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Rowlstone Court Farm and environs, Herefordshire: archaeological survey

Huw Sherlock and P J Pikes 2000





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Principal Archaeologist: Huw Sherlock BA, Diparch, MIFA

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Rowlstone Farm and environs, Herefordshire: archaeological survey 2000

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Client: Mr M Williams, Rowlestone Farm owner

Text: Huw Sherlock and PJ Pikes

Project Manager: Huw Sherlock

Cover Photograph: A view showing Lakes Wood to the left, looking towards Cae Newydd

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The Background

Rowlstone

The name Rowlstone appears to be an Old Norse personal one meaning Rolf's, or Hroaldr's *tun* or estate. Earlier forms include *Rolueston*, *Rouleston* and *Rolleston* (Copleston-Crow, 1989). At the time of the Domesday survey the parish lay in the hundred of Cutestorn.

To the east of Rowlstone is the village of Ewyas Harold where Osbern Pentecost built one of the two earliest castles in Britain.² Osbern was a follower of Edward the Confessor's nephew Ralph, who was brought to England from Normandy as Earl of Hereford. The parish of Rowlstone, at that time, lay immediately on the border between England and Wales. The survival of Welsh place-names in the area is strong; over one third of the field names recorded in the Rowlstone tithe apportionment are Welsh.

The British church may have been active in this area of what is now Herefordshire from the late 6th century, from which time a church at Clodock may date. The former Welsh parishes were transferred from the diocese of St David's to that of Hereford in 1852 (Marshall, 1938, p142).

After the Norman Conquest, the Welsh territory to the east of the Black Mountains was occupied by Walter de Lacy who had been authorised to take and hold what he could. This area, which includes the parish of Rowlstone, later became known as Ewyas Lacy.

Although Rowlstone does not appear in Domesday, Henry de Ferieres, one of the smaller Herefordshire tenants-in-chief, held three churches in Cutestorn Hundred within the jurisdiction of Ewyas Harold castle. Roger (probably Roger de Lacy, son of Walter) held these under him. One of these is very likely to be Rowlstone, as this church, together with Llancillo and neighbouring Walterstone was later given to Llanthony Abbey by the de Lacys.

Roger de Lacy himself held the territory which comprised the parishes of Rowlstone and Llancillo. This was held under him by two Normans named William and Osbern, one of whom, or their successors, would have been responsible for the construction of the castle at Rowlstone. (Marshall, 1938, p148)

In the 13th century John de Turberville held Rowlstone, obtaining a charter of free warren in 1266 (Robinson, 1872). Land in Rowlstone was held, in the 14th century by the Dinmore preceptory of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, which had a bailiff for their possessions in the parish (Hermitage Day, 1927).

The manor of Rowlstone passed into the hands of the Scudamore family at the beginning of the 14^{th} century when John, son of Vincent *Skydemor* of *Berguenny* (Abergavenny) became lord having paid £100 to Robert de Oka.³

Kentchurch Court later became the main Scudamore seat in the area and in 1470 Roger Bodenham had Rowlstone 'to hold of the chief lord [Scudamore] in fee by

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Raven, 1996, uses Hroaldr; Copleston-Crow, 1989, Rolf.

Originally called Pentecost Castle

Kentchurch Court papers no 1020 – John had already paid £40; a further £30 was to be paid on the feast of St Ethelbert, king, 1307 and the remaining £30 on the same feast 1308, both at the church of Ewyas Haraud (Ewyas Harold). In addition "said John to support said Robert with horse and groom for life as often as he may wish to live in the company of the said John and his wife Cecilia". A new robe was also to be provided annually.

usual service'. Roger was the son-in-law of the previous tenant, Thomas Bromwyche, who's daughter, Joan, he had married.⁴

Rowlstone church, St Peter's, has a Norman nave with some of the best examples of the work of the Herefordshire school of masons (Pevsner, 1963).

