

BAGENDON

THE VILLAGE OF BAGENDON is situated 21 km. (13 miles) south-east of Gloucester and 5 km. (3 miles) north of Cirencester. The parish lies within the valley of the river Churn, which forms part of its eastern boundary, whilst the village lies across one of the river's tributaries. Although the parish was the site of a significant prehistoric settlement, the ditches of which have divided Bagendon from the neighbouring estate of North Cerney since at least the 9th century, the medieval and modern village has never been populous. The construction of a turnpike between Cirencester and Cheltenham accelerated development along its course, spurring the fringe of Bagendon to acquire a suburban quality during the 20th century. Nevertheless, the abiding characteristic of the parish remains rural and agricultural, with only the ancient mill providing any significant industrial activity before recent times.

LANDSCAPE, SETTLEMENT AND BUILT CHARACTER

BOUNDARIES

The parish measured 1,106 a. in 1792,¹ and still in 1841, recalculated to 1,146 a. in 1891.² The parish is long and narrow in shape, measuring almost 5 km. (c.3 miles) from north to south and 1½ km. (c.1 mile) across from east to west, although in places it contracts to less than 500 m. (c.546 yds) in width.

The boundaries of the parish were depicted on the enclosure map of 1792,³ and for much of their length they follow clear topographical features such as roads and waterways. To the east and north, the boundary is defined by the river Churn, its tributary the Bagendon brook, a road running north from the brook to Woodmancote, and a lane running south-west to the brook. From there, the western boundary follows the course of the brook south as far as Oysterwell hill, then follows ancient field boundaries south across the ancient Welsh Way and modern Cirencester bypass, before turning east to rejoin the river Churn. The eastern boundary with North Cerney was described in a charter of 852,⁴ and identifiable landmarks mentioned then include the crossing point of the Churn at *Bereford*, now Perrott's Brook, and the iron age earthworks north of Perrott's Brook, called the 'dyke of the spring' in the Saxon perambulation.⁵

LANDSCAPE

Bagendon lies within the valley of a brook of the same name which, after rising near Shewell Wood in North Cerney, lies at a height of c.130 m. as it flows south-west through the centre of the parish to meet the Churn. Although the brook is usually an inconsiderable stream, it has on several occasions been so swollen by rainwater as to cause significant flooding within the village.⁶ The steep slopes of the brook, comprising narrow layers of Inferior Oolitic limestones interspersed with fuller's earth, rise to the Great Oolitic limestones on which most of the parish lies. The land to the north and south of the brook was formerly cultivated as large open fields, giving way to downland

¹GA, D475/Box 94752.

²Census, 1841; 1891.

³GA, D475/Box 94725.

⁴Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, 56–61.

⁵*VCH Glos.* VII, 150.

⁶*Wilts. & Glos. Standard*, 31 Aug. 1878; Rees, *Bagendon*, 49; GA, P33 CW 2/1.

on the highest ground of the parish, reaching c.185 m. on Bagendon down to the south-west, and over 210 m. at Burcombe lane on the northern boundary.⁷ Narrow strips of meadow land were laid out along the slopes sides of the brook and along the banks of the Churn. Although the parish is not heavily wooded, two large ancient groves stood on high ground in the west and north of the parish. A golf course was laid out across the southern boundary of the parish in the early 20th century.

COMMUNICATIONS

The parish lies within a network of ancient routeways crossing the Cotswolds. The Welsh Way crossed the Churn at Perrott's Brook, called *Bereford* in 852, and runs across the southern half of the parish.⁸ At Peewits Hill the road forks, one branch travelling south-west to Daglingworth and the other north-west towards Middle Duntisbourne. Forming part of the old road between London and Gloucester,⁹ a bridge had been built over the Churn by the 13th century.¹⁰ Called Berrards bridge or Barretts bridge, it was eventually known as Perrott's bridge, and the area adjacent took the name Perrott's Brook.¹¹ Here, the Welsh Way crossed another ancient route running north from Cirencester. Entering the parish near Trinity Mill it ran parallel to the Churn as far as the earthworks to the north of Perrott's Brook, the course of which it traces as it continuing north-west towards Woodmancote and Rapsgate.¹² Called Cutham Lane north of Perrott's Brook, in the 13th century it was described as the road from Cirencester to Colesbourne.¹³ Another road leaves this lane near its crossing with the brook and travels north-west to pass through the village of Bagendon, branching into two briefly as it passes through the two halves of the settlement before reconnecting and travelling north to rejoin Cutham Lane near Moor Wood Farm. At Woodmancote Cutham Lane crossed Burcombe Lane, another route of ancient significance, running east-west between Foss Way and Ermin Way.¹⁴ A road runs north from Bagendon village to North Cerney, and a lane from the village running south-west to Daglingworth, described in the late 18th century as the Minchinhampton road,¹⁵ remains in 2019 as a track.

A new toll road between Cirencester and Cheltenham constructed c.1825 incorporated the existing road from Cirencester as far as Perrott's Brook.¹⁶ There, it diverged from the ancient road, following a new route north towards North Cerney along the west bank of the Churn. The road was disturnpiked in 1879.¹⁷ The new Cirencester and Stratton bypass, opened in 1997, runs across the south of the parish, crossing the Churn and the Cheltenham road near Trinity mill.

The Cheltenham-based charity Community Connexions began running services between Tetbury and Cirencester in 2016, stopping at Bagendon and Perrott's Brook, in response to reduced services by commercial providers.¹⁸

⁷Brit. Geol. Surv.

⁸*VCH Glos.* VII, 150; A.C. Painter, 'Early Road Planning in the Middle Cotswolds', *Trans. BGAS*, 53 (1931), 126–7.

⁹Ogilby, *Britannia* (1675), p. 29.

¹⁰*VCH Glos.* VII, 150.

¹¹*VCH Glos.* VII, 150.

¹²A.C. Painter, 'Early Road Planning in the Middle Cotswolds', *Trans. BGAS*, 53 (1931), 121.

¹³*VCH Glos.* VII, 151.

¹⁴*VCH Glos.* VII, 151; A.C. Painter, 'Early Road Planning in the Middle Cotswolds', *Trans. BGAS*, 53 (1931), 139.

¹⁵GA, D475/Box 94725.

¹⁶6 Geo. IV, c.xiii.

¹⁷42–3 Vic. c.46.

¹⁸*Wilts. & Glos. Standard*, 9 Aug. 2016.

POPULATION

In 1086 there were five villeins and six slaves, suggesting a population of between *c.*30 and *c.*50.¹⁹ The Black Death may have left the population of the parish greatly reduced, and in 1381 there were only seven adults resident to be taxed.²⁰

From the 16th to the 18th centuries the population of the village was largely static. A visitation recorded *c.*40 communicants in the parish in 1551,²¹ at which level the population remained early in the following century; in 1563 the inhabitants were said to comprise seven households.²² By the middle of the 17th century the parish comprised 15 families,²³ with a population of 56 in 1676,²⁴ and *c.*60 early in the 18th century.²⁵ The population had more than doubled by 1779, when it amounted to 139.²⁶ It continued to grow during the first half of the 19th century, rising to 167 by 1831, and to 183 in 1851. It subsequently remained at the same level for a century, except for a dip to 150 in 1901, and it stood at 180 in 1951. Since that date the population has fluctuated, increasing by a third to 243 in 1961, falling to 197 in 1981, rising to a peak of 265 in 2001, and falling to 239 in 2011.²⁷

SETTLEMENT

Medieval and Early Modern Settlement

The modern village of Bagendon nestles within the valley of the Bagendon brook. As the road from Perrott's Brook arrives at the village it branches into two, both halves running parallel to each other along either side of the brook, before reuniting *c.*500 m. north-west of the parish church and continuing away from the village as a single road.²⁸ At the eastern end of the village stand the parish church and the manor house, presumably the original focus of settlement. The parish church is the only extant building certainly of medieval origin,²⁹ although the 18th-century exterior of Manor Farm may conceal medieval material at its core.³⁰ A large pond to the south of Manor Farm probably had its origin as a medieval fishpond, and a rabbit warren was located north of the manor house in a field still called in the 18th century the conigree or coney garth.³¹

At the western end of the village stands the area of settlement now called Upper End, separated from its eastern counterpart by *c.*275 m. of open ground lying inside the ring of roads. Earthworks in this field indicate that it was once also occupied, uniting the village into a single continuous settlement. Rectangular tofts lie alongside a hollow way which runs from north to south,

¹⁹This assumes an average household size in 1086 of 4.5, and depends on whether or not slaves should be counted as individuals or heads of households: Andrew Hinde, *England's Population* (2003), 11–22.

²⁰*Poll Taxes, Bedfordshire-Leicestershire*, 301.

²¹J. Gairdner, 'Bishop Hooper's Visitation', *EHR*, XIX (1904), 111.

²²*The Diocesan Population Returns for 1563 and 1603*, ed. Dyer and Palliser (Oxford, 2005), 171, 339.

²³TNA, C 94/1, f. 32.

²⁴Compton Census, ed. Whiteman, 541.

²⁵Atkyns, *Glos.* 248.

²⁶Rudder, *Glos.* 259.

²⁷Census, 1831–2011.

²⁸Above, Communications.

²⁹NHLE, 'Church of St Margaret' (accessed 20 Dec. 2019); below, Religious History.

³⁰NHLE, 'Bagendon Manor or Manor Farm' (accessed 20 Dec. 2019).

³¹GA, D475/Box 94275; D2190/1.

whilst strip lynchets reveal that part of this ground was incorporated within a field system.³² A late-18th-century map of the parish revealed six farm buildings standing at Upper End, perhaps on sites of great antiquity.³³

A handful of isolated buildings stood at some distance from the centre of the village. At Perrott's Brook the Bear inn dates from at least the 17th century,³⁴ and a building, known later as the old inn, stood on the north side of the road.³⁵ Near the southern boundary of the parish stood the medieval Trinity mill, and Moor farm, near the northern boundary with Woodmancote, dates from at least the 14th century.³⁶

Since the 18th Century

The parish experienced a period of renewal and expansion during the 18th century, providing accommodation for its growing population. There were said to be 13 dwellings in the early 18th century,³⁷ which by 1792 had increased to 23 houses and cottages.³⁸ The wealth and confidence of the leading parishioners is evident from substantial houses built during this period. Most prominent of these was the manor house, erected or rebuilt in a bold style that would have dominated the village,³⁹ probably *c.*1745 for the Cirencester silversmith Berkeley Eycott.⁴⁰ Opposite the manor house, on the other side of a large farmyard, a large stone barn was constructed, perhaps also equipped with a water-powered cider mill.⁴¹ On the opposite side of the road from the ancient rectory house, a large stone house in a traditional Cotswold style was built later in the 18th century, probably as the farmhouse for a member of the Haines family;⁴² a smaller thatched-roof cottage was erected to the south of it at a similar date.⁴³

There were said to be 28 dwellings in the parish at the start of the 19th century,⁴⁴ and more houses were built in the ensuing decades. A large mansion, Moor Wood House, was built to the north of Moor farm between 1792 and 1842,⁴⁵ but probably after the acquisition of the farm by the Haines family in 1808.⁴⁶ Another substantial mansion, Bagendon House, was built at Upper End in 1826 by the rector Revd John Lewis Bythesea as a private house.⁴⁷ Following Bythesea's death the ancient rectory house, which had been occupied by his curates, was renovated and enlarged for Bythesea's successor.⁴⁸ Bagendon House was purchased by William Fielder Croome at the same time and also greatly extended.⁴⁹ Beyond the village, cottages were constructed near Price's Barn on

³²HER, 4137.

³³GA, D475/Box 94275.

³⁴NHLE, 'The Bear' (accessed 20 Dec. 2019).

³⁵GA, D475/Box 94275.

³⁶*Taxpayers of Medieval Glos.* ed. Franklin, 43.

³⁷Atkyns, *Glos.* 248.

³⁸GA, D475/Box 94275.

³⁹NHLE, 'Bagendon Manor or Manor Farm' (accessed 20 Dec. 2019).

⁴⁰Longleat House, 1746 survey.

⁴¹NHLE, 'Barn and Purlieu Cottage' (accessed 20 Dec. 2019).

⁴²NHLE, 'Fairview' (accessed 20 Dec. 2019).

⁴³NHLE, 'Thatch Cottage' (accessed 20 Dec. 2019).

⁴⁴Rudge, *Glos.* 224.

⁴⁵GA, D3495/Box 2.

⁴⁶NHLE, 'Moor Wood' (accessed 20 Dec. 2019); GA, D3495, Box 6. The house does not appear on the enclosure map of 1792: GA, D475/Box 94275.

⁴⁷NHLE, 'Bagendon House' (accessed 20 Dec. 2019).

⁴⁸Below, Religious History.

⁴⁹NHLE, 'Bagendon House' (accessed 20 Dec. 2019).

Peewits Hill early in the century.⁵⁰ Later in the century, a new school was built in 1873 at the east end of the village,⁵¹ new cottages and farm buildings were erected at Upper End before 1882,⁵² and a new house was built for Home Farm immediately to the north of the farm buildings in 1891.⁵³

During the early 20th century the convenience of Bagendon for Cirencester made it attractive for development, especially along Cheltenham Road to the south of Perrott's Brook, and between 1901 and 1951 the number of dwellings in the parish increased from 39 to 64.⁵⁴ New cottages, Trinity Farm, and the clubhouse of the Cirencester Golf Course were built at the southern end of Cheltenham Road before 1920,⁵⁵ while cottages and a house were built on Welsh Way north of Peewit's Hill during the 1920s.⁵⁶ More new houses and bungalows were laid out by private individuals during the 1920s and 1930s on a 14-a. site south of Perrott's Brook called the Bagendon estate.⁵⁷ A garage and petrol station opened on the same site c.1933,⁵⁸ while plans were approved in 1935 for the erection of four new council houses there.⁵⁹

Gas mains were laid in the parish in the years immediately after the Second World War.⁶⁰ A pumping station was constructed near Trinity Mill in 1948, serving the nearby waterworks in Baunton,⁶¹ although Bagendon had still not been connected to mains water supply by the end of the following decade.⁶² Perrott's Brook and Cheltenham Road remained the focus of new development after the Second World War. A tea gardens and café had been established at Mayfield by 1949, and a large site for 60 static caravans was laid out there c.1961, later expanded to include space for 20 touring caravans.⁶³ Lyncroft farm was laid out at Perrott's Brook on the north side of the Welsh Way between 1964 and 1969,⁶⁴ and Springfield Farm was established to the east of it c.1971, with a farmhouse standing separately on Cutham Lane.⁶⁵ A car showroom was erected at the garage at Perrott's Brook in 1971,⁶⁶ and it was still open later in the decade, but was subsequently demolished and replaced by three new houses.⁶⁷ Elsewhere in the parish, Bagendon Downs Farm was laid out north of the Welsh Way late in the century, whilst modern new houses have been built at Upper End in the place of aging cottages. By 1991 there were 97 dwellings in the parish, which had increased to 126 by 2011.⁶⁸

BUILT CHARACTER

⁵⁰GA, GDR/T1/66. Below, Economic History.

