

BRISTOL and GLOUCESTERSHIRE NOTES AND QUERIES

Edited by H.G.M. Leighton, F.S.A.

CONTENTS

Notes

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| 1. To The Reader | The Editor |
| 2. Dean Chetwyn's Survey of Bristol Cathedral Properties, 1619 | Joseph Bettey |
| 3. Bristol Grammar School: The Founders' Motives | William Evans |
| 4. Tales from Past Meetings of the Society | Gerard Leighton |
| 5. An Early 16th-Century Ledger Slab in English Bicknor Church | Brian Carne |
| 6. The Visit of King James II to Bristol, 1686: a Curious Survival | Lyndy Kessell |
| 7. Some Organists at Cirencester | John Fendley |
| 8. Sir Stephen Glynne's Church Notes for Bristol & Gloucestershire | Gerard Leighton |
| 9. F.L. Griggs and Dover's Court, Chipping Camden: The Last Great Arts & Crafts House | Daphne Johnston |
| 10. G.B. Grundy and the Anglo-Saxon Charters of Gloucestershire | Gerard Leighton |
| 11. Cotswold Neolithic Barrows: Their Place in the Landscape | Peter Fenn |

Queries

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 12. Place Names | Gerard Leighton |
| 13. Place-Names as Clues to Archaeological Sites: The Case of St Chloe | Bill Reid |
| 14. A Lost Habitation? | John Fendley |
| 15. King Henry V's Cradle | Glos. Notes & Queries
1st Series |

1. To The Reader

'It is not without pleasure and perchance it may not be without use that we rescue some quaint document from the dust of ages and arrest the floating memories of man and things as they may pass down the stream of time towards the ocean of oblivion.'

In these words the Rev B.H. Blacker set out the objectives of the first series of Gloucestershire Notes and Queries which he published and edited from 1878 until his death in 1890. It was continued thereafter by Phillimore, the topographical and archival publishers until the completion of the tenth volume in 1914 coming out in half-yearly issues but in its latter years lacked the enthusiasm and individuality of Mr Blacker's editorship.

The Rev Beaver Blacker held various appointments as a curate and assistant priest in the Cheltenham area and later retired to Clifton. The Notes and Queries was his private enterprise and he commented 'not a profitable speculation but a labour of love'. In the first instance many of the contributions came from articles he had written for the Stroud Journal. Notes and Queries publications were popular in the latter years of the 19th century and very much followed the type of communications that had appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine but not with the polemical and campaigning nature of such, for instance John Carter's many criticisms of the destructive activity of architects like James Wyatt on Durham and Salisbury Cathedrals. Adjacent to Gloucestershire *Cymru Fu* covered Wales and the border counties, there was *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries* and a publication covering *Devon and Cornwall*. The most successful were those organised by a committee as opposed to an individual person's private venture. Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries commenced in 1887 continues to publish half-yearly. Likewise Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries has prospered.

The Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society has decided to start a second series of Gloucestershire Notes and Queries and to include Bristol within its remit. It has appointed Gerard Leighton as editor of this first issue and thereafter the task will be undertaken by David Smith. It will be published as a separate section in the annual volume of *Transactions*. The aim will be similar to that of Mr Blacker and cover matters relating to the geographical area of the Society, that is to say the historic counties of Gloucestershire and City of Bristol. Contributions will not be lengthy and will deal with historical, topographical, heraldic, antiquarian and biographical items and similar material which may well include authentic reminiscence. There are many projects in which a group of members could work together on a particular subject and others may be encouraged by a specific contribution to cite further examples known to them. The object is ever that of Mr Blacker – the recording or collection of interesting information within the remit of the Society before such is forgotten or in the case of buildings or artefacts destroyed or lost. Its success will depend on the contributions of members for so many have knowledge and experience that it would be valuable to share. The Queries section of this issue contains some suggestions for research and typical is the type of note once contributed to *Country Life* by our late member, Mrs Rosemary Verey. There came into her possession a metal horse collar which would fit snugly and comfortably but could only be removed by a keyed lock. It was inscribed in an 18th-century style 'stolen from Wm. Turk, Barnsley, Glosire'. She commented that this may have been a sensible precaution when horse napping and cattle rustling was frequent especially when animals were turned out on common land. The collar was made by Hiatt, a Birmingham firm that in more recent years made handcuffs. Are other examples known or designs for other types of animal?

It is hoped that Notes and Queries will meet a need, provide involvement for members and add to the value of *The Transactions*. In the words of Robert Herrick, the 17th-century poet, which are inscribed on the cover of Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries, '*Attempt the end and never stand to doubt; Nothing's so hard but search will find it out.*'

THE EDITOR

2.

Dean Chetwyn's Survey of Bristol Cathedral Properties, 1619

In 1619 Edward Chetwyn¹ (Dean of Bristol Cathedral 1617–39) undertook a survey of cathedral possessions in Bristol. He also included some properties in Somerset and Gloucestershire. The survey is part of the cathedral records in Bristol Record Office and has the reference DCIE/3/t. Until recently this survey has been unfit for production to students, but it has now been expertly repaired and is in good condition, apart from the top right-hand corner of each folio which is badly decayed. The survey is neatly bound, apparently in its original binding. Although it is full of information, it has to be admitted that the survey is not easy to use. The Dean's handwriting is careless and untidy with numerous additions and afterthoughts, so that much dedication is required to study it closely. Many of the properties listed had belonged to the Augustinian abbey, and the Dean must have had an earlier survey to enable him to identify each of the many cathedral tenements in the Bristol streets. For some of the Somerset and Gloucestershire possessions he copied earlier Latin surveys. What follows is a brief description of the cathedral's properties in Bristol.

It is clear from the survey that the cathedral possessed many small tenements and numerous shops, as well as a few larger properties, several inns or alehouses, Treen Mills and stretches of waterfront along the Avon and Frome. Most of these properties were let by lease, either for years or for lives. The rents were low and the principal income arose from the occasional fines for renewals. It must have been extremely difficult and time-consuming to keep track of so many small tenements which were often sub-let by the leaseholders. Thus it was essential to make detailed surveys from time to time.

The Dean began his survey in Froglane where there were several tenements and numerous stables and gardens. Rents here as elsewhere were seldom more than 4 or 5s. p.a.. A typical tenement was that let to Nicholas Jones. It stood on the street corner and opened into Pipe Lane, consisting of 'an entry hall and parlour below with chambers above, with a garden on the south side of the house in length from south to north fourteen yards and in breadth from east to west eleven yards. Rent viiis per annum'. Here as elsewhere in the city there were a remarkable number of large garden plots or of unoccupied ground. The Dean then progressed into Cow Lane or Cowland which he described as 'near unto the Colledge ... at the foote of Brandon Hill'. Here there were three tenements with gardens, meadow land and pasture on the slope of the hill. Next came the cathedral properties on St Michael's Hill. These included 'a fayre lodge' fronting the highway, with a large garden. It was let to Captain Parry for 3s. p.a., but said to be worth £3. Other

1. The Dean's name is variously rendered in the cathedral records as Chetwyn. Chetwynd, Chetwind, etc., but in the survey it appears as Chetwyn.

land on the hillside included Culver Close let for 10s. 0d., Cantocks Close let for £4 6s. 8d., and Joakins [Jorkins] Close let for 8s. 0d.

