting Rymer for a royal order to the Sheriff of Herefordshire in 1379.

² B.D.B., pp. 95 and 119.

children; but both his two sons died without issue and the third child, their sister Margaret, became the heiress of Stapleton Castle and of the Barony of Burford. Margaret married three times, Hugh de Ferrers, Robert de Mortimer, and William de Stuteville. By Hugh de Ferrers there were apparently no children. By Robert de Mortimer she had one son Hugh who was 40 in 1259: they could only have been married a year for according to an *inquisitio post mortem* he died in 1219. Robert de Mortimer became *jure uxoris* Baron of Burford and Lord of Stapleton, which thus eventually passed to his son and so into the de Mortimer family.¹ This Robert de Mortimer appears to have been the younger son of Hugh de Mortimer who died in 1181, having succeeded Ralf de Mortimer, the Domesday grantee of Wigmore and other manors. Ralf de Mortimer, first Lord of Wigmore, is believed to have died in about 1104, and to have been succeeded by Hugh de Mortimer not later than 1107.² This Hugh de Mortimer must not be confused with the Hugh who was Robert de Mortimer and Margaret de Say's son, and who had another Robert as son. But as Roger I de Mortimer succeeded Hugh as Lord of Wigmore only in 1181 there may well have been, indeed it is likely there was, yet another Hugh between the first who succeeded in 1107 and Roger I. The Balliol Domesday manuscript has a marginal note that Robert de Mortimer was holding Ralf de Mortimer's manor of Lecwe-Lege (Lower Lye) at the time of the annotation. The Balliol manuscript is dated to 1160-70. The first Robert de Mortimer succeeded *jure uxoris* to Stapleton and died in about 1219, which gives a date-bracket for the marginal annotation.³ Since the group of Stapleton manors then still included Osbern fitz Richard's Lege (Upper Lye), it is quite reasonable to suppose that when these estates passed to a de Mortimer, the Wigmore family should have enfeoffed their Stapleton cousin in Lower Lye as well, which had been part of the Wigmore domain.⁴

¹ See genealogical table at p. 128.

² B.D.B., pp. 95 and 126.

³ Unless the reference is to the second Robert de Mortimer, referred to below, who was born in 1251-2, was the son of Hugh and grandson of the first Robert, and succeeded to Stapleton in 1274.

⁴ And not necessarily 'temporarily' as the editors of B.D.B. have supposed at p. 95; cf. also Chap. III, p. 79.

But upon the death of Robert de Mortimer, husband of Margaret de Say, Stapleton first passed *jure uxoris* to her third husband, William de Stuteville. In the inquisition of 1259, Stapleton manor with Wylilege Welshry¹ was declared to have been held by William de Stuteville of the Crown by inheritance of Margery [*sic*, i.e. Margaret de Say], sometime his wife, for an unspecified fee and the Courtesy of England. This ascertainment went on to say that Sir Hugh de Mortimer, son of Margery (by her second husband), aged 40, was her heir and that he came into possession after William de Stuteville's tenancy.² In confirmation of these events we know that Margaret de Say was specifically granted leave by King John to hold Richard's Castle and Stapleton Castle by inheritance from her father, Hugh de Say, who died about 1195, and that Stapleton also possessed a market, the licence for which was granted by the king in 1216 when Margaret was married to Robert de Mortimer, perhaps on account of the services rendered to him by the Mortimer clan during Richard I's absence in the Middle East. The Stapleton market licence was, as already noted, regranted by Henry III in 1223.

That Hugh de Mortimer, son of Margaret, duly entered upon his inheritance after William de Stuteville's temporary tenure, we also know from the *Calendar of Close Rolls*, for in 1274 he is described as of Richard's Castle, and as holding in the manor of Stapleton certain lands with certain tenants at specified fees. These he held of the king, as of the Barony of Burford. The names of the separate holdings are not legible in this document but are probably the same as those in an inquisition held soon after when their total value was £28. 3s. 11d., including £10. 6s. 8d. pleas and perquisites of court. Hugh's heir, Robert de Mortimer, was then aged 22½ years. The *Calendar of Close Rolls* of 1304 refers to the restoration to Maud [*sic*] widow of Hugh de Mortimer of certain property in Willey,³ enfeoffed by the widow of Llewelyn ap Gilbert, as part of the manor of Stapleton, and also to provision made for the two daughters of Hugh de Mortimer

¹ See above, p. 124.

² *I.P.M.*, May, 43 Hy. III, c. 123/Hy. III/12/14.

³ That is Wylilege Welshry.

from the manors of Richard's Castle and Stapleton.¹ This Hugh, the husband of Maud, is probably the son of Robert de Mortimer and grandson of Hugh de Mortimer who inherited from Margery or Margaret de Say.² An inquest of August 1304 held following the death of Hugh de Mortimer found *inter alia* that he held the villis of Cascob, Atecroft (Oatcroft), Wapelith (Wapley-Stansbatch), Combe, Titleye (Titley in Hezetre), and Rode, of the king *in capite* as of the Honour of Burford for a total value of £7. 19s. 2¼d. per annum.

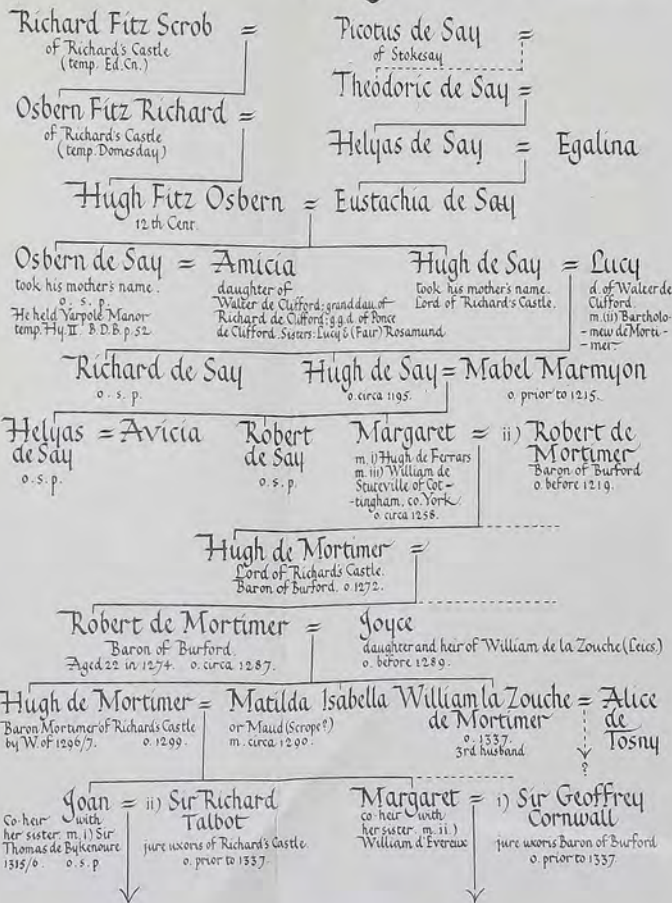
Much the most important Stapleton document for the period is the subsidy roll of 'the late Hugh de Mortimer's lands in Counties Radnor and Hereford'. It contains a full list of persons assessed in the manor of Stapleton for 1293.³ The list covers about 400 names paying in all over £40. It includes a number of names which are extremely interesting in connexion with the Hindwell Valley manors. In the first place, there is an Adam de Roda who pays 4s. ¾d. as well as a Hugh 'de veteri Rude' paying 3s., Eynon de Bromptone paying 21d., John de Knylle 3s. 8¼d., and Ralph de Lingen 11s. 11¼d. There does not here appear to be a Nash or Asshe or Fraxino who occur frequently at this time in the Presteigne papers, though a Richard Nasche was much later enfeoffed of Stapleton, in 1395. There are some other interesting names which are worth mentioning. There is a Thomas, Lord of Butone (Byton), and a Walter of Norton, Isabella and Phillip (in that order) de Stanton, Ralph Keeper of Titeleye, William the Clerk who pays 4s. ¼d., the same man who figures as a free tenant of Rode, and John and Thomas de Cumba, evidently Combe manor. Among peculiar names are John and Walter de Cimiterio, as well as several described as de Bosco, two Underhills, Jacke the Jew, Joan the Weaver (textrix), Lucy la Pape, David and Henry - milkers, Dom Roger the Chaplain, David le Porter, John le Crimpe, David and Hykemon Crimpe, and two de Alta Terra, a few names away from Jorve de Wapelit (Wap-

¹ *Cal. Cl. R.* 15 Oct. 1304 and 12 Aug. 1305, and *I.P.M.* quoted by Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. xi, pp. 41-42.

² See genealogical table at p. 128.

³ P.R.O. E. 179/242/57, 21 Edw. I.

LE SCROB:de SAY,of STAPLETON.



Authority: Compton Reade, "The House of Cornwall," private edition, Hereford 1908; and additional notes taken from Balliol Domesday text and notes.

ley), on which hill there is today a farm called Highland. The latter part of the list is mainly of people who have no descriptive or sur-names but are merely recorded patronymically as John the son of Richard, &c. With these are some thirty or so obvious Welshmen like Merdit ap Madoc, Kadugan ap Adam, Kadugan ap Yorward, a Yorward – medicus, and his son and so forth. This interesting list is complete.

Hugh 'de veteri Rude' who pays the relatively large sum of 3*s.* raises an interesting point. There is no other reference at this time either to a Hugh de or de la Rode or to an 'Old Rode' in the Presteigne area, though a Henry de la Rode and Matilda his wife had land at Leominster in 1295/6 and the names Henry and Hugh or Hugo are sometimes confused. 'Old Rode' may, however, refer to Od or Odd Rode in Cheshire (see Appendix I to Chap. VII and pedigree no. 2 thereat). It is true that Odd Rode is reputed to mean the Rode of Odda,¹ an Old English personal name, but this is only a conjecture at best and even if correct 'Old Rode' for Odrode is an easy step. Moreover, there were a Hugh de Rode, the son of Gilbert de Rode and probably grandson of Michael de Rode, as well as a Hugh de Rode, son of Michael and brother of Gilbert, alive at this time. The elder Hugh was alive in 1260, the younger was dead by 1299 when his widow Agnes sued for dower in that year in Hertfordshire. Moreover a Gilbert Rood, as we shall see, was witness to the conveyance of some land in Gloucestershire in 1280/90.² On balance the Hugh 'de veteri Rude' seems in all probability to have been a member of the Cheshire Rode line and is probably the younger Hugh, the son of Gilbert of Odrode.

Hugh de Mortimer actually died in 1299, within a few years of the Stapleton Subsidy Roll. He left no son but two co-heiresses:—Joan, who first married Sir Thomas de Bykenoure by whom there were apparently no children and then Sir Richard Talbot: and Margaret, married to Sir Geoffrey de Cornubia (Cornwall) who thus became *jure uxoris* Baron by tenure of Burford. It appears that Stapleton, at any rate, and perhaps also Burford, were originally held by Joan as first co-heiress but that she and her husband passed Stapleton by gift to her sister Margaret and Geoffrey Cornwall.

¹ Ekwall, p. 372.

² See below, p. 148.

They were enfeoffed by Joan by fine in the King's Court with remainder to the heirs of Margaret,¹ as is confirmed by the record of the Escheator for the counties of Hereford, Gloucester, Worcester, Salop, Stafford, and the Marches of Wales. Burford and Stapleton, separately mentioned as befits the importance of the latter, were held of the Crown in chief by barony and $1\frac{1}{4}$ knight's fee.² In 1334 Geoffrey de Cornubia by a 'grant of special grace' received the right to hold two annual fairs at the manor of Stapleton in addition to a weekly market.³

In about 1337 Geoffrey Cornwall died and Margaret his widow married Sir William d'Everois (Devereux). On her second widowhood, the king as overlord of Burford and Stapleton seized the lands which William Devereux held *jure uxoris*, but upon Margaret's petition that the lands had been Mortimer 'since time out of mind' regranted them to her and her heir Richard Cornwall, then aged 23.⁴ This is confirmed by the inquisition of 1348, in which it was ascertained that Richard died leaving a son, the next Geoffrey Cornwall, as a minor.⁵ Finally, in 1356, there is an inquisition to ascertain this second Geoffrey Cornwall's age: from which it was shown that he was born in 1335, to which William de la More aged 60, and John de la Rode aged 40, were witnesses. John de la Rode testified that this Geoffrey was born on the same day on which he married Rose, the daughter of Roger de Weston.⁶

During the minority of this Geoffrey, his lands were held in trust by Juliana, widow of John Talbot of Richard's Castle, and Richard de Estham, from which it again appears that Joan de Mortimer made Burford over to her sister Margaret, but that Richard's Castle remained in the Talbot family. This Geoffrey Cornwall was born at Stapleton and in due course succeeded as the third Cornwall Baron of Burford. His son, Brian, succeeded as fourth Cornwall Baron in 1365 and he was succeeded as fifth Baron by Richard, who

¹ *I.P.M.* June, 9 Edw. III (1335); P.R.O. E. 149/8/14.

² *Cal. Cl. R.* 8 Nov. 1335.

³ *Cal. Ch. R.* 17 July 1334. For a second fair at Presteigne see p. 123 above.

⁴ *I.P.M.* 2 Edw. III; P.R.O. E. 135/50/22.

⁵ *I.P.M.* 22 Edw. III; P.R.O. E. 152 and Index vol. 12, No. 456.

⁶ *I.P.M.* 26 Aug., 30 Edw. III, Index vol. 10, No. 332.

successfully defended Stapleton for Henry IV against Owen Glendower when he ravaged the lands around Presteigne and Lyonshall. Richard's successor Sir John Cornwall married Henry IV's sister, fought at Agincourt with thirty men-at-arms and ninety archers, and was made a Knight of the Garter.

By the middle of the fourteenth century the manor of Stapleton comes to be referred to more and more as the manor of Lugharnes. It was the next great lordship to the de Bohun lordship of Huntington, the boundary between them running along the northern side of the manors of Eardisley, Lyonshall, Pembridge, Eardisland, and Kingsland. The list of manors which went to make up the lordship of Stapleton was, however, not static. Byton and Staunton-on-Arrow were sometimes within and sometimes without the Stapleton organization. Combe manor though in Stapleton lordship was held as of Huntington.¹ In 1399 when Sir Brian Cornwall, son of Geoffrey and the fourth Cornwall to be Baron of Burford, held Stapleton, the manor of Lugharnes specifically included Cascob which had not been mentioned for some time. It seems that Cascob had all this time remained with Stapleton, whereas the other Upper Lugg Valley manors went and remained with the Presteigne lordship.

During the fourteenth century Stapleton manor included Titley, Oatcroft near Titley, the mesne-lordship of Moldelye or Malleigh (Moley near Titley), and the demesnes of Wapley, Staunton, and Willey, besides Combe. The Hindwell manors, which were also in part included, present complications, but these will be considered after examining the story of the manor of Presteigne. At Titley there was a priory of the abbey of Tiron; in September 1395 Richard Nassh one of the feoffees of Stapleton delivered seisin of the manors of the abbey, including Titley, to Winchester College.²

Stapleton Castle today is a group of ruins on a mound where the motte and bailey can be identified. Most of the

¹ Cf. 'Historical Map of S. Wales and the Border in the 14th Century', H.M.S.O., by William Rees, who also makes Presteigne an enclave of Huntington lordship in Mortimer country which does not accord with other evidence, though see also references at pp. 122, 125 and 140.

² Deed No. 7 of 4 Sept. 1391, Winchester College Archives.

surviving masonry is of a seventeenth-century house with cross wings said to have been 'sleighted' by Sir Michael Woodhouse in 1645. Of the thirteenth–fourteenth-century settlement at Stapleton practically nothing remains, even as ruins. One surviving dwelling near by, Carter's Croft, dates from the thirteenth century and has the remains of three crutch trusses in the fabric, a form of timber construction which was not used after the fourteenth century.¹

The genesis of the manor of Presteigne is as much a puzzle as that of Stapleton. When first described as a manor in the thirteenth century there is no indication, beyond its apparent importance, of the extent and location of its lands. It may be noted that the seven hides which Osbern had according to folio 41 of the Balliol manuscript are described as *at Presteigne* and not as the manor of Presteigne. This suggests that Presteigne was then a place or settlement rather than a manor. It was evidently not, nor did it depend from, a church or monastic establishment having property, of which there are numerous examples in the Survey of Herefordshire, or it would probably have been mentioned in the catalogue. The abbey of Wigmore from which the church at Presteigne later came to depend was not yet founded. The present church, formerly known as Llanandras in Welsh and dedicated to St. Andrew, contains 'Saxon' remains. Circumstances generally suggest that Presthemedes may well have existed before the Conquest. As a pre-Conquest Saxon church it may have been deliberately disregarded in the survey.²

The de Mortimer family in the person of Ralph de Mortimer and the Scrobs in the persons of Richard and Osbern had been, as has been seen, grantees of extensive estates, around Wigmore and in the Lugg Valley respectively, at Domesday. Both Ralph and Richard, serving Earl William before the Conquest, had already carved out for themselves domains which the king only confirmed and extended. The lands of the two families represented solid blocks of country which marched with each other along the Upper Lugg and in the Arrow basin south of Shobdon. In this part of Here-

¹ R.C.H.M., vol. iii, p. 182.

² Cf. Howse in *Trs. Rad. Soc.*, vol. xxi, 1951, p. 48; also Ekwall, p. 356.

fordshire the Scrob lands were in fact more extensive than those of the de Mortimers. But the latter were more valuable than the former, so many of which were waste.

By the middle of the twelfth century the fortunes of the de Mortimers were already very much in the ascendant. In the reign of Stephen the Hugh de Mortimer who succeeded Ralph not earlier than 1107 managed to get further grants of land from the king. He was already sharing with Miles of Gloucester, who became Earl of Hereford in 1141 (Earl William's son Roger de Breteuil having been dispossessed for his rebellion against King William), the dominion of this part of the March. With Henry II's decision, from the very moment he was crowned, to restore the authority of his government, conflict was bound to break out with the Earl of Hereford and Hugh de Mortimer. In fact it came to a head immediately in 1155 when the king began to resume lands which Stephen had granted to the Mortimers. The Bishop of Hereford persuaded the earl to make his submission, which he did, and he died in the same year. But against Hugh de Mortimer the king had to proceed by force. He laid siege to the de Mortimer castles of Wigmore, Cleobury Mortimer, and Bridgnorth which the family had acquired from Roger of Bellême. That Henry II in his campaign against Wigmore stayed at Stapleton is probable, for his Fair Rosamond was the sister of Lucy de Say wife of Hugh who held Stapleton Castle and manor. His troops certainly passed through Presteigne. The de Mortimer castles were reduced but Hugh de Mortimer was allowed to retain Wigmore and Bridgnorth. Although during Henry II's reorganization of the administration of the March after these events, Stapleton and Lugharnes manor are first mentioned, there is as yet no mention of Presteigne as a manor.

Of Richard Cœur de Lion's absentee reign there is some local tradition or history. The Walsham family of Knill who descended from, and succeeded, the de Knills claimed that Sir John de Knill went with Richard Lionheart on the Third Crusade. The armorial bearings of the de Knill family have the charge of crosses with a pointed lower member traditionally associated with the Crusades, as symbolizing the planting of the Cross in the Holy Land. The Rodd or de

Rode family of The Rodd claim that a Hugh de Rode or de la Rode also went on the Third Crusade and was knighted by King Richard for his distinguished conduct in the campaign of Ascalon in 1191. The Rodd family coat bears two trefoils slipped, that is, having a long pointed stalk which is traditionally also a charge commemorating service in the Holy Land, analogous to the crosses with a pointed lower arm. It is a pleasant thought to think of the two modest manor holders, squires or yeoman farmers as they might have been called in later ages, in the remote Hindwell Valley discussing and finally going off together on the Third Crusade from which they returned with honour and distinction, and, one may hope, some profit from what was, for so many, nothing but a colonial venture.

There is a local tradition that John, later King John, used Barland, north of Knill, as a hunting lodge when he visited Presteigne. John's relations with the de Mortimers were close and during Richard Cœur de Lion's absence in the East, Roger de Mortimer, son of Hugh, like the de Bohun family, supported him. In recompense, when John became king he made Henry de Bohun Hereditary Constable of England and Earl of Hereford, in the place of Miles of Gloucester who had died in 1155, and confirmed the de Mortimers and the de Bohuns in their domination of the March.

Thenceforth throughout the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries the border became an unceasing theatre of treachery and intrigue by the Lords of the March, in which the de Bohuns for a time and the de Mortimers for two centuries reigned supreme.

The complete lack of loyalty and moral sense of these border dynasties is well illustrated by the case of William de Braose, one of the important Marcher Lords of the early thirteenth century. His four daughters Isabel, Eleanor, Eva, and Maud were respectively married to Llewellyn Prince of Wales, Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford, William de Cantilupe of Hereford, and Roger II de Mortimer fifth Lord of Wigmore, notwithstanding that at this time Llewellyn was fighting the English till his death in 1240. His son David then lost Brecon to the de Bohuns and Mortimers but in 1244 invaded England and defeated the English twice. In the

course of these struggles, Humphrey de Bohun, brother-in-law of Llewellyn, secured the lordships of Hay, Eardisley, and Huntington. In 1246, David ap Llewellyn died and Henry III made a favourable settlement with the Welsh from which both the two main families again benefited considerably.

In the following year, 1247, Roger II, Lord of Wigmore, himself died and was succeeded by his son Roger III. Roger III, Lord of Wigmore, had lived in troublous times and contributed much trouble to them. In 1258 he and Humphrey de Bohun joined the Barons at Oxford under Simon de Montfort against Henry III. Owing to a renewal of Welsh hostilities and consequent danger to his lands at Wigmore and elsewhere on the March, Roger rejoined the king's side and was regranted the lordship of Wigmore in 1259. In 1260 the Welsh, nevertheless, took Builth Castle from him and ravaged the Mortimer and Bohun lands as far as Weobley, Eardisley, and Wigmore itself until Lord (Prince) Edward came to the rescue and drove them off. By his change of front in 1259 Roger de Mortimer incurred the enmity of Simon de Montfort who, with the support of the Earl of Gloucester and the Welsh, sacked the Mortimer lands in 1263-4, besieged Stapleton Castle, and took Radnor Castle and Richard's Castle. Had the Barons, the more enlightened clergy, and the men of the cities of London and Oxford under Simon had time after his victory at Lewes in 1264 to consolidate the west and north, the history of England would have been different. But the power of the March was too great. Lord Edward escaped from Simon's custody at Hereford and took refuge with the Mortimers at Wigmore, where he was joined by levies from the counties of Hereford, Worcester, Salop, and Chester. Cut off by Gloucester's troops from England, Simon attempted to break out across the Bristol Channel. He was brought to battle at Evesham in August 1265 and with him the freedom of England went down for two centuries until Henry VII finally broke the power of the March for ever. In 1276 the Lords of Wigmore regained Brecknock and Builth from the Welsh and in 1298 the fourth Earl of Hereford married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I, the conqueror of Wales. The de Bohuns and the de Mortimers once more reigned supreme on the March.

In 1304 Edmund de Mortimer, seventh Lord of Wigmore, was succeeded by yet another Roger de Mortimer who with the Earl of Hereford took side against Edward I and II. In 1326 Edward II was overthrown by Isabella and the Mortimers, and Prince Edward was named Lord Warden of England and Hereford. De Mortimer for his share in promoting the successful revolution was appointed Keeper of Herefordshire, Staffordshire, and Worcestershire, and created Earl of March in 1328. But he proved too much for Edward III: he was attainted and executed in November 1330. His son nevertheless in 1331 received back most of the Mortimer lands, as well as the earldom of March. He survived till 1360, possessed of more lands than ever the family had before. The third Earl of March again increased the power and wealth of the family by marrying in 1368 Philippa, daughter and heiress of the Duke of Clarence.

The Bohun family in the meanwhile had declined. The seventh Earl of Hereford's daughter Eleanor married Edward III's son, Thomas of Woodstock; the other daughter, Mary, in the winter of 1380 married, at the age of 10, Henry Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV. The earldom of Hereford became extinct in 1373 with the death of the seventh earl and the family properties passed to the Dukes of Buckingham and the Earls of Stafford who *inter alia* received the manor of Huntington. The de Bohun-de Braose lands in Brecon also went to the Staffords.

The first specific reference to a castle at Presteigne as well as to its de Mortimer character occurs in the confirmation of 1249 by Roger III de Mortimer of Thomas de Frêne's charter of 1244 granting lands to the abbey of Wigmore. The passage reads: 'Et ego dictus Thomas [de Frêne] et heredes mei pro dicto portione placitarum custodiemus omnes illos qui fuerunt incarcerationandi de hominibus suis in mea prisona tanquam in communi carcere apud Prestmede in castello nostro. . .'¹ From this it appears that Thomas de Frêne was lord of the manor of Presteigne which he held with the castle of Roger de Mortimer. The grant to Wigmore Abbey by Thomas de Frêne included the right of pasturage over all the

¹ *Apud Banks in Arch. Camb.*, 4th ser., vol. xiii, and 5th ser., vol. v, pp. 214, &c.

lands of the manor except sown lands and meadows. The grant further authorized the canons of the abbey to hold their own court in Presteigne and to try all cases, both great and small, excepting those pertaining to the taking of a man's life. The grantor, Thomas de Frêne, was not to be entitled to sit in court with them unless especially invited. The canons were to pay as consideration a horse of the value of 10 marks. Anticipating dates for a moment, there is also a reference in 1337 to land at 'Castledych' held by Edmund de Mortimer and Margaret his wife 'in the marches of Wales in Presthemedé', as well as to a meadow, the rent of assize and pleas (of the manor court), and the 'toll of passengers' worth £4 per annum, which must refer to the bridge or crossing of the Lugg at Presteigne—obviously an important property in the town.¹

The witnesses to the deed were Brian de Bromptone, John de Lyngaine, William de la Rode, and John de la Combe. The same witnesses figure on the confirmation of 1249 with the addition of two Mortimers and Radulph de Prestmede, priest. In the same context, the church of Presteigne is described as for thirty monks and the advowson was quitclaimed to Walter, abbot of Wigmore, in 1236 by William de Fraxino, son of Warin.² This William was probably an earlier William than the de Fraxino (or Frêne) the son of Adam (or Alan) de Fraxino who figures in Edmund de Mortimer's muniments in the late thirteenth century. Apart from the obvious importance of the de Frênes early in the thirteenth century, the appearance of William de la Rode among the witnesses to such a series of documents is noteworthy.

In the latter part of the thirteenth century there are a number of references to land in Presthemedé held by various people, including Ralph de Sancto Audoeno,³ by fealty and render of a pair of gilt spurs. In an interesting assize case of 1292 Edmund de Mortimer, the abbot of Wigmore, and others appear against Roger de Mortimer concerning a tenure of La Hethe by Presthemedé: this case, too, was

¹ *I.P.M.* 16 Sept., 10 Edw. III. Cf. above, p. 124.

² *F.F.* 20 Hy. III, CP 25A and SO 8, No. 149.

³ When the manor was in the king's hands.

decided in favour of Edmund with the note that La Hethe was 'neither vill, borough nor hamlet'.¹ 'La Hethe' is, of course, the area and hamlet known today as Broadheath about two miles east of Presteigne.

Some other early references occur in 1256, when a William de Presthemedede is recorded as drowned in an accident, Roger de la Rode is fined in the manor court of Presteigne 20s. for a 'transgression' in Kynardslegh (Kinnersley), and Thomas de Fraxino² concurred in an award concerning two messuages and a virgate of land in Presthemedede to Matilda, wife of William de la Plutte.³ These references seem mostly to be to parts of the township of Presteigne which evidently came under the manor court.

In the muniments of Edmund de Mortimer⁴ Thomas de Fraxino, son of Ralph de Fraxino, is referred to as Lord of Presthemedede, while a William de Fraxino, son of Alan or Adam de Fraxino, sells to Dame Gladys de Mortimer 2 virgates of land in the manor of Presthemedede of the homage of Walter fitz Adam fitz Peter, which Walter had of the king and chief lord for service and foreign service and 3½ marks, to which Brian de Bromptone, John de Lyngaine, Philip de Mortimer, Henry de Mortimer, Ralph de Arace, Gilbert de Lakenhulle, Pagan del Asche, John de Cumba, and William de la Rode were witnesses.⁵ A quit-claim of the same series to Sir Roger de Mortimer refers to rents in Presteigne. Another quit-claim to Roger de Mortimer refers to the rights of tillage of land at 'Brock furlong' formerly held by Thomas de Fraxino, and a messuage in the 'town' of Presteigne, also formerly held by Thomas de Fraxino, with familiar witnesses including John de Cumba and William de Fraxino. Finally, there is a sale by Thomas de Fraxino to Thomas le Deveneys, for his homage, service, and a silver mark, of the 'Brock furlong' tillage 'between the lands of Thomas, the chaplain of Presthemedede from Claterbrook to the land of William de Fraxino', also a curtilage 'which Hinzit once held in the

¹ Assize Roll J.I. 1/302, f. 27d, 20 Edw. I. Cf. above, Chap. III, p. 58.

² See below (re Fraxino—Frêne—Nash—Asshe), p. 144.

³ Assize Rolls J.I. 1/300c, ff. L.d.4, 21d, 30, and 33, p. 40, Hy. III.

⁴ Harleian 1240, ff. 88d, 89, 97. Edmund succeeded Roger sixth Lord of Wigmore in 1304.

⁵ Harl. 1240, f. 69d.

town of Presteigne', upon rendering a pair of white gloves worth 1*d.* at Easter for all service save to the king and chief lord, to which Sir John de Lyngeyn, John Sturmey, John de Cumba, William Balistarius, Pagan del Esses [*sic*], William de Rode, William de Fraxino, and others were witnesses. These documents are undated but can be referred to the thirteenth century; the latest of them may belong to the first years of the fourteenth century, since from other documents we know that Walter de Fraxino, Kt., was a juror at assize in September 1310, under the alternative name of de Frêne. In 1327 a grant by John de Lytham and Phillip ap Howell to Sir Roger de Mortimer, son of Edmund de Mortimer, describes him as 'lately Lord of Wigmore'¹ and of the manors of Radnor, Knighton, Presteigne, Pilleth, Norton, and another, and of the lands of Kerry in the March of Wales, which lands all lie west and north of Presteigne.

Among the muniments of Edmund de Mortimer, we also find in 1332 a patent for livery of the manor of Presteigne, and in 1337 a leave to alienate the lordship. The first of these documents was soon after Edmund, second Earl of March, had received back his lands and title in 1331 after the execution and attainder of his father. In 1338, however, we find the manor of Presteigne in the king's hands according to the Manor Court Roll.² This is probably connected with the alienation of 1337, the circumstances of which do not appear.

In 1292 Matilda, the widow of Roger de Mortimer, and Edmund de Mortimer were joined in a dispute with Roger de Mortimer, the son of Roger, concerning the tenure of the manor of Presteigne.³ The dispute about the manor of Presteigne was decided in favour of Edmund to whom the manor passed after a temporary tenancy by the second of these two Rogers. It is clear from all these documents that Presteigne did not include and was quite distinct from the manor of Stapleton.

It does not appear specifically whether the town of Presteigne went with the manor, though both the Rogers and Edmund de Mortimer certainly had tenements in the former,

¹ Evidently Roger III.

² Court Rolls S.C. 2/227, No. 48, Court of Prestemedede, 12 Edw. III, 1338.

³ Assize Roll, J.I. 1/302, Trinity, Edw. I, p. 270.

some of which later passed to the de Fraxino family. But as the manor court evidently had jurisdiction in the township, it presumably did go with the manor. The alienation of 1337 recently mentioned may have been a transfer of the manor from the Bohun lordship of Huntington to the de Mortimers at a time when the former family was coming to an end in two daughters: for of the township itself we know that in 1304 it was held by Edmund de Mortimer of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, by service of 2 marks yearly and suit of court of Huntington every three weeks. It is here again recorded as having a market, separate and distinct from the Stapleton market, every Saturday, and yearly fairs on St. Andrew's Day and the Nativity of John the Baptist.

The township of Presteigne was assessed in an inquisition of 1304 as: pasture worth 18*d.* per annum, 73 tenants who paid 110*s.* 3½*d.* per annum, quit-rents to the Earl of Hereford 13*s.* 3*d.*, fairs worth 40*s.* per annum, (something else) worth 16*s.* per annum, and the profits of court at Michaelmas (presumably the Presteigne manor court) worth 70*s.* per annum: a total of £11. 4*s.* 5½*d.*¹ There is also a fragmentary rent roll, which can be dated to about 1300, of the manor of Presteigne² which names some 80 tenants paying rents mostly of 12*d.*: the largest payment is only of 18*d.* and the total amounts of 78*s.* 9*d.* Although it is evident that the original document included at least one more parchment, the figures are of the same order of magnitude as those of the inquisition of 1304. The names in this fragmentary rent roll are not particularly relevant to this narrative except for one occurrence of the name of 'Rod' paying 12*d.* for a messuage in Canon Street. Roger the Clerk (*clericus*) appears twice. The two documents are of great interest since they are about contemporary with the Stapleton Subsidy Roll of 1293 and prove the contemporary existence of the two substantial and separate centres around Presteigne and Stapleton at the close of the century.

During the whole of the fifteenth century the manor of

¹ *I.P.M.* 20 Aug., 32 Edw. I (1304), C. 133/114(8). The total does not add up even if the quit-rents to the Earl of Hereford are deducted.

² In the Central Library of Cardiff: copied and referred to in a private letter to the author.

Presteigne continued to remain separate from the lordship of Stapleton and the manor of Lugharnes. In 1425 the fifth Earl of March died of plague, and his possessions in the March descended through his sister Anne to her husband Richard, Earl of Cambridge, and from him to his son, Richard of York. In 1459 hostilities broke out between the Lancastrians and York: in October Henry VI faced the Yorkists in front of Ludlow and dispersed their disaffected followers. The manor of Presteigne which had passed with other March lands to Richard, Duke of York, was forfeit and a number of deeds record the receipt of this lordship, *inter alia*, into the hands of Henry VI. The receivers appointed were John Barre and John Scudamore, Kts., Thomas Cornwall, Master Hugh Payn, steward of the manor, John Miles Water (or Milwater), Richard Croft senior, Thomas ap Roger and Maurice ap Griffiths. But in June 1460 the young Earl of March, later Edward IV, son of Richard of York, landed at Sandwich and defeated the Lancastrians at Northampton. On 2 February 1461 Edward met the Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross and was again victorious. In 1477 the lordship and manor of Presteigne with all other property and rights of the earldom of March were granted to Edward, Prince of Wales, who became Edward V, and in 1493 it passed to Arthur, Prince of Wales.¹ So much for the manors of Presteigne and Stapleton up to the end of the fifteenth century.

¹ *Cal. Pat. R.* 13 Dec. 1459, 16 Apr. 1460, 4 Sept. 1460, 1477, 5 Nov. 1493.

CHAPTER VI

Of the Hindwell Valley Manors in the Middle Ages

FOR at any rate two centuries after Domesday the principal estates in the Lugg-Hindwell area were the lordships and manors of Presteigne and of Stapleton, the former held by the de Mortimers of Wigmore, the latter by various families—de Say, de Mortimer, and Cornwall. The manor of 'Stapleton and Lugharnes'¹ originally included the subordinate manors and vills of Cascob,² Titley, Moley, Oatcroft, Wapley, Combe, Byton, Rodd, Nash, Little Brampton, and Knill. Knill later went to the lordship of Huntington, while Nash and Little Brampton became, at any rate partially or from time to time, associated with the manor of Presteigne. The latter included Discoed and the Domesday manors of Querentune and Clatretune which disappear as names, obviously because they became the manor of Presteigne itself. Norton at first was apparently included in Presteigne and therefore in all probability Ackhill too. Subsequently Norton became an important separate manor and lordship when Ackhill, probably again, went with it. Stapleton and Lugharnes was from the first the more important manor group, both in size and wealth as well as in population.³ What happened to Osbern fitz Richard's Milton and Ralf de Mortimer's Arrow Valley manors is not relevant to this story; the Radnor-Kington manors became part of the de Bohun lordship of Huntington.

After the middle of the thirteenth century a growing volume of information about the Hindwell Valley manors becomes available. From an inquisition taken at Hereford in

¹ i.e. the lands of the Lugg.

² Litton or Letton becomes associated with Cascob from the fourteenth century; and Stapleton manor courts are held at 'Cascob and Letton' from that time until the mid-eighteenth century.

³ Cf. Chap. V, p. 120: for its seniority too.



The Hindwell Valley from Burfa to Wapley Hills. Knill, Little Brampton, Nash and Rodd (white triangle top middle, field A) Manor lands

1287 the manor of 'La Aysse alias La Asshe' was held of Stapleton by John de Sancto Audoeno (*alias* Audone or Saint-Ouen) for $\frac{1}{2}$ knight's fee.¹ Confirmation of a charter dated 25 June 1285 concerning a grant of lands in Elfael by Edmund de Mortimer to Walter de Hakelutel was witnessed by, *inter alia*, a Sir John Saint-Ouen, Kt.² Ralph de Sancto Audoeno, an early grantee or sub-grantee of land in western Herefordshire, held Burlingjobb and certain other lands in addition to the manor of Nash.³ In 1339 he, or more likely a descendant, is described as of Gerbestone (Garnston near Weobley),⁴ with lands at Weobley, Sarnesfield, and other places. Two inquisitions of 1308, when Maud the widow of Hugh de Mortimer held Stapleton of the king for Hugh's minor heir, confirm that (Little) Brampton was held by Richard de Cursun, for $1\frac{1}{4}$ knight's fee - £21, Asshe (Nash) by Ralph de Sancto Audoeno for $\frac{1}{3}$ knight's fee - 100s., and Knill for $\frac{1}{4}$ knight's fee by John de Lingain - 8 marks.⁵

An inquisition taken at Hereford Castle in 1352 to ascertain the heir of one Pain atte Nash established: that he held in La Rode 'in the fee of Stapleton' a messuage and a virgate of land by service of 7s. of the heir to Geoffrey de Cornubia, and in Nash a messuage, two parcels of land and 15s. rent: that the land in La Rode was actually held by Roger de la Nasshe for his life by reason of the demise of Pain: that the land in Nash was held of Ralph de Sancto Audoeno who held by service of $\frac{1}{4}$ knight's fee of Stapleton: that Pain's heir being a minor aged 16, Ralph de Sancto Audoeno had seized the tenements in Nash by way of wardship and received the issues and profits thereon. The inquisition established that by custom of the fee whoever held lands of the castle and manor of Stapleton and Lugharnes, the lord had the wardship of minor heirs:⁶ and that Roger de la Nasshe held them for his life by demise of the said Pain.

¹ *I.P.M.* Edw. I, 49/2, Index vol. 2, 640.

² From *Cal. Ch. R.* 1257-1300.

³ Cf. *B.D.B.*, note at p. 89 ref. Burlingjobb of which he is noted as the holder in the marginalia to f. 12.

⁴ *F.F.* 13 Edw. III, 25, 83/40, No. 96.

⁵ *I.P.M.* Edw. II, File 4 (2) and vol. 5, Nos. 57 and 58.

⁶ *I.P.M.* 3 Edw. II, File 133 (18), vol. 10, 297.

There is the strong presumptive evidence of the dependence of Knill from Stapleton in the tax roll of 1293 when John de Knill pays 3*s.* 8¼*d.* to that lordship and his immediate superior Ralph de Lingen also pays 11*s.* 11¼*d.* to the same lordship. In 1309 Knill was held for ¼ knight's fee by a John de Lingaine.¹ In 1348 an inquisition refers to Knill as held by a Ralph de Lingaine for ½ knight's fee of the Barony of Burford, that is of Stapleton lordship. Nevertheless, later on Knill certainly came to depend from Huntington,² but precisely when or why is not clear.

Little Brampton was held in 1293 of William de Cursun by Eynon de Bruntune who pays 2*d.* subsidy to Stapleton. This is in confirmation of an inquisition of 1287 when William de Cursun held this manor for ¼ knight's fee.³ But apart from these and the inquisition of 1308 already mentioned, there are generally few references hereafter to this manor in this period.

Nash presents a problem. The intermediate lord, de Sancto Audoeno, certainly held of Stapleton. On the other hand, the Nash family in several forms of the name figure mainly in the Presteigne records and not in the Stapleton papers. The family name is interesting. It occurs in the Latin, French, and English forms:⁴ de Fraxino, de Frêne or de Fresne, Asshe, Ayshe, de la Nasshe, de Nash, de Naisse, del Ashe, and del Esses. A particularly intriguing circumstance is the occurrence of the names Thomas de Fraxino and Pagan del Ash or Esshe in the same series of documents relating to the same neighbourhood.⁵

The earliest of the references to the de Fraxinos seems to be that of 1236 concerning William de Fraxino son of Warin and the church at Presteigne, and another to an apparently different William de Fraxino described as the son of Adam or Alan de Fraxino who in 1227 was attorney to Agnes, wife of Ylotefan, and Sybil, wife of Ralph de Chaundos.⁶ Warin and

¹ *Cal. Cl. R.* 15 Oct. 1304 and 12 Aug. 1305; fee payable to Geoffrey de Cornubia (Cornwall) who married Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Hugh de Mortimer, cf. Chap. V, p. 126.

² As William Rees, see above, p. 131.

³ *I.P.M. Edw. I*, 49/2, Index vol. 2, 240.

⁴ Ash tree = *Fraxinus* (Lat.) = *Frêne* (Fr.).

⁵ See Chap. V above, p. 138.

⁶ *F.F.*, Mich., 2 Hy. III, 80/7, No. 107.

Alan or Adam whether the same or different persons must therefore date back to the twelfth century. Thomas de Fraxino, the son of Ralph, has already been noted¹ as lord of the manor of Presteigne, sub-infeudated by Roger de Mortimer, the sixth Lord of Wigmore. Alive in 1260, Thomas de Fraxino in 1244 granted a charter over certain lands and revenues in Presteigne to the abbey of Wigmore. The grant was confirmed in 1249 by Roger de Mortimer and survived until the 'inspection' of the third year of Henry VIII's reign.² Thomas de Fraxino's father, Ralph, must thus also date back to the twelfth century. Thomas de Fraxino as well as William de Fraxino were therefore already in the thirteenth century closely associated with the Wigmore de Mortimers and more prominent in the lordship of Presteigne than they were in that of Stapleton.

