

MINSTERWORTH: evidence of the early history

by Margot Johnson

The place name

Minsterworth derives its name from its pre-Conquest possession by a minster. The clergy of minsters lived in community in monastic fashion, but had pastoral responsibilities in their neighbourhood, often covering a wide area, before parochial boundaries were firmly established. The suffix *worth* indicates an enclosure, often around a homestead, but in this case probably the land around the minster.

The seclusion of the Minsterworth church site, its easy access by water, characteristic of pre-Conquest sites, and the safe haven provided by the outcrop of rock in the River Severn, suggests the origin of the secular settlement as a farm supporting a small minster.

Such minsters were usually independent foundations; and there is no evidence to support the assertion that Minsterworth was dependent on St Peter and St Paul, Gloucester (founded c.681).¹ The church of Minsterworth was appropriated to the Priory of St Oswald, Gloucester, in 1417.²

Pre-Christian associations

The bore, the Church Rock, forming a narrow channel in the Severn on the south (Elmore) side, the channel or inlet formerly to the west of the church site (now silted), and the ease of crossing the river by ferry, are all factors suggesting the early focus on the river pre-dating a Christian settlement. At low tide, before the recent raising of the river banks and consequent alteration of the water level, it was possible to wade across the rock as far as the deep channel. A similar, but greater, outcrop of rock, leaving only a narrow navigable channel, exists at Duni or Dinney³. Tides flow to Minsterworth on average every other week, producing a normal rise of up to ten feet⁴. Both rocks are covered with two to three feet of water. Very occasionally the rough and nearly level surface is exposed and can be walked upon but only as far as the very deep channel on the Elmore side.

Pagan worship of river and water deities was popular in Roman and Romano-British society. It was the policy of early missionaries to Christianise pagan religious sites.

Pre-Conquest references to Minsterworth and diocesan boundaries

Many local stories were recorded by Walter Map or Mape (*d. circa* 1210), the prolific and well-known author who was parson of Westbury and its chapelry of Minsterworth. He recounts that Edmund Ironside, King of the West Saxons, was in the neighbourhood after making his contract with King Cnut on an island in the Severn near Deerhurst, and received a fatal wound at Minsterworth. Edmund II reigned only seven months in 1016, during which he fought nine battles. The Danes, under Olaf of Norway and Sweyn of Denmark invaded England in 981. Sweyn was acknowledged King of England in 1013, but died the following year, leaving Cnut his son to succeed him. Cnut had to fight for his realm with Edmund (son of Ethelred II, *Unrede*), whose courage and tenacity gained for him the title of 'Ironside'. After six pitched battles it was agreed, on the advice of the Witan, to divide the kingdom: Edmund was to have Wessex, East Anglia, Essex, and London. Cnut took Mercia and the North. Walter Map, writing between 1180 and 1190, says he was fatally wounded at Minsterworth and carried to Ross-on-Wye where he died on 30 November, 1016. Other chroniclers say that Edmund died at Oxford or in London; but as he was no saint, there was no motive for the people of Minsterworth to claim the story, nor for their parson to repeat it.⁵ Cnut (1017-35) was a religious man and a firm friend of the Church. His aim was to establish stable government with the assent of the English people. In 1016 the see of Worcester, which had been held in plurality with York for nearly half a century, received a bishop of its own. Perhaps the division of the kingdom in that year moved the Bishop of Hereford to record the dividing line between his diocese and that of Worcester.⁶ A gospel book of probably the mid-eleventh century contains a description of the eastern boundary of Hereford diocese. The recorded first half of the boundary may be translated as follows:

From Monmouth up along the Severn to Minsterworth; from Minsterworth to Dodda's Ash; from Dodda's Ash to Ceola's Head; from Ceola's Head to Malvern.

The Wye is not mentioned, but the boundary evidently runs down the Wye from Monmouth to Beachley, before turning up the Severn, taking in the whole of the Forest of Dean. After passing Minsterworth it turns up the Leadon which, like the Wye, is passed over in silence. However, in the thirteenth century it divided the dioceses of Hereford and Worcester, and doubtless did so in the time of Bishop Athelstan. At Cutmill, on the western edge of Redmarley D'Abitôt, the boundary leaves the Leadon and ascends the valley to Dodda's Ash, which probably stood on a spot north-west of Pfera Hall, now marked by a boundary stone (Grid Ref. SO 750323). It next crosses the valley of the Glynch Brook, rising to Ceola's Head, a landmark occurring in the Redmarley charter of 963. From details given there it can be identified with a spur of the Malverns on the 200 foot contour line north of Bury Court (SO 761335). From there it passes over Chase End Hill and out of Gloucestershire, following the line of the Shire Ditch to Malvern.

