

10s., contained a house, 200 a. arable, 100 a. pasture, 30 a. meadow and 2 watermills, and had the right to hold courts baron and leet with view of frankpledge.²¹²²

Walter Hungerford purchased the manor in 1434, and the following year pursued a Rowden tenant for leaving the manor without licence.²¹²³ The manor passed to Walter's son Robert, then Robert's son Thomas Hungerford who was attainted in 1461 and executed for treason in 1464. The manor remained with his son Thomas, who styled himself 'Sir Thomas Hungerford of Rowden'.²¹²⁴ He was also attainted and executed in 1469, but his lands were restored to his daughter and heir Mary and her husband Edward Hastings, later titled Lord Hungerford, who took possession in 1493 and died in 1506.²¹²⁵ In 1532 or earlier Edward's son George Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, was in possession,²¹²⁶ and he and Francis Hastings, his son and heir, were granted licence in 1541 to alienate the manors of Chippenham and Rowden to William Dauntsey, alderman of London. Francis was granted another licence to alienate Rowden to Robert Southwell of Marworth, master of the rolls, in 1544.²¹²⁷

In 1546 licence to alienate Rowden and Chippenham was granted to Sir Thomas Seymour and Andrew Bayntun,²¹²⁸ and in 1554 Andrew Bayntun (of Bromham), was seised of his Wiltshire manors including Stanley and Rowden, formerly held by his father Edward Bayntun.²¹²⁹ Andrew Bayntun (d. 1564), in some financial difficulties, released the manor to his brother Sir Edward Bayntun of Rowden.²¹³⁰ In 1578 Edward Hungerford and June his wife acquired from Edward Bayntun the site of the manor of Rowden and lands,²¹³¹ but in 1586 the acquisition remained in dispute.²¹³²

The Hungerfords acquired property, but the Bayntun family retained the manorial rights,²¹³³ which descended to Edward Bayntun (d. 1593), Henry Bayntun (d. 1616), Edward Bayntun (d. 1657), Edward Bayntun (d. 1679), and Henry Bayntun (d. 1691). Henry's son John Bayntun died without issue in 1717 and the manor passed to his sister Anne and her first husband Edward Rolt. Anne's second son assumed the name Edward Bayntun-Rolt and succeeded to her inheritance including Rowden, Stanley and Bremhill manors. Edward died in 1800 leaving his second son Andrew Bayntun-Rolt as his heir. Andrew died in 1816 leaving a daughter, Mary Bayntun-Rolt, who had married Revd. John Starky in 1799. Rowden descended to her son, John Edward Andrew Bayntun-Starky (d. 1843),²¹³⁴ and his son John Bayntun-Starky (d. 1872), a child at the time of his father's death.²¹³⁵ John Bayntun-Starky

²¹²² *Cal Inq. p. m.* XXIV, no.337.

²¹²³ *Cal. Pat.* 1429–36, 437.

²¹²⁴ ODNB, Hungerford, Robert, third Baron Hungerford and Baron Moleyns.

²¹²⁵ ODNB, Hastings, William, first Baron Hastings; *Cal Chart.* 1485–1500, no. 731; *Complete Peerage*, II, 374–6.

²¹²⁶ WSA, 84/35; *L&P Hen. VIII*, V, 582.

²¹²⁷ *L&P Hen. VIII*, XIX (1), 287.

²¹²⁸ *L&P Hen. VIII*, XXI (1), 78.

²¹²⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1553–4, 107.

²¹³⁰ *Hist. Parl. Commons*, 1588–1603, I, 409–10.

²¹³¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1575–8, 462.

²¹³² TNA, C 8/1/46.

²¹³³ This para: <http://www.thepeerage.com/p13544.htm#i135438> (accessed 8 Mar. 2022).

²¹³⁴ *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1858 edn.), II, 1139.

²¹³⁵ TNA, PROB 11/1975/277.

accrued large debts, and the estate was sold to Gabriel Goldney (d. 1900) by June 1863.²¹³⁶ Starky was later found bankrupt.²¹³⁷ Thereafter the manor descended in the same way as Chippenham, Lowden and Sheldon, to Sir Gabriel Prior Goldney in 1900, but had lost its separate identity by 1915.²¹³⁸

A new manor house was under construction during 1445.²¹³⁹ The house became separated from the manorial lordship in 1578 when it was acquired by Edward Hungerford;²¹⁴⁰ it was attacked by Royalists twice in 1643 and in February 1645 when, after two days of heavy bombardment, it caught fire and the old moated manor house was dismantled.²¹⁴¹ The remaining buildings were transferred by Edward Hungerford to Richard Kent who in turn sold them to the Long family of Monkton (Mownton) in Broughton Gifford.²¹⁴² They remained in the Long family and were held by Walter Long of Rood Ashton in 1889.²¹⁴³

Part of the lodging range of the 15th-century manor house, a medieval barn and fishponds, survive at Rowden farm, along with civil war entrenchments and other listed barns and gate piers.²¹⁴⁴ The farm was sold in 2007, as Rowden Manor, with 18 a., some outbuildings and fishing rights.²¹⁴⁵ The barn, coach house and a wing at the back of the manor had been sold separately about 15 years previously.

The Ivy House, apparently so-called because it occupied land which from 1331 supported Ivychurch priory (Alderbury),²¹⁴⁶ was never regarded as Rowden manor house. It is a Baroque-style house of H-shaped plan with service wing and dated 1728, although retaining features from an earlier house occupied by the Scott family of Chippenham clothiers. The 1728 house was built for John Norris, MP for Chippenham, and is of limestone ashlar and rubblestone, two storeys with attic, comprising a central block of three bays, with projecting two-bay wings to each side.

ECONOMIC HISTORY

Medieval

Evidence from names such as Fowlswick ('Fugol's dairy-farm') and Derriads ('animal yard') suggests husbandry on the rising ground west of the Avon floodplain. This was described by the element *-dun* (typically a low hill in open country), which was in places of indifferent soil

²¹³⁶ The Stanley court book lists John Bayntun-Starkey as Lord of the Manor in 1861; after that in 1863 Gabriel Goldney is noted. Bankruptcy proceedings were commenced against Bayntun-Starkey in 1868: WSA, 473/61; above, Bremhill, landownership, with refs.

²¹³⁷ *Devizes & Wilts Gaz.* 13 Feb. 1868.

²¹³⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1889, 1907, 1915 edns.).

²¹³⁹ TNA, SC 6/1119/11.

²¹⁴⁰ Above, this section.

²¹⁴¹ NHLE, 1013876; its foundations could still be traced in 1894: Daniell, *Chippenham*, (1894).

²¹⁴² WAM, 3, 32–3.

²¹⁴³ *Recs. Chippenham*, xv.

²¹⁴⁴ NHLE, 101022194; WAM, 3, 32. The site is a scheduled ancient monument.

²¹⁴⁵ Marcus Binney, *The Times*, 16 Mar. 2007.

²¹⁴⁶ This para: *Wilts. N&Q*, 2, 201–2; Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 6, 126; NHLE, 1268171.

quality, denoted by Rowden ('rough hill'), Hungerdown and Starveall.²¹⁴⁷ The Domesday assessment for the principal Chippenham holding records extensive tracts of woodland and pasture in 1086, but also 100 a. of meadow, and no fewer than 100 ploughlands, of which 16 were in demesne, and 66 were cultivated by no fewer than 113 tenants.²¹⁴⁸ Since most land east of Chippenham town was sparsely populated wood pasture, it is likely that much of this arable land lay west of the Avon.²¹⁴⁹ A reference in 1281 to a holding named 'le Breche' in Allington suggests encroachment on pasture land for cultivation.²¹⁵⁰

Scattered references from the 13th to 15th centuries illustrate the size and nature of holdings. In 1249, when he died, Walter de Godarvill held two ploughlands in the townships of Chippenham and Sheldon of the king's gift, for a quarter of one knight's fee, and a virgate held for a bow, together worth £20 annually.²¹⁵¹ Lowden demesne in 1287 included a capital messuage with garden and dovecot, and 180 a. arable with meadow and pasture.²¹⁵² The Rowden holding of Nicholas de la Huse in 1307 comprised a capital messuage and dovecote, two water mills, two fulling mills, and in demesne 124 a. of arable, grazing and meadow.²¹⁵³ Before c.1327 Joan le Veske granted pasture for one draught animal and one animal in Rowden, suggesting a common pasture there;²¹⁵⁴ also c.1327 a meadow called *le* or *la More*, was recorded at Sheldon.²¹⁵⁵ In 1337 the demesne of Chippenham and Sheldon comprised 206 a. arable, 20 a. meadow, and pasture valued at 10s. There was common of pasture in the meadow after mowing and haymaking, but it is not clear if this right applied in Sheldon, or in Chippenham.²¹⁵⁶ In 1434 Rowden manor, held of the king in chief by service of £7 10s., contained a house, 200 a. arable, 100 a. pasture, 30 a. meadow and 2 watermills.²¹⁵⁷

A survey of Sheldon and Lowden taken for Geoffrey de Gascelyn in 1281 recorded that 28 named tenants were paying a money rent at the quarter days, generally 6d., and four other tenants paid no rent, but were among six who paid foldage (exemption for folding sheep on the demesne) and twelve who paid churchscot in cocks and hens.²¹⁵⁸ In 1314 Edmund Gascelyn was granted free warren on his demesnes, including his lands in Chippenham and Lowden.²¹⁵⁹

²¹⁴⁷ *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 90, 91, 93; M. Gelling and A. Cole, *Landscape of Place-Names* (2000), 165.

²¹⁴⁸ *Domesday*, 162.

²¹⁴⁹ Below, Outer Chippenham (East); note that Stanley and Tytherton Lucas were assessed separately: *Domesday*, 181, 186.

²¹⁵⁰ *Tropenell Cart.* I, xxxiii.

²¹⁵¹ *Crown Pleas of the Wilts. Eyre, 1249* (WRS. 16), 193; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* I, 45.

²¹⁵² TNA, C 133/47/12; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* II, 382.

²¹⁵³ *Cal Inq. p. m.* IV, 284; TNA, C 133/126/2.

²¹⁵⁴ *Hungerford Cart. I* (WRS. 49), 82–3 (no. 320).

²¹⁵⁵ *Hungerford Cart. I* (WRS. 49), 80–1 (nos 311, 313).

²¹⁵⁶ *Hungerford Cart. I* (WRS. 49), 74 (no. 290).

²¹⁵⁷ *Cal Inq. p. m.* XXIV, no.337.

²¹⁵⁸ TNA, SC 12/16/52.

²¹⁵⁹ *Hungerford Cart. I* (WRS. 49), 75 (no. 292).

There was a farmstead at Lowden in the 13th and 14th centuries.²¹⁶⁰ Sheldon, a small but functioning village in the 13th century, had been reduced to two farms by 1582;²¹⁶¹ the fall in population on poor land caused the village to contract, and pastoral replaced arable farming.

Bradenstoke priory (in Lyneham) received ten sticks of eels annually from Rowden c.1200, and in 1307 an eel-fishery in the Bristol Avon was recorded as being part of the manor of Rowden.²¹⁶²

1550–1800

At the Dissolution Allington manor was leased on a three year term to Philip Smith for £5 per annum.²¹⁶³ In 1644 there were three freeholders and 26 customary tenants.²¹⁶⁴ By 1702 there were eight freeholders with small closes paying a total of 4s. rent, ten copyholders paid £5 0s. 8d. and there were no leaseholders although three parcels of land that had formerly been leased were in hand.²¹⁶⁵ Francis Smith held the demesnes at will, by the year, for a yearly rent of £145 and Robert Smith held three leazes at will for a yearly rent of £75.²¹⁶⁶

Exchanges of land were made in the North and Lower Fields between the lord and tenants and among the tenants to consolidate their holdings in September and December 1647.²¹⁶⁷ The East Field is mentioned in a grant of copyhold land made in the same year.²¹⁶⁸ Closes of meadow and pasture also formed part of the exchanges. Enclosure was locally agreed and complete by 1777.²¹⁶⁹

Farming at Allington in the 17th and early 18th centuries was mixed arable and pasture. Cattle were commonly kept, and the presence of cheese lofts in many farmhouses suggests commercial cheese production. Many farms had flocks of sheep. Pigs were kept, but in small numbers, suggesting a largely domestic or small-scale production. Arable crops comprised wheat, barley, oats and pease.²¹⁷⁰ The presence of malt-mills in some inventories implies that barley was being malted.²¹⁷¹ Two inventories, from 1623 and 1630, recorded hives of bees.²¹⁷²

John Scott, clothier, was living at Lowden in 1640. An inventory of his goods taken that year showed that he was also farming; he had oxen and other cattle, sheep, and 5 a. of

²¹⁶⁰ HER, MWI66143; MW15232.

²¹⁶¹ Above, Outer Chippenham (West), settlements and buildings.

²¹⁶² *Cart. Bradenstoke priory* (WRS. 35), 184 (no. 619, 619n).

²¹⁶³ TNA, E 315/398.

²¹⁶⁴ Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/WY 1/58/2.

²¹⁶⁵ Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/WY 1/58/5.

²¹⁶⁶ Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/WY 1/58/5.

²¹⁶⁷ Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/WY 1/58/2.

²¹⁶⁸ Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/WY 1/58/5.

²¹⁶⁹ Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/WY 9/6/5.

²¹⁷⁰ WSA, P3/F/48; P3/B/302; P1/P/120; P3/B/435; P1/G/168; P1/B/426; P3/S/674; P1/H/524; P3/A/56; P3/A/218; P3/H/958.

²¹⁷¹ WSA, P1/P/120; P3/B/435; P1/B/426.

²¹⁷² WSA, P3/F/48; P3/A/56.

wheat in the ground. The presence of hay suggests that he also had meadow land, although the evidence of his will is that this was not all necessarily in Lowden.²¹⁷³

By an indenture of 1670 Rowden farm was leased for 99 years from Sir Edward Hungerford of Farleigh Hungerford to Thomas Long the elder, gentleman, of Mouton in the parish of Broughton Gifford. The property was occupied by Thomas Long's son, also Thomas, and his wife Katherine. The property included 340 a. of pasture and meadow, and its low-lying situation near the river Avon made it highly suitable for rearing cattle. The farm also had a flock of 250–300 sheep.²¹⁷⁴

Sheldon farm is known from leases of 1659 and 1671.²¹⁷⁵ Lower Sheldon farm is recorded, as Sheldon Lower farm, by 1721.²¹⁷⁶ Starveall farm is recorded in 1747.²¹⁷⁷ The early modern agricultural of Sheldon was mixed.²¹⁷⁸ In 1720 Lower Sheldon farm had 50 a. of wheat in the ground, and wheat, oats, barley, pease and rye in store. The farm also had a flock of 145 sheep and lambs, probably providing wool for the local cloth trade. Cattle, including dairy cattle, were reared, cheese produced, and some pigs were kept, but of all livestock sheep predominated.²¹⁷⁹

1800–1914

Allington Common is recorded in 1802 and 1848.²¹⁸⁰ Common regulation varied with the holding, but usually included rights to mow in alternate years, and to graze animals. The common was enclosed in 1869.²¹⁸¹ In 1881 there were five farms in Allington: Shipway farm of 124 a., Beard's farm of 160 a., Fowlswick farm of 148 a., Fowlswick House farm of 208 a., and Lanhill House farm of 890 a. Between them they employed 19 men and eight boys.²¹⁸² Farming at this period was the dominant industry, though in 1880 one farmer was also working as a haulier, and there was a drillman, suggesting that some arable farming continued.²¹⁸³ By 1910 there were seven farms at Allington of over 50 a.; Battens, Allington Bar, Shipway and Allington, Lanhill, Manor, Fowlswick and Beards, and a smaller holding of just over 30 a., Sparrow farm.²¹⁸⁴

Lowden's economy was also predominately agricultural until the latter part of the 19th century. The tithe map of 1848 shows a settlement of isolated buildings largely strung out along a single street, with the land for the railway immediately to the north-west. The only farm by 1881 appears to have been Lowden farm, of 76 a., employing four men and one

²¹⁷³ WSA, P3/S/368.

²¹⁷⁴ *Wilts. Farming in the Seventeenth Century* (WRS. 57), xix, 90–4.

²¹⁷⁵ H. J. Ellis (ed.), *Index to the Charters and Rolls of the Department of Manuscripts British Museum*, II (1912), 154.

²¹⁷⁶ WSA, P3/T/469.

²¹⁷⁷ *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 92–3.

²¹⁷⁸ WSA, P3/H/669; P3/T/469.

²¹⁷⁹ WSA, P3/T/469.

²¹⁸⁰ *Salisbury Jnl.*, 19 Jul. 1802, 4; WSA, T/A Chippenham and Allington tithings (1848).

²¹⁸¹ WSA, A1/EA/192.

²¹⁸² TNA, RG 11/2033, 65r–67r.

²¹⁸³ *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1880 edn.), 592.

²¹⁸⁴ WSA, L8/1/31, 40–4.

boy.²¹⁸⁵ In 1882 it was advertised for sale as being a freehold estate, with residence and 51 a. of mixed pasture and arable;²¹⁸⁶ it was still described as a farm on a map of 1923, but in 1936 was designated 'Lowden Manor'.²¹⁸⁷ During the late 19th century many inhabitants kept pigs. Piggeries were recorded on a map of 1886, and a Lowden pig insurance society was established c.1888.²¹⁸⁸ Lowden Nursery is shown on a map of 1886, situated along the Sheldon road,²¹⁸⁹ but had gone by 1900.²¹⁹⁰ Another, unnamed, nursery was established further along the Sheldon road by 1912, but it is not known if this was connected with the former Lowden Nursery.²¹⁹¹ Brickworks established at Lowden by 1846 remained in 1936.²¹⁹²

In 1881 Rowden farm comprised 310 a., employing eight men and two boys.²¹⁹³ It was still there in 1910, by which time it was reduced to c.192 a., with grazing rights.²¹⁹⁴

In 1811 Lower Sheldon farm, excluding the willow beds, was leased to a tenant.²¹⁹⁵ In 1858 the farms of Lower Sheldon and Starveall were sold as one lot of 370 a. They were largely arable, which was unusual in an area known for its cheesemaking,²¹⁹⁶ and were held on a yearly tenancy. The tenant also occupied arable land, water meadows and a withy bed on the opposite side of the Corsham to Allington road from Lower Sheldon farm.²¹⁹⁷ By 1910 Lord Methuen's Lower Sheldon farm had expanded to c.420 a. and was leased to a tenant.²¹⁹⁸ Upper Sheldon farm was then owned by Sir Prior Goldney and was also tenanted; it extended to c.156 a. and included grazing rights.²¹⁹⁹

The area to the west of Chippenham followed a general trend in surrounding parishes of seeing the acreage sown with grain fall, dairying and cattle numbers remain stable or increase a little, pig numbers decline and sheep disappear from the rural economy.

