TENEMENTS & TENANTS IN CHARLTON KINGS, 1557 & 1564

A Collection by John Stubbs

by Mary Paget

John Stubbs, who became under-steward for the manor of Cheltenham in 1607, was a Charlton man - at least two generations of Stubbs had preceded him here, holding land under the subordinate manor of Ashley alias Charlton. Stubbs himself, through his marriage, held an Ashley tenement at Wellinghill. He was an ardent advocate of inclosure and a party to several lawsuits resulting from it. So when the dust had settled, he collected all the information he could about the movement, starting in the mid 16th century when permission for partial inclosure was first given, on the basis of one acre for every ten in 1557, and on the basis of three acres for every twenty in 1564, and continuing till the idea had won reluctant acceptance.

Stubbs' work has given us two lists of Charlton Kings tenants (1) and their holdings. The first lists those holding under Cheltenham and Ashley, but does not include Ham, where a semi-independent manor was being formed from Cheltenham about that time. The second list includes Ham "under the hill" but not Northfield. However, these omissions are a minor matter. Thanks to Stubbs, we know the size of the main holdings in this parish and the location of the first inclosures. Many field names can be identified from the tithe map and apportionment of 1848 (TM), and that identification gives a clue to the real purpose of the inclosure movement and what it actually achieved. In the tables that follow, holdings have been re-arranged according to size.

The first point to be noticed is that the holdings were substantial and far from uniform in size. The largest were over 100 acres, many were 40 acres or over, yet the smallest were under 10 acres. We cannot conclude from this that some tenants, base or free, lived off holdings of 5 or 7 acres, for some at least of the base tenants and all the freeholders had land in other townships and there were opportunities for employment in Cheltenham. What we can say is that nearly all the freehold land was divided into very small units, in part the result of breaking up Mr Compton's tenement. The only sizeable freeholdings were those of John Rogers (63 acres) and Robert Goodrich of Ham (48 acres); the latter was shortly to become lord of the manor of Ham with a considerably increased estate. The largest tenements in 1557 were held in base tenure, and, with one significant exception, this remained true in 1564.

TENANTS & (OCCUPIERS)	MANOR	HOW HELD	AREA	TO CLOSE	LOCATION
Giles Roberts & Rt. Alexander (Jn Alexander)	C.A.	В	109a	1 1 a	in the Furlong & at Sapercombe
Nich. Holder (himself)	C.A.	В	100a	108	in Carishmoore, Howbeach, & the croft in the nether end of
(Rd Rogers)		tot	5a 105a	1 2a	the lye in Strowde next Sapercombe
Wm Keeke (himself)	C	В	83a	8 1 a	in Longhey & pt of Sapercombe slade
Rt Symons (himself)	C	В	83a	8 1 a	Richel croft, Hanging Hill, little orchard nr the old barn
Hy Alexander (himself)	A	В	65a	6a	in the more beneath the house & Huntmore
Jn Rogers (himself)	A	F	63a	6 1 a	in the Marle- brooke, the Nether Penny Howbeach, pt of Pennybreach at the upper end
Wm Rudgedals (himself)	С	В	55a	5a	in Richol croft Little Roells, pt of Blackdole
Wm Pates (himself)	A	В	52a	5 1 a	in pt of Colpit- ate & pt of Hawbeach
Jn Pates (himself)	C.A.	В	47a	4 3 a	in Ravensgate mead
Wm son of Thos. Dowdeswell jr (Thos Dowdeswell	C.A.	B tot	38a 9a 47a	3 3 a	in Moores meade in Ravensgate, in the Logge
Philip Smyth (himself)	C	В	44a	35a	in the further side of the Frith & the little home