At an unknown date before 1086, the Forest of Dean, and the hundreds of Botloe, Longbridge, Westbury, Bledisloe, Lydney, Tidenham, and Twyford were annexed to Gloucestershire for secular purposes, but their parishes remained in the diocese of Hereford until 1541⁷, when the diocese of Gloucester was created under Henry VIII, with the former abbey church of St Peter as its Cathedral.

The church of Westbury, and the dependant chapelry of Minsterworth, were livings then in the gift of the vicars choral of Hereford; and Westbury remained so until the twentieth century.

Westbury Hundred, Longbridge Hundred, and the Duchy of Lancaster Hundred

Minsterworth (with its historical record) has been included in all three Hundreds for administrative purposes at different periods which must be distinguished.

Westbury Hundred lies on the west bank of the Severn in two separate parts. From the mid-17th century it was composed of the parishes of Blaisdon, Newnham, Tidenham, Woolaston, with parts of Churcham and Westbury-on-Severn. The rest of Churcham, which comprised the manor of Highnam, was in Dudston and King's Barton Hundred and had been in Longbridge Hundred in 1086. Rodley tithing in Westbury parish was in the Duchy of Lancaster Hundred.

The constitution of the Hundred changed several times between the Norman Conquest and the seventeenth century. In 1066 Westbury Hundred included Westbury, Churcham, Longhope, Bulley, the estates of Stears, Hyde, and Ruddle in Newnham, and probably Blaisdon, as part of Longhope, and Minsterworth, containing a total of 50 hides.⁸ 'Hamme', in Longbridge Hundred was evidently in Highnam, but Taylor was inclined to identify it with Minsterworth.⁹

The Gloucester Abbey cartulary states that the manors of Churcham and Highnam were granted to the abbey by the nobleman Wulfin le Rue soon after the arrival of Benedictine monks in 1022. Wulfin was alleged to have killed six priests between Churcham and Gloucester. He sought absolution from the Pope and consequently had to find six priests to intercede for him in perpetuity. He, therefore, granted Churcham and Highnam to Gloucester Abbey on condition that the abbey should provide monks to make the intercessions.¹⁰ The two manors were represented by the five hide estate of Ham and Morton and the seven hide estate also called Ham which belonged to the abbey in 1086.¹¹

In 1287 the Abbot of Gloucester claimed free warren in Highnam and Churcham which had been granted by a charter of Henry II.¹² He received a grant of protection in the manors in 1322.¹³ The two manors were in the hands of the abbey until the Dissolution.

Westbury Hundred was the property of the Crown; but no records of its court appear to have survived.¹⁴ In 1286-7 Edmund, earl of Lancaster, claimed view of Frankpledge, *vetitum namium*, and assize of bread and ale in his manors of Rodley and Minsterworth, which were exempt from all suits of shire and Hundred.¹⁵

Domesday Book¹⁶

This record of taxable land compiled for William I in 1086 is a fruitful source of information about Minsterworth. Modern scholarship, with its greater resources, is able to correct the wrong assumptions of

the older Gloucestershire historians, Sir Robert Atkins, 1712 and 1768, and Samuel Rudder, 1779, which have misled more recent writers.

Domesday Book names Alfwold as the pre-Conquest holder of Minsterworth, which heads the list of thirteen places in various parts of Gloucestershire held by Durand of Pitres, who was Constable of Gloucester Castle and Sheriff of Gloucester in 1086 after his brother Roger. The entry reads in translation:

Durand the Sheriff holds one manor of 3 hides. Alfwold held it; it paid tax. In lordship 1 plough - 4 villagers [villeins] and 3 smallholders [bordars] with 4 ploughs. 2 slaves [serfs or servi].
The value was 60s; now 40s.

A *hide*, the area of land able to support a family, varied in quantity according to the quality of the land and was usually 90 - 120 acres.

The area recorded is small and consistent with the definition of *worth* in the sense of an enclosed farm. Its boundary on the east lay west of Moorcroft (then Murcot) which was a separate manor in the parish of Highnam and in Longbridge Hundred, whose boundary, therefore, passed through the present parish of Minsterworth.