Most arable assessed by the ministry of agriculture as Chippenham was grown in Sheldon, Lowden and Rowden. Here in 1866 wheat was sown on 678 a., 582 a. barley and 79 a. oats and 293 a. peas and beans; root crops of potatoes, turnips, swedes, mangolds and carrots were grown on 575 a. and brassicas on 31 a., 3004 a. were set aside as grass pasture and grass, vetches and clovers were grown as fodder on 384 a.²²⁰⁰ The livestock consisted of 266 cows, 88 other cattle, 1551 sheep, 601 lambs and 317 pigs.²²⁰¹

²¹⁸⁵ TNA, RG 11/2033, 55v.

²¹⁸⁶ Wilts. Mus. SC.6.13.

²¹⁸⁷ OS 25", sheet Wilts. XX.14 (1923 edn.); (1936 edn.).

²¹⁸⁸ OS 25", sheet Wilts. XXVI.2 (1886 edn.); *Devizes & Wilts. Gaz.*, 17 Jul. 1890, 8.

²¹⁸⁹ OS 25", sheet Wilts. XX.14 (1886 edn.).

²¹⁹⁰ OS 25", sheet Wilts. XX.14 (1900 edn.).

²¹⁹¹ OS 25", sheet Wilts. XX.14 (1912 edn.).

²¹⁹² Above, Settlement and Buildings, Lowden; OS 25", sheet Wilts. XX.14 (1886, 1936 edns.).

²¹⁹³ TNA, RG 11/2033, 61r.

²¹⁹⁴ WSA, L8/1/31, 33.

²¹⁹⁵ WSA, 473/142 (indenture of 27 May 1811).

²¹⁹⁶ WSA, 1213/28; WBR, B6403.

²¹⁹⁷ WSA, 1213/28.

²¹⁹⁸ WSA, L8/1/31, 26.

²¹⁹⁹ WSA, L8/1/31, 24.

After 1914

A significant fall in grain production had occurred by 1920 when wheat was sown on 243 a., barley 170 a., oats 161 a. and peas and beans 87 a.; root crops were grown on 93 a., grass for pasture and mowing had increased to 4,542 a., total cattle numbers had risen to 1,051, but sheep had declined to just 9 and pigs remained relatively stable at 350.²²⁰² At Allington there were 55 dairy cows in 1866 as well as 780 sheep and 62 pigs.²²⁰³

When sold at auction in 1939 Beard's farm at Allington, also known as The Grange, was a mixed pasture and arable farm of 254 a., with pasture predominating.²²⁰⁴

In 1941 Allington's agriculture was dominated by dairy farming and grazing; much of the land was grass for mowing or grazing, and most of the livestock was dairy or other female cattle, with some pigs and sheep. Fowls were commonly kept, suggesting a side-line in the commercial production of eggs or meat by some farmers. Some arable farming was practised, largely wheat, barley and oats. Potatoes were grown, but otherwise few vegetables for human consumption.²²⁰⁵ There is little evidence that women and girls worked on the farms, which suggests that dairying, a traditionally female occupation, was no longer practised, and that liquid milk was transported elsewhere.

In the later 20th century Allington's farms diversified. Lanhill was a stud farm by 1976,²²⁰⁶ and before 2000 the Bolehyde Manor estate included 80 a. of mostly permanent organically farmed pasture. Hey Wood, c.48 a. of spruce and larch, was let by the estate from the Forestry Commission on a 999-year lease from 1946, and included sporting rights for pheasant and pigeon shooting.²²⁰⁷ A small industrial and business estate was being established at Fowlswick farm by the early 1990s.²²⁰⁸

Lowden Manor was managed as a small working dairy farm in 1941, with just 12 a. of grazing grass, with dairy cattle and some poultry.²²⁰⁹ There were then also two nurseries: Lowden Nursery was growing potatoes and other vegetables for human consumption,²²¹⁰ and Sheldon Nursery was growing potatoes, tomatoes and onions.²²¹¹ At Rowden housing development had claimed most of the agricultural land by 1941, but a small dairy farm, The Croft, remained, with 35 a. of grass and grazing; in common with many dairy farms in the area it also kept fowls.²²¹²

²²⁰⁴ WBR, B4751 (sale cat. 1939).

²²⁰⁵ TNA, MAF 32/33/23/1, 9, 12, 15, 21, 24.

²²⁰⁶ WBR, B4755 (*Country Life*, 20 May 1976).

²²⁰⁷ Wilts. Mus., SC.50.14.

²²⁰⁸ planning.wiltshire.gov.uk; planning application N/90/02420/FUL (accessed 26 Sept. 2019).

²²⁰⁹ TNA, MAF 32/33/24/19.

²²¹⁰ TNA, MAF 32/33/24/23.

²²¹¹ TNA, MAF 32/33/24/8.

²²¹² TNA, MAF 32/33/24/17.

Also in 1941 Lower Sheldon was a mixed dairy or grazing and arable farm, with flocks of sheep and fowls.²²¹³ By 2017 it was a mixed dairy and arable farm, farmed by a tenant with Starveall farm. One building at Starveall farm was leased as a pottery.²²¹⁴

Chiverlins or Chiverlings farm near Sheldon (known earlier, in 1740 and 1780, as Cheverden),²²¹⁵ by 1941 was a mixed dairy and arable farm, with dairy farming predominating; it also kept a flock of fowls.²²¹⁶ On its sale in 1952 it was described as a freehold dairy and mixed farm of c.143 a. The sale included the Cotswold style farmhouse.²²¹⁷

SOCIAL HISTORY

By 1332 Allington had 14 taxpayers, though none was assessed at more than 6s. 8d., making it a poorer settlement than either Stanley or Tytherton, which were also listed separately from Chippenham.²²¹⁸ In 1525 there were 10 taxpayers in Allington, compared to 18 in Stanley and 15 in Tytherton Lucas and Kellaways.²²¹⁹ By 1662 the inhabitants of Allington were assessed for 23 properties with a total of 57 hearths. The settlement was a poor one, with 18 of these assessments being for only one or two hearths. Of the remaining assessments, four inhabitants occupied homes with between three and five hearths, and John Hulbert was assessed for a substantial property of 16 hearths.²²²⁰ By 1736 Allington was able to return two men qualified to serve on juries.²²²¹

In 1851 the tithing of Allington recorded a population of 147, with 25 households in 23 separate dwellings.²²²² By 1871 the population had decreased to 121 with 26 households in 22 dwellings, which suggests some poverty in the settlement.²²²³ The situation had worsened by 1891, by which time the population had decreased to 102, and five dwellings were uninhabited. Of the 22 dwellings occupied, 12 had fewer than five rooms.²²²⁴

Separate population and taxation statistics were not recorded for Lowden, Rowden or Sheldon, so it is not possible to make comparisons.

Little is recorded of the cultural and sporting activities that took place in Allington. In 1886 a farm there hosted a horse show for hunters, in connection with the Chippenham Agricultural Association.²²²⁵ The Duke of Beaufort's hounds hunted at Allington in 1887 and

²²¹³ TNA, MAF 32/33/23/3.

²²¹⁴ WBR, B17790 'Building record for Sheldon Farm, Sheldon, Chippenham SN14 0RQ' (Jun. 2017).

²²¹⁵ WSA, P3/S/1244, P3/S/1513.

²²¹⁶ TNA, MAF 32/33/23/8.

²²¹⁷ Wilts. Mus., SC.37.17.

²²¹⁸ *Wilts. Tax List of 1332* (WRS. 45), 101.

²²¹⁹ J. Sheail, 'The regional distribution of wealth in England as indicated in the 1524/5 lay subsidy returns,' PhD thesis, Univ. London, 1968.

²²²⁰ TNA, E 179/259/29, part 2, rot. 50.

²²²¹ *Wilts. Quarter Sessions and Assizes, 1736* (WRS. 9), 136; WSA, A1/345/100.

²²²² TNA, HO 107/1836, 584.

²²²³ TNA, RG 10/1899, 43v.

²²²⁴ TNA, RG 12/1594, 35.

²²²⁵ *Bristol Mercury*, 23 Nov. 1886, 7.

1924.²²²⁶ Sporting rights for pheasant and pigeon shooting were part of Bolehyde Manor's lease of Hey Wood from 1946.²²²⁷ Chippenham golf course was established c.1896 near Allington.²²²⁸ The course in 2019 covered land formerly in Allington tithing, as well as in the parishes of Kington St Michael and Hardenhuish.²²²⁹

A Plough Inn was recorded at Chippenham in 1745, but it is uncertain if this was at Lowden.²²³⁰ The Plough Inn, Lowden, is known by 1879,²²³¹ and it was there that the annual banquets were held for the mock mayor of Lowden. The offices of the 'mayor' and 'corporation' are known by 1875, with meetings taking place at the Plough by 1889, and mayoral banquets taking place there by 1891 and continuing to at least 1909.²²³² The banquets are believed to have died out due to food shortages in the First World War.²²³³ A mayoral brass badge of 1894 survives in Chippenham Museum.²²³⁴ The Plough Inn was still open in 1953,²²³⁵ but is believed to have closed c.1968.²²³⁶

The Rowden Arms on the Bath road in Rowden existed by 1871,²²³⁷ and in 1881 was described as a dwelling house, let as a beerhouse to the Chippenham brewers Dowding and Sons.²²³⁸ It was described as a public house in 1910,²²³⁹ and following alterations made during the period 1988–2001,²²⁴⁰ it continued to trade as a pub and restaurant in 2023.

A football team, Lowden St Peter's, is recorded in 1896.²²⁴¹ A reading room and institute was active in 1905.²²⁴²

Lowden elementary school, a church school, opened in 1896, with 70 children on the register, and a further 69 in the infants' department. By 1936 there were 213 children in the senior school and 187 infants.²²⁴³ Under the reorganisation of Chippenham's education in 1940 the school was to take infants only. The school closed in 1973, the pupils transferring to the new St Peter's Primary School at Lord's Mead.²²⁴⁴

²²²⁶ *York Herald*, 22 Jan. 1887, 12; *The Times*, 14 Jan. 1924, 6.

²²²⁷ Wilts. Mus., SC.50.14.

²²²⁸ WSA, 3010/19, G3/150/18; Wilts. Mus., SC.17.27.

²²²⁹ WSA, T/A Chippenham and Allington tithings (1848); T/A Kington St Michael (1843); T/A Hardenhuish (1840).

²²³⁰ Inf. from Chippenham Museum.

²²³¹ *Trowbridge and North Wilts. Advertiser*, 27 Sept. 1879, 8.

²²³² *Wilts. Times*, 14 Sept. 1889, 7; 7 Nov. 1891, 5; 6 Nov. 1909, 5.

²²³³ Chippenham Museum, Extract from undated *Gazette and Herald* article.

²²³⁴ Chippenham Museum, CHIYH:1978.917.

²²³⁵ *Wilts. Times*, 7 Mar. 1953, 4.

²²³⁶ Inf. from Chippenham Museum.

²²³⁷ *Bath Chronicle*, 14 Sept. 1871, 7.

²²³⁸ *Devizes & Wilts. Gaz.*, 14 Apr. 1881, 2.

²²³⁹ WSA, L8/1/31, 19.

²²⁴⁰ WSA, B11/295/1/32.

²²⁴¹ *Wilts. Times*, 12 Sept. 1896, 8.

²²⁴² *Wilts. Times*, 21 Oct. 1905, 4.

²²⁴³ WSA, F8/500/65/5/1, 15 Jun. 1896; WSA, 3435A/25 (C. R. Haslum, *A Short History of St. Peter's Church Lowden: 1886–1936*, 7).

²²⁴⁴ WSA, F8/500/65/5/1–3.

RELIGIOUS HISTORY

Allington was part of the ecclesiastical parish of Chippenham until 1855, when it was taken from that parish to form part of the new particular district of St Paul's Langley Burrell.²²⁴⁵ A mission church established at Allington in the 19th century remained in use until 1967; its history, and those of the church of St Peter in Lowden, which opened in 1886, and its replacement opened in 1968, have been considered above.²²⁴⁶

There is slight evidence of a small congregation of protestant nonconformists in Allington. A house was licensed as a nonconformist meeting place in 1706, and another building licensed in 1828.²²⁴⁷ Ebenezer Chapel, a Particular Baptist chapel, was built in 1832. By 1851 the congregation was in a declining way, with an average attendance of only 20 persons at each service, owing to the dampness of the building.²²⁴⁸ It appears to have ceased to be a place of worship by 1877.²²⁴⁹ It is shown as disused on the OS map of 1886, where it is described as a General Baptist chapel.²²⁵⁰

A house in Lowden was licensed as a nonconformist meeting place in 1845.²²⁵¹ A Primitive Methodist chapel opened there in 1855, and this congregation moved to a new and larger church on Sheldon Road in 1901.²²⁵² By 2010 the former chapel at Lowden, by then known as Chequers Yard, had been used as commercial premises for many years.²²⁵³ In 2017 approval was given to demolish the building to build five residential properties.²²⁵⁴

²²⁴⁵ WSA, 2680/23; above Chippenham, Established Church.

²²⁴⁶ Above, Chippenham, religious hist.

²²⁴⁷ *Wilts. Meeting House Certs.* (WRS. 40), 14, 119.

²²⁴⁸ TNA, HO 129/253, 52.

²²⁴⁹ *Spinke's Dir Chippenham* (1877 and 1878).

²²⁵⁰ OS 25", sheet Wilts. XX.9 (1886 edn.).

²²⁵¹ *Wilts. Meeting House Certs.* (WRS. 40), 161.

²²⁵² WSA, 1769/68; C. R. Stevens, *A Short History of 50 Years' Work and Service in Connection with the Lowden Primitive Methodist Sunday School and Church* (1907).

²²⁵³ Wilts CC planning application N/10/00297/FUL (28 Jan. 2010), <http://www.wiltshire.gov.uk/planning-applications-search> (accessed 12 Dec. 2018).

²²⁵⁴ Wilts CC planning application 16/09208/FUL (4 Oct. 2016), <http://www.wiltshire.gov.uk/planning-applications-search> (accessed 12 Dec. 2018).

OUTER CHIPPENHAM (EAST)

This account includes those parts of Chippenham ancient parish lying to the east of the town, and comprising the tithings of Nethermore, Stanley and Tytherton Lucas, as well as Cocklebury and Monkton, which lay within Chippenham parish, and Pewsham, which was extra-parochial. Manorial government is described with that of Chippenham.²²⁵⁵ Lying opposite Chippenham borough in a meander of the Avon, Cocklebury and Monkton Park have been engulfed during the 20th century in the town's expanding suburbs. The nucleated village of Tytherton Lucas and the more dispersed settlement at Stanley lie alongside and to the north of the river Marden, and identify more closely with the neighbouring parish of Bremhill, into which they were transferred in 1984. Nethermore and Pewsham were very sparsely populated, and much of their land remained so when it was transferred to Calne Without parish in 1984. Between London Road and the former canal, however, on the town's eastern outskirts, a large housing estate named Pewsham was approved in 1976 and largely built 1985–95, and this remained in Chippenham parish.²²⁵⁶

SETTLEMENTS AND BUILDINGS

Cocklebury and Monkton

Cocklebury may represent the core of a Saxon manor,²²⁵⁷ though it had no separate manorial identity subsequently. The name, first recorded in 1181, may refer to petrified cockle-shells found in the soil thereabouts,²²⁵⁸ although tares or vetch (from Old English *coccel*) is also possible.²²⁵⁹ Its boundaries to the west (Maud Heath's Causeway) and to the east (the river Avon) appear fixed. To the south Monkton park was created after the dissolution of Monkton Farleigh priory and Cocklebury extended to the river Avon. To the north the boundary is less certain, perhaps extending into an area of common grazing now represented in the name Common Farm in Langley Burrell. John Vines leased land known as Cockleborough Common within Monkton manor in 1829.²²⁶⁰

Part of Monkton manor lay to the north of Chippenham beside Cocklebury, later divided to form Monkton Park. It was recorded as Monkton in the reign of Henry VIII and referred to as Mounkton lands in 1605. It was Monckton juxta Chippenham in 1626.²²⁶¹ Within the bow of the Avon the manor included land to the north of the meadow and pasture known as England's, and extended east to include the lands of Jay's Farm and Harden's

²²⁵⁵ Above, Chippenham borough, govt. and politics, manorial govt.

²²⁵⁶ Most aspects of the boundaries, landscape, communications and population of this area are discussed above, in the general account of Chippenham parish. For 1984 boundary changes, Statutory Instruments, 1984, no. 387, N. Wilts. (Parishes) Order.

²²⁵⁷ W.J. Ford, *Survey of the Archaeology of the Chippenham Area* (1967), cited by Wilson, *Cocklebury*.

²²⁵⁸ Aubrey, *Nat. Hist. Wilts.*, ed. Britton, 45; *PN Wilts* (EPNS), 105.

²²⁵⁹ A.H. Smith, *English Place-Names Elements* (EPNS), pt. 1, 104. Note that the element appears to be found in Cocklemore brook: above, Chippenham, landscape.

²²⁶⁰ WSA, G19/992/15

²²⁶¹ *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 92–3.

Farm.²²⁶² Adjacent to the borough the manorial boundary appears to have run up the Common Slip, crossed the Causeway and ran north along the rear of the tenements as far as Timber Street where it turned west down the centre of the street and returned south down Wood Lane at least as far as Cricketts Lane.

A presentment at the manor court held in 1830 states, 'we present that two new oak posts should be put up by the Lady of this manor in Timber Street in the same place the old posts stood in order to show the boundary of this manor.'²²⁶³ Although there was a boundary between the two entities Monkton manor also held land within the borough; the manor court was held at the Angel Inn 'in and for the said manor' in 1784.²²⁶⁴ Nor was the manor wholly contained within Chippenham parish; in 1557 Leonard Wodeland was admitted to a copyhold which included 7½ a. of arable in Langley Burrell.²²⁶⁵ Fishing rights on the Avon were a significant manorial asset, extending from Chippenham bridge to 'Marley mouth'. In 1829 they were valued at £23 3s. 8d.²²⁶⁶

Monkton manor's significance dwindled as Chippenham town grew during the 19th century and municipal government was adapted. Cocklebury farm and Monkton Park were acquired for housing and amenity uses during the 1950s, and a large estate of private houses was built between 1958 and c.1980 on the former farmland north and west of the river Avon.²²⁶⁷ The Cocklebury estate, and the preservation of Monkton's riverside parkland as a public amenity, have ensured the survival of both names and identities in public consciousness.