TENANTS AND (OCCUPIERS)	HOW HELD	AREA	TO CLOSE	LOCATION
Giles Grevill jr gent (himself)	F	37a	5a	in Milkewell
(Giles Grevill sr gent)	F*	36a	5a	in Hartley meade, Frecon- hill & part of Awcotts
(Nich. Kematt)	F∗	40a	6a	in Broadlease & pt of Blackmore
(Thos. Dowdeswell sr)	F*	20a	3a	in Winterbarne hedge & Snells meade
(Jn Wyllys)	F*	4a	3 4a	in the meade platt in Stannetts Foorde
(Rd Millard)	F tot.	2a 139a	1 a	in the Hunts
Rt Alexander (Jn Alexander	В	109a	16a	in the Furlong, 2 closes called the Hanging Hills, 2 little closes called the Hitchins next Higgins hey
Edmond Cartwright (Thos Lucas & Rd Bourton)	В	80a	12a	in Collerdon, Boulton hill, Horshill, Little Badleton
"under the hill" (Rd Tychett & Wm Ballinger)	В	14a 15a		in Lucas Hill in Harriotts grove
Nich. Holder (himself)	В	65a	9 3 a	in Cadulls meade in Howbeach, Cadulls meade in Deepmore, pt of Henmarshe
(Jn Holder sr)	B tot.	40a 105a	6а	Nethercombe in Milkewell, in Cutham butts, Nine lands in Cuddenhill, close called the Plox
Alice Keeke wo (herself)	В	83a	12a	in Longhey, pt of Long- meade, Broadbreach
in Ham	B tot.	7a 90a	1a	Rosecombe, in Goryfurlong
Wm Pates(himself) in Badleton	B B	52a 33a	7 ≩ a 5a	in Hawgrove in Badleton
Rt Symons (himself)	В	83a	12a	in Honging Hill, Richall croft & Milkwell
Walter Goodrich (himself) "under the hill"	В	67a	10a	in both the Shackbreeches both the Nether Rodwaies, a parcel of leynes next Greeneway called the Logge

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John Rogers (himself)	F	63a	9a	in Oakenchurchey, Pellins Howbeach, close at Ludmore, pt of Pellinsbeach
Hy Alexander (himself)	В	61a	9a	in the Home close, Molle- croft, Poultbrook & Huntmore
Wm Rudgedall (himself)	В	55a	8 1 a	in pt of Blackdole, Niffeneshe, Little Well, pt of a close at Home, & Stanley
Thomas Higges (himself)	glebe	55a	8 1 a	in Parsonsfirst in Badleton
Rt Goodrich gt (himself) "under the hill"	F	48a	7 1 a	in the Ryddings & Warden Hill
Jn Pates (himself)	В	47a	7a	in Ravensgate meade and Pennybreach
Katherine Dowdeswell wo (Thos Dowdeswell jr)	B tot.	38a 9a in H 47a	5 3 a am	in Mooresmeade, Flanch- breach, Winterbarne hedge, and in the Logge
Hy Smith (Wm Butler)	В	44a	6a	in Overdole, Howbeach, pt of the upper end of Barretts Hill & in Olddole
Rt Whithorne (himself)	В	44a	6a	in Niffenesh, the Coombes & i little close at his house
Jn Blycke (H'sf) "under the hill"	B tot.	30a 14a 44a	4a 2 1 a	in Longhay & Badleton in Kytewell
Jn Gale (H'sf)	В	41a	6a	in Ravensgate & Old dole
Jn Stubbs (himself)	В	40a	6a	in Ravensgate meade, close in the Breache, the nether end of the Home close, pt of Bunhall, parcel of Leynes in the Breach, 4 layes at Coltam
Thos Wye esq (Wm Milton)	F	37a	5a	in pt of Barleymeade & pt of Milkwell