Duni is recorded separately as being in Westbury. It lies to the west of the manor of Minsterworth and was never part of the same manor. Domesday Book lists it among the thirteen manors, mills and parcels of land in various parts of Gloucestershire held by William Goizenboded son of Richard. Duni was a small estate of one hundred and thirty acres (reckoned as half a hide) and a half fishery, separated from the rest of Minsterworth chapelry by streams. It was always dealt with as a unit distinct from Minsterworth; and in 1150 the half fishery was granted to St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester.

Moorcroft, east of Minsterworth parish, was then a separate estate outside it. It occurs in Domesday Book as one of five pieces of land held in various places in Gloucestershire by William, son of Norman. All the inhabitants were smallholders. The entry is:

In Longbridge Hundred

William son of Norman holds Moorcroft [Morcote].

Wulfheah held it before 1066. 1 hide. In lordship 1 plough, with 2 smallholders [bordars].

The value was 8s; now 10s.

This land does not pay tax.

William son of Norman held other lands in Westbury Hundred, all free of tax because they were assigned in return for the guardianship of the Forest (of Dean), which lies south-west of Westbury parish.

This same William granted land in Moorcroft to St Peter's Gloucester for the sake of his soul.

Minsterworth itself, however, had no connection with St Peter's Gloucester at this period, as used to be thought. The error arose because it was wrongly identified with Mortune in Domesday Book by older historians,¹⁷ but Mortune is now proved to have been a settlement (later deserted) in Churcham parish, which the Domesday survey calls simply 'Ham'. The suffix 'church' was added later to distinguish the place from the numerous other local 'Hams'. The Domesday entry for Churcham helps to clarify the position.

In Westbury hundred.

Churcham and 'Morton'. 5 hides in both woodland and open land.

In lordship 2 ploughs, 7 villagers [villeins] and 2 smallholders [bordars] with 6 ploughs.

Woodland 1 league long and 1 wide. The Church had its hunting here in 3 hedged enclosures before and after 1066.¹⁸

The hedged enclosures were three-sided areas into which game was driven for capture. Hunting was for food and not primarily for entertainment, although the participants no doubt enjoyed taking part.¹⁹ The church which had the hunting here was the Benedictine abbey of St Peter and St Paul at Gloucester,

founded about 681. Part of its ancient endowment included the manors of Maisemore, Highnam and Churcham, which it continued to own until the dissolution of religious houses.²⁰

Early references to Minsterworth

Minsterworth is mentioned in *c.*1030 in M. Förster, *Der Fluss name Themse und seine Sippe*,²¹ 1154 in the cartulary of Flaxley,²² in 1221 in the Assize Rolls of the Justices of Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, and Staffordshire, 1221, 1222; edited by Doris M. Stenton (Selden Society, 59, 1940); and in 1231 in the Charter Rolls.

Minsterworth church

The church at Westbury is recorded from 1100,²³ and was probably an early foundation, as it formerly also served Newnham and Minsterworth. Both those places had chapels of ease by 1261 and had become parish churches by 1309.²⁴ In 1291 the rectory of Westbury, including the chapels of Newnham and Minsterworth, was valued at £53.6s.8d., and the vicar's portion was £6.13s.4d.²⁵

As the parish of Westbury was naturally confined by the boundaries of Westbury Hundred, the part of the modern Minsterworth which lay east of the 1086 Hundred boundary lay in a different parish, and was part of the chapelry of Highnam and therefore in Churcham parish. Highnam was anciently served by a chapel whose site lies between the present Highnam Hall and the lake.²⁶

It is unknown when a church was first built at Minsterworth; part of the building demolished in 1869 was believed to be of the twelfth century, perhaps *c.*1160. Late in the twelfth century the Vicars Choral of Hereford appointed Walter Map or Mapes²⁷ as parson of Westbury-on-Severn and its chapelry of Minsterworth. He was a Herefordshire man, probably of Welsh ancestry, who studied in Paris 1154 - *c.*1161. He became a clerk in the household of Henry II, who sent him to Rome to attend the Lateran Council in 1179. He was also a circuit judge in Herefordshire and the neighbouring counties. He was already parson of Westbury and Minsterworth in 1176, when he became a canon of St Paul's; and before 1186 was Chancellor of Lincoln, besides holding other preferments. He taught at Oxford, where he was also Archdeacon. He died *c.*1210. He is best remembered for his literary work, including poetry and satire. Map contributed to the present shape of the Arthurian stories through his own great prose romance containing Lancelot, the Quest of the San Graal, and Mort d'Arthur.²⁸ Such a man probably spent much of his life in the saddle. Like his contemporaries, he would pay other clergy to perform his parochial and other duties.

