

HEREFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL NEWS



HAN 69 1998

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To fill odd spaces at the end of articles, we shall be using definitions and interesting snippets from Elizabeth Taylor's notebooks.

HAN

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The History of Burford Barony *by Paul Remfry*

Burford Barony, otherwise known as the Honour of Richard's Castle, is not a normal barony in any respect. It is one of the few Norman Baronies in England that can be postulated by implication and documentation as pre-Conquest. Burford/Tenbury motte, like Ham [Homme] and Richard's Castle, is also one of the few castles that can tentatively be classified as Pre-Conquest.

The history of Burford/Tenbury Castle possibly began as early as the late 1040's when King Edward the Confessor brought over to England some of his Norman friends. One of these was Ralph of Mantes, his nephew by his sister Godgifu and Count Drogo of Vexin in the Norman March^{*38}. King Edward made him an earl before 1050 at the latest, though whether he was earl of Hereford, a province of Earl Godwin's son Sweyn (d.1051 in Cyprus), is unlikely. Ralph installed Norman favourites under his command and they seem to have begun constructing castles. Three of these favourites in Herefordshire seem to have been Osbern Pentecost, who held Burghill and Hope of King Edward's gift^{*39}, his companion the otherwise unknown Hugh^{*40}, and Osbern's son-in-law, Richard fitz Scrope. In September 1051 Earl Ralph with the men of his earldom joined the royal army at Gloucester, ready, but unwilling to do battle with Earl Godwin who had moved a rebellion against the Crown. The men of Herefordshire, however, were said to have marched under the command of Godwin's son, Sweyn^{*41}.

After Earl Godwin's bloodless fall from power Earl Ralph certainly obtained Hereford for himself and built a castle there if he had not held position in the land earlier. Richard's Castle may have been founded at the same time, possibly as the third castle in the county. Geographic evidence also suggests that Richard built two other fortresses simultaneously. These will be discussed later.

In 1052 the new customs of the foreigners provoked an anti-Norman backlash by the English and Earl Godwin returned from exile with an army to re-establish himself against his Norman and court enemies. However a battle was again avoided and peace and concord was established between the opposing parties soon after 14 September 1052. The king promised all the people that he would keep the good laws and 'banished all the Normans who had instituted unjust ones, and had pronounced unjust judgments' With this some of the Normans, namely Earl Ralph of Mantes, Robert fitz Wymarch the Deacon, and his son-in-law Richard fitz Scrope, Alfred the king's master of horse, Aufrid, surnamed Ceokesfot, and some others 'whom the king loved more than the rest', were allowed to remain in England^{*42}. It is interesting to note that during this crisis some Normans fled W to Pentecost's castle, and some N to Robert's castle^{*43}. Pentecost's castle is credibly associated with Ewias Harold, but the identification of Robert [fitz Wymarch]'s castle with Clavering in Essex is not certain^{*44}. No defence of these castles was made however, and soon afterwards Osbern Pentecost and his otherwise unknown companion Hugh surrendered their castles and went to join King Macbeth in Scotland^{*45}. At this time Godwin may well have received Hereford back, but he died on 15 April 1053 and Earl Ralph was given Herefordshire with Oxfordshire and possibly Gloucestershire.

Before Ralph died in 1057 King Gruffydd ap Llywelyn of the Welsh laid waste a great part of Herefordshire. As a consequence the men of Herefordshire and many Normans from the castle, went against him on horseback, not as the national militia or fyrd, but as mounted Norman knights. The experiment proved disastrous and the inexperienced English force was routed 2 miles from Hereford by Gruffydd who then proceeded to destroy Hereford and its castle^{*46}. It would seem likely that Richard fitz

^{*38} Round, J.H., *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, 147-9.

^{*39} DB, 186.

^{*40} See Remfry, P.M., *The Castles of Ewias Lacy, 1048 to 1310* [Malvern, forthcoming] for a tentative identification and description of Hugh's lost castle.

^{*41} Florence of Worcester [Llanerch], 120.

^{*42} Roger of Hovedene [Llanerch], 120.

^{*43} ASC E, 125.

^{*44} Cas Angl II, 557.

^{*45} Fl Wig I, 270; [Llanerch], 123.

^{*46} Florence of Worcester, 122-3.

Scrope was one of those Normans supporting Ralph and Burford Castle, we can be reasonably sure, remained one of his bases at this time.