John Hawthorne, Partridges meese (Rd Hicks)	A	В	26a	2 3 a	in the further Partridge breach
Wm Dowdeswell sr (himself)	A	В	23a	2 1 a	in Nether Depemore
Thos Dowdeswell jr (himself)	С	F	20a	2a	in Trapenhill & Kyte half acres
Thos Dowdeswell sr (himself)	A	ch	20a	2a	in Winterbarne hedge
Ed Brevill (Wm King)	A	В	14a	1a	in the buttes & at the close end
Thos White (H'sf)	A	В	14a	1a	in the buttes
Hy Hall (himself)	A	В	14a	1a	in Dunhall & the croft next Geo Ballinger's
Thos Wye Esq & heirs of Compton (Hy Brevill)	C	F	13a	1a	in Howbeach
Jn Gosling (H'sf)	A	В	13a	1a	in Kytewell
Jn Oatridge (himself)	A	В	13a	1a	in Newes meat at Ravensyate
Wm Reynolds (H'sf)	A	В	11a	1a	in Caner croft
Reginald Cliveley (himself)	C	В	10a	1a	at his close end
Heirs of Compton (Jn Lewyke)	C	F	7a	3 4a	in Milkwell
Rd Grindell (H'sf)	A	В	7a	<u>³</u> a	in the breache
Thos Fowler (himself)	A	В	7a	<u>3</u> a	in the upper end of Kytebreache
Jn Wyllys (himself)	A	ch	7a	<u>₹</u> a	in the Nether pt of Stanette Foorde
Hy Clivelay (H'sf)	A	В	5a	<u>1</u> 2a	in the Slade
Wm Hicks (H'sf)	A	F	5a	3 a	in Gatersbreach
Rt French (H'sf)	A	F	2a	1 a	in Blackdole

Total acreage: CHELTENHAM MANOR (base 393a, free 77a) 470a ASHLEY MANOR (base 681a, copy 94a, free 98a) 1343 acres.

В	33a	5a	in the Hay, the Little Hay, lower end of Mason's close, close at Bonhall, close at his close-end, 2 butts at the Nine Leynes
В	33a	5a	in Gunley & pt of Whitfurlong
F	32a	4 3 a	in pt of Freemansbroke next Blackmore, parcel of meade at Stanetts Foorde
В	31a	4a	in Brockhold & a corner in Howbeach
В	30a	4a	in the moores & at Well- breach in Ham field, at Rodway
В	28a	4a	in Grassy Lease
В	28a	4 1 a	in Milkewell & pt of Broadlease
В	28a	4 1 a	in Oldhill & Sweattenhills
B tot	5a 23a 28a	1a 3a	in Swetynhill next Alexander's breach in Alexander's breach
В	26a	4a	in the Further Partridge breach pt of Gter Part- ridge breach next the other
В	26a	4a	in Little Milkewell, Horsehil and pt of Henmarsh
В.	26a	4a	in Oldhill & pt of a close Symons peece
)В	23a	3a	in Deepmoore
В)	23a	3a	in Little Henmarshe & pt of Lewyns meade at the lower end
F	20a	3a	in Trapenhill and Kyte half acre
	B F B B B B B O B O B O B O B O B O B O	B 33a F 32a B 31a B 30a B 28a B 28a B 28a B 28a B 26a B 26a B 26a B 26a B 26a C 23a C 28a	B 33a 5a F 32a 4\frac{3}{4}a B 31a 4a B 30a 4a B 28a 4\frac{1}{4}a B 28a 4a B 28a 4\frac{1}{4}a B 28a 4a C 23a 3a C 28a C 28a C 3a 3a C 28a C 3a 3a 3a C 3a 3a C 3a 3a C 3a 3a 3a C 3a

Jn Strawford (for another meese) (himself)	В	14a	2 1 a	in Cannynges area & pt of Pennybreach
Hy Hall (Wm Yate)	В	14a	2 1 a	in 8 leynes in the Breach 4 leynes in Coltham, & 2 leynes next Nine Leynes
Humfry Oatridge (Jn Powell)	В	14a	2 1 a	in Ravensgate meade & pt of Rockes new land
Thos White (himself)	В	14a	2 1 a	in his close ende, the Butts, & 6 leynes Coltham
Thos Wye esq & Hy Compton esq (Rt Adams)	F	14a	2 1 a	in Overdole, in Howbeach pt of a close called the Harpe in Badleton
Rd Brevill (himself)	В	14a	2 1 a	at his close-end, the Buttes & leyes at Coltham
Rd Reynolds(H'sf)	В	11a	1a	in Reynoldesmeade
Jn Holder (H'sf)	В	10a	1a	in Badleton & the Crofte
Wm Badger gt (himself)	F	7a	1 1 a	in Langthony peece
Rd Grindle (H'sf)	В	7a	1a	in the Breache
Rd Fowler(Jn Lewes)В	7a	1a	in Kytebreach
Hy Compton esq (Johan Lewycke wo)	F	7a	1a	in Milkewell
Wm Hicks (Thos Whithorne)	F	6a	1a	in Gatersbreach next Truebreach
Rt Symons (H'sf) in Hamfeilde	F	6a	1a	in Sturmyesbreache
Edmond Benbowe (Wm Haule)	F	5a	<u>3</u> a	in the upper end of Capull
Hy Clyveley (himself)	В	5a	<u>3</u> a	in 3 little closes in the Slade
Thos Packer (H'sf)	F	3 1 a	1 2a	in Copsych
Rafe Bourton of Mr Compton's(H'sf)	F	3a	<u>1</u> 2a	in Symons breach
Giles Goodrich (Thos Gooderich)	F	2a	1 a	in Broadsiche meade