The rapidly increasing possessions of the Cistercian Abbey of Flaxley, many of them in Westbury parish, were of great concern to him as they affected his income. For example, in 1195 he witnessed an agreement by which Philip de Dunie pledged lands in Westbury for eight and twelve years for 4 marks down.²⁹ A mark was a unit of currency (not a coin) worth 13s 4d. When Flaxley Abbey, as one of the lesser monasteries, was dissolved on 21 March, 1537, the site and its possessions were granted to Sir William Kingston (*d.* 1540),³⁰ these included Flaxley manor's moiety of the manor of Blaisdon in Churcham, and the estate of Duni with its other possessions.³¹ In 1544 this grant was confirmed to Sir William's son Sir Anthony;³² on his death in 1556 he was succeeded by his son Edmund Kingston who seems to have been illegitimate. In 1565, Edmund conveyed the estate to his brother-in-law Edward Barnard. He devised it at his death in 1570 to Edmund's son Anthony Kingston who died in 1591.³³ The estate passed to Anthony's son William who died in 1614. He was succeeded by his uncle Edmund Kingston who died in 1623.³⁴

A moiety of the manor was held by John Blakeney in 1407. This moiety had passed by 1608 to John Ayleway.³⁵ In 1638 Henry Bayton of London and in 1656 Samuel Sheppard of Minsterworth made leases of lands as lords of Blaisdon manor,³⁶ but whether their right was to the Ayleways moiety or to that of the Kingstons has not been found.

Thus in 1637 Sir William's descendant, Antony Kyngeston, knight, still held the property including the tithes of Dunie, then called 'Denny'.³⁷

Such long term agreements pressed hard on parish priests. The Flaxley monks were sheep farmers. The houses of the Cistercian order were exempt from paying tithes from land which they brought into cultivation, or cultivated at their own expense, and from all tithes of the young of their animals. Thus the

local clergy, where such grants of land were made in their parishes, were deprived of much of their financial support. Tithes provided not only necessary personal income, but money to maintain the chancels of their churches, for which the rector or incumbent was personally responsible, while the upkeep of the nave fell to the parishioners. For this and other reasons, Walter Map wrote a poem against the Cistercians. In Minsterworth itself, he lost other tithes when William de Minstreworth leased two parcels of ground in Minsterworth to the monks of Flaxley in c.1200.

Minsterworth Manor and its lords

The first recorded manorial lord was Milo, earl of Hereford in Stephen's reign. He was also Verderer of the Forest of Dean and held St Briavel's castle. His son Roger succeeded him.

Henry de Bohun was lord of the manor in King John's reign, but resigned it to the Crown.

Simon de Montfort (a French nobleman), earl of Leicester had the manor in 43 Henry III. He fought against Henry III and took him prisoner, but was afterwards defeated by Prince Edward at the Battle of Evesham and slain in 1264.

Henry of Lancaster was lord of the manor 9 Edward I. Six years later Edmond, earl of Lancaster, the King's brother, was seized of the manor with court leet and free warren. 12 years later Minsterworth and Radley were given to William Grandison, the earl's servant.

Minsterworth formed part of the dowry of Blanche, daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster and father of Henry IV, and through her it became part of the duchy of Lancaster. Duchy men and holders of Minsterworth land had special privileges with regard to freedom from tolls on the King's highway for themselves and their stock as well as at markets and fairs. The same exemption has continued although fallen into disuse, and forms of Duchy Exemption were issued and may survive.

De Minstreworth or De Minsterworth family

William de Minstreworth was a member of the local leading family, which, in the contemporary manner, adopted as a surname the name of the place where they lived or had their principal residence. He had lands in both Minsterworth and Gloucester. He leased to the monks of Flaxley 2 crofts called Ham croft and Helpescroft. The Hospital of St Bartholomew in Gloucester had received a pious gift of one acre (the tenant was named Ralph Tincturer – the Dyer) in c. 1230 from Robert the Freeman of Minsterworth "for the health of his soul and of the soul of Cecily his wife". The witnesses, among others, were William of Duni, and William of Boifeld. The Prior and brethren were expected to pray for the souls of the donors in perpetuity.