⁵¹Below, Social History.

⁵²OS, 6" (1884 edn), Glos. XLIII.

⁵³Below, Economic History.

⁵⁴Census, 1901; 1951.

⁵⁵OS, 6" (1924 edn), Glos. LI.

⁵⁶GA, DA22/100/8, pp. 26, 364.

⁵⁷GA, DA22/7, p. 339; DA22/8, pp. 93, 383, 389; DA22/9, pp. 32, 191, 360, 390, 398, 436; DA22/10, pp. 110, 181; DA22/11, pp. 16, 46, 90.

⁵⁸GA, DA22/110/2, p. 323.

⁵⁹GA, DA22/10, p. 116; *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 1 June 1935.

⁶⁰GA, DA22/100/13, p. 125; *Glos. Echo*, 25 Jun. 1946.

⁶¹*Glos. Echo*, 9 Jan. 1948.

⁶²Below, Local Government.

⁶³GA, DA22/112/2, 12 Dec. 1949; DA22/114/4, 9 Sep. 1953; DA22/114/6, p. 46; DA22/114/9, p. 339.

⁶⁴GA, DA22/100/18, p. 142; DA22/114/7, p. 226.

⁶⁵GA, DA22/114/8, p. 599; OS, 1:10,000 (1981 edn), SP00NW.

⁶⁶GA, DA22/114/8, p. 661.

⁶⁷OS, 1:10,000 (1981 edn), SP00NW.

⁶⁸Census, 1991; 2011.

Traditional Cotswold materials predominate amongst the older buildings of the parish, which are constructed from the locally quarried limestone. Houses tend to be roofed in slate, although at least one older building retains a thatched roof. Few extant buildings were constructed before the 18th century: the parish church contains 12th-century material and may have had Saxon origins;⁶⁹ the Bear inn at Perrott's Brook and Dairy Cottage at Moor Wood both date from the 17th century, although both have been subsequently altered.⁷⁰ Beginning with the construction of the manor house c.1745, several substantial houses in a polite style were built in commanding positions on south-facing slopes in the village and at Moor Wood, whilst large cottages were built on the lower slopes in the village and at Perrott's Brook in the late 18th and 19th centuries.

The clubhouse of the Cirencester golf course is built in Tudor-style timber framing, to which a single-storey stone function suite was added in the middle of the century. The large houses built at the Bagendon Estate between the two world wars included several constructed in an arts-and-crafts style, where more houses have been added over the subsequent decades. Most modern buildings have imitated the traditional vernacular in style and materials; however at Lyncroft, near Perrott's Brook, 20th-century farm buildings have been replaced in the 21st century with residential buildings in a contemporary style, which combine some traditional materials with stark white rendering, large windows and an angular form.

LANDOWNERSHIP

Bagendon Manor

In 1066 the major landholder in Bagendon (*Benwedene*) was Wulfweard. After the Norman Conquest his land was granted to Hugh l'Asne, and by 1086 was held by his undertenant Gilbert, perhaps Gilbert de Eskecot, who also held land at Duntisbourne Abbots.⁷¹ Early in the 13th century Bagendon was held by Bartholomew de Wich of the fee of the king. Bartholomew died in rebellion against King John and his land was granted in 1216 to Robert de Chandos.⁷² Under the de Chandos chief lords the manor, which in 1242 constituted one half and one twelfth of a knight's fee, was held by a family taking their name from it.⁷³ The tenant Richard de Bagendon was active in the early 13th century, for example granting the canons of Cirencester Abbey access across his land to the river Churn and the spring at Letherwell.⁷⁴ The manor and advowson of Bagendon were still the property of the Bagendon family in 1330, when they were held by another Richard.⁷⁵ They were sold in 1380 to Robert Playn and John Boys,⁷⁶ who joined two years later with Nicholas Poynter to found the chantry of the Holy Trinity in the parish church of Cirencester, endowing it with the manor and advowson of Bagendon to support two chaplains.⁷⁷

⁶⁹Below, Religious History.

⁷⁰NHLE, 'The Bear'; 'Dairy Cottage c.90 m. south of Moor Wood' (accessed 20 Dec. 2019).

⁷¹*Domesday*, 462, 468; *Domesday People*, 210; *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucesteriae*, ed. W.H. Hart, I, 73.

⁷²*Rot. Litt. Claus.* I, 280b.

⁷³*Book of Fees*, 818; Rees, *Bagendon*, 34. A suggestion that 'Bakynnton', held in 1316–7 by Theobald de Verdun, should be identified with Bagendon seems unlikely: *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*, VI, 38.

⁷⁴*Ciren. Cart.* I, 226–7. Below, Stratton, Landownership.

⁷⁵*Feet of Fines, 1300–1359*, 94.

⁷⁶*Feet of Fines, 1360–1508*, 39.

⁷⁷*Cal. Pat.* 1381–6, 232.

Following the dissolution of the chantries, the manor was purchased in 1549 with a number of other properties by Sir John Thynne (d. 1580) of Longleat (Wilts.),⁷⁸ and it subsequently descended in the male line successively to Sir John (d. 1604), Sir Thomas (d. 1639), and Sir James.⁷⁹ When the latter died in 1670 without children he was succeeded by his nephew Thomas, known for his great wealth as “Tom of the Ten Thousand”, who was murdered in 1682. The estates passed to the son of his father’s half-brother Henry Frederick, Sir Thomas Thynne bt, who was created Viscount Weymouth later in 1682. Following his death in 1714, the title and estates passed to his great-nephew Thomas (d. 1751), whose son Thomas, 3rd Viscount Weymouth (d. 1796), was created Marquess of Bath in 1789. His son Thomas, 2nd Marquess of Bath, sold the manor to the banker and property speculator Joseph Pitt in 1800.⁸⁰

Pitt had probably bought the manor speculatively, and he sold it to John Elwes *c.*1807,⁸¹ who sold it in turn the following year to John Haines of Baunton, whose family also held an estate in the parish and in the neighbouring parishes of Daglingworth and Duntisbourne Rous.⁸² He was succeeded in 1829 by his brother Edward,⁸³ whose son John Poole Haines succeeded in 1863.⁸⁴ Despite the latter’s bankruptcy in 1886 and his death in 1890, the estate was held by trustees under his marriage settlement until the death of his widow in 1903. Their son Horace never entered into the estate, and it was sold by the trustees in that year to Thomas Longworth.⁸⁵ He sold it *c.*1912 to Agnes Robinson,⁸⁶ the widow of Col. Herbert Robinson,⁸⁷ from whom it passed to her son, Claude,⁸⁸ who died in 1950.⁸⁹ His son Edwin died in 1985,⁹⁰ and the estate was held in 2019 by Edwin’s son Henry.⁹¹

St John’s Hospital

Land in Bagendon was part of an estate held by the preceptory of St John’s Hospital in Quenington,⁹² granted to John Waters and Thomas Carpenter in 1554.⁹³

BAGENDON ECONOMIC HISTORY

In common with its neighbours, Bagendon’s economy depended almost entirely on agriculture for most of its history. Some variation was provided by rural trades and a mill, established before the Norman Conquest and employed for fulling from at least the 16th century. During the 19th century,

⁷⁸*Cal. Pat.* 1548–9, 330.

⁷⁹*Burke’s Peerage*, sub ‘Bath’.

⁸⁰GA, D475, Box 94725.

⁸¹Rudge, *Glos.* I

⁸²GA, D3495, Box 6.

⁸³TNA, PROB 11/1764/141.

⁸⁴GA, D3495, Boxes 2 and 5.

⁸⁵Fosbrooke, II, 501.

⁸⁶GA, D3495, Box 5; D2428/2/18.

⁸⁷*National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations)*, 1907, 373.

⁸⁸*National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations)*, 1929, 130.

⁸⁹*Glos. Echo*, 6 Oct. 1950, 1.

⁹⁰*Burke’s Peerage*, sub ‘Glenarthur’.

⁹¹‘History’, *Moor Wood Roses*, <<http://www.moorwoodroses.co.uk/history.html>> [accessed 26 July 2019].

⁹²Rudder, 259; *VCH Glos.* II, 113.

⁹³*Cal. Pat.* 1553–4, 347–8.

traditional sheep-and-corn farming began to give way to stock and dairy farming, supplemented in the 20th century by the establishment of specialist pig and poultry farms. In the late 20th century a former farmyard was adapted for light industrial activity, expanded on a new site in the early 21st century.

AGRICULTURAL LANDSCAPE

At the time of enclosure the parish was largely occupied for arable farming, divided into two large fields to the north and south, together occupying a total of c.540 a. in 1792.⁹⁴ The two fields were divided by a band of pasture and meadow running through the middle of the parish, following the course of the Bagendon stream until its junction with the river Churn, the banks of which were lined with plots of meadow.⁹⁵ Common downland lay along the parish's western boundary with Daglingworth and Duntisbourne Rouse,⁹⁶ which in the early 18th century lay open to each other.⁹⁷ In the north of the parish a rough and craggy area rising sharply above the narrow valley of the stream remained uncultivated and heavily wooded perhaps until the late middle ages,⁹⁸ when the higher level ground was put to the plough to create the Moor field. Occupying the slopes beneath Moor field was the horseshoe-shaped Hook or Moor wood, to the north of which was the Parson's grove. A long strip of woodland called Bagendon grove lay to the south of Upper End. The conyger, referred to in 1603,⁹⁹ lay to the east of the manor house.¹⁰⁰

The ordnance survey recorded numerous springs in the area of Moor Wood in the late 19th century, and others in the east of the parish, swelling the Churn as it flowed south. Some of these had been enlarged and adapted to serve as a long and sinewy leet for Baunton mill, the fashioning of which in the 17th century caused c.1 a. of Bagendon's meadow grounds to become detached from the parish, parts of which could no longer be identified in 1701.¹⁰¹ One of these springs was probably the original *Letherwell* or Trinity well,¹⁰² which was still reputed to cure problems of the eyes in the late 18th century.¹⁰³ Although the valuable Dagham stone was said to be found on Bagendon downs,¹⁰⁴ quarrying appears to have remained small-scale within the parish, presumably satisfying a purely local need.¹⁰⁵

AGRICULTURE

The Middle Ages and Early Modern Period

In 1086 three ploughs worked on the demesne lands of the lord Hugh l'Asne, and the tenants of the manor worked another three ploughs. The manor's six ploughs were operated by five villeins and six slaves. There were also 8 a. of meadow at the time of Domesday. The manor had been worth £4

⁹⁴GA, D475/Box 94725.

⁹⁵GA, D475/Box 94725.

⁹⁶GA, D475/Box 94725.

⁹⁷Longleat House, NMR 1983.

⁹⁸*Taxpayers of Medieval Glos.* ed. Franklin, 43; *Ciren. Cart.* I 628.

⁹⁹Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 7, f. 159.

¹⁰⁰GA, D475/Box 94725.

¹⁰¹Longleat House, NMR 1983.

¹⁰²*Ciren. Cart.* I, 226–7.

¹⁰³Rudder, *Glos.* 259.

¹⁰⁴Rudder, *Glos.* 258.

¹⁰⁵OS Map, 6" (1884 edn), Glos. XLIII.

at the time of the Norman Conquest, and had lost none of its value by 1086.¹⁰⁶ The manor was assessed at 3 ploughlands in 1220.¹⁰⁷

By the 16th century sheep-farming was an important element in the husbandry of the parish. Thomas Foxley, rated one of the richest inhabitants in the military survey of 1522 and the lay subsidy of 1523,¹⁰⁸ principally made bequests in the form of sheep when he made his will in 1524.¹⁰⁹ A decade later, the rector's tithes from sheep and wool, worth £3 10s. in 1535, almost exactly equalled the £3 11s. value of the tithes of corn.¹¹⁰ Bequests of sheep remained common in the later 16th century, and in 1583 Thomas Eycot left more than 130 sheep and 35 fleeces of wool.¹¹¹ By contrast, 16th-century probate records rarely refer to cattle. Foxley shared two cows between his two children,¹¹² and Eycot left a cow to each of his six daughters, and a yoke of draught beasts each to his two sons and a brother.¹¹³ Seven years later the widow Joan Harbard left legacies of three cows, two pigs, and one stall of bees, as well as one ewe and one lamb.¹¹⁴ In the late 16th century the Marshall family had common of pasture for 430 sheep, 27 rother beasts and five horses, whilst John Biddle was entitled to keep 200 sheep, seven beasts and three horses;¹¹⁵ in the 17th century the Denton family had right of pasture for 175 sheep.¹¹⁶

The scale of sheep-farming evidently put pressure on the resources of the parish, and the manorial court made frequent orders regulating the folding of the sheep on the commons. The tenants' sheep were to be pastured during the winter on the north and south fields,¹¹⁷ while the Moor field in the north of the parish was reserved exclusively for the flock of the demesne farm.¹¹⁸ Measures to regulate the use of sheep pasture included the annual appointment of sheep-tellers, and an order in 1582 that the tenants appoint a single shepherd to keep their flocks.¹¹⁹ The pressure on the fold-course was perhaps intensified by the letting of sheep pasture to outsiders. In the winter of 1570 the merchant Thomas Robins of Matson had 500 sheep pastured in Bagendon.¹²⁰ John Surman, the Cirencester clothier who held the lase for Trinity mill,¹²¹ may have been subletting his right of pasture in 1574, when the manorial court imposed a hefty fine of 6s. 8d. on him for each time a sheep belonging to another tenant was impounded on his sheep sleight.¹²² In the following year, Surman was himself presented for folding his lambs in the stubble field.¹²³

Piecemeal enclosure of the common fields probably began in the late Middle Ages, and continued during the 16th century. More arable land was enclosed by agreement in 1571, each

¹⁰⁶*Domesday*, 468.

¹⁰⁷*Book of Fees*, I, 308.

¹⁰⁸*Glos. Military Survey, 1522*, ed. R. W. Hoyle, 104; *Glos. Lay Subsidy*, 374.

¹⁰⁹GA, GDR/R12/84.

¹¹⁰*Valor Eccles.* II, 449.

¹¹¹GA, GDR, Wills, 1573/142.

¹¹²GA, GDR/R12/84.

¹¹³GA, GDR, Wills, 1573/142

¹¹⁴GA, GDR, Wills, 1590/49.