Pewsham and Nethermore

Pewsham, an extra-parochial place until 1858,²²⁶⁸ and Nethermore, a tithing of Chippenham, lay within the medieval forest known as Chippenham or Pewsham which, as defined in 1300, extended also into the neighbouring parishes of Calne and Lacock, and the liberty of Bowood.²²⁶⁹

In 1151 the Empress Maud, and her chamberlain, Drogo, gave the Cistercian monks of Quarr (Wight) land in Pewsham forest to be the site of a 'chief abbey'.²²⁷⁰ The abbey was sited on land granted at Loxwell (known also as 'Drownfont'), in Nethermore, a name which survives in Loxwell Farm, and the brethren for at least 50 years were known as 'the monks of Chippenham in *Locheswella*'.²²⁷¹ The house remained at Loxwell for three years but then moved c.2.5 km north in 1154 to Stanley.²²⁷² The name is preserved in the partially extant

²²⁶² WSA, G19/992/15. For the eastern boundary see T/A Chippenham.

²²⁶³ WSA, 1769/27/2.

²²⁶⁴ WSA, G19/992/12.

²²⁶⁵ WSA, 192/10.

²²⁶⁶ WSA, G19/992/15.

²²⁶⁷ Above, Chippenham Borough, origins, growth and development.

²²⁶⁸ Youngs, *Admin Units*, 546.

²²⁶⁹ *VCH Wilts*, IV, 446; *VCH Wilts*, XVII, 3–5.

²²⁷⁰ For the history of Stanley Abbey see *VCH, Wilts*, III, 269–75.

²²⁷¹ *Cat. Ancient Deeds*, IV, A 8890, p.371.

²²⁷² H. Brakspear, 'Stanley Abbey', *WAM*, 35, 541–4.

Loxwell Farm, and there is archaeological settlement evidence north of the farm which may be associated with the abbey site.²²⁷³

Nethermore, ‘the lower moor or marsh’, is first recorded in 1227,²²⁷⁴ and was one of the vills which answered at 13th-century forest eyres.²²⁷⁵ It was described as a township in 1249 and 1268.²²⁷⁶ In the middle ages various Chippenham landowners had rights of feeding in Nethermore, which were gradually appropriated for their own use by the monks of Stanley abbey.²²⁷⁷

Nethermore sent a tithingman to Stanley court in 1545 and probably much earlier,²²⁷⁸ and was regarded as a separate settlement for land tax 1780–1831. It was a small settlement with four farms, the number of individual landowners remaining at three persons throughout the period.²²⁷⁹ Field names current in the 19th century suggest a mixed arable and pastoral agricultural economy.²²⁸⁰

Nethermore continued to be described as a separate tithing in 1830 from Allington and Tytherton-Stanley,²²⁸¹ but Nethermore and Stanley were considered as one tithing for the purposes of the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836.²²⁸² The population of the tithing of Nethermore in 1861 was 52, with 11 inhabited houses;²²⁸³ in 1891 its population was 36.²²⁸⁴ In the 1881 census it was part of the civil parish of Chippenham, but of the ecclesiastical parish of Christchurch, Derry Hill.²²⁸⁵ By a local government order of 1884 Nethermore transferred from Chippenham to Pewsham,²²⁸⁶ and in 1984 to Calne Without.²²⁸⁷

A United States Air Force B36 bomber crashed in Nethermore Wood in February 1953, having flown for 30 miles after the crew bailed out. There were no fatalities.²²⁸⁸

The English composer Sir Michael Tippett lived at Nocketts Hill Farm in Nethermore from 1970 until 1997, shortly before his death.²²⁸⁹

‘The wood of Pewsham’ is recorded in 1271 and later; although this may have referred originally to a discrete area of woodland, Pewsham came to be an alternative name for

²²⁷³ HER, MW145056.

²²⁷⁴ Fry (ed.), *Feet of Fines, 1195–1272*, 14; *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 109.

²²⁷⁵ *VCH Wilts*, IV, 408.

²²⁷⁶ *Crown Pleas of the Wilts. Eyre, 1249* (WRS. 16), 191; *Crown Pleas of the Wilts. Eyre, 1268* (WRS. 65), 118.

²²⁷⁷ *Recs. Chippenham*, xviii.

²²⁷⁸ WSA, 84/35.

²²⁷⁹ WSA, A1/345/101.

²²⁸⁰ T/A Chippenham: Stanley and Nethermore (1851).

²²⁸¹ *Pigot's Dir. Wilts.* (1830 edn.), 794.

²²⁸² Below, Stanley.

²²⁸³ TNA, RG 9/1284, 73v.

²²⁸⁴ *VCH Wilts*, IV, 355.

²²⁸⁵ TNA, RG 11/2033, 71.

²²⁸⁶ *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1911 edn.), 65, citing Local Government Order 16529 of 24 March 1884.

²²⁸⁷ Statutory Instruments, 1984, no. 387, N. Wilts. (Parishes) Order.

²²⁸⁸ *Portsmouth Evening News*, 7 Feb. 1953, 1.

²²⁸⁹ M. Bowen, *Michael Tippett* (1983), 37; *ODNB*, s.v. Tippett, Sir Michael Kemp, composer, accessed 17 Aug. 2024.

Chippenham forest.²²⁹⁰ The first element of Pewsham may derive from the name of a minor stream.²²⁹¹ The area of the later forest was densely occupied in the Roman period,²²⁹² but was already wooded in the 7th and 8th centuries. Edward the Confessor was known to have hunted deer, boar and hares there, and swineherds were present on the Domesday manor.²²⁹³ As perambulated in 1300, confirmed in 1330, the forest was an area comprising mostly woods and wood pasture.²²⁹⁴ Assarting took place in the medieval period, and legal cases heard in the reign of James I suggest that at least some of this was unlawful; not only had land been cleared for farming but cottages had been erected without licence. By 1618 James had decided to sell his forests of Chippenham (Pewsham) and Melksham; the resulting leasing and inclosure of forest wastes deprived the poor of their common rights to pasture pigs and cattle.

Pewsham, an extra-parochial place, was probably sparsely populated until the 17th or 18th centuries. Roadside settlement had begun to spring up along the London road causeway as it ascended Derry Hill by 1623,²²⁹⁵ so that on a map of 1773 around 20 houses were shown lining the road.²²⁹⁶ Pewsham had a population of 139 in 1801,²²⁹⁷ but this total had risen to 480 in 1841, reflecting further informal settlement on the fringes of Chippenham town outside the borough and parish boundary, and at Forest Gate and Derry Hill. The civil parish created in 1858 had a population of c.460, but this had fallen to 367 in 1881; it remained below 400, returning 376 in 1931, but then rose steeply as suburban Chippenham encroached on the parish. Pewsham as a parish was abolished in 1984, the populous western parts transferring to Chippenham, and the remainder, with Nethermore, to Calne Without.²²⁹⁸

The linear settlement along Old Derry Hill included in 2023 a former Primitive Methodist chapel, a pub (the Pewsham), and the parkland surrounding Pewsham House. There was also a small circular well house, similar to others built at the expense of the Poynder family; it was restored in 2002–3.²²⁹⁹

Stanley

The settlement at Stanley, first recorded in 1086 and referring to a stony woodland clearing, straddles the river Marden, which was negotiated by a ford in 1348, and a bridge by 1570.²³⁰⁰ Sir Edward Bayntun's commonplace book records repairs to Stanley bridge in 1669 and 1670.²³⁰¹ A house of Cistercian monks transferred from Loxwell in Nethermore in 1154 to a site at Stanley on the south bank of the Marden, and continued there until its dissolution in

²²⁹⁰ *Cal. Close*, 1268–72, 360; for the history of the forest see *VCH Wilts*, IV, 407–14; see also below, this section, econ. hist. and social hist.

²²⁹¹ *PN Wilts* (EPNS), 14.

²²⁹² S. A. Draper, *Landscape, settlement and society: Wilts. in the first millennium AD*, (Durham, 2004, PhD), 165.

²²⁹³ Draper, *Landscape, settlement and society*, 152–3.

²²⁹⁴ *VCH Wilts*, IV, 391–433, 446–7.

²²⁹⁵ *VCH Wilts*, IV, 413: 'three cottages built upon the highway'.

²²⁹⁶ *Andrews' and Dury's Map 1773* (WRS. 8).

²²⁹⁷ This para, *VCH Wilts*, IV, 355.

²²⁹⁸ Statutory Instruments, 1984, no. 387, N. Wilts. (Parishes) Order.

²²⁹⁹ C. Johns, *Wilts. Historic Buildings Trust, 1967–2007* (2007), 29.

²³⁰⁰ *PN Wilts* (EPNS), 88.

²³⁰¹ *Bayntun Commonplace Book* (WRS. 43), 26, 27.

1536.²³⁰² The area is low-lying, in the floodplains of the Avon and Marden, and it was reported in c.1200 that marshland lay between the gateway of Stanley and Chippenham.²³⁰³

Stanley was described as a township by 1268.²³⁰⁴ There were 14 inhabitants taxed in 1332,²³⁰⁵ and 66 paid the 1377 poll tax.²³⁰⁶ In the muster of 1539 Stanley was one of only two tithings in the hundred to return no able men and be assessed for harness only.²³⁰⁷ In 1525 there were 18 inhabitants liable to tax.²³⁰⁸ In 1830 it was described as the tithing of 'Tytherton-Stanley'.²³⁰⁹ The population of the tithing in 1861 was 87, which may have included the tithing of Studley. In 1871 the two tithings were enumerated together as Studley and Stanley, when both were in the ecclesiastical district of Christchurch, Derry Hill, though only Stanley was in the civil parish of Chippenham.²³¹⁰

The Wilts & Berks canal and the Calne branch railway both crossed the tithing and impinged on the settlement.²³¹¹ The canal, built in 1801, had two locks, a short aqueduct and a wharf at Stanley, where there was a junction with a short branch canal serving Calne. The railway opened in 1863, with a halt built at Stanley Bridge in 1905 for passengers and milk traffic. The line closed in 1965 and later became part of the national cycle network.²³¹²

Tytherton Lucas

Tytherton Lucas, also known as West Tytherton to distinguish it from Tytherton Kellaways and East Tytherton in Bremhill, is first recorded in 1086.²³¹³ The early form of the name is Tytherington, variously spelled, the first element deriving either from a personal name, or from a word for a young animal, or possibly a river name.²³¹⁴ The Lucas affix may refer to Luke of Tytherington, a landowner before 1249.²³¹⁵

Tytherton Lucas was described as a township by 1249.²³¹⁶ In 1332 there were 19 taxpayers,²³¹⁷ and in 1377 45 inhabitants paid the poll tax.²³¹⁸ In the muster of 1539 it returned

²³⁰² For an account of the monastery see *VCH Wilts*, III, 269–75.

²³⁰³ *Cart. Bradenstoke priory* (WRS. 35), 184 (no. 619).

²³⁰⁴ *Crown Pleas of the Wilts. Eyre, 1268* (WRS. 65), 62.

²³⁰⁵ *Wilts. Tax List of 1332* (WRS. 45), 98–9.

²³⁰⁶ *VCH Wilts*, IV, 308.

²³⁰⁷ *LeP Hen. VIII*, XIV (1), p. 302.

²³⁰⁸ Sheail, 'Regional distribution of wealth'.

²³⁰⁹ *Pigot's Dir. Wilts.* (1830 edn.), 794.

²³¹⁰ TNA, RG 9/1284, 73v; RG 10/1899, 50v.

²³¹¹ LJ Dalby, *Wilts & Berks Canal* (3rd edn. 2000), 100, 105; R. Alder, *Chippenham and the Wilts & Berks Canal* (2011), 44–5.

²³¹² M. Oakley, *Wilts. Railway Stations* (Wimborne, 2004), 121–2; C.G. Maggs, *The Calne Branch* (1990).

²³¹³ *VCH Wilts*, II, 138, 143.

²³¹⁴ *PN Wilts* (EPNS), 91–2; V. Watts, *Cambridge Dict. of English Place-Names* (2004), 634.

²³¹⁵ M. T. Clanchy (ed.), *Civil Pleas of the Wilts. Eyre, 1249* (WRS. 26), 89.

²³¹⁶ *Crown Pleas of the Wilts. Eyre, 1249* (WRS. 16), 188.

²³¹⁷ *Wilts. Tax List of 1332* (WRS. 45), 98.

²³¹⁸ *VCH Wilts*, IV, 308.

seven able men.²³¹⁹ In 1736 its inhabitants were presented for not repairing Tytherton Lane.²³²⁰ It was described as the tithing of 'Tytherton-Stanley' in 1830.²³²¹

The population of the chapelry of Tytherton Lucas was given as 82 persons in 1901. It appears to have been a relatively prosperous community, with no houses unoccupied or in multiple occupation; only two of the 15 homes had fewer than five rooms. The population of the chapelry did not include the inhabitants of Scott's mill in the ecclesiastical parish of Bremhill (though the chapelry did include Scott's Mill farm) nor the 21 inhabitants of what appears to have been designated as a separate hamlet of West Tytherton, including Broome Villa and Gastons farm, in the ecclesiastical parish of Langley Burrell.²³²²

There are several listed farmhouses, mostly with 16th-17th century features, in the village, including Gaston's, Bosmere, Curricombe, Scott's Mill, Cogswell and Manor.²³²³

LANDOWNERSHIP

Monkton

Monkton was part of the Saxon royal estate at Chippenham in 1066. Monkton Farleigh priory held the advowson of Chippenham parish from the empress Maud,²³²⁴ and began to accumulate the lands that would form the manor from a grant by Richard de Rudon during the reign of Henry III.²³²⁵ Further land grants were made to the priory in 1271,²³²⁶ 1270–81,²³²⁷ and 1400.²³²⁸ In 1294 the manor was known as Chippenham,²³²⁹ and it remained so in 1535.²³³⁰ In 1536 the profits of the manor of Monkton were worth £31 10s. 5d., of which £22 2s. 5d. was from customary tenants and tenants at will, £9 for the lease of the demesne to Thomas Wilkes, who also had the farm of Chippenham rectory, and 8s. from the profits of courts.²³³¹

Monkton was granted to Edward Seymour, 1st duke of Somerset, his wife Anne, and heirs in 1536.²³³² It remained in the family, passing to Edward Seymour 1st earl of Hertford (d. 1621), Edward Seymour Lord Beauchamp (d. 1612), William Seymour 2nd duke of Somerset (d. 1660), and Henry Seymour, Lord Beauchamp. He died in 1654 before the birth of his daughter, Elizabeth Seymour, who succeeded to the manor and married Thomas Bruce,

²³¹⁹ *Le&P Hen. VIII*, XIV (1), p. 302.

²³²⁰ J. P. M. Fowle (ed.), *Wilts. Quarter Sessions and Assizes, 1736* (WRS. 9), 124.

²³²¹ *Pigot's Dir. Wilts.* (1830 edn.), 794.

²³²² TNA, RG 13/1919, 85v, 92v–95r.

²³²³ NHLE, 1283387, 1199400, 1022445, 1283401, 1199394, 1363805; Orbach and Pevsner, *Wilts*, 742.

²³²⁴ Above, Chippenham, religious hist., patronage and endowment.

²³²⁵ *VCH Wilts*, III, 263.

²³²⁶ WSA, 192/54/4.

²³²⁷ TNA, E 326/13357.

²³²⁸ *VCH Wilts*, III, 266.

²³²⁹ *VCH Wilts*, III, 263.

²³³⁰ *Valor Eccl.* I, 143.

²³³¹ TNA, E315/398.

²³³² TNA, E328/117.

3rd earl of Elgin and 2nd earl of Ailesbury.²³³³ In 1686 Thomas Bruce sold Monkton to Sir Arthur Esmeade of Calne,²³³⁴ or to Esmeade and Thomas Goddard.²³³⁵ It may initially, or by 1690, have been divided, with Esmeade retaining the house and Goddard the land.²³³⁶

Arthur Esmeade held the manor at his death in 1706.²³³⁷ It was then administered by the executors of his minor heir, also Arthur. In 1733 one of the executors, Thomas Gamble, successfully petitioned the House of Lords that Arthur Esmeade be declared a lunatic.²³³⁸ Manor courts held 1733–48 are headed with the name of his sister and heir Joanna Esmeade as his guardian,²³³⁹ and from 1749–1760 Thomas Esmeade ‘as being committee of the estate of Arthur Esmeade esq. a lunatic’.²³⁴⁰ On Arthur's death in 1778 or 1779 the manor passed to Esmead Edridge, who had been signatory to earlier transactions, and may have already been acting as Arthur's guardian.²³⁴¹ In 1831 the manor was held by Anne Edridge, widow of Thomas Edridge of Monkton House, who married Edward Mitchell of Chippenham.²³⁴² Graham Francis Carrick Moore assumed the name Graham Francis Mitchell-Esmeade in compliance with the terms of Anne Mitchell's will, and succeeded to her estate.²³⁴³ He died in 1883 and was succeeded by his brother John Carrick Moore (d. 1898),²³⁴⁴ and by John's daughter Mary Carrick Moore, who sold the manor in parcels in 1919.²³⁴⁵ The final court was held in 1887 and the final copyholder admitted out of court in 1896.²³⁴⁶

The manor of Monkton was leased to the Bayliffe family from c.1567.²³⁴⁷ The manor house may have been a timber-framed building; no evidence survives but a later manor house was built on the site, probably by William Bayliffe in the late 17th century. On William Bayliffe's death in 1673 it consisted of six ground floor rooms, seven first floor rooms and a cheese loft,²³⁴⁸ and is shown on an estate map of 1710.²³⁴⁹ The Bayliffe family leased the house to 1733, when the Esmeade family occupied the manor house, although farmland on the estate continued to be leased by the Bayliffe family.²³⁵⁰

²³³³ For descent from Edward Seymour 1st earl of Hertford to Elizabeth Bruce (nee Seymour), see *Hist. Parl. Commons, 1604–1629*, VI, 937–8.

²³³⁴ *Recs. Chippenham*, xvii–xviii.

²³³⁵ B. G. Bayliffe, *Bayliffe: A Family History* (1988), 22.

²³³⁶ Wilts. Mus., SC.50.61.

²³³⁷ TNA, PROB 11/488/423

²³³⁸ *LJ*, XXIV, 190–8.

²³³⁹ WSA, G19/992/10.

²³⁴⁰ WSA, G19/992/11.

²³⁴¹ WSA, G19/992/12.

²³⁴² *Jackson's Oxford Jnl*, 30 Jul. 1831, 3.

²³⁴³ *Burke's Landed Gentry*, (1894 edn.), 1423.

²³⁴⁴ WSA, G19/992/14.

²³⁴⁵ WSA, 1409/15/109.

²³⁴⁶ WSA, G19/992/14.

²³⁴⁷ Bayliffe, *Bayliffe*, 21.

²³⁴⁸ WSA, P3/B/626.

²³⁴⁹ Bayliffe, *Bayliffe*, 22.