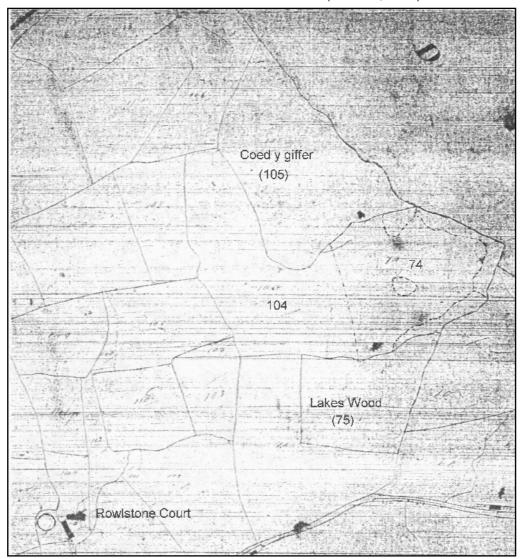


Figure 1: Extract from the Rowlstone Tithe Map, 1839. The dotted lines in area 74 appear to define wooded areas; compare with figure 2.

Rowlstone Court Farm

Rowlstone Court Farmhouse dates from the 14th century and has additions of the 16th and 17th centuries (RCHM, 1931). The house occupies an area which may have originally been the outer bailey of the earthen castle, the motte of which lies to the west of the house (Shoesmith, 1996).

In 1750 *Rolestone* Court was rented to a John Smith for £51 yearly rent.⁵ A dispute arose between him and John Scudamore regarding rent arrears and in

Deed in Herefordshire Record Office – AD/II/135

Herefordshire Record Office – M26/8/132 – accounts of George Smith, agent to John Scudamore, for rents.

1766 he was summoned to appear before the sheriff "at the house of James Brown, innholder, commonly known as the New Inn or Blakeneys situate in Widemarsh [street] in the City of Hereford".⁶

The Land Tax assessments of 1781 through to 1798 record the occupier of the *Court* at Rowlstone as Edward Valentine. Thomas Price had become the occupier by the time of the 1802 assessments and remained so until 1831. In 1832 Eleanor Price was the occupier.⁷

The tithe map of the parish of *Rowlston* (figure 1) shows the boundaries of Coed y Geifr and Lakes Wood in the same position as they are now. The accompanying apportionment records the owner of *Rowlston* Court and the land around as John Lucy Scudamore esq of Kentchurch Park, who was lord of the manor. The occupier of *Rowlston* Court referred to as simple *The Court*, was Eleanor Price⁸ who also occupied most of the land in the immediate area, her holdings being 262 acres. Other tenants of Scudamore in the parish included William Jones who rented 239 acres and James Prosser who rented 31 acres.⁹

Coed y Geifr and Lakes Wood were retained in the occupation of Scudamore himself. This was also the pattern in adjacent Ewyas Harold parish where he himself occupied all the woodland that he owned. In both parishes all his other lands were rented.

The woods form part of a larger wooded area on the border of Rowlstone and Ewyas Harold. On the Ewyas Harold side of the boundary, immediately adjoining Coed y Geifr is Cae Newydd Wood (in the ownership and occupancy of Thomas Roberts in 1844), with Paradise Wood to the south of Cae Newyth. Paradise Wood was Gwern Gilvach Wood on the tithe map and was owned and occupied by Scudamore.

The 1909 land valuation has Colonel E S Scudamore as the landowner of the farm which consisted of 261 acres, with John Jehu as the occupier. The woods were still in the occupation of the landowner.¹⁰

The Woodlands

Lakes Wood

Grid ref 3381 2273 Area 4.344 ha Land parcelSO 3827 - 0022

Tithe map 75 (Lakes Wood) owner – Scudamore, John Lucy esq

occupier - himself

Lakes Wood is the south-western part of the swathe of woodland in the area. The southern, eastern and western edges face onto open pasture land, the southern and western ones being fairly straight. At some stage ploughing in the field to the south and uphill (SO 3827 - 0013) has formed a slight positive lynchet. In the early 19th century this field was not divided from the eastern part of field to the west of the wood, the larger field then being known as *The Lake*.

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Document in Herefordshire Record Office – M26/12/6

Land Tax Assessments, 1783 – 1832. Herefordshire Record Office documents Q/REL/2/10/1-24

A description of the Price family, taken from census returns, appears in Appendix D.

See appendix A for a list of the occupiers of Rowlstone Court.

Herefordshire Record Office AG9/77

To the east the greater part of the boundary of Lake Wood is formed by a stream which originates in a spring in the south-eastern corner of the wood. The field to the east (SO 3827 - 4328) is now open pasture but has had more trees in the comparatively recent past. There is some evidence of quarrying in this field. Beyond this field to the east is Paradise Wood SO 3827 - 7323). This wood, with its conifers, has the appearance of recent plantation, but was in 1844 Gwern Gilvach Wood, owned and occupied by Scudamore.