¹¹⁵Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 6, f. 43; Book 7, ff. 72v, 81.

¹¹⁶Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 12, ff. 35v–36v.

¹¹⁷Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 4, f. 106.

¹¹⁸Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 5, f. 148v.

¹¹⁹Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 5, f. 148v.

¹²⁰GA, GDR/B4/3/77.

¹²¹Longleat House, NMR 2006–7.

¹²²Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 4, f. 38.

¹²³Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 4, f.64.

tenant abating 3 sheep from his stint in the fields for each acre enclosed.¹²⁴ The rector was subsequently permitted to enclose his grove, adjoining Moor wood, in 1580.¹²⁵ When another small enclosure was allowed in 1619, the tenant was to abate four sheep from his stint for each acre enclosed.¹²⁶ When more enclosures were made in 1701, one tenant had his stint reduced by 20 sheep every second year for 11 a., and two others were to reduce their stint by three sheep every second year for each acre enclosed. The jurors subsequently recorded the stints of each tenant, ranging from five sheep each for the two smallest holdings, to 193 sheep for Bagendon farm, amounting to a total of 609 sheep for the whole manor.¹²⁷

In the late 16th century there was one large freehold estate in the parish, comprising 5½ virgates (or yardlands) measuring 132 a. of arable land, suggesting a yardland amounted to 24 a. at this date.¹²⁸ This and a 5-yardland copyhold, comprising 96 a. of arable land and c.20 a. of enclosed meadow and pasture in the 17th century,¹²⁹ are presumably evidence of the consolidation of holdings during the Middle Ages, whilst the Moor, comprising 149 a. including a large compact block in the north of the parish, probably represents late-medieval occupation of uncultivated land.¹³⁰ The demesnes were farmed with the manor house by the reign of Elizabeth I,¹³¹ and presumably much earlier. From the late 17th century Bagendon farm was held by the Eycot family with the Moor and one other tenement to produce an estate amounting in total to c.407 a. By the early 18th century most of the tenant land in the manor had been converted to leases for lives.¹³² A survey of 1746 recorded a total of 903 a. in the parish divided between 13 tenements, ranging in size from ½ a. of meadow to the demesne farm, c.325 a., including the 7-a. Bagendon grove. Two 100-a. tenements had been combined by John Parsloe, whilst the only copyhold still remaining in 1746 amounted to 121 a. in total. Six of the 13 tenements comprised less than 20 a. each. The survey also recorded common of pasture for a total of 670 sheep.¹³³

Since Enclosure

Enclosure, affecting c.620 a.,¹³⁴ was achieved in 1792 by agreement between the principal landowners. Before enclosure only Moor wood, measuring 33 a., was in the lord's hand, subsequently augmented by a small allotment of 2 a. of land in lieu of certain timber rights. The rector was awarded allotments of c.76 a. for his glebe which, with a small close exchange with the demesne farm, brought his total estate to c.78 a. Two freehold estates, measuring c.10 a. and c.5 a. respectively, were held by the Yellow School in Cirencester and Thomas Master. The remainder of the parish was divided between eight leaseholders. Bagendon or Manor farm, the largest in the parish, comprised c.318 a., two more farms were just under 200 a., three farms were between 50 a. and 100 a. in size, and two estates – held with the inn and the mill respectively – were between 10 a. and 15 a.¹³⁵ The enclosure of the parish may have been undertaken in anticipation of the subsequent sale of the manor, and certainly facilitated its purchase by speculators, who resold the individual

¹²⁴Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 3, f. 17.

¹²⁵Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 5, f. 91v.

¹²⁶Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 10, f. 35.

¹²⁷Longleat House, NMR 1983.

¹²⁸Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 6, f. 43; Book 7, f. 81.

¹²⁹Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 6, f. 59v; Book 12, ff. 35v–36v.

¹³⁰Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 12, ff. 33–33v.

¹³¹Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 72, p. 12.

¹³²Longleat House, NMR 2119; 1746 survey.

¹³³Longleat House, 1746 survey; GA, D2190/1.

¹³⁴GA, D475/Box 94725.

¹³⁵GA, D475/Box 94725.

properties to their tenants.¹³⁶ A total of 420 a. were under cultivation in 1801, sown principally with barley (115 a.), wheat (104 a.), oats (95 a.), and turnips (95 a.), with small amounts of potatoes and beans.¹³⁷

Almost two-thirds of the parish was dedicated to arable farming in 1838, all on stonebrush and cultivated in a five-field course, and 387 a. were actually sown or in fallow that year. Typically one acre of land would produce 16 bushels of wheat, 28 bushels of barley, or 15 cwt of hay. There were another 245 a. of meadow and pasture, and 75 a. of down, supporting a total of 1,200 sheep. Woodland accounted for just 55 a.¹³⁸ By that date the parish was divided between six landowners. Manor Farm, the property of Giles Hinton, was the largest in the parish, occupying 482 a. Moor Wood farm amounted to 230 a., owned by Henrietta Haines, and her son Edward farmed another 118 a. in the south of the parish from Daglingworth. The rector, Revd John Lewis Bythesea, had added a small holding of *c.*74 a. to his glebe (78 a.), and William Fielder Croome of North Cerney owned another 96 a. The owners of the Bear inn and Trinity Mill held 16 a. and 10 a. respectively.¹³⁹ The farm buildings at Moor Wood were said to be in poor repair in 1842, and the farm land had been over-cropped and was out of course. It was recommended that one-sixth of the arable land be converted to sainfoin for mowing, and the remainder should be converted to a four-field course, and have a flock of sheep always kept on it.¹⁴⁰ The derelict buildings were replaced by a modern farm erected on a new site to the west of Moor Wood House.¹⁴¹

In the later 19th century, wheat, barley and fodder crops dominated arable land use in Bagendon. Land farmed from the parish in 1866 was sown with oats (532 a.), barley (175 a.), wheat (167 a.), vetches (63 a.) and peas (32 a.), and small amounts of rye, potatoes and turnips, while 285 a. were under clover, and 7 a. lay fallow. In the following year similar amounts of wheat and barley were sown, and 200 a. were sown with turnips and swedes, while only 32 a. were sown with oats. Meadow and permanent pasture accounted for another 367 a., providing grazing in 1866 for 93 head of cattle, 1,104 sheep, and 142 pigs, rising in the following year to 166 head of cattle, 1,466 sheep and 110 pigs.¹⁴² Towards the end of the 19th century there was a shift from arable to stock farming. Manor Farm, sold in 1881 to Edward Aldam Leatham of Miserden and later occupied by his widow,¹⁴³ was reduced to 380 a. and let to Edward Trinder, who had already established a model dairy stocked with Jersey cattle on his 76-a. farm.¹⁴⁴ Home Farm, the property of James Capel Croome of Bagendon House,¹⁴⁵ comprised 200 a. in 1887, including 90 a. of pasture, which in that year supported a flock of 326 sheep and 46 head of shorthorn cattle.¹⁴⁶ A substantial modern house was constructed on a new site to the north of the farm in 1891.¹⁴⁷ Two new farms were established in the south of the parish. Near the boundary with Stratton and Daglingworth, cottages and a barn

¹³⁶Above, Landownership.

¹³⁷*1801 Crop Returns Eng.*

¹³⁸TNA, IR 18/2629.

¹³⁹GA, GDR/T1/66.

¹⁴⁰GA, D3495/Box 2.

¹⁴¹OS 6", Glos. XLIII.SW (1882 edn).

¹⁴²TNA, MAF 68/25–6. The figures from the MAF 68 parish summaries, which amount to more land than was contained within the parish, included land farmed from Bagendon in other parishes, and so must be seen as indicative rather than definitive statistics of land use in the parish.

¹⁴³GA, D1388/SL/6/94.

¹⁴⁴*Glouc. Citizen*, 6 Sep. 1881; *Glouc. Chron.* 21 Mar. 1891; *Glouc. J.* 29 Aug. 1891; *Wilts. & Glos. Standard*, 3 Oct. 1891.

¹⁴⁵GA, D1388/Box 9401/7

¹⁴⁶*Wilts. & Glos. Standard*, 22 Jan. 1887; 19 Mar. 1887.

¹⁴⁷GA, D2593/2/560.

erected before 1838 had by 1875 become Bagendon Downs Farm (later Price's Barn), occupying 185 a. of arable land in Bagendon and Daglingworth.¹⁴⁸ Trinity Farm was established opposite the mill by Thomas Lewis, who also owned a bacon-curing factory in Cirencester.¹⁴⁹ The mechanisation of agriculture was indicated by the employment in 1891 of two men as traction engine drivers.¹⁵⁰

By the start of the 20th century land in Bagendon was dedicated primarily to sheep farming, and the amount employed for arable had fallen dramatically by 1900, with a total of 352 a. of land under crops. Whilst the number of cattle had remained relatively stable at 87, and the number of pigs had fallen to 54, there were a total of 3,617 sheep in the parish.¹⁵¹ Given the focus on sheep rearing, unsurprisingly fodder crops such as oats (104 a.) and turnips (108 a.) continued to dominate, whilst there had been a sharp decline in the amount of wheat (45 a.) and barley (76 a.) sown; small amounts of potatoes, mangold and vetches were also grown. Most of the 333 a. lying in fallow was set aside for mowing, and there were 383 a. of permanent pasture. In 1909 the five principal farms were Home Farm (274 a.), Moor Wood Farm (235 a.), Manor Farm (196 a.), Trinity Farm (145 a.), and Price's Barn (120 a.).¹⁵²

Over the course of the 20th century the agricultural focus of the parish turned increasingly to dairying. Both the Leatham family at Manor Farm and the Robinson family at Moor Wood Farm won prizes for their shorthorn cattle,¹⁵³ which were also bred on Home Farm, predominantly a stock farm.¹⁵⁴ Consequently the amount of land under crops had fallen to 251 a. by 1925, principally sown with wheat (59 a.), barley (50 a.), oats (84 a.), and turnips (41 a.). The amount of permanent pasture increased to 436 a., which supported 164 head of cattle, including 48 milk cows, 394 sheep, and 119 pigs. This land was divided between four medium-sized holdings, of between 150 a. and 300 a., and four holdings of 100 a. or less, of which two were smaller than 20 a., whilst one more parishioner kept livestock on less than 1 a. Together they provided regular employment for 16 people, and casual work for another three.¹⁵⁵ From the late 1930s Eric Carus-Wilson of Trinity Farm was noted as a breeder of pedigree pigs.¹⁵⁶

The amount of land under crops in Bagendon had fallen to below 200 a. by 1938, principally wheat and oats. Dairy and sheep farming had declined in importance whilst the establishment of pork and poultry farms was reflected by a significant increase in the number of pigs and chickens. Of the 12 holdings, only three were larger than 100 a., and none larger than 300 a., while seven were 50 a. or smaller. Together they provided employment for 19 workers, all but one full-time.¹⁵⁷ During the Second World War the amount of land under crops increased greatly. Trinity Farm and most of Manor Farm were converted to arable, as were several large fields on other holdings. The two largest farms, Home Farm (319 a.) and Moorwood Farm (174 a.), were mixed farms, whilst Mrs Leatham maintained a small dairy farm on the small holding she farmed from the manor house. And 18-a. holding at Mayfield, usually farmed by a market gardener, was sown with oats and barley

¹⁴⁸GA, D6594/1; OS, 6", Glos. XLIII.SW (1884, 1924 edns).

¹⁴⁹*Glouc. J.* 15 Dec. 1900.

¹⁵⁰TNA, RG 12/2031.

¹⁵¹TNA, MAF 68/1837/3.

¹⁵²GA, D2428/2/18.

¹⁵³*Chelt. Chron.* 12 Jun. 1926; 8 Jun. 1929; inf. from Mr Henry Robinson, Moor Wood Farm; *Country Life*, 3 Feb. 1934, p. ii.

¹⁵⁴*Chelt. Chron.* 4 Oct. 1919.

¹⁵⁵TNA, MAF 68/3241/4.

¹⁵⁶*Kelly's Dir.* (1939 edn); TNA, RG 101/5091F.

¹⁵⁷TNA, MAF 68/3867/44.

in 1940–1, whilst land at Peewit's Hill was farmed from Daglingworth.¹⁵⁸ The end of the war saw a contraction in agricultural activity in the parish. The total amount of land under crops in 1946 was 229 a., which was principally sown with wheat (61 a.), barley (28 a.), oats (35 a.), and mixed corn (47 a.), besides small quantities (20 a. or less) of vegetables and fodder crops, and 3 a. of flax. Dairying and poultry farming had recovered to pre-war levels, with 137 head of cattle and 1,422 poultry birds kept in the parish in 1946, but there were only nine pigs and no sheep. The parish's farms offered full-time employment to 11 men and one woman, assisted by three prisoners of war and one seasonal worker.¹⁵⁹

A decade later the total amount of land under crops had almost doubled, sown with wheat (89 a.), barley (126 a.), oats (67 a.), mixed corn (28 a.), cabbages (for fodder, 55 a.), rape (12 a.), potatoes, beans, and turnips. The amount lying fallow had increased greatly to 464 a., compensating for the reduction in permanent pasture (320 a.) and rough grazing (67 a.). Dairying and poultry farming had both grown significantly in importance, with the numbers of cattle and birds more than doubling by 1957, to 382 head of cattle and 3,473 poultry birds. There had been a recovery of pig and sheep farming to pre-war levels, with a total of 407 sheep and 127 pigs kept in the parish. Land farmed from the parish was divided between 11 holdings, one large (between 300–499 a.), three medium (between 150–299 a.), and seven smallholdings (less than 100 a.), of which three were under 15 a. in size and only two were larger than 50 a. These farms provided employment for 32 people: 22 full-time (all men), three part-time, and seven seasonally (mostly women).¹⁶⁰ Lyncroft Farm, erected at Perrott's Brook early in the 1960s, was a poultry farm breeding broilers for the meat industry,¹⁶¹ and Springfield farm had been erected by 1971.

By the late 1980s three large farms – one 200–300 ha. in size and the other two 50–100 ha. in size – specialised respectively in arable, dairying and poultry, whilst five other holdings, all less than 20 ha. in size, were farmed only part-time. Wheat (188 ha.) and barley (104 ha.) were the principal crops, and another 110 ha. lay fallow. There were 259 head of cattle on the dairy farm, and the poultry farm had 24,000 broiler chickens. There were also 68 sheep kept in the parish. The farms provided employment for 12 people, predominantly the farmers and their families, with only two hired workers, one full-time and one seasonal, employed by the farms.¹⁶²

In 2020 the principal farm in the parish was Moor Wood Farm, an arable farm occupying 424 ha. primarily north-west of the village, growing wheat and barley. Large areas were also dedicated to the growing of wildflowers and bird seed plants, enhanced by wide grass margins and hedgerows, to support pollinators and nesting birds. The farm also kept approximately 100 sheep and 24 horses, grazed extensively to promote the re-establishment of limestone grasslands. Elsewhere in the parish, arable land was cultivated from Dartley Farm in Duntisbourne Rouse, and sheep and horses were kept in paddocks in the south of Bagendon.¹⁶³

MILLS

A mill worth 10s. was recorded at Bagendon in 1086.¹⁶⁴ This was presumably the same as the mill at

¹⁵⁸TNA, MAF 32/82/44.