In Edward II's reign the anglicized form of Nash figures with William³ and John atten Ayshe and others in an assize case of 1293,⁴ as well as in another assize case brought by John son of John de Clinton and Isabel his wife, against William de Mortimer as canon of St. Ethelbert's, whose name also appears in the Stapleton Roll, in regard to a messuage, a carucate of land, 6 acres of meadow, 6 acres of wood, and 4s. rent in La Rode and Asshe. The court awarded the holding to William de Mortimer for his life on rendering a red rose at the Nativity of John the Baptist for all services with reversion to John and Isabel de Clinton and their heirs. In the same period the name Pagan del Asche figures as a witness to deeds in the Edmund de Mortimer muniments.⁵

It is a reasonable conclusion that while the de Frêne-Fraxino-Nash family was closely associated with Presteigne manor, their lands at Nash were held of Stapleton. Whether or not the Nash lands included the grant in Nash of rents to the abbey of Lire is not clear, but Richard Nash and others were procurators of the abbey in Edward III's reign, the

¹ See Chap. V, above, p. 136.

² Charters of the Abbey of Wigmore: Dugdale's *Monasticon* reprinted and quoted by Banks in *Arch. Camb.*, 4th ser., vol. xiii.

³ Assize Roll, 21/2 Edw. I.

⁴ Assize Roll, 1 Edw. II, Hilary 1308, 82/28/1.

⁵ See above, Chap. V, pp. 138-9.

rents having originally been given to the abbey by Earl William.¹

The distinction between 'atten Ash' and 'de Fraxino' or 'de la Nash', &c., may record the distinction between people who were just living on the Nash manor or in the township of Nash and the tenants of the manor or their relations: or again the different forms may have been adopted by different branches of one original family. Both here and at The Rodd it is difficult to know whether 'atte', or 'at', or simply 'a', are intentional, or whether 'de' is sometimes meant: whether omissions or erroneous transcriptions have occurred: and what the distinctions, if any exist between these forms, involved.

De Frênes occur elsewhere in Herefordshire. A Hugh de Frêne secured a licence to fortify and crenelate his house at Mockes, which is Moccas on the Cornwall estate, in 1293: there is a de Frêne tomb in Moccas church. Walter de Frêne, probably Hugh's son, was knighted in 1311: with his wife Alice he held various lands in Herefordshire, including Sutton or Sutton Frene, from 1290 for about a century. In 1295 a Walter de Frêne who had free warren in Sutton St. Nicholas enjoyed the protection of John de Warenne to go to Scotland.² He was Member of Parliament for Hereford five times between 1307 and 1313. The name recurs in the fourteenth century in several Close Rolls.³ In the reign of Richard II, 1377-99, a Richard Ashe or Nashe was Member of Parliament for Hereford in the years 1377, 1379, 1380-3, and 1390 and Steward of Hereford in 1385-1436.⁴ As a feoffee of Stapleton in 1391 he delivered seizin of the manors of the abbey of Tiron, including the Titley property, to Winchester College.⁵ Although the family name continued elsewhere in Herefordshire, notably at Lye Court in Birley parish in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it dis-

¹ *Cal. Fine R.*, 8 Feb. 1378; Augmentation Office Misc. E. 315/489, ff. 15 and 15d.

² Assize Rolls 20 Edw. I; W. R. Williams, *A Parliamentary History of the County of Hereford*. Privately printed, Brecknock, 1896, p. 15.

³ Pat. Rolls, 15 June 1293; 18 Oct. 1295; *I.P.M.* 21 Edw. I; Bannister, *Place Names*, p. 181.

⁴ Close Rolls, 3 Ric. II, and 6 Ric. II, and Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁵ Winchester Coll. Titley Manor Deeds, No. 7 of 4 Sept. 1391.

appears from the neighbourhood of the Hindwell Valley. A Sarah Nash of Lye Court born in 1591 married Richard Parks of Drayton in Brumfield, and a Jeffrey Nash of Lye Court whose will was proved in Hereford in 1565 together with a Richard Nash, was buried in Birley church.¹

Of the four Hindwell Valley manors with which this story is concerned, Knill, Little Brampton, and Nash thus seem to have continued into the fourteenth century their Domesday connexion with the holder of Stapleton deriving from the original grants to Richard le Scrob, though the Nash family became more and more associated with the manor of Presteigne, and the Knill family with Huntington. The three manors were held by their local tenants of the superior manor through the intermediate Lords de Cursun, de Sancto Audoeno, and de Lingen who diminish in importance as time goes on until their names disappear altogether. The fourth manor, La Rode, on the other hand, seems to have been held of Stapleton directly by the de la Rode family without any intermediate lord, despite some slight association of that family, but much less than in the case of the Nash family, with the Presteigne area though not with that manor.

Actually the first person using the name of the family living at La Rode to be recorded in a surviving document is William de la Rode who was witness to Thomas de Fraxino's Presteigne charter to Wigmore Abbey in 1244, and its confirmation in 1249. William de la Rode may very likely be the same William who witnessed the sale of some land by William de Fraxino to Dame Gladys de Mortimer and whose land, homage, and service were also conveyed by the former to the latter.² This William de Fraxino was the son of Adam, or Alan, de Fraxino.³ Another deed referring perhaps to the same transaction uses the names Glandure de Mortimer and Thomas de Trent [*sic?* = Frêne = Fraxino]. These transactions recorded, *inter alia*, in Edmund de Mortimer's muniments can be dated to the thirteenth century which accords with the period and age of William de la Rode, who must

¹ Blount *apud* Robinson, *Mansions*, pp. 240 et seq.

² See above, p. 138. Harl. MS. 1240, pp. 69d, 88d, 89, 97, and B.M. Addl. MS. 6041, pp. 17a, 90.

³ See above, p. 144.

have been over 20 in 1244 and was probably a contemporary of both William and Thomas de Frêne, or of one of them.

In the next generation a William Rood or Reod sells some land in Leominster to Roger de Mortimer, son of Roger, which had belonged to Dom Adam Rode, clerk, deceased. To this conveyance Dom Adam de Bray, abbot of Wigmore, was a witness.¹ This transaction can be approximately dated by the appearance, as will be shown, of the names of Adam de la Rode and William le Clerk de la Rode on the Stapleton roll of 1293 and on an ascertainment of the free tenants of La Rode of 1304. The William de la Rode of the 1244-9 charters could not then still have been living, or it is at any rate unlikely. The two Roger de Mortimers concerned are Roger II, fifth Lord of Wigmore, and Roger III sixth Lord of Wigmore who succeeded in 1247 or according to another version in 1256, and was in turn succeeded by Edmund I de Mortimer as seventh Lord of Wigmore probably in 1304.² This William Rode with land at Leominster is, however, probably the same who witnessed the conveyance of a messuage in St. Briavel, Co. Gloucester, in 1280-90 to which Gilbert Rood in 1281 is also described as a witness; unless Gilbert is a mistake for Guilliam this may well be the contemporary Gilbert de Rode of Cheshire.³ The Rode family continued to have interests at St. Briavel, for in 1300 and thereabouts a John Rode figures in local conveyances there to various persons.⁴ A John de la Rode is also recorded in the Book of Fees as holding 2 acres in Mulesham in Suffolk, worth 12*d.* per annum in 1250.⁵

When Hugh de Kynardesley (Kinnersley), Member of Parliament in the early fourteenth century and Sheriff of Herefordshire, was taken ill in 1250 Robert de Trillet and Reginald de Rode were appointed to adjust his accounts.⁶

¹ Harl. MS. 1240, ff. 43, 46d, 73; Adam de Bray is not recorded as an abbot of Wigmore in Dugdale's *Monasticon*.

² See above, pp. 135-6. ³ See above, p. 129, and genealogy at p. 200.

⁴ Var. IV deeds: Earl of Guildford, Glenham, Suffolk.

⁵ Book of Fees, p. 1221. This John de la Rode may equally well have been a member of the Cheshire family, see App. I to Chap. VII. It may be worth mentioning that a Geoffrey de la Rode is mentioned as a feudatory of Roger fitz Payn for one soldier in Sampford, Co. Somerset, in 1236. *Ibid.*, p. 581.

⁶ Mem. Exch. Hy. III, Not. 17, *apud* Robinson, *Castles, &c.*; Duncumb, vol. i, p. 348; also Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

The Roger de la Rode who was fined in 1256 for 'a transgression' in Kynardslegh (Kinnersley) may have been the same person.¹

John de la Rode, who like other members of the family had property near Leominster, is mentioned in a Patent Roll which records that in 1243 his land at Eton (Eyton near Leominster) was in the king's hands. The name of Thomas atte Neisse (Nash) who may well be Thomas de Frêne is mentioned in the same context.² Both a John and a Robert de Ruede or Rode occur in other thirteenth-century deeds.³ John and William Rud [*sic*] are also referred to in an assize case in 1292.⁴ There are two mentions of a Henry de la Rode and Matilda his wife in 1295 and 1296, again in connexion with land at Leominster.⁵

At the turn of the century there is an ascertainment for Stapleton dated 1304 which records 'eleven' free tenants at La Rode who together rendered '29*s.* 7½*d.*' yearly to the lordship of Lugharnes. They are listed as:

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Robert, son of John	2	4
William, son of John	4	0
Matilda Pymme	2	1½
John ? Persone	—	1
William le Clerke	15	4
Adam de la Rode	5	?
John, son of John		6
Roger, son of John	?	?
Ma ?	—	2½
Thomas de Lingaine	2	6
And Walter de Hopton and Robert Sturmey who rendered a pair of spurs at Michaelmas.		

The last three names also figure on the Stapleton subsidy roll of 1293.⁶ The sum of 29*s.* 7*d.* is made up, apparently,

¹ See above, and ref. ad loc. cit.

² Pat. Roll, 29 Oct., 47 Hy. III, 87/23/168.

³ Major Money Kyrle's of Much Marcle, Herefordshire.

⁴ Assize Roll, 20 Edw. I, No. 26.

⁵ F.F. Edw. I, 81/23, Nos. 165 and 168, re lands at Lucton and Leominster in which Tomas de Dilwyn and Peter Fulford were concerned.

⁶ See above, Chap. V, p. 128.

without the 2s. 6d. of Thomas of Lingen, who is not otherwise known at La Rode. That twelve names appear as the 'eleven free tenants' either involves supposing that the last two names constitute one tenancy,¹ or that Thomas de Lingaine is misplaced—probably the latter.

A good deal can be made out of these names. In the first place it is very tempting to assume that Matilda Pymme is the Matilda who was the wife of Henry de la Rode in 1295 and 1296, her name as shown having been copied from an earlier roll. In 1340 a William de Rode, perhaps the 'William son of John' who paid 4s., was fined 12d. for perjury in the manor court of Presteigne: he is clearly not the William of 1244-9. The Adam de la Rode rendering 5s. is obviously the Adam de Roda of the Subsidy Roll who was assessed at 4s. 9d. and the Dom Adam Rode whose land was sold by William de la Rode to Roger de Mortimer. The William le Clerk who pays 15s. 4d.—quite a large sum—was assessed for subsidy at 4s. 0¼d. in 1293. There is sufficient circumstantial evidence to justify the conclusion that William le Clerk is the same man as William de la Rode who was concerned with Dom Adam de la Rode's land. This circumstantial evidence is borne out by a description of him in a later deed of 1438 as 'William le Clerk de la Rode', the grandfather of some of the then family who executed conveyances in that year. It is to be hoped that the William who was fined for perjury in 1340 was not William le Clerk! Indeed he could probably not have been on the date, but it might have been the 'William son of John' of the 1304 ascertainment. The 'John' who had sons Robert and William, and perhaps also John and Roger, could well have been John de la Rode who had land at Eyton in Leominster in 1243.

In 1915 a calendar of deeds relating to La Rode and the family was compiled in Hereford. The deeds can no longer be traced but there is every reason to accept as authentic the dates contained in the calendar.² The reference just made to William le Clerk de la Rode (so described) occurs in one

¹ Court Rolls, S.C. 2/227, 13 and 14, 14 Edw. III, 1340-1.

² The calendar was made by Major W. F. Carless of Lambe, Carless & Son, solicitors, in Hereford, in 1915. Major Carless (1/1 Herefordshire Regt.) was killed in 1915 in the Dardanelles; the deeds cannot now be traced. They are referred to as the Carless Deeds and Conveyances in notes in this volume.

of the deeds of this series. The transaction related to a conveyance of land belonging to Roger Rode of Pembridge to a later William de la Rode in 1438. Roger Rode is described as a kinsman.¹

The Rodds, or some of them, referred to in the Carless Calendar also recur in a very interesting Court Roll of the Manor of Stapleton for the year 1479/80.² This roll records courts, great and small, held at Rodd Hurst, on one occasion a Court Leet, and at Stapleton, Willey, and Cascob and Letton on several dates between 14 October and 3 March. A William Rodd was juror at the Rodd Hurst Court Leet when several persons brewed ale and broke the assize. He later pleaded at a Stapleton court against John Lyde for unlawful 'pynlat'. The case was remanded several times and the ultimate verdict of the jurors is not recorded in this series. In addition to William, John and Thomas Rodd were jurors at a Stapleton court in the matter of rents due to a Phillip Barton. The same three were again sworn on 11 February: at this court John Rodd of Boultibrook appears as a pledge in a case and Roger Rodd is fined 12*d.* for an affray on Walter Rodd, Thomas Rodd standing as pledge.

The John Rodds in this roll are evidently the same who figure in the Carless deeds with lands at Rodd and Boultibrook. So probably is the Roger Rodd who was fined. It is noteworthy that whereas these Rodds figure as jurors and pleaders at Rodd Hurst and at Stapleton, the name does not occur in the court proceedings at Willey, Byton, or Cascob and Letton.

This roll contains several features of general interest. Fines were imposed at Willey on persons 'pro die domini fract . . .': there are fines on Jenkyn Stange of 6*d.* for bloodshed on Phillip Sayse and his wife, 4*d.* for 'affray' (assault), and 4*d.* for 'hule' on the same persons. 'Hule' which occurs several times apparently derives from the archaic French 'hue' meaning a noise. Jenkyn Stange probably shouted abuse at the unfortunate couple, then assaulted them, and drew blood, for which he paid three fines. Unlawful 'pynlat'

¹ Carless Conveyance, 17 Hy. VI.

² Stapleton Court Roll, 18/19 Edw. IV in bundle 'Stapleton No. 1' in the Harley Muniments of Major R. Harley of Brampton Bryan, Co. Hereford.

is also mentioned several times apparently meaning, though the precise significance is obscure, the unlawful penning or enclosing of other people's animals. The Stanage family at Willey also seems to have been troublesome since William Cotterel complains of trespass against William Stanage and is fined 4*d.* for 'hule', probably in regard to the trespass, against Stanage who is further himself fined 6*d.* 'pro die domini fract . . .'.

Another interesting feature of the Roll is that the lords of the Manors of Byton, Herton (Lower Harpton), and Combe 'made fine with the [Lord of Stapleton] for suit of Court', which tends to show that as late as 1480 Lower Harpton, in spite of its association with Knill and the Huntington lordship, still kept a Stapleton connexion, as did Combe. The fact that they made an appearance and paid fines varying between 2*s.* 6*d.* and 1*s.* suggests that the connexion there was more tenuous than with the other manors of the original six Scrob grants.

Deeds in the Carless series refer to a conveyance of 1377 of the lands and tenements in the vill of La Rode held by John de la Rode, to his son John de la Rode who is elsewhere described as also holding land at Boultybrook near Presteigne. John de la Rode senior, married to Cecilia, was son of Nicholas de la Rode, who had held this property before him, of Stapleton, by usual and customary services. Among the witnesses was Thomas de la Rode, who was son of William the Clerk and whose kinsman and heir was the Roger Rode of Pembridge mentioned above. Other witnesses were Phillip (Rode of) Wegnall, William de la Leye, and John de la Rode.¹ Nicholas, the grandfather of John de la Rode junior, must therefore have been another of the several de la Rodes associated with this area from the mid-thirteenth century onwards.²

It is abundantly clear from these documents that there were a number of de Rodes or de la Rodes at, and in the immediate neighbourhood of, La Rode between 1240 and 1300 and throughout the next two centuries, that they were free

¹ See below, p. 153.

² Carless Conveyances, 50 Edw. III, 1377, and 2 Ric. II, Feast of Phillip and James 1379.

tenants of the lordship of Stapleton and Lugharnes and that they had lands in the Pembridge and Leominster areas, probably at St. Briavel in Gloucestershire and perhaps farther afield. They were known in the Presteigne lordship and at least two of them, Dom Adam and William the Clerk, were connected with the Church, probably at Wigmore Abbey. As will be seen they are not the only members of the family who went into Holy Orders. In numerous volumes dealing with the history and houses of the county the description of the family 'seated' at the Rodd as 'well known in the reign of King John' seems to be justified.¹

From 1300 on, the families of Rode or Rodd keep on recurring in local history. Occasionally one of them appears farther afield as, for instance, the John Rode 'of Co. Hereford' who was mainprenor for Amandus Mounceaux in Co. Northumberland in 1384.² The Leominster and Gloucestershire connexion continued into the early years of the fifteenth century. In 1400 there was a case brought by John Morys and others against Richard Wygmore and John Rodd of Eyton, near Leominster, concerning land there. Assize was claimed under successive royal charters by the abbot of Leominster.³ Two years later, Agnes de la Rode was involved in a similar or the same case; in 1408 she is described as the widow of John Rode of Leominster. John Rode was with others commissioned in August 1407 to inquire who broke into the Bishop of Hereford's park at Prestbury in Gloucestershire and poached game therein.⁴ In March of that year he had been bailee in connexion with land at Dymock in Co. Gloucester⁵ on the border of Herefordshire; he must therefore have died probably in 1407 when his wife Agnes was involved in the claim by the abbot of Reading.

Among specific references in this period to the place, La Rode,⁶ is the conveyance to John Baret, chaplain, by Ralph

¹ e.g. in Strong's *Heraldry of Herefordshire*.

² Close Roll, 17 Ric. II.

³ Assize Rolls, 314 (1 Hy. IV), 14.

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 27 Aug. 1407.

⁵ Fine Rolls, 3 Mar. 1401.

⁶ In an Assize Roll of 1292 (Edw. I, No. 303) it is recorded that Stephen de Sweynestone, father of Roger, was seized in a demesne of one acre in La Roke claimed by Robert Bensyre and Alice his wife, who stated that La Roke was neither vill nor hamlet. But the jurors said that La Roke was a hamlet and that Stephen was not seized in the demesne at all. Although the Assize Roll

de Sancto Audoeno of Garnston in 1339 of 2 messuages, 110 acres of land, 8 acres meadow, 6 acres pasture, 4 acres moor, and 70s. rent in Sarnesfield, Coffyn (?), Weobley, Fenhampton, Norton Canonicorum, Presteigne, Hethe, Rowley (both near Presteigne), Graselake, and Rode—pretty scattered property—which Nicola, widow of Ralph de Sancto Audoeno senior, held for life. The court decided that John Baret should have the land for 100 marks silver after the death of the widow.¹ It will be noted that Hethe (Broadheath) near Presteigne is mentioned as a place² separately from both Presteigne and La Rode.

Another rather pleasant case full of local detail and humanity is that of the inquisition of John, the son and heir of Hugh Tyrel. His lands, &c., were in the custody of Ralph de Baggelegh, executor of the will of John de Grey of Ruthyn. Hear what the witnesses said—John Heryns and Hugh de Luntlye said John was born at Rode on 3 February 1338 and next day was baptized at Presteigne, they being his godfathers. John de la Bere agreed and said that his own son William was born and baptized on the same day in the same church, but the mother, his wife, died at his birth. Thomas de Skelewyke agreed, too, and said he would never forget the day John Tyrel was baptized because on that day the manor house of Skelewyke was ‘by misfortune’ burned down. John de Crofte also remembered the day only too well because on that day his beloved sister Margaret died and he ‘caused her death to be written in the missal of the church of Crofte in the words: “Margaret de Crofte died on the third day of February in the twelfth year of the reign of King Edward the Third”, which writing appears plain to this day’. William de Sarnesfield also remembered the day, and how should he

spells the name Roke, it might be Rode that is meant, for in an inquisition of 1363-4 on Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, there is a reference to Stephen atte Rocke or Rocte and others having had possession of manors in various counties including Herefordshire since the death of the earl of the king’s grant, and in this case atte Roche is given in the index as Rode. Both these cases may be mis-spelling or careless transcription of Rode, but since none of the names of persons in these documents are familiar from others, it may well be that they relate to other parts of the country and that Roke or Roche are not in fact mistakes for Rode as the index suggests.

¹ *F.F.* 13 Edw. III. Cf. 25 (1), 82/40, No. 96.

² Cf. Chap. III, p. 58.

not, for on that day he had procured from the vicar of the church of Aymestre a letter to the rector of the church of Sarnesfield certifying that the banns of marriage had been proclaimed between himself and Iseult Brown, whom he afterwards married. And all these things had happened on the 3rd of February of the year in question. With which entirely satisfying evidence the jurors, namely Thomas Harris, John Aubrey, Walter de Brompton, Nicholas de Bergeveney, John le Smith, and William de Hamenassh [*sic*] agreed that John Tyrel was in fact born on 3 February 1338 in the 'town' of Rode and ordered that the appropriate words be written in the missal. The escheator presiding had warned Richard de Baggelegh, by Ralph le Leghe and Robert Gibbs, to be present: 'but he came not'.¹

While these ordinary affairs were going on in the countryside, the same sort of thing was taking place near the towns where William Goodknave appears to have held 2½ acres of meadow of the Bishop of Hereford for 5*d.* yearly and 2 acres of the prior of Lanton Parva for 4*d.* yearly, just outside the liberty of Hereford. The sub-escheator Hugh Hakeult, a kinsman of William's, gave the claim in favour of William Rode and John the son of Robert le Crump, who claimed to be William Goodknave's heir.² The name Crump or Crimpe figures with Stapleton Subsidy Roll.

There is a succession of similar references in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The tale goes on interminably. When the novelty of finding details of personal histories thus recorded has worn off they become almost monotonous. But these cases present the real life of England of five centuries ago. It is not the histories and intrigues of the great feudal lords and the courts of Lancaster and York which made the land produce corn and meat and wool. It is the people who lived on the manors—the Pains and the Barets, the de Knills, the de la Nashs and the de la Rodes, not their Norman lords and overlords, who maintained the continuity of the land. It is the good or bad season, or the good or the bad husbandry of Thomas Roode, which led the manor of Stapleton to

¹ *I.P.M.* 34 Edw. III, 455 (2), vol. 10, No. 642.

² *I.P.M.* 6 Edw. II, 1313, c. 134/29/1, vol. 5, 388, and Fine Rolls, 6 June 1313.

complain that a piece of his land called Mop-acre (1 acre) could only be let for 8*d.* when it ought to have produced 20*d.*, and that he had defaulted in his rent on two parcels next to La Rode called Bodelondes (? Badlands) which used to produce 3*s.* 3½*d.* and that year produced nothing. We must hope it was all due to a bad season and not bad husbandry,¹ but cannot be too sure, for Thomas was also fined 6*d.* by the Stapleton manor court, for 'an offence against the wife of William Badland'—almost the words of a well-conducted newspaper today reporting a salacious police-court case. In this case William Rode, John Rode, Jenkyn Rode, and John Passey appeared as jurors or pledges.² Not that Jenkyn Rode was too well behaved himself because he is noted in Bishop Standing's register as having defiled the churchyard at Titley with bloodshed for which, 'on penitence', he received penance and absolution, and the churchyard was 'restored'.³

The early disappearance of Bradele or Bradeleye as a place-name in documents dealing specifically with this part of the shire is equally true of the disappearance hereabouts of the family name.⁴ There is one interesting reference to a Stephen atte Rode, chaplain, and Thomas Webbe, vicar of Auenesbury (probably Avenbury near Bromyard), who had a mesuage and virgate of land at Bradelye in 1363,⁵ but it is doubtful whether this is really a reference to Bradlege = Rode. A family of de Bradele or Bradelye certainly existed in Hereford.⁶ For instance, there is a Roger de Bradlegh, coroner of Herefordshire, in Edward I's reign and Richard de Bradeleye and Adam de la Nasche who were sub-collectors of taxes in the Hundreds of Stretford and Wolphy respectively:⁷ but here again there is no evident connexion with the Domesday Bradelege. Other references to the family in Henry III's reign are to Henry de Bradeleye who was removed from the office of Escheator for Herefordshire: he

¹ Manorial Accounts: Stapleton, 19/20 Edw. IV (1479/80), Shrewsbury Library.

² Stapleton Court Roll, 19 Edw. IV, Shrewsbury Library 2496B.

³ *Register of Bp. John Stanbury*, 4 Nov. 1458 (C.Y.S.).

⁴ See Chap. III, pp. 59-63.

⁵ F.F. 83/45/201, 37 Edw. III.

⁶ Cf. *Register of Bp. Thomas de Cantelupe*, Sept. 1296; also Close Rolls, 22 Edw. I.

⁷ Assize Roll, 17 Edw. III.

was also at one time Sheriff and as a 'keeper of the Bishopric [s revenue]' was ordered to advance money for the repair of 'the King's Castle at Hereford'. Finally, there is a William de Bradeleye who held land of Walter de Lacy in Bradeleye but this again seems to have been another Bradleye than La Rode.¹

The earliest reference to the de Knills at Knill is in 1255/6 in connexion with cases against Walter de Burghoure brought by Henry and Lucy de Knill concerning property and woods held or claimed by the first party.² In 1293 John de Knill 'of Burford' and his sons and daughters brought a suit against Phillip de 'Buford'³ concerning land in Burford. This John in 1292, who also had land elsewhere, was Keeper of the Banks of the Wye and, as one of the Water Conservators of the Shire, reported having faithfully done his duty in 1307, unlike his colleague in Grimsworth Hundred. He was also a juror at the perambulation of the Forest of Hay in 1300.⁴ About this time too he was involved in a fracas in Hereford where he had a house, having been assaulted by John Deveras (Devereux) at the Vyne Gate: John de Knill got 21s. damages.⁵ He appears to have been rather a contentious man, since he figures in several other cases concerning property at Knill, where Ralph de Lynegayn also had property.⁶ The absence of specific reference to the manor and township of Chenille or Knill in the Stapleton records is perhaps due to its inclusion by now in the Bohun manor of Huntington.

There are unfortunately few references to the holders of Little Brampton except to the Lords de Cursun who depended from Stapleton, but like Ralph de Sancto Audoenno did not live there. The Eynon de Bromptone appearing in the Stapleton Tax Roll is a solitary entry. It is true that there are many references to de Bruntunes or Bramptons but on

¹ Close Rolls, 18 Hy. III, m. 35; 38 Hy. III, m. 8; ditto, m. 7d; 39 Hy. III, m. 9; 40 Hy. III, m. 16; 49 Hy. III, m. 10; 54 Hy. III, m. 8d; Patent Rolls 48 Hy. III, June and July; 49 Hy. III, May, June, and Aug.

² Assize Rolls, 40 Hy. III, Y.I. 1/300c; also Stephen de Knill, 7 Edw. I, Y.I. 1/301.

³ Rolls, 304, 21/2 Edw. I; ? = Burford or Byford; perhaps Burford since Knill was held of Stapleton, i.e. of the Barony of Burford.

⁴ *Register of Bp. Richard de Swinfield*, 22 June 1300 (C.Y.S.).

⁵ Assize Rolls, 20 Edw. I; 33 Edw. I; Roll 307.

⁶ Assize Roll, 20 Edw. I.

investigation they all refer to people at Brampton Bryan or to other Bramptons.

References occur in documents throughout the period covered by this chapter to the de la Nash family under its various forms, but more frequently as time goes on in this form. These people seem to have followed the same sort of tenor of life and to have had the same standing as the de la Rodes. They played in the countryside the role, undistinguished but permanent and important, of producing children, crops, and stock. There is no record of any of them having taken any part, important or otherwise, in the Wars of the Roses or in any overseas adventures after the Third Crusade. The complete lack of distinction of these small landowners otherwise than in their own immediate neighbourhood makes the collection of references to them laborious, and not particularly interesting when achieved. Yet from such records a picture can perhaps be composed, and it seems proper now to sum up what has been gleaned.

The two large manors of Presteigne and Lugharnes, at one time both in the hands of the Mortimer family, included several sub-manors and at each centre substantial settlements. The town of Presteigne, apart from the manor, contained between 70 and 100 persons paying rent for dwellings, say 350 people. Besides these there was the population of the manor and sub-manors in the categories of free tenants and servile inhabitants. There was a castle, a river crossing at which toll was paid, several water mills, and a church 'for 30 monks' dependant from Wigmore Abbey which had become quite a substantial ecclesiastical establishment. Presteigne possessed a market and two annual fairs. The market no doubt, as in modern days, catered not only for the immediate countryside but also for the hill farms and crofts to the west. Militarily Presteigne had some importance as the point of passage for transit into and out of Wales at a narrow gut in the Lugg Valley before it debouches from the hills into the Hereford plain.

Throughout this period the lordship and Manor of Presteigne remained uninterruptedly in the hands of the de Mortimer family. The population no doubt benefited and suffered from the association which may, however, have

produced some indirect sources of revenue other than what agriculture contributed. There is no evidence of industrial production which can justifiably be attributed to an era before the Elizabethan, when fulling mills, weaving wool and flax, tanning, and similar enterprises deriving from agriculture sprang up. There is, however, record at Stapleton of a weaver.

From some analogy between the manor of Stapleton and that of Presteigne a population figure of, say, 1,000 can be presumed for the latter in the early fourteenth century. This figure is admittedly a guess based on impressions rather than on statistical material. It is unfortunately impossible to give any comparable figure for the population in 1086 owing to the number of 'waste' manors which were not necessarily wholly uninhabited and the absence of any reference at all to Presteigne itself. Recent detailed estimates of the population of England at Domesday and again in 1377 give an increase in the period of 100 per cent.¹ Even if thereafter the population of the Presteigne-Stapleton area declined on account of the fourteenth-century pestilences or from other causes, such a density of people deriving their livelihood in the main from local agriculture must have involved an exceedingly low standard of living round about the 1300-50 period.

The existence of many holders of small parcels of land in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, for which conveyances and records of tenancies are evidence, do not bear out the tendency evident in other parts of England of manorial landholders enlarging their demesnes at the expense of their tenants during the agricultural boom (for the landlords) of the thirteenth century.² Records of the fourteenth century show a surprisingly large number of small holders in an area of not conspicuously easy agriculture, where only valley bottoms could, and still can, be effectively cultivated. It seems to be an inevitable conclusion that for the apparent population to be carried on agricultural output alone, on however low a standard of life, the extension of cultivation

¹ Cf. article on 'Population Trends in the Middle Ages' by Professor Postan in the *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., vol. ii, No. 3.

² Cf. *Economic History Review*, loc. cit. above.

in the fourteenth century cannot have been appreciably less than in the nineteenth century, and this gives a date for the creation of the 'extension fields'.¹ There is no evidence of any sources of income other than from agriculture, except whatever small amount can be surmised as having come from the military enterprises of the de Mortimers and other Marcher Lords.

In the 1844 tithe assessment the truly agricultural land attributed to the Hindwell Valley farms and holdings runs in much larger units of occupation than is known to have been the case in the Tudor period and than evidently was the case, to judge by available records of holdings and conveyances, in the Middle Ages. The only farm unit which seems to have remained approximately of the same size from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century is The Rodd, but there is no information about its extent in the Middle Ages. The demesne may well have been smaller then, since there are so many free men and other occupants to be accommodated in the area. The apparent increase in size of the Hindwell Valley holdings by 1844 is largely due to the fact that by the mid-nineteenth century virtually all the common land of the parish of Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton, except a block of 200 acres, had been enclosed. This block is represented by Nash Wood which during the present century has been reclaimed for afforestation by the Forestry Commission. The sheepwalks on the hill-tops of the southern side of the valley, shown in 1844 as in the hands of the Harley family, were obviously at one time common land; but although they had by then been enclosed they were not added to any of the farm units.

The pattern of agriculture in the Hungry Forties of the nineteenth century was of course different to what it was in the Tudor era with its smaller population, but there is evidence that in the sixteenth century England was undercultivated as compared with the early fourteenth century.

The testimony of the land itself in the whole of this area is almost wholly against strip cultivation or open field farming in any form. The evidence on the contrary points to all the land being cultivated either as small holdings or as manor demesne land, without the tenant rights associated with

¹ Cf. Chap. IV.

'ridge and furrow'. An obvious feature of the agricultural layout is the repeated occurrence of pairs of old arable fields which, cropped as whole units, lend themselves badly to rotational cultivation. The persistence of these pairs of fields suggests that the early two-year rotation only changed when extensions of cultivation took place to provide additional field units for a three-year cycle. The relatively heavy population carried by the lands on the other hand involves the conclusion that the extensions of cultivation from the old two-arable-field system occurred early in history, but that a three-year rotational layout associated with strip farming never took over from the earlier system.

The manor of Stapleton and Lugharnes at the beginning of the fourteenth century apparently had a population of 400 free tenants, which with the conventional multiplier of 3.5 per family produces a population of 1,400. Included in the Stapleton Roll are a number of obviously 'absentee' tenants which can be put at perhaps 10 per cent. of the total: but to these must be added serfs and others not assessed to subsidy or paying dues as tenants. A population of 2,000 seems to be a reasonable figure. The 'parishes' and 'townships' covering the area believed to have been included in the then manor of Lugharnes had in 1800 a total population of 1,027.¹ The 'townships' of Nash, Rodd, and Little Brampton, in the total then had an aggregate population of 129. The 'township' of Rodd, as has been recorded, had a population of eleven free tenants, one of whom was an 'absentee'. There must besides have been some serfs on the manor. This is a larger population than is now normally carried by Rodd Hurst, The Rodds, and Rodd Farm.

The Norman or Normanized lords, half-knights mainly—de Sancto Audoeno who held Nash, de Cursun of Little Brampton, de Lingen of Knill—did not live on the manors, although they did depend from the lordship of Stapleton. It is not clear whether the de la Nash and de Knill families who did live on the land here paid dues to the half-knights as well as to Stapleton: it seems likely. These families also came to own land elsewhere, like the de la Rodes, for instance, in the Leominster and Pembridge areas and as far afield as St.

¹ Duncumb, vol. i, p. 203.

Briavels in Gloucestershire. Some members of the families lived on these outlying properties but maintained their family relationships with the main stock, by marriage and inheritance.

The absence of an intermediate lord of the manor of La Rode is striking. The conclusion already noted, given the constant references to other intermediate lords of Hindwell Valley manors, is that the de la Rodes depended directly from Stapleton and remained in continuous occupation perhaps since Domesday. This manor remained constantly in the lordship of Stapleton: the others in the valley seem at one time or another to have been associated with Presteigne and Huntington as well. William de la Rode, the clerk, in 1304 paid as a freeman, a sum representing quite a lot of property for this district. In the absence of other information it looks as if he was the probable lord of the sub-manor of La Rode. That he was both 'clerk' and landowner, as well as married, is not inconsistent with the conditions of that age. In ecclesiastical records there are entries of one William Rode having in 1320, as subdeacon, received dispensation for two years for study and of his having in 1322 held some position in the prebend of Pontesbury.¹ That this man was the William the Clerk of the Stapleton Roll is doubtful; he is more likely to have been the son of William the Clerk. If it was William the Clerk himself, his advancement in the Church was slow, very slow compared with his successors in Holy Orders.

The de Rodes, de Knills, and de Nashes may only have been small manor holders but were not without education. As early as 1291 Brother Walter de Knill was a Master in Theology and the active John de Knill in 1308, being patron, presented his son, John, to his benefice of Knill.² Richard de Knylle was one of the chaplains serving the church of St. Ethelbert in Hereford, receiving according to an inquisition of 1293 a rent in frank almain of 12s. in the city of Hereford which William of Radnor had bought from John of Gloucester and had presented 'long before the Statute of Mortmain'.³

¹ *Register of Bp. Adam de Orleton*, 29 Jan. 1332 (C.Y.S.).

² *Register of Bp. Richard de Swinfield*, 8 June 1291 and 18 Nov. 1308 (C.Y.S.).

³ *I.P.M.*, vol. i, No. 1613, File 52/21: writ to Malcolm de Harlege, Escheator South of Trent, 21 Edw. I.

The propensity of the first two of these families for the clerical profession as early as the fourteenth century is quite remarkable. In 1317 Nicholas de Knill, rector of Knill, received the dispensation for one year for study.¹ Roger de Knille, canon of St. Austin, Bristol, was ordained deacon in 1328.² In 1352 William Knille, 'a monk of Flaxeleye', became an acolyte.³ Brother Nicholas de Knille, a Minorite, became subdeacon, and deacon in 1354.⁴ Adam de la Rode is described in certain entries as 'Dom' and recorded as connected with Wigmore Abbey.⁵ Walter Rode became an acolyte in 1328: in 1332 Ralph de Rode was admitted to all minor orders.⁶ Phillip de la Rode was presented to the living of Silvington in 1349.⁷ In 1367 Thomas Rooks (who may be Rode because of the source and grouping of the information), 'a monk of Evesham', was admitted as a 'Religious' in Ledbury church and John Rud was ordained in Sugwas chapel. A John Rody (Rode) described as a 'Friar Preacher of Brecon' had become a religious the year before.⁸ William Rode of Monselone [*sic*] of St. John's Hospital, Shrewsbury, was ordained deacon of Bromyard and 'priested' in 1382. John Rodd of Buildwas Abbey was ordained subdeacon, deacon, and priest between 19 September 1383 and 26 March 1384, which seems to be quite quick advancement.⁹

The church was evidently an attractive profession for the offspring of the smaller landed families in the Hindwell Valley, though the Nash people didn't do quite so well. Only one Roger de la Nasche figures in these lists: he was presented to the living of Ludlow,¹⁰ and figures as party in a deed dated 1373 granting certain lands in Orleton to Richard of Bibury. The deed carries the seal of William de Nasche with his coat, three mullets on a bend.¹¹

¹ *Register of Bp. Adam de Orleton*, 29 Jan. 1332 (C.Y.S.).

² *Register of Bp. Thomas de Charlton*, 28 May 1328 (C.Y.S.).

³ *Register of Bp. Thomas de Charlton*, Mar. 1352 (C.Y.S.).

⁴ *Register of Bp. John de Trilleck*, Mar. 1354 (C.Y.S.).

⁵ See above, p. 148.

⁶ *Register of Bp. Thomas de Charlton*, 24 Dec. 1328 and 8 Mar. 1332 (C.Y.S.).

⁷ *Register of Bp. John de Trilleck*, 23 Sept. 1349 (C.Y.S.).

⁸ *Register of Bp. Lewis de Charlton*, 10 Sept. 1367, Easter 1367, and 19 Dec. 1367 (C.Y.S.).

⁹ *Register of Bp. John Gilbert*, 20 Sept. 1382 and 19 Sept. 1383 (C.Y.S.).

¹⁰ *Register of Bp. William de Courtney*, 17 May 1372 (C.Y.S.).

¹¹ Robinson, *Mansions*, quoting Blount at pp. 240 et seq.

That land was charged with payments to the church is clear from a good deal of evidence. In 1410 a Thomas Monghal was ordained subdeacon in May, secular deacon in September, and 'priested' in December with title to land in Rode and elsewhere granted by Richard Cornwall of the demesne of Stapleton.¹

Despite the fact that so many of the families of these manorial holders seem to have entered the church, there is no direct record of schooling or education. The House of Priests at Presteigne with a church for thirty monks, and an establishment at Titley may have provided an organization for the spread of education, and records show that some at least in the district were educated without any indication of where this was achieved.

In an area where the available stone does not provide good or cheap building material, since it neither fractures nor dresses easily and weathers badly, but good hard timber was abundant, the disappearance of many thirteenth- and fourteenth-century dwellings even in such remote and untouched parts is not surprising. Nevertheless, there are a few fourteenth-century and earlier dwellings like Carter's Croft at Stapleton and Little Rodd at The Rodds still in existence. Some of the stone buildings or parts of them in the valley and hill-side settlements may well date from this period. No specific age can be assigned to many of them since they have no distinctive architectural features, having obviously been adapted and readapted through the ages by re-using earlier material. The larger manor farms, in some cases very interesting and beautiful, are apparently in the main of the sixteenth century and later or with later additions. But even in these cases they are as likely as not to contain earlier but undatable work.

The area was incorporated as part of England, though under the jurisdiction peculiar to the March, according to an inquisition² in the reign of Henry III. The western boundary of Herefordshire is given in some detail: the description of it is particularly interesting and important. Although the manuscript is undated it was assigned by its position and

¹ *Register of Bp. Mascal* (C.Y.S.).

² P.R.O.: Inquisicio de divisas per XXVII: C. 145/19/12.

handwriting to the thirteenth century when calendared in 1916. Following the inquisition are some additional notes on the Hundreds of Radlow, Webtree, Bredwardine, and Stretford which are not relevant to this chapter: but there then come some notes on Presteigne, Eardisley, &c., which are of great interest, and help to date the document pretty accurately, for there is mentioned the Thomas de Fraxino who was sub-infeudated as Lord of Presthemedede (Presteigne) by Roger de Mortimer, the Lord of Wigmore. From other documents quoted in this chapter, Thomas de Fraxino was alive in 1260 at least and, as the inquisition on the boundaries of the county refers to 'the War' which was evidently the Barons' War, the document is probably of about 1270. It looks as if an attempt had then been made to reorganize the counties after the conflict; indeed most counties have an Assize Roll for this year or thereabouts. The actual reference to Presteigne is that 'Presthemedede in eadem villa de Baronia de Kintone (Kington) subtracta est per Thomam de Fraxino de eadem . . .'. This and other 'subtractions' in the document were probably cases where some landowner, lord of the manor, or Marcher Lord refused to present or perform the services due when the Justices Itinerant came round or at the Hundred Court.

The western boundary of Hereford, using modern names which are mostly identifiable (with the substantially different medieval or doubtful names in parentheses) is thus described: The county included the whole of¹ Ewyas Harold and all the valley of the Dore (Stradel or Stradelei in Domesday) as far as the boundaries (of the castellany) of Ewyas Lacy which is now Longtown, and as far as the boundaries of Dulas (Develays) and (Brademedewe?); that is, including these lands. From Dulas the boundary descended to the Wye and from the river ran along the boundaries of, but including, Brilley (Brumlege) and Michaelchurch on Arrow (St. Michael). Thence the boundary followed the division between Elfael and Gladestry leaving to Herefordshire the latter, but not the former which was an area of Wales south-west of Radnor

¹ Where a place is referred to as 'the whole of' or the boundaries of a place are mentioned, the manor or 'terra' so named is intended and not merely the place itself. Cf. Duncumb: Huntington, p. 2.