Moving on to Tucker or Temple Street the Dean listed various tenements, shops and workplaces, with gardens stretching to the Avon or to the Law Ditch. In St Thomas Street there were several workshops, including a blacksmith's forge and the market place for cattle and sheep which had been granted to the churchwardens of St Thomas' church by Queen Elizabeth in 1570. On the bank of the Avon by St Mary Redcliffe the Dean listed Treen or Trevill Mills, one of the most valuable and ancient of the Bristol properties. This had been granted to the Augustinian canons by a charter of c. 1154 and was to remain an ecclesiastical possession until it was destroyed by the construction of the Floating Harbour and the Feeder Canal 1804–9. Beside the mill was the mill pond which was filled by the tide as well as by water from the Trevill or Malago Brook, a withy bed, a lime kiln and 'a meadow ground called Adders cliff containing XII acres'. The meadow was said to bear 20 loads of hay each year and to be worth £13 6s. 8d.. It would soon be even more valuable as it became the site of docks, ship-building and all the associated industries. On the Bedminster side was a lodge and garden let to Mistress Barber for 4s. 0d., but said to be worth 32s. 0d.. There were many shops and craftsmen listed along Redcliffe Street, and the annual rental here, as in some other parts of the city, included 'a couple of capons' as well as a money payment. Tenements and shops along the Quay and in Marsh Street are described in relation to 'the Key Pipe' or to St Leonard's church. In Corn Street there were two 'verry fayre tenements', one let on lease to Mr Whitson for a rent of 42s 8d. He was said to have paid £30 for a renewal of the lease for 21 years. Another tenement was let to Mr Elbridge for £3 17s. 4d. p.a. and was evidently a very substantial dwelling. There were stables and waste ground in St Nicholas Street, and in 'High Street, in St Mary Port parish', there was a large inn called *The Raven*. Houses, shops, alehouses and the butchers' shambles were crowded into St Mary Port Street. Alehouses included *The Angel* and *The Sign of the Rose and Crowne*. One of the shops was said to open 'fast to St Peter's Pump'. There were two blacksmith's shops in 'Wyne Street in St Peter's Parish', together with 'a very large taverne' which was let for £4 p.a.. *The King's Head* in High Street was let for £7 10s. 0d. p.a., the name is interesting as it occurs well before the execution of Charles I. A shop front in High Street was described as having a street frontage '8½ feet in bredth with a cellar beneath with the High Cross on the north side'. Other shops are listed in Broadstreet and Old Market. A tenement in Old Market was said to be 'now miserably in decay and very dangerous'. Tenants in Broad Mead had large gardens stretching down to the Frome. One is described as 43½ yards long by 15 yards broad, and the Dean noted that 'There is a well in the garden and a little round lodge'. It was let to Mistress Jones for 3s. 4d. p.a.. Other tenements are listed in Lewins Mead and Horse Street, one of which is described as 'over against Sir Hugh Smith's garden'.

Finally the Dean returned via St Augustine's Back where large tenements had gardens and orchards stretching up the hillside. One is described as belonging to Sir Francis Popham, another was *The Sign of the Angel* which faced the waterfront. Evidently it was intended to list the properties in College Green and in the area between the east end of the cathedral and the church of St Augustine the Less which was known as the Masonry. Apart from the heading, however, this section is left blank, except for a note that the Masonry produced £3 10s. 8d. p.a. in rent and that the rights granted to tenants to erect pales or fences in front of their houses on College Green produced 3s. 4d. annually.

Dean Chetwyn's survey provides a remarkable picture of the crowded streets and lanes of Bristol in 1619. It serves to emphasize the way in which the cathedral, like the abbey before it, was dependent on the rents and fines from all sorts of properties and was inevitably closely involved in the life of the city and the neighbouring region.

JOSEPH BETTEY

3.

Bristol Grammar School: The Founders' Motives

The story of the founding of Bristol Grammar School is well known. Documents, some of them copies, survive. A scholarly account is in C.P. Hill's *The History of Bristol Grammar School* (Bath, 1951). Briefly, the Bristol merchant Robert Thorne I gave his executor John Goodrich, parson of Christ Church Bristol, discretion as to how to apply Thorne's estate to good causes; in January 1531/2 his son Robert Thorne II and Thomas West, ninth baron de la Warr, patron of St Bartholomew's hospital, executed a deed providing for the transfer of that foundation and its property to three trustees: Thorne himself, Nicholas his brother, and John Goodrich. Thorne covenanted that within six years he would establish in the hospital a house for a free grammar school funded by lands to be conveyed by Thorne; West was to be treated as 'a principal Founder' of the school; and George Crofts, who had been master of the hospital since July 1525, 'a singular benefactor: The hospital almspeople were to stay there for life, and a priest was to be maintained there until the school was established. As Mr Hill noted, other traces suggest that an existing school over the Frome Gate, taught by a Thomas Moffatt, moved into St Bartholomew's to form the grammar school. Henry VIII's charter of 1532 constituted Bristol corporation trustees of the school, which appears to have commenced between 1536 and 1540.

The narrative prompts several questions, some noted by Mr Hill, but in particular, what were the motives of those involved in the 1531/2 transaction? Speculation might start with an examination of the state of play at the time of the 1531/2 transaction regarding: (1) the movement towards royal supremacy over the church; (2) the dissolution of religious houses; (3) the progress of the evangelical reformation; (4) the connections between the participants in the 1531/2 transaction; and (5) their attitudes, as might be inferred from their later conduct, to the evangelical reformation.

In January 1531/2 the movement towards royal supremacy over the church and the break with Rome was well under way. In 1530 Henry had charged the church as a whole with praemunire, and in January 1531 he had told the southern convocation that he would lift the threat if given £100,000 and the title of supreme head of the church in England and Wales. The 1531/2 deed was executed about the same time as the House of Commons' supplication against the ordinaries, and after Henry had instructed Cranmer (not yet archbishop of Canterbury) to collect evidence to support a claim that the head of state should also be head of the church. The Act of Supremacy was not to be passed until 1534, but people who disagreed were already on notice of the king's intentions.

Some religious houses had already been dissolved, both on the continent and in England. Landgraf Philip of Hesse, having adopted Luther's reforms in 1526, had founded Marburg university in 1527 using confiscated monastic buildings and revenues.² Elector Joachim 11 of Brandenburg confiscated church lands and dissolved monasteries about the same time.³ There were other examples of foreign monasteries turned into hospitals or schools.⁴ In England Wolsey, assisted by Thomas Cromwell, then his legal adviser, had suppressed over 20 small religious houses to fund his grammar school at Ipswich, his college at Oxford, and other establishments. Wolsey, however, had obtained a papal bull to authorise the closures. Other establishments had been

2. D. MacCulloch, *Reformation: England's House Divided, 1904–1700* (London, 2003), p. 163

3. *ibid.*, p. 227.

4. O. Chadwick, *The Early Reformation on the Continent* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 168–9.

dissolved in Staffordshire.⁵ Mr Hill, citing the *Victoria County History*, noted similar dissolutions at Reading and Banbury, but the timing and the circumstances of the creation of those schools were different from Bristol's.⁶

The evangelical reformation had made considerable progress by 1531/2. Tyndale had printed his translation of the bible. Bristol was a centre of controversy, though Latimer's Lenten sermons were not delivered until 1533.