¹⁵⁹TNA, MAF 68/4169/44.

¹⁶⁰TNA, MAF 68/4570/44.

¹⁶¹GA, DA22/100/18, p. 142; DA22/114/7, p. 226.

¹⁶²TNA, MAF 68/6107/44.

¹⁶³Moor Wood Farm, 'Farming and Conservation', <http://www.moorwoodroses.co.uk/farming--conservation.html> (accessed 1 Dec. 2020); inf. Messrs. Henry and Alex Robinson, Moor Wood House.

¹⁶⁴*Domesday*, 468.

Letherwell, held in 1227 with half a yardland in Bagendon,¹⁶⁵ and known by 1568 as Trinity or Letherwells mill.¹⁶⁶ At that time it was held by a Cirencester clothier, at an annual rent of £3 6s. 8d.,¹⁶⁷ and had probably already been converted for use in the cloth trade. For almost a century from 1668 the mill was held by the Burge family of Cirencester, described as woolmen or clothiers,¹⁶⁸ who employed it as a fulling mill,¹⁶⁹ and an adjoining field was called Rack Close in the 18th century.¹⁷⁰ Parchments were apparently being stored on the premises in the 1720s,¹⁷¹ although it appears unlikely that they were being manufactured there.

The mill was renovated *c.*1728,¹⁷² converted to the production of flour in 1731 with the construction of a bolting mill,¹⁷³ and described in 1732 as having two newly-built pairs of stones.¹⁷⁴ Three years later tenants of the manor were fined for not grinding their corn at the lord's mill.¹⁷⁵ It was still a grist mill in 1742, although one that was said could easily be converted back to a clothing mill.¹⁷⁶ The mill was let to Edmund Lane, an edged-tool maker, in 1761,¹⁷⁷ and in his will of 1772 it was described as a grist mill and grinding mill.¹⁷⁸ His widow, Sarah, complained in 1785 that her poverty and large family left her unable to raise the money to pay a fine to add a life to her lease.¹⁷⁹ Nevertheless, she purchased the mill with *c.*11 a. of land from Joseph Pitt in 1804.¹⁸⁰ Her son Robert, also an edged-tool maker, built the adjoining cottage early in the 19th century.¹⁸¹ The mill was purchased by Thomas Chester Master in 1866,¹⁸² who undertook extensive renovation of the property.¹⁸³ From this date the mill was employed exclusively for grinding corn. It was purchased by the tenant Denzil Barker in 1929, and continued to operate as a mill until *c.*1940.¹⁸⁴ His daughter Joyce undertook a renovation of the premises *c.*1969–71,¹⁸⁵ which still retained its wheel and gearing in 1998.¹⁸⁶

TRADES, CRAFTS AND INDUSTRIES

¹⁶⁵TNA, CP 25/1/73/7, no. 93. Elrington wrongly placed the mill at Lydwell in Kemble: *Glos. Feet of Fines 1199–1299*, p. 43.

¹⁶⁶Longleat House, NMR 2006.

¹⁶⁷Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 72, p. 12.

¹⁶⁸Longleat House, NMR, 2027, 2033, 2119, 2160; TNA, PROB 11/419/72; PROB 11/442/437.

¹⁶⁹*Cirencester Flying Post*, 13 Sep. 1742.

¹⁷⁰Longleat House, NMR 2046; GA, D182/III/12; D674b/T61.

¹⁷¹GA, GDR, Inventories, 1729/5.

¹⁷²TNA, C 11/721/36.

¹⁷³TNA, C 11/721/36.

¹⁷⁴*Glouc. J.* ? Mar. 1732.

¹⁷⁵Longleat House.

¹⁷⁶*Cirencester Flying Post*, 13 Sep. 1742.

¹⁷⁷Longleat House, NMR 2046.

¹⁷⁸GA, GDR, Wills, 1772/149a.

¹⁷⁹Longleat House, NMR 2061.

¹⁸⁰GA, D182/III/12; D674b/T61.

¹⁸¹GA, D674b/T61.

¹⁸²GA, D674b/T61.

¹⁸³GA, D674b/E47.

¹⁸⁴Joyce Barker, 'The Story of Trinity Mill, Bagendon', *Glos. History*, 12 (1998), 6–7; Mills Archive, EMGC/1/12.

¹⁸⁵Mills Archive, OGDE/UKM/69/9; OGDE/UKM/71/2; *Wilts. & Glos. Standard*, 7 May 1971.

¹⁸⁶Barker, 'Trinity Mill', 7; NHLE, No. 1340894, 'Trinity Mill'.

Whilst the majority of occupations recorded in early parochial records were agricultural in nature, there were two tailors resident in the parish in the early 17th century.¹⁸⁷ The clothier John Burge was resident at Trinity Mill at the time of his death in 1697.¹⁸⁸ Thomas Wickham, a young clothworker who left gifts to members of the Burge family at his death in 1697, was presumably employed by them at the mill.¹⁸⁹

There is evidence of small-scale quarrying in several places in the parish, and it has been noted that the Daghman stone can be found on Bagendon downs. Richard Eycot was employed as a rough mason in 1632.¹⁹⁰

During the 19th century the few craftsmen resident in the parish were employed in typical rural crafts such as carpentry or smithing. In 1851 a man was described as a cattle dealer, and a young man found employment as a hawker of yeast and other items.¹⁹¹ There is little evidence of industry, other than the mill, during the century, although there were three masons resident in the parish in 1881, falling to one ten years later, and still in 1911.¹⁹²

Two generations of the Rouse family maintained a shop in the village from the middle of the 19th century until the 1880s.¹⁹³ The village was presumably too small to support a general store after this date, but the rise of motor traffic in the 20th century led to the establishment before the Second World War of a shop on Cheltenham Road. Petrol was being stored at the Bear inn by 1924,¹⁹⁴ presumably to supply to passing motorists, and a garage and petrol station were established on Cheltenham Road c.1935.¹⁹⁵ The establishment of the golf course early in the 20th century provided further opportunities for employment in the parish, including for a resident full-time golf professional.¹⁹⁶

Lyncroft Farm was adapted to accommodate two light industrial workshops c.1991,¹⁹⁷ but was subsequently converted into private residences c.2018,¹⁹⁸ while the disused Bagendon Downs Farm was changed into four light industrial workshops c.2016.¹⁹⁹

BAGENDON SOCIAL HISTORY

SOCIAL CHARACTER

The lord of the manor in 1328, Richard de Bagendon, was apparently resident in the parish at that time. He and six other parishioners contributed to Bagendon's assessment of £1 2s. 3d. for the subsidy in that year.²⁰⁰ After the sale of the manor in 1380 there was no resident lord in the manor,

¹⁸⁷GA, GDR/V1/23; Smith, *Men & Armour*, 245.

¹⁸⁸TNA, PROB 11/442/437.

¹⁸⁹GA, GDR, Wills, 1697/167; P33 IN 1/1, p. 20.

¹⁹⁰GA, P33 IN 1/1, p. 1.

¹⁹¹TNA, HO 107/1968.

¹⁹²TNA, RG 11/2553; RG 12/2031; RG 14/15420.

¹⁹³TNA, HO 107/1968; RG 10/2645; RG 11/2553; *Kelly's Dir.* (1863, 1870, 1879 edns).

¹⁹⁴GA, DA22/100/8, p. 100.

¹⁹⁵GA, DA22/100/9, pp. 198, 333; DA22/100/10, p. 98; *Kelly's Dir.* (1939 edn); TNA, RG 101/5091F.

¹⁹⁶*Kelly's Dir.* (1939 edn).

¹⁹⁷Cotswold District Council, Planning Application 91.01584.

¹⁹⁸Cotswold District Council, Planning Application 17/05225/FUL.

¹⁹⁹*Wilts. & Glos. Standard*, 9 Sep. 2015; Cotswold District Council, Planning Application 15/1048/FUL.

²⁰⁰TNA, E 179/113/5, rot. 5d.

and from 1382 the lord was the chantry of the Holy Trinity in Cirencester parish church.²⁰¹ A number of tenements in the parish lay empty in the early 15th century, perhaps the result of depopulation caused by the Black Death,²⁰² and the chantry enhanced its hold on the manor through its acquisition of these properties.²⁰³ Wealthy laymen also took advantage of the depressed land market to combine these holdings with estates in several neighbouring parishes. John Lucy, the farmer of Stratton manor,²⁰⁴ and perhaps the former MP for Gloucestershire and escheator in the county,²⁰⁵ acquired parcels of land in Bagendon and five other parishes in 1391.²⁰⁶ Another former MP was probably the same William Nottingham that acquired lands in Bagendon, Baunton, Daglingworth and Stratton,²⁰⁷ which later passed with the manors of Coates and Sapperton to his widow's second husband, Richard Poole.²⁰⁸

With no resident landlord, the owners of a handful of medium-sized holdings took a leading role within the small parish. Its size resulted in it being amongst the lowest taxed parishes in the hundred, only two parishes were assessed for lower sums in the 1524 lay subsidy.²⁰⁹ Six inhabitants were assessed in the 1522 military survey, including the owner of the only freehold estate, John Marshall, valued at £1 13s. 4d. His five neighbours were all assessed for higher sums than this, the richest of them, Thomas Foxley, worth £10, while the manor was valued at £14.²¹⁰ Foxley was amongst the wealthiest parishioners taxed in the lay subsidy two years later, assessed at £16, although William Eycot was taxed for the highest value in the parish, at £18. Six other inhabitants were assessed for sums worth £5 or less, including two servants taxed on wages worth £1 each.²¹¹ In the same year, Foxley made bequests of 44 sheep and two cows to his relatives and servants following his death.²¹²

In the century following the Reformation, with the manor now held by the absentee Thynnes of Longleat (Wilts.),²¹³ several of the leading resident families were on the cusp of lesser gentility. Few 16th-century records distinguish any of the parishioners with the title of gentleman, although the farmer of the demesne was sometimes called so in the records of the court leet. Thomas Eycot described himself only as a husbandman when making his will in 1583, although he could afford bequests including more than 130 sheep, three yokes of cows and oxen, 35 fleeces of wool, and £24 in cash. Despite this wealth, his possessions included nothing more opulent than six flock beds and six dozens of pewter.²¹⁴ During the early 17th century the Dowles, farmers of the manor, and the freeholder Marshalls were called gentlemen in the parish registers, and four other families were accounted part of the yeomanry.²¹⁵ John Biddle, who described himself as a yeoman in his will of

²⁰¹Above, Landownership.

²⁰²Above, Population.

²⁰³*Ciren. Cart.* II, 628.

²⁰⁴Below, Stratton, Landownership.

²⁰⁵W.R. Williams, *Parl. Hist. Glos.* 23.

²⁰⁶*Feet of Fines, 1360–1508*, 56.

²⁰⁷*Feet of Fines, 1360–1508*, 125.

²⁰⁸W.R. Williams, *Parl. Hist. Glos.* 36. Below, Coates, Landownership.

²⁰⁹*Glos. Lay Subsidy 1524–7*, 25.

²¹⁰*Military Survey of Glos. 1522*, 104.

²¹¹*Glos. Lay Subsidy 1524–7*, 374.

²¹²GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi.

²¹³Above, Landownership.

²¹⁴GA, GDR Wills, 1583/142.

²¹⁵GA, P33 IN 1/1.

1617, could afford to make legacies worth £400 in total to his eight children.²¹⁶

The 1608 muster roll emphasised the agricultural nature of the parish, listing seven husbandmen or their sons, three labourers, a miller, and a tailor.²¹⁷ The parish registers of the early 17th century supplement this list with references to a shepherd, a rough mason, and a second tailor.²¹⁸ Four out of the 15 householders assessed for the hearth tax in 1672 were exempted on account of their poverty.²¹⁹ At the end of the century, the Cirencester clothier John Burge apparently resided at Trinity Mill, leaving legacies amounting to almost £450 in 1697.²²⁰ His employee, the cloth worker Thomas Wickham, died in the same year, his will revealing that his only possessions of any value were his shears and a pack of warp yarn.²²¹

When the parish was enclosed in 1792, it was divided between twelve holdings, including the glebe, all but 15 a. of which were held under lease from the marquess of Bath. Only one estate, Manor farm, was larger than 300 a., and two more were just under 200 a., whilst four tenements comprised less than 15 a. each.²²² Following the sale of the manor in 1800,²²³ the tenants of each holding purchased their estates outright.²²⁴ During the early 19th century these estates were consolidated, and by 1838 the parish was divided between eight holdings. Manor farm was still the largest, now comprising 462 a., while two more holdings amounting together to c.417 a. were united into a single estate by 1843.²²⁵ The remaining five holdings in 1838, which included the glebe, were all smaller than 100 a. each.²²⁶

In 1831 two-thirds (31 of 46) of the men aged 20 or more whose occupations were recorded were employed as agricultural labourers, and three more parishioners were described as farmers, although only one had a large enough estate to employ labourers. Six men (13 per cent) were occupied in retail or handicrafts, and the same number were employed otherwise, probably including the curate of the parish church, the inn keeper, the miller, and one non-agricultural labourer.²²⁷ A number of the cottages were considered to be in a very poor repair in 1867, with no prospect of improvement, as a consequence of the financial difficulties of one of the landowners. The gardens were small and nearly half had only one bedroom.²²⁸ A former rector recalled how upon his first arriving in Bagendon in 1880, many of the cottages had thatched roofs, small windows, earth floors, and damp walls; large families could only be accommodated within them through the use of hammocks.²²⁹ Agriculture continued to provide the most employment for parishioners in the late 19th century, occupying 36 of the 49 males (74 per cent) whose occupations were recorded in the 1881 census. The two largest farmers, who together possessed more than three-

²¹⁶TNA, PROB 11/129/351.

²¹⁷Smith, *Men and Armour*, 245.

²¹⁸GA, P33 IN 1/1.

²¹⁹TNA, E 179/247/14, rot. 2v; E 179/116/544/36; *Glos. Hearth Tax, 1672*, ed. Jan Broadway, <http://xmera.co.uk/hearthtax/places/194_00.html> (accessed 19 Apr. 2020).

²²⁰TNA, PROB 11/442/437.

²²¹GA, GDR Wills, 1697/167.