Another stream originates on the western boundary of Lake Wood and crosses it in an easterly direction to join the first stream at the extreme north-eastern corner of the wood.

The wood itself shows clear evidence of past coppicing. There are many hollows and mounds within the wood but these features were not immediately interpretable. One obvious cause would be the natural falling of trees. Some features may be man made, possible due to quarrying, but the unmanaged state of the wood makes identification and interpretation difficult.

The northern boundary of Lake Wood runs into another wooded area, which extends north to Coed y Geifr.

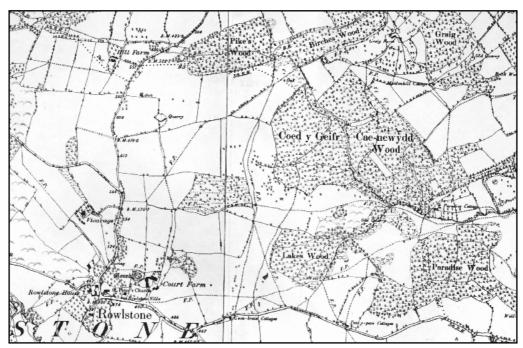


Figure 2: Extract from the 1st Edition OS 1:10560 Map, 1887.

Wood between Lakes Wood and Coed y Geifr

Grid ref 3382 2274

Area 7.537 ha Land parcelSO 3827 - 0065

Tithe map 74 (Great Pasture and Brakes) owner - Scudamore, John Lucy

esq

occupier - Eleanor Price

This area of the woods lies immediately to the north of Lakes Wood. Its south-eastern boundary is formed by the stream running north-east out of Lakes Wood and its north-eastern boundary by a stream running south-east to join the first stream at the extreme eastern point of the wood. This stream also forms the boundary with Ewyas Harold Parish at this point.

This wood is now heavily overgrown, but appears to be of relatively recent origins. In 1842 it is described, together with the field to the west (Tithe apportionment number 104) as grassland. The two together are named *Great Pasture and Brakes*. A brake appears to occupy the centre of field 74 on the tithe map (fig 1), while the extreme north-eastern and south-eastern edges of the field are dotted off, implying that they too were wooded.

The 1887 1st edition OS 6inch to 1 mile map (fig 2) shows rough pasture and heath occupying the south-eastern part of the field while the 1904 1:2500 (fig 3) shows that this had become woodland. This woodland had expanded again by the time the area was again surveyed in the 1930s (OS Ordnance Survey,

1:10560 (6 inches to 1 mile) sheet SO32NE, published in 1964 but from earlier surveying).

Near the stream forming the north-eastern boundary is a pair of lime kilns (plate 2), in good condition, although the western one has part of a large badger set in its base.

The western edge of the wood opens out onto bracken then pasture (OS no SO 3827 - 0046) with no intervening field boundary.

A northern arm of this wood stretches along the western side of Coed y Geifr where a stream rises at 3795/2761 to run eastwards into Coed y Geifr.



Plate 1: Looking east towards the woods. Coed y Geifr is on the left, Lakes Wood on the right. The wood in the centre was mainly open pasture in the 19th century.

Coed y Geifr

Grid ref 3381 2277

Area 8.867 ha (7.927 in Rowlstone parish; 0.940 in Ewyas Harold

parish)

Land parceISO 3827 - 1467 in Rowlstone parish; SO 3827 - 2179 in Ewyas Harold

parish

Tithe maps: Rowlstone

105 Coed y giffer owner - Scudamore, John Lucy

esq

Ewyas Harold xx occupier – himself

Coed y Geifr, or in English, Wood of the Goats or Goats Wood¹¹ extends north from the previously described area of woodland. The same stream that forms the north-eastern boundary of the former wood also forms Coed-y-Geifr's north-eastern boundary. Although the parish boundary coincides with this stream for a distance of 65 metres north-west from the south-eastern corner of the wood, beyond this the two diverge, the parish boundary being some 40 metres to the south-west of the stream. A section of the wood therefore lies in Ewyas Harold parish.

The stream that rises to the west of the wood flows east through it to join the main stream at the wood's extreme eastern edge.