About 1250, Henry, son of William de Minsterworth, granted five acres of his meadow to the Prior and Brethren of the Hospital of St Bartholomew "and the infirm therein" to maintain a lamp for the ministrations of poor people for 4 harvests, viz 2 of wheat and barley. The grant is witnessed by his son William, by Walter de Minsterworth, and William of Duni among others.

A later member of the de Minsterworth family was Sir John de Minsterworth. A payment made from the Royal Exchequer in 1370, in connection with Edward III's preparation of ships and men against the French, includes the expenses of inspecting "the men of Sir John de Minsterworth, knight, and other knights, of the retinue of ... Robert Knolles ..." at Cambernesse and Winchester. Sir John was patron of the benefice of Much Marcle.

In 1377 another Exchequer payment was made to Sir William de Faryngton, knight, for the costs and expenses incurred in transporting the four quarters of the body of Sir John of Mistreworth [*sic*], knight, to different parts of England.³⁸

Ernald de Menstreworth and Henrie de Minsterworth are both named as holding land here in the *Extent* in the cartulary of the Priory of St Oswald (Llanthony Abbey).³⁹

The imposition of a poll tax in Essex led to an uprising which spread to Kent and then elsewhere. Manor houses and palaces were pillaged, and gaols opened. The rebels marched on London where Richard II conceded their demands and offered a free pardon to all the rebels; but some remained in London where they burnt much property and murdered many Flemish immigrants. The leaders were Wat Tyler, John Ball and Jack Straw. A member of the de Minsterworth family was involved.

This family had its seat at High Grove⁴⁰ on the north-west boundary, overlooking the common arable fields on the eastern side of its demesne or home farm, and its fish pond on the west.

Heygrave (High Grove, Hygrove)

Hygrove is Heygrave in 1334 (Inq.p.m (p)), but Highgrove in 1777.⁴¹ The site of High Grove was of strategic importance for the whole area. At the summit of a gently rising slope north of the ancient road (A48), a high south-projecting spur of higher ground drops precipitously on its eastern, northern and north-western sides, sloping more gradually on the west, and tapering to the south. The ground rises again on the north-east to the course of the Long Brook, which forms the parish boundary. This natural spur seems to have been engineered for defensive purposes, with the broad northerly end as its highest and strongest point. The age of the occupation is unclear, but may be pre-Conquest. Hygrove House stands here today, probably succeeding medieval buildings of which no trace remains now above ground, but which stood on and around a medieval motte, with its bailey on the site of the walled gardens to the south. In the 12th century this was one of the border forts or fortified castles. Letters Patent of 26 December, 1421-2 were '*dat apud Castrum de Mindesworth*' (*sic*) indicating that it was then inhabited and in repair.

The present mansion was probably built by Sir Charles Barrow about the mid-18th century on the castle site. Cellars beneath the house are constructed of massive masonry, evidently very ancient.

The 1839 Tithe map and later OS maps mark a large roughly oval-shaped area surrounded by high brick walls (?18th-century), now buttressed by modern brick. Outside the walls the ground soon drops away steeply to the west, but more gently to the south and east, where a large fish pool is known appropriately as the 'Castle Pool'. In earlier times this was probably a 'fish stew', where fish were kept until required for the table. To the north-east, open land south of the Long Brook and adjacent to the Domesday Hundred boundary prevented possibility of a surprise attack from that direction. Here, to the east, the Domesday Hundred boundary follows a ridge from High Grove running south towards the River Severn.

The north-west side of High Grove commands extensive views across the valley to Churcham and beyond, and continues to overlook a wide landscape to the north-east.

Thus High Grove overlooks the Domesday Hundred boundary to the east, beyond its own westerly demesne the wide landscape to the north, from which landward attack might be expected in unsettled times, and, more locally, the common arable fields of Minsterworth to the west.

Lords of the Manor

William de Munstrewurpe was succeeded by his son Henry in 1250. In 1259 Simon de Montfort, late earl of Leicester owned the manor; and on 8 January 1266 it was granted to Edmund, the King's son with advowsons of churches in his manors. In 1286-7 Edmond Earl of Lancaster was seized of Minsterworth with the right to court leet and free warren by writ of *Quo Warranto* of 15 Edward I. It was granted to William Grandisson about 1298.

In 1361-2 it reverted to the house of Lancaster, and Henry of Lancaster died seized of it 35 Edward III. His Inquisition *post mortem* has an attached extent with values.