²²²GA, D475, Box 94725.

²²³Above, Landownership.

²²⁴GA, D182/III/12; D674b/T61; D1388/Box 9384/6; D2190/1; D3495/Box 6.

²²⁵GA, GDR/T1/14; D3495/14238.

²²⁶GA, GDR/T1/14.

²²⁷*Vision of Britain*, http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10356143/cube/OCC_PAR1831, (accessed 20 Apr. 2020); Census, 1841.

²²⁸*Ist rep. Com. Employment in Agric.* (Parl. Papers, 1867–8 [4608], xvii), p. 101.

²²⁹Rees, *Bagendon*, 99–100.

quarters of the parish, between them employed almost one-quarter of the population. Horace Haines, the lord of the manor, employed 18 labourers on his 540 a., and another three domestic servants at Moorwood house. The next largest landowner, local magistrate William Fielder Croome, employed 15 labourers on his 327-a. farm, and eight domestic servants at Bagendon House. A third farmer, William Evans, appears only to have held enough land to employ himself and his two adult sons. A total of 31 males were occupied in agricultural labour, including a farm bailiff, four shepherds, and a gardener. A further six males were employed in domestic service, whilst there were three masons, two carpenters, a miller, and the publican. Of the 12 women for whom an occupation was recorded, ten worked in domestic service, and the remaining two were employed as a shop keeper and a teacher.²³⁰

By the early 20th century, the land of the parish was divided between nine owners. Agriculture remained an important source of employment, occupying 27 of the 57 males for whom an occupation was recorded in the 1911 census. The construction of large villas along Cheltenham Road increased the demand for domestic servants within the parish, providing employment for 25 females and 16 males, including as chauffeurs.²³¹ The first car arrived in the parish at Moorwood in 1910, and by 1913 there were three cars.²³² There was still little industrial activity, although two men were employed by the mill, two men as masons, one as a carpenter, and one on the railway. There were also the rector, two teachers, the pub landlord, a postman, and the new golf club provided employment for two men. One man and five women were living on private means, and two women were receiving old age pensions.²³³ A former rector remarked in 1932 upon the marked improvement in the standard of housing in the parish between the end of his first incumbency in 1890, and his return as rector 30 years later. Fourteen cottages had been newly built in the 20th century, and c.20 more had been carefully repaired and enlarged, whilst nine unfit dwellings were demolished. He also observed the declining birth rate in the parish, noting that there had been 60 births in the years 1881–93 and just 16 in the years 1920–32, resulting in the closure of the parish school for lack of children.²³⁴

Like its neighbours, Bagendon had developed into a dormitory community during the late 20th century due to its good communication links, and in 2001 inhabitants travelled on average 29 km. (18 miles) for work.²³⁵ In 2011, 110 inhabitants (63 per cent) were employed and 47 (27 per cent) were retired; 25 (10 per cent) were aged 15 or under, and 76 (32 per cent) were aged 65 or over. In contrast to a century earlier, no residents were occupied in agriculture. The largest employment sector was health and social work, providing work to 17 parishioners (15 per cent of those employed), closely followed by education and trade, which each employed 13 people (11 per cent). Of the 114 inhabitants in work, 25 (22 per cent) were employed in managerial roles and an identical number in professional occupations, 15 (13 per cent) worked in technical roles, and the same number in elementary occupations. All but two of the 239 inhabitants were white; eighteen residents were born outside the United Kingdom, including eight born in other European Union states.²³⁶

COMMUNAL LIFE

²³⁰Census, 1881.

²³¹Census, 1911.

²³²*Vehicle Registration in Glos. 1903–13*, 146, 214, 242, 254, 258.

²³³Census, 1911.

²³⁴Rees, *Bagendon*, 132–3.

²³⁵Census, 2001.

²³⁶Census, 2011.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES:

Several friendly societies were founded in the parish during the 19th century, but all appear to have been short-lived. A society had been established in Bagendon before 1804, when it had 80 members,²³⁷ which had risen to 105 members by 1813.²³⁸ This may have been the same society, meeting at the Bear inn, that was registered in 1821.²³⁹ A Bagendon and Rendcomb friendly society was formed in 1835.²⁴⁰ The Perrotts Brook benefit society was established at the Bear inn c.1860, with 70 members by the following year.²⁴¹ It was dissolved in 1867.²⁴²

VILLAGE HALL

Following the closure of the parish school in 1932,²⁴³ the building continued to be used for parochial business, such as the meetings of the parochial church council. From 1939 the building was to be let on an annual basis for use for social activities, while remaining the principle venue for parochial business.²⁴⁴ The outbreak of the Second World War shortly afterwards presumably brought an end to this plan, but in 1944 the building was renovated, with the removal of the internal wall, and opened as the new village hall later in that year.²⁴⁵ Initially it was used for whist drives, plays, quizzes and spelling bees,²⁴⁶ and a rifle club was established there in 1948.²⁴⁷ The parochial church council were informed in 1975 that, due to an oversight in 1942, the village hall had not been owned by the parish for over 30 years, and so they were powerless to prevent the hall being converted into offices.²⁴⁸

INNS

The inn near Perrot's Brook, referred to in 1680,²⁴⁹ was called the New inn by 1687,²⁵⁰ and by 1732 the Bear.²⁵¹ It was probably the house built in the mid 17th century in a close called the Upper Moor, north of the Welsh Way.²⁵² An inventory of 1690 described it as having five chambers and three garrets, as well as a hall and an old hall. In total, the inn contained 15 beds, including one feather bed in the best chamber, and two looking glasses.²⁵³ Identifying the inn is complicated by the

²³⁷*Poor Law Abs.* 1804, 174–5.

²³⁸*Poor Law Abs.* 1818, 148–9.

²³⁹*List of Friendly Societies Registered in Counties of England and Wales* (Parl. Papers, 1824 (471), xviii), p. 7.

²⁴⁰*Return relating to Friendly Societies enrolled in Counties of England and Wales and Scotland* (Parl. Papers, 1837 (71), li), p. 9.

²⁴¹*Wilts. & Glos. Standard*, 1 Jun. 1861.

²⁴²*Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies in England, 1868* (Parl. Papers, 1867–8 (397), xl), p. 12.

²⁴³Below, Education.

²⁴⁴GA, P 33 VE 2/2.

²⁴⁵GA, P33 VE 2/3, 2 Mar. 1944; 4 Jan. 1945.

²⁴⁶GA, P33 VE 2/3, 26 Sep. 1945.

²⁴⁷Below, Sport.

²⁴⁸GA, P33 VE 2/4, 20 Oct. 1975.

²⁴⁹GA, P33 IN 1/1, pp. 8, 30.

²⁵⁰TNA, E 134/3and4JAS2/HIL15.

²⁵¹GA, GDR, Wills, 1732/10.

²⁵²Longleat House, Book 12, f. 36v.

²⁵³GA, GDR, Inventories, 1690/115.

existence of another inn on the North Cerney side of Perrot's Bank apparently also called the New inn and the Bear during the 18th century, and it is possible that the signs transferred between the two parishes at some point.²⁵⁴ The house of Thomas Bell, associated during the later 18th century with the nearby races at North Cerney, was called the Bear by 1789, when it was held by his daughter Fanny.²⁵⁵ By that date the inn was located on the south side of the Welsh Way, in a building that may previously have been a farmhouse, while the former inn to the north had been converted into four small dwellings.²⁵⁶ When the Cheltenham–Cirencester turnpike was constructed in 1825 its route crossed the Welsh Way adjacent to the Bear.²⁵⁷ As a result, the inn was significantly enlarged during the mid 19th century.²⁵⁸ The Bear remained open until 2002, when it was converted into an antiques shop, before becoming a private residence *c.*2018.²⁵⁹

The original 17th-century 2-storey 'L'-shaped house was extended in the 19th century, when a new entrance front was constructed with the addition of blocks on either side of the east-facing central gable.²⁶⁰ The old inn is now divided into two dwellings called the Malt House and the Malt House Cottage.

SPORT

A field in the centre of the parish was called Football Close, the name being first recorded in the 1650s.²⁶¹

During the 17th century, the tenants of larger holdings were required by the terms of their leases to maintain hounds or spaniels belonging to the lord of the manor.²⁶² The bailiff of the manor accounted for his expenditure in producing hurdles or gates (*flakes*) for the dogs in 1625 and 1626.²⁶³ From the 19th century at least, the parish lay within the large territory of the Cheltenham country of the Berkeley hunt, and Moor Wood was said to be one of the favourite coverts. Following the death of Earl Fitzharding in 1857, the territory was broken up, and Bagendon was included within the new territory of the Cotswold hunt established in the following year.²⁶⁴ William Fielder Croome of Bagendon House was master of the nearby Vale of the White Horse Hunt between 1857 and 1861.²⁶⁵

The Cirencester Golf Club relocated from its original site in Sapperton to Bagendon in 1909.²⁶⁶ The club house was erected on a site near Trinity Mill, whilst the 18-hole course straddled the boundary between Bagendon and Stratton.²⁶⁷ The golf club remains open in 2020.

A rifle club was established *c.*1948, meeting twice a week at a range erected at the village

²⁵⁴*VCH Glos.* VII, 152.

²⁵⁵*Oxford Jnl*, 4 Jun. 1768; 14 Jul. 1784; *VCH Glos.* VII, 152.

²⁵⁶GA, D182/III/12; D475, Box 94725.

²⁵⁷GA, GDR/T1/14.

²⁵⁸OS Map, 25" (1885 edn), Glos. XLIII.14.

²⁵⁹*Hare's Antiques*, <https://www.hares-antiques.com> (accessed 5 Apr. 2020).

²⁶⁰NHLE, No. 1090275, 'The Bear'.

²⁶¹Longleat House, Book 12, f. 36.

²⁶²Longleat House, Book 6, f. 36; Book 7, f. 72v; Book 12, ff. 33–33v, 36–36v.

²⁶³Longleat House, Book 26, ff. 35–6; Book 28, f. 15.

²⁶⁴*VCH Glos.* II, 288–92; *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 7 Dec. 1858; 31 Dec. 1949; 'History of the Cotswold Hunt', <http://www.cotswoldhunt.co.uk> (accessed 20 Apr. 2020).

²⁶⁵*VCH Glos.* II, 294; Rees, *Bagendon*, 102.

²⁶⁶*Wilts. & Glos. Standard*, 6 Mar. 1909; 19 Jun. 1909; 4 Sep. 1909.

²⁶⁷OS Map, 6" (1921 edn.), Glos. LI.

hall. It was still functioning in 1951,²⁶⁸ but by 1953 was said to be struggling to find enough men to make up a team.²⁶⁹

EDUCATION

There was a day school educating six children in the parish in 1818, and a Sunday school was available to everybody. The rector reported that there was an eagerness for more education among the labouring poor, but that the exhaustion of their work left them incapable of attending evening classes.²⁷⁰ The Sunday school was apparently re-established c.1825, and a decade later was educating between 18 and 20 children, all at the charge of the rector. A daily school provided for another 13 children, of whom 8 were supported by the rector and the other five by their parents.²⁷¹ There were still two schools in the parish c.1847, a dame school teaching 14 pupils (five boys and nine girls) every day, and a Sunday school educating another 18 children (four boys and 14 girls). Neither school had a dedicated school room or teacher's house, and both were adjudged to be in a very poor state, for want of funds, teachers and facilities.²⁷² An untrained young mistress taught an average of 14 children in 1867, largely at the cost of the rector, although the children's parents paid weekly fees of 1*d.* or 2*d.* There was no night school in the parish at that time. The parochial school was said to be in a precarious position, accommodated in a cottage that might be taken back in hand at short notice according to the needs of the farm.²⁷³

There were 16 children attending the parish school in 1871, four boys and 12 girls.²⁷⁴ Construction of a new schoolroom commenced in that year on a site adjacent to the village pound, comprising separate classrooms for the infant and junior children.²⁷⁵ Supported by grants from the government and the National Society, the school opened in January 1873 with 24 children in attendance.²⁷⁶ The new school had room to accommodate 50 children, although the average attendance was 18 in 1875–6, when the school was supported by a government grant of c.£15.²⁷⁷ Problems with frequent changes of staff and poor quality teachers impacted on the standard of the work produced by the children, and a very critical report in 1893 put the school's grant in jeopardy. The managers immediately dismissed the inefficient teacher, and had taken enough steps by the following year for the grant to be continued.²⁷⁸

The regular migration of pupils, whose families moved each year in search of work, was blamed for deficiencies in the standard of the school in 1903.²⁷⁹ Although it could accommodate 55 children in 1905, there was an average attendance of 34, which fell to 19 by 1915.²⁸⁰ The frequent turnover in pupils continued in the years after the First World War, with a large proportion on the rolls each year having only recently been admitted to the school. Consequently, the school struggled

²⁶⁸GA, P33 VE 2/3, 6 Dec. 1948; 4 Oct. 1951.

²⁶⁹GA, P33 VE 2/3, 9 Sep. 1953.

²⁷⁰*Educ. of Poor Digest, 1818* (Parl. Papers, 1819 (224) ix), p. 290.

²⁷¹*Educ. Enq. Abs. 1835* (Parl. Papers, 1835 (62), xli), p. 302.

²⁷²[National Society Enquiry 1846–7, *Glos.* pp. 2–3].

²⁷³*Ist Rep. Com. Employment in Agric.* (Parl. Papers, 1867–8 [4608], xvii), p. 101.

²⁷⁴*Ret. Relating to Elem. Educ.* (Parl. Papers, 1871 (201), lv), pp. 130–1.

²⁷⁵GA, P33 VE 2/1, pp. 7–9; P33 SC 1; D2186/9.

²⁷⁶TNA, ED 103/116/33, pp. 593–609; CERC, NS/7/1/609; GA, S33/1, p. 1.

²⁷⁷*Ret. of Public Elem. Schools, 1877* (Parl. Papers, 1877 [Cd 1882], lxvii), pp. 76–7; GA, S33/1, p. 50.

²⁷⁸GA, S33/1, pp. 327–9, 331–3.

²⁷⁹GA, S33/2, p. 11.