To the north-east of the stream and lying wholly in Ewyas Harold, is *Cae-newydd wood*. This wood seems to be an integral part of the woods in this area. Cae-newydd, ¹² or 'new enclosure' is the name given on the tithe apportionment to two fields the east of the wood with a third called *Big Newydd*. The name seems likely to have originally applied to these fields, which may possibly be evidence of woodland clearing. It is not evidence that the wood itself was cleared at any time. Cae-Newydd wood and the adjoining fields were owned and occupied by Thomas Roberts in 1844.

To the west and north-west of Coed y Geifr, lying within Rowlstone parish, is a field (OS number SO 3727 - 0086), which was arable in 1842. This was then divided into two fields, the tithe records them as number 151, *The Pikes*, and 106, *The Twelve Acres*. To the west of these, and adjoining the lane between Rowlstone and Ewyas Harold, another field (OS number SO 3727 - 5800), again two in 1842 (154 Sacre Field Meadow and 155 Drae Monith — both grass) contains a disused quarry. Eleanor Price farmed all of this land as a tenant of Scudamore.

North of the Pikes, *Pikes Wood* lies mainly in Ewyas Harold with its southernmost tip in Rowlstone.

Geifr – plural of Gafre, goat – Griffith and Jones, 1995.

Ka Newydd in 1758 in Abergaveeny Documents (At the National Library of Wales Aberystwyth) (Richardson and Sprackling, 1987)

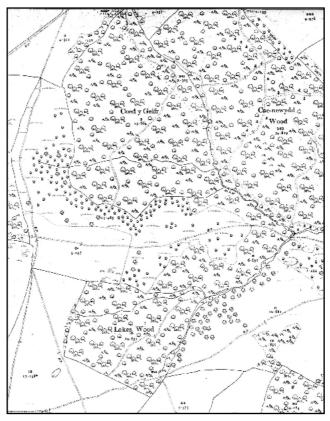


Figure 3: Extract from the 2nd Edition 1:1250 OS plan, 1904. Note the more wooded nature of the piece of land in the centre in comparison with figure 1.

Pikes Wood

Grid ref 3379 2281

Area 6.25 ha (5.429 in Ewyas Harold; 0.821 in Rowlstone)

Land parcelSO 3728 - 0002; SO 3727 - 7200

Tithe maps –

Rowlstone 152 Part of Pikes Wood owner - Scudamore,

John Lucy esq

Ewyas Harold 48 Pikes Wood occupier - himself

Pikes Wood lies on a steep northward facing slope on the boundary between Ewyas Harold and Rowlstone parishes. John Lucy Scudamore owned it in 1842/44 and, as he did with his other woods, also occupied it

Pikes Wood is bounded on the east by another stretch of woodland, Birches Wood, also following the steep contours on the edge of the valley of a stream running east through Ewyas Harold village to join the Dulas Brook.



Plate 2: The lime kilns near the stream which formed the parish boundary between Rowlstone and Ewyas Harold.

Conclusions

In most of Britain the destruction of the original wildwood which began in the Neolithic was so far advanced by the 11th century that Norman England was one of the least wooded countries of Europe (Rackham, p 127).

Domesday appears to indicate that the Welsh border counties of Shropshire and Herefordshire were even less wooded than most of the rest of the country with the percentage of woodland in Herefordshire being perhaps around 8 (Rackham, p 126).

This low density of woodland persisted for centuries and is reflected in the tithe survey of Rowlstone where very few pieces of land are recorded as woodland (see appendix B), the total area recorded as such in the tithe amounting to 7.2%. A similar picture existed in other parishes in the area.¹³

Although woodland formed an essential element of the economy until relatively recent times, the demand for arable land tended to confine it to those parts of the landscape which were difficult to plough. The woods at Rowlstone tend to be on sloping ground, ravined by several streams, and are therefore in a typical location.

There is however, no single factor that determined whether or not areas of a medieval parish were wooded. The valley of the Cwm¹⁴ Brook, immediately to the west and south-west of Rowlstone is very steep but does not appear to have been wooded. Woodland tended to be situated at a greater distance from the centre of a village than were fields. The woods in question lie on the boundary of two parishes and would have been utilised by both of them, although Ewyas Harold appears to have had more woodland than Rowlstone.