²³⁵⁰ Bayliffe, *Bayliffe*, 22

In 1910 Monkton House with the surrounding parkland of Monkton Park, an estate of c.16 a., was occupied by Miss Carrick Moore's tenant, H. R. B. Coventry,²³⁵¹ who with his wife, Lady Muriel Coventry, purchased it at the 1919 sale.²³⁵² A plan by the borough council in 1919 to acquire Monkton Park as a form of war memorial had been dropped, despite the memorial committee's support, on the grounds of cost and a feeling that a 'pleasure ground' was inappropriate.²³⁵³ However, in 1954 following the deaths of the Coventrys, the estate, by then comprising the house, a lodge and 32 a. of land, was purchased by the council for £7,000 in order to dedicate the parkland as a public open space.²³⁵⁴

Monkton House in its present form dates from the 18th century. A lead rainwater head and pipe dated 1757 has been assumed to indicate the date of the building.²³⁵⁵ The pipe may be earlier than the current house, which is said to have been converted from the 17th century house by Esmeade Edridge in the late 18th century, by raising the roof to create an additional storey and remodelling the front into a more fashionable Georgian style.²³⁵⁶ The house is on an L-shaped plan and is built of limestone ashlar stone, having a slate roof with ashlar ridge stacks. It is grade II listed.²³⁵⁷ The house, by then in a state of disrepair, was sold in 1985 and bought by developers who converted it to apartments, and the former stable block into terraced housing.²³⁵⁸

Nethermore

Land in Nethermore was granted to Stanley Abbey in 1227.²³⁵⁹ Not at this stage considered a separate manor it was administered from Stanley manor until granted to Sir Andrew Bayntun after the Reformation.²³⁶⁰ Its tenants paid £4 2s. 4d. rent in 1539.²³⁶¹ Andrew Bayntun obtained a licence to alienate Nethermore and other lands in 1537, which was confirmed by an exemplification in 1586,²³⁶² and he passed them to his brother Edward Bayntun. It had a tithingman who made presentments to the Stanley manor court in 1547,²³⁶³ and was first assessed as a separate tithing for lay taxation in 1549.²³⁶⁴ Bayntun sold Nethermore to Henry Sharington in 1560.²³⁶⁵

²³⁵¹ WSA, L8/1/31, 19.

²³⁵² WSA, G19/155/7; *Wilts. Times*, 10 May 1919, 7; 26 Feb. 1938, 15.

²³⁵³ WSA, G19/100/6.

²³⁵⁴ *Wilts. Times*, 9 Jan. 1954, 8; 18 Aug. 1956, 2; 7 Dec. 1956, 4; below, this section, social hist.

²³⁵⁵ NHLE, 1267930 [OS: ST 92556 73294].

²³⁵⁶ Bayliffe, *Bayliffe*, 23.

²³⁵⁷ NHLE, 1267930 [OS: ST 92556 73294].

²³⁵⁸ *Wilts. Mus.*, SC.50.61.

²³⁵⁹ Fry (ed.), *Feet of Fines, 1195–1272*, 14 (f. 12 no. 6).

²³⁶⁰ TNA, E 315/398; SC 6/HenVIII/3958. *L&P Hen VIII*, XII (1), 143, no. 311 (33).

²³⁶¹ *Valor Eccl.* II, 114.

²³⁶² WSA, 473/243.

²³⁶³ WSA, 84/35.

²³⁶⁴ TNA, E 179/198/265.

²³⁶⁵ WSA, 2664/1/2A/497

Nethermore descended from Henry Sherington through his third daughter, Olive, married first to John Talbot and secondly to Robert Stapleton.²³⁶⁶ Olive and Robert both signed the court minutes of the last surviving court in 1600.²³⁶⁷ It then descended with Lacock to John and Olive's son and grandson both called Sherington Talbot, then to Sherington II's son John Talbot.²³⁶⁸ It passed to John's daughter Anne's son John Ivory who took the name Talbot (d. 1772).²³⁶⁹ He was succeeded by his son, also John Talbot (d. 1778).²³⁷⁰ Nethermore remained part of the Talbot, later Fox-Talbot, Lacock estate until the 1940s or later.²³⁷¹

Pewsham

The medieval forest was managed by a keeper. Nicholas de Barbeflet was keeper of the forest in 1238.²³⁷² Geoffrey de Middleton held the office of keeper until his death in 1290 when it was granted to Alexander de Buckingham, constable of Devizes Castle.²³⁷³

Two local knights were appointed as regards of the forest, John Kayleway of Kellaways and Robert Keynel of Yatton Keynell, in 1285.²³⁷⁴ Crown-appointed bailiffs managed the Forest from the 13th century.²³⁷⁵ There were also verderers whose ability and judgement was sometimes questioned.²³⁷⁶ These appointments were made by the gift of the king's mother in 1290,²³⁷⁷ and the forest was generally held by the queen (as in 1307,²³⁷⁸ 1316,²³⁷⁹ 1319,²³⁸⁰ 1331,²³⁸¹ 1344.²³⁸²). The forest eyres sat irregularly from the 12th to 15th centuries, often at intervals of several decades.²³⁸³

Grants were made from the rents of the Pewsham and Melksham Forests towards the maintenance of Devizes castle throughout the 13th century,²³⁸⁴ and in the 14th century.²³⁸⁵ In 1371 the castle received £48 18s. 0¾d. from the forests of 'Chippenham, Melksham and Pewsham' including £1 15s. 4d. for waste anciently leased, £1 17s. 3d. from John Gluet for 145 a. of waste and £3 19s. 1d. from the abbot of Stanley for 211 a. all in Pewsham, and £21 19s.

²³⁶⁶*Hist. Parl. 1558–1603*, ii, 371–2.

²³⁶⁷WSA, 2664/1/2B/29

²³⁶⁸See VCH, *Worcs*, III, 207, which wrongly claims that John Talbot died childless.

²³⁶⁹*Hist. Par. Commons, 1715–1754*, II, 170.

²³⁷⁰*Hist. Par. Commons, 1715–1754*, II, 462.

²³⁷¹e.g. WSA, 2664/1/2F/2/37 (1944/5).

²³⁷²*Cal. Close*, 1237–1242, 104.

²³⁷³*Cal. Close*, 1288–1296, 503

²³⁷⁴*Wilts. Inq p.m. 1242–1326*, 165.

²³⁷⁵*Cal. Close*, 1227–1231, 3, 13 & 490. *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1338–1340*, 104.

²³⁷⁶*Cal. Close*, 1318–1323, 66, *Cal. Close*, 1327–1330, 128; 1381–1385, 330; 1396–1399, 158; and frequent examples.

²³⁷⁷*Cal. Pat.* 1281–1292, 503.

²³⁷⁸*Cal. Pat.* 1301–1307, 554.

²³⁷⁹*Cal. Pat.* 1307–1316, 498.

²³⁸⁰*Cal. Pat.* 1317–1321, 270 & 324.

²³⁸¹*Cal. Pat.* 1330–1334, 55.

²³⁸²*Cal. Pat.* 1343–1345, 270

²³⁸³VCH *Wilts*, IV, 393–5.

²³⁸⁴*Cal. Lib.* 1245–1251, 377 & 379, *Cal. Lib.* 1251–1260, 113, 154, 181.

²³⁸⁵*Cal. Pat.* 1374–1377, 403.

0¼*d.* from the rents of assarts and purprestures throughout the forest.²³⁸⁶ The link between the forest and castle was reinforced when the two forests and Devizes castle were granted to Sir Nicholas Sharnesfeld in 1380,²³⁸⁷ and Sir John Lovel in 1381,²³⁸⁸ and all three were granted to Sir Edmund Hungerford in 1443.²³⁸⁹ They were returned to the queen in 1452,²³⁹⁰ but appear to have been poorly managed, resulting in a commission to enquire into dilapidations in 1461.

Edward Bayntun, who had acquired Nethermore from Stanley abbey and sold it to Henry Sharrington in 1560,²³⁹¹ felled numerous timber trees during his tenure, prompting an inquisition into depletion of the forest in 1570.²³⁹² Sharrington's father had acquired Chippenham hundred in 1553, so the rump of Chippenham forest was almost entirely surrounded by lands in which the family had an interest.²³⁹³ Sharrington spent £11 10s. restoring the old Lodge in 1572 as well as £8 13s. 4*d.* constructing the new lodge and £9 3s. 5*d.* on new enclosures and a pound.²³⁹⁴

Disafforestation of Chippenham forest began in 1607, when various tenants purchased their holdings in a process finally completed in 1623 by the sale of the remaining lands to the Marquis of Anglesey.²³⁹⁵ Bowood liberty was created from land emparked c.1618 and, like the settlements at Mannings Hill, Cuff's Corner and Buck Hill, was thought to contain many squatters' cottages.²³⁹⁶ The creation of Bowood liberty again reduced the forest, by 1000 a., and the remainder was entirely within Chippenham hundred.²³⁹⁷ Bowood, formerly an extra-parochial part of the forest, was at this time annexed to Calne parish.²³⁹⁸

In 1610 enclosure commissioners found 76 cottages erected on assarted land bordering Pewsham forest.²³⁹⁹ Enclosures were made by the royal farmer of herbage and pannage from 1612, excluding tenants from around one third of the forest, and deforestation began in 1619.²⁴⁰⁰ At Blackmore and Chippenham 2,419 a. were leased to the lords and tenants of surrounding manors.²⁴⁰¹ Forest rights were held by manors some distance away; in the early 17th century part of the forest was held by the lord of Compton Bassett manor.²⁴⁰² In 1623 the arrears of rents on these leases were granted in fee farm, together with the profits of

²³⁸⁶ TNA, E 101/139/4.

²³⁸⁷ *Cal. Fine*, 1377–1383, 182.

²³⁸⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1381–1385, 101.

²³⁸⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1441–1446, 168.

²³⁹⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1446–1452, 559.

²³⁹¹ WSA, 2664/1/2A/497

²³⁹² TNA, E 101/139/5.

²³⁹³ *Cal. Pat.* 1547–1553, v.5, 98.

²³⁹⁴ TNA, E 101/139/6.

²³⁹⁵ *VCH Wilts*, IV, 412–14; for the Anglesey sale, *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1619–23, 524

²³⁹⁶ *VCH Wilts*, XVII, 116–20.

²³⁹⁷ *WAM*, 41, 410–11.

²³⁹⁸ *VCH Wilts*, XVII, 29

²³⁹⁹ TNA, E 178/4577.

²⁴⁰⁰ This para. based on B. Sharp, *In contempt of all authority: rural artisans and riot in the west of England 1586–1660* (1980), 91–3.

²⁴⁰¹ TNA, E 178/4577.

²⁴⁰² *Cal. SP Dom.* 1623–1625, 526, 569.

woods and timber, to Christopher Villiers, 1st earl of Anglesey, as part of his grant.²⁴⁰³ The enclosure was unpopular and in 1631 resulted in riots partially inspired by earlier disturbances in Braydon Forest.²⁴⁰⁴ Following deforestation a dispute arose relating to the areas within the former forest liable to pay tithes to the vicar of Chippenham.²⁴⁰⁵ The depositions emphasised the rights of tenants to pasture pigs and cattle within the forest, but rejected any notion that the lands had formerly been assessed for tithes.

Pewsham passed from Christopher Villiers to his widow, Elizabeth, from whom it passed to his daughter Anne and was subsequently divided between his grand-daughters Elizabeth and Mary.²⁴⁰⁶ Mary married Edward Cary of Torre Abbey, Devon, a Catholic whose possessions were listed in the survey of papist estates 1717.²⁴⁰⁷ Mary received the Pewsham estate and Elizabeth inherited the estates in Melksham Forest; she married James Touchet, Lord Audley and earl of Castlehaven. The property belonged, by purchase, to Mr Ludlow Bruges in 1857.

The Pewsham estate that descended to Mary and Edward Cary comprised 900 a., almost all leased to tenants, the largest holdings being 271 a. belonging to Great Lodge and 145 a. at Little Lodge. Land use is not stated aside from a 52 a. coppice, fishing rights on the Avon and several cottages having been created out of the waste. Edward Cary was succeeded by his son George (d. 1759)²⁴⁰⁸ and then by his son George (d. 1806)²⁴⁰⁹ who sold the estate in 1791 to James Montagu (d. 1797) of Lackham. He then sold it in lots, but retained some parts of the estate and was succeeded by his nephew George Conway Montagu.²⁴¹⁰ The Lodge farms and the majority of woodland were sold to William John Lysley (d. 1873), owner in 1840; small properties made up the remainder.²⁴¹¹ Lysley was succeeded by his son, William Gerald Lysley (d. 1887), and his son William Lowther Lysley, who died at Pewsham House in 1944.²⁴¹²

Pewsham House, approached by a long driveway from the foot of Old Derry Hill, was designed in 17th-century style by C. E. Ponting, who exhibited his plans at the Royal Academy in 1892.²⁴¹³ It was built for W. L. Lysley, who remained in occupation in 1927.²⁴¹⁴ The house was granted grade II listed status in 1986 prior to being converted into flats.

Stanley

²⁴⁰³ TNA, SP 38/12.

²⁴⁰⁴ *Acts of PC*, 1630–1631, 383.

²⁴⁰⁵ TNA, E 134/15Chas2/East13 and E 134/15Chas2/Mich32.

²⁴⁰⁶ *Complete Peerage*, III, 88.

²⁴⁰⁷ Devon RO, QS/76/33–35.

²⁴⁰⁸ *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1871 edn.), I, 214.

²⁴⁰⁹ TNA, PROB 11/1439/140.

²⁴¹⁰ *Burke's Landed Gentry*, (1837 edn.), II, 53–4.

²⁴¹¹ WSA, T/A Pewsham.

²⁴¹² *Kelly's Dir. Wilts*, (1875, 1895 edns.); Ancestry (accessed 29 Dec. 2023).

²⁴¹³ NHLE, 1239933, Pewsham House, Old Derry Hill (accessed 14 Sept. 2022)

²⁴¹⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Wilts*, (1927 edn.), 96.

Stanley was held by Selewin in 1066 and by Azelin from Waleran the hunter in 1086, when it comprised one hide and three virgates with 10 a. meadow and with six households.²⁴¹⁵ The Cistercian abbey established at Loxwell in 1151 removed to Stanley in 1154.²⁴¹⁶ In 1198 Richard I granted the abbey additional lands at Stanley and elsewhere.²⁴¹⁷ In 1227 Henry III confirmed the grant of 1198 and also granted *Alfletmore* or *La More*, the moor on the south side of the abbey gate.²⁴¹⁸ Acquisitions included ½ carucate at Nethermore in Pewsham from Walter FitzWilliam and 7 virgates at Stanley from Godfrey of Stanley.²⁴¹⁹ Annexed to the manor were a messuage by the bridge in Chippenham and a burgage plot.²⁴²⁰ In 1290 a licence was granted for the abbot of Stanley to enclose their wood called *La More* within the forest of Chippenham.²⁴²¹

Property in Chippenham was managed with the manor including a messuage recently built in 1486 between the tenements of St. John and of the chantry of St. Mary, and a barn and garden in *Narwelane* by the Avon,²⁴²² and a burgage granted by William Norris.²⁴²³ The Chippenham rents included 2s. from St Mary's Chantry for freehold land.²⁴²⁴ Successive abbots were lords of the manor of Stanley until the last abbot, Thomas Calne (also called Morley), who saw the abbey dissolved in February 1536.

In 1546 Stanley manor was part of a general licence granted to Thomas Seymour and Andrew Bayntun to alienate in fee manors, including Bremhill, Chippenham, Rowden and several others to John Warneford and Anthony Pen.²⁴²⁵ In January 1537 it was granted, with other Stanley Abbey manors, to Edward Bayntun.²⁴²⁶ In 1537 an agreement between Edward Bayntun and Richard Snell of Kington St Michael allowed the latter to take payments of £25 yearly from various rents within the manor of Stanley to satisfy a debt of £153.²⁴²⁷

At Stanley manor meetings of the court were recorded 1545–57, 1565–1612, 1615–38, 1651–7, 1735–82 and 1783–1879.²⁴²⁸ The court leet and view of frankpledge took place annually each October 1735–99. In some years this was combined with the court baron. A separate court baron was held in some years.²⁴²⁹ The manor court's main business was admittance to copyholds and recording the death of tenants. Issues concerning the lack of a stocks, land encroachments, dilapidated roads, bridges and public nuisances were

²⁴¹⁵ *Domesday*, 186.

²⁴¹⁶ Above, this section, Settlements and Buildings, Pewsham and Nethermore; for the history of Stanley Abbey see *VCH, Wilts*, III, 269–75.

²⁴¹⁷ *Cal. Chart.* 1226–57, 38.

²⁴¹⁸ *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 185; *Cal. Chart.* I, 37–38; *WAM* 15, 294–6.

²⁴¹⁹ Fry (ed.), *Feet of Fines, 1195–1272*, 14 (f. 12, nos. 6, 16).

²⁴²⁰ *Cal. Chart.* 1226–57, 38–9.

²⁴²¹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1281 – 1292, 374.

²⁴²² *Cat. Ancient Deeds*, IV, A. 9356, p.415.

²⁴²³ *Cat. Ancient Deeds*, IV, A. 9382, p.418.

²⁴²⁴ TNA, SC 6/HenVIII/3958.

²⁴²⁵ *L&P Hen. VIII*, XXI (1), No.40.

²⁴²⁶ *L&P Hen. VIII*, XII (1), No. 311 (33).

²⁴²⁷ *Cat. Ancient Deeds*, V, A.12740, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/ancient-deeds/vol5> (accessed 8/2/2022).

²⁴²⁸ WSA, 84/35, 473/52, 473/53, 473/61, 122/1; BL, Add Mss 37270.

²⁴²⁹ 1734, 1741, 1744, 1747, 1748, 1752 and 1767.

occasionally presented. A tithingman was annually appointed until the late 18th century. From 1755 one or two haywards were also selected.²⁴³⁰ There were no courts held 1800–17, and thereafter manor courts were held only sporadically until the last in 1879.²⁴³¹

The courts were held at Stanley in the name of Andrew Bayntun from 1549,²⁴³² but he alienated the manor to his brother Edward Bayntun in 1560,²⁴³³ rather than transferring it to his daughter, Anne, and her husband William Anstie. Anne and William however claimed some rights over her father's property which in 1576 they ceded to Edward Bayntun.²⁴³⁴ It passed through the male descendants of Edward Bayntun until the death of John Bayntun without issue in 1716, and then to his sister, Anne Rolt (d. 1734).²⁴³⁵

Anne passed the estate to her son Edward, who took the name Bayntun-Rolt (d. 1800) and was made a baronet in 1762. He was succeeded by his son Sir Andrew Bayntun-Rolt (d. 1816).²⁴³⁶ On Andrew's death, the baronetcy became extinct, and the estate passed to his daughter Maria Bayntun-Rolt, who had married Revd. John Starky in 1799. It then descended to her son, John Edward Andrew Bayntun-Starky (d. 1843).²⁴³⁷ He was succeeded by his son John Bayntun-Starky (d. 1872), a child at the time of his father's death.²⁴³⁸ John Bayntun-Starky accrued large debts, and the estate was sold to Sir Gabriel Goldney (d. 1900) by June 1863.²⁴³⁹ Starky was later found bankrupt.²⁴⁴⁰

In 1845 the Starky Estate in Bremhill was assessed at 382 a.²⁴⁴¹ In 1919 the Stanley estate, comprising 700 a. was sold by Frederick Hastings Goldney to Henry, Marquis of Lansdowne (d. 1927).²⁴⁴² It was likely sold along with the Bremhill estate by the Lansdowne family in 1947.