Of the parties to the 1531/2 transaction, Thorne is not known to have held other than conventional religious beliefs. As Mr Hill noted, Thorne had advocated exploration to find a north-west passage, but he did not suggest that Thorne founded his grammar school to that end, and the gift of nautical instruments to the school came later, from Nicholas Thorne. More thought-provoking are the relationships between the other participants. West owned lands in Somerset including Shepton Mallet, but his principal seat was at Halnaker near Chichester. Crofts, chaplain and master of St Bartholomew's since 1525, had been rector of Shepton Mallet since 1529, prior to which he had been a canon of Chichester. West was Crofts's patron. Goodrich, vicar of Christ Church, had been an executor of the will of Robert Thorne's father, so presumably Thorne trusted him. That will had left Goodrich discretion as to how to apply the estate. West owed Robert Thorne 1 £300. Bristol corporation let the Frome Gate schoolroom to Moffatt free of charge, and paid him a salary. Henry VIII's secretary, in charge of religious affairs, was Thomas Cromwell, who had been legal adviser to Wolsey.

Robert Thorne died early in 1532, and Goodrich soon after. Crofts vehemently and consistently denied the king's supremacy.⁷ He would have fled the county rather than take the oath, had not West persuaded him otherwise.⁸ Unable to buy his way out, unlike West, Crofts was executed in 1539. West conformed outwardly, but in fact was a religious conservative; some time after 1530 he established a chantry at Boxgrove priory near Chichester, and he objected to its dissolution in 1536. In the inquiry into the Courtenay conspiracy West's brother-in-law said he had heard West say that God would punish the dissolution of the monasteries and the reading of new printed works.⁹

Was the 1531/2 transaction a device to avoid a perceived threat of royal expropriation of St Bartholomew's? Probably not: (1) the 1531/2 deed provided that the almshouse continue for the lives of the almspeople; (2) the 1532 charter confirmed the transaction, which the king and Cromwell would hardly have permitted had they viewed it as an avoidance device; and (3) the charter constituted Bristol corporation, with perpetual succession, trustee of the institution, which Henry and Cromwell would hardly have permitted had they viewed the transaction as depriving the Crown of expected property and revenue.

From the corporation's perspective the 1531/2 transaction had advantages: it gave control of the existing assets of St Bartholomew's and of the extensive lands with which Thorne endowed the school; it enabled the corporation to get vacant possession of the school's old premises and relet

5. F.A. Hibbert, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries as Illustrated by the Suppression of the Religious Houses of Staffordshire* (London, 1910), p. 19ff.

6. Reading grammar school, originally part of the abbey, had been refounded in 1486: Leland, *Itinerary* ii, 4, 5; *Collectanea*, iv, 185, the buildings apparently having been vacant for many years. Its transfer to Reading corporation did not take place until after the dissolution of the monasteries. The bishop of Lincoln converted St John's hospital Banbury into a grammar school about 1501: A. Crossley (ed.), *Oxfordshire Victoria County History*, 10 (1972) 'Banbury Hundred,' and *ibid.*, 1, pp. 461–2.

7. T.F. Mayer, 'George Crofts [Croft]' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), article 6726.

8. M. Riordan, 'Thomas West' in *ODNB*, article 29099.

9. *ibid.*

them at a rack rent; and it relieved the corporation of direct responsibility for Moffatt's salary, which would henceforth come out of the endowment revenues.

One of the provisions of the 1531/2 deed was to require obits to be kept at St Bartholomew's every year by 10 priests and 6 clerks for the souls of West, West's father (who had died in 1525), Crofts and Thorne. Mr Hill discounted that provision as common form, but the subsequent conduct of Crofts and West prompts the question whether it might have been the expression of a sincerely and strongly held belief in the old religion. If so, could Crofts' and West's motive have been a desire to ensure for their own benefit in perpetuity (or at any rate for the duration of purgatory) a religious practice which they perceived to be under threat from impending reforms? If so, the participants in the 1531/2 transaction had different motives, which found common expression in the founding of the school. Goodrich had property and undischarged executors obligations; Thorne wanted to endow a grammar school; Moffatt's school was to hand; so were premises into which that school could be moved; its old premises could be released to the corporation, who would be relieved of maintaining it and would control Thorne's endowment. Thorne required continuity of trusteeship, which the corporation, with perpetual succession, could provide. The corporation was preferable to the abbey, which Bristolians did not hold in high esteem and which may well have been perceived as under threat. West and Crofts could die knowing that their obits would be secure. As a later, less religious, age might say, win-win all round.

WILLIAM EVANS

4.

Tales from Past Meetings of the Society

It has been suggested on a number of occasions that I should record tales and adventures from past meetings. Many revolve around personalities some larger than life and I confine my remarks to those no longer with us. I also rely on reminiscence by my father and other members of the Society.

One of the best known happenings is the 'battle of the umbrellas' in Cirencester parish church in the late 19th century when Canon Bagnall-Oakley and Canon Beazley fell out over the attribution of a window and resorted to sparring with their umbrellas. Continuing a clerical theme and umbrellas, Canon R.T. Cole, a learned and active member of the Society between the wars, for some reason recorded the dimensions of the churches in umbrella lengths. He was accompanied at meetings by his curate, Jeffcote, whose duties included acting as chauffeur. Church visits were enlivened by the Canon wielding his umbrella as he proceeded down the aisle while Jeffcote busied himself in rubbing facial features particularly eyebrows on monumental brasses.

Then there was the 'great schism' occasioned by problems with the secretary, the Rev. F.W. Potto-Hicks vicar of St Stephen's, Cinderford in the Forest of Dean. The opposing views of his detractors and admirers were deeply entrenched which led to stand-offs at meetings and in the Council, particularly with Roland Austin, the formidable editor of the Transactions. Ultimately, Potto-Hicks nominated Miss Elizabeth Ralph, the City of Bristol Archivist, as secretary in his place and resigned. Miss Ralph was somewhat disconcerted to hear two members comment 'what is the Society coming to when it appoints a woman its secretary?'

After the war the Society was dominated by a triumvirate of ladies of strong character. Dr (later Dame) Joan Evans, Mrs Elsie Clifford from Gloucester, a distinguished prehistorian and

Miss Elizabeth Ralph who, during the blitz on Bristol had personally rescued the City's medieval State Sword and carried it to safety. Dame Joan's generosity to the Society when as editor she realised it was financially constrained is well known. She was active in its affairs and attended field meetings. On one occasion, a clergyman welcoming the Society to his church droned on in an endless description of the services held there when a figure dressed in black, as she often was, came forward and, with all her charm and character that it did not seem rude, Dame Joan said 'Vicar, we have come to see your church not to discuss pastoral matters'. Less respected but extremely active was Dr Dinah P. Dobson (later Dobson-Hinton) wife of Professor Dobson at Bristol University and author of 'Wanderings in Anglo-Saxon Britain' and other works. Visiting a church for which a guide had been arranged Dinah Dobson made a dash for the pulpit and displaced him. Members were not amused but far less amused on a visit to Hanham Court already running late when Dinah Dobson held forth at some length on what she believed to be a medieval dog kennel. The meeting had been arranged for the Bristol section in late afternoon, travelling by boat up the Avon with a view to an evening meal at a riverside inn. By the time they ultimately left Hanham Abbots it was getting dark, the boat had no lights and ran aground. It began to rain. Members had to disembark along a plank into a field and walk the rest of the way to a very late and somewhat spoiled supper. Dr Dobson was blamed for that.