The boundary between the parishes here has the additional historical significance of being, what in many respects, a boundary between Welsh and English traditions, forming what appears to be the western limit of the pre-Conquest English kingdom. This division was perpetrated until diocesan reforms in 1852 transferred Rowlstone from the see of St David's to that of Hereford. There is however, little evidence of this border in the local field and woodland boundaries: Coed y Geifr and Pikes Wood are in both parishes and were so in the 1840s.

The economic uses of woodland included the production of timber for building, poles for a range of uses, and firewood. The woods would also be used for feeding animals, pannage for pigs being important, and the name Coed y Geifr tempts the interpretation that goats formed a significant part of the local resource, although such simple etymologies should always be treated with caution.

The presence of limestone locally would demand wood for lime burning. The kilns (plate 2) mentioned above are evidence of this activity. The extraction of limestone has left the scars of several quarries in the area.

Transport in the area would have been much improved by the opening of the Grosmont Railway to Monmouth Cap in March 1819. This connected via the Llanfihangel Railway with the Newport and Brecon Canal at Abergavenny (*Y Feni*). These railways carried horse-drawn traffic, and the Llanfihangel Railway, as well as carrying coal more cheaply than had previously been possible, serviced lime kilns in the Usk Valley (Cook & Clinker, 1984). A ford across the River

See map on page 54 of ADM Phillip's paper on land use in the Herefordshire Tithe Survey in the *Transactions of the Woolhope Nat. Field Soc.*, 1979. Percentages of woodland in selected parishes are shown in appendix C.

There is a problem with bilingual tautologies here: *Cwm* is 'valley' in English, so we have Valley Brook Valley. Goat's Wood Wood has however been avoided and the wood is referred to as simply Coed y Geifr.

Monnow (*Afon Mynwy*) one kilometre south-west of Lakes Wood, was only 300 metres from the Grosmont Railway's terminus at Monmouth Cap. This tramrailway was later extended to Hereford by the Hereford Railway and superseded in the 1850s by the Newport, Abergavenny and Hereford Railway, a standard railway with steam hauled trains.

Poles for building and fencing would be provided by means of coppicing. The woods show signs of old coppicing but are now heavily overgrown. Coppicing persisted in Herefordshire into the mid 20th century, but a major demand, that of hop poles, was concentrated in the east of the county. ¹⁵

The fact that Scudamore occupied the woods himself at the time of the Tithe Survey may have had recreational rather than purely economic reasons. The recreational use of woodland increased from the 18th century. Shooting grew in popularity with the availability of flintlocks although even the shooting of rabbits was confined to landowners until the 1880s. The utilisation of woodland cover for foxes also became a factor, with the spread of horseback fox hunting from its origins in the midland shires in the later 18th century.

The expansion of secondary woodland in the area is demonstrated in the changes to land parcel SO 3827 – 0046, the wood between Lakes Wood and Coed y Geifr. This was mainly open pasture in the early 19th century. Successive OS surveys record the gradual encroachment of woodland. The latest plan does not do justice to the current impenetrability of this, or any of these woods, which have clearly lacked management for some time.

Apart from the lime kilns, no identifiable archaeological features were apparent within woods themselves. This in itself means little, as the woods were extremely dense. Some of the hollows may be the result of past quarrying, and there may be other features.

The lime kilns are stone built, and of a type common in Herefordshire and elsewhere. Nonetheless, these features are poorly documented and are certainly worthy of preservation.

Mr Williams, the current owner of the woods, intends to bring them under proper management. Apart from timber production, the woods have other potential amenity value. The clearance of overgrown woodland and underbrush should be undertaken with care as there is potential for further undiscovered archaeological features to be present. A more detailed archaeological survey, possibly entailing some earthwork surveys may be appropriate once the initial clearance has taken place. The insertion of trackways through the woods using heavy machinery should ideally be carried out subject to an archaeological watching brief.

Some remedial work to the lime kilns may be appropriate. In this case, it should be born in mind that the vegetation growing between the stones of the kilns has by now become a major element in maintaining their integrity and the destruction of this vegetation would have a detrimental effect on them unless some conservation measures were taken. In any case it would be advisable to make a proper archaeological record of these structures by means of a detailed building survey in line with the specifications laid down in the Royal Commission for Historic Monuments publication 'Recording Historic Buildings: A Description, Third edition (1996). It may be appropriate to take into consideration the existence of part of a badger set within the floor of the northern kiln before any action is taken in this area.