In 1292 a licence was granted for the abbot and convent of Stanley to dig stone in the king's quarry in the forest of Pewsham to build the houses of their abbey and a wall round about.²⁴⁴³ The abbot's house stood for some time after the Dissolution, occupied by William and Anne Anstie.²⁴⁴⁴ Brakspear suggested that the principal Abbey buildings were demolished shortly after their acquisition by Edward Bayntun to provide materials for his house at

²⁴³⁰ WSA, 473/59; 473/61.

²⁴³¹ WSA, 473/61.

²⁴³² WSA, 84/35.

²⁴³³ ODNB, s.v. Bayntun Family, gentry, accessed 14 April 2022.

²⁴³⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1575–1578, p. 96, 629; p. 161, 1228.

²⁴³⁵ TNA, PROB 11/552/6; *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1858 edn.), II, 1139; see also ODNB, s.v. Bayntun Family, gentry, accessed 14 April 2022.

²⁴³⁶ Anne Rolt m. 1st Edward Rolt, 2nd Lord James Somerville. TNA, PROB 11/552/6; *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1858 edn.), II, 1139; TNA, PROB 11/1388/131; ODNB, s.v. Bayntun Family, gentry, accessed 14 April 2022.

²⁴³⁷ *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1858 edn.), II, 1139.

²⁴³⁸ TNA, PROB 11/1975/277.

²⁴³⁹ The Stanley court book lists John Bayntun-Starkey as Lord of the Manor in 1861; after that in 1863 Gabriel Goldney is noted. Bankruptcy proceeding were commenced against Bayntun-Starkey in 1868. WSA, 473/61; J. Badeni, *Wilts. Forefathers*, 20. See also, *Salisbury & Winchester Jnl*, 1 Feb. 1868, 8.

²⁴⁴⁰ *Devizes & Wilts. Gaz.* 13 Feb. 1868.

²⁴⁴¹ WSA, T/A Bremhill, 1848.

²⁴⁴² *Wilts. Times*, 15 Mar. 1919; J. Badeni, *Wilts. Forefathers*, 20.

²⁴⁴³ *Cal. Pat.* 1281–1292, 484.

²⁴⁴⁴ WAM, 3, 37.

Bromham,²⁴⁴⁵ although he believed that a dwelling was retained at least until 1588.²⁴⁴⁶ In 1612 the demesne included a decayed house and a water-powered fulling mill, a grist mill, an ox house, a hay house, a pair of stocks, three gardens and an orchard.²⁴⁴⁷ The names of meadows including the Grubbed Park and the Lawns suggest former uses. By 1665 Aubrey reported that 'there is now scarce any *vestigium* of church or house'.²⁴⁴⁸

Tytherton Lucas

In 1066, Wulfifu and Aelfgifu held West Tytherton, now Tytherton Lucas, as two manors paying geld for four hides. In 1086 William Duras held it from Alvred.²⁴⁴⁹ A separate area of two hides, identified only as Titherton, was held by Alric in 1066 and by Borel in 1086 from Edward of Salisbury.²⁴⁵⁰

Land at Tytherton was acquired by Mathew Turpin which was taken into the king's hand in 1223,²⁴⁵¹ and returned to him by 1272.²⁴⁵² Another holding was in the hands of a tenant of the Tregoz family, Luke of Tytherton, as a knight's fee. Luke's son, Richard, died without heirs leaving his brother Adam Lucas to inherit. Adam also held by a knight's fee, in 1243, of Robert Tregoz, father of John Tregoz.²⁴⁵³ In 1281, two tenants were recorded: Nicolas Lucas, the descendant of Adam who still held for one knight's fee of John Tregoz, of the honour of Ewyas, and Roger Burel, who held a tenement in Tytherton of the Earl of Lincoln.²⁴⁵⁴

In 1303 Reynold Blauncpayn and others remised and quitclaimed to John Turpin, possibly the son of Mathew, one messuage, one carucate of land, 6 a. of meadow, 4 a. of woodland and 12s. rent in Tytherton Lucas for the sum of £40.²⁴⁵⁵ In the same year Blauncpayn, his wife Alice, and Joan, the daughter of Nicholas Lucas, remised and quitclaimed to Roger Bubbe for £20 one messuage, 60 a. of land, 3 a. of wood and 12s. rent, in Tytherton Lucas.²⁴⁵⁶ When he died in 1300, Roger Bubbe held one fee.²⁴⁵⁷ This was the original Tregoz estate.²⁴⁵⁸ Land in Tytherton Lucas was also held by the priory of Monkton Farleigh,

²⁴⁴⁵ WAM, 35, 546–7.

²⁴⁴⁶ WAM, 35, 547.

²⁴⁴⁷ WSA, 122/1.

²⁴⁴⁸ Aubrey, *Topog. Colln.* ed. Jackson, 113.

²⁴⁴⁹ *Domesday*, 181.

²⁴⁵⁰ *Domesday*, 177.

²⁴⁵¹ *Fine Roll* C60/21, 8 Henry III (1223 – 1224), Membrane 10 8/8 (29 October 1223).

²⁴⁵² *Cat. Ancient Deeds*, III, 441–51.

²⁴⁵³ Fees, p. 725, (cf. Exc. Rot. Fin. II, p. 478); M. T. Clanchy (ed.), *Civil Pleas of the Wilts. Eyre 1249* (WRS. 26), 89 (no. 258).

²⁴⁵⁴ *Collectanea*, (WRS. 12), 81, pp. 89, 117; citing - Fees, p. 725; Exc. Rot. Fin. II, p. 478.

²⁴⁵⁵ *Feet of Fines Edw. I-II* (WRS. 1), 48 (no. 6).

²⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 51 (no. 30).

²⁴⁵⁷ *Cal. Inq. Misc.* 1300, p. 453 603, 25 Jan, 29 Edw I. Wilts Inq 28 June 29 Edw I Tuderynton Lucas; *Cal. Pat.* 1405–1408, 438–9; *Cal. Close*, 1405–1409, 455.

²⁴⁵⁸ John Tregoz. Writ 6 September 28 Edward I writ of certiorari de feodis etc.

assessed at 1s. 6d. in 1291,²⁴⁵⁹ and by 1310 the abbey had acquired a further 8 a. from Roger Bubbe.²⁴⁶⁰ The vill of Tytherton Lucas was held jointly by William Percy and John Turpin in 1316.²⁴⁶¹

In 1374 one fee was held by Roger Bubbe, and in 1378 a grant of reversion was made from William Talbot and Cecily his wife to Michael Skillyng, John Monk, clerk, and others. The estate was held for life by Eleanor, widow of Thomas Bubbe, who had inherited from Cecily. It comprised, half of six messuages, one carucate of land, 16½ a. meadow, 7 a. wood and rents of 7½ d. and 1½ lb. wax.²⁴⁶² The inheritance of Cecily, and the right of John Monk was still acknowledged. It included land and rents in Tytherton Lucas.²⁴⁶³ In 1428 John Laghere held half a fee in Tytherton Lucas that had formerly been held by Thomas Bubbe for half a knight's fee.²⁴⁶⁴

In 1453 four messuages, two carucates, 20 a. meadow, 40 a. pasture and 10 a. wood lying in Tytherton Lucas and Tytherton Kellaway were remised and quitclaimed by Wibert Charleton, Thomas Hasard and Alice his wife to William Beauchamp, Henry Long and others.²⁴⁶⁵

In 1537 the lands in Tytherton Lucas formerly of Stanley abbey were transferred to the queen consort, Jane Seymour.²⁴⁶⁶ They were granted to Edmund Bayntun in the same year, confirmed in 1586.²⁴⁶⁷ In May, 1576, Robert Lounge and his wife Barbara alienated their lands in Tytherton Lucas, then described as a manor, to Edward Hungerford and Henry Blauchard of Hungerford for £22 13s. 4d.²⁴⁶⁸ There is no evidence that a court baron was held and the tithingman of Tytherton Lucas attended the Chippenham hundred court.²⁴⁶⁹

In the 1660s Aubrey believed that a manor named Tytherton Lucas was owned by the Stokes and Barrett families in partition.²⁴⁷⁰ The Barrett family held property in Tytherton Lucas by the 1540s.²⁴⁷¹ It descended in the male line through John, Thomas, another Thomas, to Hugh Barrett (d. 1627),²⁴⁷² whose son Nicholas (will pr. 1610), predeceased him and the estate instead passed to his grandson, Edward Barrett (will pr. 1644).²⁴⁷³

The Stokes family owned an estate in Tytherton Lucas from the late 16th until the early 18th century. Edmund Stokes was succeeded by his son Christopher Stokes (will pr. 1607).²⁴⁷⁴

²⁴⁵⁹ *VCH Wilts*, III, 281; *Tax Eccl.* 1926.

²⁴⁶⁰ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* XIII, fn. 50, No. 57. p. 44.

²⁴⁶¹ *Feudal Aids*, V, 208.

²⁴⁶² *Feet of Fines 1377–1509* (WRS. 41), 3.

²⁴⁶³ *Feet of Fines 1377–1509* (WRS. 41), 3.

²⁴⁶⁴ *Feudal Aids*, V, 252.

²⁴⁶⁵ *Feet of Fines 1377–1509* (WRS. 41), 130.

²⁴⁶⁶ *L&P Hen. VIII*, XII (1), Jan. to May 1537, No. 311 (33), Grants, Jan. 1537, 29 Jan. 28 Hen. VIII.—*S.B. Pat. p.* 3, m. 6; *L&P Hen. VIII*, XIV (1), Jan. to July 1539

²⁴⁶⁷ WSA, 473/243.

²⁴⁶⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1575–1578, 139, no. 937.

²⁴⁶⁹ TNA, SC 2/208/64–79.

²⁴⁷⁰ Aubrey, *Topog. Colln.* ed. Jackson, 116.

²⁴⁷¹ W. Harvey, *Visitation of Wiltshire, 1565* (1897), 2; *Two Sixteenth Century Taxation Lists* (WRS. 10), 28.

²⁴⁷² *Wilts. Visitation Pedigrees 1623* (ed. G.D. Squibb), 9.

²⁴⁷³ *Wilts. Visitation Pedigrees 1623* (ed. G.D. Squibb), 10; WSA, P3/B/285; TNA, PROB 10/641/103.

²⁴⁷⁴ WSA, P3/2Reg/15B.

The property passed down the male line through Thomas (d. 1654), Edward (d. 1667/8) and Abjohn (will pr. 1712).²⁴⁷⁵ In his will, Abjohn Stokes left one shilling to his son, also called Abjohn, bequeathing the estate to his son-in-law, John Mereweather.²⁴⁷⁶ Thereafter it was subject to a lawsuit between Abjohn Stokes and John Mereweather.²⁴⁷⁷ Later, John Townsend (d. 1725), a soap-maker from London, purchased the property and passed it to his grandson, Townsend Andrews (d. 1737).²⁴⁷⁸ Andrews became an M.P. and left the estate to his wife, Catherine Andrews.²⁴⁷⁹

The Crook family were established in Tytherton Lucas by 1662 when large properties in the village were those of Edward Croke, with ten hearths, Edward Stokes with seven and John Townson with six hearths.²⁴⁸⁰ By the mid-18th century Thomas Crook, gentleman, owned a number of properties in Tytherton Lucas.²⁴⁸¹ These lands and properties were extended by his nephew, Thomas Crook, who inherited the majority of his estate. He was succeeded by his son, also Thomas (d. 1822), who acquired some properties from the Andrews family.²⁴⁸² In 1795 Thomas Crook sold the major part of the estate that he had inherited in Tytherton Lucas, which comprised the farms of Curricomb, Coleman's, Coggeswell's, Woodman's and Stoke's. It was predominantly a dairy holding, of some 450 a. of land, primarily meadow and pasture, with 70 a. of arable and 16 a. of orchards.²⁴⁸³ In his will he specified all remaining land and property should be sold to benefit his surviving daughters.²⁴⁸⁴ His house and remaining lands, c.100 a. were sold in April 1822.²⁴⁸⁵ In 1838–9 Ann Crook still owned 54 a. within the parish.²⁴⁸⁶ By 1780 there was no one dominant landowner in Tytherton Lucas.²⁴⁸⁷ In 1838–9 Samuel William Bythesea owned 235 a. and three others between 50 a. and 150 a.²⁴⁸⁸

None of the three principal landowners named in a directory of 1880 were resident in the parish.²⁴⁸⁹ Sir John Neeld of Grittleton was styled lord of the manor. The other principal owners were William Bythesea of Freshford near Bath, Frank Langton of London and William Porter of Honiton, Devon.

ECONOMIC HISTORY

²⁴⁷⁵ *Wilts. Visitation Pedigrees 1623* (ed. G.D. Squibb), 190; TNA, PROB 11/171/417

²⁴⁷⁶ TNA, PROB 11/530/281.

²⁴⁷⁷ *Wilts. N&Q*, 6, 99–107.

²⁴⁷⁸ *Wilts. N&Q*, 6, 171–76; *Hist. Parl. 1715–1754*, i. 414.

²⁴⁷⁹ TNA, PROB 11/683/132.

²⁴⁸⁰ TNA, E 179/259/29, pt. 2, rot. 48.

²⁴⁸¹ TNA, PROB 11/835/338.

²⁴⁸² TNA, PROB 11/1115/227; See WSA, A1/345/103, Tytherton Lucas land tax assessments, 1780, 1788.

²⁴⁸³ *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 22–24 Jun. 1795, issue 5901, 4.

²⁴⁸⁴ TNA, PROB 11/1654/210.

²⁴⁸⁵ *Salisbury & Winchester Jnl*, 1 Apr. 1822.

²⁴⁸⁶ *Wilts. Tithe Apportionments* (WRS. 30), 34.

²⁴⁸⁷ WSA, A1/345/103.

²⁴⁸⁸ *Wilts. Tithe Apportionments* (WRS. 30), 34.

²⁴⁸⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1880 edn.).

Medieval

The three Domesday holdings, at Tytherton and Stanley, had between them six ploughlands and 26 a. of meadow. Two had doubled in value between 1066 and 1086: Stanley from 15s. to 30s., and the smaller Tytherton manor from 10s. to 20s.²⁴⁹⁰

Evidence of medieval ridge and furrow has been found around Cocklebury and Rawlings farms,²⁴⁹¹ and 12th- and 13th-century acquisitions by Bradenstoke priory refer to acres of meadow in the upper and lower marshes of an East field.²⁴⁹² Lands in Cocklebury were alienated to Farleigh Priory in 1392,²⁴⁹³ and it was managed as part of the manor of Monkton. Presumably these lands at Cocklebury were included in the valuation of the Priory's lands within the manor of Chippenham in 1539.²⁴⁹⁴ John Steere in 1409 gave acres of arable and meadow land in Cocklebury and elsewhere to the vicar of Chippenham which then became part of the glebe.²⁴⁹⁵ Cocklebury must have had its own openfield system, as William Pike in 1450 leased 2.5 a. in the fields of Sheldon and Cocklebury.²⁴⁹⁶

Bradenstoke also acquired small pieces of land in Stanley between c.1200 and 1255; field names include Lotteburn and Brechdych by the river, a meadow in Goley and a croft called Acrehangere, near which in 1255 was a vaccary.²⁴⁹⁷ A deed of 1378 describes what was perhaps a typical holding in Stanley: common pasture for all kinds of animals, with half of six messuages, one carucate of land, 16½ a. meadow and 7 a. wood, and rents of 7½*d.* and 1½*lb.* wax in the same place and in Tytherton Lucas.²⁴⁹⁸ Evidence from later field-names confirms the impression that in Stanley and Tytherton land use in the medieval period was mixed arable, meadow and pasture, probably with meadow and pasture predominating.²⁴⁹⁹

In 1535 the Stanley abbey demesne was valued at £19 8s. 4*d.* per annum, rents of customary tenants £39 15s. 8*d.* and perquisites of court 13s. 4*d.*²⁵⁰⁰ A survey compiled the following year gives the value of the demesne as £30 10s., less £10 13s. 11*d.* owed to the priors of (Monkton) Farleigh and Bradenstoke and payments to officers, a further £2 was received for the farm of the mill.²⁵⁰¹ The clothman Nicholas Affernewell held the lease of Stanley tucking mill in 1537 the remainder of which he left to Agnes his wife.²⁵⁰² The demesne consisted of 35 a. arable, 280 a. pasture and 105 a. meadow.²⁵⁰³ Additional lands at Nethermore held by

²⁴⁹⁰ *Domesday*, 177, 181, 186.

²⁴⁹¹ *Land east of Chippenham, Wiltshire: an archaeological evaluation* (Barratt Strategic, 2009), 32–3. <https://legacy-reports.cotswoldarchaeology.co.uk/content/uploads/2014/08/2715-Land-East-of-Chippenham-Eval-09055-complete.pdf>

²⁴⁹² *Cart. Bradenstoke priory* (WRS. 35), 60–1 (nos. 128–32).

²⁴⁹³ WSA, 1332/3/2/16/1

²⁴⁹⁴ *Valor Eccl.* II, 143

²⁴⁹⁵ *Wilts. Glebe Terriers* (WRS. 56), 89–90 (no. 164).

²⁴⁹⁶ WSA, 335/156

²⁴⁹⁷ *Cart. Bradenstoke priory* (WRS. 35), 56–7 (nos. 112–15).

²⁴⁹⁸ *Feet of Fines 1377–1509* (WRS. 41), 3 (no. 14).

²⁴⁹⁹ WSA, T/A Chippenham: Tytherton Lucas (1839); Stanley and Nethermore (1851).

²⁵⁰⁰ *Valor Eccl.* II, 114.

²⁵⁰¹ TNA, E 315/398.

²⁵⁰² TNA, PROB 11/27/240.

²⁵⁰³ TNA, E 315/398.

customary tenants were worth £4 2s. 4d., while the annual value of those at Chippenham was £4 2s. 10d.²⁵⁰⁴

At the Dissolution the abbey was assessed as having 40s. of young wood less than 20 years old, 70 a. old wood, a park containing 200 a. and 400 a. common.²⁵⁰⁵ Stanley had 21 customary tenants in Stanley tithing in 1549, with a further four tenants holding parts of the demesne, six in Nethermore and nine in the lands in Chippenham that fell within the manor's administration.²⁵⁰⁶ At the Dissolution the grange at Loxwell in Pewsham forest was leased to William Morley at £9 per annum.²⁵⁰⁷

Pewsham forest provided oak for Devizes castle and firewood for the hearth of the constable of Devizes; dry and leafless oaks provided lime for building work.²⁵⁰⁸ Large numbers of fallow deer were hunted to supply the royal court with venison. Pannage, the right to turn pigs out into the forest, was practiced, and in 1263 tenants of Stanley abbey in Nethermore were granted a royal charter allowing them free pasture of sheep, pigs and other animals.