Mention should be made of Colonel Barwick-Browne, meetings secretary 1946-65. A man of military appearance he invariably clutched a clip board and had slung around himself a map case binoculars and a whistle. He conducted proceedings with bristling efficiency and woe betide any member who got lost or was late. Once, at a presidential lecture by a distinguished Roman archaeologist, the Colonel dozed off. Waking with a start he exclaimed somewhat audibly 'This can't last much longer, I can hear the tea cups rattling'. It did not. There was also an incident, I think in his time, which not even he could have foreseen. There was a stop for tea somewhere near Cirencester and there were two coaches, one for Gloucester, the other for Bristol. The Bristol coach was hailed by the police near Badminton for it transpired that the Bristol driver had somehow left with the keys of the Gloucester coach whose passengers were stranded at the tea place.

Of this period, a rather different person was Anthony Scott, the Gloucester solicitor and Chapter Clerk. Always immaculately dressed he regarded plus-fours as appropriate for archaeological excursions. Believed to be a confirmed bachelor, he caused a sensation by proposing and being accepted by the Bishop's daughter at one of the Society's field meetings.

Rosemary Verey used to liken the Society's meetings to the hunting field where people will too readily follow a false lead - in archaeological terms, the motorist who is thought to know the way to the next place but if it is the coach with the main party that misleads it can end in chaos. This could happen on meetings led by Bryan Little. His knowledge was polymathic but he did not drive and had little awareness of practical problems. On one occasion in deepest Herefordshire, he took the coach down an impassable lane and commented 'I did not realise it was so narrow'. The driver responded 'Well you must be a bloody fool'. On another he recommended a diversion to avoid traffic in Cambridge where he had been an undergraduate. The Society ended up in a farm yard. He excelled himself, however, on a summer Saturday when he led the coach followed by a procession of cars up a no through road off the A38 (pre motorway) with no suitable turning place at the end. The AA had to be summoned to control the traffic while the cars and the coach reversed on to the main road. A person of distinction and formidable scholarship was Gilbert Thurlow, Dean of Gloucester. When on the walls of St Malo during an overseas meeting the wind blew Canon Gethyn-Jones' beret out to sea, the Dean offered up a brief orison and the wind blew

the beret back – an example of the efficacy of prayer he remarked. Later at the same meeting the Dean found a penitential maze in Bayeux Cathedral. As he paced it he was accosted by a member of the cathedral staff to whom he made a magisterial reply '*Glevum decanus sum*'. When the Dean was at a field meeting it was usual for the secretary to arrange for a car follower to act as whipper-in. Almost inevitably he would be missing when the coach was ready to leave and found examining an interesting feature in a remote part of the site.

Canon Gethyn-Jones, Vicar of Berkeley and a royal chaplain arranged day meetings as well as the earlier overseas excursions. I once accompanied him on a recce. We arrived at a country house in Hampshire and could not find anyone until a window opened and a man whom we discovered to be the butler asked if the Canon 'had come about the job'. Apparently the owner held the advowson of the neighbouring church and was seeking a new vicar, dissatisfied with the suggestion made by the diocesan authorities.

The overseas meetings organised by Canon and Mrs Gethyn-Jones were a novelty for the Society and of course are now part of the annual programme. The early ones were more loosely organised than is now the case. A feature was the picnic lunches that we had each day after a supermarket stop to acquire the wherewithal including quite a lot of wine which had an effect on the afternoon's programme. One evening disaster overtook when the restaurant that had been booked forgot we were coming. The Canon rose to the occasion in finding a nearby site for us to visit in the summer evening and when we returned to the restaurant they had fixed a sumptuous meal.

During a meeting in Burgundy, the Society visited the priory of Brezé la Ville. It had descended to a farm with its delightful 13th-century chapel, replete with wall paintings used as a barn, which had moved Dame Joan Evans to buy, conserve and give it to the town of Maçon. After we had toured the buildings Canon Gethyn-Jones asked us to return to the chapel, produced a stole from his pocket and conducted a short commemoration for Dame Joan at the conclusion of which, Miss Ralph placed a vase of red roses on the altar. The Canon's notes for the service and his bidding prayer have been bound up and placed in the Society's library. It was a deeply moving occasion.

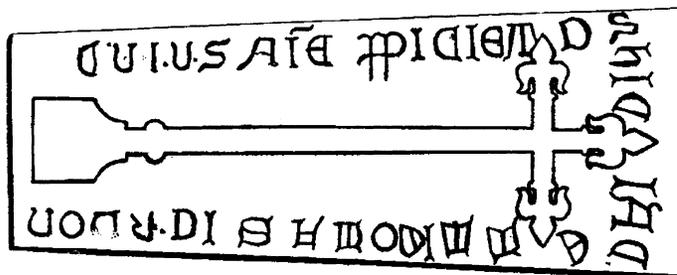
Some of the many varied and unintentional events that I mention may have been troublesome at the time, but in retrospect amusing. They just show how resilient a Meetings' Secretary needs to be and how grateful we should be to those who assume that task.

GERARD LEIGHTON

5.

An Early 16th-Century Ledger Slab in English Bicknor Church

BGAS *Transactions* vol. iv (1879–80), pp. 288–9, describe exhibits in the then-temporary museum. Among them are rubbings of ledger slabs in the floor of English Bicknor church which Sir John MacLean had presented to the Society. One of these rubbings, shown there as plate VII and here reproduced together with a photograph of the slab, is of a slab which Sir John dated to perhaps 1500–1520. It measures 6' 2" in length, in breadth at the head 2' 5" and at the foot 1' 11". The *Transactions* reported that there were severe difficulties in reading the inscription.



Jeff Carrick, the Revd Keith Denerley, and I have pondered the inscription, and agreed on the following expanded transcription:

HIC IACET THOMAS IORDON
CUIUS ANIMAE PROPICIET DEUS

which may be rendered:

HERE LIES THOMAS JORDON ON
WHOSE SPIRIT MAY GOD HAVE MERCY

BRIAN CARNE

6.

The Visit of King James II to Bristol, 1686: a Curious Survival

In the long gallery at Parham House in Sussex is a saddle believed to have been used by James II when he visited Bristol in 1686. It has on either side the usual pistol pouches of the period but is not exceptional except that it, including the pistol pouches, is upholstered in red silk with a damask design in gold thread that gives it a certain grandeur enhanced by a sheet of similar material which would have been placed behind the saddle and cover the horse's flanks. After the King's visit it is said to have been given to Sir Richard Crump, MP for Bristol 1685–87 who was an ancestor

of Wyndham Knatchbull of Babington House near Frome¹⁰ where it was kept and later came to Alicia, née Knatchbull-Hugesson, who with her husband Clive Pearson acquired Parham in 1922. Her mother was knowledgeable and deeply interested with regard to needlework and embroidery evidenced by the many items from her mother's collection at Parham. Against this provenance the attribution to use by James II is indeed credible.

In 1685 there had been serious anti-catholic unrest in Bristol and the election of Crump as an MP, described as a person prepared 'to act with passive obedience' to the King's views may have been tactful likewise the City Corporation was meticulous to follow the protocol of previous royal visits and when the King came on 26 August received him with all formality at Lawford's Gate. After an early dinner he inspected the city walls and then rode over to Portishead to survey the fort so he seems to have made good use of the saddle. He lodged that night in the house of Sir William Hayman in Small Street and left the next day to view the site of the battle of Sedgemoor. The visit cost the Corporation £573 of which £146 was spent on wine.¹¹

LYNDY KESSALL and GERARD LEIGHTON¹²

7.