Forest. The name of Elfael survives in Llansaintfraed in Elfael one mile north-west of the Hundred House on the road from New Radnor to Builth. The county boundary then followed the 'Rugedich ultra Radenoure' as far as the Lugg opposite Pilleth, thence along the river to Ley (Legha), including 'the whole of Ley'. From a point above Wigmore it followed a brook which 'descends from Wildemoor' to the Teme and along the river to the bridge at Ludlow where the description of the boundary began.

The context and occurrence of Ley (Legha) in the description of the boundary of the county concords with the identification of the Lege or Legha of Domesday with either one or both of Upper and Lower Ley south of Wigmore. In this circumambulation, Lower Ley is probably intended.¹ The brook which 'descends from Wildemoor' is evidently the little valley which runs from the hills known as the Wigmore Rolls to the Teme by Adforton and Wigmore Abbey.

The boundary between Radnor and the Lugg needs some examination. A line from Court of Gladestry to Pilleth runs two to three miles west of Offa's Dyke which is east of both Old and New Radnor. While it would be tempting to assume that 'Rugedich' was Offa's Dyke, this could never have been described as 'ultra Radenoure' in an English inquisition on the county border with Wales. There is a ditch or dyke just west of New Radnor; on the other hand no ditch or dyke has been traced from here as far as Pilleth in the Lugg Valley, some three miles up stream of Maes Treylow where Offa's Dyke does cross the river, and a boundary from the New Radnor dyke to Pilleth runs over awkward high ground involving a right-angle turn at the river. The more western line from beyond New Radnor to Pilleth includes in Herefordshire the manors of Radnor, Burlingjobb, Cascob, and Discoed which were in England as we have seen in Domesday though they lay beyond, or on, Offa's Dyke. The conclusion is that 'Rugedich' is not Offa's Dyke and that the Henry III boundary of the county as ascertained was very probably the Domesday western boundary of the county. The missing part of this 'Rugedich' between New Radnor and Pilleth remains to be traced.

¹ See above Chap. III, pp. 77-79.

The name of 'Rugedich' occurs a second time in the document in question, and exists on the ground, six miles south-east of Presteigne near Pembridge where there is the Rowe Ditch, which we have seen is an alternative or later alignment of Offa's Dyke from the heights above the Hindwell Valley to Bridge Sollers.¹ The coincidence of the same name in two different areas in the same document is puzzling but perhaps significant. In the first place it is the county boundary; in the other it certainly is not. The second reference, however, is definitely important. The note in the document reads 'in hundredo de Stretford, vallis de Luggē scilicet tene . . . domini de Castro Ricardi debuit venire apud Rogedicke subtus Penebrugge et imbreviare placito [*sic*] corone et eligere gentes ad assisses et venire coram iusticiariis quod subtractum est per Robertum de Mortuo Mari a principio werre'. This Rowe Ditch is correctly described as 'under Pembridge' and the land in question was certainly in Stratford Hundred and of the Lord of Richard's Castle. The passage may be translated as 'in the Hundred of Stretford the valley of the Lugg, otherwise land of the Lord of Richard's Castle, ought to come [i.e. to the Hundred Court] at Rowe Ditch under Pembridge² and record pleas of the crown and elect men for the Assizes and come before the Justices which [service] has been withheld by Roger de Mortimer since the beginning of the [Barons'] war'. This note is followed by the reference to Thomas de Fraxino already mentioned. Other notes in the document refer to other 'withdrawals' by various lords in neighbouring hundreds and manors.

The conclusion to be drawn from this interesting document is that in 1270, or thereabouts, the shire of Hereford included the Radnor plain and a substantial tract of country west of Offa's Dyke, probably as far west indeed as the western limits of the Domesday manors catalogued in this area.

¹ Chap. II, p. 22.

² Cf. Chap. III, p. 44.

CHAPTER VII

Of the Manors, Lands, and Townships under the Tudors

THE advent of Henry Tudor to the throne of England as Henry VII did more than bring to an end the long-drawn-out struggle between the Houses of Lancaster and York. It broke the power of the great feudal barons, and ended the dominion of the Marcher Lords. The de Mortimer family disappears from the stage. Henceforth, order and justice on the border administered by the Council of the Marches in Ludlow are the right and perquisite of the Crown. The March becomes administratively part of England, and the Crown, and Crown alone, rules.

The Tudor era brought about three great social and economic changes in England. Holders of land, great and small, though still subject to feudal forms of tenure, become much more what we today recognize as true owners of real property with capacity to buy and sell as of right, though still subject to the fines, forfeitures, and dues of feudal tenure substantially converted to money values and payments. The sixteenth century saw a rapid and concentrated transition from the static conditions of medieval agriculture to the freer, more mobile conditions of an agriculture conducted on the basis of money and markets, instead of by the exchange of goods and services. This is what is really meant when it is said that society ceased to have a feudal basis.¹ Feudal perquisites surviving from the Middle Ages had not only become anachronisms, but were recognized as burdensome. One of the first measures passed in the reign of James I was 'An Act to prevent the surcharge of the People by Stewards of Courte Leets and Courte Barons'.² This Act provided for action by common informer and was still in

¹ Thus Rowse, p. 80, quoting Tawney.

² *Sic*, Not 'Courts Leet', &c., 1 & 2 Jac. I.

force when referred to in the Schedule to the Common Informers' Act of 1952.

Secondly, personal status among the humble as well as among the highly born becomes a matter of recorded fact and not only of opinion and oral testimony in *inquisitiones post mortem* or appearances in court with evidence of existence. Inquisitions continued for a long time to record, as the Probate Court does today, the change of ownership at death, but the existence of the parties having come in Elizabeth's reign to be written in parish registers of births, marriages, and deaths, proof of such matters no longer plays a major part in the ascertainments. Thomas Cromwell ordered registers of baptisms to be kept in 1538. 'A constitution of the province of Canterbury, approved by the Queen in 1598, ordered that parchment registers should be purchased into which the older entries should be copied, "but especially since the first year of her Majesty's reign". It is for this reason that so many parish registers begin with Elizabeth's reign. . . .'¹

The third great change is that more regular and organized systems of taxation, and unhappily its more frequent incidence, begin to take the place of *ad hoc* levies for particular purposes. This, of course, requires, and is closely connected with, the existence of continuing records of personal status. Together they provide valuable historical material for the study both of people and of places.

A consequence of the maintenance of personal status records in parochial registers, for at any rate a large part of the population, is the stabilization of family names which replace the descriptive nomenclature of the humbler people based on the locality where they lived or the avocations they pursued. The problem of the family name prior to the sixteenth century presents little difficulty for the great families of the land, and not much difficulty for the lesser families who owned land so continuously in one place that even when they moved away they kept the name which they had either given to, or taken from, that land. But when one is dealing with humble folk whose descriptive appellations existed solely by reason of their place of residence or their trade, and which changed when these changed, the opportunities for

¹ Rowse, p. 218.

confusion before written parochial records stabilized their status are very great.

The distinctions already noted of 'atte' or 'a' and 'de' in personal names, even if they are not always consistent, would matter little if the main subject of study were topographical history. They become more important when the subject is topographical and sociological history—when people as well as places are concerned. Happily the horizon of The Rodd place and people is so restricted and the two are so closely linked that there is little danger of confusion. With the Knill family and place it is the same.

Nevertheless, even the story of The Rodd manor is not quite plain sailing, for after 1500 the family multiplied and had acquired property not only all over Herefordshire but in Devonshire as well; a related branch was already settled there certainly by the middle of the fifteenth century. A Richard Rodd is named in assessments for Totnes, Co. Devon, in 1448-50. In 1463 and 1464 the heirs of John and Robert Rodd did service at the manor court of the castle of Totnes for land held of the lord of Hempston by homage.¹ In the latter part of the sixteenth century Richard Rodd senior was alderman of Totnes and held The Rodd in Herefordshire, as well as lands at New Radnor. By the end of the sixteenth century and for another hundred years the Rodds of Devon and Hereford were closely inter-related by marriage, inheritance, and business interests. Elsewhere in Herefordshire they appear as owners of land at Foxley and Amberley, Kingsland and Pembridge, and in the parishes adjoining The Rodd of Presteigne, Stapleton, Staunton-on-Arrow, Titley, Knill, Lower Harpton, and Byton.

There was also another Rode in Cheshire, equally dating from Domesday, held by a different sept of de Rodes. Although traditionally related to the Herefordshire group, no connexion has been traced except by their almost identical armorial bearings. Reference is made to these Cheshire Rodes in an appendix to this chapter.² By the sixteenth century they begin to create a little confusion in Herefordshire since they too expanded out of their own county. Thus a Randolph or

¹ *Apud* Hugh Watkins, *History of Totnes*.

² See App. I to this chapter at p. 198, and above p. 148.

Randle or Ralph Rode turns up as bailiff of Bridgnorth in Worcestershire in 1538 to 'take surrender of Grey Friars'.¹ This Randolph Rode has a Christian name which is not associated with the Herefordshire or Devonshire Rodds; he is certainly one of the Rodes of Rode Hall in Cheshire where Randolph frequently figured as a first name.

Records of visitations of Heralds in Herefordshire are few and far between. The most complete one is that of 1569. While there does not appear to have been one in 1586, there nevertheless is an indication in the Harleian manuscripts that there may have been one.² The pedigree and, where available, the coats of the Rodd family were collected and extended from these sixteenth-century records in 1886,³ when it is shown that a John Rode of Pembridge living in the sixteenth century bore 'Argent 2 quadrifoils slipped vert, a chief sable'. The two daughters of this John Rodd were married, Joan to John Edwyn of Marden, and Margaret, the eldest, to William Evesham of Wotton near Wellington. This is the same coat as that borne by the Rodes of Rode Hall, Co. Chester, except that their charge was trefoils and not quadrifoils. The Rodes or Rodds of Herefordshire generally had the same charge except that their trefoils are described as sable,⁴ as were those of the Rodds of Devonshire and Cornwall. That John Rode of Pembridge had quadrifoils *vert* may be an indication that that family was connected with the Cheshire branch. In the nearby county of Stafford a visitation in 1663-4 by William Dugdale, Norroy, records that William Rode of Rushton-James (*æt.* 5) claimed the coat 'Argent two trefoils slipped sable a chief gules' with crest a wolf's head couped sable, collared argent charged with a trefoil slipped or.⁵ The wolf's head was also the crest of the Herefordshire and Devonshire Rodds originally before it was replaced by the 'punning' crest of the Colossus of Rhodes.

¹ *Musters and Papers Hy.* VIII, 5 Aug. 1538: P.R.O. E. 31/36.

² Harl. MSS. 615, ff. 13b and 19; 1159 f. 11; 1442; 1545, f. 76.

³ F. W. Weaver, *The Visitation of Herefordshire made in 1569 by Robert Cooke, Clarenceux.* William Pollard & Co., Exeter, 1886.

⁴ In Strong, *Heraldry of Herefordshire.* Churton, London, 1848.

⁵ Wm. Salt, *Arch. Soc. Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, vol. ii, p. 52, transcribed from B.M. Lansdown MS. 857. Harl. 6104 has the blazon of the crest as a 'tiger's head'.

The advent of the Tudor era brought about considerable changes in the territorial organization of the Lugg-Hindwell manors, even if the ownership of the lands and many of their revenues were not much affected so far as the occupants were concerned.

Two inventories of the Dissolution period,¹ relating to the manor of Presteigne, one certainly, and probably both, of 1544, list some 20 free tenants, 25 to 30 copyholders, and in one of the documents, an additional 9 holders by indenture. The total of this manorial income is given as £33. 18s. 0d. in one case and £33. 17s. 9d. in the other, 'whereof spiritualities' £24. 9s. 6d. and 'perquisites of court, relief, heriot, etc. one year with another [only] 10/-'.² The freeholders' dues amounted to 24s. 8d. and the copyholders' to £9. 18s. 3d. The free tenants included Walter Rood paying 4d. and several land-holders in the Hindwell Valley whose names are familiar from subsidy rolls and conveyances. One of the freeholders for 7d. is recorded as the prioress of Limebrook near Lingen. That this property was town property can be inferred from the separate listings of woodland and agricultural land near Presteigne also belonging to the manor. In Elizabethan deeds and leases to various persons these woodlands are described as 'formerly the property of the Earl of March'.³ In one of these John Bradshaw asked leave to purchase of the Crown, Caen 'alias Canon' Wood³ detailed by the number of years' growth of timber. This inventory includes 21 acres of open or common land, not valued 'because never enclosed', and 60 acres of land at 3d. per acre and 20 years' purchase. In all, this woodland and unenclosed land amounting to 243 acres was sold to John Bradshaw for £21. 0s. 6d. Caen Wood and Nash Wood on the north side of the Hindwell Valley formed the major part of the 200 acres of common land so described in the 1844 tithe assessment.⁴

Further information about agricultural land of Presteigne

¹ Close Rolls E. 318/160, 35 Hy. VIII: LR. 2/183.

² e.g. *Cal. Pat. R.* 8 July 1563, and E. 310/226.

³ South of Presteigne, being the northern slope of the ridge which contains the Hindwell Valley: the southern slope of the ridge is called Nash Wood.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 160, and below, Chap. VIII *passim*.

manor is contained in a 'Rental of Crown Lands, late the property of Wigmore Abbey' of the period of Edward VI. It refers to the sales of the farm of tithes to various persons after the Dissolution of the previous reign. It is worth noting that of the revenues formerly in the hands of the abbey, the rents of assize, free rents, demesne lands, &c., were then stated to be worth 25*s.* 4½*d.* as compared with 10*s.* in respect of Presteigne urban properties.¹

This group of documents shows that the de Mortimer manor of Presteigne was forfeit to the Crown during the reign of Henry VII. Those parts of the revenues of the manor which had inured to the abbey of Wigmore, however, continued to do so, some of them but not necessarily all of them having been granted to the monastery, as already noted, as long ago as the mid-thirteenth century. These revenues were only vested in the Crown upon the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the next reign when the sale of some of them, of lands, and of woods began: it continued during the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth. The lordship of the manor and certain lands continued, however, to be Crown property, for a parliamentary survey of 1649 describes them as a 'parcel of the properties of Charles Stuart, late King of England the inventory of which was made and taken by us [the Trustees] . . . by virtue of the Commission grounded upon the Act of the Commons assembled in Parliament for the sale of the Hundreds, Manors and Lands belonging to the late King, Queen and Princes . . .'.² At the beginning of the twentieth century the manor of Presteigne, as well as those of Knighton and Knucklas, originally also de Mortimer manors, were still 'Crown manors' though all the lands had been alienated from as long ago as the Elizabethan era.³

The figures quoted above of the number of free tenants, copy holders, and holders by indenture, some sixty in all, may not be the complete roll of urban Presteigne but it looks suspiciously as if it were, thus bearing out the fall in population from 1300 to 1500. The total manorial income

¹ Harl. MS. 7131, f. 388.

² Parl. Survey of the Manors of Radnorshire, 1649.

³ H.M. Office of Woods (Crown Lands), file W. 1026.

from this type of inhabitation in any event, moreover, involves a substantial fall in values. It is evident that the importance and probably the population of the manor of Presteigne had declined considerably since the hey-day of the de Mortimer family.

Stapleton manor, still held of the Barony of Burford, and in 1490 for only $\frac{1}{3}$ knight's fee and worth £12,¹ continued in the hands of the Cornwall family. In 1595 letters patent were granted by Queen Elizabeth to Thomas Cornwall for a fee of £6. 13s. 4d. giving leave to alienate the castle and manor of Stapleton and Lugharnes to Thomas Harley and James Walshe as trustees for Thomas Cornwall, his son Thomas and Anne the son's wife, and heirs in tail. This property consisted of 10 messuages, 10 tofts, 2 watermills, and 580 acres of land, namely 150 acres of arable, 40 acres of meadow, 150 acres of pasture, 200 acres of woodland, and 40 acres of heathland and furze, with £20 in rents in Stapleton, Lugharnes, Frogstreete (in Presteigne), Willey, Wapley, Combe, Oatcroft, Rode, Titley, and Cascob.² In 1596³ the sale of this property took place to Thomas Harley and Richard Walshe for a consideration of £400. In neither document is there any mention of Nash or Little Brampton. Both deeds evidently refer to dwellings and lands around Stapleton itself. Thus the inventory is not strictly comparable with the 1293 and 1304 ascertainments. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the settlement at Stapleton had shrunk to a size which it will be seen is comparable to the 'townships' in the Hindwell Valley, while the 'rents' payable by the Stapleton manor subordinate estates in the neighbourhood have fallen to a purely nominal figure. The worth of Stapleton at £12 in 1490 may be compared with the value of £23. 13s. 4d. in the 1304 ascertainment.⁴ The absence of any rents or dues from Nash and Little Brampton suggest that at this time they went with Presteigne. It is interesting to note that of the remoter Le Scrob holdings at Domesday Cascob alone remained with Stapleton. Right into the nineteenth century

¹ *I.P.M.* 5 Hy. VII, vol. 5, 96, 142, 407: E. 150.

² Hereford Library Misc. Deeds 763: 37 Eliz.

³ *F.F. CP* (2), 135, Hilary, 38 Eliz.

⁴ Cf. *I.P.M.* Edw. VI, 49/2, Index vol. 2, 640, and 32 Edw. I, C. 133/2, Index vol. 4, 221.

it continued to be an enclave of Herefordshire within Radnorshire, doubtless for that historical reason.

The extent and value of the land of the Rodds and Knills in the Hindwell Valley has an important bearing on the organization of the Hindwell Valley manors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is possible to glean a good deal of information from the assessments to subsidy in the rolls of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I, fragmentary though some of them are. These documents, together with parish records of the families, provide clear evidence of the standing and continuity of both families at their two manors. The references to the manors of Nash and Little Brampton contain no parallel records of families. The de la Nash-de Frêne-de Fraxino-Esshe family names virtually disappear from the neighbourhood. The holders of Nash and Little Brampton from now on are numerous and changing; the Rodds and the Knills on the other hand kept their continuity and modest wealth. By the beginning of the sixteenth century Hugh Rodd of The Rodd was already what we should call a county squire owning land beyond the boundaries of The Rodd manor itself. His son's will and other documents, as will be seen, show him owning land in Radnorshire and elsewhere.

For convenience of examination the Subsidy Rolls and assessment to tax in the Hindwell Valley have been tabulated.¹ Certain passages in the rolls are virtually illegible and involve interpolation or guesswork: those rolls which are entirely illegible have been omitted from the study. Although we are dealing here in the main with the sixteenth century, the rolls and valuations up to 1641 have been set out together for convenience and purposes of comparison.

The contents of the Subsidy Rolls are full of anomalies. In the Henry VIII and Edward VI series the assessments are mainly described as on 'goods', but the assessed persons are known from other sources to have held and been in occupation of land. In the later rolls the assessments are mainly on

¹ These tables and the references to the original documents from which they have been compiled are given in Appendix II to this chapter. The references also include documents which are so illegible that the few legible entries are not included in the tables.

'land' with some on 'goods', again in cases where the persons are known to have had land. It would be unwise to assume that the rolls are an accurate guide to those who were and those who were not holders of land.¹

It is possible, especially in the later Hearth Tax Rolls, to discern the death of one taxpayer and the heir who succeeded to the property. From these tax records, the parish registers, deeds of alienation, &c., one can deduce some, but discontinuous, information about the agricultural and social organization. From the Hearth Tax Rolls in particular it is possible to estimate the number of houses which existed and paid taxes. One cannot, unfortunately, on account of lacunae, obtain an accurate census of the total number of dwellings or inhabitants, since poor persons were exempted from the payment of hearth tax and such exemptions are not noted in all years; moreover, persons with goods or land of less than 20s. annual value are not recorded. There are unaccountable omissions of assessments on certain persons in one year when they are so recorded in a previous or in a subsequent year. Again, the rates of valuation unaccountably change. The basis of assessment of the annual value of lands and goods in the sixteenth century in this part of the country seems to have been arbitrary. There is also every reason to suppose that some known property owners were not assessed to subsidy at all, perhaps because the fines, fees, and rents they paid to the lordships formed the basis of a manorial and not a personal assessment.

The levy at varying rates in the assessments of the Henry VIII Rolls, are all on 'goods', except in the case of John Knill of Knill. In Edward VI's reign the nominal rate seems to have been 1s. in the £. In Elizabeth's time the levies of 1559, 1571, and 1581 were at the rate of 2s. 6d. in the £, 'on land' and two-thirds of that, namely 1s. 8d. in the £ on 'goods'. In 1589 there were two subsidies, the first at 2s. 8d. on land and 1s. 8d. on goods: the second one was at half these rates. It was the year after the Armada had been defeated. Three subsidies in the year of the Irish campaign amounted to 12s. in the £ on land and 8s. on goods. It does not follow that these amounts were actually paid either in

¹ This point is developed with examples at p. 195 below.



The Rodd house and farm buildings; Wegnall centre; Clatterbrune manor fields in middle distance; Stapleton fields left top

the year of assessment or for that year: some of the assessments look as if they were cumulative and included unpaid calls for subsidy of previous years.

After the subsidies voted by Parliament in 1559 and 1563 Cecil in 1566 tried once more to appeal for help. But Parliament got restive

under an attempt to depart from the custom that subsidies were war measures. . . . Cecil yielded and the government made concessions: it accepted one subsidy and one-tenth and fifteenth at a reduced rate of one-third; i.e. a rate of 2/8d instead of 4/- in the £ on land and 1/10d instead of 2/8d in the £ on goods. When this ran out there was no further grant of tax for several years until the Parliament of 1571. This meant that the government was hard put to it. . . . It also meant that the Crown had to sell more land: another gain to private persons.¹

Heavy levies were again called for in Charles I's reign, those payable for 1628 being apparently for eighteen months. These levies were in addition to ship money. According to an account of 6 February 1636 the county of Hereford furnished a ship of 350 tons 'for the safeguard of the seas and defence of the realm'. The Hundred of Wigmore paid £268. 8s. 1d., of which Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton's contribution was £13, equal to the largest single district contribution of that hundred and the same as that paid by 'Tytle' (Titley), 'Byton and Combe', and 'Mowle and Wapleseres' (Mowley, Stansbatch, and Wapley), when Kington only paid £6. 14s. 4d.²

In the Stuart period a comparison of values between the valuation of estates and the annual value of land can in certain cases be made. When Richard Rodd died in 1633 he left, *inter alia*, to his eldest son the Rodd property which was valued at 50s. yearly 'beyond reprises' for 40 acres of ploughland, 120 acres of meadow, 80 acres of pasture, and 20 acres of wood. This estate valuation had been returned by the raters in 1620-30 at £65. 10s., but the Crown assessed the estates at nearly double that amount, which had been fixed by local, and perhaps partial, assessors. So a figure of £130 capital may be taken as the estimated taxable value of the property. The Subsidy Rolls for 1620 to 1628 do not assess

¹ Rowse, p. 329.

² Duncumb, vol. i, p. 104.

Richard Rodd at all, but they do assess Walter Rodd at 60*s.* in all years except 1620 when the figure was 40*s.* and the second Richard Rodd, who eventually succeeded his father, Richard, in 1633, at 60*s.* There is reason to think that the assessment on Walter Rodd was for the same land as that of the two Richards.¹ So one gets

Estate valuation on land described . . .	£130
Subsidy Roll annual valuation, say . . .	60 <i>s.</i>
Annual value placed at time of death . . .	50 <i>s.</i>

These figures are not wildly inconsistent with each other. They give a capital value of (excluding the woodland) about 4*s.* per acre for agricultural and mainly arable land, and about 1*d.* to 2*d.* per annum annual rental value, presumably in addition to manorial charges and tithes: this represents a rental value of between 2 per cent. and 3 per cent. per annum. Although the calculation is made from one example, the figures seem to be consistent with other values in the Hindwell Valley. It is a pity that the records for the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI are not more complete because this is the really interesting period of transition from the organization of the Middle Ages to one of recognizably modern aspect, economically and politically.

Local constables begin to appear. William Croft was Constable for Rodd in 1539.² He was probably one of the Croft Castle family and a notable. But by the second half of the century there were more humble and local constables in the manors and townships of Knill, Little Brampton, Nash, and Rodd. The last two townships seem to have been working together as one administrative unit, probably on account of the considerable lands owned by the Rodd family and farmed by the Lydes in the two manors.

Under Henry VIII's government, although the power of the Marcher families had been broken, the authority of the Crown was still not fully established. A good deal of lawlessness still prevailed. The elder Richard Rodd for instance was haled before the Council of the Marches for assault. The violence and lack of restraint of the age infected even the

¹ See below, p. 190.

² Muster Rolls: Letters and Papers of Hy. VIII, Mar. 1539.

great and the good. In 1534 Thomas Cromwell had sent the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield on a tour to deal with this part of the world. He was welcomed by the sheriff, Sir John Baskerville of Hergest, near Kington. The bishop writes to Cromwell: 'I intend after Easter to stop a month in Presteigne among the thickest of the thieves, and shall do the King much service as the strongest of them shall be afraid to do.'¹ 'The Elizabethans were proud of the Council [of the Marches]'s work in Wales which had been "brought from their disobedient, barbarous and (as may be termed) lawless incivility, to the civil and obedient estate they now remain".² It had been due to the work of the tough Bishop Roland Lee, who hanged thieves in hundreds, right and left: 'yet "thieves I found them, thieves I left them".'² Bishop Lee's work paved the way for a gentler, just administration under Sir Henry Sidney.

The muster rolls of 1538 and 1539 record that in Wigmore Hundred 'having lately been part of Wales [that is of the March], the inhabitants be nott of power to have more abylments of warre than before is expressed, yet all named be able men for the warre'. The 'before expressed' men were listed as archers (A), billmen (B), and spearmen (S) in the following rolls:

ROLL I: 1538

<i>Knill</i>			<i>Little Brampton</i>		
John Knyll	.	A	Hugh Massy	.	B
William ap John	.	B	Hugh Brown	.	B
Jenkyn Stevens	.	B	Richard Thomas	.	B
Richard Molyngar	.	B	William Thomas	.	B
John Atkins	.	B	William Parry	.	B
John Horman	.	B	Walter Sherman	.	B

Nash

Jenkyn a Rode	.	A
Walter ap Powell	.	B
Walter Balden	.	A
Roger Passe (cf. under Brampton in Roll II)		B

¹ Letters and Papers of Hy. VIII, 26 Dec. 1534.

² Rowse, p. 289, quoting Skeel, *The Council in the Marches of Wales*, at p. 19.

ROLL II: 1539

<i>Knill</i>		<i>Little Brampton</i>	
Hoelle ap Edwards—a bill	. S	Hugh Massy*	. B
Lewes Owen—a bill	. S	Hugh Brown*—a spear	. S
Jenkyn Stevens*	. B	Richard Thomas*	. B
William Tynker—a bill	. S	William Thomas*—a spear	. S
John Harman—a bill	. S	William Parry* (son of Richard)	. S
Richard Harman—a bill	. B	Walter Sherman*	. B
<i>Rode</i>		Roger Passy*	. A
Jenkyn a Rode (servant to Wm. Croft, Gent)—a salet ¹	. A	William Passy*	. A
Hugh Bulleyn*	. B	Richard Treylow*—a spear	. S
Walter ap Rees*	. B		
William a Pery*	. B		

(Note: Those marked * are recorded as 'NIL'.)

At the same time the townships are recorded as having some equipment and 'habylments of warre':

KNILL: a 'harness ready for a billman' but in the following year six sets, with again six sets in 1542: one horse (? John Knill's), three glaives, two 'marispykes',² one sword and three daggers.

LITTLE BRAMPTON: ten sets of harness, but in 1542 only six sets: one salet, six glaives, one sword, and one dagger.

RODD & NASH: one harness ready for a billman but in the following year four sets 'in the custody of Wm. Croft, Constable': two bows, twelve arrows, and three glaives.

It will be noted that in the muster rolls of the Hindwell Valley, with the exception of John Knill with his horse, and Jenkyn a Rode with his salet, the names are all of farm hands and small holders of land. John Knill is presumably the son of Jenkin Knill: he subsequently became, after succeeding his father, Sheriff of Radnorshire, M.P. for the county in 1545-7 and 1554-5, and Seneschal and Recorder of Ludlow. Jenkyn a Rode the servant or esquire of William Croft and later constable of Rodd and Nash, died in 1546 possessed of

¹ A metal headgear or helmet.

² Marispykes = Morris pikes = 'Moorish pikes'.

land and stock: he was father of Hugh Rodd, or de la Rode, who figures in the subsidy roll of 1559, with Edward Rodd who witnessed Jenkyn's will, as a more considerable landowner than would appear from his father's testament. It is probable therefore that Jenkyn demised some land before his death, or that Hugh (and Edward) inherited from other relatives as well.¹ Jenkyn was the son of William de la Rode.² No names of the larger known landowners or land-holders figure in the subsidy rolls, nor are their arms or 'hablyments' included in the local lists. In fact, those who do figure on the muster rolls are, with the two exceptions, persons whose names do not appear in the Subsidy Rolls and no Rodds or Knills other than the two just mentioned appear, although they are known to have been substantial property owners in the locality at the time. Nor do the Lydes, who were substantial farmers at Nash, figure. If any of these were armed or available for service they were either in other categories, for it cannot be assumed that their manorial obligations survived in the form of active military duties, or else they evaded the muster roll inspectors.³

The inventory of weapons⁴ at Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton and at Knill is included in the list of the general combatant resources of Wigmore Hundred, which had:

6	Demi-Lances and horsemen
351	Footmen, whereof
83	Archers and
260	Billmen.
56	pairs of harness
4	salets
5	pairs of splints ⁵
273	glaives

¹ Cf. below, pp. 190-3: 'Hereford Probate Records' by E. J. L. Cole in *Trs. Rad. Soc.*, vol. xxvi, p. 27.

² See above, Chap. V, pp. 151 and 156. 17 Hy. VI: Roger Rode, of Pembridge, kinsman and heir of Thomas, son of William le Clerk de la Rode, grants lands to William de la Rode, father of Jenkyn.

³ Such evasions were, of course, well known and are particularly referred to in an article on the Elizabethan population of England in the *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., vol. ii, No. 3, pp. 249-51.

⁴ Muster Rolls, 30 Hy. VIII, E. 36/31 and 36/16; and Hy. VIII, Letters and Papers, Mar. 1539 and 1542.

⁵ Splint = an arm protection.

74	bows
34	sheaves and 6 arrows
44	swords
49	daggers
15	Marispykes

In 1589 Queen Elizabeth mustered a hundred men in Wigmore Hundred for service in Ireland. David Moreis (Morris) from Knill and William Hill and John ap Powell from Little Brampton were drafted. In 1602/3 two hundred men were drafted from the hundred. From the Hindwell Valley there went Richard Griffith of Knill and Lower Harpton, William Powell and Henry Jevans from Little Brampton, John Havard of Nash, and Stephen Powell of Rodd.¹ David Moreis was assessed to subsidy in 1620 so he evidently got safely back from Ireland. John Havard perhaps did not fare so well. In 1592 he was entered at the Stapleton manor court as the free or copy-holder of the holding at Rodd of John Weaver's messuage by right of his daughter Anne whom Havard had married. In 1597 John Havard was assessed to subsidy on goods and land. But in 1603 the same holding was entered to William Weaver, son of John Weaver.² It looks as if John Havard did not survive the Irish wars.³ The Rodds, Knills, and even the Lydes seem to have escaped the drafts.

The ownership of land in the Hindwell Valley during the sixteenth century is very clear in certain respects and very confusing in others. The actual occupation of the land can broadly speaking be traced; the superior ownership is not at all evident. Knill manor seems to have been in the ownership and occupation of the Knill family with John Knill as a substantial figure in the counties of Hereford and Radnorshire. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Knill family died out with the John Knill who was buried at Knill in 1607.⁴ His widow Katherine married Sir John Gaines in the following year. John Knill's estate held in the Huntington lordship passed to John Walsham who married Barbara Knill.

¹ Ech. Acct. E. 107/65/24 and 200.

² See below, pp. 187-8, recording alienations.

³ See below, p. 189.

⁴ Knill Parish Register.



Nash Manor

At the time of the alienation of Stapleton in 1596 Rodd still appears connected with this lordship, and as neither Nash nor Little Brampton are referred to in the documents relating to this transaction¹ it is probably fair to assume that they were in Presteigne manor, which would be consistent with earlier information. Nevertheless, in 1615 Robert Williams, Esq., is described in the Court Roll of the Manor of Stapleton as lord of the manor of Nash, 'within the manor of Stapleton' which he holds of Stapleton by $\frac{1}{3}$ knight's fee and services, &c., and also of the manor of Little Brampton of the same by $\frac{1}{4}$ knight's fee.² But the name does not again figure. There are a number of other transactions which suggest that the lordships of Nash and Little Brampton may have changed their manorial dependence several times in the years preceding 1615. The manor lands of Nash and Little Brampton figure very frequently in alienations in the later part of the sixteenth century. In general the transfers between 1549 and 1612 seem to show that the manors consisted, with their settlements or townships, of some 15 messuages and about 200 or more acres of farmed land, namely arable, pasture, and meadow with, in addition, wood and heathland. Both the last categories present great variations in size in the conveyances because the deeds sometimes do and sometimes do not include common land, notably the sheepwalks on the top of the hills above Little Brampton. The woodlands of the manors fall into two classes: smaller areas which nearly always seem to be included in the alienations, and larger ones which only occasionally figure and were woodlands really belonging to the superior manor but over which the sub-manors had access or rights. In the later deeds the amount of pasture seems to increase as would be expected, partly on account of drainage, reclamation, and clearing, but mainly on account of the transfer of tillage land to pasture during the middle years of the century. From these documents it appears that the two sub-manors were about the same size. Little Brampton, which occurs more frequently on account of more changes of ownership or occupation, seems to have been of about 200-odd acres consisting of 70-80 acres of 'land',

¹ See above, p. 174.

² Court Rolls of Stapleton, 13 Jac. I: Shrewsbury Lib. 2497.

namely arable, 60-80 acres of pasture, 20 of meadow, and a constant element of 30 acres of woodland; Nash, on the other hand, had rather more arable and less pasture. The two manors together had certainly one (corn) watermill, at Nash, in the mid-sixteenth century. By 1612 there were two mills, one probably at each manor. There was also certainly one fulling mill, and later two, at Little Brampton. Four gardens and orchards are listed, sometimes as two of each, sometimes as three gardens and one orchard; these are additional to the small plots and gardens which went with the cottages.

The 15 messuages for Nash and Little Brampton is a fairly constant figure in the sixteenth century and corresponds with the estimated number of dwellings paying hearth tax in the second half of the seventeenth century, excluding those not taxed by reason of exemption for poverty, namely the smaller dwellings which would probably have figured as tofts.

There are, however, considerable complications in ascertaining exactly the number of cottages within the two manor boundaries. In the first place, the series of documents covering alienations is by no means complete, nor is it clear when a major transaction in what was apparently a manorial property unit took place, why sometimes many and sometimes very few cottages are included in the property schedule. There is also contemporaneously with the larger transactions a considerable number of alienations of small plots of land frequently with a dwelling which is probably one or other of these cottages. The two most complete deeds of 1569 and 1612 show surprising variations. The 1569 document gives Little Brampton, which nearly always in this context goes with Nash, as having 14 messuages, 12 cottages, and 16 tofts: if the Nash manor house itself is added the total is 15 messuages. In a transaction a few years before in which only a small parcel of land is involved there are 15 messuages in all, which corresponds precisely with the 15 messuages of 1612 and the estimated 15 dwellings paying the mid-seventeenth-century hearth tax for Nash and Little Brampton. But the 12 cottages of 1569 become only 4 in the 1612 transaction for Nash and Little Brampton combined; on the other hand, the 16 tofts of the earlier record

disappear in the 1612 record when instead 15 barns are listed. It seems that the tofts and barns in fact refer to the same structures, more especially as in the 1612 record no less than 15 gardens and 15 orchards appear. The 15 barns may well be what today would be called single-room buildings, with an outhouse, a plot of garden, and an orchard: by 1612 they came to be called and were perhaps used mainly as barns or folds. The only explanation of the reduction of the figure of 12 cottages to 4 is that the missing number of rather more permanent habitations with their own plots had, by the seventeenth century, become detached from the manors but were not yet valuable enough to pay hearth tax. If this were so, it would give us for Nash and Little Brampton together an inhabitation figure of 42 dwellings large and small, including those of the classes engaged in fulling, milling, smithy work, and carpentry. The present number of inhabited dwellings in Nash and Little Brampton, including the dwellings used by labour at Nash Quarries, is 14.

The stability of the number of cottages and tofts between the Elizabethan era and the Civil War was no doubt due to the Act of 1589 (31 Elizabeth, c. 7) which forbade the building of cottages without assigning to each 4 acres of land. This act, designed to safeguard commoners from hardship, remained in force till 1775 but was, with the connivance of the justices, evaded from its early days. The incidence of the act does, however, explain why so many agricultural cottages, the origin of which goes back to the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, were built on waste and bad land for which the justices could issue licences as paupers' dwellings.

The principal Little Brampton conveyances are: the transfer in 1543 of 580 acres, including the Nash land, to James and Elizabeth Vaughan, who in James I's reign also held land at Knill, by Walter ap Ryce (Price): followed by one in 1570 to Margaret Passey, widow, John ap Owen, and Joan his wife, of 280 acres at Little Brampton itself from Hardyng, Storre, Webbe, and their wives. In 1580 John ap Owen and his wife and Francis Owen were involved in a transaction in the same manor of another 210 acres from Weaver and Storre. Between 1570 and 1606 John and Francis Owen also

bought other small plots in Little Brampton and Nash, all of which transactions point to the Owen family accumulating land in Little Brampton. That the family had some wealth is borne out by the style of their monuments in Presteigne church and is confirmed by the estate valuations and the hearth tax return of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The individual transactions are difficult to follow on account of the inclusion in the deeds of lands other than those at Little Brampton itself, and also by reason of the fact that many of the deeds record nominal transactions in connexion with mortgages, doweries, and trusts without necessarily involving changes of actual occupation-ownership. It would be tempting to think that these Owens at Little Brampton were descended from the Sancto Audoeno-Saint Ouen family who were intermediate Lords of Nash under Stapleton within a century of Domesday. There is no evidence either way. The 1620-30 valuations give Little Brampton as worth £32 per annum for tax purposes, compared with The Rodd £65, Nash £30, Knill (the Walsham part) £66.

At Nash in the 1620-30 estate valuation a John Gough figures, while in the hearth tax return for 1671 a Richard Baugh paid tax on 5 hearths at Nash which had formerly been paid by Henry Pyefinch. There seems to be a possibility that Baugh is an error in transcription for the more usual name of Gough, though why Baugh/Gough did not pay hearth tax before 1671 is not clear, unless the Goughs owned Nash but were not living there. The Nash property in question must be that part of Nash manor which was not held by the Rodds or the Owens of Little Brampton and very likely corresponds to the smaller of the two Nash houses now known as Upper Nash or Little Nash. The larger Nash house, now called Nash Court, was no doubt the farm of the Lydes, namely of John Lyde of Nash who with, or as, John Lyde of Rodd, probably farmed the Nash lands owned by Gough, Pyefinch, and Rodd—in other words the manor farm of Nash. The occurrence of the names John Lyde of Nash and John Lyde of Rodd does not necessarily represent two different persons or families living at Nash and Rodd, though this may have been the case. It is more likely that John Lyde was tenant of both Nash and Rodd land, thus appearing

under different assessments in the two manors. The Lydes were substantial farmers and married to both Knills and Rodds. They were also settled in Knill, where a John Lyde was bailiff to Dame Katherine Gaines who was the widow of John Knill. He records on 25 June 1622¹ that: 'I did enclose all the lower end of Knill wood which was as much as I did sell two or three years after, which I do make known, unto all those that come after, that was more than I could lawfully do, but that it was by consent of the tenants, for which case I do register it, because it should be no precedent unto the Lords [of the Manor] which shall come after, to do the like, but only by consent of the tenants.' How much more careful and understanding was John Lyde, the seventeenth-century bailiff, than were so many landlords in the later centuries.

For Rodd the data in the mid and later sixteenth century is also obscure, but for the opposite reason that there are so many fewer alienations, except of small plots of land and small dwellings. In fact, the only conveyances of land in this period are the following:

(a) 1570 14 a. farmland } in Rodd from John Lyde Sen.
10 a. meadow } & Jun.: to William Passey
for £40

(b) 1580 29 a. farmland
3 a. meadow
40 a. pasture
17 a. wood
with a message
& orchard } in Rodd, Titley,
Staunton and
Presteigne parishes

from William Passey & Sybil, his wife,
to Thomas Tranter and Oliver Sayer

for £80

(c) 1587 a message and } in Rodd
unspecified land }

to John Weaver, free tenant
by the Stapleton Manor Court
for admission by service and fealty

¹ In the Knill Parish Register.

(d) 1594 unspecified meadow and }
farm land } in Rodd

from Thomas Tranter
to Richard Greenly & Sybil, his wife

for £40

(e) 1603 parcel of messuage and }
free land } in Rodd

from Stapleton Manor Court

for service and 2s. 10d. rent

to William Weaver, son of John Weaver dcd.

(f) 1611 60 a. farmland)
20 a. meadow)
40 a. pasture)
6 a. wood)
2 messuages)
2 cottages)
2 gardens)
2 orchards)

in Combe, Byton, Rodd,
Kinsham and 'Litetune'
(= ? Litton near Cascob)

from Walter Fletcher
to Thomas Fletcher

for £80

(g) 1609 10 a. farmland)
10 a. meadow)
10 a. pasture)
2 a. wood)

in Rodd and Presteigne

between Richard Rodd
and James Rodd and
William Passey

for £41

(h) 30 a. land)
30 a. pasture)
6 a. meadow)
10 a. wood)
a messuage)
an orchard)
2 barns)

in Rodd

from John Lyde and Katharine, his wife
to Thomas Knyll and Robert Collins
for unspecified consideration, probably in trust.