During the 12th and 13th centuries manors were granted out of the forest to lay and ecclesiastical lords. Rowden, Sheldon and Chippenham manors were granted out of the forest in the 12th or early 13th centuries, but the tenants retained rights to grazing and underwood. In the mid-13th century there was a strong association with Chippenham manor as Walter de Godarvill was granted rights and resources within the forest.²⁵⁰⁹ In 1290 the abbot of Stanley received a licence to enclose a wood called 'la More' out of the Forest,²⁵¹⁰ and in 1303 he was granted 210 a. of waste within the Forest.²⁵¹¹

The lords and the tenants of several local manors had rights of pasture within the forest. In 1289 a dispute arose between the lord of Chippenham and the abbot of Stanley relating to the boundaries of their rights to fell timber within the Forest.²⁵¹² The abbot had constructed a pig house (*porkariam*) by 1289,²⁵¹³ and had been granted 211 a. waste during the reigns of Henry II and Henry IV.²⁵¹⁴ In 1300 Edmund Gascelyn held a discrete wood within the Forest together with his manors of Chippenham and Sheldon.²⁵¹⁵

Numerous surrounding manors, individuals and institutions held rights to pasture and resources within the Forest. The abbot of Stanley quarried stone,²⁵¹⁶ which was also supplied, together with oaks, for construction at Devizes.²⁵¹⁷ A licence to extract iron ore was

²⁵⁰⁴ TNA, E 315/398; SC 6/HenVIII/3958.

²⁵⁰⁵ TNA, DL 43/9/32.

²⁵⁰⁶ WSA, 84/35.

²⁵⁰⁷ TNA, E 315/398.

²⁵⁰⁸ For this and following paras, see also *VCH Wilts*, IV, 407–14, where a fuller account of the forest is given.

²⁵⁰⁹ *Cal. Close*, 1234–1237, 288, 297.

²⁵¹⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1281–1292, 374.

²⁵¹¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1301–1307, 205.

²⁵¹² *Cat. Ancient Deeds*, IV, A6577.

²⁵¹³ *Cat. Ancient Deeds*, IV, A6577.

²⁵¹⁴ WSA, 473/217

²⁵¹⁵ *Cal Inq. p. m.*, V, p.14–15.

²⁵¹⁶ *Cal. Close* 1231–1234, 96 & 99.

²⁵¹⁷ *Cal. Close* 1234–1237, 45, 62, 104, 108, 115 & 122.

granted to the abbot in 1294.²⁵¹⁸ The Crown made grants of timber for numerous building projects including the castle at Winchester,²⁵¹⁹ the church at Lacock,²⁵²⁰ and the castle at Marlborough,²⁵²¹ and there were also regular grants of deer and venison.²⁵²²

1600–1800

A survey of Monkton made in 1615 names six free tenants, four leaseholders and 20 customary tenants including Gabriel Goldney and Henry Bayliffe who also held the farm of the demesne.²⁵²³ Some of the customary holdings appear to have been consolidated by 1682 when there were an unspecified number of freeholders, five leaseholders, including one who held 12 cottages which had not paid any rent for 200 years, and 14 copyholders including Henry Golding and Henry Bayliffe.²⁵²⁴

William Bayliffe's inventory of 1673 includes details of a mixed farm, growing wheat, barley, oats and pease, as well as keeping sheep and dairy cattle.²⁵²⁵ In 1682 there were 400 a. of leasehold held by Elizabeth Bayliffe, the majority of which probably represented the demesne, 100 a. of other leasehold divided between three tenants and 192.5 a. held by copyholders; of these only four were below 4 a. and the remainder, ranging from 9 a. to 42 a., appear to be agricultural holdings.²⁵²⁶ The 20 cottages 'which never paid rent to us for 200 years' and the unspecified freehold tenants may have been part of the urban area adjacent to Chippenham borough. A terrier of Chippenham glebe in 1671 implies that there were still strips of openfield arable cultivation in Cacklebury at that date, though also closes and a common pasture.²⁵²⁷

In 1682 Edward Stevens was farming at Nethermore on a farm of mixed arable and pasture. He had cattle, probably dairy cattle as he also had a cheese loft with racks and cheeses, and the inclusion in the inventory of horses with harness and plough harness, and wheat, oats and barley in his barn, demonstrate arable use. Three pigs were kept, probably largely for domestic consumption.²⁵²⁸

Farming in Stanley in the 17th century was mixed; evidence of inventories of the period suggests cheese production, but sheep and some pigs were also kept, and wheat and other crops grown.²⁵²⁹ In 1612 the single mill building contained both a fulling mill and a grist mill and was held with the demesne by Henry Bayntun.²⁵³⁰ There were 49 copyholders, 35 leaseholders and no freeholders. A series of rentals of the demesne lands of Stanley, 1659–79,

²⁵¹⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1292–1301, 101.

²⁵¹⁹ *Cal. Close* 1231–1234, 111.

²⁵²⁰ *Cal. Close* 1231–1234, 162.

²⁵²¹ *Cal. Lib.* 1226–1240, 129.

²⁵²² e.g. *Cal. Close* 1231–1234, 179, 211, 236, 360, 518.

²⁵²³ WSA, 9/1/192.

²⁵²⁴ WSA, 212b/1740.

²⁵²⁵ WSA, P3/B/626.

²⁵²⁶ WSA, 212b/1742.

²⁵²⁷ *Wilts. Glebe Terriers* (WRS. 56), 89–90 (no. 164).

²⁵²⁸ WSA, P3/S/631.

²⁵²⁹ WSA, P3/H/710; P3/B/983.

²⁵³⁰ WSA, 122/1.

provides many field names.²⁵³¹ While some suggest present or former cultivation (Goosey Field, Fryers Butts, Little Ground), most imply pasture and meadowland (Aldermoor, Millham, Dunley and Nedland Meads) with some enclosures (West Closes, Close Woods). The existence of common land may be preserved in the name Stanley Common farm.²⁵³²

Chippenham vicarage held glebe land in Tytherton Lucas, described in three terriers. That of 1608 listed 12 a. of arable at Tytherton Lucas, herbage of the churchyard, and commons with the other inhabitants of the settlement for two kine in one year and three in the next, with ½ a. of meadow.²⁵³³ Although a small settlement, in 1624 Tytherton Lucas was able to support a carpenter, and by 1660 a glover was working in the village.²⁵³⁴ There were 14 a. of glebe land in the terrier taken in 1671, of which 9 a. was described as tilled land; the remainder may have been meadow or pasture. The beast leaze on the common remained unchanged at two beasts in one year and three in the next, although there was additionally a 10 sheep leaze that was not part of the 1608 terrier.²⁵³⁵ The beast and sheep leaze remained unchanged in the terrier of 1704.²⁵³⁶ By the early 18th century farming in the settlement was mixed arable and pastoral. Dairy cows were kept, and cheese produced. By 1713 one farmer was growing clover, in addition to the more usual wheat, barley, oats and pease.²⁵³⁷

Scott's Mill farm is known by 1731.²⁵³⁸ Curricomb farm was recorded as Currycombe in 1773.²⁵³⁹ In 1795 the estate comprising the farms of Curricomb, Coleman's, Coggeswell's, Woodman's and Stoke's was predominantly a dairy holding, with stalls for 200 head of cattle, and some 450 a. of land, primarily meadow and pasture, with 70 a. of arable. There were 16 a. of orchards. The rivers Avon and Marden ran through the estate, with fishing rights on the Avon, and the proposed canal from Bath to Abingdon was to run through the estate. The soil was described as being chiefly a fine loam on gravel. There was common of pasture in the meadows of Humburn and Westham.²⁵⁴⁰

Thomas Gardiner (1628-1702), who farmed at Tytherton Lucas, kept a commonplace book in which he included accounts, details of taxes, weather and other agricultural concerns.²⁵⁴¹ The book was continued after his death by his descendants, intermittently to 1753.

1800–1914

Two farms were given the name Cocklebury in the 1829 manorial survey.²⁵⁴² Having ceded land to Monkton park, Cocklebury was bisected by the Great Western Railway in 1841.

²⁵³¹ *Bayntun Commonplace Book* (WRS. 43), 41–4, 50–1 (no. 101).

²⁵³² OS 25", sheet Wilts. 26.3 (1886 edn.).

²⁵³³ *Wilts. Glebe Terriers* (WRS. 56), 89 (no. 163).

²⁵³⁴ WSA, P3/C/135; P3/G/177.

²⁵³⁵ *Wilts. Glebe Terriers* (WRS. 56), 89–90 (no. 164).

²⁵³⁶ *Wilts. Glebe Terriers* (WRS. 56), 90 (no. 165).

²⁵³⁷ WSA, P1/B/803; P1/M/390.

²⁵³⁸ WSA, 1213/23.

²⁵³⁹ *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 92–3.

²⁵⁴⁰ *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 22–24 Jun. 1795, 596.

²⁵⁴¹ WSA, 811/216; summarised in *WN&Q*, 7, 60–5, 100–5, 147–52.

²⁵⁴² WSA, G19/992/15

Despite this and its proximity to Chippenham's expanding suburbs, the area remained largely agricultural and undeveloped until the second half of the 20th century.²⁵⁴³

The construction of the Wilts & Berks canal across the Pewsham claylands from 1794 required locally-produced bricks, and brickyards were opened close to its line at Forest Gate. It was estimated that one million bricks would be required for the canal from the Pewsham brickyards.²⁵⁴⁴ A brickmaker is listed in an 1875 directory, and two brickyards appear on a map surveyed in 1899.²⁵⁴⁵ The canal promoted other trades also, including in 1895 a boatbuilder and coal dealer.²⁵⁴⁶

Farming in Stanley by 1850 remained mixed, but with meadow and pasture predominating. In that year arable totalled 62 a., meadow 138 a. and pasture 110 a.²⁵⁴⁷ By 1881 there were four main farms at Stanley: Stanley Pound farm of 143 a., New Leaze farm of 165 a., Maidments farm of 197 a. and Stanley Common farm (with Godwins farm) of 193 a. Between them the farms employed 11 men and five boys.²⁵⁴⁸ Also in the tithing of Stanley, but in the ecclesiastical parish of Christchurch, Derry Hill, was Forest Gate farm, a dairy farm of 165 a. employing three men and one boy; a female servant living with the family was described as a dairymaid.²⁵⁴⁹ Stanley Bridge farm was listed in the census with the chapelry of Tytherton Lucas.²⁵⁵⁰

In 1791 a Tytherton farmer advertised his drill and horse hoe for use by neighbouring farmers.²⁵⁵¹ Arthur Young, agriculturalist, visited Thomas Crook's farm at Tytherton Lucas in 1798. Young described a prosperous holding, largely pasture with beef and dairy cattle. The farm also reared pigs and sheep, but arable farming had not met with success.²⁵⁵² An advertisement of 1805 advertised at Tytherton Lucas two stallions at stud, horses for sale, and grazing for mares and foals.²⁵⁵³

In 1838–9, there were nine landowners in Tytherton, including Samuel William Bythesea with 235 a., Anne Crook with 54 a., Michael Theobald Langton with 80 a. and Susan Ludlow with 149 a. There were 17 a. of glebe. The main tenants were William Crump, occupying 152 a. and Catherine and Mary Crook who occupied 149 a. Tytherton Lucas was a largely pastoral farming community; there were 493 a. of meadow, and only 56 a. of arable. Orchards comprised slightly over 14 a. There was common land of 34 a.²⁵⁵⁴ The common land at Tytherton Lucas was enclosed in 1856.²⁵⁵⁵

²⁵⁴³ A. R. Wilson, *Cocklebury: a farming area and its people in the Vale of Wiltshire* (1983), 79–104

²⁵⁴⁴ R. Alder, *Chippenham and the Wilts & Berks Canal* (2011), 14–15.

²⁵⁴⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Wilts* (1875 edn.); OS 25", sheet Wilts. XXVI.3, 7 (1900 edn.).

²⁵⁴⁶ *Kelly's Dir. Wilts* (1895 edn.).

²⁵⁴⁷ *Wilts. Tithe Apportionments* (WRS. 30), 34.

²⁵⁴⁸ TNA, RG 11/2033, 72v, 74v.

²⁵⁴⁹ TNA, RG 11/2033, 75v.

²⁵⁵⁰ TNA, RG 11/2033, 76r.

²⁵⁵¹ *Bath Chronicle*, 10 Mar. 1791, 1.

²⁵⁵² A. Young (ed.), *Annals of Agriculture*, 31 (1798), 80–3.

²⁵⁵³ *Bath Chronicle*, 11 Apr. 1805, 1.

²⁵⁵⁴ *Wilts. Tithe Apportionments* (WRS. 30), 34; WSA, T/A Chippenham: Tytherton Lucas (1839).

²⁵⁵⁵ WSA, A1/542/30 (enclosure award, 1856).

The assessments by the Ministry of Agriculture in the late 19th and 20th centuries found a general decline in arable, a slight increase in dairying and other cattle, pig numbers remaining stable or falling slightly and sheep disappearing altogether.²⁵⁵⁶ Stanley was assessed separately to Bremhill in 1866, had 259 dairy cows and 202 pigs, but only 119 sheep as much of the land was turned over to wood pasture.²⁵⁵⁷ In Nethermore there were 51 dairy cows in 1866 as well as 59 sheep and 103 pigs.²⁵⁵⁸ At Tytherton Lucas there were 167 dairy cows in 1866 as well as 447 sheep and 57 pigs.²⁵⁵⁹ At Avon pastoral agriculture was dominant in 1866 with 33 dairy cows, 187 sheep and 66 pigs;²⁵⁶⁰ just 37 a. were sown with grains.²⁵⁶¹ In 1880 grains were sown on 39 a. and there were 30 cows and 30 pigs, but there were no longer any sheep.²⁵⁶² At Pewsham there were 182 dairy cows in 1866 as well as 110 sheep and 86 pigs.²⁵⁶³ There was also a significant amount of land given over to arable including 70 a. sown with wheat, 4 a. barley and 37 a. oats. By 1920 the area sown with grains had fallen to 40 a., root crops were grown on 82 a., dairy cows had increased in number to 319, pig numbers were stable at 84, but only 5 sheep remained.²⁵⁶⁴

In 1881 Currycomb farm, which included the uninhabited White's farm, was a farm of 600 a. overseen by a bailiff and employing six men and two boys. Manor farm was unoccupied, and no estimate was given of its acreage. Stokes farm, of 100 a., was a dairy farm employing two agricultural labourers and two women. Field farm of just 30 a. employed one boy.²⁵⁶⁵ Scott's (Scots) Mill farm had been a small farm of 61 a. in 1837; it was still a farm of 61 a. in 1881, employing three men.²⁵⁶⁶

By 1891 the population numbered 39.²⁵⁶⁷ A craftsman was working with withies in the 1890s.²⁵⁶⁸ The economy was still dominated by farming in 1911, the land remaining almost entirely pastureland.²⁵⁶⁹ In 1910 there were six farms of over 50 a. in Tytherton Lucas: Manor farm, Scott's Mill farm, Bosmere farm, Stokes farm, Curricombe (Curry Coombe) farm and Gaston (Gassons) farm, and Field farm, a small farm of just over 41 a.²⁵⁷⁰

After 1914

During the 20th century suburban Chippenham encroached on the land that had comprised Cocklebury, Monkton and the western parts of Pewsham.²⁵⁷¹ The former forest area of Nethermore and Pewsham remained remote, and was in 2023 a patchwork of mixed

²⁵⁶⁵ TNA, RG 11/2033, 78r.

²⁵⁶⁶ WSA, 1213/23; TNA, RG 11/2033, 77r.

²⁵⁶⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1895 edn.), 241.

²⁵⁶⁸ Account book in the possession of Dr C. Kent, seen 26 Sept. 2019.

²⁵⁶⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1911 edn.), 258.

²⁵⁷⁰ WSA, L8/1/31, 45–8.

²⁵⁷¹ Above, Chippenham Borough, Origins, growth and development.

farmland, extensive woodland and isolated farmsteads. Stanley and Tytherton Lucas continued as small agricultural communities, somewhat detached from Chippenham and accessible only by minor lanes.

The 1910 valuation for Nethermore included just under 174 a. of woodland, and a small quarry.²⁵⁷² By 1915 Nethermore farm was part of the Talbot family's Lacock estate.²⁵⁷³ During the First World War it was a mixed farm of arable, pasture and woodland.²⁵⁷⁴

Stanley Estate was sold by auction in 1919, by which time there were three farms of over 100 acres: Hither, Middle and Pound farms. The land of all three farms was described as mainly pasture, and all the tenants were on yearly tenancies.²⁵⁷⁵ In 1941 River Bridge and The Wharf farms were described in the survey of that year as being situated in Stanley; both were largely pastoral.²⁵⁷⁶ Stanley Brickworks, abutting the main London Road, was also part of the 1919 sale.²⁵⁷⁷ The brickworks were shown on the OS map of 1886, but were disused by 1924.²⁵⁷⁸

Curricombe farm was advertised for sale by auction in 1914, when it was described as a dairy farm of 127 a. in Tytherton Lucas and Langley Burrell, let on an annual tenancy. The sale catalogue noted the nearby Stanley Bridge Halt on the railway line as convenient for the disposal of dairy produce and stock. The farmhouse was described as stone built with stone tile roof.²⁵⁷⁹

The predominance of pastoral farming continued to be indicated in Tytherton Lucas farm sales. In 1917 Gaston farm was described as a freehold dairy or grazing farm of 68 a.,²⁵⁸⁰ and in 1935 Stokes farm as a dairy or grazing farm of c.102 acres, in the same family for nearly 150 years.²⁵⁸¹ Scott's Mill farm was also largely pastoral, being advertised for sale in 1955 with 56 a. of pasture and 13 a. of arable.²⁵⁸² In 1941 both Field farm and Gastons farm were primarily dairy or grazing farms, though like many similar farms in the area poultry was kept. Some wheat, potatoes and other crops were grown.²⁵⁸³

Since the Second World War farming across the area has become increasingly arable, with some equestrian use.²⁵⁸⁴ Whereas in 1935 almost all businesses listed in a trade directory were farms, apart from motor garages along the London road,²⁵⁸⁵ by 2023 a variety of small businesses offering a range of services not specific to their immediate area were trading from private houses and former farm buildings.

²⁵⁷² WSA, L8/1/36, 3.

²⁵⁷³ WSA, 2664/1/2G/90, ff. 4, 101.