Some Organists of Cirencester¹³

When an organ was installed in Cirencester parish church in 1684 formal arrangements were made for the appointment of an organist, and articles were agreed between Charles Badham, who was already in post, and 'the citizens of Cirencester', by which he was 'to officiate and play upon the organ to the best of his skill in music after the methods and rules used in the Church of England in times of divine service or otherwise upon every Lord's day or holy days and the first Wednesday in every month from time to time'. For these services the churchwardens were to pay out of the profits rents and perquisites belonging to the said church the sum of £10 yearly. He was to forfeit 5/- for every Sunday when he was absent without leave, and 2/6 for every other day on which he was obliged. Perhaps by coincidence, in the same year the appointment as sexton of Henry Belcher was similarly formalised, and, probably as a measure of expediency, it was determined that the 'profits and perquisites' which provided Badham's salary of £10 p.a. should be found from Belcher's perquisites. The post of sexton was a lucrative one and much sought after; nevertheless it was no compliment to the organist that his income came from a source which included, *inter alia*, gratuities for showing the church to visitors, the fee paid for adorning the church at Christmas and the chips of wood arising from repairs to the church, (of whose loss a later sexton bitterly complained). Perhaps the churchwardens acknowledged this, but their recognition was hardly even nominal, for they agreed to an annual augmentation of no more than £2. The organist's lot was made still harder by a resolution that he should keep the organ in repair; if he defaulted the churchwardens should take the work on and dock his salary accordingly. It was not until 1753, on the appointment of the long-serving

10. Burke's Landed Gentry: Knatchbull of Babbington.

11. Latimer's annals of Bristol, 17th century (1686) (Bristol, 1900).

12. Communicated by Lyndy Kessall at Parham House with additions by the editor.

13. The narrative part of this note is based on entries in the Cirencester vestry book Glos. Archives P86 VE2/I, and the financial elements on the Cirencester churchwardens' book, PE86a CW2/1. A copy of Mills's broadsheet survives as PE 86/1IN8/7.

George Whatley, that a feeling of indignation among the parishioners seems to have arisen, and to the £10 yearly from the sexton and £2 from the churchwardens was added a further £13 p.a., 'collected from several persons who have been so generous as to raise the money by subscription'. Ironically the sexton was to add to his perquisites by being paid 20/- yearly for collecting it, this to be found from the subscriptions, an early measure of the burden of administrative costs.

Little is known of Badham except that he had retired by 1690, having acquired a taste for quite expensive litigation; in that year £24 was paid, presumably to an attorney, in connection with a suit brought by Badham against the incumbent. By 1693 he had been succeeded, probably immediately, by the long-serving George Glanvil. The Glanvil association was continued further with the appointment on his death in 1730 of his son, also named George. It did not prove a happy succession. We learn in lurid detail of his ejection from his post in 1733. He was found guilty before a civil magistrate of begetting the bastard child of his wife's servant girl. Before the archdeacon's court he admitted the adultery with penitence but denied paternity and (the girl having absconded with the child, the evidence of his guilt) escaped with no more than censure and penance. The Cirencester vestry was made of sterner stuff, finding no sincerity in his repentance and considering that 'the restoration of such a notorious offender to an office in the house of God would he held the dishonour of that house and the scandal of our holy religion', ordered that he should be ejected and that Charles Smith (who was to serve for twenty years) should take his place. No fewer than seventy-four signatures attested their resolution.

A happier note is found in the visits in about 1750 of Mr James, organist of London, which cost 5/- in postage of fourteen letters to arrange and of Mr Chippenham, organist, for whom the churchwardens found 2/- for a bottle of wine. Could these have been early examples of celebrity recitalists?

In 1753, it was noted that George Saxon Allen, who makes a brief appearance in the vestry records, had been 'delirious' for two months and was incapable and unlikely to recover, and the vestry agreed that George Whatley should take his place. The long association of the Whatleys with the post of organist in Cirencester has a suggestion of a family business. It would seem that they were a family of some social standing; in 1789 Hannah, George's eldest daughter, married the Rev. Mr Camplin, rector of St Nicholas, Bristol and precentor of Bristol cathedral.¹⁴ When in 1817 George Whatley died, David Whatley proposed to the vestry that the post should be filled by a temporary appointment until Miss Constance Whatley had been trained for the job. Sadly this attempt to penetrate a male stronghold failed, for soon after six months were up the vestry agreed to the appointment of Arnold Merrick. He officiated for twenty years until in 1837 John William Mills was elected by a majority in a poll of over six hundred. It seems that Mills became one of the many church and cathedral organists who feel that ecclesiastical authority is there to get in their way, and in 1864 the then incumbent, W.F. Powell, sought to have him removed for 'clear, repeated and wilful acts of disobedience' in ... 'the regulation of the psalmody and the playing of the organ'. Mills published a broadsheet seeking the support of the people of Cirencester in redressing this injustice, and the matter attracted much attention in the local press, but the vestry supported Powell and Mills was persuaded to resign on the understanding that he should receive what would now be called severance pay, which took into account 'his conduct, his residence

14. Thus recorded by Samuel Rudder in an annotation of a proof copy of his *New History of Gloucestershire* (Glos. Archives, Glos. Collection 35243. s.v. Elburton.) Rudder, a Cirencester man, continues with what must have been a rich piece of local gossip: '... Mr Camplin being then 74 or 75, his said wife 29, to the great grief of his children who are said to be unprovided for, and against the advice of most of his friends'.

and his age'. The Whatley influence was still abroad, and David Whatley was among those who unsuccessfully proposed greater leniency by allowing Mills six months' probation. The settlement can hardly have been generous as the churchwardens' accounts record annual payments to Mills in 1864 of £22.

JOHN FENDLEY

8.

Sir Stephen Glynne's Church Notes for Bristol and Gloucestershire

Sir Stephen Glynne (1807–1874) inherited his baronetcy at an early age and a substantial estate centred on Harwarden in North Wales. From 1832 to 1845 he represented Flint in the House of Commons but never spoke. In 1845 he was persuaded to become Lord Lieutenant of Flintshire on the basis 'it would be hardly any trouble in a quiet time' and it was remarked that 'few had made less personal effort to bring himself to the front' in public affairs than Sir Stephen. He was equally relaxed in relation to his own affairs taking little interest in the management of his estate while attempts to exploit coal seams on land owned in Staffordshire were a disaster. By 1847 he was in serious financial difficulty and his brother-in-law W.E. Gladstone, later to be prime minister, took charge of his affairs. In 1853, Gladstone took over Harwarden Castle as his family home with Glynne retaining an apartment.

Sir Stephen Glynne's life long interest was antiquarian and in particular ecclesiastical architecture. From the age of 13 he was visiting churches and later commenced to make notes on the buildings visited. In practical terms from the 1840s onwards he devoted his life to so doing, travelling tirelessly around the country. He never married. By the time of his death he had accumulated of notes on 5,150 churches. These are in St Deiniol's Library set up by Gladstone in Wrexham. The notes relating to Bristol and Gloucestershire are in Volume 20 (Bristol and Gloucestershire Churches in the diocese of Bristol), 76 (Diocese of Gloucester and Bristol and other dioceses), 80 and 81 (Gloucestershire and Bristol) and 93 (Diocese of Worcester and Gloucester). The notes on 79 Gloucestershire Churches edited by W.P.W. Phillimore and the Rev J. Melland Hall were published in a limited edition in 1902 which in vol. xx of the Society's Transactions (1895–7) was stated to be in course of preparation in conjunction with Gloucestershire Notes and Queries.