Of these (b), (f), and (g) concern lands in several manors with only a small part in Rodd itself; (c) and (e) are confirmations to a free tenant by the manor court of a particular small holding. This holding went through John Havard by the right of Anne, his wife, the daughter of John Weaver, for the same rent and service in 1592 before finally passing to William Weaver.¹ The small $3\frac{1}{2}$ -acre field under Rodd Wood on Bron Lane, O.S. 253, is called Weavers. It had a large oak growing half-way along its western hedge. The oak was felled and used at The Rodd in the years subsequent to 1945. When its stump and roots were finally cleared away ten years later, the plough brought up a lot of roughly dressed building stone: doubtless the remnants of the Weavers' message on their free land. (d) seems to be connected with (b), and, if this is the case, refers to certain lands on the edge of Rodd bordering on Titley and Staunton parishes, almost certainly on the slopes of Wapley, where the Greenly family still owns land at and around the present farms at Ashley Vallet, and perhaps Highland. The former is in Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton parish, the latter in Staunton-on-Arrow parish. Since Sybil Greenly was the widow of William Passey,² these transactions also were family businesses. (h) alone looks like a major transaction but may be a family settlement on trust rather than a real sale.³

In an entry of 1579 in the Stapleton Court Rolls⁴ an Edward Rodd figures as a free tenant holding a capital messuage called 'Hieghe Land with lands, feedings, pastures, woods, underwood and appurtenances in the vill of Waxle by Knight service, viz. ward marriage, herriot, relief, suit of court and 12s. 10d. rent'. The same Edward Rodd held to farm 1 acre in the vill of Nash accrued by the death of John Lyde of Nash and the minority of his son John for a rent of 12d. per annum. As recorded in the Subsidy Rolls, Edward

¹ Stapleton Court Rolls, 24 Eliz., and cf. above, p. 182.

² Stapleton Court Rolls, 34 Eliz.

³ References are to Feet of Fines except where otherwise stated: the Stapleton Court Roll is in Hereford Library. (a) CP 25(2), 132, 15 Eliz.; (b) CP 25(2), 22/23 Eliz.; (c) Stapleton Court Rolls 29 Eliz.; (d) CP 25(2), 124, 36 Eliz.; (e) CP 25(2), 300, 5 Jac. I; (f) CP 25(2), 300, 6 Jac. I; (g) CP 25(2), 300, 9 Jac. I.

⁴ Stapleton Court Rolls, 21 Eliz. For this holding see also p. 194, below.

Rodd seems to have been a contemporary of Hugh Rodd, of whom more hereafter. The name Waxle which appears from time to time can only be a careless transcription for Wapley on the slopes of which is Highland Farm.

The same series of entries records a holding by John Lyde of Nash of four 'sellions' of ploughland in 'Le Meregreve adjoining Hugh Rodd in the east' for rent 3*d.*, relief 3*d.*, and service. The only interest in this otherwise quite unimportant entry is in the name 'Le Meregreve' which seems to echo the name of the parcel, O.S. 136, now known as Myrax or till recently Mere Oaks, a wet patch of rough pasture south of Rodd Hurst. There are also some references to members of the Rodd family in Pembridge as, for instance, in 1570 to 'Margery Rode', a widow, who is party to a transaction in land there.¹

In sum total these land records so far as The Rodd is concerned do not amount to anything very much. They point to The Rodd lands having remained in stable ownership of various members of the family during the sixteenth century and the early years of the seventeenth century.

Some additional information can be obtained by working backwards from a later document. On 15 August 1635 an inquisition² was held in the city of Hereford on the death and estate of Richard Rodd of The Rodd who had died in 1633. He had two sons, Richard and James, by his wife, the daughter of Richard Savery of Totnes, Co. Devon. The elder Richard Rodd also resided at Totnes in Devonshire where he was alderman in 1620.³ He died possessed in Herefordshire of 'one capital messuage called Rodd with divers buildings, barns, stables, gardens and orchards belonging thereto, and one water corn mill: and of 40 acres of arable, 120 a. meadow, 80 a. arable land and pasture, and 20 a. of wood'; and 40 acres of arable land and pasture purchased of John Bradshawe⁴ but lately in the tenure of Richard Rodd himself, and also of the tithes of grain and hay thereupon.

¹ *F.F. CP* 25(2), 132, 12 Eliz.

² *I.P.M.* 11 Car. I, E. 142/529/122.

³ For the Rodd connexions in Totnes, see above, p. 170.

⁴ See above, p. 172, and below, Chap. VIII, pp. 237 et seq.

All this land, including the Bradshawe parcel, was held of Sir Gilbert Cornwall as of his manor of Stapleton by fealty, suit of court, and yearly rent: it was worth in all yearly issues 50s. plus 3s. 4d. for the Bradshawe parcel. In addition, the deceased Richard Rodd had 40 acres of land and pasture in New Radnor purchased of Price Lewis, lately in the tenure of Thomas Tudman and held of the bailiff and burgesses of New Radnor by fealty only, and not in chief or by knight's service, and worth yearly 2s. 6d. He also had a messuage and 'divers lands' in Kingsland held of the king as of his manor in Kingsland in free and common soccage and worth yearly 25s.

The jurors at the inquisition found that Richard was the eldest son and heir of Richard Rodd deceased and was aged 24 and occupied The Rodd at the time of the ascertainment, while his younger brother James, of Totnes, to whom Richard Rodd left the Kingsland and New Radnor lands, was also in occupation of these parcels. In 1634 there is record of an agreement between Richard and his younger brother James which conforms with the terms of their father's will proved by the inquisition of 1635. In this agreement Richard received not only The Rodd but also the manor of Nether Kinsham, otherwise known as 'Kings Meadoe'. Certain monies, loans, chattels, and cattle, together with lands in Devon and at Leominster and Breinton in Herefordshire went to James, as well as the parcels at Kingsland and New Radnor referred to in the inquisition.¹ The will is quite specific in referring to the property as a house and land at or in Kingsland and held of the king's manor of Kingsland. Later papers refer equally specifically to Richard Rodd's son, Richard the younger, having land at Lower Kinsham in the parish of Presteigne. There is no doubt, in spite of the possibility of confusion because of the similarity of the names Kingsland and Kinsham, that two quite different properties are involved. The Kingsland parcel which went to James disappears from sight: not so the Kinsham estate.²

¹ From a deed in the Carless inventory, see p. 254 below. See also the transaction relating to land at Nether Kinsham referred to in the footnotes to pp. 193 and 257.

² See in particular Chap. VIII, pp. 253 et seq., for the Kinsham story.

A survey of the Honour of Wigmore dated 1585¹ shows that the first Richard Rodd also had a croft at Boresford which lay 'near Mr. Cornwall's land of Stapleton' in the manor of Lugharnes. There is no reference to such a holding in Richard Rodd's will.

The Richard Rodd who died in 1633 was the son of Hugh Rodd and Margaret, daughter of Watkins Price of Nash. Hugh Rodd or de la Rode died in 1602 or 1603 and was buried in Presteigne.² Hugh Rodd or de la Rode in turn was the son of the Jenkyn a Rode or Jenkyn Rodd who died on 8 October 1546.³ In his will Jenkyn, after bequeathing his house and lands to his son Hugh on condition that he should discharge certain debts, left to his other children Peter, Margaret, and Joan four oxen, two kine, two calves, four swine, his wain, the grass in the fields and movable goods. The executors of this will were Edward Rodd and Harry Wellington. Peter Rodd is not otherwise known. Joan may be the person of the 1543 assessment. The executor Edward Rodd is quite evidently the relation who figures as heavily assessed in 1581-97 and as the free tenant of Highland in the Stapleton Court Roll 1579.⁴

In addition to Richard, Hugh de la Rode apparently had five other sons and one daughter, namely Walter, John, William, Hugh, James,⁵ and Elizabeth.

Richard Rodd's estate was evidently the property which his father Hugh de la Rode held. His name figures in the Elizabethan tax rolls for the Hindwell Valley manors, but in these rolls Edward Rodd's assessments were higher than Hugh's. Both these names disappear after the third assessment of 1597: nevertheless, on the next roll of 1609 Walter Rodd begins to figure as a taxpayer on land on the same scale as Hugh and Edward, and ceases to figure with the third 1628 assessment. There is then no available Subsidy Roll till 1640. Walter Rodd died in 1631, that is before

¹ Manuscript in the possession of Mr. F. C. Morgan of the Woolhope Club, Hereford Public Library.

² Presteigne Parish Register.

³ Above, p. 181. Hereford Probate Records: E. J. L. Cole, in *Trs. Rad. Soc.*, vol. xxv.

⁴ See above, p. 189.

⁵ Christened James Price Rodd after his mother's family.

Richard who made the 1633 will. He was buried like Hugh Rodd *in templo*,¹ that is in a place of importance in the church. It seems fairly clear that Walter the contemporary and brother of Richard succeeded their father Hugh in the ownership of The Rodd estate, but on predeceasing² his younger brother the property passed to the latter. Apart from the strong presumptive evidence of the Subsidy Rolls, in a deed of 1608 covering the sale of some land to Hugh Smith of Foxley, Walter Rodd is specifically described as 'of Rodd'.³ Foxley is in Yazor parish nearer Hereford, where a large property eventually came into the Rodd family by purchase.⁴

Walter Rodd had an extraordinarily unlucky family with a child mortality remarkable even in this age of plagues and epidemics. He had eleven children of whom only one, Symon, described as 'of London' survived to reach his majority; even he died, without progeny, in 1639 at the early age of 27. It can be inferred that he was such a 'bad life' that his father left the family property to his own brother Richard instead of to his son. Walter Rodd, incidentally also described as 'of London', seems to have moved to London in the closing years of Queen Elizabeth's reign when the metropolis was becoming a great centre of attraction to so many people.

The identification of the 300 acres of The Rodd land held by Richard Rodd who died in 1633 is fairly easy. The estate was approximately the area of The Rodd Farm today, excluding the 40-50 acres of woodland called Rodd Wood which seems until much later to have remained in the superior manor hands;⁵ and excluding also two meadows north of the Hindwell at Rodd Bridge⁶ and the block of something over 90 acres lying south of Rodd Hurst and

¹ Presteigne Parish Register.

² In 1628 one John Wigmore purchased land in Nether Kinsham with money borrowed from — Rodd and Richard Rodd who was then still living in Devon. The first of these two was probably Walter (from the Carless inventory cf. p. 191).

³ According to one of the deeds in the Carless inventory.

⁴ See pp. 265 et seq below.

⁵ In the 1844 tithe assessment this wood was still not in the occupation of the farm tenant of Rodd.

⁶ These topographically go to Nash manor.

Rodd Wood between the Presteigne–Kington Road and the parish boundary.

	<i>Approximate acreage</i>
Present area of The Rodd farmland and woods	480
deduct Rodd Wood	50
„ block of land south of Rodd Hurst	90
	140
	340
Deduct two meadows north of Hindwell at Rodd Bridge known to have been more recently added to the farm .	20
	320
Deduct cottage plots, gardens, and orchards at The Rodd and Little Rodd	15
	305
Leaving the main block equivalent to Hugh Rodd's estate of The Rodd	<u>305</u>

The Edward Rodd known to have held the messuage and land called Highland on the slopes of Wapley Hill in 1579, paid subsidy for lands in Rodd as well.¹ These are certainly that block of 90 acres south of Rodd Hurst which adjoin the farms at Ashley Vallet and Highland and today are included in The Rodd Farm. By the size of his assessment Edward Rodd's holding probably in fact included both farms at Highland and Ashley Vallet as well as the 90 acres described. What relation he was to Hugh Rodd, the father of Richard who died in 1633, is not recorded, nor is it known whether or not he at one time owned The Rodd itself, as is possible. It may, however, conveniently be supposed that Edward and Hugh were brothers. What is clear is that the main block of land which today constitutes the principal land of The Rodd Farm is the 300 acres of Richard, the son of Hugh, Rodd's estate—even the 20 acres of woodland correspond very reasonably with the area, O.S. 251, known as Crow's Moor and Conjuror's Plock behind Rodd Hurst (12½ acres) and Myrax or Mere Oaks (8 acres)—and that the

¹ See Subsidy Rolls for 1541–75 and 1581–97 in Appendix II, pp. 202 and 204.

balance of the Rodd Farm was apparently owned by another Rodd, namely Edward.

Prior to the Subsidy Roll entries under the names of Hugh and Edward de Rode in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, there are three entries in the Henry VIII lists which are relevant. These are for 'goods' assessments: but we know that an entry under 'goods' did not preclude a holding of land. In 1543 Walter ap Rees is assessed on 500s. 'goods', a considerable sum of money, and again in Edward VI's time in 1548, 1549, and 1551 William ap Rhys is assessed for 200s. in goods, in both reigns the entries being for The Rodd and Nash areas combined: but Walter ap Ryce was evidently at Nash and not at Rodd for in 1543 he sold the manors of Nash and Little Brampton to James Vaughan and Elizabeth, his wife, together with 100s. in rent in Nash, Little Brampton, Willey, Presteigne, Oatcroft, and Rodd. The two manors consisted of a messuage in possession, a watermill, a fulling mill, 300 acres of ploughland, 40 acres of meadow, 100 acres of pasture, 100 acres of wood, and 40 acres of heath.¹ Again in 1550 Walter ap Rees bought from Thomas Vaughan 40 acres of pasture, 30 acres of ploughland, and 4 acres of wood in Lower Harpton and Rushock.² Now Hugh de la Rode's wife Margaret was the daughter of Watkyns Price (= ap Rees or ap Rhys) of Nash, assessed under that name in 1559 and clearly of the same family if not the same man as the Walter or William ap Rhys of the Edward VI and Henry VIII 'goods' assessments of a few years earlier. Again, the Lydes of Nash and of Rodd, who at any rate a few years later held quite a lot of land at Nash, were in the Henry VIII assessments taxed on 'goods'.

In Henry VIII's reign there are three other entries which bear on The Rodd lands. They are Joan [*sic*] a Rode, (—) John of Rode, and William (—) for 120s. in 1543, 33s. 4d. in 1545, and 140s. in 1545. Joan is as certainly John, as John a Lyde of Rode in 1545 is clearly the Joan Alyde of 1543. That John's assessment dropped to 33s. 4d., one-third of 100s., is explicable by reason of his having a third share in property worth 100s. in company with other relations whose

¹ F.F. 35 Hy. VIII, CP 25(2), 15/87, No. 27.

² F.F. 4 Edw. VI, CP 25(2), 58/428.

individual shares were below 20s. and so not recorded. The William (—)'s property worth 140s. is obviously that of William or Walter Rodd or both who in 1542 held tithes at Rodd and Nash, the fate of which is known¹ since William Rodd of Nash sold them to John Bradshawe, of which more will be written in the next chapter.

It thus seems clear that in the middle sixteenth century there were four Rodds, Edward, Hugh the father of Richard, William, and Walter, who all held land and landed revenues in the area comprised between but including Wapley, Rodd, and Nash. These William and Walter Rodd are not the same as the Walter and William who were the sons of Hugh de la Rode the father of Richard Rodd I whose will and inheritance have been described. The elder Walter and William may, with Edward, have been brothers of Hugh de la Rode. Nothing much is known about them beyond the fact that a Walter Rodd was buried at Presteigne in 1603 and a William Rodd in 1606, while an Edward Rodd had a son James who was christened in 1583. As will appear later, the constant use of a limited number of Christian names in successive generations, and even in the same generation, makes for a great deal of confusion.

While this is a suitable point at which to close the account of the Hindwell Valley manors and families during the sixteenth century, it may be recorded, as will be developed in a later chapter, that by the end of this period the Rodds also owned the land of what is Wegnal Farm across the Hindwell and just in Presteigne parish. The corn watermill at Wegnal driven by a leat which takes off from the river at the weir at Rodd Bridge lies just within the parish of Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton. The mill leat and overflow channel here are the boundary between England and Wales. The corn watermill which is still in working order and used in the 1930's was the mill of The Rodd manor which had its smithy at Rodd Hurst, now the parish hall. In common with all the other Hindwell Valley manors, The Rodd had its mill and forge, and its quota of water meadows, brush land, and woods, to make of each of them a self-contained agricultural unit. Only at The Rodd is there no trace of

¹ See below, Chap. VII, pp. 231, 236 et seq.

fulling mills such as are recorded at Nash and Little Brampton. There is, however, near the river at Wegnal what seems to have been a flax retting tank. Access to Wegnal Mill is easiest from the Welsh side of the river today, but it must have been a very desirable property to the holders of The Rodd land. An old cobbled, or as it is locally called, a 'pitched', track leads from The Rodd homestead to Wegnal, crossing the river by a stretch of hard gravel bottom. The lower part of this track has now been usurped by the river itself, in the bed of which old pitching survives. From Wegnal the track led across the Clatretune manor lands to Presteigne. The first recorded Rodd owner of Wegnal was Hugh Rodd son of Hugh de la Rode and brother of the elder Richard Rodd. He is known in documents as Hugh Rodd of Wegnal to distinguish him from the earlier Hugh de la Rode.

Behind the Hugh de la Rode who died in 1602/3, a conveyance of 1553 gives the information that he was the son of Jenkyn. This conveyance is in the brief and somewhat rare 'Phillip and Mary' series of deeds.¹

Of the other Rodd properties at Boultibrook near Presteigne, in Pembridge² and in Kingsland, nothing further is recorded. The story of the property at Kinsham is dealt with later for it figures largely in events which occurred during the Civil War and Commonwealth.³

From the Subsidy Rolls of the sixteenth century, the Presteigne Parish Registers which begin in 1564, and certain deeds and entries in the Feet of Fines, it is thus possible to establish the ownership of The Rodd lands in the Rodd family, as well as certain other ownerships in the adjoining manors of Nash and Little Brampton during the sixteenth century.

¹ Phillip and Mary (1553): Hugh, son and heir of Jenkyn, conveys to Wm. Traunter and John King, as trustees, all my land and tenement in Rode 'in the dominion of Lugharnes' (Carless series, see p. 181).

² Some small transactions are recorded in *F.F.* The references to *F.F.* in connexion with transactions in this chapter generally are given in App. II after the tables of subsidy and tax.

³ See Chap. VIII, pp. 234-7 et seq.

APPENDIX I TO CHAPTER VII

Rode in Cheshire

ON the Staffordshire border of Cheshire in the Hundred of Northwich is the township of Odrode or Little Morton cum Rode composed of the two Saxon manors of Moreton and Rode. It lies under the line of hills which mark the Staffordshire border and formerly were a part of the forests of Leek and Macclesfield. The manors were granted to the Norman Hugh de Mara, predecessor of the Barons of Montalt, and William Fitz Nigel of Halton. The Domesday entry reads 'Hugo et Willelmus tenent, de comite, Rode. Godric et Ravesva pro II maneriis tenuerunt, et liberi homines fuerunt. Ibi I hida geldabilis. Terra est III carucatae. Wasta est praeter quod unus radman habet sub eis . . . carucatae dimidium. Valet II solidos. T. R. E. valebat XX solidos. Silva ibi II leuis longa et una lata et II haiae et aira accipitis'—another case of a manor almost completely gone to waste.

According to the historian Ormerod, Rode gave its name to the family of Rode which was settled here in the reign of King John or of an early successor. The first documented Rode was Hugh, son of Michael de Rode, who granted by charter his right to a moiety of the township of Rode to Geoffrey de Lostoc who was still living in 1278:¹ but by tradition the family was already settled there before that date.

Before Michael de Rode, whose father was reputed also to have been called Hugh or Hugo, pedigrees in the author's possession give a William and another Hugo as his forebears, but these entries are probably due to misinterpretation of the Domesday entry. These two, Hugh and William, in fact are probably the Hugh de Mara and William Fitz Nigel, the grantees of the manors of Morton and Rode. Ormerod does not record any earlier de Rode than Michael from whom the pedigree for this note starts.

The township of Rode, the moiety of which was granted by Hugh de Rode to Geoffrey de Lostoc, was 'of the fee of Halton, William Fitz Nigel's grant' and the consideration was a pair of white gloves and a halfpenny for all services.

Graham, son of Geoffrey de Lostoc, later made a grant of land in Woodhouses to Thomas, son of Robert de Rode, which Thomas regranted to him by deed. Graham de Lostoc also occurs in another

¹ Plea Rolls, 44 Hy. III (1260).

deed whereby John, son of Stephen de Swettendam quit-claimed to him under the name of Geoffrey de Moreton 'totum dominium suum et serviarum et jus suum in medietate de Rode'. The connexion between the families de Lostoc (or Moreton) and de Rode seems to have been very close for Richard de Moreton, son of Graham, had a grant of land by deed from his uncle Richard, son of Geoffrey, and makes a grant in Odrode and Moseley to Robert, son of Thomas de Rode. After another transaction with Thomas de Bredenall in 1330, he grants to Richard son of Robert de Rode certain land 'cum licentia levandi unum asterium ignale et cum licentia capiendi turbes, petas et rotes pro predicto asteris in mossetis de Rode'.

Hugh de Rode's grandson Thomas, son of Robert, also living in the time of Henry III and of Hugh de Audley, Justiciary of Cheshire, is described in a deed quit-claiming to Richard fil. Graham de Lostoc, free common lands in Rode. Hugh de Rode is described as Dominus Medietatis of Rode, a description traditionally also ascribed to his ancestors.¹ This quit-claim excepted Thomas's and Thomas's tenants' rights in turbaries and free common, his own park, and his own lands in cultivation.

Richard de Rode is mentioned in a commission of 1403² to collect such part of the subsidy of 3,000 marks granted to Henry, Prince of Wales, as fell to Northwich Hundred. He is again mentioned three years later together with Sir William de Brereton and others in a commission to collect and conduct men-at-arms and archers to the Marches of Wales for defence against the Welsh. It is possible that two different Richard de Rodes are here concerned.

In the fifteenth century Thomas de Rode occurs in several documents. One commission of 1443 is to arrest Hugh de Lee; other commissions up to 1449 include a general pardon to him and others 'in consideration of the good service of the said Thos. Fyton, Kt. and his adherents at Blore heath': finally, there is a document of 1464 to collect subsidy in the hundred.

In this reign the de Rodes may have lost Rode for a time, since in 1464 Thomas de Rode and Richard Clyve are recorded as having obtained of Thomas Wilbraham and Margery his wife 'the manor of Rode, 12 messuages, 20 tofts, 600 acres of land, 30 of meadow, 10 of wood, 12 of turbarry and 1000 of pasture in Rode'.³ This is probably the same Thomas de Rode as the one mentioned above, and sometimes described as Thomas de Rode senior of Odrode, who on 20 November 1483 divested himself of all his

¹ Plea Rolls, 5-6 Echo. II; Recog. Rolls, 10 Edw. II; Moreton deeds.

² Temp. Hy. IV.

³ Plea Rolls, 3 Edw. III.

estate in favour of his eldest son, as the latter did four days later in favour of his son, Thomas junior.

In 1514 an award was made by Sir William Brereton between William Moreton and Thomas Rode of Rode. The dispute had been remitted to Brereton by George Bromley, Lieutenant Justice of Chester, and concerned 'which should sit highest in the Church and foremost goo in procession'. After consulting twelve of the foremost men in the parish of Astbury in which Rode then was included,¹ Brereton awarded 'the honour to the gentleman that may dispende in lands by title of inheritance 10 marks or above more than the other'. No fool, Sir William Brereton!

In the reign of Elizabeth a still younger Thomas, the son of the second Thomas ('junior') just mentioned, was collector of mise in the hundred and in 1582 bought the Hall of Lee from Randolphe Lee of Stonydowe, county of Stafford. This is obviously the Hall of Leigh of Henry VIII's and Elizabeth's reigns which was then held 'by Rannus (Randolphus) Rode de Rode', 'armiger and frank tenant' of the manor of Lawton.

But there is another inquisition of² 1583 which refers to two messuages in Bridgnorth bought by Randle [*sic*] Rode of Henry, late Lord Stafford, and left by Randle to Dorothy his wife. On her death this property passed to her son Richard Rode, then aged 30.

By an inquisition in 1610³ after the death of Randle Rode Esq. in 1609, a moiety of the manor of Odrode was found to be held by him by military service from Henry Mainwaring of Kermincham and to be worth £5 per annum.

Finally in 1669 Thomas Wilbraham of Townsend purchased the property from Randle Rode who had been found by a previous inquisition in 1663 to have been the heir of his grandfather as to his moiety. Thereafter Rode became the seat of a line of Wilbrahams in whose possession it still is.

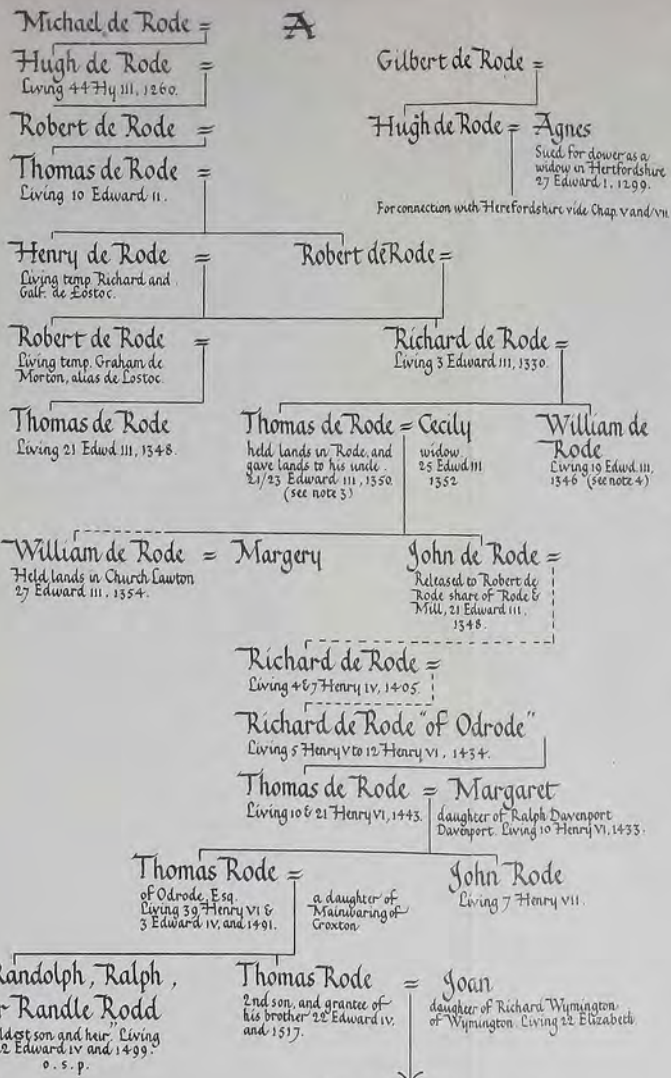
So much for the de Rodes at Rode.

Rode Hall, as it is now known, was rebuilt with 'extensive additions and improvements' early in the nineteenth century. A number of tombs of the de Rode family exist in Astbury church near Congleton and as lately as in 1727 a Thomas Rode was presented to the living. The churchwardens of Astbury are nominated by the *praepositi* of the parish, of whom two normally function in rotation from the panel which consists of the mayor of Congleton and the owners of the Halls of Brereton (formerly in the parish),

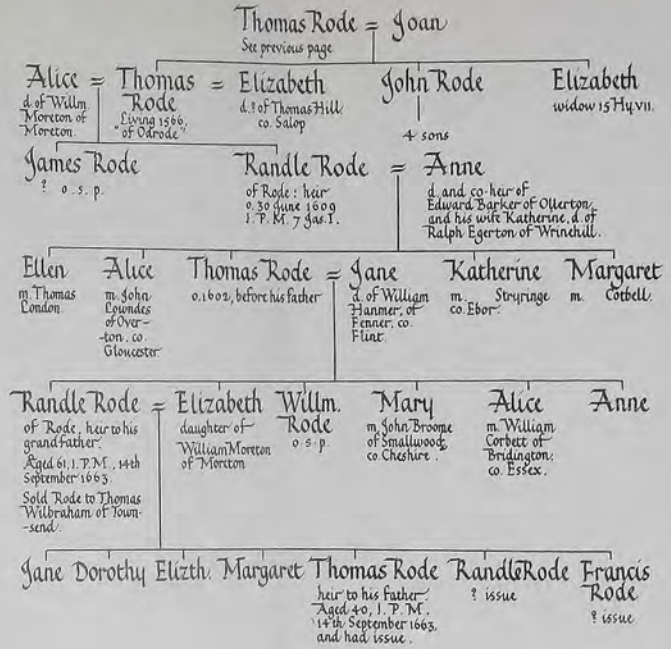
¹ Rode is now a separate parish of more modern creation.

² *I.P.M.* 6 Apr. 25 Eliz.

³ *I.P.M.* 28 Apr., 7 Jac. I.



RODE of CHESHIRE.
B



See right half of this sheet at B.

Authority: vide note at end of Appendix 1 to Chapter 7.

Davenport, Eaton, Great Moreton, Little Moreton, Somerford, and Odrode.

The church has a very remarkable carved and ornamented oak roof dating from 1616 and 1617 bearing the name of 'Richard Lounes, Carpenter'. On the sides are the arms of some of the *praepositi* at the time of the erection, notably those of John Davenport, Phillip Oldfield, Randolph Rode, Edward Bellott (mayor of Congleton), and William Leversage.

The coat of the de Rodes of Rode in Cheshire is interesting as indicating the connexion with the Herefordshire de la Rodes or Rodds. The blazon is 'Argent two trefoils slipped vert, a chief sable' with as crest 'on a wreath a wolf's head coupéd sable gorged with a ribband argent'.¹ The only difference from the Hereford, Cornwall, and Devon Rodds is that in Cheshire the trefoils were vert instead of sable. The North Rhode in Macclesfield Hundred apparently never had any connexion either with Odrode or the Rodé family. The Domesday entry 'Bigot tenet Rodo! Bewulf tenuit et liber homo fuit . . .' shows a completely different and separate holding which temp. Edward II was in the Mainwaring family.

Note: The information in this appendix is derived mainly from Ormerod's *History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, vol. iii, edn. 1882, pp. 46-53, with the exception of the transaction relating to houses in Bridgnorth, the reference to which is in P.R.O. C. 142/276/524; certain other information is also derived from the *Victoria County History*. Only the principal original authorities quoted by Ormerod are reproduced. Ormerod's authorities for the pedigree are from Plea Rolls (first two names), Moreton deeds (next four names), and for the rest from Booth's Pedigrees collated with *I.P.M.*, Plea & Recog. Rolls, Visitations, &c.

¹ Cf. above, p. 171.

APPENDIX II TO CHAPTER VII

- (a) Subsidy roll abstracts from 33 Hy. VIII to 17 Car. I.
 (b) Estate valuations 1620-30.
 (c) Hearth tax abstracts 1664-71.
 (d) References to authorities from which abstracts have been made.

(a) *Parishes of Knill and Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton: Henry VIII*

Assessment in shillings on Lands and Goods by manors, 'on persons having goods, chattels or lands worth 20 shillings or more yearly'.

Name	1541	1543	1543	1545	L or G	Manor	Remarks
John Knylle, gent.	100	300	300		L	Knill	Temp. Edw. VI, 'G'
William Wollot		40			G	"	
John Edwards	Fragmentary	40		Incomplete	G	"	
Richard Mullyner		40			G	"	
Morgan Mason		60			G	"	
Jenkyn Stephens		100			G	"	
William ap John	Fragmentary	?100			G	"	
Hugh Massey senior	100	220		160	G	Brampton	
Hugh Massey junior	100	300		500	G	"	
Hugh Brome		40			G	"	Temp. Edw. VI, 'L'
Phillip Thomas		100			G	"	
Richard Thomas		60		Incomplete	G	"	
William Thomas	Fragmentary	40			G	"	
William Passy senior		100			G	"	
William Passy junior	Fragmentary	240		Incomplete	G	"	Temp. Edw. VI, 'L'
Agneta Passy senior Wid.		100			G	"	
Agneta Passy junior Wid.	Fragmentary	60			G	"	
John Passy				20	G	"	
Richard Sherman		20		20	G & L	"	
Walter Sherman		40			G	"	
Edward Holle	100	600			G	Rodd & Nash	'Holle' may well = Rode
William Holle				100	G	"	
Joan (?John) Rode		120			G	"	
(—) John of Rode				33/4	L	"	
William (—)				140	G	"	
William (a) Lyde		240		100	G	"	
Richard Alyde		500		100	G	"	
Joan (?John) Alyde		60			G	"	
Richard Lyde of Rode				40	L	"	
John a Lyde of Rode				20	L	"	
Walter ap Rees		500			G	"	
Roger Passy		100			G	"	
John ap Perry		80		20	G	"	
Richard Storre		20			G	"	
Hugh Myryke		160			G	"	
Anthony Sadler			500	100	G	"	
Richard St(urte)				20	L	"	
Alice (Audo), Wid.				26/8	L	"	

Notes:

- (1) Totals payable on assessments:
 1541—Fragmentary record.
 1543 (i) 63s. 10d.; incomplete.
 1543 (ii) 14s. 10d. Knill; 86s. 10d. Rodd & Brampton; Nash missing.
 1545 38s. 8d. Knill; Rodd, Nash & Brampton (incomplete) 53s. 4d.
- (2) John Knylle, Esq., (*sic*) Commissioner for Subsidy, Co. Radnor, 1543 and 1545
- (3) Edward and William Holle look suspiciously like Edward and William (or Walter) Rodd, see above, p. 196, and, for Edward, assessments in Eliz. 1581-97 below.

Parishes of Knill and Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton: Edward VI

Assessments for relief on Lands and Goods in shillings.

Name	1548	1549	1551	L or G	Manor	Remarks
John Knylle	400	400		G	Knill	Now 'G'; temp. Hy. VIII, 'L'
William Jones	200	200		G	"	
Hugh Massy	200	200	200	L	Brampton	? 'Junior', cf. Hy. VIII when 'G'
William Passy junior	Incomplete	200	Incomplete	L	"	Now 'L'; temp. Hy. VIII, 'G'
Roger Passy	Incomplete	200	Incomplete	G	Rodd & Nash	
William a Lyde	Incomplete	200	Incomplete	G	" "	
William ap Rhys	200	200	200	G	" "	
Anthony Sadler	200	200	200	G	" "	

Note: Totals payable: 1548: 30s. incomplete record
 1549: 90s.
 1551: 30s. incomplete record

Parishes of Knill and Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton: Elizabeth I

Assessments on Lands and Goods in shillings.

Name	1559	1571	1581	1589	1589	1597	1597	1597	L or G	Manor	Remarks
John Knyll, gent. . . .	400			80	80			80	L	Knill & Herton	Knill & Lower Harpton assessed together
Matilda Knyll	40								L	"	
Francis Knyll, gent. . . .		280	200	120	120	80	80		L	"	
John ap Rice		40	80						G	"	
Roger a Lyde						?		20	?	"	
Edward Johns						60	60	60	G	"	
Edward Byknore		40							L	"	
William Bilmore		?							?	"	
Edward Bilmore		?							?	"	
Hugh Bull		40							L	"	
William Bull			60	20	40	?	40	40	L	"	
Edward Jones		20			80				LG	"	
Jenkyn Hobbe		20							L	"	
Eliz. Saveacre, Wid. . . .		60	?						G	"	
William Saveacre			?						?	"	
David Tylour		20							?	"	
William Tylour				20	20				L	"	
John William alias Tylour						20	20	20	L	"	
John Mills		20							L	"	
Edward ap William			Incomplete	20	20				L	"	
Stephen James				20	20	?	20	20	L	"	
Ralph Gaighe				20	20	20	20		GL	"	
Isaac ap Evan (or Jevan)				60	20	?	20	20	G	"	
Edward Hoddall						20	20	20	L	"	
Edward Goz								20	?	"	

Notes:

- (1) Totals payable on assessments: 58/8 | 66/- 51/8 | 25/8 | 56/- | 52/- | 56/-
 (2) The 1559 assessment only carries the name of Knills

Parishes of Knill and Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton: Elizabeth I (cont.)

Name	1559	1571	1581	1589	1589	1597	1597	1597	L or G	Manors	Remarks
Hugh Massy .	?								GL	Rodd, Nash & Brampton	Whole parish taken together Formerly under Brampton
Edward Massy .		20	60	60	60				L	"	Massys formerly under Brampton
Francis Massy .						40	40	40	L	"	" "
Hugh Passy .	20								L	"	Passys formerly under Brampton
John Passy .			20						L	"	" "
Walter Thomas .		20		20	20				L	"	Thomas formerly under Brampton
Richard Thomas .						20	20	20	L	"	" "
Hugh Rode .	?20	20	40	60	60	40	40	60	L	"	Rodd "
Edward Rode, ¹ gent.			160	100	100	60	60	60	L	"	"
Walter Rode ¹ .								20	—	"	"
John Lyde of Rode	20	20		80	80		20	20	L	"	"
John Lyde of Nash		20						40	LG	"	Nash
John a Lyde .			60						G	"	} Rodd & Nash
Hugh a Lyde .	?40								L	"	
Thomas Lyde .				20	20		20	20	L	"	
William Jones .	20								L	"	
William Lewes, gent.		200							L	"	Sole refer- ence, cf. under Knill 1625
Matthew Weaver .			60						G	"	} ? Same person Nash
John Bowen .			100						G	"	
John ap Owen .				40	40	40	40	40	L	"	
John Havard .						60	60	20	GL	"	
Roger Bowshott .								20	?	"	
Watkyn ap Rice .	160								G	"	
Marys or Maurice Brown		20	160	80	80	40	40	40	LG	"	
<i>Notes:</i>											
(1) Totals payable on assessment	46/-	42/8	62/-	53/4	28/-	56/-	64/-	56/-			
(2) Many of the names are identifiable with the particular manors stated from previous and other rolls.											

¹ See notes p. 194 and (3) p. 202.

Parishes of Knill and Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton: James I and Charles I Assessments on Lands and Goods in shillings.

<i>Name</i>	1609	1620	1623	1628	1628	1628	1640	1641	L or G	<i>Manors</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Charles Vaughan, gent.	40	80							L	Knill & Herton	Again taken together
Katharine Vaughan, Wid.			60	20	60	60	60	60	L	"	Noted as Recusant
John Walsham, gent.	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	L	"	Believed same person (see pedigree)
John ap Rice or Pryce, gent.									L	"	
Roger Lyde	20	40	40						L	"	
John Lyde				40	40	40	40	40	L	"	
Edward Jones	60	20	20		20				L	"	'Goods' in 1609 only
Anna Jones		20	20	20	20				L	"	
Isaac ap Jevan	20								L	"	
Thomas Book, gent. . .		40	40	40	40	40		60	L	"	Probably same person
Thomas Bull, gent. . .							80		L	"	
Edward Hoddal	20								L	"	
Thomas ap Powell . . .	20	20							L	"	
David Morris		20							L	"	
Elinour Morries, Wid.			20	20	20	20			L	"	Evidently same family
Stephen Morrys							20	20	L	"	
John Groyn			20	20	20	20			L	"	
John Lewes, gent. . .						40			L	"	In Eliz. under Rodd, Nash & Brampton
John Mathias							40		L	"	Tenant of above
Ralph Lyngen, gent. . .										"	Noted as Recusants by deed poll
Elizabeth Lyngen . . .										"	

Notes:

- (1) Totals payable . 15/- 40/- 56/- 136/- 68/- 68/- 145/- 120/-
- (2) All assessments except one for 1609 now on 'Land'.
- (3) The recusant Katharine Vaughan usually paid twice as much.

Parishes of Knill and Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton: James I and Charles I
(cont.)

Name	1609	1620	1623	1628	1628	1628	1640	1641	L or G	Manor	Remarks
										Rodd Nash & Brampton	Whole parish taken together
Francis Massy .	40								L	"	
Thomas Massy .				40	40	40	40	40	L	"	Probably Brampton
William Passy .	20	20							L	"	"
Elinour Passy, Wid.			20	20					L	"	"
Tamburlaine Passy.							20		L	"	"
John Passy .								20	L	"	"
Richard Thomas .	20								L	"	"
James Thomas .		20	20	20					L	"	"
Francis Owen, gent.	40						40	40	L	"	} Known from other sources as of Little Brampton
John Owen, gent. .		40	40	40	40	40			L	"	
Walter Rodd .	60	40	60	60	60	60		20	L	"	Rodd
William Rodd .		60					40		L	"	"
Richard Rodd, gent.							60	100	L	"	"
John Lyde of Rodd	20			20	20		20	20	L	"	"
Richard Lyde of Rodd		20	20			20			L	"	"
John Lyde of Nash	40	60	60	60	60	60			L	"	Nash
William Weaver .	20	20	20	20	20	20	20		L	"	"
John Weaver .								20	L	"	"
Maurice Brown .	40								L	"	"
Margaret Brown .		40			20				L	"	"
John Brown .				40	40	20	20	20	L	"	"
Thomas Stead .	20	20							L	"	"
Joan Stead .							20	20	L	"	"
Barbara Kyrby, Wid. .	40								L	"	"
John Connop. .					60	60	60	100	G	"	Only assess- ment on 'goods'
James Daley, gent.	20	20	20						L	"	} New names on roll, and then disappear
John Gyttoes, gent.		40	40						L	"	
<i>Note:</i> Totals payable on assessment .	25/4	56/-	68/-	128/-	64/-	64/-	128/-	146/8			

(b) Summary of Valuations of estates 1620-30

1. Knill and Herton (together)

Name	Valuation of estate	Valuation according to contribution	Year's contribution of parish as levied at 2s. in £.	Comments
	£ s. d.	£	£ s. d.	
John Walsham, Esq., and Marjorie his wife	16 6 8			
Barbara Walsham.	10 0 0			
Richard Knill . . .	9 0 0			
Richard Knill . . .	2 0 0			
Thomas Davies . . .	1 0 0			
Rowland Stephens . . .	6 10 0			
Francis Owen . . .	1 10 0			Sic, cf. Little Brampton
James Rodd . . .	2 13 4			Sic, cf. Rodd
Thomas Scudamore . . .	6 10 0			Cf. Little Brampton
Henry Pyefinch . . .	1 0 0			Cf. " "
John Baugh, Esq. . .	3 10 0			
John Gough . . .	10 0			
Roger Lyde . . .	10 0 0			
Elinour Lyde . . .	10 0 0			
John and Roger Lozde . . .	20 0 0			Sic = Lloyd = Lyde. Cf. Nash
Jo Lydd . . .	4 0 0			
Tho. Woodcocke, gent.	80 0 0			
Herbert Weston, gent. . .	5 0 0			
Anne Morris . . .	9 0 0			
Jo James . . .	5 0 0			
Jane Preece . . .	1 0 0			
Hugh Paine . . .	4 0 0			
Griffith Pain . . .	6 0 0			
John Miles . . .	3 10 0			
Richard Scandrett . . .	1 10 0			
Thomas Price . . .	5 10 0			
Hugh Gwin. . .	3 10 0			Annotation: 'About one third part to be added to the valuation' [of the raters].
<p>Note: Knill and Herton are not separately grouped. Raters: Rowland Stephens, Thomas Powell Gough.</p>				
Totals . . .	200 0 0	368	36 16 0	

2. Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton (together)

Name	Valuation of estate			Valuation according to contribution	Year's contribution of parish as levied at 2s. in £			Comments
	£	s.	d.		£	£	s.	
Richard Rodd, gent. . .	65	0	0					Noted as 'Rodd'
Edmund Gough, gent. . .	12	0	0					" " "
James Rodd . . .	8	0	0					Noted 'for etc.'
" " . . .	2	0	0					" "
Thomas Rodd . . .	5	0	0					" "
Walter Evans and James Lyde . . .	12	0	0					" " "
John Gough . . .	30	0	0					'for etc.' 'Nash'
William Connop . . .	8	0	0					" "
John Lyde . . .	13	0	0					" "
Tamburlaine and David Passy . . .	8	0	0					" "
Roger Bodland . . .	4	0	0					" "
Francis Owen . . .	32	0	0					'Little Brampton'
John and William Brown	17	0	0					"
Tamburlaine Passy . . .	6	10	0					"
Henry Pyefinch . . .	8	10	0					"
Richard Lyde . . .	5	10	0					"
Phillip Lewis, Clerk of the Tythe . . .	10	10	0					"
Notes: In this series landholders in the parish are grouped according to the manors. Raters: Francis Owen, Henry Pyefinch.								Annotation: 'This valuation [of the raters] to be doubled.'
Totals: . . .	238	0	0	549	54	18	0	

(c) *Hearth Tax Assessments 1664-71*1. *Knill and Herton (separately)*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Lady Day</i> 1664	<i>Lady Day</i> 1665	<i>Michl.</i> 1665	<i>Lady Day</i> 1665	<i>Lady Day</i> 1671	<i>Comments</i>
<i>Knill</i>	15	14	13	20	17	
<i>L. Harpton</i>	?17	?	?	8	?	
<i>Knill:</i>						
John Walsham	5	5	5	5	6	* 'I stopped up', only paid on one.
John Watkyn, clerk . . .	2	2*	—	2	2	
Jenkyn Knill	2	2	2	2	2	
Rowland Stephen	1	1	1	1	1	
Francis Stephen	1	1	1	1	1	}
Deylie Stephen					1	
Roger Lyde	3	3	3		3	} ? same person
Robert Lyde				3		
Elinour Lyde				2		
John James				1		
Anne Morris				1		
James Price				1		
Hugh Payne				1		
Sam Gronons					1	
Roger Lewis					1	
<i>Herton:</i>						
Richard Knill	1	1	1			
Richard Bull				1		
Edward Killet						?
Mary Bull				1		
Thomas Woodcoke				6		

Note: These returns are almost certainly incomplete as well as mutilated.