²⁸⁰TNA, ED 21/5714; *Ret. Non-Provided Schools, 1906* (Parl. Papers, 1906 (178), lxxxvii–lxxxviii), *Glos.* p. 19.

to achieve high standards, although inspectors praised the careful and methodical work.²⁸¹ Average attendance rose to 23 in 1920, but declined again thereafter.²⁸² The low number of children in the upper school meant that the focus was on traditional elementary subjects, although history and geography were also included on the curriculum by 1922.²⁸³ The school was reorganised as a junior school only from 1925, and children over the age of nine were transferred to the school in North Cerney.²⁸⁴ There were only eight children registered at the school in 1932, three of whom were over the age of nine and so should not have been attending there. The school was therefore closed, and the remaining pupils were transferred to North Cerney school.²⁸⁵

SOCIAL WELFARE

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR

There were no endowed charities in Bagendon in 1683,²⁸⁶ and the commissioners to inquire into charities found none in the parish in the 19th century.²⁸⁷

POOR RELIEF

There are no overseers records extant for the parish. Between 1698 and 1728, the parish registers record the deaths of three individuals described as almspeople.²⁸⁸ Nine parishioners and their 20 children were in receipt of permanent out-relief in 1804, and another six received relief occasionally.²⁸⁹ In the years 1813–5 between ten and 13 adult parishioners received out-relief permanently, and between 15 and 17 more received out-relief occasionally.²⁹⁰ In 1867 the rector let approximately 3½ a. as allotments for the poor,²⁹¹ maintained until 1885,²⁹² and established provident clubs to provide coal, clothes and children's boots for the poor of the parish, which were still functioning in 1932.²⁹³

BAGENDON RELIGIOUS HISTORY

A church had been established in Bagendon by the 12th century, and possibly earlier. Never a rich parish, nevertheless the benefice remained an independent rectory until the late 20th century. Between the Reformation and the mid 19th century the benefice was often held by pluralists, although many of these usually resided within the parish. There is no evidence of any formal organization by Catholics or Nonconformists within the parish, although individuals may have been

²⁸¹TNA, ED 21/5714; ED 21/28683; GA, S33/2, pp. 133–4, 196, 229..

²⁸²TNA, ED 21/28683.

²⁸³TNA, ED 21/28683.

²⁸⁴TNA, ED 21/28683.

²⁸⁵GA, P33 SC 1; TNA, ED 21/28683.

²⁸⁶GA, GDR/V5/33T.

²⁸⁷TNA, CHAR 2/90.

²⁸⁸GA, P33 IN 1/1, pp. 21, 33.

²⁸⁹*Poor Law Abs. 1804* (Parl. Papers, 1804 (175), i), pp. 174–5.

²⁹⁰*Poor Law Abs. 1818* (Parl. Papers, 1818 (82), xix), pp. 148–9.

²⁹¹*Ist rep. Com. Employment in Agric.* (Parl. Papers, 1867–8 [4608], xvii), p. 101.

²⁹²Rees, *Bagendon*, 110.

²⁹³Rees, *Bagendon*, 110; GA, P33 VE 2/1, pp. 27, 29, 43.

drawn to nearby Cirencester, with its strong Nonconformist presence. The acquisition in 1816 of the advowson by Jesus College, Oxford, with its strong Welsh connections, resulted in the parish usually being served by a Welshman whilst it remained independent. Following a succession of amalgamations with neighbouring parishes over the course of 40 years, Bagendon is now served by a team ministry as part of the nine-parish Church Valley benefice.

CHURCH ORIGINS AND PAROCHIAL ORGANIZATION

Although it has been suggested that the church at Bagendon is of Saxon origins, no reference is made to a church in Domesday,²⁹⁴ and the oldest extant material dates from the 12th century.²⁹⁵ The dedication of the church to St Margaret was recorded in 1524.²⁹⁶ By the middle of the 19th century the church was said to be dedicated to St Margaret of Antioch,²⁹⁷ although one former rector suggested that the original dedication was more likely to have been to St Margaret of Scotland.²⁹⁸

The boundaries of the ecclesiastical parish of Bagendon were altered in 1927, to incorporate parts of the parishes of Duntisbourne Rous and Daglingworth.²⁹⁹ The benefice was united with North Cerney in 1974. A proposal to unite the new benefice to the Duntisbournes with Daglingworth and Winstone in 1984 never took effect.³⁰⁰ North Cerney with Bagendon was united to Stratton with Baunton in 1994,³⁰¹ known as the Lower Churn benefice from 2009, which combined with the Upper Churn benefice in 2014 to become the Churn Valley benefice.³⁰²

ADVOWSON AND CHURCH ENDOWMENT

Advowson

The advowson of the church descended with the manor, and members of the Bagendon family presented to the rectory in the 13th and 14th century.³⁰³ After 1382 the chaplain of Trinity chapel in the church of Cirencester presented to the parish.³⁰⁴ The foundation of the chantry may have been the cause of the issuing of a commission to the bishop of Chichester to expedite the exchange of Bagendon with Little Horsted (Suss.) in 1382.³⁰⁵

Following the dissolution of the chantries, the advowson passed with the manor in 1551 to Sir John Thynne and descended in his family.³⁰⁶ Thynne granted in 1568 the right to make the next presentation to the living to his servant, the mason John Cranage of Cherhill (Wilts.). Despite this, one John Moyer was presented to the living by the Crown in 1576 and admitted by the archbishop

²⁹⁴*Domesday*, 468.

²⁹⁵Verey, *Glos.* I, 94; NHLE, 'Church of St Margaret', No. 1090271 (accessed 30 Jan. 2020).

²⁹⁶GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi.

²⁹⁷*Religious Census of 1851*, ed. Munden, 246.

²⁹⁸Rees, *Bagendon*, 48.

²⁹⁹*London Gaz.* 26 Jul. 1927, 4822–3.

³⁰⁰GA, P33 VE 2/6.

³⁰¹GA, P33 VE 2/6; P33 VE 2/7.

³⁰²Below, Stratton, *Religious History*.

³⁰³*Reg. Godfrey Giffard*, I, 109; *Reg. Thomas Cobham*, 231; *Reg. Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Worcester*, 75.

³⁰⁴*Reg. Henry Wakefield*, 98.

³⁰⁵*Reg. Henry Wakefield*, 35.

³⁰⁶Above, *Landownership*.

during his visitation, apparently at the instigation of Thynne.³⁰⁷ The living was described at that time to be legally vacant, and Moyer compounded for first-fruits in 1577,³⁰⁸ but it was later said still to have been held by the incumbent, William Harrington, who was described as rector when he died late in that year.³⁰⁹ In the meantime Cranage successfully asserted his right to the advowson for the next turn, and he presented his choice of Richard Burton to the living in 1578.³¹⁰ The Lord Protector presented to the rectory in 1657.³¹¹ The advowson was purchased with the manor in 1800 by Joseph Pitt,³¹² who obtained an Act of Parliament in 1816 to enable him to exchange it with Jesus College, Oxford, for their advowson of Cheltenham.³¹³ The college retained the advowson, and in 2020 was one of the patrons of the Churn Valley benefice, with the right to present every ninth turn.

Church Endowment

The rectory was valued at £8 8s. 9d. in 1535.³¹⁴ The living was said to be worth £40 in 1650,³¹⁵ and still in the early 18th century.³¹⁶ It was valued at £80 in 1772, but only £60 by 1794.³¹⁷ The benefice was worth £215 in 1831,³¹⁸ £305 in 1851,³¹⁹ and £170 in 1906.³²⁰ When the boundaries of the benefice were expanded in 1927,³²¹ c.£333 of three per cent stock was transferred from the endowment of Duntisbourne Rous to that of Bagendon,³²² and in 1931 the benefice was worth £355. It was augmented in 1944 with a grant of £144 for seven years under the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' Scheme K, which matched grants by the parish and diocesan board of finance. This, together with the Easter offerings, worth £25 a year, and a gift from the parish to the rector worth £23 a year, raised the annual value of the benefice to £482.³²³ This arrangement was renewed for a further three years 1951, and the stipend was increased to £550 in 1952. The parish's share of the augmented stipend was taken over permanently by the diocese in 1954.³²⁴

In 1535 tithes were collected on wheat, wool, lambs and hay, worth a combined total of £6 16s., the petty tithes and dues were worth 14s. 8d., and the tithes of the mill were valued at 3s. 4d.³²⁵ In the early 17th century parishioners paid an agistment of 3d. for each milking cow, and half that rate for each cow that was not milking, and 2d. a year for their Easter offerings.³²⁶ By 1680 agistments were paid at the rate of 9d. for each cow and calf, 1d. for each sheep and 1d. for their

³⁰⁷*Cal. Pat.*, 1575–8, 148; GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi.

³⁰⁸GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi.

³⁰⁹GA, GDR/V1/23.

³¹⁰GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi.

³¹¹GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi.

³¹²Above, Landownership.

³¹³56 Geo. III c.74; GA, D2025/Box 52/Bundle 1.

³¹⁴*Valor Eccles.* II, 449.

³¹⁵*Trans. BGAS*, 83, p. 94; TNA, C 94/1, f. 32.

³¹⁶Atkyns, *Glos.* 248; *Chancellor Parsons's Notes*, ed. Fendley, 54.

³¹⁷GA, GDR, hockaday Abs. cxi.

³¹⁸*Rep. Com. Eccl. Revenues, 1835* (Parl. Papers, 1835 (67), xxii), 404–5.

³¹⁹*Religious Census of 1851*, ed. Munden, 246.

³²⁰*Kelly's Dir.* (1906 edn).

³²¹Above.

³²²*London Gaz.* 26 Jul. 1927, 4822–3.

³²³GA, P33 VE 2/3.

³²⁴GA, P33 VE 2/3.

³²⁵*Valor Eccles.* II, 449.

³²⁶GA, GDR/114, p. 63.

gardens. The tithes were commuted in 1838,³²⁷ worth c.£190 in 1851.³²⁸

In 1535 the glebe amounted to 51 a. of arable land and a close of 1 a., together valued at 14*s.* 9*d.*³²⁹ The glebe was calculated to comprise 50 a. of arable and 18 a. of pasture and meadow in 1678, but a new terrier submitted two years later found it to consist of 47 a. of arable and 13 a. of pasture and meadow. The rector also had a share of the first shear of hay and the winter feeding on another 1½ a. of meadow.³³⁰ In 1715 an exchange was made of 8 a. of glebe for an identical amount which lay closer to the rectory.³³¹ When the parish was enclosed in 1792 the rector was awarded two allotments amounting to 76 a.,³³² which with the home close and a small enclosure near Moor farm gave the rector a total of c.81 a. in 1828.³³³ The glebe was let for £140 a year in 1838.³³⁴ A grant of £179 was made from Queen Anne's Bounty in 1909 towards the erection of new farm buildings on the glebe.³³⁵ The glebe was sold in 1917.³³⁶

Rectory House

The rectory house, constructed of stone, timber and thatch, was said to be in decay in 1563.³³⁷ In the late 17th century the rectory comprised of a house of six bays and a barn of five bays.³³⁸ In the early 19th century the rector John Lewis Bythesea dismissed the house as small, mean and unhealthy, and built Bagendon House to serve as his residence instead, although the old rectory house was subsequently occupied by his curates. After his death Bagendon House remained the private property of his family, and a new rectory house was erected c.1846 with a mortgage from Queen Anne's Bounty.³³⁹ By the 1950s the size, rambling nature and dilapidated state of the rectory house was thought to be a problem, but the PCC was advised in 1956 that the costs of renovation made it unviable for sale.³⁴⁰ After the departure of the last resident clergyman in 1961, the house was sold in 1962.³⁴¹ Rectors of the newly amalgamated benefice resided at the rectory in North Cerney.

The Old Rectory is a two-storey house built of limestone with a hipped slate roof, with projecting gables on the south and west fronts. Set back from the front of the house on the east side stands a lower service cottage of two storeys.³⁴² When it was erected in 1846 the house comprised of a study, drawing room, dining room, and four bedrooms, while the service cottage contained two kitchens, a bedroom and a sitting room for a servant.³⁴³

RELIGIOUS LIFE

³²⁷GA, D475/Z1.

³²⁸*Religious Census of 1851*, ed. Munden, 246.

³²⁹*Valor Eccles.* II, 449.

³³⁰GA, GDR/V5/33T.

³³¹GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi.

³³²GA, D475/Box 94725.

³³³GA, GDR/V5/33T.

³³⁴GA, D1070/I/8.

³³⁵GA, GDR/F4/1; P33 IN 3/1.

³³⁶GA, D2428/2/18.

³³⁷GA, Hockaday Abs. cxi.

³³⁸GA, GDR/V5/33T.

³³⁹GA, P33 IN 3/1.

³⁴⁰GA, P33 VE 2/3.

³⁴¹GA, P33 VE 2/4.

³⁴²NHLE, 'The Old Rectory with Service Cottage and Link Wall', No. 1090274 (accessed 30 Jan. 2020); Verey, *Glos.* I, 96.

³⁴³GA, GDR/F4/1.

From the Middle Ages to the Restoration

The earliest recorded presentation to the church at Bagendon is that of Richard de Ackle, by the patron Richard de Bagendon in 1279, but little more is known about the priest.³⁴⁴ In the early 14th century, the lords of the manor appear to have appointed relatives to the living. One of these, William de Bagendon, was temporarily suspended from celebrating divine service in 1304 as penance for having received all holy orders without dispensation.³⁴⁵ Richard de Bagendon, presented to the rectory in 1318 by his namesake,³⁴⁶ was one of a group accused in 1327 of having maliciously burned the house and goods of the rector of Duntisbourne Rouse.³⁴⁷ Thomas de Bagendon held the rectory until his death in 1334.³⁴⁸ His successor William Wodemanton,³⁴⁹ who was not ordained a priest until several months after his induction into the rectory,³⁵⁰ was given permission to be absent from the parish for one year at a time for the purpose of study in 1335,³⁵¹ and again in 1340.³⁵² In the year after 1382 the parish had three rectors as the living was exchanged twice.³⁵³ The living appears to have changed hands frequently during the 15th century: William Othell resigned after 1425 for Walter Stonyng,³⁵⁴ who exchanged the living with John Bonyngton in 1434;³⁵⁵ William Lutte replaced John Rogers between 1434 and 1443;³⁵⁶ and Robert Bayly replaced Richard Playstow in 1470.³⁵⁷ By the end of the 15th century the rector was apparently assisted by a curate, William Lewes, perhaps indicating that the rector was not resident.³⁵⁸

We have few glimpses of religious life in the parish before the Reformation, but one wealthy parishioner left money in 1525 for the performance of a half-trental after his death.³⁵⁹ In 1540 the rector, Thomas Monorum, was assisted by his chaplain, John Mynde, in whose favour he resigned later in that year.³⁶⁰ Mynde was still rector in 1551, when it was found that he knew there were Ten Commandments and where in the Bible they could be found but could not repeat them. He could also repeat the Lord's Prayer and the articles of faith but not prove the latter from scripture.³⁶¹ Mynde was implicated in Wyatt's rebellion in 1554,³⁶² when one of the conspirators took shelter at

³⁴⁴*Reg. Godfrey Giffard*, 109.

³⁴⁵*Reg. Ginsborough*, 10.