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A photograph taken in 1943, showing a horse-drawn wagon loaded with coppice poles being driven through Ledbury, appears on page 34 of Charles Watkins' "Woodland Management and Cultivation". These may well have been hop-poles.

The erection of signboards illustrating the history of the industrial activity in the area would enhance the amenity value of the woodland.

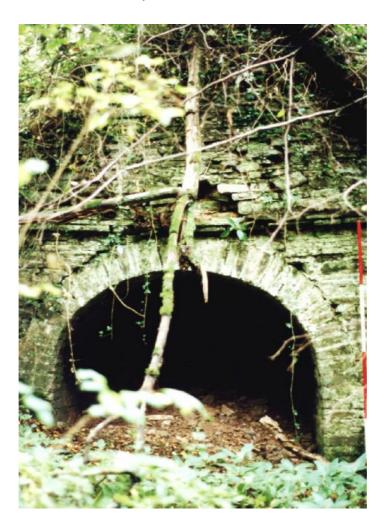


Plate 3: The southern of the two lime kilns

Appendices

Appendix A: Occupiers of Rowlstone Court Farm – 13th-20th centuries

Occupier	Occupation	Date	Source
John de Turberville		13 th C	Robinson, 1872
Robert de Oka		14 th C	Kentchurch Court papers
Thomas Bromwyche		15 th C	Deed - HRO - AD/II/135
Roger Bodenham		1470	Deed - HRO – AD/II/135
John Smith		1750	HRO – M26/8/132
John Smith		1766	HRO – M26/12/6
Edward Valentine		1781	Land Tax Assessment
Edward Valentine		1798	Land Tax Assessment
Thomas Price		1802	Land Tax Assessment
Thomas Price		1831	Land Tax Assessment
Eleanor Price		1832	Land Tax Assessment
Eleanor Price	*	1842	Tithe apportionment
John Price	Farmer	1851	Lascelle's Directory
John Price	Farmer	1858	Cassey's Directory
John Price	Farmer	1867	Littlebury's Directory
James Farr	Farmer	1876	Littlebury's Directory
James Farr	Farmer	1886	Littlebury's Directory
William Prosser	Farmer	1891	Kelly's Directory
Elizabeth Prosser	Farmer	1895	Kelly's Directory
John Jehu	Farmer	1900	Kelly's Directory
John Jehu	Farmer	1902	Jakeman & Carver's
			Directory
John Jehu	Farmer	1905	Kelly's Directory
John Jehu	Farmer	1913	Kelly's Directory
John Jehu	Farmer	1914	Jakeman & Carver's
			Directory
John Jehu	Farmer	1917	Kelly's Directory
Joseph Henry Williams	Farmer	1929	Kelly's Directory
William Bowen Williams	Farmer	1934	Kelly's Directory
William Bowen Williams	Farmer	1937	Kelly's Directory
William Bowen Williams	Farmer	1941	Kelly's Directory

^{*} Occupations are not given in the apportionment. Eleanor Price's occupation is given as "farming" in the 1841 census returns, as opposed to the description "farmer" which was used for male heads of households in Rowlstone. Her predecessors presumably all farmed the land, either directly or indirectly.

Appendix B: Woods in Rowlstone parish - Tithe Apportionment

- A owned and occupied by John Lucy Scudamore esq.
- B owned by John Lucy Scudamore: occupied by Eleanor Price
- C other

	Plot number	Name	acres	roods	perches
Α	75	Lakes Wood	10	1	19
Α	105	Coed y giffer	20	2	26
Α	152	Part of Pikes Wood		3	36
В	187	Kae Wood	1	1	14
С	55	-	1	2	36
С	128	-	2	2	5
С	45	Nursery		3	17
С	59	-	3	2	13
С	247	Crown Coppice	4	3	1
С	249	Great Coppice	3	1	37
С	243a	Cae Teaherne	2	2	1
С	259	Lower Coppice	3	3	38
С	36	-	1	1	39
С	342	-	1	1	14
С	353	-		1	10
С	297	-	4	2	3
С	253	Sacra Wood	5	1	33
С	268	Gwin Annest Wood	5	3	20
С	346	Part Cae Coppa	1	3	36
С	164	Rough Wood	2	1	0
С	90	-	1	3	22