The following year (1362-3) John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, married Blanche the young daughter of Henry, and they, together with his sister Maud, levied a fine of Minsterworth '... to the use of themselves in special taille' (39 Edward III). As mentioned earlier, on 21 June 1377 Sir William Faryngton was paid for transporting the four quarters of the body of Sir John of Minsterworth to different parts of England,⁴² as an example to deter rebels.

In 1415-16 the manor of Minsterworth belonging to the duchy of Lancaster was granted to the Archbishop of York (3 Henry V).

In 1588 Richard Pate (1516-1588) died seized of Minsterworth with all the property held by court leet and court baron. It had been leased for 21 years from 1586.

A lease for forty years was granted in 1606 to Richard Delabere.

The village settlement

The village tofts and crofts lay south of the main road, set back across a strip of open land so that highway robbers had no place to hide. They backed The Street, a cobbled track-way leading to the river, church,

and landing yard across land often flooded. This arrangement has become obscured by the sale of land bordering the road for property development; and the former backs of the original houses have become their fronts with access to The Street, now permanently dry. In the history of Greycroft, now Craycroft, this is obvious both in the house itself and in the surrounding land, formerly its croft, and the same pattern can be discerned in neighbouring properties.

Cartulary of St Oswald's Abbey: 14th -15th century Extent

The following people are listed:

Line 11. Elmor.

Line 18. Henry de Minsterworth. 2 virgates with appurts. 27s.10d.

Line 21. Roger de Ham. 1 acre of meadow & one messuage. 2s p.a.

Line 22. William de Duni. 2s for water to his mill.

Line 23. William son of William de Boyfield. 1 virgate and ½ virgate. 18s 3d per omnibus

Line 32. Ernold de Minsterworth holds 12 acres for 3s.4d.

Line 71. De visu Frankpleg. 1 mark.

Line 75. mill and common bakehouse.

Line 78. vill of Elmor

Line 84. Henry de Boifield. 6 acres.

Line 86. Roger of Kalnecrafte 6¼acres.

Line 89. Thomas fab' & William the Skinner. 6 acres.

Murcott or Moorcroft

Domesday Survey of 1086 places it in Longbridge Hundred. It was called *la Mare* from Roger and John de la Mare, lords of the manor.⁴³ This manor, separate from Minsterworth, had its demesne farm around what is still named Murcott Farm in 1839. By then, the Common Fields, Hector Field and Oppithorne Field lying to the NW and SW, with Windmill Hill to the north of the main road roughly on the site of Appithorne have Upper Moorcroft close to the later parish boundary to the NE of Murcott Farm; but between the two, the OS shows Middle Moorcroft. South of these is Moorcroft House, shown in 1839 in the SE corner of Courts pasture and numbered 49. Land adjacent to the NE is marsh, while to the NW lies Oppithorne Field.

At the time of the Tithe Map (1839) Hector Field lay to the north east; Oppithorne Field to the south east; and south-east of Oppithorne Field were numerous closes bounded by a lane or track from Murcott, which ends in Ham Green. South of the lane lies the Common Ham (so-called in 1839) skirted by the River and, to the south of the Common Ham, Cornham protrudes as a tongue of land in the bend of the Severn. In Cornham some land to the extreme south was used for strip cultivation prior to 1839 and here also St Bartholomew's Hospital, Gloucester, had pasture.

Evidently, in the common fields ownership of each strip was distinguished at its end by a *mere* stone, inscribed with the owner's initials.

[**Editors Note:** Readers may wish to refer to Terry Moore-Scott's book *History of Minsterworth from pre-history to 1900* for the latest research on Minsterworth]

References

¹ VCH Gloucestershire, 2; edited by William Page (1907), 60b.

² Hereford Epis. Reg. Lacy, f.4. Eilert Ekwall, *The concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edition (1960, repr. 1980) states that Minsterworth belonged to the Abbey of St Peter, Gloucester, clearly a mistake derived from earlier historians of Gloucestershire, e.g. Samuel Rudder; and Sir Robert Atkins, *The ancient and present state of Gloucestershire (1712, reprinted 1974)*.

³ F.W. Rowbotham, *The Severn bore*, 2nd edition, 1970.

⁴ F.W. Rowbotham, *The Severn bore* (David & Charles) 1964; and private information by letter from the author.