(c) *Hearth Tax Assessments 1664-71*2. *Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton (separately)*

Name	Lady Day 1664			Lady Day 1665			Lady Day 1666			Lady Day 1671			Estimated number of separate dwellings involved		
	Rodd	Nash	Bram.	Rodd	Nash	Bram.	Rodd	Nash	Bram.	Rodd	Nash	Bram.			
Richard Rodd, Esq.	8			8			8			9			1		
James Rodd and tenants		2		1	3		1	3		1	3		1	1	
Thomas Rodd	1														
Francis Owen, gent.			4			4			4				5		1
Thomas Owen, senior															
Thomas Davies			1			1			1						1
Henry Pyefinch		4	4		4	4		4	4				4		1
Richard Baugh, gent.											5				1
John Lyde of Nash		3			3			3			3				1
John Lyde of Rodd	1			1			1								1
Barbara Lyde										1					1
Richard Lyde			1			1			1				2		1
William Connop		5			5			4			5				1
Richard Badland		2			2			2			2				1
John Brown			4			4			4						
Lillian Brown													4		1
Richard Stead			1			1			1						
Anne Barnly, Wid.													1	?	1
Walter Evans	2?														1
John Muskett										2					1
Tamburlane Passy		1			1			1							1
Evan Watkins	1									1					1
Thomas Scudamore			2			2			2				2		1
Peter Lewis			1			1			1				1		1
Thomas Lodge											1				1
Totals: Rodd	12			10			10			14			6		
Nash		17			18			17			19			7	
L. Brampton			18			18			18			19			8
Exemptions by poverty		47 ?			46 ?			45 ?			52 7			21 21+7 = 28	

* Recorded as void but taken over by Th. Owen from former dweller Th. Davies.

(d) References to documents from which valuation tables have been compiled:
all from Public Record Office files, except where otherwise noted.

Henry VIII	E. 179/117/123	33 Hy. VIII
	E. 179/117/132	35 " "
	E. 179/117/138	35 " "
	E. 179/117/169	37 " "
	E. 179/117/176	37 " "
	E. 179/224/541A	34/5 " "
	E. 179/224/547	37 " "
Edward VI	E. 179/117/198	3 " "
	E. 179/117/212	5 " "
	E. 179/117/284	2 Edw. VI
Elizabeth I	E. 179/118/240	1 " "
	E. 179/118/273	13 " "
	E. 179/118/298	23 " "
	E. 179/118/332	31 " "
	E. 179/118/339	31 " "
	E. 179/118/371A	39 " "
	E. 179/118/382	39 " "
	E. 179/118/388	39 Eliz.
James I	E. 179/118/422	7 Jac. I
	E. 179/118/427	18 " "
	E. 179/119/438	21 " "
Charles I	E. 179/119/429	17 " "
	E. 179/119/455	3/4 Car. I
	E. 179/119/465	4 " "
	E. 179/119/467	4 " "
	E. 179/237/45	16 " "

Hearth tax etc.

E. 179/119/485	14 Car. II.
" "	17 " "
E. 179/119/486	17 " "
E. 179/119/487	18 " "
E. 179/119/491	? Car. II
E. 179/240/14 (Poll tax payment)	
E. 179/119/493 (Ship-money payment)	12 Car. II

Valuation of estates 1620-30

Harl. MS. 6766, f. 109
" " f. 116
" " f. 122

CHAPTER VIII

Of Church Matters

ANY history dealing in detail with the land and people of a particular group of manors would be incomplete without some reference to the ecclesiastical organization of the area. Not only is all history in our country closely bound up with church and creed, but nowhere more than in England have land tenure and rural economy been affected by monastic foundations, parochial organization, and clerical revenues. It was in fact quite inevitable that in the course of searches into original sources for this local history, a great deal of buried ecclesiastical material should come to light. Although some of it is really too detailed even for this story, it seems a pity to allow these spoils of documentary excavation to be reinterred. More ecclesiastical matter has therefore been included in this chapter than may be warranted by the scope of the book, in the hope that it will here be rather more accessible than in the archives from which the original material was culled. At the same time, what is here recorded is in no sense intended to be a complete history of the ecclesiastical establishments of Presteigne and Knill, the two local churches directly affecting the Hindwell Valley.

Since the church history of Knill is comparatively simple, it will be convenient to deal with it first. It follows a line common to many other parish churches in England. There is no evidence that Knill as a church or parish was ever associated with Presteigne. It may seem curious that a manor contiguous with other Hindwell Valley manors, which were closely associated with Presteigne parish and actually in the same valley as them, should always have been separate from them ecclesiastically and administratively. As has been shown, however, the manor and the two families, associated with Knill for over five hundred years, like their church, had little to do with the lordships of Presteigne or Stapleton, as had the other manors discussed.

The first known incumbent of Knill, as rector, is Nicholas de Knill who in 1317 was granted a dispensation by his bishop for a year of study. The succession runs, fairly complete, to the present day. The earlier incumbents, up to the end of the sixteenth century,¹ are as follows:

1308	John de Knill	Presented by his father John de Knill (33). ²
1317	Nicholas de Knill, rector	Has dispensation for a year's study (1), son of John de Knill and brother of above (33).
1328	William Gormond, rector	Ordained sub-deacon (2).
1329	„ „ „	Ordained deacon (2).
1329	„ „ „	Admitted to priest (2).
1332	Walter, rector (2)	
1342	Hugh le Brut, rector (2)	
1349	„ „ „	Presented as rector by Ralph de Knill on exchange for Llyswen with Roger Castel (3).
1349	John Baderon	Presented by Margery widow of Ralph de Knill on death of Hugh le Brut (3).
1349	Richard le Merch	Presented by Nicholas de Knill on death of John Baderon (3).
1349	Phillip de Russhuk	Same by same (3).
1359	Thomas le Bonde, acolyte	Presented as rector by Nicholas de Knill on resignation of Phillip de Russhuk (3).
1359	Thomas (le) Bonde	Ordained sub-deacon (3).
1360	„ „	Ordained deacon and priest (3).
1367	Phillip Sumpter	Presented by Ralph de Brokenbergh, lord of Knill ³ (4).
1383	Thomas Wottone, rector	Has dispensation for three years absence (5).

¹ Here, and below for Presteigne, only the earlier incumbents have been recorded because from the Elizabethan era onwards the lists are known locally and are complete.

² The numbers in parentheses throughout this chapter refer to the authorities quoted in the list at the end of the chapter.

³ See pedigree of the de Knill family at end.

1391	Walter Drayton	Presented as rector by Rees ap Jevan ¹ (6).
1391	John Paunteley	Same by same and others (6) having exchanged with Walter Drayton, from Leinthall.
1401	David Fisher	Same (6) having exchanged with John Paunteley, from Westnor.
?	David Crumhole	?
1428	Walter Howell, chaplain	Presented as rector by John Knill on death of above (7).
1429	Walter Howell	Exchanged with William Tomkyns, vicar of Eardisley (7).
1430	Walter Brown	Presented as rector by John and Alice Knill (7).
1431	Walter Tomkins, rector	Exchanged with Simon Willas, vicar of Dymock (7).
?	Walter Brown	?
1459	John Rogerys, chaplain	Presented by William Knill (8) on resignation of above.
1466	John Bole	Presented as rector on death of above by same (8).
1467	Geoffrey Glascomb	Same by same, but <i>viva voce et personaliter</i> on death of above (8).
1477	Maurice ap Rees	Presented by the bishop on lapse (9).
?	John Taylor	?
1512	John Cosyn	Same by same on death of above (10).
1525	Thomas Gold	Same by same (11).
1555	Hugh Price	Presented as rector by John Knill (12).
1562	Thomas Meredith	Same (12).
?	Richard Davies	Died as incumbent 1612 (13). He was priested by the Bishop of Llandaff in 1590 having been presented as rector by Francis Knill (18).
1616	Thomas Richards	Presented as rector by Katharine Gaines, widow (12).

The names of several of the early incumbents are of local

¹ See pedigree of the de Knill family at end.



Knill Manor before the nineteenth-century restoration and later fire. Drawing from Robinson's *Mansions and Manors*

people who, like Thomas le Bonde and Baderon, figure in subsidy rolls and other administrative documents. There seems to have been a good deal of parson trouble in 1349. In the cases of both Gormond and le Bonde the appointment of a layman was followed by his fairly rapid promotion into Holy Orders, doubtless at the instance of the de Knill family. The procedure seems to have been that you found your candidate first and had him made a priest afterwards. The same procedure was followed as late as 1590 when Richard Davies was priested by the Bishop of Llandaff, though Knill was and is in the diocese of Hereford. How much of a break there was during the Commonwealth is not clear, but in 1658 one Richards 'a reading minister, present curate, does duty and receives profits' (17).

The church which was much restored in 1876 dates from the twelfth century. It stands in a charming setting near the burnt-out manor-house of Knill and surrounded by the magnificent specimen trees of the small park. The church is at present served by the vicar of Old Radnor as rector of Knill. The present parish of forty-five inhabitants is too small to support a separate establishment. The great tithe of £75 is the sole source of income. Knill seems quite definitely never to have been one of the Presteigne chapels to which reference will be made later. The old ecclesiastical parish of Knill was certainly more extensive than the present civil and ecclesiastical parish.

The following present-day parishes represented by former manors of Domesday date, by later vills and by townships lying in the vicinity of Knill are recorded as having been within the ecclesiastical parish of Old Radnor before they became separate civil and, in certain cases, ecclesiastical parishes:¹

Walton & Womaston;
Harpton & Wolfpits;
Old Radnor & Burlingjobb;
Lower Harpton;
Salford & Badland;
Evenjobb, with Barland, Radnor Wood,
and Newcastle.

¹ Cf. below, p. 220.

On the evidence of the parish registers the parishes of Lower Harpton and Radnor Wood used Knill extensively. Thus even if Knill ecclesiastical parish was once larger than now, the principal ecclesiastical establishment west of the Hindwell Valley was the great church and manorial centre of Old Radnor; but there is nothing to show that Knill itself was ever included in the latter.

The Knill Parish Registers in three volumes (up to the nineteenth century) begin with 1585. The first volume finishes in 1692. The entries are not very interesting or historically very important except for the family histories of the Knills and Walshams, who were, naturally, churchwardens often and incumbents sometimes. There is a substantial break in the continuity of entries in the registers during the Commonwealth and Protectorate periods, notably a complete blank from 30 November 1658 until 1660.

In 1661-2 there is an interesting series of collections presumably in response to 'briefs', that is letters patent issued to churches with royal authority, for:

East Hagborne, Berks., purpose not stated	16 <i>d.</i>
Condover, purpose not stated	16 <i>d.</i>
Elmley Castle, purpose not stated	16 <i>d.</i>
Dalby Chalcombe, Cheshire, purpose not stated	1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
'One living at Stoke, Salop, whose home was burnt'	3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
'Towards setting up and trade of fishing'	1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
Relief of Ann Jones, Elizabeth Herbert, and Sarah Wood whose husbands were captive in Algiers	3 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>

A contribution of £9. 1*s.* 3*d.* for captives in Algiers was also collected at Presteigne in 1670.¹

In 1671, and only in that year, the payment of 3*s.* per annum due to the Crown as a pension to the abbey of Wigmore is recorded. This, as already discussed,² was for property of the abbey in this area.

On 2 May 1624 the churchwardens and parishioners decided that for every burial of a 'foreigner or stranger' in the parish a charge of 3*d.* would be made for three peals of ringing in order to maintain the bell ropes, and that 20*d.* would be paid for every burial within the body of the church.

¹ Presteigne Parish Register, vol. ii.

² Cf. below, pp. 234-5.

This entry is signed by the churchwarden Walter ap Jevan and the parishioners Roger Lyde, John Lyde, Daniel Knill, John Passy, John Lyde of Nash, and by the marks of John Stephens and Richard Griffith. Many of these names are familiar from entries in subsidy rolls and other documents. This entry as well as others, especially from 1680 onwards, records the use of the church by congregations from other parishes including that of Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton as well as of Radnor Wood. The notification made to 'all men but especially to tenants of Knill in years to come' by John Lyde, bailiff under Dame Katharine Gaines, about his enclosure of the lower end of Knill Wood in 1622/3, has already been mentioned.¹

Two entries record the burials of centenarians: there is no evidence of epidemics. Two men who were buried are reported to have been killed 'digging a drain' and 'by a bull'.

Clergy subsidies for Knill are recorded in:

- 1405 Payable by rector: amount not stated (14).
- 1452 Church described as in the deanery of Leominster and assessed at 6 marks: paid 8s. (25).
- 1453 Exempt, the annual value being less than 12 marks and the incumbent residing there (8).
- 1536 Taxed at 6 marks: 8s. paid (15).
- 1590 The same (18).
- 1658 Parsonage worth £10 (17).
- 1662 John Weaver, rector, paid 10s. (16).

There is no record at Knill of chantries seized during the expropriation of Edward VI's reign, but an inventory of church goods was made. They consisted of a chalice of silver, placed in the custody of John Knill but then 'stolen by his servant' who disappeared; three bells of 18½, 21, and 23 inches at the mouth; a cope of crimson silk; two vestments of blue cloth; and a 'tynacle' of brass, weight 1 lb. The vestments were reserved for the use of the parish. Knill did not come too badly out of the expropriations since the Knill family no doubt made good the theft of the chalice. Sir Thomas Cornewall was the Commissioner for the operation (18-19).

¹ p. 187 above.

The status and early history of the Presteigne ecclesiastical establishment is puzzling. As has been recorded, the name means the House or Home of Priests and by its origin seems to be a pre-Domesday place name. The place is not mentioned in the Domesday survey in spite of the fact that several close-lying manors, of Nortune, Discote, Querentune (if the identification is correct), and Clatretune, are mentioned. The earliest documentary reference to the place is in a folio annexed to the Balliol Domesday transcript.¹

It may be supposed that the Priest's House or Home was not a monastery or convent but just an ecclesiastical dwelling where a group of priests lived to serve a number of local chapels or oratories. That Presteigne was the centre of such a group there is evidence in later records. Even today it is the ecclesiastical centre of a number of civil parishes. A book entitled *A Church Rate for the Parish of Presteigne 1827* in the possession of the rector describes the parish as including Presteigne town, the township of Presteigne, and seven outlying 'townships'.

Clun, some ten miles north of Presteigne, is often quoted as another example of a large parish served by a central church with subsidiary chapels. In 1199 it had seven such dependent places of worship which later became independent parishes with churches.

Yet another example of a community of priests living together and serving an area existed till recently in the parish of Burford just west of Tenbury where Shropshire, Herefordshire, and Worcestershire meet. There until 1840 three rectors serving the chapelries of Boraston & Whitton, of Nash, and of Greete, comprised in the mother parish of Burford, lived in three rectories adjoining the churchyard. Till the Reformation they were described as 'portionaries' and probably lived communally. This also is believed to represent the survival of the Saxon usage of grouping priests in a communal Priests' Home, such as Presteigne-Presthemedede seems to have been. That the custom survived at Burford, may be connected with the fact that the patron of that establishment was Richard Le Scrob and his descendants who held the Barony of Burford by tenure and the lordship

¹ Cf. above, Chap. V *passim*.

of Stapleton with a number of manors around Presteigne¹ from before the Conquest until well after 1086.

To the pre-Conquest period probably belong the reputedly 'Saxon' vestiges built into the present north wall of Presteigne church: it is, however, not safe at this stage of knowledge to say more than that they may be pre-Conquest, since they are difficult to date at all accurately. Architecturally the remains are of no great merit but they may have considerable significance as evidence of a large—surprisingly large—church of perhaps the eleventh century, or even earlier. Similar so-called 'Saxon' vestiges exist in the fabric of Old Radnor church, as well as elsewhere in the area. The close agglomeration of pre-Norman manors of the 'Saxon' type in and around the Hindwell Valley and west of Offa's Dyke combine with the evidence of several pre-Norman ecclesiastical establishments to substantiate the thesis that there was a fairly considerable population, for so remote an area, around Presteigne before 1066. Presteigne, Old Radnor, and Knill ecclesiastical establishments were, and since the disestablishment of the Church in Wales have remained, within the diocese of Hereford.

The parishes and their churches, or the absence of them, in the Radnor-Presteigne area to which attention is now directed, require some analysis.

Of these nineteen parishes, most of which are represented by Domesday or early medieval manors, no less than ten have no churches, and one parish, Discoed, with a substantial church of its own, is part of Presteigne ecclesiastical parish. The town of Presteigne and the administrative unit, today an urban district, is in Radnorshire, but most of its ecclesiastically dependent civil parishes are in Herefordshire. Stapleton, which includes houses on the outskirts of Presteigne but on the left bank of the Lugg, is in England. Lower Harpton, closely associated as a manor with Knill, and like it in England, ecclesiastically goes with Old Radnor. Harpton & Wolfpits is a large parish for this part of the world with Harpton Court at one end near Walton and Old Radnor; but Wolfpits at the other end of the parish is really geographically in the country of the Gladestry manors west of

¹ Cf. Christopher Hussey in *Country Life*, p. 1310, 26 Dec. 1947.

Kington and outside the Radnor basin. Cascob, with Litton, used to be an enclave of Herefordshire in Radnorshire until the end of the nineteenth century when they were transferred to Wales. Cascob, an independent ecclesiastical parish, and Discoed, a dependent parish of Presteigne, are both single

<i>Parish</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical parish</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Cascob	Radnor, formerly Hereford	Cascob	Has an old church at Cascob
Discoed	Radnor	Presteigne	Has an old church at Discoed
Presteigne	Radnor	Presteigne	Has a large old church at Presteigne
Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton	Hereford	Presteigne	Has no church
Knill	Hereford	Knill	Has an old much-restored church at Knill
Stapleton	Hereford	Presteigne	Has no church but may have had a chapel in the castle
Wiley	Hereford	Presteigne	Has no church
Combe	Hereford	Presteigne	" "
Byton	Hereford	Byton	Has an old church rebuilt in 1809
Lower Kinsham	Hereford	Presteigne	Has no church; reference to a chapel in seventeenth century
Litton*	Hereford	Presteigne	Has no church
Titley	Hereford	Titley	Has an old church rebuilt in 1868
Lower Harpton	Hereford	Old Radnor	Has no church
Harpton & Wolfpits	Radnor	Old Radnor	" "
Walton & Womaston	Radnor	Old Radnor	" "
Old Radnor & Burlingjobb	Radnor	Old Radnor	Has a large old church at Old Radnor
Ednol with Barland & Radnor Wood	Radnor	Old Radnor	Has no church
Evenjobb	Radnor	Evenjobb	Has a church built in 1867 at Evancoyd, formerly in Old Radnor parish
Kinnerton, Salford & Badland	Radnor	Kinnerton	Has a church which was rebuilt in 1884. Formerly in Old Radnor, as a chapelry.

* Thus on O.S. maps, but also spelled Letton.

manor parishes of Domesday origin. Litton does not appear to have been an early manor or a manor at all. Nevertheless, Litton and Cascob appear as a manor or manors dependent on Stapleton and manor courts were held there from the fifteenth century and as late as 1750-1834.¹

¹ Manor Rolls in the possession of the Harley family of Brampton Bryan (cf. above, Chap. VI, p. 151) and of the Arkwright family of Kinsham.

The parish of Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton is a compact geographical area in the Hindwell Valley consisting of three manors which cover virtually the whole parish area. It is hard to understand why it never had its own church like Knill. Stapleton parish is the demesne surrounding, and dominated by, the castle of Stapleton, and is geographically associated with Presteigne. Combe was an early post-Domesday manor lying between Byton and Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton parishes, but why it existed and exists as a separate, churchless, administrative entity is hard to say, except for the historical reason that though on Stapleton land it sometimes belonged to Huntington lordship. Knill, an even smaller single manor parish, had an independent church presumably because the families which lived on the manor were rich enough and willing to build themselves a church and endow it, unlike the families of the manors of Rodd, Nash or Little Brampton. Nevertheless, the reasons for many of the associations and sub-divisions are very obscure; they deserve further investigation.

The Welsh name for Presteigne was Llanandras, the Holy Place of Andrew. There is no reference so far as is known in either Welsh or English early ecclesiastical records to the place or church, nor is it known who or what was the superior authority of this House of Priests. It is equally unknown whether this early establishment was the product of Welsh or English Christianity.

With the foundation of the abbey of Wigmore a few historical records for Presteigne begin. The charters founding the abbey have been dealt with in an earlier chapter.¹ The first site of this monastic establishment of Augustinian canons from St. Victor near Paris was at Shobdon, and dates from the Episcopate of Robert of Bethune, 1131-41. The date of the original church at Shobdon is given as 1141: this structure, in part, exists as a rebuilt decorative 'ruin' in the eighteenth-century park of Shobdon where the present delightful church was built. The carving on the surviving Norman chancel arch is remarkable and interesting: it owes its survival to its incorporation into the landscape gardening plan of the policies surrounding

¹ Above, Chap. VI, p. 147.

the now demolished mansion. The first foundation of the Augustinians at Shobdon was for a prior and two canons. In the reign of Henry I it was moved to Eye, near Aymes-trey, on account of water difficulties. After a sojourn at 'Beadune' which may have been Byton, the establishment returned to Shobdon. It was only transferred to Wigmore, some little distance from the Mortimer castle and settlement, in 1179 when it had grown to house an abbot, a prior, and seventeen canons.¹

The inventory of the endowments of the original Wigmore foundation discloses a variety of properties and revenues in and around Presteigne without throwing any particular light on, or indicating any system in, the method of financing the abbey. In particular there is nothing to indicate specifically whether the abbey received properties which might have belonged to the older House of Priests. In 1236 there is a record that the advowson of Presteigne was quit-claimed by William de Fraxino, the son of Warin, to Abbot Walter.² Thus, by then at any rate, the revenues of Presteigne church consisting of the great and other tithes became the property of the abbey. The twelfth century had been an age of reform in church matters 'and Rome regarded the new orders as the best reformers. As a result of this fashion in reform, and because the assignment of some part of the revenues of a parish church to a monastery was a very cheap form of gift, we find a large number of parishes coming under monastic control. . . .'³ That some of, perhaps all, the revenues of Presteigne church were tithes is clear from the records of the disposal of the abbey's properties in the mid-sixteenth century—and there is record of the tithe system in England as early as the eighth century. The House of Priests may therefore have been supported by tithes before the foundation of the abbey. The inventory of the four chantries in Presteigne which were seized by Edward VI and sold for values stated, discloses the same variety of revenues as those of the church and the abbey.⁴

¹ Dugdale, 'Abbey of Wigmore' in *Trs. Rad. Soc.*, vol. ix, p. 9; Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses* (Longmans, 1953).

² *F.F.* 20 Hy. III; cf. also, Chap. V, p. 137, above.

³ D. Jerrold, *An Introduction to the History of England* (Collins, 1949).

⁴ See below, p. 233.

In addition, however, to the tithe and fee revenue of the church at Presteigne and of the abbey, the latter, as is clear from later records, was endowed with land and houses, subject only to the manorial rights appertaining, in addition to tithes and usufruct.

The first result of the transfer of the advowson of Presteigne to the abbey was probably as unsatisfactory as elsewhere in England where a monastic establishment came to own the endowment of a parish. In return for the endowment the abbey would undertake to supply the spiritual needs of the parish by providing one of its members to act as priest; and there is evidence that this occurred in Presteigne. But the system was bad, and after the Lateran Council of 1179 the English bishops, strengthened by papal authority, attempted to make proper provision for the needs of these appropriated parishes. They forced, where they could, the monastic houses to appoint vicars with perpetual endowment, usually by dividing the tithes into two parts whereby the 'great' or 'rector's' tithe was retained by the convent and the 'vicar's' tithe together with fees, &c., and glebe became the endowment of the parish priest. Sometimes, however, the whole tithe was retained by the appropriator and a fixed charge was paid to a parish priest who later became known as a 'perpetual curate'. Later statutes attempted to do away with 'perpetual curacies' by forbidding the appropriation of the 'vicarial' tithes.

The position of Presteigne may have been somewhat different from that of other parishes where appropriation had taken place by a monastic house, for Wigmore was a house of Austin canons who were priests living under rule but not monks in the strict sense and were thus permitted to hold parochial charges long after this had been forbidden to monks. The institution of a vicar at Presteigne did not, therefore, necessarily follow when the endowment of the parish passed to the abbey in 1236, and the inference from an examination of the surviving names of incumbents at Presteigne given below is that the abbey continued to nominate one of its members to serve as parish priest until 1391, when appears the first record of the institution of a vicar by the abbey, in the person of Richard Baker. Prior to this date the

priest at Presteigne would have been under the direct control of his abbot. It is significant that 1391 is the date of statute 15 Ric. II, c. 6, which enforced the proper maintenance of vicars by the appropriators of a benefice. Nevertheless, in 1405 the priests of Presteigne are again referred to as chaplains and stipendiaries. Moreover, it is not until the sixteenth century that the names of incumbents at Presteigne have a familiar local ring. Long prior to that date the incumbents of Knill were evidently already local people.

In the presentation of such incumbents to Presteigne as are known, the connexion with Wigmore is clear though the list is notably, and unfortunately, far from complete. The names of which there are records run as follows:

- | | | |
|---------|---|---|
| | In the second half of | } Thomas, chaplain, of Presteigne.
} Radolph de Presthemede, priest. |
| | thirteenth century | |
| 1278 | William and Nicholas of Presteigne, ordained acolytes (20). | |
| 1289 | Roger de Kingsland, deacon: patron, the abbot and convent of Wigmore (29). Same incumbent in 1300 (31). | |
| 1328/30 | Adam le Harper of Presteigne, ordained acolyte, sub-deacon and priest (2). | |
| 1328/40 | Similar entries for William of Presteigne, Walter of Presteigne, Thomas King, and Walter Trant of Presteigne (2). | |
| 1363 | John de Kepstone, sacristan, of Presteigne, ordained sub-deacon and later deacon (2). | |
| 1372 | John le Kyng, chaplain (31). | |
| 1373/4 | Similar ordinations of sacristans (2). | |
| 1389 | William Moyde, chaplain (31). | |
| 1391 | Richard Baker instituted as vicar by the abbey and convent of Wigmore (3). No previous incumbent or cause of vacancy recorded and no previous reference to a vicar. | |
| 1405 | John Cascopp, stipendiary, of Presteigne, chaplain (14), appears with John Walter, chaplain, in the list of those whose stipends were more than 100s. and less than 10 marks (7). | |
| 1426 | Robert Chirbury, presented as vicar by abbey and convent of Wigmore; no cause for vacancy given (7). | |
| 1428 | William Walle, chaplain; as above on resignation of above. | |

- 1447 Hugh Rogers, alias Fletcher, on death of above (29).
? Dom Roger de Braye, vicar, temp. Hugh de Knill living
1471 (28).
- 1480 Clement ap Griffyth, presented by Wigmore on death
of above (9).
- 1511 Walter, Abbot Wigmore, grants next presentation of
vicar to William Clayton, gent., and Thomas Black-
bourne, yeoman, of Presteigne.
- 1515 Nicholas Herryson, presented as vicar by William Clay-
ton, gent., on the death of Clement ap Griffyth.
Herryson was still vicar in 1536 (10).
- 1539 Walter a Rode (32) also in 1546¹ and Harry Wellyngton,²
overseer (32).
- 1555 Peter Weaver, presented by John Bradshawe.⁴
- 1559 John Rod or Roade, Clerk, vicar: date of appointment
not known. Buried in Presteigne 1581.³
- 1590 Roger Bradshawe, M.A., priested by Bishop of Glou-
cester, presented as vicar [*sic*] by John Bradshawe, the
'appropriator' (18).⁴
- 1611 John Scull, B.D.,⁵ vicar and later rector in 1639 under
letters patent of Charles I.
- 1660 Phillip Lewis, vicar.
- 1664 Phillip Lewis, rector (16).

In contrast with Knill none of the names of incumbents prior to 1511 presented by the abbey of Wigmore are recognizable from subsidy rolls, &c., or otherwise as local people, who were assessable and paid taxes or fees. Thereafter local names figure. The William le Clerk de la Rode and Dom Adam de Rode of the 1300 records are not known to have been incumbents of Presteigne: there was an Adam de Bray in the late thirteenth century who is described as abbot of Wigmore.

¹ Referred to as executor of the wills of John Vaughan of Presteigne and Jenkyn a Rod (see below) in the two years stated (32).

² Sir (? Sr.) Harry Wellyngton is also referred to as 'Clerk' in wills of 1540-4, *Trs. Rad. Soc.*, vol. xxiv. He appears to have been a cleric of some importance if not vicar. In *The Church Plate of Radnorshire*, p. 105, he is described as 'Charity Priest' in 1547. Pensioned as a canon of Wigmore: lately charity priest at Presteigne (34).

³ John Rod, recorded as 'Sir (? Sr.) John Rod', witness to the will (11 Oct. 1559) of Meredith ap David of Presteigne, is also recorded as John Roade, vicar, in the Winchester muniments (30). Cf. also Hereford Probate Records in Nat. Lib. Wales.

⁴ Also cf. pp. 237 and 240 below; Lambeth, *Cart. Misc.*, vol. xiii, No. 5, p. 23.

⁵ See below, p. 244.

In 1458 a dispute apparently broke out between the abbey and the parish concerning the provision of a sacristan or deacon for the church. The bishop to whom the disagreement went decided that the vicar should find the sacristan and absolved the abbey from this duty: in this record the monks of Wigmore are described as *propriarii* of the church (8). This would be consistent with the status of the abbey as rector of Presteigne, whereby, under the statute of 1391, the care of souls, the charities, and the poor, as well as such hospitality as devolved on him, were the duty of the vicar. Other clergy in the parish, supported by the chantry endowments, and minor clerics also, would not normally have had to do with the abbey: that such was in question at all suggests as do other bits of evidence that the abbot and convent of Wigmore were more than sleeping partners in the endowments and administration of Presteigne.

In 1511 an important change took place in the ecclesiastical administration of Presteigne. Abbot Walter granted to William Clayton, gent., and Thomas Blackbourne, yeoman of Presteigne, the next presentation of the vicar. Is this a reflection of the dissatisfaction of Presteigne with the remote control of the parish church by Wigmore Abbey? The concession was not destined to last long, for the abbey itself was soon to be dissolved; and whether William Clayton and Thomas Blackbourne did or did not present a vicar in 1511 does not transpire, though Clayton did do so in 1515 upon the death of the incumbent.¹ It seems likely that they must have done so immediately since a concession like this would hardly have been granted as a matter of principle without use having at once been made of the faculty. The incumbents, whether Herryson or others, were evidently pretty unsatisfactory for already in 1521 it was found that the vicar was continually absent from his cure and failed, though in receipt of tithes, &c., to maintain properly the dwelling house, barn, building, and closes. The fruits of the office were in consequence sequestrated and devoted to the necessary repairs: responsibility therefore was entrusted to John Richard Davyes, chaplain, John Baker, and John Dyer of Presteigne (11). In 1527 and 1530 writs were issued to the

¹ See above, p. 225, and *Trs. Rad. Soc.*, vol. xix, p. 18.

bishop to levy arrears of tithes in his diocese including 16*s.* from the vicar of Presteigne and 16*s.* from the vicarage. The affairs of, at any rate parts of, the diocese of Hereford including Presteigne were evidently in rather a mess during the early years of Henry VIII (11).

The Presteigne church establishment was never wealthy except in the quite early days when in 1291 with its chapel, probably the one at Discoed, it was listed 'as of the Abbey of Wigmore' and was stated as worth £17. 6*s.* 8*d.* tax, £1. 14*s.* 8*d.* tithe, and half a carucate of land, with certain rents.¹ In Henry VIII's reign 'the chapel of Presteigne' is specifically stated as being the one at Discoed. The question of chapels will be discussed again later. The decline in the prosperity of Presteigne church could be attributed to the division made in 1391, resulting in the 'great' tithe being retained by the abbey of Wigmore and the 'small' or 'vicarial' tithe being attributed to the vicar, following on the reforms of 1391 and 1402. The conclusion, substantiated by the evident row of 1511, seems to be that the abbot and convent of Wigmore were using too much of the revenues of Presteigne for their own advantage to the detriment of the parishioners.

After the fourteenth century there are a number of entries for clerical subsidy, many if not most of which show Presteigne exempted for poverty or because the assessments were below 12 marks with the incumbent in residence. The full record of assessments, &c., is as follows:

- Temp. Hy. VI assessed at 12 marks (23).
 1435 Exempt (8).
 1445 „ (8).
 1452/3 „ as worth less than 12 marks.
 1461 As above (10), with incumbent in residence (8, 22).
 1478 Presteigne with chapel:
 Presteigne 34*s.* 8*d.*
 Chapel exempt for poverty (24).
 Temp. Hy. VII Presteigne and chapel assessed for 34*s.* 8*d.*
 1489 Subsidy paid 6*s.* 8*d.* (8).
 1492 Exempt.
 1505 Assessed for 6*s.* 8*d.* (10).

¹ Taxatio Pape Nicholai, *c. apud Dugdale*, loc. cit.

- 1513 Exempt with chapels [*sic*] (10).
 1517 " " " (11).
 1536 Annual value assessed at £20 (11).
 1538 Exempt as worth less than 12 marks with incumbent in residence (22).
 1543 Subsidy for 'defence against the Turk' paid:
 Presteigne 6s. 5d.
 Discoed 10d.

In later years there is a larger payment than usual by the rector of £20 as a contribution to 'Royal Aid' in 1662, that is soon after the Restoration of Charles II.

During the troubled fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the church of Presteigne and its subsidiary establishments were directly affected by the warfare on the March. There is one account dated 1406 of the church having been destroyed together with 'a portion of the Vicar' during strife on the border. The same is reported of the churches at Byton, Titley, and Old and New Radnor.¹ The date 1406 coincides with Owen Glyndwr's campaign, in the course of which he destroyed Lyonshall Castle and went on to Leominster. He very likely passed in 1402 by way of Presteigne, Byton, and Titley on his way from the battle at Pilleth which lies four miles north-west of Presteigne. Even if damage was not always as great in other border incidents, a campaign like this is typical of what was constantly happening on a smaller scale.

The most important sociological event in the countryside of England in Henry VIII's reign is always supposed to have been the Dissolution of the Monasteries, and the confiscation, or as it would probably be called today, the 'nationalization' of ecclesiastical land and property. The procedure used to effect the operation consisted in vesting the monastic properties in the Crown which then held them for administration through bailiffs or trustees pending disposal. In many cases the Crown did not hold for long, in other cases the opposite occurred. The properties, varying in kind as they did, were naturally subject to different treatment and procedure.

In history the Dissolution took place in two stages. Under

¹ *Register of Bp. Robert Mascall (C.Y.S.)*.

the Act of 1536, 27 Henry VIII, c. 28, the 'lesser' monasteries were dissolved. Wigmore, by reason of its revenues and such reports as may have been made on its good behaviour, was a 'greater' monastery. It had in 1536 an income of some £260 net per annum¹ and contained a community of eleven. Thanks to the original endowments, subsequent accretions of wealth, and the advowson of Presteigne, the income of the abbey, equivalent to, say, £7,500 a year in current money, amounted to 36 per cent. of the total income of the county of Hereford's eight monastic houses. Incidentally the houses of the Austin canons in England were by far the most numerous, numbering 154 out of the total of 353 male houses in the country, the male Benedictines running a bad second with only 68. The abbey of Wigmore was evidently one of the rich but sparsely tenanted 'greater' monasteries of the country. Since, however, the seizure of the 'greater' monasteries followed so rapidly on the appropriation of the 'lesser', it will be simpler in the case of Wigmore to consider its fate under the general heading of the Dissolution of the Monasteries.²

By the time of the Dissolution the revenues of the manor of Presteigne, in some of which the abbey of Wigmore was interested, were already Crown property having been seized upon the attainder of Richard, Duke of York. This Richard had assumed the title of Earl of March and Ulster and the succession to the de Mortimer lands after the death of Edmund IV de Mortimer fifth Earl of March, who died of the plague in 1425 while Lieutenant of Ireland. Richard, Duke of York, was the son of Richard of Cambridge. His mother was a sister of Edmund, the last de Mortimer Earl of March, and daughter of Roger VI de Mortimer, the fourth Earl of March.

What was involved in the vesting of the manor of Presteigne in the Crown was that the manorial fees and rights, and such revenues as formerly went to the de Mortimers, inured to the king. When certain woodlands and waste, held

¹ Philip Hughes, *Reformation in England* (Hollis & Carter, 1952), vol. i, pp. 373, 375, &c., says £267. Knowles and Hadcock, *op. cit.*, above, says £261.

² Cf. Hughes, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 320 and 321, especially his comment on the surrender of the 'greater' monasteries in para. 2 of p. 321.

directly as manor property, were alienated to particular individuals after the Dissolution, they are, however, already definitely described as 'formerly the Property of the Abbey of Wigmore'. Thus what apparently happened was that when the Mortimer manors were forfeit to the Crown, the rights and properties of the abbey in those manors or parts of them, and in particular the revenues derived from Presteigne, were respected, and so continued to be the property of the abbey until the abbey itself and its assets were eventually also vested in the Crown on the Dissolution of the Monasteries.

Thus, between the forfeiture of the de Mortimer lands and revenues to the Crown and the events of 1536 neither the abbey of Wigmore nor the holders of the sub-manors in the Hindwell Valley suffered any pecuniary change by the substitution of the Crown for the Earls of March: all the parties concerned with the tenure of land and charges thereon remained in undisturbed possession. Then, however, came the Dissolution. In effect the sub-manors of the manors of Presteigne and Stapleton again were unaffected save that any tithe they had to pay to the abbey of Wigmore became, upon the vesting of this monastic property in the Crown, payable to the Crown and eventually to such parties as the Crown chose to become recipients or purchasers of the monastic revenues in question. Those in occupation of land would therefore feel no material change arising out of the Acts of 1536. The abbey of Wigmore as owner of at any rate the 'great tithe' of Presteigne would no longer collect that revenue which would become payable to the bailiffs and stewards of the king in substitution for the abbot. But the 'vicarial' or 'small tithe' would still have been leviable and paid to the incumbent of Presteigne who thus in theory was, and so his parochial administration, not any worse off materially than before the Dissolution.

Happily there is a fairly complete record of what did happen after the Dissolution to the church revenues in this area. In the outcome the social consequences of the Dissolution, even where the parish church depended, as at Presteigne, from a monastic foundation, were not as great either in theory or in practice as might have been supposed.

The dissolution of the abbey of Wigmore formally

occurred on 18 November 1538 when the Bishop of Hereford as Prior Commendatory surrendered the abbey to the King's Commissioners.¹ There were then only seven inmates in the house. They, if what happened elsewhere is any guide, were pensioned, or, if so willing, received a living.

In 1536 the Abbots with seats in the House of Lords voted for the suppression of the 'lesser monasteries' and now, one by one, they were to surrender their own houses; and, almost their last parliamentary appearance, they were to vote for the act which gave their surrender legal value. . . . For while no-one has ever proved more than a handful of these particular charges [that is those against the conduct of, notably, the lesser monasteries], the quality of the monasticism surely stands condemned whether they [i.e. the charges] be true or false, by the fact of the religious voting away so generally the whole institution to whose service by the most solemn obligations they were all of them severally vowed for life. This is a hard saying. . . . That they made these surrenders, and so universally . . . —here is the best of evidence that all was really far from well even under the best of appearances, within the monastic world.³

A curious event is now recorded. Upon the surrender of the abbey to the King's Commissioners, the abbot proceeded to appoint by a deed dated the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 30 Hy. VIII (which is 1539), a William Rodd to be the auditor and steward for life of the abbot and convent of Wigmore at a salary of 4 marks per annum. William Rodd was to be paid out of the revenues of the estates and to keep records on parchment which the abbot was to provide or find 6s. 8d. to buy. William Rodd could be represented by a sufficient deputy, and was, in the person of William Clayton, presumably the same man to whom with Thomas Blackburne the abbot of Wigmore had in 1511 granted the presentation to Presteigne, and who did present in 1515. William Rodd will again appear below as the purchaser of some of the Presteigne revenues of the abbey. Can it be that William Rodd purchased these tithes deliberately to hold them for ecclesiastical purposes against a time when the

¹ Cf. Knowles and Hadcock, *op. cit.*

² There is a record of 5 nuns and 74 priests so pensioned in Herefordshire including 6 from Presteigne, 5 being Canons of Wigmore, temp. Eliz. I (34)

³ So writes Father Philip Hughes, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 321.

abbot hoped, against reason, that a reversal of policy would enable the abbey to be reinstated?¹ There seems otherwise no reasonable explanation of why the abbot should have made an appointment of an auditor and steward of estates which had been seized by the Crown at a date after the surrender of the abbey.² In fact William Rodd as will be seen later sold the tithes and advowson of Presteigne to one John Bradshawe, by way, apparently, of a William Thomas.