³⁴⁶*Reg. Thomas Cobham*, 231.

³⁴⁷*Cal. Pat.* 1327–30, 76; *Reg. Cobham*, 232.

³⁴⁸*Reg. Adam Orleton, Bishop of Worcester*, 75.

³⁴⁹*Reg. Adam Orleton, Bishop of Worcester*, 75.

³⁵⁰*The Register of Thomas Charlton, Bishop of Hereford (1327–1344)*, ed. W.W. Capes (Hereford, 1912), 153.

³⁵¹*Reg. Montacute*, 38.

³⁵²*Reg. Bransford*, 70.

³⁵³*Reg. Wakefield*, 35–6, 97.

³⁵⁴WAAS, 716.093 BA 2648/5 (iv), ff. 92v–93v.

³⁵⁵*The Register of the Diocese of Worcester During the Vacancy of the See*, ed. J. W. Willis Bund (Worcester, 1897), 425.

³⁵⁶WAAS, 716.093 BA 2648/9 (iii), f. 53v.

³⁵⁷WAAS, 716.093 BA 2648/6 (iii), f. 13v.

³⁵⁸*The Register of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury 1486–1500*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill, (Canterbury & York Soc., 1991), II, 146.

³⁵⁹GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi.

³⁶⁰WAAS, 802 BA 2764, f. 300; 716.093 BA 2648/9 (iii), f. ?

³⁶¹*EHR*, XIX, p. 111.

³⁶²*Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1547–80, 61; TNA, SP 11/3, f. 30.

the rectory after the failure of the plot. Despite this, he was still in office two years later.³⁶³

William Harrington was presented to the parish in 1561, although two years later he was resident at Kempsford,³⁶⁴ where the vicarage was held on lease by his patron Sir John Thynne.³⁶⁵ Perhaps for this reason, Harrington did not apparently compound for first-fruits until four years after he was instituted to the living,³⁶⁶ and in 1566 he was still employing a curate to the serve the parish.³⁶⁷ The absence of the rector was reflected in the neglect of the chancel, presented as out of repair in 1563,³⁶⁸ and may also explain why one Bagendon testator attempted to bequeath his sins to the Devil in 1564.³⁶⁹ In 1572 the churchwardens presented that they desired to have sermons preached at least once a quarter, and they certified that the parish possessed a chalice but not a communion cup.³⁷⁰ After his death in 1578, Harrington was succeeded by Richard Burton, who held the rectory until his own death in 1622, possibly assisted as curate by his son Robert from 1603.³⁷¹ In that year the rector recorded that there were no Popish recusants or dissenters in the parish.³⁷² William Gay, rector 1622–33,³⁷³ was followed by Thomas Hughes, who was also rector of Farmington.³⁷⁴

The religious uncertainty of the 1640s may have induced the parishioners to formally record in the parish registers that Charles Robson, instituted to the rectory in 1644,³⁷⁵ had declared publicly before the parish his support for the Thirty-Nine Articles.³⁷⁶ William Mountstephens, described curtly as a preacher, held the rectory in 1650,³⁷⁷ and Thomas Payne was instituted in 1652.³⁷⁸ In his will of 1658, Payne described his parishioners James Dowle and Richard Eycott as beloved in Christ.³⁷⁹ Yet these two men, as churchwardens, with Samuel Broad, the ejected rector of Rendcomb, were prominent in harassing Payne's successor, the godly Edward Fletcher. They locked Fletcher out of his church, denied him access to his pulpit, and disrupted his sermons by knocking on windows and throwing stones. Fletcher's efforts to collect his tithes were frustrated, and he and his friends were menaced repeatedly. Finally, with the Restoration imminent, Fletcher was violently ejected from both the church and the rectory.³⁸⁰

Since 1660

Fletcher's replacement Richard Hall was instituted in 1661, remaining in the parish until his death

³⁶³GA, GDR, Wills, 1556/138.

³⁶⁴GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi.

³⁶⁵*VCH Glos.* VII, 104.

³⁶⁶GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi.

³⁶⁷*CCED*, No. 38080.

³⁶⁸GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi.

³⁶⁹GA, GDR, Wills, 1564/38.

³⁷⁰GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi.

³⁷¹*CCED*, No. 146832.

³⁷²*Diocesan Population Returns for 1563 and 1603*, ed. Dyer and Palliser, 339.

³⁷³*CCED*, No. 149183.

³⁷⁴*CCED*, No. 154910.

³⁷⁵GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi; *CCED*, No. 59431.

³⁷⁶GA, P33 IN 1/1, p. 22.

³⁷⁷*Trans. BGAS*, 83, p. 94; TNA, C 94/1, f. 32.

³⁷⁸GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi; *CCED*, No. 111314.

³⁷⁹TNA, PROB 11/276/168; PROB 11/280/4; PROB 11/283/29.

³⁸⁰*Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1658–9, 189; [Henry Jessey], *The Lords loud call to England* (1660), BL, Thomason, E. 1038(8); *Calamy Revised*, ed. Matthews, 201–2.

in 1673.³⁸¹ From this point until the 19th century the parish was always held in plurality with another benefice. Thomas Poulton (d. 1713), the first of three successive rectors of Bagendon who were also perpetual curates of Baunton,³⁸² recorded that there were no recusants or nonconformists resident in the parish in 1676.³⁸³ His successors William Huntington (rector 1713–38) and Edward Pickering Rich (1738–61) also held Baunton, and Timothy Meredith (1761–93) was also vicar of Wootton Bassett (Wilts.) from 1772.³⁸⁴ During his tenure, and that of his successor, the Eucharist was usually celebrated four times a year, and a new silver Communion cup was purchased by the churchwardens in 1792.³⁸⁵

Meredith's successor, John Lewis Bythesea, had been rector of the wealthier benefice of Leigh Delamere (Wilts.) from 1786, and he retained both livings until his death in 1845.³⁸⁶ A man of independent wealth,³⁸⁷ Bythesea supplemented his glebe with the purchase of an estate in Bagendon.³⁸⁸ Declaring the rectory too small to be the residence of a clergyman, he obtained a license to leave it in 1822.³⁸⁹ In its place he built Bagendon House for himself, completed c.1826.³⁹⁰ Whilst Bythesea was rector, the level of the floor was raised throughout the church in 1832 to reduce the risk of flooding, and a gallery was erected for the choir at the same time.³⁹¹ From 1838 the aging Bythesea was assisted by a succession of curates, accommodated in the rectory houses which had previously been declared unfit for occupation.³⁹²

The long tenure of Bythesea meant that Jesus College had to wait almost 30 years before exercising their patronage over the parish, which they used to promote a succession of college men. The strong association of Jesus College with Wales means that many of Bagendon's modern rectors have been natives of that country.³⁹³ Initially the college intended for the benefice to provide a pleasant semi-retirement for its senior fellows, and the first man presented was Thomas Price, the outgoing vice-principal. Soon after arriving in the parish, he had the aging rectory house demolished and replaced on a new site to the north, Bythesea's residence at Bagendon House remaining the private property of his family.³⁹⁴ A strict Sabbatarian, the anti-Catholic sermons of Price remained strong in the local memory 70 years after his death. The average attendance at the parish church in 1851 was said to be 90 in the morning and 120 in the afternoon, including 30 Sunday scholars at each service.³⁹⁵ His services were at first accompanied by a band of musicians, but the group was apparently disbanded over a perceived slight by the rector, and subsequently

³⁸¹GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi.

³⁸²CCED, No. 140982.

³⁸³*Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 541.

³⁸⁴GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi; CCED, Nos 50470, 85170, 161221.

³⁸⁵GA, P33 CW 2/1.

³⁸⁶GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi; CCED, No. 24299.

³⁸⁷Burke, *Landed Gentry* (1847–9 edn), I, 175–6.

³⁸⁸Rees, *Bagendon*, 95.

³⁸⁹GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi.

³⁹⁰Rees, *Bagendon*, 95–6.

³⁹¹GA, P33 CW 2/1.

³⁹²GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi.

³⁹³For the history of Jesus College, see *VCH Oxon*. III, 264–79.

³⁹⁴Above, Rectory Houses.

³⁹⁵*Religious Census of 1851*, ed. Munden, 246.

services were accompanied by a barrel organ.³⁹⁶

When Price died in 1860 the college presented William Dyke, another former fellow and vice-principal, who for the next 20 years was central to the life of the parish.³⁹⁷ Unlike his predecessor Dyke was influenced by Tractarianism, holding more frequent communion services, for which he presented the parish with a new silver paten in 1864. Music also integral in Dyke's services, which were accompanied by a harmonium and a well-rehearsed choir.³⁹⁸ He served as Guardian of the Poor, established provident clubs for coals and clothing, and provided cheap allotments from his glebe. At his instigation a new schoolhouse was erected near the church.³⁹⁹ In the early 1870s Dyke restored the chancel, and in 1877 the roof and north wall of the nave were replaced, largely at his own expense. The west gallery was removed at the same time.⁴⁰⁰

Reforms introduced at Jesus College in the years before Dyke's death in 1880 meant that the living was no longer reserved for the fellows,⁴⁰¹ and his successors have held no other position at the college, although they have usually been its alumni. The first of these, George Edward Rees, is notable for having held the living twice, once during the 1880s, and again in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1889 the floor inside the church was lowered to its ancient level, restoring the bases of the Norman piers to view.⁴⁰² The long association of Rees with the parish enabled him to publish a useful history of the parish, and included the recollections of inhabitants stretching back for more than a century.⁴⁰³ The departure of Rees for Lancashire in 1890 precipitated the arrival of two rectors in succession who were not graduates of Jesus College, both of whom arrived following an exchange of livings.⁴⁰⁴

The history of religious life in the parish during the 20th century, and particularly since the end of the First World War, is characterised by the struggle to preserve Bagendon as a separate parish and to maintain the Church's position at the centre of the parish. During the early 1930s proposals were made to unite Bagendon with its neighbours, to North Cerney in 1932 and to Baunton in 1935. On both occasions the vestry indicated their qualified support for the proposals if presented with no choice, but their preference on each occasion was for Bagendon to continue as a separate parish.⁴⁰⁵ On vacancies of the rectory in 1936 and 1943 the parishioners acknowledged the increasing difficulties faced by rural parishes with modest endowments in recruiting young and energetic clergymen, yet nevertheless they expressed their desires for Jesus College to present an energetic evangelical clergyman, capable of drawing together the new suburban element of the parish near Cirencester with the rural population of the village. They also expressed their preference for the practice of the simple form of worship which they believed reflected the traditions of the parish.⁴⁰⁶ The parish was presented with a new silver-gilt chalice and paten in 1939 by William Iveson Croome, who had served as a churchwarden for many years.⁴⁰⁷

³⁹⁶GA, GDR, Hockaday Abs. cxi; *Alumni Oxon*, 1715–1886, III, 1150; Rees, *Bagendon*, 103–6; M.I. in the parish church.

³⁹⁷*Alumni Oxon*, 1715–1886, I, 400.

³⁹⁸Rees, *Bagendon*, 108; GA, P33 CW 2/1.

³⁹⁹Above, Social History.

⁴⁰⁰GA, P33 VE 2/1, pp. 15–6, and loose insert between pp. 14–5; *Wilts. & Glos. Standard*, 6 Oct. 1877.

⁴⁰¹*VCH Oxon*. III, 264–79.

⁴⁰²GA, P33 VE 2/1, pp. 33–4; *Wilts. & Glos. Standard*, 28 Sep. 1889; Rees, *Bagendon*, 54.

⁴⁰³Rees, *Bagendon*, *passim*.

⁴⁰⁴GA, GDR/D1/22.

⁴⁰⁵GA, P33 VE 2/2; *Cheltenham Chron.* 8 Jun. 1935.

⁴⁰⁶GA, P33 VE 2/2.

⁴⁰⁷GA, P33 VE 2/2.

The short tenure of James A. C. Shaw, rector between 1943 and 1947, was significant. He reintroduced an element of traditional services, such as Rogation Sunday processions, although he proposed only that the congregation should walk as far as the war memorial and back, and transformed the vestry into a modern parochial church council.⁴⁰⁸ Shaw was also keen to stimulate the social life of the village, proposing that the old school be renovated for use as a village hall.⁴⁰⁹ The parochial church council resolved in 1945 to augment the benefice for seven years by the sum of £52 a year, the maximum allowed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to prevent the need for the parish to be united with any other in the near future.⁴¹⁰ Despite this, Shaw felt underemployed in a small rural parish and resigned in 1947.⁴¹¹

The long illness and death in 1956 of his successor, Herbert Arthur Watts, left the parish served by retired clergymen and lay readers for almost two years, which was said to have considerably decreased an already dwindling congregation.⁴¹² The small population and modest endowment of the parish continued to be a problem, and when Peter Hammond resigned the rectory in 1961 the benefice was suspended for five years while alternative arrangements for the parish were contemplated. In the meantime the rector of North Cerney agreed to serve as the priest in charge at Bagendon,⁴¹³ and the rectory house was sold,⁴¹⁴ leaving the parish without a resident clergyman. The union with North Cerney was made formal in 1974,⁴¹⁵ but by 1981 the cost of maintaining a rector in two parishes was found insupportable,⁴¹⁶ and it was proposed in 1984 to unite the amalgamated benefice to the Duntisbournes with Daglingworth and Winstone.⁴¹⁷ The union never took effect, and North Cerney with Bagendon continued a separate benefice. The parish was subsequently left with no full-time stipendary clergyman until 1994, when it was united with the neighbouring benefice of Stratton with Baunton, renamed the Lower Churn benefice in 2009.⁴¹⁸ The usual Sunday attendance at Bagendon never exceeded 20 between 2009 and 2018, and attendance over the period peaked at c.90 at Christmas in 2012.⁴¹⁹ Nevertheless, more than two-thirds of the parish, a total of 164 people, declared themselves to be Christian in 2011, while approximately a quarter of the parish stated that they had no religion.⁴²⁰ Following the union of the Upper and Lower Churn benefices in 2014, Bagendon became one of nine parishes in the newly formed Churn Valley benefice.⁴²¹ In 2020 it was served by a team ministry who provided weekly services at the parish church.⁴²²

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

⁴⁰⁸GA, P33 VE 2/3.

⁴⁰⁹GA, P33 VE 2/3.

⁴¹⁰GA, P33 VE 2/3.

⁴¹¹GA, P33 VE 2/3.

⁴¹²GA, P33 VE 2/3.

⁴¹³GA, P33 VE 2/3.

⁴¹⁴Above, Rectory House.

⁴¹⁵*London Gaz.* 26 Sep. 1974, p. 7951; GA, P33 IN 3/4; GDR/V7/1/67.

⁴¹⁶GA, P33 VE 2/6.