The earliest dated Gloucestershire note is 1830 (St Mary de Crypt, Gloucester) and the last are in 1874, the year of Glynne's death (Kempley and Beverstone). He made extended visits to the county in 1850 and 1857 and almost annually in the 1860s. The notes of the earlier years in Gloucestershire and elsewhere are rarely dated. From 1840 onwards the notes are often but not invariably dated. The earlier notes are almost entirely architectural and in many cases supported by sketches but later under the influence of the Ecclesiological Society of which he was an active member they become more discursive commenting on liturgical and other matters and also on local scenery, for instance Cranham Woods.

To give a flavour of Glynne's comments when he visited Cirencester in 1867 he found the church undergoing restoration by Sir Gilbert Scott 'the whole of the interior is cleared out, full of workmen and in a very interesting state'. At Bitton he remarks that the chancel, which had been re-ordered

in the classical taste by John Wood of Bath in 1760, ‘altogether disfigured by tasteless decorations within’. At Littledean there was ‘an ugly west gallery and a still more offensive one at the east end of the nave and most frightful high piers’. At Falfield he notes ‘one remarkable circumstance about the chapel (it was a chapel of ease) is the total absence of an altar’. He often mentions a barrel organ or a finger organ and whether the exterior or indeed interior was colour washed.

The interest of Glynne’s church notes has been increasingly recognised in recent years, which have seen those for Bedfordshire, Somerset and Yorkshire published by their respective Record or Archaeological Societies and recently Cumbria. Other counties have been published in whole or in part at earlier dates.

They are a unique record by a knowledgeable and highly observant person of churches as they were in the second and third quarters of the 19th century frequently recording features lost in subsequent restorations and the state of repair and appearance of the buildings at that time. Where his descriptions can be checked against the present appearance of the same churches the concise accuracy of the notes is impressive which gives confidence of similar accuracy in respect of that which has since changed since he wrote.

Sir Stephen Glynne’s notes for Gloucestershire would certainly repay re-visiting. The archive is now more readily accessible and better catalogued than it was 100 years ago. Only 79 churches are covered in the 1902 volume which seems small for a large county with fine buildings. In Somerset Glynne visited 256 out of some 500 churches which is in line with his national average. He mentions only two Bristol churches, St Thomas and St Nicholas – both Georgian, which seems surprising and St Thomas is on the Somerset side so he did not divide the city between the two counties. The Bedfordshire, Somerset and Cumbria publications are illustrated with roughly contemporary drawings by topographic artists such as the Bucklers, father and son. These are a welcome and worthwhile addition.

GERARD LEIGHTON

9.

F.L. Griggs and Dover’s Court, Chipping Campden: The Last Great Arts and Crafts House

Dover’s Court (now New Dover’s House) is widely acknowledged to be the last great Arts and Crafts house built in England, designed and built by Frederick Griggs (1876-1938).¹⁵ He was a pastoral visionary, an engraver, an outstanding architectural draughtsman, illustrator and designer, and one of England’s greatest etchers.

‘The breadth of his artistic interests and achievements was rivalled only by that of William Morris and Eric Gill,’ writes Comstock. Griggs espoused and practised the principles of the Arts and Crafts movement founded in 1861 by William Morris and his Pre-Raphaelite associates, who rejected the values and products of mass production, cheap materials and shoddy workmanship. Griggs came to Chipping Campden in 1903 where he was not only overcome by a town of irresistible beauty, but found sympathetic fellowship with the men from the Guild of Handicrafts who had moved from London under the direction of C.R. Ashbee, a disciple of John Ruskin and William Morris. He bought, and thus saved Dover’s Hill and the Coneygree for the nation (now

15. ‘Cornerstone’, *SPAB Magazine*, 31, 3 (2010).

owned by the National Trust), and persuaded authorities to place all power/telephone lines in Chipping Campden underground.

Griggs was inspired to design and build the house for his family 'in such a place and such a way as to perfect my traditionalist vision.'¹⁶ Within it Griggs relocated his Dover's House Press, and its monogram was carved over the doorway by Eric Gill. He was architect, clerk of works and client. Craftsmen were hired individually, and a young builder, Joseph Warmington, oversaw the works under the general supervision of Norman Jewson. Building began in February 1927, and the Griggs family moved in on 2 Oct. 1930. 'It is the most beautiful modern house in England' (C.R. Ashbee, 1936). Only the finest materials, purchased from local suppliers, were used; sections were rebuilt if Griggs was not satisfied with the standard attained. Only oak or elm were utilised, often when pine would have sufficed or where the work was not visible, with larch for the roof supports. The roof comprises over 35,000 stone tiles from Charlbury.

The doorway near the northeast corner was planned as a tribute to the craftsmanship at the site. It is an extraordinary configuration of chamfered stones above where the door is set diagonally into a re-entrant angle of the building. Each stone had to be individually dressed, bedded in, with final dressing once set in place.

The walls were built with a slight inclination inwards as they rose (one inch for every 12-16 ft). This required each stone to be individually dressed, and was an incredibly expensive process. It forces the perspective, leading the eye to see greater masses than those actually built, turning a large house into a great one. Griggs devised every wall, window and doorway to sign the workmen's artistry, workmen for whom he had the greatest respect. 'It is almost poetry in stone' (Rory Young: SPAB scholar and builder).

The walls were set with putlog holes for the scaffolding in the mediaeval manner, and remain to this day. The cellar is a magnificent example of a stone groined vaulted ceiling requiring the highest standards of workmanship where any one else would have used brick. This is pure gothic building requiring hundreds of small stones, each occupying a man for anything up to 45 mins to dress individually. The seven leading stonemasons carved their initials in the wall.

Dover's Court includes outstanding architectural features too numerous to describe in detail. Examples include the mullioned windows, leaded glass with catches fashioned as a mouse with a long tail for a handle, the cantilevered stairways, lathe-and-plaster work, and beautiful doors with traditional wooden latches and wedge locks. The walled garden was described at the time as being exquisitely laid out, with borders, a pond, magnificent shrubs, trees, and a tennis court. The garden remains a lovely environment in which the house sits.

The house was extraordinarily expensive. Griggs was constantly dogged by financial worries, but he never compromised. The depression exacerbated his financial position, but he continued with great determination. The house was roughly complete in 1930, but was still unfinished on his death in 1938. The project probably brought on his early demise at the age of 61.

In 1971 the house was badly damaged by fire and remained empty for about two years, but was saved from ruin by Brenda and John Williams in 1973.¹⁷ They restored at least three quarters of the building to its original design, although, owing to financial constraints, the west wing had to be modified. However, the quality of materials and standard of construction emulated those of Griggs', with building by Pyments, and advice from Gordon Russell.

The importance of Griggs' work and life has now become fully recognised and appreciated; this is eloquently and extensively described elsewhere, and seen in his etchings. Perhaps it is best encapsulated in this beautiful and unique house.

DAPHNE JOHNSTON

16. J.N. Moore, 'E.L. Griggs "The architecture of dreams"', *Antique Collectors Club* (2008).

17. Mrs Daphne Johnston is the daughter of Brenda and John Williams (Editor).

10.

G.B. Grundy and the Anglo-Saxon Charters of Gloucestershire

In 1935 and 1936 the Society published as extra volumes G.B. Grundy's *Saxon Charters and Field Names of Gloucestershire* and in 1936 he contributed an article to *The Transactions* on the 'Ancient Woodland of Gloucestershire'.¹⁸ George Grundy, an Oxford don, consulted St Clair Baddeley, a leading member of the Society but otherwise had little contact with it. He deserves to be remembered for the contribution he made to archaeology and scholarly understanding of this subject, the work of his retirement.