It must be true that the disruption of the monastic organization which had been so notable a feature of the landscape, of land tenure, and of learning, cannot have failed to have had a psychological as well as a material impact on the countryside. It is, however, almost certainly also true that in the everyday lives of the people of England it had less effect than used to be thought. In the neighbourhood of Presteigne, if the parish priest with his vicarial tithes continued to care in some form for the spiritual needs of his parishioners, which would depend on his, and their, conscientious views on the royal supremacy, the appearance of the church and its priest would not alter, or alter much. Far greater breaks were to happen during and after the Civil War. The same people would pay the same tithes to other recipients; nevertheless, a centre of authority and learning in the abbey as patron of Presteigne would have disappeared, and with it, as elsewhere all over England, the accumulation of historic and artistic treasures which every abbey possessed. Of schooling in Presteigne there is no record for this period and, in so far as the canons of Wigmore were concerned in teaching, the population probably lost this advantage. Nevertheless, the chantries remained for years longer and if chantry priests other than the inhabitants of the abbey continued, and here as elsewhere taught, until the reign of Edward VI, the break in this field of ecclesiastical activity at the moment of the Dissolution may not necessarily have been great.

¹ It seems a fact that William Rodd had the advowson of Presteigne before Bradshawe and this explains (as will be seen below) why William or Walter Rodd managed to keep and thereafter secure at any rate the Rodd tithes. Cf. *Arch. Journal*, 1933, p. 45.

² Hereford Library: Convent. Leases. Nativity of St. John Bap. 30 Hy. VIII. Deed signed in the Chapter House at Hereford.

To anticipate events, there were in fact four chantries in Presteigne¹ when they were 'nationalized' in Edward VI's reign:

- (i) For the service of St. David; annual revenue 53*s.*: later sold to John Seymour² for a capital payment of £53. 4*s.* 8*d.* calculated by taking 22 years purchase on land worth 22*s.* 4*d.* annually, 10 years on houses worth 4*s.* annually, and 20 years on free rents of 26*s.* 8*d.*
- (ii) For the service of St. Mary of Grace; £7. 4*s.* 8*d.* annually: no record of composition or disposal.
- (iii) For the service of the Holy Trinity; annual value £3. 16*s.* 6*d.* less 3*s.* 6*d.* reprise: no record of composition or disposal.
- (iv) For the service of St. Mary of Piety; annual value £4. 10*s.* 8*d.*: no record of composition or disposal.

The revenues of these four chantries were made up of 88 items of house, meadow, pasture, arable, and free rent property. The largest single item was a free rent on the land of John Reide (perhaps Roode or Rode) at 'le Roode', the whereabouts of which is not specified. Most of the properties, but not all, lay in and around Presteigne and Stapleton, and not by any means wholly in the townships.

As a matter of interest it may be mentioned that when the chantries were dissolved the county of Hereford did not come off so badly.

The Dissolution of the Chantries [writes Rowse]³ contemplated a large transfer to education. The financial stress of the Government made this impossible. The distinction was made between that part of the Chantry endowment which was intended for education and that for Masses for the Dead. The latter were annexed to the Crown; in a word, nationalised . . . [but] The Government appointed two [central] commissions to decide what schools and what endowments should be continued. . . . In Herefordshire, for example, which had had some fifteen schools, they continued ten, and refounded one

—not too bad an outcome. There is no record of a school at Presteigne at this time, but a grammar school was

¹ P.R.O.: E. 118/1932.

² Cf. below, p. 237.

³ Rowse, p. 494.

founded there in 1565: it was said to have scholarships to Oxford and four to Lampeter as lately as 1850.¹ Evidently the local need for education was formally met within some twenty-five years of the great sociological upheaval of the Dissolution, even if the Dissolution of the Monasteries did make a break in the continuity of learning and teaching.

The poor who depended for direct employment and alms on the abbeys obviously suffered more quickly and severely by the Dissolution, though the vicar would probably have remained responsible for some parochial hospitality and charities. Rural employment on the land and in industries directly connected with agriculture in the Presteigne area would not necessarily have been affected so much as they were in many other districts in the sixteenth century when unemployment became rife both as the cause and effect of enclosure, for here there is no evidence of open field or 'champion cultivation' which was the economic cause of most of the trouble. The decline in population of Presteigne and Stapleton since the fourteenth century is more likely in fact to have been due to the migration of population to the newly born industrial centres which sprang up in Elizabeth's reign.²

Of direct ecclesiastical domain in the Hindwell Valley there are only two known examples. The first is the small grant of land by King William in Domesday to the abbey of Lire in France. The precise whereabouts of this land is not known, but in Edward III's reign it is twice referred to as: 'the Abbot of Lire has [land worth] 5 shillings rent at Naische', and again as: a virgate of land worth 5*s.* 'the gift of Earl William'.³ In the next reign, Richard Nash and others of the county of Hereford went bail for the proctors of the abbey of Lire.⁴ The second example is the 'pension' of 3*s.* payable by Knill to the abbey of Wigmore on account of estates 'formerly the property of the Abbey'. This is also described as a charge in favour of the abbey of Wormelow [*sic*] certainly in error, for it figures as an item of revenue of Wigmore

¹ Howse, *Presteigne Past and Present Parishes*, pp. 33 and 54; the scholarships were transferred to Shrewsbury and other schools.

² Cf. Rowse, chap. ii.

³ Augmentation Office Misc. E. 315/489, f. 15d.

⁴ *Cal. Fine R.*, 8 Feb. 1378.

in the detailed schedule of the possessions of the latter.¹ The land itself had evidently passed into other hands, the abbey retaining a charge, for it is later described as 'land freely held by John Knill who was supposed to render 12d.',² but in a marginal note 'William Scudamore seith it was never payet et non onerator'. There was also a small charge of 7*d.* on unspecified land at Lingen in favour of the prioress of Limebrook near Lingen which seems to have been entered as part of the Wigmore revenues of the Presteigne area.³

The Presteigne and Stapleton revenues of the abbey of Wigmore at this period are recorded in some detail. A list of Henry VIII's reign records 62 names paying revenues for the church of Presteigne, 'the property of the Abbey of Wigmore', and therefore to the abbey, prior to the Dissolution. The list names 22 free tenants in Presteigne as well as tithe payers on neighbouring estates.⁴ In the Harleian collection is a 'rental of Crown Lands the Property of Wigmore Abbey, at Prestmeade alias Presthemedede by Hugh ap Lewis, Bailiff'.⁵ Here is a summary (abbreviated at some entries) of these properties:

	£	s.	d.
(i) Rents of assize, free rents, demesne lands, &c. .	1	2	4½
(ii) Annual rents, diverse persons and holdings .		8	8
Customary rents various, including 30 <i>s.</i> for tithes of all sheaves in Combe	9	4	9½
Total of (i) and (ii)	10	15	10
(iii) Farm of all tithes of grain, hay, &c., pertaining to the rectory of Presteigne at Le Nashe and Brampton [<i>sic</i>] in the (ecclesiastical) parish of Presteigne now in occupation of Morice ap Lood ⁶ [<i>sic</i>] of Presteigne but held by Wal- ter Roode ⁷ by indenture		3	6 8

¹ See below, p. 236 at item xii.

² P.R.O.: Surveys, LR 2/183, F. 53, 23 Hy. VIII.

³ *Cal. Pat. R.*, LR 2/182.

⁴ P.R.O.: LR 2/183, 33 Hy. VIII.

⁵ Harl. 4131, f. 388. Reputed temp. Edw. VI, but owing to the reference to Nicholas Herryson under item xiii below, probably temp. Hy. VIII.

⁶ See below, p. 236, alias Llen or Llanello: this name may also be the Lellowe or Lello which figures in the Presteigne Parish Register.

⁷ For Walter and William Rodd see below.

(iv) Farm of tithes of sheaves and hay in parish of Presteigne let to Elizabeth à Hethe	1 0 0
(v) Farm of all tithes of hay, corn, &c., of Stapleton and Rood pertaining to the rectory of Presteigne as farmed by Thomas Lloyd of Presteigne by indentures of 2 Oct. 30 Hy. VIII for 60 years	6 13 4
Total of (iii), (iv), and (v)	£11 0 0
(vi) Tithes . . . in Over and	
(vii) Nether Kinsham	3 6 8
(viii) Tithes . . . in Discoed	4 0 0
(ix) All tithes in Norton	2 13 4
(x) All tithes in Willey	1 0 0
(xi) Tithes of sheaves in Stocking	8 4
(xii) Annual and perpetual pension received yearly of the rector of Knill out of his rectory	3 0
(xiii) Annual and perpetual portion received yearly of Nicholas Harrison, ¹ clerk, vicar of Presteigne out of tithes of flax and hemp and certain closes	8 2
Total of items (iii) to (xiii) excluding item (xii) is	£22 16 6
(xiv) Tithes to the Crown until ?	19 10
(xv) Bailiff's fee per annum	3 0 0

This rent and tithe roll of the former abbey of Wigmore in the Presteigne area is substantially confirmed and amplified in other documents.² In these, however, the tithes are held by William Rodd instead of Walter Rodd who also paid originally to the abbey a charge of 4*d.* annually on unspecified property in Presteigne.³ The tithes in Nash and Little Brampton, (iii) above, of £3. 6*s.* 8*d.* were due on two specified feast days by a farmer here called Maurice ap Lello or Lellowe.⁴ They are specifically described as 'late of the Monastery of Wigmore'; their payment was in arrear at

¹ Alias Herryson; see above, p. 225.

² Augmentation Office Misc. E. 315/293, f. 50d and f. 123d; *Cal. Pat. R.*, LR 2/183, ff. 16, 17, 19, 53, and 116; Patent 16 Nov. 1552.

³ For William and Walter Rodd or de la Rode see p. 196.

⁴ Cf. Will in *Trs. Rad. Soc.*, vol. vi, pp. 9-10; name also figures in Presteigne Parish Register.

Michaelmas 1539. The Morice ap Lood or Lello or Lellowe, if all these are the same, was probably of the family of Lyde or Lloyd who were certainly farming at Rodd, Nash, and Knill in the sixteenth century. The Thomas Lloyd of Presteigne who held the farm of tithes at Stapleton and Rodd of £6. 13s. 4d., (v) above, is also confirmed but described as Thomas ap Lloyd; this charge, too, is referred to as formerly belonging to Wigmore but secured to him by indenture. The 'pension' of 3s. annually from the rectory of Knill, (xii) above, is also mentioned as *valor ecclesiasticus*, and a payment of 3s. is recorded as due to the Crown in the Knill Parish Register in 1671. This annuity was retained by the Crown but seems to have fallen in abeyance. The subsequent history of certain, in particular, of the Presteigne tithes concerns the history of the church as the parish church of the neighbourhood, and this story directly.

In 1552 the tithes and advowson of Presteigne were granted to John Bradshawe, Esq., senior, by letters patent dated 16 November of that year: the tithes and advowson are described as 'late of the Monastery of Wigmore'. The grant was at the instance of William Thomas, gent., 'in consideration of an annuity of £17. 6s. 8d.¹ and a debt of 500 marks² granted to the King' by the latter. This is a curious transaction and is connected through the person of William Thomas with a whole series of grants which have sufficient historical interest to be worth noting.

In 1516³ there had been a grant to Hugh Wyly of toll, custom, and subsidy on all beasts and merchandise bought and sold in the markets and fairs of Presteigne, Bulth, and Elfael. This grant was later surrendered, but was followed by a similar grant in 1519⁴ to William West, Page of the Chamber, and Hugh Wyly. Hugh Wyly was Groom of the Chamber and connected with Old Hall, Willey, near Presteigne.⁵ In 1547⁶ there is a grant of the same in reversion to Thomas Seymour, Kt., on his elevation to the peerage as

¹ Note the amount; cf. pp. 238-9 below.

² 400 marks in the Harley muniments.

³ *Cal. Pat. R.*, 20 May, 7 Hy. VIII.

⁴ *Cal. Pat. R.*, 12 Oct., 10 Hy. VIII.

⁵ *Trs. Rad. Soc.*, vol. xv, p. 53.

⁶ *Cal. Pat. R.*, 14 Aug., 37 Hy. VIII, 1547.

Lord Seymour of Sudeley, followed in 1552¹ by a similar grant in reversion, 'Wylly being dead, to the King's Servant William Thomas Esquire Clerk to the Privy Council', from whom, it is recorded, there were conveyed to John Bradshawe the rectory and advowson of Presteigne which were not mentioned in the grants referred to; nor did the Presteigne living hold the market dues which Thomas had.

The grant of 1552 to John Bradshawe enumerates the following items of property in Presteigne which correspond remarkably well with the earlier inventory already mentioned. The items (in summary form) are:

	£	s.	d.
(a) Sheaves in Combe	1	10	0
(b) Grain and hay in Nash & Little Brampton	3	6	8
(c) Sheaves of [?in] 'Hay otherwise Hethe'	1	10	0
(d) Sheaves of corn, grain, hay, and 'other tithe whatsoever' in Stapleton, Presteigne, Rodd [<i>sic</i>] and 'our tithe barn [there]'	10	13	4
(e) Grain and hay in Willey	1	0	0
(f) Tithes in Stocking		8	4
(g) Annuity from vicar for tithes of flax and hemp		8	2
(h) All dues, rights, privileges, &c., formerly enjoyed by the late abbot and convent of Wigmore	18	16	8

These items need some analysis. Item (a) corresponds to the entry under item (ii) in the first quoted list; item (b) relates to item (iii); item (c) relates to item (iv) but is 10s. larger; item (d) is the sum of items (iii) and (v), that is the property held by Walter (or William) Rodd but with the addition of the tithe barn at The Rodd and 13s. 4d. more in value: it is tempting to suggest that this additional value is attributable to the tithe barn not mentioned in the first list, but again referred to later.² Item (e) corresponds with item (x) as does item (f) with (xi). Items (g) and (xiii) agree and the descriptions supplement each other. The total of items (a) to (g) in the original Latin version of the letters patent of 1552 is given as £18. 6s. 8d.: in fact the totals add up to £18. 16s. 6d. The 10s. difference is probably accounted for by the entry under item (c) which is probably an error

¹ *Cal. Pat. R.*, 20 May, 7 Edw. VI, 1552/3.

² See p. 239 below.

for 20*s.* as in item (iv).¹ There is a constant discrepancy of 2*d.* in the various totals which can be made perhaps to arise out of the 8*s.* 2*d.* of the vicar's portion in both lists: were this item 8*s.* 4*d.*, as for the tithes in Stocking at item (xi), the amount would correspond well and can also be related to the value in the Taxatio of £17. 6*s.* 8*d.*, the odd 20*s.* being accounted for by the Willey tithes which were probably then held by Hugh Wyly.

The 1552 grant to John Bradshawe nevertheless records that the tithes of £3. 6*s.* 8*d.*, namely item (b) or (iii), was still in the possession of William Rodd. The extraneous item of 3*s.* (xii) relating to Knill disappears. William (or Walter) Rodd was, as has already been mentioned, deeply concerned with the ecclesiastical organization of Presteigne and the abbey of Wigmore, which had appointed him auditor and steward of the abbot and convent in 1539.² A John Rodd was also vicar of Presteigne in 1559 and in 1570, perhaps till his death in 1581. A note made in 1821 by the legal advisers of the Harley family reads as follows:³

It seems from a grant (above referred to as the 1552 grant), dated 30th April to Charles I, that the Rectory, Tithes and premises comprized in the foregoing Letters Patent, except the Tithe Barn and the Tithes of The Rodd, afterwards became invested in the Crown, but that the Tithe Barn and Tithes of The Rodd had been previously conveyed by the said John Bradshaw, the original grantee thereof, and Sibilla his wife to James Rodd, Richard Rodd, and Hugh Rodd, and are therefore excepted in that grant. And as we have not been able to find the Conveyance from Bradshaw, we have sent a copy of King Charles' Grant herewith, as the exception therein shows that such a conveyance had been made and that

¹ This document containing the name of William Rodd in P.R.O.: LR 2/182, is clearly temp. Hy. VIII; the tithes roll Harl. 4131, which refers to Walter Rodd, has been dated temp. Edw. VI, but owing to the reference to Nicholas Herryson is probably also temp. Hy VIII. Walter and William may in fact be the same person, cf. p. 196, but if they are two people then Walter is later than William.

² See above, p. 231.

³ In the muniments of the Harley family at Brampton Bryan, bundle 8, recorded by Mr. W. Howse to whom I am indebted for this information and the notes on the subsequent history of the tithes, &c., of Presteigne, derived from the same sources.

by that means the Tithes of the Village of Rodd came into the Rodd family, . . .

The writer added a note in the margin to the effect:

The enrolment of this Grant has been lately found at the Rolls Chapel—and a copy herewith sent—where it appears that the conveyance was to Richard Rodd only.

It may incidentally be noted that the Great Tithes of Rodd (and of Kinsham) were excluded from the summary of the church terrier of 1639. Moreover, most of The Rodd lands surrounding the house and farm are not charged with rectorial tithes today.¹

John Bradshawe's purchase of the advowson of Presteigne may not have been entirely actuated by the altruistic motive of presenting a priest after the termination of the connexion of the church with its parent monastic organization, or if it was, he turned the event to some family advantage. In 1590 Roger Bradshawe, M.A., priested by John, Bishop of Gloucester, and described as resident and of honest conversation, became vicar [*sic*] of Presteigne with a stipend of £20 to which he was presented by John Bradshawe, Esq., the patron, with John Skeyvacks or Skevick, priested by the Bishop of St. David's, as curate, honest and resident also, with a stipend of £10, a figure corresponding to items (iii) and (v) on the tithes roll of the abbey of Wigmore.² A 'John Skeyvicke' was, incidentally, married in Presteigne church in 1589. The Bradshawe family also owned the beautiful old timbered house which is now the much enlarged Radnorshire Arms Hotel in Presteigne.³ He was evidently a man of some means, for with another he acquired in 1613 from William Weaver and his wife Joyce a substantial estate described as in Stapleton, Staunton-on-Arrow, and Kinsham, amounting to 550 acres in all with 4 messuages, orchards, and gardens. The stated amount paid was, however, only £160 and the transaction therefore does not

¹ Tithe Apportionment Map and Terrier 1845, and the author's correspondence with Tithe Redemption Commission, 1955.

² i.e. part of the 'rectorial' tithes: Lambeth Palace Library, Clergy in Diocese 1590.

³ A local tradition that this John Bradshawe was Bradshawe the Regicide has no foundation in fact.

look as if it was concerned with the major part of the Stapleton lands which had been alienated in 1596.¹ John Bradshawe was again concerned a few years later with another substantial transaction in Presteigne and Lugharnes involving £100 for 100 acres, but as a vendor.² There is some doubt whether it was during or after Roger Bradshawe's presentation that the vicar of Presteigne became rector: in the 1590 list of incumbents he is referred to as vicar.

And that is more or less the story of how the connexion of Presteigne church with the abbey of Wigmore came to an end. The break-up of this monastic organization by the Crown, thanks to the local laity, in fact decentralized the control of the local church to the locality and brought it into closer touch with the parishioners than had been the case when it belonged to a monastic institution which kept most of the local revenues and in its turn had a remoter superior authority.

There may be additional evidence of friction arising out of a monastic superior control before the Dissolution in a piece of parochial organization recorded in the Presteigne Registers. On 8 May 1603 it is written

for as much as some of the XII men of the parishe of Presteigne are dead and departed out of this transitorie liefte, and, that the number is to be supplied by ancient custom [*sic*] of the gravest and substantiallest men of the parishe It is ordered and decreed that the persons undernamed shalbe and remayne of the number of the XII men and that none of the XII men shall hereafter be ellected or chosen to be wardens of the said parishe.

Signed by: Peter Lloyd, Thomas Pryce, Hugh Lewis, Thomas Weaver, John ap Owen (crossed out), Phil Goz, John Walsam, William Tattersall, Richard Gomey, John Agomey, Richard Powell, Nicholas Taylor, Francis Owen. In 1613 the Twelve Men agreed with the churchwardens of Presteigne that 6s. 8d. would be paid by every person belonging to the parish for a grave in the church or chancel, and that the churchwardens should be accountable yearly at Easter. In 1620 there is a note of the nomination of six

¹ See Chap. VII, p. 174.

² *F.F.* 10 Jac. I, and 16 Jac. I, CP 25(2), 301.

out of the Twelve Men for the town and six for the country. Four names are struck out with the comment *mortuus*, and the names of the substitutes are entered for 1623, 1627, 1630, and 1631.¹

What is significant here is that there existed a council of twelve men chosen locally, who were not churchwardens, to deal with church matters. Not being churchwardens they could not be, or be part of, the vestry. The custom till lately has obtained in Presteigne that there shall be four churchwardens of whom two shall be churchwardens for the outlying parishes of Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton, and of Stapleton.² But the 'Twelve Men' was something else, and it was already an 'ancient' institution in 1603. One guess is that it dates from an attempt by Presteigne to administer its own church when its main revenues were still the property of the abbey of Wigmore which also presented the vicar. It may have been a 'select vestry'. A full account of its duties and rights has unfortunately not come down to us. The Council of Twelve Men, evidently, according to the minute of 8 May 1603, a revival of an earlier organization, nevertheless did not survive by many years the events which followed the Elizabethan reform of the Church.

The Presteigne Parish Registers begin in 1561. They were written up in accordance with instructions issued by Queen Elizabeth in 1559 repeating Thomas Cromwell's Minute of 1538. The early entries for the period 1561-98/9 are all written in the same hand, evidently copying earlier records. They are not particularly interesting except for family history. There are records of the plague in 1636 and 1637/8 which was so bad that the inhabitants could not pay ship money,³ and of smallpox in 1709 and 1730-2. There are other records of a bad plague in 1593 and of another in 1610.⁴ There was a dispute in which the rector was involved in 1667 about whether his tithe was or was not payable on fellings of woodland of more than twenty years' growth, in which Thomas Cornewall of Stapleton and 'Mr Rod' of

¹ Presteigne Parish Register, vol. i: Nicholas Meredith appears in the 1620 list where Philip Gough (= Phil Goz) appears.

² Cf. Charity Commissioners' Report, 1837, No. 32, Part III.

³ *State Papers Domestic*, SP 16/386, No. 25.

⁴ *Woolhope*, 1889, p. 330.

The Rodd were involved on the other side. One man was executed for treason, and a convict was executed for horse stealing; they received Christian burials, but Bull, a Quaker of Willey, and Richard Watkins, 'an old Quaker out of gaol', were also buried though 'not with Christian rites'. A 'poor travelling child' who died at The Rodd, and a discharged soldier pensioner who 'died in the snow' had parish burials; so did Edward Morgan of Rodd Hurst 'called the conjurer and resorted to as such'. A conjurer in local dialect is an unqualified practitioner, who dispenses remedies, sets bones, and perhaps in former days practised the arts of magic: a part of the field behind Rodd Hurst was till lately still called Conjuror's Plock. The tradition of bone setting survives in certain families locally: their services are in great demand by human patients as well as by the best Herefordshire cattle breeders for their injured stock.

The advowson of Presteigne and its tithes did not remain long in the hands of the Bradshawes. John Bradshawe, probably the son of 'John Bradshawe, Esquire, senior', began by leasing the Presteigne tithes in the early years of the seventeenth century. A conveyance of 13 January 1614¹ describes these tithes (other than those of Rodd and Kinsham, but including the vicar's portion of 8*s.* 2*d.* [*sic*]) as 'formerly the property of John Bradshawe'. By an indenture¹ of 8 October 1619 Sir Thomas Wolseley and others of Staffordshire conveyed to John Wall of Kingsland and Richard Blythwaite of Leintwardine in return for a payment by Sir Robert Harley the tithes and advowson of Presteigne other than the tithe and tithe barn of Rodd. This conveyance is recorded in the Feet of Fines for 1620.² In 1627 Sir Robert and Lady Brilliana Harley of Brampton Bryan, by indenture dated 18 December,¹ conveyed the advowson of Presteigne with the tithes of Willey, Stocking, Little Brampton, Nash, Heath, Combe, and Stapleton to St. Antholin's in London, in the persons of Roland Heylmer, alderman of London, Richard Gibbs, William Gohge, and John White.³ Sir Robert and Lady Brilliana Harley were ardent supporters of the

¹ Harley Muniments, bundle 8.

² *F.F.*, 18 Jac. I, and 19 Jac. I, CP 26(2), 351.

³ *F.F.*, Trinity, 4 Car. I.

Reformed religion and later espoused the parliamentary party against the king, Lady Brilliana defending the castle of Brampton Bryan against the king's troops while her husband was campaigning in East Anglia.

The tithes and advowson of Presteigne were, however, taken from St. Antholin's in 1632 following an action brought by the Crown on the grounds that in their dealings in church livings the feoffees had constituted themselves 'a Corporation': and the Crown secured the property. It appears that the purchase of the advowson of Presteigne by the group in London in 1627 had been for the purpose of endowing a lectureship at St. Antholin, Watling Street, in the City. These lectureships were a challenge to the episcopal authority of the Church of England and in order to counter the movement Charles I issued injunctions against the corporations of such feoffees.

In the early years of the seventeenth century the Reverend John Scull, B.D., was presented as vicar to Presteigne by Sir Gilbert Cornewall of Stapleton.¹ The year was either 1603 or 1613 by which time, evidently, the advowson had already passed out of the hands of John Bradshawe and had not yet come into the hands of Sir Robert Harley. It was perhaps when Scull learnt of proceedings being instituted against the St. Antholin foundation that he saw an opportunity of getting hold of the impropriated tithes of Presteigne. Writing in the Parish Register in 1670, the then rector, Phillip Lewis, records that John Scull, B.D., with the help of Lord Willoughby and having 'provided' him with £300 (the phrase used is *impensis ter centum librarum*),² succeeded in getting a grant impropriate of the rectory of Presteigne from Charles I by letters patent. Scull thus became rector and vicar on 31 March 1639 as is confirmed in State Papers³ and the formerly impropriated benefice now became *unam individuum et consolidatam Rectoriam*. State Papers for 1640, however, also record a warrant for issuing £1,000 for the endowment of St. Antholin and for the confirmation of

¹ *Woolhope*, 1889, p. 335.

² Translated by Lewis himself as 'at the expense of three hundred pounds'. Presteigne Church Charities Book, Sheet 40.

³ *State Papers Domestic*, vol. 415; docket 31 Mar. 1639 and 1640.

the value set on the church of Presteigne.¹ Scull retained the tithes until 1647 when they were seized by 'a black sacrilege by name of Parliament' ('atrum et sacrilegium nomine parliamentum sed [ve]re conventio diabolica'), as Lewis records, which alienated the revenues of Presteigne once more after the fall of the monarchy to 'certain factious persons' of St. Antholin.

There was the usual troubled interregnum in church matters during the Commonwealth. Mr. Nicholas Taylor writes that 'in those bad times there was no lawful minister settled in Presteigne'. He had to send for various clergymen to baptize his children in 1654, 1657, 1658, and 1660.² In 1654/5 the Commissioners for the Approbation of Public Preachers considered the presentation by the Lord Protector of Mr. Thomas Cole to the rectory of Presteigne. They heard testimony of 'his holy and good conversation and he was adjudged fit to preach the Gospel, to be admitted to the said Rectory, to do duty and receive profits in like manner as if he had been admitted according to the laws and customs formerly in use'. He seems to have succeeded a Mr. Richard Lucas who had been appointed only a few weeks before by the Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales. Perhaps Lucas got into trouble, for he was ordered to give satisfaction to the Trustees for the first fruits of the vicarage, to which he had just been admitted. Anyway, soon after Lucas's appointment the commissioners found it necessary to grant to the minister at Presteigne 'so long as he does duty' and with all arrears, £54 per annum of the impropriate rectory of Llanbister and £22 per annum out of the impropriation of Llangunllo.³

After the Restoration the parishioners of Presteigne asked Lewis to try to get back the church revenues. Phillip Lewis describes himself⁴ as born of *modicis sed honestis* parents: he was educated at Presteigne grammar school under 'that very excellent Master Robert Waring' and went to Christ Church, Oxford. He became chaplain to Robert Morley, Bishop of

¹ *State Papers*, loc. cit.

² Presteigne Parish Registers.

³ Lambeth Palace Library Augmentations, 997/124, 141, 162, 187, 1654/5; also cf. William, *Hist. Modern Wales*, pp. 115-18.

⁴ In the Parish Register.

Winchester, whom he now approached for assistance with the king, Charles II. From him he succeeded in securing the restitution of the vicarage in 1660;¹ the rectory was obtained on 24 October 1664 when Phillip Lewis once more became rector of Presteigne. In spite of all this Lewis nevertheless got into trouble concerning certain of the recovered tithes, of Nash and Little Brampton, which he demised to one Muskett of Nash.² It may be added that it was as a result of Auditor Harley's successful representation to the Crown that, Sir Robert and Lady Brilliana Harley having been found to have no title to dispose of the Presteigne tithes, the advowson was eventually granted to Robert, Earl of Oxford, by Queen Anne by letters patent dated 21 November 1712; and permission was given again under letters patent on 18 February 1713 to restore the tithes to the rectory.

When Edward VI's government seized the chantries, and many of the church goods which had escaped Henry VIII's attention, records of the goods taken were made. The four chantries at Presteigne have been described. There is no record of any goods seized in Presteigne: if there was such seizure it probably took place when the Wigmore Abbey establishment was broken up and its properties were impounded, and the goods were included in those of the monastery. There is no record of any chantries at Knill or connected with any particular Presteigne chapel; the Knill inventory of church goods has also been mentioned.

In the same series of documents referring to Knill are two inventories of goods seized at 'Brompton'. It might be tempting to suppose that 'Brompton' was Little Brampton where there is a story—tradition is putting it too high—that there was a church.

The two 'Brompton' inventories³ are set out side by side:

A	B
Gilt chalice and paten, 20½ oz. and 9½ oz. parcel gilt	Silver chalice with paten, parcel gilt
3 bells: 20, 22, 25 in.	3 bells in steeple: —, 34, 38 in.

¹ Petition on the subject among the Harley Muniments, referred to 'H.M.'s Council learned in law'.

² Comm. under Dep., 26 Car. II, m. 7, 1674.

³ P.R.O.: Inventories of goods in E. 117/2/79, 6 Edw. VI.

Silver pyx, 4 oz.	Cross and pyx of brass
	Little round service bell, and two cruets, 'stolen since last inventory as the parishioners affirm'.
Vestment of red silk	Pair of red satin vestments with albs
2 altar cloths and 2 flaxen sheets	2 table cloths
2 board cloths	2 towels
<i>Reserved for use of parish:</i>	<i>Reserved for use of church:</i>
Gilt chalice, 2 [?] oz.	Chalice and paten
Red silk vestment to make cope	Pair of vestments
4 table cloths	All table cloths and towels
2 flaxen sheets	

In the first inventory three parishioners sign; and in the second six, including a deacon and two clerks. The deanery and hundred of the 'Brompton' inventory (A) are not given; in version (B) of the inventory 'Brompton' is described as in the Hundred of Wigmore which might apply either to Little Brompton or to Brompton Bryan.

The two inventories evidently refer to different churches, if only on account of the size of the bells. The names of the signatory parishioners are quite different too and none of the names on either inventory is familiar among the many recorded names of inhabitants of Knill, Rodd, Nash and Little Brompton at this time. Moreover, in the same collection of documents yet another 'Brompton' occurs, in Greytree Hundred, as well as a list of Pembridge church property seized with a very extensive list of vestments and plate. The inventory of the goods at 'Brompton' in Wigmore Hundred therefore almost certainly refers to Brompton Bryan and one of those other 'Bromptons' elsewhere in the county and actually some way away from Little Brompton. Even though the inventories are associated in the documentation with Knill, one must therefore conclude that two Bromptons are involved and that there is no evidence that either of them is Little Brompton.¹

Incidentally, while on this subject of a possible church at

¹ P.R.O.: E. 117/3/79, 117/2/82, 117/2/85 and 8.

Little Brampton, it is worth recording that the rolls of Clerical Subsidies¹ from 1543 to 1662, while referring to the clergy and vicarages or rectories of Presteigne, Old Radnor, New Radnor, Knill, Pembridge, Norton, Byton, and Discoed (as a chapel), make no reference to any establishment at Little Brampton. There is no doubt that there was no church, and probably no chapel at Little Brampton, though on more than one occasion Presteigne is referred to as having chapels. Where only one chapel is referred to, it manifestly is Discoed. Where then were the other chapels which could have constituted the group served by the Priests of the House of Priests? Almost the only documentary clue is in the *Register of Bishop Charles Bothe* for 1536² which refers to Presteigne with chapels at Byton, Lingen, Kinsham Superior, Kinsham Inferior, and Discoed. While there is no reference to any chapel at Rodd, Nash or Little Brampton there is an entry in the *Register of Bishop John Stanbury* for 1474 recording a licence granted to Elen widow of Thomas ap Rosser alias Procere [*sic*: i.e. Prosser] to have Mass and other Offices said in the chapel at Nash within the parish of Presteigne 'whenever she is there'.³ This single entry does not suggest that this was more than a particular and personal exception or that the chapel at Nash was more than a room used as an oratory. Indeed, the very fact of this single entry suggests that there was no regular chapel or church either at Nash or elsewhere in the Hindwell Valley except, of course, the church at Knill which was without the ecclesiastical parish of Presteigne.

Another likely site for a chapel would seem to be Stapleton, held as it was by the important de Say, de Mortimer, Harley, and Cornewall families, and having at one time had a settlement as large as Presteigne, besides being an important lordship. Yet there is throughout the ages no reference whatsoever to any church or chapel there. If there was anything of the sort it was no more than an oratory; and this is confirmed by records of christenings and burials of Cornewalls of Stapleton at Presteigne.⁴ There is a solitary

¹ P.R.O. Clerical Subsidies: Subsidy Rolls fourteen documents, 35 Hy. VIII, E. 179/224/542.

² Canterbury and York Society.

³ Cf. Clerical Subsidies, p. 228 above.

⁴ *Apud* Howse, *Stapleton Castle and Presteigne Past and Present Parishes*.

entry in Phillip Lewis's *Presteigne* drawn up about 1671: in the list of tithe fields, &c., occurs 'item, in the township of Nether Kinsham, . . . one parcel of land where the chappel now standeth . . .'. The use of the word 'now' seems to imply that it was not an ancient chapel, at any rate on that site.¹ And that is about all that can be said about the puzzling subject of the chapels of Presteigne ecclesiastical parish and its organization.

There is not much more which has any bearing on this story to add about the religious troubles of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. There had been a good deal of Lollardy in the district generally in the days of Sir John Oldcastle, later Lord Cobham. When and in what circumstances the churches of Presteigne and Knill were turned over to the Reformed religion does not appear. The vicissitudes attending the presentation of incumbents to Presteigne is an echo of the religious upheaval created by the Tudor sovereigns. The solidarity of the Rodds at The Rodd for the Royalist cause may indicate that they continued for some time in the old faith, but there is no direct evidence of this and they seem to have been of the new faith by the time the Presteigne Parish Registers begin: at any rate they all were entered there for christening, marriage, and burial. The Harleys at Brampton Bryan, on the other hand, were solid supporters of the Commonwealth. This countryside was no doubt as much or as little divided by its religious principles as the rest of England, and like the rest of England continued to live and cultivate and die more quietly and calmly than many history books have sought to make their readers believe. Francis Brett Young's *The Taverner's Tale* has probably given a truer picture, spoken through the mouth of the publican at Worcester, of the life and feelings of the people of the border, especially in the Civil War, than has many a professional historian.²

¹ Presteigne Parish Register.

² *The Island: The Taverner's Tale*, pp. 230-46. Father Philip Hughes in his history of the Reformation in England keeps on bringing out the essential apathy, or patience, of the people of England in the religious controversies of the sixteenth century when their lords and masters were seeking to inculcate this or that view or dogma.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII

Sources for the Ecclesiastical History of
Knill and Presteigne

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. | Register of Bp. Adam de Orleton | } Canterbury and York
Society, and Cantilupe
Society. |
| 2. | „ „ Thomas de Charlton | |
| 3. | „ „ John de Trillek | |
| 4. | „ „ Lewis de Charlton | |
| 5. | „ „ John Gilbert | |
| 6. | „ „ John Trefnant | |
| 7. | „ „ Thomas Spofford | |
| 8. | „ „ John Stanbury | |
| 9. | „ „ Thomas Myllyng | |
| 10. | „ „ Richard Mayhew | |
| 11. | „ „ Charles Bothe | |
12. Institutions to Benefices in diocese of Hereford: Cantilupe
 13. Knill Parish Register. [Society.]
 14. P.R.O. E. 179/30/21, 6/7 Hy. IV.
 15. „ E. 179/30/90, 30/31 Hy. VI.
 16. „ E. 179/32/273, 14 Car. II.
 17. Parliamentary Survey (Lambeth), No. 10, 1658.
 18. Lambeth Palace Library: Reports on Clergy: 1590.
 19. P.R.O. E. 117/2/79, 6 Edw. VI.
 20. Register of Thomas de Cantilupe: Cantilupe Society.
 21. P.R.O. E. 179/224/542.
 22. „ E. 179/30/90.
 23. „ E. 179/30/96A.
 24. „ E. 179/30/106.
 25. „ E. 179/30/95.
 26. „ E. 179/32/223.
 27. „ E. 179/67/56.
 28. Berrington Deeds, No. 56, County Record Office, Worcester.
 29. Episcopal Register of Hereford, *apud Trs. Rad. Soc.*, vol. xix, pp. 17-18.
 30. Name in Letters Testimonial notifying sentence in favour of Winchester College against John Rode, regarding certain tithes. Winchester College Records, No. 16, dated London, 9 June 1570.
 31. Land Conveyances at Worcester Record Office.
 32. Wills transcribed by E. J. L. Cole in *Trs. Rad. Soc.*, vols. xxiv
 33. Hereford Assize Roll, 302, m. 24. [and xxvi.]
 34. Hereford Cathedral Muniments 5602: certificates of nuns and priests pensioned, temp. Eliz. I.



The Rodd : east front

CHAPTER IX

Of the Rodd Family and Land Transactions in the Seventeenth Century

GREAT changes in the ownership of land in England were a conspicuous feature of the Elizabethan and post-Elizabethan eras. Records of alienations of land become embarrassingly numerous for the local historian: and the volume of these records is not merely due to the better preservation of documents or the creation of parish church records. It is perhaps true that if so many ecclesiastical records had not been dispersed after the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the Reformation, more documents of the fifteenth century and before might have survived. The fact, however, remains that for a variety of reasons the English Renaissance is marked by a large turnover of real property and the acquisition of estates by elements of society which became wealthy during this great flowering of England. The subject is dealt with by many historians of the Elizabethan period¹ who have also described the not unconnected industrial development of the country which was taking place in coal production, iron-working, glass-making, and wool-weaving.

How much the acquisition of land by families who had not hitherto been important property owners, or the acquisition of additional estates by those who already had some property, was due to increased wealth derived from the Elizabethan 'Industrial Revolution' and commercial expansion, and how much was due to the termination of the Middle Ages with its generally static system of land tenure among comparatively limited classes of society within which it passed mainly by marriage or inheritance, is too large a subject to consider within the compass of this work. There

¹ And by none more attractively than by Rowse in his *The England of Elizabeth*, especially chaps. iv and vi.

is, however, little doubt that the accumulation of wealth through industry, commerce, and foreign adventure during Queen Elizabeth's reign, together with the confiscation and subsequent sale of ecclesiastical lands during the sixteenth century, combined to provide the setting for a vastly enhanced property market.

In Herefordshire generally, and in the case of the Rodd family in particular, the volume of land transactions increases progressively from the middle of the sixteenth century right through to the end of the seventeenth century. The number, amplitude, and complexity of the transactions are too great to follow in detail. The principal ones are interesting, not only for the local historian, because they are the evidence of this feature of the English Renaissance. A notable characteristic is the number of these transactions which appear to have had a commercial, rather than a social, motive. They appear as operations where the purchaser buys property because it represents a good investment or speculation on a rising market, in which he subsequently takes a profit by resale. In what follows, examples have been selected of what appear to be such purely market operations. They cannot be accounted for either by the desire or the necessity to raise money to repay a mortgage or other debt or to provide funds for business or building, or, owing to their transitory nature, by social considerations. So far as the Rodds are concerned, the bond of relationship within the larger family group is particularly evident in the association of several but varying and not necessarily very closely related members of the family in a particular transaction or set of transactions.

Richard Rodd the second, who had inherited The Rodd from his father Richard in 1633,¹ married Barbara, the only daughter of Sir William Kirkham, of Blagdon, Co. Devon. Their only child, Frideswide, was named after her grandmother Frideswide Savery, the wife of the first Richard Rodd. On the early Jacobean strapwork overmantel to the fireplace in the drawing-room at The Rodd are three shields. The central shield carries the coat of arms of Rodd impaling

¹ See above, Chap. VII.

Kirkham.¹ The other two shields are blank. The carved overmantel and surround was installed, with the panelling of the room, by the earlier Richard Rodd. The three shields in the oval medallions are an addition and were probably added by the second Richard: they were evidently not part of the original design. But no son was born to record the continuity of the family, so the other two shields remained blank.

Richard Rodd the second was a man of education and influence in Herefordshire and Devon. He was called to the Bar in the Inner Temple, and in 1634 became High Sheriff of Radnorshire. Within two years of succeeding his father at The Rodd he acquired from Walter Pye and Thomas Gould property in the neighbourhood of The Rodd at Nash and Broadheath, namely 300-400 acres including three houses, two watermills, six gardens, and the tithes.² A few years earlier his father had already begun extending the Rodd estate by buying from Thomas Lochard 136 acres at Rodd and Nash including another house with two mills—probably a part of the Nash manor which had two falling mills and a corn mill.³ The Lochards were considerable landowners mainly around Pembridge.⁴ Both the Richard Rodds had a number of small transactions with local owners and occupants such as the Lydes, the Prices, the Passeys, &c., around The Rodd itself. Richard Rodd the second was evidently pursuing his father's policy of rounding off The Rodd estate, some parts of which were passed *inter vivos* to other members of the family by sale or otherwise.