⁵ H.P.R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester University Press), 1972, 145, where Charter 420 *lost*, 1016, was recorded as King Edmund Ironside to Athelstan, bishop of Hereford, and his successors. Dated 1016 at Ross-on-Wye. A long note discusses the merits of Walter Map's story.

⁶ Pembroke College MS 302. fo. 8.

- ⁷ See Finberg, *The Early Charters ...* 225-7.
- ⁸ *Victoria History of the County of Gloucestershire*, X, edited by C.R. Elrington and N.M. Herbert (Oxford University Press, 1972), 1.
- ⁹ Taylor, *Dom. Glos.*, 203-4, 316-18 [printed maps of Gloucestershire].
- ¹⁰ *Historia et Cartularium. Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae* (Rolls Series i), 67-8. Here the number of priests required to make intercession is given variously as six or seven.
- ¹¹ *Dom. Bk.* (Record Commission, 1) 165v.
- ¹² *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Record Commission), 247.
- ¹³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1321-4*, 69.
- ¹⁴ *VCH Gloucestershire*, X, 3.
- ¹⁵ *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Record Commission), 253.
- ¹⁶ *Domesday Book*. General editor John Morris. Volume 15, *Gloucestershire*; edited and translated by John S. Moore (Chichester, Phillimore) 1982.
- ¹⁷ For example, Samuel Rudder, *The History of the County of Gloucestershire down to the year 1803*. 549 and following pages.
- ¹⁸ *Domesday Book*, 10.11; the later manor and tithing of Churcham in Churcham parish was called simply 'Morton' (Mortune). *VCH Gloucestershire*, X, 1, 11, 17.
- ¹⁹ The tradition that Minsterworth was the site of a royal hunting lodge may have arisen from the mistaken idea that Minsterworth and Mortun are identical. Medieval Minsterworth was laid out in common arable fields and common pastures, with no space for emparkments or hedged enclosures for wild game.
- ²⁰ *VCH Gloucestershire*, Volume 2, 60b, citing *Hist. et Cart. Glouc.* (Rolls Series), iii, pp.xlviii, xlix; and *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (Record Commission), ii, 422.
- ²¹ München, 1941.
- ²² *Cartulary of Flaxley*; edited by A.W. Crawley-Boevey (Exeter, 1887).
- ²³ *History & Cartulary Mon. Glouc.* (Rolls Series), i, 251.
- ²⁴ *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, xviii.145-7.
- ²⁵ *Tax Eccl.* (Record Commission), 161.
- ²⁶ OS.XXV.13 surveyed 1882, rev.1921. Scale 25.344 ins = 1 mile.
- ²⁷ DNB; cf. *Giraldus Cambrensis* (Rolls Series), iv, 219.
- ²⁸ See DNB; and A.L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-12* (second edition, 1951, repr.), Oxford History of England, 3 (Oxford, Clarendon Press).
- ²⁹ *Cartulary of Flaxley*, 163; cf. 161; *VCH Gloucestershire*, volume 2, 94a.
- ³⁰ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xii, pt.i, No.795 (42).
- ³¹ *Letter and Papers of Henry VIII*, xii (1), 353.
- ³² *Letter and Papers of Henry VIII*, xix (1), 379.
- ³³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1563-6, 284-5; C.142/231/94.
- ³⁴ C.142/347/90. For an account of the Kingston family, see *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*. vi.286, 292-5.
- ³⁵ Smith, editor, *Men and Armour for Gloucestershire*, 49.
- ³⁶ Gloucester Collection deeds 48.2,4.
- ³⁷ Gloucestershire Archives, D18/176.
- ³⁸ *Issues of the Exchequer*, p.202, quoted in J.T. Jusserand, *English wayfaring life in the middle ages*; translated from the French by Lucy Toulmin Smith (Ernest Brown Ltd., 4th edition, 1950,) 125.
- ³⁹ PRO, C115/K RH48-RH49.
- ⁴⁰ Inq. p.m., 1334 has Heygrave.
- ⁴¹ English Place Name Society, XL, Gloucestershire, Part 3. The place-name derivation is hēah 'high, lofty' and graf, which may be either grāf (a) OE 'grove, copse' or grafa OE 'trench'. In view of the nature of the site, the latter is the more probable origin of the name. A grove of trees would impede the view.
- ⁴² *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 302.
- ⁴³ British Library; Shrewsbury-Talbot papers, 14 Talbot 72683.