Grundy was tutorial fellow in Ancient History at Corpus Christi College, Oxford from 1903 to 1931 and likewise at Brasenose College in the same subject from 1904 to 1917. Ancient History is a central part of the honours course *Litterae Humaniores* which follows Classical Moderations, and known as 'Greats' it is regarded as one of the most intellectually testing in the University. Born in 1861, he met Benjamin Jowett, the formidable master of Balliol, and knew Walter Pater, whose philosophical views influenced a generation and who set the foundations of modern art historical scholarship. He assisted F.J. Haverfield, Professor of Ancient History at Oxford in excavations on Hadrian's Wall. In his day the tutorial fellows were arguably the elite of Oxford dons and amongst them Grundy had a high reputation. Many of his pupils went on to distinguished careers especially in the Home and Indian Civil Service, the Church and Academia, including Professor Ian Richmond, a past president of this Society.

His initial interest in Saxon Charters is best described in his own words:¹⁹ 'I conceived the idea that Saxon Charters with their survey of boundaries might contain matter which would add to our knowledge of Britain in the preceding Roman era ... I found the [published] surveys were quite untranslatable with the aid of any of the Saxon dictionaries ... so I set out on what amounted in the end to a process of tentative induction with a view to discovering the real meanings of the terms employed. I then began to understand why Saxon scholars had not attempted to elucidate the meaning of documents so obviously interesting.'²⁰ He goes on to say 'as far as Roman Britain is concerned the information derived from the charters was not as large as I hoped it would be.' He points out that 'probably in the later stages [of their occupation] the Romans improved the great through roads of early England. The ridgeways (watershed ways)' and 'the economic evidence liberally supplied by the Charters shows the reason why the early Anglo-Saxon settlers left so many of the Roman towns derelict'. His early work was in Berkshire adjacent to Oxford but after that Gloucestershire was a major project.

As an historian and archaeologist Grundy was anxious to check literary sources against physical reality. With Saxon Charters he was assiduous in trying to identify landmarks on the ground. Apart from fieldwork he used 6 inch Ordnance Survey maps. A typical example is a comment on a Charter appertaining to Notgrove '*Thonne on Cachweals* (thus to chalk walls) where a partial reminiscence of survival of this name is that of chalk hill barn which is just in Turkdean parish. The walls must have been on the Notgrove boundary just east of the barn'. He attempted to

18. Saxon Charters and Field Names of Gloucestershire (*BGAS*, 1935) 'Ancient Woodland of Gloucestershire', *Trans. BGAS* 58 (1936) pp. 65–155.

19. G.B. Grundy, *Fifty five years at Oxford* (Methuen, 1941).

20. *Carta Saxonicum*, ed. B. Bird (19th century).

apply such tests to classical authors with the eccentricity of a somewhat cloistered don. Testing a statement in Herodotus he timed himself running across the Plain of Marathon weighted with his estimate of a hoplite's arms and armour but a review of his subsequently published paper commented Dr Grundy's physique was hardly that of a hoplite. On another occasion he used a group of undergraduates to file through the pass of Thermopylae and then pro-rated the time they took to the description of the battle between the Spartans and the Persians in 480 BC.

In later life as a Fellow emeritus of Corpus he continued his close association with the college and even when your correspondent was an undergraduate he was well remembered by the older dons and scouts. A fine and dedicated scholar, G.B. Grundy represented all that is best in traditional Oxford teaching and Gloucestershire was fortunate to benefit from his scholarship in work on its Saxon Charters.

GERARD LEIGHTON

11.

Cotswold Neolithic Long Barrows: Their Place in the Landscape

This article briefly summarises some key findings of a survey of the landscape settings of a sample of 18 Cotswold Neolithic long barrows carried out in 2007–8 by the Clifton Antiquarian Club.

Until relatively recently the study of the long barrows of the Cotswolds has been very monument-specific, concentrating largely on architecture, construction and contents, with little or no consideration of their relationship to the surrounding landscape. This study attempted to look at their landscape perspective in keeping with contemporary phenomenological landscape studies. Limitations of time and space constrained the number of sites that could be included in the study. A personal, phenomenological approach to survey work of barrow location was employed, approaching the sites on foot from various directions, noting the relationship to natural landscape features in the process.

It has been suggested that the construction of Neolithic monuments influenced the movement of people through the local landscape along tracks or natural pathways; this seems to be borne out by the survey of Cotswold long barrows. The majority of the Cotswold valleys are dry and, as a result, have long been used (and still are) as a means of traversing the landscape, in particular to climb to higher ground. It was striking that, even with the small sample of long barrows chosen, so many of them are closely associated with such valley routes, very often being located at the point of transition between lower ground and high plateau at or near the heads of the valleys. It is contended that paths connecting monuments allowed regular movement through the landscape, forming links between known special places such as long barrows. Allowing for the difficulties of dating tracks and paths, it is also contended that all the surveyed sites show a close association to potentially ancient routes across the landscape; ways which use dry valleys to gain access to high ground or ridge routes and scarp edges. This made the monuments visibly obvious to travellers, possibly serving as territorial markers at transitional points in the landscape. As might be expected with Neolithic monuments, all the long barrows surveyed are positioned on intermediate ground, usually at or near the change of slope from valley sides to plateau and not on the highest part of the landscape like their Bronze Age counterparts.

Virtually all the long barrows surveyed exhibited some form of association with valleys, whether by being located on or parallel to valleys or scarp edges, or by marking transition points from valley to upland at places of natural movement through the landscape. It might be suggested that the topography of the Cotswolds makes this inevitable, but I suggest that sites such as Pinkwell (Chedworth) show this to be the case even on the apparently flat plateau areas. All the surveyed monuments also appeared to acknowledge local natural features with their alignments reflecting that of ridges and valleys and by their position at the head of dry valleys on the plateau. Although a majority of the Cotswold long barrows exhibit an approximately east-west alignment, this may be a reflection of the topography; those monuments that are aligned north-south appear to do so as a result of their reflection of local natural features.

Clearly further work is required on a larger sample of monuments. Only then may we be able to clarify if a clear correlation exists between monument location, alignment and landscape that may be used to build up a landscape semiology for Cotswold long barrows.

PETER FENN

QUERIES

12.

Place Names

Place names for a house or a field or perhaps a cross-roads may represent an event in the history of the place. An example is Trouble House Inn on the A433 between Tetbury and Cirencester. It was originally known as the Wagon & Horses; the epithet 'Trouble House' appears to have attached in the 1770s and became the permanent name after an incident during the 'Captain Swing' agricultural unrest in 1830.²¹

And to give two Somerset examples Soho Farm near Mells marks the rallying point of Monthmouth's army after the battle of Norton St Philip, Soho being their password while the Redan Inn at Chilcompton gets its name from the original landlord's involvement in the assault on the Redan at Sebastapol in the Crimean War. Suicides were not allowed a Christian burial and traditionally interred at a cross roads sometimes giving their name to a field or a pub nearby Tucker's Grave and Cannard's Grave are Somerset examples of public houses near such sites.

What of this nature exists in Gloucestershire? – An interesting project for someone.

GERARD LEIGHTON

21. Bristol Mercury, 7 Dec. 1830 and Gloucester Journal, 4 Dec. 1830 and 8 Jan. 1831.

13.