In addition to his local holdings of land in the Hindwell Valley Richard Rodd also held the manor of Lower Kinsham or 'King's Meadoe' which he had acquired for £240 by agreement with his younger brother James. This is recorded in an agreement of 1634 between the two brothers, carrying out the terms of their father's will particularly relating to the New Radnor lands⁵ which James then sold to his brother Richard. The latter then sold them to his

¹ Kirkham coat: Erm., 3 lions rampant gu., a bordure engrailed sa.

² F.F. CP 25(2), 301, Mich., 10 Car. I.

³ F.F. CP 25(2), 301, 4 Car. I.

⁴ Cf. probate copy of will of Lochard 1617: Hereford Public Library 397.

⁵ See above, Chap. VII, p. 191.

brother Hugh Rodd of Wegnal of which he was in occupation in 1622 when he paid lay subsidy at 30s.¹ The earlier ownership of Lower Kinsham is somewhat confused since Richard, clearly the second, is recorded as having bought property there in 1635 of William Morgan and his wife Elizabeth, consisting of two houses together with two barns, that is farm buildings, each with a stable, orchard, and garden and some 300 acres of land of which 80-90 acres were arable. Doubtless this was an addition to his father's land in that area. In spite of the trouble into which Richard fell as a result of his Royalist sympathies it was not a bad investment, because when he died less than forty years later a part only of the Kinsham estate was sworn at £323. 8s. 6d. Neither in this case, nor in the case of other even more substantial acquisitions of property by the Rodd family, is there any indication of where the money came from except that we know that some of the family had by this time become mercers in Hereford. Moreover, Richard Rodd the elder when he succeeded to The Rodd was still a merchant at Stoke Canon and Totnes in Devonshire where the son continued to have interests.

In 1642 The Rodd was let to one John Wigmore of Lutton who in 1646 also held a mortgage from Richard Rodd on Nether or Lower Kinsham.² Whether this lease and loan were connected with Richard Rodd's preoccupations in Devonshire or were the consequence of his activities in support of King Charles is not clear. What is quite evident is that Richard like many other members of his family was an active Royalist, while John Wigmore who is described as 'a papist' was a pretty undesirable tenant, for, seeing the way things were going, he stopped paying his rent for The Rodd. Richard's principal and most heinous crime in the eyes of the Commonwealth was that he 'commanded a company of foot in King Charles' Army in the March of Wales'. As he is not also described as 'a papist' like John Wigmore in the subsequent proceedings of the Commonwealth Committees

¹ P.R.O.: E. 179/265/21. The total lay subsidy for Presteigne and Discoed was £31. 10s.

² Carless inventory of deeds; F.F. CP 25(2), 301; and Robinson's *Mansions*, &c., pp. 164 and 240 n.



The Rodd: the 'Adam and Eve' fireplace with contemporary ceiling

and Courts, it may be presumed that he had joined the Reformed Church, otherwise the fact of his being a Roman Catholic would certainly have been brought up against him as well. However, whatever his religion he was a Cavalier. The effigies on the mantelpiece in the upper sitting-room at The Rodd, even those of the semi-nude figures of Adam and Eve, have a Cavalier flavour. Adam in particular has a fine Van Dyck beard, moustache, and coif. The supporters of the overmantel are Cavalier gentlemen in full fig. Adam's, and even Eve's, bare legs display the rotundities of knee breeches. Only the serpent with the apple in his mouth on the central column of the middle element of the overmantel seems to have escaped a political or religious complexion.

In 1645 Richard Rodd appealed to the king against John Wigmore. He obtained an order from Charles at Raglan Castle on 12 July to recover possession of The Rodd from John Wigmore. The order, which was made out to Barnaby Scudamore, High Sheriff of Herefordshire, refers to Richard as 'Colonel [*sic*] Richard Rhodes or Rodd of The Rodd, Co. Hereford'.¹ The order was never executed, for a couple of weeks later began the siege of Hereford by the Scottish auxiliary troops of Parliament under Lord Leven. The defence of the city in this, the most important siege it sustained during the Civil War, was conducted by Scudamore and Coningsby for six weeks. The damage done in the neighbourhood was considerable, but in the end the Scottish army withdrew on 2 September and King Charles entered Hereford. One of his last successes in the campaign, it was short-lived. On 10 December a detachment of parliamentary troops under the famous Colonel Birch, later of Weobley, returned and occupied the city.²

On 9 April 1646 the Parliamentary Committee at Hereford ordered that The Rodd estate continue to be let to John Wigmore notwithstanding that he was 'a papist', on account of Richard Rodd's Royalist activities. By 20 June 1646 Richard Rodd had ostensibly thrown in his hand,

¹ *Cal. State Papers*, p. 896: Acts for Compounding, 12 July 1645 to 8 Jan. 1649.

² Johnson, *Ancient Customs of the City of Hereford* (London, 1882), pp. 198-203.

and, 'being in a deep consumption', went to his old house in Devonshire to compound under the Articles of Exeter. The Committee for the Advance of Money assessed Richard in Devonshire for £250. His delinquency was established for having held the King's Commission as a Captain of Foot. His fine in Herefordshire was set at $\frac{1}{10}$ —£400 and $\frac{1}{8}$ —£600. Thereafter the Hereford Committee gave him permission to resume possession of The Rodd against John Wigmore and ordered the latter to pay four years of arrears of rent, that is from 1642.

But this by no means ended the matter. Although the Hereford Committee had discharged the estate from sequestration, it left the dispute between Richard Rodd and Wigmore to be settled by private legal process. In view of the controversy in being, Richard was granted six months' grace to pay the second instalment of his fine. In September 1647 the County Committee was ordered by the court to repay all the rents it had received from Wigmore since Richard presented his letter of suspension of sequestration. Richard Rodd was evidently not very popular for the committee then decided, nevertheless, not to discharge the sequestration finally until the second instalment of the fine was paid. There was yet another delay in November when the committee examined the question of whether any allowance ought to have been made for an annuity of £16 charged on the estate. When this, too, was settled in Richard's favour in December, the committee reopened the whole question of the fine payable, on information received (at a guess, from John Wigmore) that he had not declared all his estate in his submission for compounding. Finally, however, even this was settled in his favour and the decision was given that he was to have all profit restored on payment of the second half of the fine. This he succeeded in doing by 8 January 1649 when the Herefordshire estates were finally discharged and restored to his possession. His discharge in respect of the Devonshire property was dated 17 May 1650. The fines which Richard Rodd had to pay were separately assessed on his Herefordshire and Devonshire assets. He raised part of the money required in Herefordshire for the second and final instalment by mortgaging some of the Lower Kinsham

property to Richard Greenhouse (also spelt Gronouse and Greenowes) by deeds dated 1648 and 1649 for £160, which mortgage was discharged only in 1668 by the payment of £200.¹ It was no fun being caught on the wrong foot by the Parliamentary party who with the assistance, one suspects, of John Wigmore used every bureaucratic and legal device to delay a settlement in favour of a man who had become unpopular with the administration.

Richard Rodd the second lived until 1673 in spite of his 'deep consumption'. Having succeeded in recovering the Herefordshire family property he decided to live there until he died. He was buried at Presteigne. His widow Barbara survived him: she also died at The Rodd and was buried at Presteigne. In 1657, when Henry Woodhouse owned the Woodhouse estate between Kinsham and Byton on a stretch of the Lugg which cuts through the hills in a lovely, wooded gorge, his neighbour Richard Rodd was described by him as one of the largest landowners in the countryside. At his death Richard is referred to as one of the four Rodds in Herefordshire who were 'of the nobility and gentry of the County',² the others being Thomas Rodd of Hampton Bishop, Robert Rodd of Foxley, and Edward Rodd of Newton. The first two were described as 'esquires', the last named only as a 'gent', probably because he was, as we shall see, illegitimate. Another familiar name in this catalogue of notables is John Walsham, Esq., of Knill. The Owens of Little Brampton and the Nashes of Nash are not mentioned.

When Richard Rodd the second died he left The Rodd to his wife Barbara for her life with remainder to her daughter who became her executrix.³ To the latter he also left Lower Kinsham directly, which she sold to the Harley family within a short time of her father's death and her marriage to William Walmesley of the Lower House, Co. Lancaster, at Presteigne in 1674. Having no family to inherit her father's estate, she sold it in 1697 for a consideration of £2,000 to her first

¹ Carless deeds, &c., as on p. 7 (vii): *F.F. CP* 25(2), 301, and Robinson's *Mansions, &c.*, pp. 164 and 240 n. There is a slight discrepancy in the documents since the discharge is for 20 acres more than was originally charged.

² Blount's *Britannia* (London, 1673), quoted by Duncumb, vol. i, pp. 113-

14.
³ Will of Richard Rodd: proved 21 Apr. 1673: National Library of Wales.

cousin, another Richard Rodd. This third Richard Rodd of Wegnal was christened at Presteigne in 1629; he was the third son of Hugh Rodd of Wegnal and is described in a Deposition under Commission, of 1672/3, when he was aged 44, as a 'drovier'. He eventually died without issue. From Richard Rodd of Wegnal The Rodd estate passed to Bampfylde Rodd of Devonshire, as will be told hereafter.

The Rodd house had been built by the first Richard Rodd probably at the very end of the sixteenth century. It is a typically Elizabethan house which was never finished: one of the long wings of the E plan was not completed owing, as the tradition has it, to an epidemic of plague¹ at Presteigne. It stands today practically as it was left when Richard Rodd the elder died in 1633. The date of 1629 over the porch door probably recalls the period when a beginning was made in the embellishment of the interior by an elaborate plaster ceiling in the parlour on the first floor and good oak panelling in that room and three downstairs rooms; but architecturally the house belongs to the sixteenth century. It stands untouched as a very interesting example of domestic architecture of the period, with many of its original floors, doors, and door frames cut in the oak timbers of the interior walls.

Richard Rodd the elder's purchases of land at Nash seem, by family arrangement, to have been added to the property there which his brother William inherited from their mother Margaret (Price) Rodd. William's considerable parcel of Nash land was inherited by his son James Rodd, described as 'of Nash' to distinguish him from two other James Rodds to which we shall presently come.

Hugh Rodd, another brother of Richard the elder and William, acquired the property at Wegnal which had originally been bought by Richard and his brother James Price Rodd. To this, Hugh added some further parcels which he and his brother Richard had bought on the 'Heath'—that is Broadheath near Presteigne—adjoining the Wegnal land from Walter Pye and Thomas Gould. The purchase by the brothers of the Wegnal land is interesting in the setting of family co-operation. This land, the exact extent of which is

¹ E.g. in 1593 and 1610, cf. Chap. VIII, p. 242.

not known, covered approximately Clatretune manor old fields G and D¹ and contiguous plots on the left bank of the Hindwell down stream of Rodd Bridge. The present farm of Wegnal is of about 100 acres, but Hugh Rodd's property must have been bigger. The acquisition of the Wegnal land gave the family control of the mill water and a better access to the mill itself. Richard Rodd the elder, or more likely, Hugh, built the 'black and white' timbered manor farmhouse which now stands, alas derelict, a few yards from the mill. The Wegnal property passed by Hugh's will, proved in 1647, to his eldest son James and then went out of the family to his daughters.

Not counting the James Rodd of Nash who inherited from his father William or the James, son of Hugh Rodd of Wegnal, there are two other James Rodds whose lives were so parallel in achievement that their stories in Herefordshire and Devonshire run as tangled threads through the records of both counties.²

Of these two Jameses, the first, because the elder, was a brother of the first of the two Richard Rodds. This James and Richard together with Hugh and others, were sons of Hugh Rodd or de la Rode who died in 1602/3. The other of these two Jameses was the brother of Richard Rodd the second and son of the first Richard.³

The first James, who was christened James Price Rodd with his mother Margaret's maiden name, was born a few years later than 1572 and in the hey-day of Queen Elizabeth. He left the countryside and went to Hereford. He was a mercer, as was his brother Hugh Rodd of Wegnal. James Price Rodd married Margery Ballard, sister of the Dorothy Ballard whom his elder brother Hugh of Wegnal had married. James's wife Margery inherited the property of Newton, Co. Monmouth, from her father John Ballard, of The Grove, in the same county. By 1606 James Rodd had become a person of some standing and quite a civic figure in the city of Hereford. He was mayor in 1616 and a member

¹ Cf. above, p. 106.

² The relationship of the various Jameses, Richards, and Hughs can only be set out clearly in the pedigrees at end of volume.

³ See pedigree at end of volume.

of the Common Council under the new charter of the city in 1620. He was appointed an alderman of Hereford in 1632, having been the borough's Member of Parliament from 1620 to 1622, the county's member in 1623, and the High Sheriff of the county in 1623/4. Like his nephew the second Richard, and other relatives in Devonshire, he was a Royalist. Although he never seems actually to have borne arms against the Parliamentary party, he was fined by the Sequestration Commissioners in 1646¹ on an assessment of land at Yazor, perhaps Foxley manor with the advowson of Yazor, and land elsewhere. He presented to Yazor twice in 1620 and 1662. He had ten children: four sons, three of whom were illegitimate, and six daughters. He was knighted, and he died in 1664 having made his will in 1663.²

To Sir James Price Rodd and his elder brother Richard Rodd the first, William Price of Nash, a Merchant Taylor and citizen of London, living in Paternoster Row and evidently a relation, probably the brother, of Watkin Price (whose daughter Margaret was James and Richard's mother), in 1604 bequeathed property at Nash in trust to found a 'hospital' at Hereford. What this property amounted to is not clear but in view of the other transactions in Nash lands already described it looks as if William Price's endowment consisted of a charge on lands at Nash rather than land itself. Alternatively, or at the same time, the Rodds who inherited and bought Nash lands may have bought out the William Price endowment in land for the 'hospital' and substituted cash in the course of the years which elapsed between 1604 and 1633, when Sir James Price Rodd succeeded in getting a royal grant for the institution which was eventually built in 1636, many years after William Price's death. Sir James Price Rodd further endowed the 'hospital' himself with land, houses, and the rectory of Mansell Lacy. The almshouses still known as Price's Hospital stand in Whitecross

¹ Cf. W. R. Williams, *The Parliamentary History of the County of Hereford*, 1896. This records in error that James Rodd, M.P. for Hereford, was the son of Richard Rodd (the elder)—a common confusion between the two Sir James Rodds. Cf. also Duncumb, vol. i *passim*.

² Robinson, *Mansions, &c.*, p. 317; Duncumb: Grimsworth, p. 188, says he only had one son, which is legally correct inasmuch as only one, Thomas, seems to have been legitimate.

Street, Hereford. After the death of the first trustees of Price's benefaction, the mayor and aldermen of Hereford became the patrons of the hospital. It came under the supervision of the Charity Commission in 1914 with an annual income of £531. The establishment was for 12 men who were each to receive 10s. a week and might have their wives to live with them. The chaplain was the vicar of Holy Trinity church in Hereford with an annual stipend of £20.¹ The 'hospital' consists of a long range of building containing ten dwellings, each of an upper and a lower room, with a short wing at each end containing another dwelling. At the east end of the main range is a modest chapel with a seventeenth-century Communion table and contemporary paneling and fittings. The main range has a stone lower storey and a brick upper storey. A gable in the middle of the building records that: 'Mr. William Price Citizen of London founded the Hospital in the Year 1635.'² The original 'Rules' of the almshouse which survive include the signature of James Rodd. The dwellings, remodelled in the nineteenth century, contain a good deal of the original woodwork.

The other notable James Rodd was the younger brother of Richard Rodd the second, who refers to him in his will as his 'brother James of Exeter'. This James was born in 1611 and died in 1678; having disposed, as mentioned, of his New Radnor land, he remained in Devonshire where he, too, had a distinguished career. Like his uncle he was knighted and became in 1670/1 High Sheriff, but of Devon, instead of Hereford. He, too, had been a Royalist, and on compounding on 30 April 1646 on the Articles of Exeter was fined £480³ for delinquency in taking up arms for the king, 'having held himself bound by his oath thereto'. He paid the fine on 30 March 1647 and the sequestration on his property was discharged. He was assessed in 1647 for £300 by the Committee for the Advance of Money and had his property again sequestrated for non-payment in 1649. He was only finally discharged on 17 May 1650. He was an important figure in the city of Exeter both as a merchant and

¹ Duncumb: Grimsworth, p. 91; Timmins, *Nooks and Corners of Herefordshire*, 1892; Johnson, *Ancient Customs, &c.*, 1882.

² Cf. R.C.H.M., vol. i, pp. 131-2.

³ Another version states £600.

a civic worthy. He bought Bedford House near the cathedral in addition to his property at Stoke Canon, and was buried in St. Stephen's, Bedford, where monuments record him and his third wife, Mary, and family. Bedford House, Exeter, was totally destroyed by German bombing in the great raid of 1942 and St. Stephen's was badly damaged but has since been restored.

The first wife of James Rodd of Exeter was Mary, daughter of the famous Bishop Joseph Hall of Exeter. By her he had no children. After her death in 1638 he married Grace, daughter of Edward Bampfylde of Oakhay, Co. Devon. She bore him one son, Bampfylde Rodd, the first of that name. In default of male heirs in the main Herefordshire branch of Richard Rodd's family which had ended in Frideswide, an only daughter, Bampfylde Rodd bought the place, as is recorded, from Richard Rodd of Wegnal,¹ and proceeded to live there himself. That was the beginning of a long and close connexion between the Rodds of Devonshire and of Herefordshire. James Rodd of Exeter married a third time, again a Bampfylde, Mary, daughter of Sir John Bampfylde of Poltimore who bore him two children, Mary and James Rodd of Wear. Mary married Edward Spoure of Trebartha Hall, North Hill, near Launceston, Co. Cornwall, and when their daughter Mary, heiress of the great Trebartha estate, died before marriage but betrothed to Francis Rodd, her cousin once removed and a son of the Bampfylde Rodd just mentioned, the Trebartha lands passed to the Rodd family. Incidentally, after the death of his fiancée he married the heiress Jane Hearle of Penrhyn who brought in another estate and founded a line of the largest landowners in Cornwall which survived until a few years ago when the last male of this branch of the Cornish Rodds died.

The next Bampfylde Rodd, the second, also married within the family circle, Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Hall and grand-daughter of Bishop Hall; they had two sons who died without issue and a daughter. He then married again, Bridget, the daughter of Francis Drewe and widow of Francis Fulford, by whom he had three sons, Bampfylde the third who inherited The Rodd from his father, Edward who

¹ Fifth son of Hugh Rodd of Wegnal; see above, p. 259.

died without issue, and Francis who inherited Trebartha. This third Bampfylde Rodd as will be seen also married back into the Herefordshire Rodd line.

To return, however, to Herefordshire: the major acquisition of land by the Rodd family in that county was made by Sir James Price Rodd, presumably out of the fruits of a successful mercer's business in Hereford. He, his relatives and descendants owned a number of plots of land mainly in the parish of St. Martin's in the Wyebridge ward of Hereford city.¹ He also owned the great manor of Foxley some eight miles outside the city on the road to Kington. His family had had earlier interests and connexions in the area for he is recorded as having come from Yazor to live in Hereford city. In 1549 Foxley had been bought by one Thomas Smith, of Credenhill near Hereford, of the Crown, which had become possessed of it on the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the manor having previously belonged to the abbey of Llanthony in the Black Mountains on the border of Herefordshire and Brecon. In 1608 Walter Rodd of The Rodd, who had the large family which all died young or without progeny,² sold some land he had in the Foxley neighbourhood to Hugh Smith the son or grandson of Thomas Smith who is recorded in a Court Baron as having been lord of the manor of Foxley in 1597.³ It must have been soon after that time that James Price Rodd the mercer bought the manor of Foxley from the Smiths for £1,000. These and later cross-transactions in which several members of the family were concerned represent in part settlements within the family circle, but also evidently an investment.

There then follow a number of transactions in the Foxley neighbourhood. Hugh Rodd of Wegnal, also a mercer and another brother of Walter, Richard, and James, in 1617 acquired three parts of the contiguous manor of Yazor, later merged into Foxley, and the sixty-year lease of three houses with their gardens and orchards, 200 acres of arable and 32 acres of other land for £100 down 'and 4d a year so long as the vendor's wife should live'.⁴ In 1619 William Rodd, yet

¹ Certificates of Residence 1610 to 1628: P.R.O.: E. 115/323, 324, 325, 327, 328, 333, 334.

² See Chap. VII, p. 193.

³ Duncumb: Grimsworth, pp. 188-9.

⁴ F.F. CP(2), 301, 1? Jac. I.

another brother of James, buys three parts of the Foxley manor land in the parish of Mansell Lacy on the other side of the property with about 300 acres of land on the same terms.¹ Thomas Rodd, the son of James the mercer, then buys in 1621 a house and curtilage with 19 acres in Yazor, Mansell Lacy, and Dilwyn for £41.² James himself picked up a house and enclosures and a field at Yazor and 'Moranton' (Morehampton) for £100.³ James and William Rodd, however, sell 30 acres to the Smith family in Mansell Lacy in 1633 for £60, probably part of what William had bought in 1619 and which James did not need.⁴ Thomas in 1639 continues buying: a house, with surroundings as usual, 34 acres, and the common of pasture at Mansell Lacy and Yazor for £60.⁵ Next year father James comes in again with the purchase of a house as usual, 54 acres at Mansell Gamage, Yazor, and Yarsop, and a moiety of a corn mill at Mansell Lacy for £100 from various people including Roger Nash and his wife;⁶ and again in the following year two houses as usual and 216 acres, this time with half a dovecote,⁷ for £200⁸ in the same neighbourhood.

In a will⁹ of Edward Broughton dated 16 November 1647 and proved in 1670 reference is made to lands bought of the testator in Kington of James Rodd, Esq. This may refer either to James Rodd of Nash in the vicinity but more probably refers to (Sir) James Price Rodd of Hereford and Foxley who was buying and selling land, in addition to the transactions described, in small parcels all over the country. The James Rodd who held a mortgage on the Carpenter¹⁰ property at Tillington at the end of the sixteenth century is again almost certainly the same James the mercer of Hereford and Foxley.¹¹

¹ *F.F.* CP 25(2), 301, 16 Jac. I.

² *F.F.* 25(2), 301, 16 Jac. I.

³ *F.F.* 25(2), 301, 16 Jac. I.

⁴ *F.F.* 25(2), 301, 16 Jac. I.

⁵ *F.F.* 25(2), 301, 14 Car. I.

⁶ *F.F.* 25(2), 301, 15 Car. I.

⁷ *F.F.* 25(2), 301, 2 Jac. I.

⁸ *F.F.* 25(2), 301, 16 Car. I.

⁹ Robinson, *Mansions*, &c., p. 162.

¹⁰ For Carpenter see pp. 265, 269 below.

¹¹ Robinson, *Mansions*, &c., p. 55.

Now comes a pause, no doubt owing to parliamentary troubles and eventually the Civil War. During the Commonwealth, James and his family were of course not very popular and probably hard up on account of fines and 'Advances'. Officially, therefore, nothing happens until the Restoration by which time James Rodd was rehabilitated and had had time to repair his fortune. In 1661/2 James, his son Thomas, and his grandson Robert again figure in land transactions in the Foxley neighbourhood in a big way. The manors of Foxley, Yazor, Uphampton, Morehampton, Upper Stoke Lacy,¹ and Mansell Lacy are demised in trust to Sir William Lewis, Bt., of Llangorse and (Sir) Thomas Whitney, Esq., of Whitney. The property by then consisted of 20 messuages with their gardens and orchards, a mill, 700 acres of arable, 150 acres of pasture and 450 acres of meadow, 110 acres of woodland, 100 acres of wasteland with the rectory and advowson of Mansell Lacy, say, 1,600 acres in all.² There are three more major entries about the Foxley property in 20 Charles II, 1 William & Mary, and 3 William & Mary, which will be dealt with later because they are unintelligible without an interesting and somewhat scandalous episode in family history. Although the Foxley property is a long way from the Hindwell Valley, the branches at Foxley and The Rodd remained closely intertwined and the events which took place at the former directly affected the latter.

Sir James Rodd the mercer of Hereford made his will in 1663 and died in 1664. For the next forty years there was nothing but trouble in the family. Of his ten children, the eldest son Thomas, who was legitimate, took an active part in the Foxley investment. Thomas in 1635 married Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Whitney of Whitney. He was left a widower in 1657 with one son Robert, and four daughters (a fifth died in infancy) who married respectively Thomas Carpenter of Tillington, Tamburlane Gwilliam of Wellington, Co. Hereford, Richard Witherstone of Burghill, and James Gregory, son of Sir W. Gregory, a Baron of Exchequer of How Capel in the county.³ Thomas Rodd

¹ Robinson, *Mansions*, &c., p. 260.

² F.F. CP 25(2), 301, 13 Car. II.

³ A stone in the chancel of How Capel church records: 'Here lies the body of Mrs. Catherine Delahay, daughter of Thomas Carpenter of Tillington,

became High Sheriff of the county in 1666. In 1670 he re-married the widow of William Whittington of Whittal Court, Hampton Bishop, daughter of Roger Hereford of Sutton: there were no children of this marriage. This wife, Philippa, was buried in 1711 in Hereford Cathedral near Bishop Coke's monument.

From his wife Anne Whitney, Thomas Rodd received her share of the Whitney estate at Whitney of which she and her sister were co-heiresses. Thomas Rodd proceeded to buy out his sister-in-law's half-share and thus became possessed of the whole estate which he eventually passed on to one of his grand-daughters, the child of Robert, who was called Anna Sophia after her mother. She married in 1685 at St. Bride's in London, William Wardour, Clerk of the Rolls in Chancery, and a member of the Wardour Castle family.¹ She died in 1737 at the age of 71 and was buried, strangely enough, in Westminster Abbey.² Finally, Thomas also owned the manor of Moreton Jeffries, and is sometimes described as of that place, which his father James the mercer bought in about 1647.³

In 1668 Thomas Rodd made Foxley over to his son Robert and retired with his wife to live at Hampton Bishop. He was buried in Hampton Bishop church with his coat of arms and the inscription:⁴

S. M. Thomas Rodd antiqua clarus prosapia ac pietate erga Deum fidelitate erga utrumque Carolum. Obiit grandaevus in die Maii 1673.

Duncumb records a strange incident. On Thomas Rodd's appointment as Sheriff of Herefordshire in 1666 the Lords of gent., by Ann his wife, the eldest daughter of Thomas Rodd of Foxley . . . and in the 'Gregory Chapel' of the church a window contains the Rodd arms blazoned as 'Ar. 2 trefoils in fesse vert, a chief or', a new but slight variant of the Herefordshire Rodd arms. On a flat stone in the chapel are the arms of Gregory impaling Rodd in a lozenge with the inscription: 'Here lieth the body of Elizabeth Gregory, widow, daughter of Thomas Rodd of Foxley and Ann his wife, relict of James Gregory late of this parish . . . she departed this life Oct. 28 1716 aged 72.' *Apud* Duncumb, vol. ii, pp. 359, 361, 362.

¹ Robinson, *Castles, &c.*, p. 136; Duncumb: Huntington, p. 83.

² Epitaph in Middle Aisle recorded in *Harl. Soc. Publ.*, vol. x, 1875, p. 347.

³ It was eventually sold in 1696 to one Wilks. Robinson, *Mansions, &c.*, p. 214.

⁴ Quoted from Duncumb: Grimsworth, pp. 188-9.

the Council ordered the prosecution of two persons, Christopher Rodd and his brother John, for conspiring to persuade one Thomas Rodd, a drover, to assume the office of sheriff. The brothers John and Christopher look as if they were the two contemporary sons of Hugh Rodd of Wegnal, born in 1631 and 1637. But John was a pillar of the church as vicar of Marden and recognized as such by his burial in the Bishop's Cloister at Hereford Cathedral. Thomas the son of James Price Rodd who did become sheriff in 1666 was a large landowner and could not conceivably have been described as a drover. Richard Rodd of Wegnal the son of Hugh was described as a 'drovier' according to a case heard in 1672 concerning Edward Rodd, of whom more later, and one Wickersley, D.D., prebendary of Hinton. This is the Richard who bought The Rodd from Frideswide, but had no children and sold it to Bampfylde Rodd.¹ There is, however, another Thomas Rodd who was son of the John Rodd of Wegnal, just mentioned, but he seems too young to have sought or been persuaded to impersonate his distinguished relative of Foxley as High Sheriff; besides, the character and calling of his father in Holy Orders makes it at least improbable that his father would have lent himself to this operation.

Robert Rodd who took over Foxley from his father Thomas in 1668 was called to the Bar at Gray's Inn. He too became High Sheriff of Herefordshire in 1675/6. He married Anna Sophia, daughter of Thomas Neale of Warneford, Co. Hants by Lucy daughter and heiress of Sir W. Uvedale of Wickham, Co. Hants. He had three daughters who became his co-heiresses: Lucy, who married Robert Price;² Anna Sophia who married William Wardour and was left Whitney by her grandfather; and Frances, who married Alexander How of Battersea, one time Deputy Master of the Mint under Thomas Neale the father of Robert's wife Anna Sophia. The family connexion is important in what follows.

¹ See above, p. 262.

² Referred to in a deed of 1681 quoted by Robert Price in his opinion dated 10 Mar. 1690 about the title of the Whitney estate. Quoted from a privately printed history of the Whitney family. Printed for subscribers by the De Vinne Press, New York, 1896.

Lucy, the eldest girl, inherited Foxley. Her husband, Robert Price, was a remarkable man. He might have been famous, but for Lucy. He was born in January 1653 of Thomas and Margaret Price of Geelor, Co. Denbigh. He was called to the Bar in the same year in which he married Lucy. He had had a liberal education including a grand tour in the course of which he got into trouble with the Pope about the book *Coke, Upon Littleton* which was suspected in Rome of being a Bible! When the mistake was cleared up he presented the offending volume to the Vatican! In 1682 Price became Attorney-General and next year recorder of Radnorshire. Under James II he was made King's Counsel and Member of Parliament for Ludlow. He was again Attorney-General and Member of Parliament under King William. Then the blow fell. His wife Lucy eloped with her cousin-german Thomas Neale. By this time she had had three children: Thomas Price born in 1680, Member of Parliament for Weobley in 1702-5 and found shot in bed at Genoa in 1706, Uvedale Tomkins Price, and a daughter, Lucy the second.

There are at The Rodd two very indifferent pictures of Robert Price, in his robes as a Baron of the Exchequer which he later became, and of Lucy his wife, in evening dress. Robert Price has a strong, florid, unattractive face with a slightly supercilious and cynical air: but it was painted after his wife eloped! She is a portly woman of the late middle age, and—well—it is difficult to imagine anyone consenting to elope with her, even if the artist was not a good one. Lutterel writes in his diary:¹

1690 November 21—a tryal was in the afternoon before the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas between Robert Price, Esq., plaintiff, and Mr. Neale, the Groom Porter's son, defendant, for enticing away the plaintiff's wife and keeping her to the damage of the plaintiff of £10,000: her sister was witness against her and on a full hearing, the jury gave the plaintiff £1,500 damages.

Instead of proceeding to annul the marriage Mr. and Mrs. Price covenanted by deed with trustees that in consideration of the natural love and affection which they respectively bore to their children and for settling the various manors and estates in the

¹ Vol. ii, p. 131.

blood and family of the said parents and for securing Lucy Price a separate maintenance in place of a claim for dower in any of the manors and estates . . . the sum of £100 should be paid to her quarterly at the Tolsey in Bristol, the sum of £80 to be paid annually to her son Thomas Price, £40 to Uvedale Price and £40 to her daughter Lucy for whom a marriage portion of £1,500 was secured and an independent maintenance during the life of her father.¹

Robert Price in 1700 became a Welsh judge and on Queen Anne's accession was appointed Baron of the Exchequer. He removed to the Court of Common Pleas in 1726 and died in Kensington in 1733, having entirely rebuilt Foxley in 1717. He refused a knighthood on account of his wife's behaviour. Robert Rodd's wife Anna Sophia only survived the scandal of her daughter by a few months. She was buried in the chapter house yard of Hereford Cathedral in 1691. In those days it must have been a terrific affair for all the family, especially with an eminent judge involved.

As a result of all this the Foxley estate on which Robert Price built the mansion² in 1717 was the subject of very complex family arrangements. The demise in trust of 1661/2 to Sir William Lewis and Thomas Whitney has already been mentioned: the object was to provide by trust for the four surviving sisters of Robert Rodd. In 1668 a further deed was executed in favour of William Gregory and Thomas Carpenter, the spouses of Anne Rodd and Elizabeth Rodd, on the manors of Foxley and Yazor, but in respect of only 18 messuages and their appurtenances and 1,250 acres³ out of the 1,600 acres of 1661/2. The balance of the estate was for securing the dower of Robert Rodd's widow Anna Sophia (Neale). For 1689 two entries survive conveying one-third each of the same 18 houses and 1,250 acres to Uvedale Tomkins Price by Frances Rodd then spinster but later married to Alexander How, and by William and Anna Sophia (Rodd) Wardour to John Phillips and Edward Fleetwood.⁴ The third share was, of course, naughty Lucy (Rodd) Price's and

¹ Duncumb: Grimsworth, p. 190.

² Recently demolished.

³ *F.F.* 25(2), 301, 20 Car. II.

⁴ *F.F.* 25(2), 301, 1 Will. & Mary.

the date was the year of her elopement. Two years later Uvedale Tomkins Price and John Phillips received two parts of the 'greater moiety' of four houses and 350 acres mainly of the Mansell manor.¹ By 1712 the whole of the Price-Rodd family affairs had got into a real tangle, accentuated by Lucy's escapade and the subsequent arrangement made for Uvedale Price and her sisters, partly because a number of family settlements were made but never registered, and partly, but weightily, because of the intervention of one Edward Rodd who disputed the succession and inheritance of James Rodd the mercer. The whole business was eventually sorted out by a series of Depositions under Commission, of which the most important one, and the longest, is dated 1712.²

This Edward Rodd is a mysterious and tiresome figure. He was the fourth, and one of the illegitimate sons of James the mercer, born in 1628, the eldest being the legitimate Thomas, father of Robert, the next being James also illegitimate who had progeny, while the third was Herbert of whom nothing is heard and who probably died in infancy. The illegitimate Edward most appropriately married Jane, the natural daughter of Rudhale Gwillim or Gwyllyiam, Esq., of Whitchurch. James the mercer as befitted his wealth and position made a settlement on Edward and Jane's marriage. But Edward and the Gwillim family, 'another James' and a Christopher Rodd, both probably sons of Hugh Rodd of Wegnal,³ stated they had 'certain records' in their possession, and disputed the settlement as insufficient. In 1684 Edward brought an action for trespass and ejection against Anna Sophia Rodd, widow, Robert Price and Lucy, and Anna Sophia Rodd and Frances Rodd, spinsters: Robert Price paid him £200 in settlement. Edward Rodd had already done pretty well for himself, for he had squeezed his father quite a lot, getting not only money but James's Hereford city property too. It was from this source that in 1654 Edward Rodd and Richard Hereford bought from Roger

¹ F.F. 25(2), 301, 3 Will. & Mary.

² P.R.O. Dep. under Comm. E. 139/11 Anne/E. 15; also 10 Geo. I, 1732; 13 Geo. II, E/13.

³ 'Both', since another witness, Hugh, is also referred to in the case in Dep. under Comm. 21 Car. II. 17, P.R.O. E/134.

Hereford and Thomas Rodd of Foxley the manor of Lufton and Upper Stoke Lacy with the houses, two cottages, 3 tofts and appurtenances, and 1,300 acres of land with 60s. rents in the parishes of Mordiford Frome, Preston Wynne, Fownhope, Checkley, Lugwardine, Hampton Bishop, Pencombe, Wotton, Kings Pyon, and Hereford city for £1,000.¹ In 1672 and 1673 Edward Rodd had been involved in a dispute with one Wickersley, D.D., prebendary of Hinton, Co. Hereford, about rents which Edward had not duly paid on the land he owned there. Then after 1684 Edward Rodd disappears from history, perhaps luckily: if he had had children the story would go on into the eighteenth century, with which this record is not concerned.

Of Robert Price's children, Uvedale Tomkins Price inherited Foxley, having married Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Lord Arthur Somerset, and with him the Foxley property went out of the Rodd family. His son Robert married Sarah daughter of Lord Barrington. Their son Uvedale Price was a remarkable man in his way and day. He was a Member of Parliament and a baronet, and died in Bath in 1829. A friend of Charles James Fox, he moved in the world of politics without being a politician, and of art without being an artist. His *Essay on the Picturesque*² engaged him and his contemporaries in controversy on landscape gardening in opposition to the formal school of Kent and Brown. A ride he cut through the Foxley Woods to Ladylift Hill was his retort in 'adapting nature', against the formal conceptions of what he considered 'artificial landscaping'. He collected prints which went to form the beginning of the British Museum collection.

Lucy, the other child of Robert Price, concerns this story very much, for she married back into the Devonshire branch of the Rodd family in the person of Bampfylde Rodd, the third, of Stoke Canon, Co. Devon. By doing so she returned to the family home at The Rodd to which her husband had succeeded. Alas, it was not destined to remain in the family

¹ *F.F.* 25(2), 301, 1634, 13 Car. II.

² *Essay on the Picturesque*: Uvedale Price; London, Robson, 1794, 2 vols.; *Dialogue between Price and Repton*, also Knight; Hereford, 1801; *Principles of Taste*: Knight; London, Payne, 1806.

for long because Lucy Bampfylde Rodd had four daughters but no son: and so The Rodd went out of the family once more until the author re-acquired it in 1938-9. There is at The Rodd a portrait of Lucy, the second, done as a young woman at or soon after her marriage to Bampfylde Rodd. She seems in looks to be all that her naughty mother was not; and by Bampfylde she produced a resplendent family. Her four daughters, Juliana, Gratiana, Maria Sophia, and Lucy the third, were known far and wide for their comeliness. The eldest of them, Juliana, born in 1717, married Theophilus Lane of Hereford, and to that family The Rodd eventually passed. Two other sisters married Richard Gorges of Eye and John Ivie. Gratiana the second daughter, married Sharrington Davenport, of Davenport, Co. Salop, of which line she became an ornament. The *Weekly Worcester Journal* of 14-21 January 1731-2 [*sic*] records the marriage with the description of Gratiana's husband as 'a Gentleman of about 3000 l. per Ann.':¹ not a bad match! She was one of the great beauties of George III's reign whom Beau Nash praised and Shenstone the poet sang. Beau Nash introduced her in the Rooms at Bath as 'a Rod that would flog them all'. Her portraits as a young woman and a conversation piece of her family hang at Davenport in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Leicester Warren (*née* Davenport). Gratiana also got involved in a case brought by the litigious Earl of Coningsby concerning the manor of Marden with Thomas and James Rodd as co-defendants, the former having been, and the latter being, steward to Baron Price.²

Even with this list of formidable transactions in land in Herefordshire by one family, the tale is not complete, for numerous purchases and sales of urban property in Hereford have not been chronicled, nor have transactions at Moreton Jeffries, Hampton Bishop, and Stoke Lacy been detailed. The only interest in the Moreton Jeffries estate which William Gregory and Richard Witherstone took over from Thomas Rodd is that the name of the second purchaser, Witherstone, figures in another transaction to which reference must be made since it shows the strength of interlock-

¹ Copy in the author's possession.

² Coningsby, *Collections Concerning the Manor of Marden 1722-7*.

ing kinships. Moreton Jeffries was a large property consisting of six houses with their gardens and orchards and 580 acres of land in the parish of Much Cowarne.¹ The consideration was £400 and the date of the sale by Thomas Rodd was one year before he made over Foxley to his son and retired to Hampton Bishop. The Stoke Lacy manor passed with Foxley to Uvedale Price,² as did a property at Byford which in 1676 he passed on to 'Anne wife of Robert Chaplin and in default of issue to Anna Sophia Rodd youngest daughter of Robert Rodd of Foxley'.

The fate of one other property at Amberley near Marden on the Wye is worth recording as an example of how in the course of land transfers all sorts of other matters arose and got tidied up in this century which followed the upheaval caused by Henry VIII in ecclesiastical property. Amberley manor near Marden is only one of several Amberleys in England of which the Amberley in Gloucestershire and Amberley in Sussex are probably better known. Hereford Amberley is a remarkable example of a fourteenth-century H shaped house with a central hall. The original roof of two bays survives with smaller screen bays to each, and elaborate and beautiful screen trusses. The roof trusses of the solar and buttery wings also exist.³ The manor had been granted at the Conquest to Ansfried of Cormeilles but the grant was rescinded by the Crown under Stephen. Successive kings regranted the manor, but it eventually passed via Richard of Monmouth to the de Lings who have been recorded as sub-lords in Stapleton. Thence it passed to the Harpers who were also known in the Presteigne area and from them to John Weston of Sutton Place, that magnificent Elizabethan house in Surrey near Guildford. In 1672 John Weston and his son sold Amberley to Hugh Rodd, mercer of Hereford.⁴ The Amberley property was extensive and lay in several parishes: Marden, Normanton, Sutton St. Nicholas, Sutton St. Michael, Sutton Frene, and Withington. It consisted of five houses and three cottages all with their gardens, 10

¹ F.F. CP 25(2), 301, 18 Car. II.

² Robinson, *Mansions*, &c., pp. 58 and 260.

³ R.C.H.M., vol. ii, p. 137, with plans and plates.

⁴ Robinson, *Mansions*, &c., p. 205.

orchards, 170 acres of arable, 50 acres of meadow and 40 acres of pasture, 10 acres of waste land, and 5*s.* 6*d.* of rent besides the rectory of Amberley with tithes, a moiety of another house and cottage with 30 acres, and a fourth part of the dues of the manors of the three Suttons. The purchase price¹ was £320.

Soon after his purchase Hugh Rodd got involved in an interesting dispute with some of the parishioners and the former Weston connexion about the fourteenth-century church. The issue was whether it was the parish church of Amberley or a private chapel, who was responsible for the upkeep of the chancel and for providing services, from whom the tithes and stipends precisely came, and whether it was a 'peculiar' subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury directly. One Richard Witherstone of Burghill confirmed that he had seen and witnessed Hugh's purchase. The parson of Marden confirmed that he had done duty once a month in the church and as vicar of Marden had received a stipend of 45*s.* a year for doing so. The paucity of furniture—a few benches and a table serving both as a reading table and Communion table—rather pointed to the place being a private chapel. But the chancel had been repaired, as was proper, by Hugh Rodd, and the local inhabitants declared they regarded it as their parish church. Other witnesses stated that Communion was only said once a year but that baptisms and burials did take place there. That was in 1678;² the subjects of the dispute had been in abeyance since the Dissolution.