⁴¹⁷GA, P33 IN 3/4; GDR/V7/1/91.

⁴¹⁸GA, P33 VE 2/6; Below, Stratton.

⁴¹⁹‘Bagendon St Margaret’, *Statistics for Mission 2019*, Diocese of Gloucester, https://www.gloucester.anglican.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/CIRENCESTER_160275_Bagendon-St-Margaret.pdf (accessed 30 Jan. 2020).

⁴²⁰Census, 2011.

⁴²¹Above, Church Origins and Parochial Organization.

⁴²²*Churn Valley Benefice*, <http://www.churnvalley.org.uk> (accessed 30 Jan. 2020); ‘St Margaret’s Bagendon’, *A Church Near You*, <https://www.achurchnearyou.com/church/14288> (accessed 30 Jan. 2020).

Bagendon's small church dates chiefly from the 12th to 15th centuries, and was most recently restored in 1889–90. It comprises a two-bay chancel, built of limestone rubble, and a three-bay nave with a north aisle, a south porch and a low three-stage tower, all built of coursed dressed limestone. The chancel was rebuilt in the late 15th century by the weaver's guild of Cirencester, who then owned the advowson. The church lies below the level of the nearby Bagendon brook and has often been flooded by its waters. The chancel and east end of the north aisle both stand higher than the rest of the nave to protect the altars from inundation.⁴²³

The oldest sections of the church, the lower stages of the tower and the three-bay north arcade, date from the 12th century. The narrowness of the walls of the nave, just 2 ft 1 in. wide, may indicate that this church stands on the site of an earlier Saxon church. The lower stages of the tower contained offsets for two floors. The lower chamber, which served as a priest's chamber, contains a stone basin which drains to the exterior through the north wall. A window on the east wall of the lower chamber would have enabled the priest to see into the nave.

A window in the south wall, to the west of the porch, dates from the 14th century, but the church was otherwise little changed before the late 15th century, when it underwent a significant renovation. Principle amongst these developments was the construction of a new chancel, for which the short and narrow original chancel arch was replaced with a four-centred arch. Facing this was a three-light east window which once contained the armorial bearings of William Prelatte (d. 1462), who built the chapel of the Holy Trinity in Cirencester for Bagendon's patrons, and he was presumably also the benefactor here. Other windows in the church, decorated with the white rose of the House of York, referred to Prelatte's service to Richard, Duke of York.⁴²⁴ Diagonal buttresses were added to the tower at the same time, but the short upper stage and its gabled roof presumably dates from later. The lack of proportion with the lower stages is striking, as is the simplicity of its design, and it may represent an inexpensive solution to a dilapidated tower. The west window of the north aisle was added in the late 16th or early 17th century.

An illustration of the church c.1830 shows it remained little changed in the early 19th century.⁴²⁵ In an effort to reduce the impact of flooding within the church, in 1832 the floor of the was raised by a height of 2 ft, necessitating the rebuilding of the tower arch to the same height, and the porch was also altered. New box pews were installed for the principal landowners, with free seating for the remainder of the parish, and a gallery was erected against the west wall for the choir and musicians.⁴²⁶ The roofs were entirely replaced in 1877, at which time two dormer windows were inserted, facing north and south, at the east end of the nave. The north wall of the nave was rebuilt, and fragments of medieval glass were incorporated into the figures depicted in the east window there. The west gallery was removed at this time, and an early 17th-century communion table was received as a gift from St Peter's church in Marlborough.⁴²⁷ Fragments of 15th-century glass were removed from the east window of the chancel c.1880 by the widow of Revd William Dyke to make room for a memorial to her late husband. They were later rescued from a rubbish heap, and in 1924 they were placed in the south window of the chancel.⁴²⁸

Further restoration was undertaken in 1888, when the floor of the nave was lowered to its

⁴²³Verey, *Glos.* I, 94–6; NHLE, 'Church of St Margaret', No. 1090271 (accessed 30 Jan. 2020); Rees, *Bagendon*, 47–60.

⁴²⁴W. Dyke, 'Arms at Bagendon in Gloucestershire', *The Herald & Genealogist*, III (1866), 478–9; *Wilts. & Glos. Standard*, 6 Oct. 1877; Rees, *Bagendon*, 55.

⁴²⁵Rees, *Bagendon*, 56.

⁴²⁶GA, P33 CW 2/1; Rees, *Bagendon*, 48–9.

⁴²⁷GA, P33 VE 2/1, p. 15; *Wilts. & Glos. Standard*, 6 Oct. 1877; Rees, *Bagendon*, 49.

⁴²⁸Rees, *Bagendon*, 57.

original height to reveal once more the bases of the Norman piers. Another window was inserted into the north wall, and a new vestry was added to the ancient north entrance to the church. A 14th-century wheeled cross found by John Poole Haines in a field near Moor Wood was added to the gable of the vestry. Inside the church the pulpit was replaced with a side desk in the chancel, and the high-sided box pews were removed, greatly opening the interior.⁴²⁹ The Victorian dormer windows were removed c.1962, when a memorial window to John Poole Haines was replaced with clear glass to improve the amount of light within the interior. The south porch was also rebuilt at that time.⁴³⁰

There were once two ancient bells, one by Abraham Rudhall and dated 1723,⁴³¹ but one of these was subsequently replaced by a peel of five lighter bells in 1897.⁴³² The remaining ancient bell was put in order in 1935.⁴³³

There was a churchyard at Bagendon by the 1520s, where burials were recorded in 1537 and 1538.⁴³⁴ The remains of an ancient cross stood in the churchyard until c.1860, when it was removed and used to build the nearby bridge across the brook.⁴³⁵ The churchyard was extended in 1889 with the gift of narrow strips of land on the east and west sides.⁴³⁶

BAGENDON LOCAL GOVERNMENT

MANORIAL GOVERNMENT

Manorial court records are extant from the mid 16th until the mid 18th centuries.⁴³⁷ The courts were usually presided over by the steward, but in 1619 the lord, Sir John Thynne, presided himself.⁴³⁸ By the early 17th century the perquisites of the court amounted only to the occasional payment of herriots.⁴³⁹ The farmer of the demesne was required to provide for the lord and his servants for the keeping of the court twice a year.⁴⁴⁰ The site of the manor, which was let out by the farmer of the manor, was said to be ruinous in 1580, when the farmer's tenant was presented for carrying furzes and wood from the lord's trees to his house in Woodmancot.⁴⁴¹ One of the tenants was fined in 1701 for leaving the courthouse and refusing to serve as a juror.⁴⁴²

Routine business dealt with by the courts included admissions and surrenders, the repairing of manorial properties, and the management of the commons. The pound was repeatedly presented

⁴²⁹GA, P33 CW 3/3–4; *Wilts. & Glos. Standard*, 28 Sep. 1889; Rees, *Bagendon*, 49, 54–5.

⁴³⁰GA, P33 VE 2/3.

⁴³¹Ellacombe, *Church Bells of Glos.* (Exeter, 1881), 32.

⁴³²Rees, *Bagendon*, 58.

⁴³³GA, P33 VE 2/2.

⁴³⁴WAAS, 3585 1537 (61), (273).

⁴³⁵GA, P33 VE 2/3, 15 Mar. 1950.

⁴³⁶GA, P33 CW 3/2; Rees, *Bagendon*, 58.

⁴³⁷Longleat House, Thynne Papers, LII, f. 195; Books 2–7, 9–10, 12, 15, 17–26, 28–31, 33–4, 40, 46, 48, 51, 53, 55; NMR, 1983, 2119; John Rylands University Library of Manchester, RYCH/62.

⁴³⁸Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 10, f. 35v.

⁴³⁹Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Books 19, 22–6, 28.

⁴⁴⁰Longleat House, NMR 2119.

⁴⁴¹Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 5, ff. 9, 91v, 129v.

⁴⁴²Longleat House, NMR 1983.

as out of repair during the reign of Elizabeth I,⁴⁴³ and again in 1646.⁴⁴⁴ The court appointed two tellers of sheep to assist the shepherds of the parish in 1571, 1619, and 1701.⁴⁴⁵ The court required in 1582 that a single shepherd keep the lambs of all of the tenants, none of whom were allowed to employ a separate shepherd.⁴⁴⁶ In 1619 every tenant keeping sheep in the common fields was ordered to employ a shepherd.⁴⁴⁷ During the early 17th century the manor court regularly ordered the tenants to perambulate the boundaries of the manor at Rogationtide according to the ancient tradition.⁴⁴⁸ Elizabeth Marshall was presented in 1600 for taking in an undertenant, contrary to the orders of the court.⁴⁴⁹ Customary tenants were instructed to plant three fruit trees in the orchards, and three oaks or elms on the boundaries of the tenements, every year, and also to maintain dogs or spaniels for the lord of the manor.⁴⁵⁰ The jurors presented a tenant in 1719 for his failure to repair his house, although they also deemed it unnecessary to repair it because the tenant held a second house which was thought sufficient for both holdings.⁴⁵¹

The court required tenants to scour and dig the course of the stream during the 16th century,⁴⁵² and tenants were periodically presented for allowing hedges or trees to block its passage.⁴⁵³ The lord received a rent of 4s. a year in 1615 from the tenants of Woodmancot for the use of water.⁴⁵⁴ The jurors presented in 1701 that the river Churn had been turned out of its ancient channel half a century earlier by the lord of Baunton, causing a horseshoe-shaped parcel of Bagendon's meadow to become stranded on the Baunton side of the river.⁴⁵⁵ The miller was presented in 1732 for pooling the water in his pond and not letting it flow unrestricted downstream.⁴⁵⁶

PAROCHIAL GOVERNMENT

There were two churchwardens in 1498.⁴⁵⁷ Few of the churchwardens during the early 17th century were able to sign their names.⁴⁵⁸ From the early 19th century, it became common for churchwardens to serve for several years in a row.⁴⁵⁹ A vestry had been established in the parish by 1825,⁴⁶⁰ although no minutes were recorded until 1866.⁴⁶¹ The appointment of two surveyors of the

⁴⁴³Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 2, f. 53; Book 3, ff. 17, 63; Book 4, ff. 38, 106, 155.

⁴⁴⁴Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 12, f. 33.

⁴⁴⁵Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 3, f. 17v; Book 10, f. 35; NMR 1983.

⁴⁴⁶Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 5, f. 148v.

⁴⁴⁷Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 10, f. 35.

⁴⁴⁸Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 6, f. 50; Book 7, ff. 94, 159v; Book 10, f. 35.

⁴⁴⁹Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 7, f. 86.

⁴⁵⁰Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 6, f. 36; Book 7, f. 72v; Book 12, ff. 33–33v, 35v–36v.

⁴⁵¹Longleat House.

⁴⁵²Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 5, f. 167v.

⁴⁵³Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 3, f. 17; Book 12, f. 35v.

⁴⁵⁴Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Book 18, f. 12.

⁴⁵⁵Longleat House, NMR 1983.

⁴⁵⁶Longleat House.

⁴⁵⁷*The Register of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury 1486–1500*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill, (Canterbury & York Soc., 1991), II, 146.

⁴⁵⁸GA, GDR/V1/23.

⁴⁵⁹GA, P33 CW 2/1.

⁴⁶⁰GA, P33 CW 2/1.

⁴⁶¹GA, P33 VE 2/1.

highways was recorded every year until 1863, when a waywarden was appointed.⁴⁶²

There are no extant overseers' accounts for the parish. In 1776 the parish spent *c.*£47 on maintaining the poor, and between 1783 and 1785 annual expenditure on the poor averaged *c.*£54.⁴⁶³ This had risen to more than £80 by 1803, when nine parishioners were supported by regular and six by occasional relief.⁴⁶⁴ In 1813 a total of £113 was spent on the maintenance of the poor, but this had fallen to £76 two years later, when 10 were relieved regularly and 15 more occasionally.⁴⁶⁵ It had risen to £82 by 1825, and it continued to rise over the following decade, amounting to £150 in 1835.⁴⁶⁶ The parish joined Cirencester poor-law union in 1836.⁴⁶⁷

Bagendon was included in Cirencester rural district upon its formation in 1894, electing a single councillor to represent the parish.⁴⁶⁸ In the same year, due to the smallness of its population, a decision was taken not to adopt a parish council. Efforts by the rural district council to build houses in the parish were frustrated after the First World War by the council's failure to obtain a suitable site.⁴⁶⁹ Under the terms of the Local Government Act of 1929, the county council proposed in 1933 that Bagendon and Baunton should be amalgamated, to form a single parish to be called Bagendon. The population of the combined parishes would have necessitated the creation of a parish council in the place of the existing parish meetings. However, strong objections were raised by both parishes, who felt they had little in common, and the proposal was successfully resisted.⁴⁷⁰ The parish was still represented only by a meeting in 1943, when they wrote to strongly object to any plan to abolish rural councils.⁴⁷¹

Bagendon was included within the Cotswolds AONB at its establishment in 1966.⁴⁷² When a conservation board was established for the AONB in 2004, Bagendon was joined with 31 other parishes for the selection of one of the board's members.⁴⁷³ Bagendon was included in Cotswold district council in 1974, one of several parishes which forms Ermin Ward. In the early 21st century the parish council comprises seven elected councillors, who met four times a year.⁴⁷⁴ In 2017 the parish council joined with North Cerney parish council and Cotswold district council to secure the erection in North Cerney of 12 affordable homes for people with close connections to one of the two parishes, completed in 2020.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁶²GA, P33 CW 2/1.

⁴⁶³*Poor Law Abs.* 1804, 174–5.

⁴⁶⁴*Poor Law Abs.* 1804, 174–5.

⁴⁶⁵*Poor Law Abs.* 1818, 148–9.

⁴⁶⁶*Poor Law Returns* (1830–1), 67; (1835), 66.

⁴⁶⁷*Poor Law Com.* 2nd rep. 522.

⁴⁶⁸Youngs, *Admin Units*, I,

⁴⁶⁹GA, DA22/100/7, pp. 68, 84; DA22/100/8, pp. 314, 321..

⁴⁷⁰*Glouc. J.* 10 Dec. 1932; 14 Oct. 1933; 12 Jan. 1935; *Glos. Echo*, 2 Jun. 1933; 24 Jul. 1934; GA, P33a PC 11/1.

⁴⁷¹*Glos. Echo*, 25 May 1943.

⁴⁷²GA, D8128/3/6.

⁴⁷³The Cotswolds Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (Establishment of Conservation Board) Order 2004, No. 1777.

⁴⁷⁴*Bagendon Parish Council*, <https://bagendonpc.wordpress.com> (accessed 26 Oct. 2020).

⁴⁷⁵*Wilts. & Glos. Standard*, 20 Dec. 2017; 19 Jun. 2020; 26 Sep. 2020.