Rt French (Rt Symons)	F	2a 1 a	in Little Blackdole
Walter Lane (himself) in Footeshill	В	2a 1 a	in Footeshill

Total acreage measured $2044\frac{1}{2}$ acres - taken up in severalty 291 dares.

C = held of Cheltenham manor
A = held of Ashley manor

F = freeholdB = base tenure

ch= "copyhold

* formerly "copyhold

That exception was the holding of Giles Grevill junior, a total of 139 acres freehold, which did not exist at all in 1557.

Back in 1246, as we know from an inquisition, the lords of the manor of Ashley held only one virgate of land in demesne andhad no manor house (2). That was still true when William Grevill of Campden bought Ashley in 1386-7. In the 15th century (3) according to a survey of the manor of Cheltenham (not including Ashley), John Grevill senior and after him John his son held in the tithing of Charlton within Cheltenham manor a freehold messuage and half virgate called "the Nethir-howse" (possibly on the site of East Court) and in the tithing of Bafford a freehold messuage with a virgate, formerly Thomas de la Forde's (possibly on the site of New Court). In the tithing of Sandford they held in base tenure a toft and land formerly Juliana Bradstoke's. To all these, John Grevill junior added a Charlton messuage with 6 acres of land, previously Thomas Snell's.

Not one of these properties corresponds to the house we know as Charlton Park, later the Grevills's home. If it existed, it must have been as a tenement of the manor of Ashley standing on the edge of the Lye field and Huntsmoor, by a secondary road called Forden Bank, which ran on the west side of the house till it was stopped in 1784 (4). Till c.1800, this house was known as Forden House. In the 16th century, it may well not have been freehold.

By 1557, the manor of Ashley had twice passed from the main line to distant cousins, and the Grevills had given all the tenements they held in the 15th century. In Charlton Kings, the only Grevill holding anything in 1557 was Gyles Grevill gentleman (uncle or brother of Francis Grevill then lord)(5) who had 27 acres of "copyhold land". He was one of four "customary tenants holding by copy of court roll" - these were tenements formerly base dependent upon custom and the lord's will, but held on leases granted in the manor court and so protected by the record in the court roll. Similar forms of tenure (though not so named elsewhere) are found on many manors between the late 14th and the late 16th centuries - they represent a transition from base tenure protected by custom but liable to duties, to a simple leasehold either for lives or years. On some manors, such modified tenures had taken over completely by 1600, and where this did not happen by 1600, customary tenure remained entrenched till the 20th century.

In Charlton Kings, base or customary tenure remained; it was the so-called "copyhold" that disappeared. By 1564, the position of the Grevills and their "copyholders" was very different. Giles Grevill junior gentleman, who had inherited the lordship, was holding a total 139 acres of freehold, none of which had been freehold in 1557. He occupied 37 acres himself. The rest was occupied by tenants, including Giles Grevill senior gentleman; and of his 5 tenants, 4 had been "copyholders" seven years before. The 5th held a mere 2 acres, taken, apparently, out of another holding.