With these desperate acts the history of Richard fitz Scrope's castles fade into obscurity for the next few years, but it is to be presumed that Richard remained based at his Herefordshire fortresses where he was recorded immediately after the Norman Conquest of England. Indeed it is possible that Richard may have been present at the battle of Hastings on Duke William's side, for before the battle commenced Richard's father-in-law, the Breton Richard fitz Wymarch of Raleigh and Thrupton [Herefs], advised William to remain in his defences around Hastings rather than meet King Harold in the open field and be overwhelmed by the vast English host^{*47!}

After being crowned King of England at Christmas 1066, King William the Conqueror, on 21 February 1067, returned to Normandy, leaving his brother Odo and William fitz Osbern as governors of England with orders to build strong castles in suitable places. Soon after this Edric Silvaticus, known to later generations as Edric the Wild, the son of Elfrici, was attacked and had his lands ravaged by the garrison of Hereford together with Richard fitz Scrope and his retinue because he refused to submit to the new Norman order. As Edric's lands lay mainly around Wigmore and Clun we can be sure that Richard used his castles for bases during the campaign. However the Norman attacks did not prove successful and they suffered great losses. Around 15 August Edric summoned the Welsh kings Bleddyn and Rhiwallon to him and attacked his Norman enemies. The allies laid waste Herefordshire to the bridge over the Lugg and unsuccessfully attacked Hereford castle, injuring many of the garrison^{*48}. Over the next two years Edric was gradually contained until soon after 24 June 1070 he surrendered to the victorious King William who then made use of his military prowess in his wars on the Continent. Richard, however, was not mentioned again after 1067 and all that is known of his death is that it was before 1086 when he had been succeeded by his son Osbern in many of his lands.

The Domesday survey relates much of the state of the fitz Scrope fief in the last years of the 11th C, but this is not strictly relevant here^{*49}.

Apparently soon after Domesday, Bernard Neufmarche married Osbern fitz Richard's daughter Agnes and was granted various lands in the Teme valley, primarily Little Hereford and Berrington, neither of which appeared in the survey. Soon afterwards Bernard seems to have granted much of this land to St Peter's of Gloucester^{*50}. In April 1088 Osbern fitz Richard and his son-in-law Bernard Neufmarche, with most of the other Marchers invaded Worcestershire in favour of Duke Robert of Normandy, slaying and robbing the inhabitants, the men of King William II^{*51}. The rebels, however, were defeated by the sheriff of Worcester and his men at Worcester. Soon afterwards the Marchers made their peace with William Rufus. Osbern fitz Richard then fades into comparative obscurity, although in the period 1120-21 a cell of Tiron abbey was founded on his lands at Titley^{*52}.

In the later part of 1137 King Stephen ordered a survey of the landholdings in Herefordshire that had been affected by the actions of the recently deceased Payn fitz John. Here it was recorded that Osbern fitz Richard held 7 hides in Presteigne (*Presteheimed*)^{*53}. Obviously the land had recovered greatly since Domesday. At the same time from King Stephen's charter confirming to Miles of Gloucester, we learn that Payn had during the reign of Henry I taken control of Osbern's Domesday fee of Ashford Bowdler (*Esseford*) near Richard's Castle^{*54}

Osbern fitz Richard seems to have died soon after Payn fitz John and was succeeded by his grandson Osbern fitz Hugh by 1140. Whether Hugh fitz Osbern ever held the barony is open to question, but he does seem to have married Eustache Say at least 10 years before 1135 and by her had at least one surviving son.^{*55} Eustache

^{*47} Stenton, Sir F, Anglo Saxon England [Oxford, 1985], 591-2

^{*48} Fl Wig, 1; Roger of Hovedene (Llanerch], 140; ASC D, 146.

^{*49} DB, 176b; See Remfry, P.M., Richard's Castle, 1048 to 1304 [Malvern, 1997] for a more detailed account of the barony and its fate

^{*50} Cwmyr. Hon. Soc. Trans. 1915-6, 172.

^{*51} Ord Vit, Eccl. Hist. IV, 125.

^{*52} Coplestone-Crow, 190.

^{*53} HDB, 79

^{*54} Reg Reg Anglo-Norm III, no. 312 and Coplestone-Crow, B., 'Pain fitz John and Ludlow Castle', Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society LXX [1995], 171-2

^{*55} Robinson, Mansions, 238.

would seem to have been either a daughter of Robert alias Picot Say or his son Henry. This family alliance seems to have been of some importance during the subsequent war of Stephen's troubled reign. Civil war had broken out in Herefordshire in May 1138 and Osbern, like most of the baronage, initially followed his king. When Earl Miles of Hereford declared for the Empress on her landing near Arundel on 30 September 1139, King Stephen lost much authority in the Marches of Wales.^{*56}

In Herefordshire, however, he retained the support of Osbern fitz Hugh, Hugh Mortimer of Wigmore, William Braose of Radnor, Helias Say of Clun and initially Goce Dinan of Ludlow, and later Gilbert Lacy of Weobley when Stephen finally recognised his right to his father's lands. In the early spring of 1140 King Stephen moved his host into Herefordshire and it was probably then that he granted the borough, castle and county of Hereford to Earl Robert of Leicester^{*57} This grant was made, not of Hereford as Earl William fitz Osbern had held it in 1067, but as a normal shire and did not include the fees of Hugh Mortimer, Osbern fitz Hugh, William Braose and Goce Dinan who held the lands of Hugh Lacy. However Stephen expressly stated that Earl Robert could have the fee of Goce if he could take it. One of the royalists had already gone over to the Empress in the Marches! Consequently Gilbert Lacy, Goce's personal enemy, might already have been supporting the king.