Place-Names as Clues to Archaeological Sites:
The Case of St Chloe

There are some place-names that are clearly connected to sites of archaeological interest. The most obvious examples are those ending in -chester, -cester, -caster or -eter. These immediately point to the presence of Roman remains. But there are others where archaeological implications only emerge after careful examination of the evolution of the name over the centuries in relation to the local landscape. The one to be looked at here is St Chloe which is the name of a Gloucestershire hamlet close to a -chester site: Woodchester where the Romans built a palace for the governor of Britannia Prima.²²

Chloe seems to be a most unlikely name for a saint, so how has the name come to have that spelling? *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire* provides us with material for an answer.²³ The earliest form, recorded in a Woodchester charter dated to somewhere between 716 and 743 AD, was 'Sentodleag'. By 896, according to a second charter, this had become 'Sengetlege'. But in the 11th century the Normans had arrived and established, on the slope just below, a mansion named St Louis. Under the influence of that name, Sengetlege had by 1220 become 'Sanctleha'. In 1609 it was recorded in as 'Sayntloe' and finally, in 1830, became 'St Chloe'. So how does *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire* explain those early forms? It avoids any attempt to decipher 'Sentodleag' and interprets Sengetlege as 'Clearing made by burning', v. **senget** (or OE *senged* 'singed, burnt', pa.pt. of *sengan*).²⁴

When I consulted Oliver Rackham about this his immediate answer was 'English woodland doesn't burn'.²⁵ So what other interpretation might we find? Might 'sentod' and 'senget' indicate a relationship to that palace site? On the slope just above St. Chloe Green there is (OS8460 17) a stone which has all the appearance of a Roman milestone and is situated at about one Roman mile – 1522 yards – from the grand entrance to the palace. This would have been the place where visitors arriving from Corinium (Cirencester), the second city of Roman Britain, would have had their first sight of it and St Chloe Green would have provided a good location for a reception area where they could prepare for their final approach in litters. Sentries at St Chloe Green would also have had a clear view of traffic arriving from Aquae Sulis (Bath) over Bown Hill, perhaps of a reception area for it, and of buildings such as the tile and pottery factory at Little Britain and the goods depot at the top of the Bear Hill. Here there could have been much activity involving the exchange of signals between Roman sites. So, might 'tod' be derived from Saxon 'tot' meaning 'lookout point'?²⁶ This word is also found locally as the name of a long barrow on the top of Selsley Hill – The Toots. But what about 'sen'? A possible explanation of this is that it is a form of Saxon 'scene', meaning 'beautiful'.²⁷ An objection could be that names beginning with 'scene' are usually recorded as 'shen' before the Norman period, but there is evidence that parts of Gloucestershire

22. Ken Dark and Petra Dark, *The Landscape of Roman Britain* (Sutton Publishing, 1997), p. 69.

23. A.H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire* (Cambridge University Press, 1964), pt. I, p. 98.

24. *ibid.*

25. Personal communication.

26. Smith, *Place-Names of Gloucestershire*, p. 178.

27. Ekert Exwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (4th edn., Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 407.

remained largely Welsh speaking into the early Middle Ages and the absence of a 'sh' sound from that language could account for an early 'scene' – 'sen' shift.²⁸ So, Sentodleag could have meant 'leah of the beautiful lookout point'. And might consideration of the Roman landscape provide us with a similar explanation of Sengetleage?

Just below St Chloe Green a local mill owner, George Onesiphorus Paul, decided in about 1788 to build a triumphal arch. Mr Paul's edifice still survives as a private house, though its central arch has been blocked up and its towers removed.²⁹ According to tradition, he erected it for the occasion of a visit made to his residence – Hill House, later known as Rodborough Manor – by King George III. We may wonder what gave Mr Paul this idea, and our curiosity is further aroused by the fact that this 18th-century arch was not erected to face Hill House, but was oriented considerably to the West of it. If the purpose of its construction was to impress the king, should not Mr Paul's residence have been directly in the line of vision of someone passing through it? However, it turns out that its bearing is 22° west of true North which is the orientation of the Roman palace, and that it faces directly towards its site. It appears that Mr Paul wanted the King, when entering his estate, to view the palace of the governor of Britannia Prima rather than his own residence. However, Lysons' excavations were not carried out until 1793–6, so were traditions of the existence of a Roman arch still current in 1788, or were remains of one still visible? It would have been appropriate to build a triumphal arch just below the reception area through which important visitors from Cirencester could pass on their final grand entry to the palace. Perhaps a century or more into the Saxon colonisation of this area the buildings of the reception area were crumbling away, but the arch still remained an important landmark? Could this account for that shift from 'Sentodleag' to 'Sengetleage'? From 'leah of the beautiful lookout point' to 'leah of the beautiful gate' (Saxon 'geat' = gate)?

The early forms of the place-name St Chloe may be giving us important clues to buildings and roads constructed by the Romans to serve the Woodchester palace. Modern non-invasive archaeological methods working on these clues might make some interesting discoveries. Are there remains of buildings which served as a reception area at St Chloe Green and evidence of a highway from Cirencester which brought them to that point? Are there remains of an arch on or close to the site of the one erected by Mr Paul? Can we find traces of other constructions which would have exchanged signals with the 'beautiful lookout point': a road bringing visitors from Bath over Bown Hill or a reception area in Bospin Lane which served them?

BILL REID

14. A Lost Habitation?

In the rich miscellany of documents which accompany Abel Wantner's history of the city and county of Gloucester in the Bodleian Library (MS Top. Glouc. c.2 and c.3) is what he described as 'a true and perfect description of all the great roads and other highways from market towns throughout the county of Gloucester'. It comprises 130 itineraries of which a typical one is:

28. H.P.R. Finberg, *Gloucestershire* (Hodder, 1955), p. 37.

29. See Joan Tucker, *Stroud: A Pictorial History* (Phillimore, 1991), illustration 21.

From Gloucester to Cirencester	
Bamwood	2
Horsebere Bridge	2
Birdlip Hill	1
Brimpsfield park or Nettleton Bottom	1
Bottom	1
The Smith's cross	2
The five mile house	2
The four mile house	1
The three mile bottom	1
Stratton	2
Cirencester	1
Miles	16

As quite often, this list includes some place-names now no longer familiar. In this connection 'The four mile house' is of some interest. It seems to be completely lost, but the name 'five mile house' adjacent on the list, survives in a pub and restaurant in a building, now a beacon on the otherwise deserted and truncated former A417.

JOHN FENDLEY

15. King Henry V's Cradle³⁰

In the entry on Newland in the Forest of Dean, Rutter in his *History of Gloucestershire* writes:

'The reverend Mr Ball, the present incumbent of Newland, is possessed of a curiosity that deserves to be mentioned. It is the cradle of King Henry V who was born in Monmouth. The whole is made of oak, and the part where the infant lay is an oblong chest, open at the top, with an iron ring at the head, and another at the feet, by which it hangs upon hooks fixt in two upright pieces, strongly morticed in a frame which lies upon the floor. Thus suspended the cradle is easily put in motion. Each of the upright pieces is ornamented at top with the figure of a dove, gilt, and tolerably executed'.

Is anything known about this cradle? Whether it still exists and if so where? Though the association may be legendary and difficult to prove it would be an interesting piece of medieval furniture.

30. This Query is brought forward from the first series and from Samuel Rutter, *A New History of Gloucestershire* (1779), p. 567.