From this beginning, the Charlton Park estate was built up. The messuage occupied by Gyles Grevill senior in 1557 and previously a base tenement, may have been Forden House. If so, we may tentatively attribute its reconstruction in the later 16th century to Giles the younger (6), up to this point, the Grevills had always been called "gentleman" never "esquire". Giles the younger with his improved estate and his new house was given the title for the first time in 1584, when the parish register recorded his burial.

As to the original virgate of Ashley demesne, we can only speculate that the Grevills had given it to a tenant or tenants before 1557. If so, it is easy to see where it went. Only 70 acres in that manor were freehold in 1557 and John Rogers held 63 of them. His holding could represent a virgate of demesne added to another freehold.

The second point to notice is that practically all the land to be kept in severalty in 1557 and 1564 lay on or just below the escarpment. The occasional tenant was to inclose "the little orchard near the old barn", "one close at his close-end" or "a little close at his house"; but 90% of inclosures were to be made in the breaches - the last land broken for cultivation. By the time Stubbs wrote, only 100 acres in the whole of Charlton was still open waste - 50 acres on Hartley Hill (Charlton common) and 50 acres on Ravensgate (7); and there was no woodland left at all. Sometime during the 14th or 15th centuries, the woods had been cleared and arable pushed to the very summit of the hills, where the ploughlands are still visible. This

expansion of arable was followed by a period of prosperity in Charlton Kings, evinced by the building or rebuilding of several substantial houses <u>c</u>.1500, by the addition of the south aisle to the church, and by the building of a tower absurdly out of scale with the rest of the church as it was then. The size of the Charlton tenements in 1557 and 1564 is further evidence for prosperity based on extra land. What we see in these lists are not fixed tenements held as they had been in, say 1300, but ancient tenements largely supplemented by intake of new land. Every tenant held some land in the old fields in the valley and some land on the hillsides.

Many of the inclosures named in 1557 and 1564 can be located - under Charlton Common lay Pilley mead and Hartley mead; below the north-facing slope of Timbercombe, the Furlong (tithe map 303), Awcott (TM 287) Sapercombe leynes and slade, and Strouds (TM 288, 216); above them, Penny Breaches (TM 384-5, 301-2), Sapercombe (TM 215, 220) and Lucas Hill (TM 213); over the ridge, Milkwell, Kite Breach (TM 294), The Coombs (TM 324) Rose Combe (TM 325); further east, Hanging hill (TM 223), Blakemore (TM 226), Freconhill or Fracknell (TM 212), Rocks or Rooks mead (TM 207), Trapenhill or Trabonhill (TM 206), Poultebrook and Kite Well (TM 203). Ravensgate mead seems to have comprised Ravensgate leasow (TM 208) and untithed closes by the road to Pegglesworth. Against Red Wood (or Lineover Wood) tenants might inclose at Old Dole, Kite Hill (TM 197), Gaters or Gunners Breach (TM 196), Newlands or New Loans (TM 194, 193, 182). North of the Chelt lay Howbeach or Howbridge field (TM 160, 161, 162), Butts (TM 164), Home Ground (TM 167) and Colesgate (TM 175-6). Above Ham, inclosures called the Riddings or Reddings (TM 125-6), Warden or Wanders Hill (TM 123-4), Cutham Butts (TM 118) and the Roadways by Agga Hill (TM 113-4), continued inclosures to the boundary of the parish. Below Ham, Badleton or Battledown, Coversdown, and the upper portion of Coltham field completed the circuit.

It was in these areas, and these only, that Charlton tenants were to be allowed to hold their land in severalty. Their holdings were surveyed and measured, and the inclosures allotted, by appointed surveyors. They could not choose for themselves (8).

Why, then, did Stubbs and his friends fight so hard for the right to inclose and why did the majority of the tenants so strongly oppose them?

The crux of the matter was the tenants' right to put unlimited numbers of beasts on the arable after harvest. Until the introduction of root crops, this right was held to be basic. Without winter grazing on the open fields, stock could not survive until spring. So when the new land was first developed, it too became open arable, and the rules governing the ancient common fields applied there also. But by the 1550s, too many beasts were being kept in the parish; sheep from Ham that did not even belong to

Charlton men were being introduced. The fields, said Stubbs, were "oppressed".