In 1689 Hugh Rodd sold four of the Amberley houses and 240 out of his 270 acres, including the pasture and meadow and the rectory to Hugh Witherstone for £260. He evidently didn't want to have the trouble of farming, collecting rents, or dealing with the church himself. He just wanted a country house.³ The sale as a matter of fact helped Hugh to buy another and larger property of Thomas Veynall's at Haywood, otherwise known as the Forest de Hay. This was a larger estate of 700 acres of which 500 were heathland, but

¹ *F.F.* CP 25(2), 301, 24 Car. II.

² Dep. under Comm., E. 134/30 Car. II/E. 13.

³ *F.F.* CP 25(2), 301, 1 Will. & Mary.

with 250 acres of arable and six houses; it cost £700.¹ Ten years before, Hugh and his wife, Thomas Rodd, Thomas Veynall and his wife, and another jointly seem to have been involved in a transaction with James Good over 850 acres of this Haywood estate, probably in a mortgage or trust operation.² Hugh, nevertheless, became repossessed of Amberley for in 1700 he sold the whole of the estate, less the four houses retained by the Witherstones, and some additional 20 acres he had bought, to Mrs. Mary Price, widow, for £500—a nice little profit on his 30 years' broken tenure.³

Hugh Rodd, mercer, the son of Hugh Rodd of Wegnal, also mercer, inherited the business of Sir James Rodd in Hereford where he also took a leading part in civic affairs. He became mayor in 1666 and again in 1673. He figured in an incident in 1661 when considerable disturbances broke out in various parts of England after Cromwell's death. In Hereford the troubles arose out of quarrels between Parliamentarians and Royalists over a contested election between Sir Edward Hopton and Mr. Westfaling, about which James Lawrence in a letter records that 'one Rodd replied that the gentry [of Hereford] would engage their honour that there would be no disturbance'. It was also during this period that currency difficulties became so acute that local authorities were obliged to issue token coinage for local use: many examples of these survive in private hands and in museums. Among those in Hereford Museum are three of Hugh Rodd's made of brass and probably issued during his mayoralty. They have 'Hugh Rodd' round the verge of the obverse with the city arms in the centre and 'of Hereford' round the edge of the reverse with the elephant and castle in the centre.⁴ There is also one issued for Hereford by John Rodd and one for Ross-on-Wye by Thomas Rodd.

By the second half of the seventeenth century that flavour of the Middle Ages which can still be tasted at the end of the Tudor period had almost disappeared. If medieval forms still survived, as indeed they survived into this, our own,

¹ F.F. CP 25(2), 301, 2/3 Jac. II.

² F.F. CP 25(2), 301, 28 Car. II.

³ F.F. CP 25(2), 301, 12 Will. III.

⁴ Cf. Johnson, *Ancient Customs, &c.*, pp. 151 and 157-8.

century in land tenure and conveyance, they had in practice given place to the modern framework of society which is familiar to us. Manor lordships and dues had lost much of their meaning in real life. They continued to exist in certain cases as investments and in others as burdens on the holder with little or no bearing on the everyday lives of people. Wardship, dower, heriot, and inheritance no longer now connoted burdensome exactions by lordships from undertenants. The alienation of property had become a right and not even in theory subject in conditions to the whim of the Crown or over-lord. Dependants in their turn had become the responsibility of the family and of no other body or person. Wills assume the form of modern testaments: more than ever do they throw light on family affairs and relationships. Of the many wills with which this record has been concerned, the one of Hugh Rodd (the Elder) of Wegnal will serve as an example.

This Hugh Rodd, one of the sons of Hugh de la Rode, and a brother of Walter, of Richard the elder, of William, and of James Price Rodd, died and was buried at Presteigne in 1647. His will was drawn in 1638 and probate was granted on 31 December 1647.¹ He is described as 'gentleman' of Wegnal in the parish of Presteigne. He left no specific directions about his burial other than that it should be 'decent and Christian'. To his eldest son James and his heirs he leaves his dwelling house at Wegnal with all lands which he had bought of Roger King,² dcd., also a close of 16 acres of arable in the same parish bought of Thomas Fletcher, dcd., another close of 4 acres bought of Thomas Bradshawe, Esq., dcd., a close of about 6 acres bought of John Vicarres, dcd., 3 acres bought of John Clements, dcd.: and the 'water corn mill called The Rode Mill with all buildings, weirs and flanks and two plocks of meadow bought from my brother Richard Rode dcd.'³ If his son James should have no issue the property was to go to the second son Hugh whom failing to the

¹ P.R.O.: Fines 243.

² Transaction referred to in P.R.O. (Welsh Papers cxxii) 8 Jac. I: i.e. leave to agree with Roger King and Eleanor his wife for 6s. 8d.

³ That is Richard Rodd the elder. The two 'plocks' of meadow are those which today still go with the mill on the English side of the Hindwell brook and between it and the mill leat.



The Rodd from the east; Little Rodd to the right; tithe barn to the left

third son Richard, whom failing to the fourth son Thomas, whom failing to the fifth son Christopher, and their heirs respectively, whom failing to his own right heirs. To the second son Hugh, he left seven closes of land in the parish of New Radnor recently bought from his cousin Richard Rodd (the younger), 'gentleman', also a messuage at Nether Kinsham which later Richard Rodd the second acquired, with all lands and buildings with remainder to the next sons in succession.¹ So much for lands.

To his eldest son succeeding, he left all bedsteads, tables, boards, forms, and benches, to remain in the house as 'standards' and not to be removed: the furnishing seems still to be quite rudimentary. To his wife Dorothy (Ballard) he leaves all his plate and remaining household stuff, together with all the residue of his estate after legacies of £200 to each of his sons Richard, John, and Christopher upon their attaining the age of 22. But if his goods and chattels should not amount to £600 in value after payment of debts and funeral expenses, the legacies are to be reduced proportionately. If his wife remarries, she is to pay the sons their legacies within three months of her marriage or give security therefor. His executors may recover from legacies any sums spent on placing sons as apprentices or on their education—a most modern provision for trustees under wills. His brother (Sir) James Price Rodd of Hereford and Edward Aston are named overseers (trustees) and his wife is sole executrix. The witnesses are William Rodd senior (a brother), Thomas Rodd (probably the son of Sir James Price Rodd), and James Rodd junior (probably his son). In a verbal codicil dated 24 September 1638, twelve days later than the date of the will, the messuages bequeathed to his sons James and Hugh are to be held by their mother until they are 21 for the expenses of their maintenance. Altogether a most modern document.

The son, James Rodd, did succeed and lived to a ripe and active old age. When he was 80 he petitioned at the Radnorshire Great Sessions in 1694

that his sight being much decayed and having received a bruise by

¹ That is evidently what had happened to the other half of the Kinsham estate; see pp. 253, 257 above.

a fall from a horse was unable to ride, and had passed his estate in marriage to Henry Pyefinch the younger, had been granted a writ of ease four or five years since notwithstanding which he had been forced to serve the office of collector of poll money and the Justices of the Peace had granted their warrant against him to serve the office of Chief Constable and to serve the two offices at one time which the petitioner was unable to do. He begged to be relieved of the office of Chief Constable and the estate from other offices.¹

It is strange how the Herefordshire, as the Devon and Cornwall, branches of the Rodd family, were fated to die out with singular frequency in one or more girls. The continuity of the Rodd line in Herefordshire was twice broken, and only for a short while each time restored by the Devonshire branch stepping in and acquiring The Rodd family property by purchase and marriage. Of the Herefordshire branches Richard Rodd's (the younger) line had come to an end in his daughter Frideswide. The branches of James Rodd of Nash and James Rodd of Wegnal came to an end in the same way. The Hugh Rodd of Wegnal branch, in the descendants of the sons other than James, migrated to Hereford, where they joined the descendants of Sir James Price Rodd in the mercery business. They became Hereford city families and eventually died out too.

A number of the eighteenth-century Rodds in Hereford mainly descended from the Wegnal branch chose the Church as their profession, harking back to the tradition of their medieval ancestors. One such sept found its way as far afield as Barton-on-the-Heath near Moreton-in-the-Marsh. The disappearance of the Rodds from the Hindwell area is all the more striking on account of the very numerous entries of people of that name in the Presteigne Parish Registers of births, marriages, and deaths, in number much greater than can be accounted for among the legitimate descendants of the local Rodd families.

While a lot of this detailed family history may seem superfluous and perhaps not very entertaining to the general reader, it sheds a good deal of light on much of the local life of the

¹ *Trs. Rad. Soc.*, vol. xiii, 1943, p. 18 (Wegnal is mis-spelled as Negual).

countryside with which this history is concerned. It brings out very clearly the heavy turnover in land to which historians have referred in the Elizabethan and immediately post-Elizabethan eras. Whether the money involved in land purchase was made in trade or in local industrial enterprises, there is no doubt that land was regarded as a good investment, which seems inevitably to point to a prosperous agricultural industry in spite of the allegedly worn out state of tillage land which had given rise to so much hardship at the end of the fifteenth and during the sixteenth century, and which had led to much enclosure of manor waste and common pasture lands. The main basis of this agricultural prosperity must have been sheep and the rising price of wool, together with businesses such as mercery deriving from them. Enclosure where it occurred was of course unpopular, but in the aggregate no very great quantity of land was enclosed in Herefordshire, compared with the rest of England. At the end of the seventeenth century half the land of the county was still waste and under-populated; the hearth tax for the county presumed 16,794 houses at three hearths to two houses. A great part of the land in the county, though not in western parts like the Hindwell Valley, was still cultivated on the old common field system until the middle of the eighteenth century.¹ Herefordshire in 1593 had one of the lowest assessments in England, but in 1636 seventeen counties had a lower assessment and in 1660 thirteen counties were lower. By the end of the seventeenth century Herefordshire had practically resumed its position of a hundred years before. The relative improvement of Herefordshire in the mid-seventeenth century as compared with other counties corresponds with the period of maximum land transactions, at any rate among members of the Rodd family.

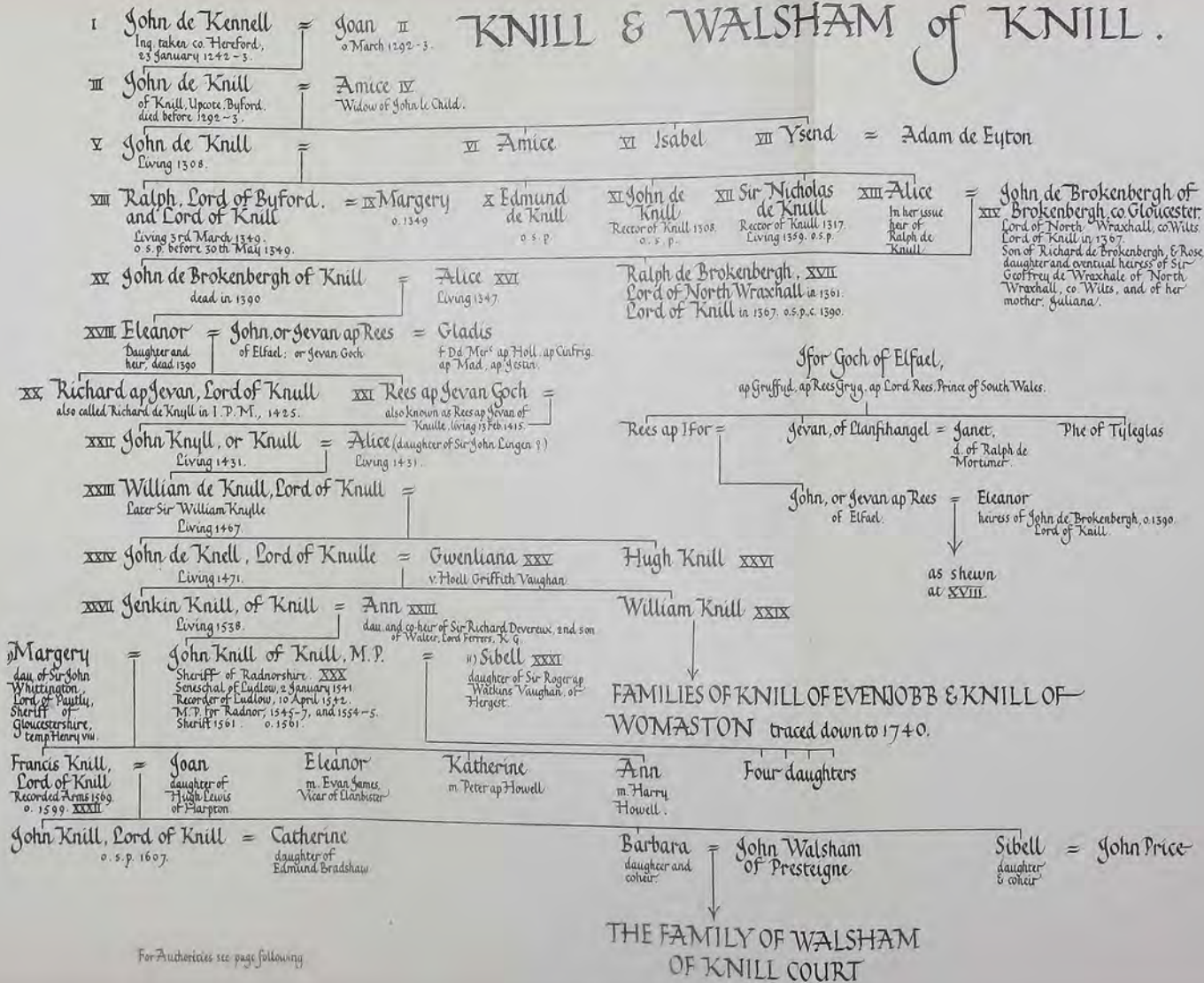
And here must end the history of The Rodd and the Rodd family in Herefordshire from which it gradually disappeared. By the end of the sixteenth century the dispersal of the old family lands among various branches of the family had begun. By the close of the seventeenth century the process was complete. The family, nevertheless, managed to continue

¹ *Apud V.C.H.*, pp. 378 and 409.

and flourished in Cornwall and Devonshire where, however, the main branch at Trebartha also came to an end in a family of four girls during the present century. It was while this was happening that the author acquired The Rodd and reinstated the family in the home of its ancestors on the same land which had been the manor of La Rode in the Middle Ages, and of Bradlege a thousand years ago.



KNILL & WALSHAM of KNILL.



GENEALOGY OF THE KNILL AND WALSHAM FAMILIES OF KNILL

Authorities: As stated on pedigree and in text.

I. JOHN DE KENELL: held a knight's fee in Byford, Co. Hereford, with Matilda de Tregoz and Walter de Bodenham of Walter de Lacy (*Book of Fees*, pp. 802, 817; *I.P.M., Hereford*, 23 Jan. 1242-3). In Testa de Nevill the name is given as Cnulle. In Close Roll 26 Henry III, pt. 1, m. 14 (15 Nov. 1241, Printed Close Rolls, p. 373), among fees assigned in dower to Margery de Lacy, daughter of William de Braose, of those held by her late husband Walter in Co. Hereford, is the fee of one knight which John de Cnulle held of him. In 1248 John de Knill held lands at Byford by knight's service under Gilbert de Genevil, *jure uxoris* Lord of Weobley (Duncumb, iii, Cook).

II. JOAN, wife of John de Kenell, in two Hereford Assize Rolls, 304, m. 2, and 304, m. 13, 21-23 Edward I. She died in March 1292-3.

III. JOHN DE KNULL: ob. before 1292-3; of Knill, Upcote, and Byford; mentioned in Assize Rolls 304, m. 2, and 304, m. 13, in which the pedigree is given: died *vita matris*. Also mentioned in his wife's indenture.

IV. AMICE: wife of John de Knull, widow of John le Child. She made a covenant with Adam de Eyton, by an indenture dated 5 October 1293, in connexion with his marriage with her daughter Yseud. She mentions the rent of five marcs belonging to her in Byford, Knulle, and Upcote, which she was accustomed to receive from John de Knulle, her son, for her dower.

V. JOHN DE KNULL: witnessed to aforesaid. Mentioned in the Assize Rolls aforesaid. In 20 Edward I (1291-2), Geoffrey de Ledewyk and Joan his wife were summoned to answer John de Knulle for making waste in the woods and gardens which they had in keeping of the inheritance of the said John in Knulle (Hereford Assize Roll, 302, m. 24). In 1308 he presented John fitz John de Knull to the church of Knull (Bishops' Registers).

VI. AMICE and ISABEL: daughters of John de Knull (III) mentioned in the Assize Rolls aforesaid, as daughters of John de Knull of Byford.

VII. YSEUD: third daughter of John de Knull (III) m. Adam de Eyton, mentioned in the aforesaid indenture.

VIII. RALPH, LORD OF BYFORD and LORD OF KNULL: so described early in fourteenth century when he granted land in Knull by charter, witnessed by John, son of John de Knull, and William le Brett of Brompton (*et al.*). In 1316 he was lord of a vill in Byford; in 1346 he

paid 20s. therefore (*Feudal Aids*, vol. ii, p. 386). Held half a knight's fee at Upcote, *I.P.M.* May, 13 Edward II. In 1336 he presented Hugh le Brett to the church of Knill. In the quinzaine of Easter 21 Edward III (1347) the manors of Knulle and Upcote with the advowson of the church of the manor of Knulle were settled by a fine on Ralph de Knull and Margery his wife and the heirs of the body of Ralph, and if Ralph die without heir of his body, after the death of Ralph and Margery to Nicholas de Knulle, Chaplain, for all the life of Nicholas, with remainder after the death of Nicholas to Ralph, son of John de Brokenbergh, and the heirs of his body begotten, with remainder, if Ralph son of John die without heir of his body, to John de Brokenbergh and Alice his wife and to the heirs of the bodies of them John and Alice issuing, with remainder if they die without heirs of their bodies to the right heirs of him John (*F.F.*, H/d 1339 to 1380, File 42, No. 135). On 3 March 1349 he presented Hugh le Brett to the church of Knull, which Hugh thus held for the second time. Ralph de Knull was dead before 30 May 1349, the year of the Black Death.

IX. MARGERY, wife of Ralph, Lord of Byford and Lord of Knull, held the advowson of the church of Knill 30 May 1349, when she is described as the relict of Ralph de Knill. She died before 4 July 1349.

X. EDMUND DE KNULL: 2nd son of John de Knull, mentioned in Assize Rolls aforesaid.

XI. JOHN DE KNULL: 3rd son of John de Knull, presented 1308 by his father to the church of Knull as John fitz John de Knull. Witnessed the charter aforesaid as John, son of John de Knull. Mentioned in Assize Rolls aforesaid.

XII. SIR NICHOLAS DE KNULL: Rector of Knull in 1317. Presented to the church of Knill on 4 July and 25 August 1349 and 27 November 1359.

XIII. ALICE: wife of John de Brokenbergh, sister, and in her issue, heir of Ralph de Knull. Mentioned with her husband in *F.F.* 13 Edward III.

XIV. JOHN DE BROKENBERGH: by a fine in 13 Edward II between John de Brokenbergh and Alice his wife and Robert de Brokenbergh, Parson of Wroxhale (Wraxhall), lands, &c., in Hempton, Tokynton, Wynterbowone, and La Lee were settled on John and Alice and the heirs of John (Fine, 13 Edward III).

XV. JOHN DE BROKENBERGH: second tenant in tail 1347, dead 1390.

XVI. ALICE: wife of John de Brokenbergh (see XV), mentioned in the Knill Fine 1347.

XVII. RALPH DE BROKENBERGH: Lord of North Wraxhall in 1361 (*Sarum Institutions*) and of Knill on 1367. In a de Banco Roll (Easter, 48 Edward III, m. 53d, *Glos.*) Ralph de Brokenbergh sued Richard de Cheselden of Co. Devon for debt. In another de Banco Roll (Hilary,

2 Richard II, m. 223 d, *Glos.*) there is a suit between Ralph Brokenborgh and John Tasker and Joan his wife as to lands, &c., in Almondesbury and Tokynton. He presented to the church of North Wraxhall 1361, 1378, 1384 and to the chantry of North Wraxhall 1379, and to the church of Knill 1367 as 'Ralph de Brokenbergh, Lord de Knill'. Appears to have died in 1390, when the presentation to the chantry lapsed to the bishop. He clearly left no male heirs, and there were no other male heirs of his father, for the manor of North Wraxhall with the rights to the advowsons was then divided between the descendants of the three daughters of John de Wroxhale and his first wife Joan Peverel in accordance with the terms of the fine of 1317. In a *de Banco* Roll (*Michaelmas Term*, 20 Richard II iote 102) Ralph is stated to have died without heir of his body.

XVIII. ELEANOR: (K. 6 Visitation, *Heralds College*) 'daughter and heir of John de Brokenbergh of Knill'.

XIX. JEVAN AP REES of Elvael or JEVAN GOCH (pp. 59, 63). This is the John ap Rees ap Jevon of the *Heralds College*, K. 6.

XX. RICHARD AP JEVAN, Lord of Knill: in 1415 there is a pardon of outlawry to a man for not appearing at the King's Bench to answer Rees ap Jevan of Knulle and Richard ap Jevan, Lord of Knill, for a plea of debt (*Cal. Pat. R.*, 2 Henry V, pt. 1, m. 6). Held the knight's fee at Byford 1398, when described as 'Richard de Knill', and in *I.P.M.* 1425, when described as 'Richard le Knyll'. W. P. Baildon regards the fact of Richard's holding the Byford knight's fee, which was not mentioned in the settlement, as very strong evidence of his being the heir of the blood of Knill (see XXII below).

XXI. REES AP JEVAN GOCH OF ELVAEL: presented to the church of Knill twice in 1391. Mentioned in a pardon of outlawry (*Cal. Pat. R.* 1407, 28 A) as Rees ap Jevan of parts of Elvael. In another, 13 February 1415, as Rees ap Jevan of Knulle, and in the *Berkeley Charters* as Rys ap Evan, the father of John Knill.

XXII. JOHN KNYLL OR KNULL: presented to Knill church (John Knulle) in 1428 and again with his wife Alice (John and Alice de Knill) in 1431. In the *Berkeley Charters* (*Smyth's Lives*, vol. 2, p. 203) it is stated that John Knulle, son of Rees ap Evan, held a quarter of the manor of Brokenborow, which extended into the townships of Tockington, Almondesbury, &c. It is therefore clear that John Knill was heir of the blood of Ralph de Brokenbergh, and it is he who comes first on the *Heralds College Visitation Pedigree* of 1569 (cf. XX above).

XXIII. WILLIAM DE KNULL: mentioned in two charters, formerly at Knill, 28 Henry VI and 5 Edward IV, 1449 and 1465, as Lord of Knill. Presented to Knill church in 1459, 1466, and 1467, described as Lord of Knill and Armiger. Fought at the battle of Mortimer's Cross 3 February 1461 as Sir William Knylle (William of Worcester, *Itinerarium*, quoted in Evans's *Wales*, p. 123).

XXIV. JOHN DE KNELL: son of William de Knell, mentioned in a charter formerly at Knill dated 1471 as 'Lord of Knulle, son and heir of William Knulle'. He is described as John Knill the elder (11 Edward IV).

XXV. GWENLIANA v. *Hoell Griffith Vaughan* (Plea Rolls, Radnor No. 21, 2 Eliz. I: Two suits; *Henry ap Thomas and Gwenliana his wife v. Bola Vergh John*; and *Thomas Knill v. Griffin ap Hoell Gough*; also in later suit 12 Sept., 1 James I). Many generations of the pedigree are given in these Plea Rolls.

XXVI. HUGH KNILL: mentioned in the aforesaid charter as 'Hugh Knulle, my brother'.

XXVII. JENKIN KNILL OF KNILL: mentioned with his mother Gwenliana and his son 'John Knill the Sheriff' (Radnor Plea Rolls, No. 21, April, 2 Elizabeth I. Also mentioned in the will of John Bradshaw of Presteigne 1538).

XXVIII. ANN: wife of Jenkin Knill, daughter of Sir Richard Devereux. The printed authorities give her as co-heir, and her father as the second son of Walter, Lord Ferrers, K.G.

XXIX. WILLIAM KNILL: son of John de Knell. (Plea Rolls aforesaid; two suits April, 2 Eliz. I and 1 Eliz. I; *Eleanora Knill v. John Knill*). Ancestor to the families of Knill of Evenjob and Knill of Womaston, who can be traced down to 1740.

XXX. JOHN KNILL OF KNILL, M.P.: son of Jenkin Knill, bought estates during year of second marriage in Bettws, Llanbister, and Berchop, Co. Radnor (Fines, 21 May, 2 and 3 Philip and Mary).

① William de la Rode

living 1244 and 1260, when he must have been old and important enough to witness Thomas de Braxino's Charter to Wymore Abbey, and sales of land to Gladys de Mortimer.

Perhaps still alive in 1292.

② Reginald de Rode ③ Roger de la Rode

living 1250

living 1256

All three lived in the area of La Rode, Herefordshire, and Presteigne.

③ John de la Rode

living 1242/3, perhaps as a minor, on land held of Stapleton, with land also at Leominster.

④ Henry de la Rode = Matilda

living 1245; with land at Leominster.

⑤ Dom Adam Rode

Clerk, living 1203 & 1504; free tenant at La Rode and at Leominster; to which property William succeeded; witness Dom Adam de Bray, Abbot of Wymore.

④ William le Clerk de la Rode

living 1202 - 1333, and perhaps in 1340, at La Rode.

John de la Rode

with land at St Bravels, Co. Glos. Also probably the John, son of John, of the La Rode Roll, 1304.

Robert de la Rode

living in the 15th Century, & in 1504.

Thomas De la Rode

living 1377.

⑦ Nicholas de la Rode

had land at La Rode.

Philip Rode

of Wignall, near La Rode living 1377.

⑨ William de la Rode

living 1377

William Rode living 1438 at La Rode, may be the same person.

⑩ Roger de la Rode of Pembridge, kinsman of Thomas de la Rode

living 1438.

⑧ John de la Rode = Caecilia

living 1377, when he conveyed land to his son.

Edward Rode living 1559, 1579, and 1597.

⑩ Jenkin Rode living 1530, o. 1546; will proved.

Walter Rode o. 1603.

John de la Rode = Agnes

living 1377 and 1379, with land at La Rode and Boullebrook, near Presteigne.

Hugh de la Rode = Margaret

buried "in templo" at Presteigne, 1602.

daughter of — Watkins Price.

Walter Rode son of Walter, buried as was Hugh, in templo, at Presteigne 1636/37.

James or John Rode of Pembridge of Robinson, p. 285.

Sheet II

Margery of Weaver, P. 27, b. 1407, o. 1502. m. William Evesham of Weaver, P. 27, b. 1477, o. 1507. also of Robinson, p. 285.

coheiresses

Joan m. John Edwin of Marden, co. Hereford.

GENEALOGY OF THE RODE-RODD FAMILIES OF HEREFORDSHIRE

Authorities:

- Duncumb (supplementary): Grimsworth Hundred.
Robinson: Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire.
Weaver: Visitation of Herefordshire and extensions.
Blount: cf. *D.N.B.* regarding his history of Herefordshire.
Carless Calendar, see notes in text.
Presteigne Parish Registers.
Depositions under Commission 1668-1740.
Public Record Office file E/134.
Other original sources in P.R.O. and collections as noted in text.

NOTES TO SHEET I

1. WILLIAM DE LA RODE. With John de Cumba, witness to sale of land at Presteigne by William de Fraxino (alive 1244 and 1260) to Dame Gladys de Mortimer: also witness to another transaction of same. Also witnessed Thomas de Fraxino's charter, granting land to Wigmore Abbey in 1244. Therefore born 1220. Also concerned with land at St. Briavel's, Co. Glos., 1280-90, and with the sale of Adam de Rode's lands at Leominster, see (5) below, unless this William is the William le Clerk at (4) below.

2. ROGER DE LA RODE and REGINALD DE LA RODE: alive respectively 1256 and 1250. Associated with Kinnersley. May be Rode(s) of Cheshire. The former was fined for a 'transgression' at the Presteigne Manor Court.

3. JOHN DE LA RODE: had lands at Eyton near Leominster in 1243, and in Suffolk in 1250. The land at Eyton was in the King's hands in 1243 when he may have been a minor. A John de la Rode, and probably the same one, was witness in 1295 to the age of Geoffrey Cornwall of Stapleton. In 1292 an action was brought by William 'Rudd' against John 'Rudd'. In 1300 John Rode conveys land at St. Briavel's, Co. Glos., to various persons. This is also most probably one of the Johns who figure as free tenants on the Stapleton Roll.

4. WILLIAM LE CLERK DE LA RODE. Alive in 1293 and 1304, on the Stapleton Manor Rolls. He succeeded to the land at Leominster held by Dom Adam Rode, Clerk, 'deceased'. The William of this transaction, a free tenant at La Rode, on account of ages and dates is probably not the William at (1) above. He had a son, Thomas, who had a 'kinsman' Roger Rode of Pembridge. Thomas was alive in 1377, and a Roger became his heir in 1438. William was awarded a claim by the Escheator in 1313, but the William who was fined for perjury at Presteigne in 1340 is probably a later William. William le Clerk is, however, very likely the clerical who was prebendary at Pontesbury in 1320-2.

5. ADAM DE LA RODE, or Dom Adam Rode, a clerk, a free tenant of La Rode in the Stapleton Rolls of 1293 and 1304. Had land at Leominster which William (probably 4) sold to Roger de Mortimer on Adam's demise, which conveyance witnessed by Dom Adam de Bray, abbot of Wigmore. This Roger de Mortimer was probably the Roger who succeeded Edward de Mortimer, which puts Adam's death about 1330.

6. HENRY DE LA RODE and Matilda his wife. Land at Lucton and Leominster 1295 and 1296.

7. NICHOLAS DE LA RODE, shown as father of John de la Rode in the Carless calendar of Deeds. He held Rode of Stapleton.

8. JOHN DE LA RODE. Son of Nicholas, conveyed land at Rode to his son John and Caecilia his wife, the lands in the will which his father held before him—witness Thomas de la Rode, son of William le Clerk.

9. WILLIAM DE LA RODE living 1379, a brother of John de la Rode, who married Caecilia (Carless Deeds).

10. JENKIN RODE OR JENKIN À RODE is a bit of a puzzle. Off hand the date of his death (will proved 1546) makes it unlikely that he was a contemporary of Edward Rode (living 1559-97) and Walter Rode (ob. 1603) who look, and other evidence supports, as if they were contemporaries of Hugh de la Rode. Either there were two Jenkin Rodes on which evidence is conflicting or Edward and Walter Rode must move down one generation to that of Hugh de la Rode (cf. Chap. VII and appendixes thereto).

HUGH RODD
of the Rodd.
Living 1550 & 1597.
o. 1602; bur at Presteigne.

MARGARET
d. of Wathin Price
of Nash.
o. 1595; bur at Presteigne.

Walter Rodd
of London and Rodd.
o. 1630/7. Paid taxes for
La Rode 1609-1628.
Churchwarden, Presteigne
1635/8.

Richard Rodd = **Agnes Katherine
or Mary**
daughter of Richard Savery
and Frideswide, of Totnes,
Co Devon.
Year of birth un-
known. o. 1655.
Will proved 1635/6.

**John
Rodd**
b. 1565.
o. 1605.
bur at
Presteigne.

Elizabeth
2nd wife
b. 1500
m. 1598/9
o. 1637.

John Lyde
of Nash
o. 1634.
He married his 1st
wife, Alice Gomez,
1580.

William Rodd =
of Nash, which he inher-
ited from his mother.
b. 1570.
Living 1647.

Hugh Rodd =
of Wagnall
b. 1572.
o. 1647.

Dorothy Ballard
Living 1647

Sir James Price Rodd = **Margery
Ballard**
Mercer, of Hereford,
of Marston Jeffreys
and Fossell.
o. 1604.

William
b. 1595. o. 1595

William
b. 1596. o. 1604.

Elizabeth
b. 1597/8.
m. Thos Vaughan
living 1622.
Had issue.

Richard
b. 1599/1600. sp.

Margaret
b. 1601/2.
o. before 1604.

Margaret
b. 1604/7. o. 1609.

**Anne, or
Johanne**
b. 1605. o. 1605.

Hugh
b. 1607.

Walter
b. 1609/10. at
Presteigne. o. 1636

**Simon, or
Symon**
of London.
b. 1612. o. p. 1650
vide Robinson

Charity
b. 1615

Richard Rodd = **Barbara**
b. 1608. o. 1673. buried
Presteigne. Will pro-
ved Hereford. 1675.
High Sheriff Radnor
1634. Inner Temple
Ingrated Rodd from
bur Father by 1661-1658.
Served Charles I army
as colonel, and fined
as delinquent 1646.

**William
Rodd**
Paid taxes a
1620 and 1641
for land at
The Rodd

Mary
1st wife
of Sir William
Bishop Hall
of Exeter.
o. s. p. 1638

Sir James Rodd
of Exeter and Totnes, Co Devon
b. 1611 Totnes. o. 1678. Bedford Ho
Exeter; bur at St. Stephens Church
High Sheriff Devon. 1670.
Inherited New Radnor & Kings-
land properties from his father
and sold them.
Fined as delinquent 1646.
He and his third wife and
their younger children were all
buried at St. Stephen's Church
Exeter.

Grace
2nd wife,
daughter of
Edmund
Bampfylde of
Oakhay, Co
Devon.

Mary
3rd wife,
daughter of
Sir John
Bampfylde
of Poltonore,
Co Devon.
b. 1626
o. 1670

James Rodd = **Maria**
of Nash.
b. 1606. o. 1682.
or 1688 at Presteigne,
having sold Nash
to Stephen and Wil-
liam King
Will in Chancery Inq.
Series II. Vol. 549,
No. 122.

**George
Rodd**
o. s. p.

Frideswide = **William
Walmesley**
m. 1674. Presteigne
living 1697. o. 8. p.

Elizabeth
1st wife,
daughter of
Samuel Hall,
son of bishop
Hall of Exeter

Bampfylde Rodd I
of The Rodd, Hereford, and
of Oakhay and Stoke Canon,
Co Devon.
Mingden College, Oxford
Acquired The Rodd from
Richard Rodd, son of Hugh
Rodd of Wagnall.

Bridget
2nd wife,
daughter of
of Francis Drew
of the Grange,
Co Devon.
Widow of Francis
Fulford, of Fulford.

Mary = **Edward
Spoure**
of Trebartha
Co Cornwall.

James Rodd = **Gertrude**
of War House
b. 1655.
o. 1693

Grace
daughter of
Sir William Basset
of Gerston.
o. Elizabeth
b. 1657.
o. 1703.

Margaret
b. 1667.
o. 1693/4.
m. **Thomas
Jeffery**
of Exeter

**Thomas
Rodd**
of Nash

**James
Rodd**

James Rodd
of Ewmarsh
o. s. p.

Joseph Rodd
o. s. p.

Grace

Bampfylde Rodd II
of Stoke Canon and The Rodd
inherited from his father.
b. 1681. o. 1725.

Lucy
1st wife,
daughter
of Robert
Price, of
Coeior and
Fosley, Co
Hereford
m. 1702

**Edward
Rodd**
of Huxham
o. s. p.

Jane
1st wife,
daughter
and sister
of John,
Hearle of
Penrhay.
o. 1780.

Francis Rodd = **Anne**
b. 1683. o. 1736.
Coldstream Guards
Inherited Trebartha, Co
Cornwall, from his be-
trothed cousin, Mary,
daughter of Edward,
Spoure

**Mary
Spoure**
2nd wife,
daughter of
W Sandford
of Nymetown
Court, Co
Somerset; o.
of Topham,
Co Devon.

**William
Rodd**
of Topham
Co Devon.

**Johanna
Fortescue**

**Gertrude
Mary
Coppelstone
Rodd**

Lucy = **John Ivis**
Co Devon

Gratiana = **Sharrington
Davenport**
m. 1732
of Davenport, Co Salop

Juliana = **Theophilus
Lane**
of Capton Bridge
Co Hereford
b. 1719. o. 1794

4 other daughters

Had issue as the Rodds of
Exeter and Trebartha.
Eldest male line extinguished
in this century. second line
continues. Issue in Co Devon
and Cornwall.

James Fortescue Rodd
of Duddscombe, Co Devon
o. 1782.

Maria
bur at
Topham
Co Devon.

Emma

9 Presteigne Parish Registers etc
for addition of spouses

Had issue at Davenport Co
Salop

Had issue at Baylunds, Hereford
Co Hereford

See Sheet II

Hugh Rodd
of Wignall
b. 1572, christened
at Presteigne.
o. 1647. Will proved
C. P. C.

Dorothy, daughter and heir
of John Ballard of The Grove, co.
Monmouth, and Newton, and
of Mary, his wife.
Living 1647.

Margery Ballard
daughter and heir of John
Ballard, of The Grove, co.
Monmouth, and Mary, his
wife, who inherited Newton

Sir James Price Rodd
of Moreton Jeffries and Foxley,
Mercer of Hereford. High Sheriff
of Hereford 1623/4. Alderman 1632
Common Council 1620. M. P. 1620-2.
Fined as delinquent 1649. o. 1664.

Note: The reference to J. P. Rodd's wife
as daughter of Thomas Pagen, may
refer to the mother of one or more of the
following illegitimate children

Walter Rodd
b. 1610.
o. 1631, at
Presteigne
s. p.

James Rodd = **Anne**
daughter
of Jones
of Puteley.
m. 1654.

Hugh Rodd = wife
of New Radnor
b. 1625, Presteigne
Settled in Hereford
where he was known as
Hugh Rodd the Mer-
cer. He bought Am-
berley, co. Hereford,
1672. Alive 1689, &
described as 93 in
1715, in Com Dep.
Anne 1734, when
"of Wellington."

Richard Rodd
b. 1629, at Presteigne.
Bought The Rodd from
Fradewale (Rodd)
Waimesley for £2,000,
and disposed of it to
Bampfylde Rodd I.
Richard was probably
"The Drover" of 24
Car. II, 1677; and was
44 in 1672/3.
o. s. p.

John Rodd = wife
of Marden
b. 1651, Presteigne
o. 1699, buried in
Hereford Cather-
edral.

Christopher Rodd
b. 1637
Presteigne.

Sister and heir of
Michael Moore
of Burghope, co.
Hereford, who
was also recorded
as having mar-
ried a sister of
Richard, Fore
of Brinsop, co.
Hereford.

Anne
1st wife
daughter and co-heir of
Sir Thomas Whitley
of Whitley
m. 1634/5.
bur. Yazor, 1651.

Thomas Rodd
= **Margaret**
daughter of R.
Hereford of Sufton, co. He-
reford, and
widow of
William
Whittington.
m. 1670.
2nd wife.
s. p.

Anne, born 1607. Mentioned in
a deed of 1608 by her Grandmother,
Mary Ballard
m. Richard Staborn in 1625.

James Rodd, of Wyebridge,
Hereford. b. 1609. m. Bridger
Issue: d. Elizabeth, is James

Frances, b. 1611. o. 1649.
m. Roger Hereford of Sufton.
Will proved (vide FF 1654)

Margery, b. 1616, o. in infancy

Elizabeth = **John Pycfinch**
sole heir

Anne = **Pycfinch**
b. 1670
Presteigne
apparently
o. s. p.

Robert Rodd
and others?

Rev. John Rodd
b. 1670. o. 1746
bur. Hereford
Cathedral, of
which he was
Prebendary,
and Vicar of
St. Peter's Ch.

Mary
There may
have been
another
wife,
Elizabeth.
1704.

Thomas Rodd
Probably
curate of
Madley,
1690-
1704.

George Rodd

Thomas Rodd
buried at
Presteigne
1679.

Christopher Rodd

Robert Rodd = **Anna Sophia**
of Foxley
b. 1637 at Whitley
o. 1681 at Yazor

d. of Thomas Neale
of Wamford, co.
Hants, and Lucy
his wife, d. ch. of
Sir W. Uvdale,
of Wickham, co. Hants
o. 1631, bur. Here-
ford Cathedral.

Constance Anne
b. 1635
o. 1658
mar. at
Burghill

Thomas Carpenter of Tel-
lington, co. Hereford,
son of John Carpenter of
Honne Dilwyn, and
had issue. o. 1707.

Margaret Elizabeth
m. Tamburlane
Guillem of
Wellington, co.
Hereford
of the Exchequer,
of How Capel, o.
Hereford
Eleanor
m. Richard
Witherstone of Burghill, o. Hereford
o. 1679.

Jane, b. 1622/3.
m. Edward Alderne of Barry Court,
Hereford. D. C. L. Chancellor of
the Diocese of Rochester.

Herbert Rodd, b. 1620
s. p.

Deborah, b. 1624, o. 1655.
m. William Dansey of Brinsop, as
2nd wife. Issue: Margaret, b. 1647
widow in 1712 of Witherstone of
Shoule.

Edward Rodd, of Hin-
ton and Newton, b. 1628, living
1685?, o. before 1712.
m. Joan, natural dau. of Rudhale
Guillem of Whitchurch, prior to
1607. They had 1100, Thomas, who
laid claim to Foxley, vide Dep.
under Com. II. Anne.
Alive 1672.

Anne = **Edward Vaughan**
m. 1754.

Had issue two daughters who married brothers
Galliers

Frances = **Rev. William Somerscales**
b. 1703
m. 1733
o. 1799, aged
96; bur. in
Hereford
Cathedral

Rev. John Rodd, B.D. = **Christian**
Rector of Barton on the Heath,
co. Warwick.
b. 1704 o. 1782, at Barton

Ann
b. 1701,
o. 1779,
at Barton

John Rodd = **Mary**
Surgeon,
of Evesham.
o. 1851.

Had issue, which settled in Australia

Ann Elizabeth
b. 1755
b. 1757, o. 1758
died as infant at
Barton.

Lucy = **Robert Price**
Living 1730
m. 1679
Eloped with
her cousin-
german, Jos
Neale

Thomas Price
b. 1680. o. 1708.
Found shot, or bid
at Gwoa. o. s. p.

Ann Sophia = **William Wardour**
m. 1688
o. 1737.

Uvdale Tomkyns Price = **Anne**
of Foxley
b. 1685.
M. P. for Wootley,
o. 1744.

Robert Price
of Oculor, co. Downhgh,
and later of Foxley,
Baron of the Exchequer
b. 1655 o. in Kensington,
bur. at Yazor

Had issue at Foxley

William Wardour
Clerk of Appeals
of the Wardours
of Wardour Castle
o. before 1712.

Lucy = **Bampfylde Rodd II**
See Sheet II

Frances = **Alexander How**
of Battersia
Deputy Master of Bristol
Mint under Thomas
Neale, senior.
Had issue.

Had issue seven daughters, see Sheet II

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PRINTED IN
GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE
UNIVERSITY PRESS
OXFORD
BY
CHARLES BATEY
PRINTER
TO THE
UNIVERSITY