²⁵⁷⁴ WSA, 2664/1/2G/90, ff. 4, 101, 102, 280, 339, 585, 590, 613.

²⁵⁷⁵ WSA, 1409/15/158.

²⁵⁷⁶ TNA, MAF 32/30/12/10, 52.

²⁵⁷⁷ WSA, 1409/15/158.

²⁵⁷⁸ OS 25", sheet Wilts. 26.3 (1886 edn.), (1924 edn.).

²⁵⁷⁹ Wilts. Mus., SC.20.4; SC.30.23.

²⁵⁸⁰ WSA, A1/542/30 (sale catalogue, 1917).

²⁵⁸¹ Wilts. Mus., SC.35.77.

²⁵⁸² WSA, 1409/15/173.

²⁵⁸³ TNA, MAF 32/33/24/21; 32/30/12/12.

²⁵⁸⁴ Inf. from Dr C. Kent, 26 Sept. 2019.

²⁵⁸⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Wilts* (1935 edn.).

Mills

In 1086 there were two parts of a mill at West Tytherton, otherwise Tytherton Lucas, rendering 40*d*.²⁵⁸⁶ Also recorded in 1086 was the fourth part of a mill at Tytherton, rendering 20*d*; this could have been in either East or West Tytherton.²⁵⁸⁷

Stanley Abbey owned a fulling mill in 1189, the earliest known such mill in Wiltshire, but it is unclear where this was situated. The abbey owned mills on the river Marden: Scott's mill, Stanley mill, and a mill within the abbey precincts, which appears to have been a combined fulling and grist (corn) mill.²⁵⁸⁸ The mill within the abbey precincts may have operated into the 17th century.²⁵⁸⁹ An 'Abbey Mill' with stocks (used for fulling cloth) and an 'Abbey Grist-mill' were both part of the Bayntun estates in the mid-17th century..²⁵⁹⁰ Scott's mill and Stanley mill, both in the parish of Bremhill, continued as working mills into the 20th century and remained part of the former Stanley Abbey estates held by the Bayntun and later Goldney families.

Scott's mill

Scott's mill, a fulling mill close to the boundary with Tytherton Lucas, was by 1554 in the possession of Andrew Bayntun and let to John Scott, clothier. The mill remained in the hands of the Bayntun family in 1649, and the Scott family of clothiers remained its tenants. It was described as a fulling mill, by which time the property included a messuage with garden and orchard, pasture and meadow, and common of pasture for 15 sheep and one horse.²⁵⁹¹ George Scott, clothier, was occupying the mill in 1698, when it was described as being in the parish of Bremhill.²⁵⁹² The Scott family continued as tenants of the mill until 1714, when it was leased to Thomas Crook, gentleman of Tytherton Lucas, and husband of Dorothy, widow of George Scott of Stanley, clothier.²⁵⁹³ John Tanner of Stanley, drugget maker, leased the mill in 1744, and the mill was held by Edward Tanner, presumably a relation, in 1780.²⁵⁹⁴ It was still described as a fulling mill in 1806.²⁵⁹⁵

The mill was later let to Richard Palmer, whose property was put up for sale in 1833, and it is suggested that trade at the mill came to an end in that year.²⁵⁹⁶ However, if it did, it may have revived later in the century. By 1886 it was a corn mill, and a miller was listed at Scott's mill in a trade directory entry of 1889 for Tytherton Lucas.²⁵⁹⁷ A farmer and flour

²⁵⁸⁶ *Domesday*, 181.

²⁵⁸⁷ *Domesday*, 177.

²⁵⁸⁸ Brown, *Stanley Abbey*, 40, 47; K. H. Rogers, *Wilts. and Som. Woollen Mills* (1976), 89.

²⁵⁸⁹ Brown, *Stanley Abbey*, 40, 47.

²⁵⁹⁰ WSA, 1221/, survey of the manor of Stanley, 1612; *Bayntun Commonplace Book* (WRS. 43), 41–50; Brown, *Stanley Abbey*, 59, 63.

²⁵⁹¹ WSA, 1259/22.

²⁵⁹² WSA, P1/S/633; P1/3Reg/160.

²⁵⁹³ WSA, 473/258, 75B, 77.

²⁵⁹⁴ WSA, 473/258, 95; Rogers, *Wilts. and Som. Woollen Mills*, 89–90; WSA, A1/345/102.

²⁵⁹⁵ Rogers, *Wilts. and Som. Woollen Mills*, 90.

²⁵⁹⁶ Rogers, *Wilts. and Som. Woollen Mills*, 90.

²⁵⁹⁷ OS 25", sheet Wilts. XX.15 (1886 edn.); *Kelly's Dir. Hants., Wilts., Dors and IoW* (1889), 1037.

millers were living at Scotts Mill farm in Tytherton Lucas, on the other side of the river Marden, in 1901.²⁵⁹⁸ It was described as a water mill in 1911, when it was presumably still grinding corn,²⁵⁹⁹ but was disused by 1924.²⁶⁰⁰ By the 1970s the mill building was ruinous, and it was demolished in 1987.²⁶⁰¹

Stanley mill

The fulling mill later known as Stanley Mill was by 1545 in the possession of Andrew Bayntun and leased to John Wilcox.²⁶⁰² The Wilcox family remained tenants to at least 1620, when the mill was leased by Sir Edward Bayntun to William Webb, clothier of Bromham. John Webb of Bromham, clothier, was leasing the mill by 1644.²⁶⁰³

From c.1660 the mill passed into the direct control of the Bayntuns.²⁶⁰⁴ They continued to lease it to tenants at least to 1831.²⁶⁰⁵ Fulling appears to have ceased sometime after 1727, and the mill converted to a grist mill. It was described as a grist mill in the Stanley estate sale of 1919, by which time it was owned by the Goldney family, and let to tenants.²⁶⁰⁶ It was disused by 1924.²⁶⁰⁷

The mill was later converted to residential use. Stanley Mill house is a Grade II listed building of 19th century date incorporating earlier work. It is built of ironstone rubble with small blocks of ashlar, and a slate roof. There is a 20th century extension.²⁶⁰⁸ The mill buildings are Grade II listed, of late 18th or early 19th century date, and of ironstone rubble with a stone slate roof.²⁶⁰⁹

SOCIAL HISTORY

It is likely that Cocklebury, Tytherton and Stanley, ranged along the northern edge of the later Chippenham parish, were discrete communities in the later Saxon period; Stanley and Tytherton are recorded as Domesday manors.²⁶¹⁰ Their medieval tenurial history, dominated by Monkton Farleigh and Stanley abbeys, ensured them a level of autonomy from Chippenham and from each other. The scattered population of the areas within the forest, in Nethermore and Pewsham, were subject to the usual regulation and forest governance, including encroachments on the waste by assarting.²⁶¹¹

²⁵⁹⁸ TNA, RG 13/1919, 94r.

²⁵⁹⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1911), 258.

²⁶⁰⁰ OS 25", sheet Wilts. XX.15 (1924 edn.).

²⁶⁰¹ WSA, 1409/15/176; Rogers, *Wilts. and Som. Woollen Mills*, 90; NHLE, 1283401 [OS: ST 95054 73557].

²⁶⁰² WSA, 473/258, 3, 30.

²⁶⁰³ WSA, 473/258, 37–8, 44.

²⁶⁰⁴ Rogers, *Wilts. and Som. Woollen Mills*, 89; WSA, A1/345/102.

²⁶⁰⁵ WSA, A1/345/102.

²⁶⁰⁶ WSA, 1409/15/158.

²⁶⁰⁷ OS 25", sheet Wilts. 26.4 (1924 edn.).

²⁶⁰⁸ NHLE, 1022439 [OS: ST 95656 72611].

²⁶⁰⁹ NHLE, 1283427 [OS: ST 95675 72603].

²⁶¹⁰ Above, this section, landownership.

²⁶¹¹ *VCH Wilts*, IV, 410–14; and see below, this section.

In the late 13th century Cocklebury contained at least one inhabitant, Simon of Cocklebury, who had sufficient status to witness a grant to Stanley Abbey.²⁶¹² The assessors in 1332 and 1334 considered it to be large enough to be a taxable vill for the fifteenth and tenth, although it had the lowest assessment in Chippenham hundred,²⁶¹³ with only ten inhabitants paying the 1377 poll tax.²⁶¹⁴ Like the nearby and adjacent vills Hardenhuish and Langley Burrell, Cocklebury received no reductions to the tax in the fifteenth century,²⁶¹⁵ it was still considered large enough to be assessed for the Tudor and Stuart subsidies, but not for the hearth tax.

In 1086 Stanley paid geld for one hide and three virgates of land. There was land for one plough and 10 a. of meadow.²⁶¹⁶ There were three villeins and three bordars, suggesting a population of c.30 persons.²⁶¹⁷ Before 1066 it had been worth 15s., by 1086 this sum had risen to 30s.²⁶¹⁸ If each tenant household contained five persons, then the total population would have been c.35 persons.²⁶¹⁹

Stanley was regarded as a separate settlement by 1268, when a woman was attacked in Chippenham Forest and later died at Stanley.²⁶²⁰ It was listed separately from Chippenham in the 1332 tax list. It listed 14 tax payers.²⁶²¹ Of these, three were assessed at between 8s. 8¾d. and 7s. 2¾d., the remainder at 4s. 6¾d. or less.²⁶²² It was again listed separately from other settlements in 1545, when it returned five taxpayers, and again in 1576 when it returned eight taxpayers, including one man described as 'gentleman'.²⁶²³ By 1662 the inhabitants of Stanley were assessed for 30 properties with a total of 66 hearths. Most properties were of three hearths or fewer, though five had between four and six hearths.²⁶²⁴ It was still regarded as a separate settlement in 1736, when it returned two men to serve as jurors for the hundred of Chippenham.²⁶²⁵

In 1780 the largest landowner was Sir Edward Bayntun, who held all the major properties in the settlement. With the exception of a parcel of woodland, all were let to tenants. There were ten smaller proprietors. In the following years the Bayntun family appear to have brought up further land in Stanley, which was let to tenants. By 1831 the Bayntun holdings were in the hands of the Revd Dr Starkey, and the number of small proprietors had

²⁶¹² WSA, 473/32

²⁶¹³ *Wilts. Tax List of 1332* (WRS. 45), 99; TNA, E 179/196/10.

²⁶¹⁴ *VCH Wilts*, IV, 307.

²⁶¹⁵ TNA, E 179/196/106 (1442), E 179/196/112 (1445), E 179/196/120 (1453) E 179/196/136 (1487).

²⁶¹⁶ *Domesday*, 186.

²⁶¹⁷ *Domesday*, 186; E. Miller and J. Hatcher, *Medieval England: rural society and economic change 1086–1348* (1978), 29.

²⁶¹⁸ *Domesday*, 186.

²⁶¹⁹ Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England*, 29.

²⁶²⁰ *Crown Pleas of the Wilts. Eyre, 1268* (WRS. 65), 126.

²⁶²¹ *Wilts. Tax List of 1332* (WRS. 45), 98–9.

²⁶²² *Wilts. Tax List of 1332* (WRS. 45), 98–9.

²⁶²³ *Two Sixteenth Century Taxation Lists* (WRS. 10), 27, 55.

²⁶²⁴ TNA, E 179/259/29, part 2, rot. 47.

²⁶²⁵ *Wilts. Quarter Sessions and Assizes, 1736* (WRS. 9), 42.

decreased to three individuals and one corporate proprietor, the firm of Messrs Crook at Stanley mill.²⁶²⁶

In 1850 there were four landowners in the tithings of Stanley and Nethermore, two of whom owned above 50 a. Three tenants in the tithings occupied holdings of over 50 a.²⁶²⁷

In the 1910 valuation, sporting rights were including with Pound and Hither farms and certain other holdings in Stanley.²⁶²⁸

In 1086 Tytherton Lucas (West Tytherton) had two villeins, one cottar and four bordars, who were of lower status than the villeins or cottars.²⁶²⁹ If each tenant household contained five persons, then the total population would have been c.35 persons.²⁶³⁰ A further entry for Tytherton, which could be either West or East Tytherton, recorded two slaves and three cotsets, or cottars.²⁶³¹

In 1332 there were 19 taxpayers at 'Tudryntone', which may include Tytherton Kellaways and East Tytherton as well as Tytherton Lucas.²⁶³² One man was assessed at 7s. 4¼d., the remainder at 5s. 10¾d. or less.²⁶³³ In 1545 three persons were assessed for the benevolence tax.²⁶³⁴

In 1650 Henry Bailye of Tytherton Lucas, being destitute of any place of habitation for himself and his family, was given permission to erect a cottage.²⁶³⁵ In 1689 there were 13 ratepayers in Tytherton Lucas, including the rector. One ratepayer was described as a gentleman and another as esquire.²⁶³⁶ Not all were necessarily resident in the village; the rector, if he lived in the parish, would have been resident in the vicarage in Chippenham.

In 1662 the inhabitants of Tytherton Lucas were assessed for 19 properties with a total of 50 hearths. Thirteen properties were of only one or two hearths. The largest properties were those of Edward Crooke, with ten hearths, Edward Stokes with seven and John Townson with six hearths.²⁶³⁷

In 1736 Tytherton Lucas returned one man to serve as a juror at the Easter quarter sessions, of four men qualified to serve in that year.²⁶³⁸ In 1780 there was no one dominant landowner. From the 1780s, members of the Crook family acquired several holdings in the settlement, though in c.1807 some of these holdings were disposed of to others. The glebe land was occupied by the rector in 1780 but was tenanted by 1805.²⁶³⁹

²⁶²⁶ WSA, A1/345/102.

²⁶²⁷ *Wilts. Tithe Apportionments* (WRS. 30), 34.

²⁶²⁸ WSA, L8/1/31, 49–52.

²⁶²⁹ *Domesday*, 181.

²⁶³⁰ Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England*, 29.

²⁶³¹ *Domesday*, 177.

²⁶³² *Wilts. Tax List of 1332* (WRS. 45), 98.

²⁶³³ *Wilts. Tax List of 1332* (WRS. 45), 98.

²⁶³⁴ *Two Sixteenth Century Taxation Lists* (WRS. 10), 28.

²⁶³⁵ *Wilts. QS Order Book 1642–1654* (WRS. 67), 219.

²⁶³⁶ WSA, 811/216, 22.

²⁶³⁷ TNA, E 179/259/29, part 2, rot. 48.

²⁶³⁸ *Wilts. Quarter Sessions and Assizes, 1736* (WRS. 9), 42, 136.

²⁶³⁹ WSA, A1/345/103.

In 1838–9 there were nine landowners, of whom Samuel William Bythesea held 235 a., and three further proprietors held between 50 a. and 150 a. There was common land of 34 a.²⁶⁴⁰

A trade directory of 1848 listed all the principal inhabitants as being engaged in farming.²⁶⁴¹ In 1880 farming was still the dominant occupation, though one man was listed as a carpenter.²⁶⁴² None of the three principal landowners given in the directory of 1880 were resident in the parish.²⁶⁴³ Farming remained the dominant activity in 1911.²⁶⁴⁴ By 2004 it was observed that the village was experiencing a generational change, with people moving away and new families moving into the village.²⁶⁴⁵

Pewsham Forest was managed by directly appointed royal officers. A sparse population and lack of formal local court scrutiny resulted in a higher level of crime than in adjacent areas; in 1268 the murders of several people including two women were reported in the county eyre.²⁶⁴⁶ The tithing structure extended into the forest and the whole tithing of Studley waited in the Forest to apprehend and hang one robber, while another who put up more resistance was summarily beheaded.²⁶⁴⁷

In the 14th century justice and dispute resolution was provided in an annual visit by the Justice of the forests south of the Trent, who sat at Chippenham or Calne and might summon up to 24 freeholders from within the forest in addition to a deputy warden, three foresters, two verderers and twelve regards drawn from Chippenham and Melksham.²⁶⁴⁸ Although, these regular visits stopped by the start of the 15th century there were occasional forest eyres and similar appointed officers were present in 1490 when the forest eyre was again held for both Pewsham and Melksham with the warden, his deputy, a ranger, two foresters, two verderers, 13 regards and five woodwards present.²⁶⁴⁹ The woodwards were privately appointed to supervise the lands of the abbots of Stanley and Lacock, the Duchess of York, and by the owners of Whitewell More and Rataridge. All of the appointed officers were empanelled as a jury with representatives of the borough of Chippenham, the vill of Lacock, Stanley, Melksham and Seend and the hundreds of Chippenham and Melksham. Cases related principally to the illegal hunting of deer with greyhounds and maintenance of highways and watercourses.

Swainmotes were probably held regularly to manage the medieval forest, although no records have survived, and by the 17th century there was criticism that they were no longer held.²⁶⁵⁰ In 1665 the deponent Mathew Swayne of Calne recalled discussion of parochial rights at a swainmoot, but the other deponents made no reference to a specific question about

²⁶⁴⁰ *Wilts. Tithe Apportionments* (WRS. 30), 34.

²⁶⁴¹ *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1848 edn.).

²⁶⁴² *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1880 edn.).

²⁶⁴³ *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1880 edn.).

²⁶⁴⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1911 edn.).

²⁶⁴⁵ WSA, 2731/16 (copy of triennial parish visitation, 2004).

²⁶⁴⁶ *Crown Pleas of the Wilts. Eyre, 1268* (WRS. 65), lxxv-lxxvi and lxxxiii.

²⁶⁴⁷ *Crown Pleas of the Wilts. Eyre, 1268* (WRS. 65), lxxvi.

²⁶⁴⁸ *VCH Wilts*, IV, 395.

²⁶⁴⁹ TNA, DL 39/3/1.

²⁶⁵⁰ TNA, E 101/139/8/1.

anything they may have heard at any forest court.²⁶⁵¹ The inhabitants of adjacent tithings, particularly Lackham and Nethermore, oversaw the appointments of officers and maintained infrastructure within their sections of the forest at courts leet. Presumably, the officers appointed at the swainmoot did the same in those areas of park, chase and woodland that fell outside the tithing structure.