Two solutions were possible. The number of beasts kept could be restricted according to the size of the tenement, and a strict watch kept to exclude "foreigners". This was tried and was, naturally, unpopular. The other was to permit inclosure of the hillier land and especially the meadows. Then tenants could turn some of their arable to pasture, fence their meadows, make more hay, and winterfeed their own stock in the farmyard from the produce of their own land. This was the idea behind the inclosure movement.

Nearly everyone was to be allowed to inclose meadow (called a mead, a dole, a lease, lea e, a hay) and part of a moor. Land which had been arable, like the Penny Breaches or Lucas Hill, would soon be put down to grass. The move to convert ploughland to pasture, which has preserved the ridge and furrow on the hillsides, began here. It went on, slowly but surely, till all the escarpment was under grass. But arable in the valley was not touched (9).

The inclosure solution was nearly as unpopular at first as the order to stint. Displeasure was expressed by hedge-breaking and by angry tenants, such as Mrs Ann Grevill, putting their cattle into other people's closes. But we can judge how far the process of inclosure had gone by 1610 when we look at Stubbs' list, showing how much land each tenant still had open. It had been decided that for every 20 acres uninclosed, tenants might keep 20 sheep, 4 beasts, and 2 horses. Mrs Grevill, for instance, had 66 acres still open and John Stubbs himself 30 acres, but Adrian Clutterbuck had only 10, John Whithorne 13 and Thomas Wager 13. One tenant, Walter White "did not consent to the said Order".

"Sithence which tyme all the said enclosed groundes have byn kept in severall accordingly without the gainesaying of any person, and many other groundes have byn lykewise taken up in severall, to the greate profitt and quiett of the Inhabitants".

GLOSSARY

BASE		land held by custom as opposed to free tenure which was not subject to the custom of the manor
VIRGATE	-	variable measure depending on soil quality, but usually about 30 acres
DEMESNE	_	land of the manor held in the lord's own hands
MESSUAGE	_	a house, its outbuildings and yard
TOFT	_	land where a house once stood
SEVERALTY	-	land held by an individual as opposed to land held in common
STINT	-	right to graze a fixed number of beasts on the common

References

- 1. Glos R.O. D 855 M 68, ff.21-32
- 2. F.B. Welch "The Manor of Charlton Kings, later Ashley"
 Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society
 Transactions LIV (1932) pp. 145-165
 Though Mr Welch insists that the name "Ashley manor"
 was never used till 1625, Stubbs uses it regularly
 and so does the Cheltenham court book for 1596-1602
 (D 855 M7)
- 3. Glos. R.O. D 855 M 68, ff.39-43v
- 4. Glos. R.O. QS Q/SRh 1784 6/1
- 5. The Grevill pedigrees given in the 1623 <u>Visitation</u> (ed. Maclean and Heane 1885) and the 1682-3 <u>Visitation</u> (ed. Fenwick and Metcalfe 1884), and Mr Welch's amended pedigree are all unsatisfactory and do not square with the evidence of the parish register.
- 6. See the architectural account of the house by E. Scott-Skirving, W.L. Mellersh and Leslie W. Bayley, in Old Houses of Gloucestershire Nine Hundred Years of History at Charlton Park, a paper written for Cheltenham Civic Society.
- 7. Norden's survey in 1617, copied into D 855 M7, pp. 339-427
- 8. Mrs Hart, writing about the inclosure disputes, implies that any 3 acres of a 20 acre holding might be inclosed; she links the movement with the growing of barley, but for this there seems no warrant.

 (<u>History of Cheltenham</u>) (1965) pp. 80-3
- 9. The order of 21 September 1608, which allowed tenants to keep in several all their new land, expressly excluded "all arable lands lying in the common fields underwritten, viz Midlefeild, Barland, Beach, Castlefield, Lower Feild, Hencrofte, Lylly, Milfurlong, Long Furlong, Pycked Land, Coltham, Yewyn Breach, Bancke, Ryworth and Le Lye".

 Glos. R.O. D 855 M 68, f.24