Appendix C: Woodland in selected Herefordshire parishes from the Tithe Surveys - percentages

	Arable	Meadow /pasture	Woodland
Little Hereford ¹⁶	36.4	57.6	2.1
Lugwardine	28.6	67.7	2.9
Llancillo	36.4	59.7	4.0
Upper Sapey ¹⁷	38.7	54.4	4.6
Madley	43.7	51.2	5.1
Sellack	63.0	10.4	5.8
Rowlstone	39.6	53.2	7.2
Garway	39.5	50.8	9.6
Thruxton	49.4	38.5	11.8
Sarnsfield ¹⁸	38.8	46.0	12.2
Ewyas Harold ¹⁹	35.5	43.3	12.3
Fownhope	44.5	33.1	22.1

¹⁶ 1.4% of Little Hereford is entered as hop grounds

¹⁷ 2.3% of Upper Sapey is entered as hop grounds 18

^{1.1%} of Sarnsfield is entered as hop grounds
Meadow/pasture includes two categories – Meadow, and Homesteads, orchards and 19

Appendix D: The Prices at Rowlstone Court – a local tenant farming family in the 19th century

Thomas Price, recorded at Rowlstone Court in the Land Tax Assessment of 1802, died in 1831 or 1832 leaving a widow, Eleanor. Eleanor continued to run the farm although the 1841 census officer apparently cannot bring himself to use the term *farmer* of a female.

In 1841 her household consisted of herself, aged 65, and other members of her family, Eleanor junior, Mary, John, James and Robert. There was also a female servant in her thirties, Eliza Wright, and two servant boys, John Rowcot aged 14 and Thomas Elliot aged 13.

By the 1851 census Eleanor had died and John Price was running the farm with the assistance of his brother Robert. John was by this time in his fifties and both he and Robert were unmarried. Their sister, Mary, aged 33 and also unmarried, was described as the housekeeper.

The living-in servants included a 31 year old unmarried waggoner, and a 31 year old unmarried female general servant. There were also two boys aged 16, both described as indoor servants. Although there was one farm worker who did not live-in, these figures seem to indicate a rather large domestic to agricultural ratio.

On the night of the 1851 census (30th March) there were in addition, John Price's widowed sister, Margaret Barnett and her ten-year-old daughter, Eunice.

Mrs Barnett was the licensee of the Tram House, an inn in the parish of Much Dewchurch. This was on the horse drawn railway line between Abergavenny and Hereford, and later became the settlement of Tram Inn with its own station on the fully fledged steam railway.

She seems to have left the inn in the charge of her 17 year old daughter, also called Margaret. Also left at home were daughters Charlotte aged 7, Rachael aged 3 and Anne aged 2. A note on the census says, "Head from home". In addition to the sisters there were also six male and one female lodgers, a servant, and a visitor. Reflecting the inn's location on the tram line, the lodgers included a haulier, a *labourer and tram-driver*, and a labourer in a coal-yard.

In the 1861 census John Price was still the farmer. He was now a bachelor in his 60s, farming 260 acres with the help of two men and three boys. His housekeeper was his unmarried niece, Ann Cooke, aged 25. If other members of the family survived, they were not at Rowlstone, apart from Ann Barnett from the Tram House at Much Dewchurch, by this time aged twelve and described as a scholar. She may have come to visit her Uncle John on the new steam train, getting on at the station next to the inn and getting off at Pontrilas. The other inhabitants were George Gilbert the carter, William Williams the cowherd and thirteen-year-old Thomas Williams, an agricultural labourer.

The 1871 census recorded John Price, now in his seventies, as employing two labourers and two boys on his 260 acre farm. Anne Cooke had been replaced as housekeeper by yet another unmarried niece, Charlotte Barnett from Much Dewchurch. Also in the house was John's sister Mary, now a widow with the surname Richards, and her daughter Catherine. The servants were one female seventeen-year-old domestic servant and two boys.

Within a few years the association of the Price family with Rowlstone Court farm had ended. By the 1881 census William Williams, aged 34, was the farmer and lived at Rowlstone with his wife Mary and their five children. Their four-year-old daughter had been born there. William and Mary had been born at Llanthony. John Price and his brothers and sisters had all been born at Rowlstone.

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