The forest held an independent eyre in 1490 at which representatives of Chippenham and Melksham hundreds were present and formed part of the jury.²⁶⁵² It was exempt from medieval taxation, but Lackham and Nethermore tithings were taxed within Chippenham hundred from 1532 and 1549,²⁶⁵³ and Pewsham Forest was recognised as an independent area for taxation from 1642.²⁶⁵⁴ In 1662 the inhabitants of Nethermore were assessed for eight properties with a total of 24 hearths. Of these, five properties had three hearths or fewer, two had four hearths, and that of Edward Keynton seven hearths.²⁶⁵⁵ From 1780–1830 Pewsham was regarded as a tithing for raising the land tax.²⁶⁵⁶

Most aspects of the social life of the eastern tithings and settlements were centred on Chippenham town or Bremhill. Only one short-lived and obscure school and one roadside inn are known to have existed. The school, at Tytherton Lucas was recorded in a cottage belonging to the vicarage of Chippenham. In 1767 the vicar applied for a faculty to demolish the cottage, owing to the cost of repairs. It is not known what happened to the school.²⁶⁵⁷ In 1889 children from Tytherton Lucas went to school in East Tytherton, which they continued to do in 1911 and later.²⁶⁵⁸

In Tytherton Lucas, a charity for the poor, Stokes's charity, is known in 1786, its endowment providing £1 annually. By 1834 no payments to the poor had been made for some twenty years, and the charity was considered lost.²⁶⁵⁹

The former Lysley Arms at the foot of Old Derry Hill was built in the later 18th century of rubblestone under a stone-slatted mansard roof, with additions of c.1800 and a 20th-century extension.²⁶⁶⁰ It was named the Swan by 1773, occasionally the White Swan, and traded as the Swan until the 1930s or later.²⁶⁶¹ In 1935 it belonged to the People's Refreshment Room Association, a temperance organisation which encouraged but did not enforce abstinence.²⁶⁶² It was renamed the Lysley Arms, presumably in tribute to Maj. William

²⁶⁵¹ TNA, E 134/15Chas2/Mich32

²⁶⁵² TNA, DL 39/3/1.

²⁶⁵³ TNA, E 179/197/178 and E 179/198/265.

²⁶⁵⁴ e.g. TNA, E 179/199/422 (Grant, 1642) and E 179/259/29 (part 2) (Hearth Tax, 1662).

²⁶⁵⁵ TNA, E 179/259/29, part 2, rot. 47.

²⁶⁵⁶ WSA, A1/345/326.

²⁶⁵⁷ WSA, D1/61/4/43; D1/61C/3.

²⁶⁵⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1889 edn.).

²⁶⁵⁹ *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 240.

²⁶⁶⁰ NHLE, 1254363.

²⁶⁶¹ *Andrews' and Dury's Map 1773* (WRS. 8); *Bath Chronicle*, 26 Apr. 1810, 2; OS 25" sheet, Wilts XXVI.7, 1885, 1899, 192? edns.

²⁶⁶² *Kelly's Dir. Wilts* (1935 edn.).

Lowther Lysley (d. 1944) of nearby Pewsham House, until 2021. The inn was refurbished in that year and reopened as the Pewsham.²⁶⁶³

The grounds of Monkton Park were the site of various cultural and social activities from the late 19th century onwards. The Chippenham Horticultural Society held its annual exhibitions in the grounds from c.1871 to 1889.²⁶⁶⁴ An event organised by the Chippenham Habitation of the Primrose League was held in the grounds in 1888.²⁶⁶⁵ Since its purchase by the borough council in 1954 the park has proved an important amenity for the town.²⁶⁶⁶

RELIGIOUS HISTORY

Until the 19th century only Tytherton Lucas, within Chippenham parish, had a chapel of ease. The church of Christchurch, Derry Hill, was built in 1839–40. In 1841 it became the church for a district consisting of Bowood and Pewsham extra-parochial places, and parts of Calne, Bremhill, Chippenham, Corsham and Bishop's Cannings parishes, and this new district was called the parish of Derry Hill from 1861.²⁶⁶⁷ By 1911 Stanley and Studley tithings formed part of the consolidated ecclesiastical parish of Derry Hill. The ecclesiastical parish overlapped in part with the civil parish of Chippenham.²⁶⁶⁸ The religious history of Derry Hill and of the monastic foundations at Loxwell (in Nethermore) and Stanley has been given elsewhere.²⁶⁶⁹ This account is concerned with the chapelry of Tytherton Lucas.

Origins, Status and Endowments

In the Anglo-Saxon period Tytherton Lucas may have been one of the settlements served by a minster church at Chippenham.²⁶⁷⁰ Its connection with the parish of Chippenham is known from at least 1272, when a dispute between the priory of Monkton Farleigh and the vicar of Chippenham was resolved with an ordinance. This stated that the vicar was to have all the tithes and other income of the chapel of Tytherton, then within the parish of Chippenham, excepting the tithes of the sheaves from the demesne of Turpin, and the vicar was to pay the priory 40s. yearly and supply ministers for the chapel at Tytherton.²⁶⁷¹ The chapel at Tytherton Lucas was recorded in 1400–1, when it remained part of the parish of St Andrew's, Chippenham.²⁶⁷² It was recorded as part of the parish of Chippenham in 1550 and 1681.²⁶⁷³ A document of 1758 recorded a tradition that it had once been a distinct parish from Chippenham but this is not supported by the evidence.²⁶⁷⁴ It was a chapel of ease to the parish

²⁶⁶³ *Wilts. Gaz. & Herald*, 4 Aug. 2021 (online edn.).

²⁶⁶⁴ *Bristol Mercury*, 28 Aug. 1884, 3; 14 Aug. 1890, 6.

²⁶⁶⁵ *Bristol Mercury*, 20 Aug. 1888, 6.

²⁶⁶⁶ Above, landownership.

²⁶⁶⁷ *VCH Wilts*, XVII, 107–8.

²⁶⁶⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1911 edn.).

²⁶⁶⁹ *VCH Wilts*, XVII, 107–8; *VCH Wilts*, III, 269–75. See also Brown, *Stanley abbey*.

²⁶⁷⁰ Above, Chippenham, established ch.

²⁶⁷¹ *Cat. Ancient Deeds*, III, 441–451.

²⁶⁷² *Papal Regs*, V, 410; above, Chippenham, established ch.

²⁶⁷³ T. Phillipps (ed.), *Wilts. Institutions* (1825), I, 214; II, 37.

²⁶⁷⁴ WSA, D1/41/4/36.

church in 1783.²⁶⁷⁵ The chapel, described as a church, remained in the care of Chippenham parish in 2018.²⁶⁷⁶ The dedication to St Nicholas was recorded by Daniell in 1894.²⁶⁷⁷

Registers of baptisms survive from 1813,²⁶⁷⁸ of marriages from 1839,²⁶⁷⁹ and of burials from 1813.²⁶⁸⁰ A register of banns survives for 1841–1981 and two service registers for the period 1905–83.²⁶⁸¹ Prior to that all entries were recorded in the parish registers for Chippenham.²⁶⁸²

A glebe terrier of 1608 for the parish of Chippenham listed a dwelling house at Tytherton Lucas with a barn, garden, brewhouse or stable, and a bakehouse. There were 12 a. of arable land at Tytherton Lucas, and the glebe included the herbage of the chapel there, and commons with the other inhabitants of the hamlet for two kine for one year and three the next. There was ½ a. of meadow. The vicar received all tithes from Tytherton Lucas, including those of corn, grain and hay.²⁶⁸³ A glebe terrier of 1783 for the rectory of Langley Burrell stated that the tithes for that rectory were now paid by a composition by the landowners of Langley Burrell and Tytherton Lucas, but this presumably referred to those parts of the hamlet not within the parish of Chippenham.²⁶⁸⁴

In 1783 it was stated that all tithes from Tytherton Lucas had been given to the vicar of Chippenham in 1772.²⁶⁸⁵ Under the Tithe Commutation Act, in 1838 and 1839 the tithes of Tytherton Lucas were commuted to a tithe rent charge of £177 on 583 a. to the vicar of Chippenham (the rector of Tytherton Lucas) for great and small tithes. The figure included £4 6s. 8d. for great tithes and £2 13s. 4d. for small tithes on glebe. There was 17 a. of glebe.²⁶⁸⁶

Religious life

In the church survey of 1649–50 the minister, Jonathan Giare (or Gyer), preached every Sunday morning at Chippenham, and in the afternoon at Tytherton Lucas, though flooding between Chippenham and Tytherton could prevent him from ministering to the people at Tytherton for up to three weeks at a time. That he had duties at both churches was unsatisfactory for the inhabitants of both Chippenham and Tytherton; it was suggested that Tytherton become a separate parish in its own right, but it remained annexed to Chippenham parish.²⁶⁸⁷

Complaint was made in 1758 by the four principal inhabitants of Tytherton Lucas that the vicar of Chippenham had failed to conduct services in the church following a dispute with

²⁶⁷⁵ *Bishop's Visitation Queries 1783* (WRS. 27), 61–2.

²⁶⁷⁶ <http://standrewschippenham.org.uk/st-nicholas-tytherton-lucas/> (accessed 12 Dec. 2018).

²⁶⁷⁷ Daniell, *Chippenham*, 187.

²⁶⁷⁸ WSA, 2731/1 (1813–1989).

²⁶⁷⁹ WSA, 2731/8 (1839–2000).

²⁶⁸⁰ WSA, 2731/2 (1813–1990).

²⁶⁸¹ WSA, 2731/3 (banns 1841–1981); 811/213 (services 1905–35); 2731/2 (services 1936–83).

²⁶⁸² *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1911 edn.).

²⁶⁸³ *Wilts. Glebe Terriers* (WRS. 56), 89.

²⁶⁸⁴ *Wilts. Glebe Terriers* (WRS. 56), 245.

²⁶⁸⁵ *Bishop's Visitation Queries 1783* (WRS. 27), 61–2.

²⁶⁸⁶ *Wilts. Tithe Apportionments* (WRS. 30), 34.

²⁶⁸⁷ WAM, 41, 1–2.

one of the parishioners.²⁶⁸⁸ By 1783 the vicar of Chippenham came to the chapel to conduct a service with prayers each Sunday except the first Sunday in the month, and when prevented by bad weather.²⁶⁸⁹

At the ecclesiastical census of 1851 the chapel's income was £220, of which £50 was from pew rents and £170 from fees. There were 100 sittings in the building, 50 of which were free sittings. Attendance at the afternoon service was 44; there had been no service in the morning or evening, and there was no Sunday school.²⁶⁹⁰

By the mid-19th century a vestry meeting was usually held annually, and one churchwarden appointed.²⁶⁹¹ A clerk was employed by 1847.²⁶⁹² The churchwarden was responsible for supplying the bread and wine until 1865 when it was agreed that in future the wine be supplied by the rector.²⁶⁹³ Church expenses were met by the church rate until 1866, when the churchwarden's annual request for the rate was refused. From 1866 the church expenses were met by offerings collected at services and occasional individual donations.²⁶⁹⁴

An inventory compiled in 1866–7 listed a bible, a prayer book, an office book, an iron register chest, a surplice, and a communion set of two silver patens and a silver chalice in a wooden box.²⁶⁹⁵ The patens and chalice were given by the Revd Edward Ellis in 1817.²⁶⁹⁶ In 1880 a stove was installed in the church.²⁶⁹⁷ In 1876 the diarist Francis Kilvert recorded visiting an elderly man who had played the flute in Tytherton church,²⁶⁹⁸ but any church band was probably replaced by the harmonium installed in the church c.1870. It was replaced c.1920 with an instrument by Christophe & Etienne of Paris and restored in 1995; this instrument remains in the church. A chamber organ, originally built by John Clark of Bath c.1837, was acquired in 1987.²⁶⁹⁹

The churchyard was extended in 1905 by a grant of part of the glebe land.²⁷⁰⁰ A second churchwarden, chosen by the parish, was appointed from 1906, in addition to the churchwarden historically appointed by the vicar.²⁷⁰¹ This new appointment may have been prompted by the death in 1905 of Henry Broome Pinniger, churchwarden for 44 years.²⁷⁰²

A new oak pulpit, reading desk and reredos were dedicated in 1907, along with a new stained glass window at the east end of the north aisle in memory of Henry Broome Pinniger

²⁶⁸⁸ WSA, D1/41/4/36.

²⁶⁸⁹ *Bishop's Visitation Queries 1783* (WRS. 27), 61–2.

²⁶⁹⁰ TNA, HO 129/253, 46.

²⁶⁹¹ WSA, 811/39, f. 2r.

²⁶⁹² WSA, 811/39, f. 1v.

²⁶⁹³ WSA, 811/39, f. 33v.

²⁶⁹⁴ WSA, 811/39, ff. 35v, 36v, 38r.

²⁶⁹⁵ WSA, 811/39, f. 37r.

²⁶⁹⁶ J. E. Nightingale, *The Church Plate of the County of Wilts* (1891), 212.

²⁶⁹⁷ WSA, 811/39, ff. 50v, 51r.

²⁶⁹⁸ Kilvert, *Diary*, III, 248.

²⁶⁹⁹ C. Kent, *The Chapelry of St. Nicholas, Tytherton Lucas: A Short History* (2017).

²⁷⁰⁰ Bristol Archives, EP/A/22/TL/1–3; WSA, 811/40 (annual report Easter 1905 to 1906), 48–50.

²⁷⁰¹ WSA, 811/40 (annual report Easter 1905 to 1906), 48–50.

²⁷⁰² *Wilts. Times*, 25 May 1907, 4.

and his wife.²⁷⁰³ A newspaper report of the dedication service stated that provisions had also been made for the choir and organ in the north aisle rather than the chancel, but from the church records it seems more likely that the church at this date only possessed a harmonium.²⁷⁰⁴

In 1989 the church was recorded as having a George III communion cup by Rebecca Emes and Edward Barnard of London, which was then dated as 1816, together with two matching patens. The church also had an octagonal copper alms dish with embossed inscriptions and decoration.²⁷⁰⁵

In 2001 the church had 18 communicants on Easter Day, and 24 at the Christmas Day services, including midnight mass. The usual number attending services on a normal Sunday was nine adults; no figure was given for children under 16 years of age.²⁷⁰⁶ By 2003 a service was held every Sunday, with matins and holy communion on alternate Sundays. Services were also held on Good Friday, with a carol service and a service of midnight mass at Christmas.²⁷⁰⁷

In 2003 the church was the only public building in the village, apart from a barn used for concerts.²⁷⁰⁸ It was noted that for reasons of geography the community related more to Bremhill than Chippenham, and this was reflected in the contents of the parish magazine.²⁷⁰⁹

The triennial parish visitation of 2004 reported that the local congregation maintained the church building without recourse to the resources of St Andrew's Chippenham. It was noted that the churchyard was still open for burials.²⁷¹⁰

Church architecture

The Grade II listed chapel is of 13th century date, with a nave and chancel and a north aisle under a separate roof; the three-bay aisle has been attributed to the late 13th century. The font is Norman, of c.1200. The bell has been dated to the 12th century.²⁷¹¹ A monument to Thomas Crooks (d. 1821) records that he rebuilt the church in 1802.²⁷¹² The church was refurbished by Canon John Rich in the mid-19th century.²⁷¹³

There are monuments to Hugo Barret (d. 1627), Alice Jacob (d. 1653) and her family, Ann Lloyd Bayliffe (d. 1788) and her sister Lucy Bayliffe (d. 1791), and to members of the Stokes and Crook families.²⁷¹⁴

Nonconformity

²⁷⁰³ WSA, 811/214; *Wilts. Times*, 25 May 1907, 4.

²⁷⁰⁴ *Wilts. Times*, 25 May 1907, 4.

²⁷⁰⁵ WSA, 2731/16 (Insurance valuation, 1989).

²⁷⁰⁶ WSA, 2731/16 (Return of church membership, 2001).

²⁷⁰⁷ WSA, 2731/16 (Chippenham Deanery pastoral visit, 2003).

²⁷⁰⁸ WSA, 2731/16 (Chippenham Deanery pastoral visit, 2003).

²⁷⁰⁹ WSA, 2731/16 (Chippenham Deanery pastoral visit, 2003).

²⁷¹⁰ WSA, 2731/16 (copy of triennial parish visitation, 2004).

²⁷¹¹ Orbach and Pevsner, *Wilts*, 742; Church of St Nicholas, <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing> (accessed 10 Dec. 2018).

²⁷¹² Church of St Nicholas, <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing> (accessed 10 Dec. 2018).

²⁷¹³ Church of St Nicholas, <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing> (accessed 10 Dec. 2018).

²⁷¹⁴ *Phillipps Monumental Inscriptions, 1822* (WRS. 53, 2000), 11–12.

Edward Stokes, a magistrate living at Stokes farm, Tytherton Lucas, wrote *The Wiltshire Rant* (1652) about the controversial activities of Thomas Webbe, Ranter and former incumbent of Langley Burrell.²⁷¹⁵ Stokes hosted several Quaker evangelists, including George Fox, at his home, and may himself have become a Quaker, although at his death in 1667 he was buried in the church of St Nicholas, where there is a memorial.²⁷¹⁶

An Independent (Congregationalist) meeting was being held in 1798 in a house at the foot of Derry Hill in Pewsham.²⁷¹⁷ Two members of the Cole family were among the signatories to its certificate, and it was at the house of Henry Cole of Pewsham in Derry Hill that a congregation (of no stated denomination) was meeting in 1834.²⁷¹⁸ A Primitive Methodist chapel was opened in 1857 at a cost of £190 on land at Derry Hill donated by the Marquis of Lansdowne.²⁷¹⁹ It, or a predecessor, had been certified for worship in 1851.²⁷²⁰ It was still in use in 1974,²⁷²¹ but closed and was converted to a private house c.1990.²⁷²²

A Methodist congregation may have existed in Stanley from c.1814.²⁷²³ A Primitive Methodist chapel was built east of Stanley Bridge in 1865.²⁷²⁴ It was wrongly described in the parliamentary report of 1882 as situated at Tytherton Lucas.²⁷²⁵ It was closed in 1955 and the building sold in 1976.²⁷²⁶ The building remained standing but was boarded up in 2019.²⁷²⁷

²⁷¹⁵ Daniell, *Chippenham*, 188–9; ODNB, s.v. Webbe, Thomas, Ranter, accessed 9 Dec. 2018.

²⁷¹⁶ U. Dreher, ‘Watching pigeons making love’, *Dalhousie Review*, 83.3 (2003), 325–54, at 352; *Phillipps Monumental Inscriptions*, 1822 (WRS. 53), 12.

²⁷¹⁷ *Wilts. Meeting House Certs.* (WRS. 40), 50 (no. 530).

²⁷¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 135 (no. 1400)

²⁷¹⁹ Date on building; *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, August 1857, 504–5.

²⁷²⁰ *Wilts. Meeting House Certs.* (WRS. 40), 169 (no. 1764).

²⁷²¹ C. Stell, *Inventory of Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting-House in South-West England* (1991), 236 (dated illustration).

²⁷²² J. Holden, *Wilts. Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting Houses* (2022), 83; <https://www.myprimitivemethodists.org.uk/content/chapels/wiltshire-2/d-h/> (accessed 23 Dec. 2023).

²⁷²³ WSA, 3916/2/1.

²⁷²⁴ Date on building. See WSA, 3916/2/1; Holden, *Nonconformist Chapels*, 75; *Swindon Advertiser*, 14 Oct. 1867, 3.

²⁷²⁵ *Return of Churches*, 1882, p. 109.67\1; OS 25”, sheet Wilts. XXVI.4 (1900 edn.).

²⁷²⁶ WSA, 3916/2/1.

²⁷²⁷ Holden, *Nonconformist Chapels*, 75