In the confused politics of the anarchy something unusual seems to have occurred to Burford Barony. It is well known that the major barons made private military and even civil agreements, but what the minor baronage got up to is less clear. It has been shown that Roger Port of Kington managed to acquire Presteigne from Osbern fitz Hugh before 9 April 1145 when Thomas Fraxino granted the church there to St Guthlac's Priory, Hereford^{*58}. However this does not seem to fit well with the string of royalist victories that were then occurring in the Marches, as the loss of Presteigne would have seriously jeopardised Hugh Mortimer's successful actions in the Welsh Marches of Herefordshire between 1144 and 1148^{*59} During this time Osbern fitz Hugh seems to have come over to the side of Earl Roger of Hereford and towards the end of the period 1143-48 joined Roger's brother Walter, Walter Clifford, Ralph and Robert Baskerville, William Beauchamp, Reginald Waldeboef, Roger Burghill, Hugh Hesla, Walter Ferna, William Cleric, Iestin and Trahaearn in witnessing the seventh charter of Earl Roger to Brecon priory^{*60}. The idea that Roger Port supported the Angevins at this time is also suspect and the evidence may suggest that his relations with them were as a defeated enemy, rather than a loyal friend^{*61}. The lord of Richard's Castle seems to have continued in his loyalty to the family of the earl of Hereford and in the period 1159-65, together with Miles of Hereford, Archdeacon Jordan (resigned 1175), Walter Clifford, Ralph Baskerville, Roger Burchull and many other French, Welsh and English, witnessed a grant of Earl Roger's brother and heir, Henry of Hereford^{*62}. From the above it can be suggested that Osbern came to some form of agreement with the Angevin's in the Marches. However, as will be argued below, he does not seem to have forgotten his old allies either and probably made an agreement with both parties, hedging his bets in the ongoing and apparently never-ending civil war of the Anarchy.

Osbern seems to have lost about 10 knights' fees in the Anarchy of Stephen's reign and in 1160-1 was only recorded as owing 15 knights in Herefordshire^{*63}. It seems likely that these 10 missing fees included the lands of Presteigne [5 fees] and Bleddfa, both of which seem to have been lost during this period. Somewhat surprisingly by 1211-1219 Robert Mortimer, the husband of the Say heiress of Richard's Castle, was said to be holding 25 fees of the barony with the heiress of

^{*56} Flowers of History [Llanerch], 491; Roger of Hoveden [Llanerch], 236; Malmesbury's History of his Own Times [Llanerch], 30.

^{*57} Reg Reg Anglo Norm III, No. 437. HWC. Davis & Gronne, original PRO DL 10/14.

^{*58} Coplestone-Crow, B., quoting Barrow, J., English Episcopal Acta: Hereford 1079-1234 [1993], no. 27.

^{*59} See Remfry, P.M., The Mortimers of Wigmore, Part 1, Wigmore Castle, 1066 to 1181 [Malvern, 1995] and Brampton Bryan Castle, 1066 to 1295 [Malvern 1996] for two accounts of these campaigns from different perspectives The Castles of Brecknock [Logaston Press, 1998] will look again at these campaigns and their effects on the shire.

^{*60} Brecon P, 1883, 148-9; Mon III, 265, No. IV.

^{*61} See Remfry, P.M., Kington and Huntington Castles, 1066 to 1298 [Malvern, 1997] for the Ports of Kington.

^{*62} Brecon P, 1883, 151-2.

^{*63} RBExchequer, 24.

Hugh Say, who was the heir of Osbern fitz Hugh^{*64}. Either Robert or one of his predecessors had reclaimed the missing 10 fees, or more likely he was just stating that they should be owed to Burford Barony. In the latter part of the 12th C, probably on William Braose Senior's assumption of the lordship of Brecon in late 1165, Osbern fitz Hugh (d.1186), with William Braose Junior (d.1211), Hugh Say (d.1190), Philip Braose (1155-96+), Hugh Say (d.1190) and Henry Pembridge (d.1210/1) confirmed to Walter Clifford (d.c.1190) the castle of Glasbury and Cantref Selyf, which Earl Roger (d.1155), William's uncle had granted to him (in circa 1144) for 40 days service in the castle of Brecon^{*65} Some years later in 1170 Osbern fitz Hugh gave 3 marks aid for the marriage of the king's daughter the previous year.^{*66}

During the above period Osbern seems to have continued his families' association with the house of Clifford which had apparently begun with his adherence to the Angevin cause in the mid 1140's. Presumably around the same time he married Walter Clifford's (d.1190) daughter, Amicia. In the period 1172-74 Walter Clifford with the assent of Margaret his wife together with Osbern fitz Hugh, made a grant to St Mary's of Abbey Dore of the land which William Foria [Ford] held in Cantref Selyf. The purpose of the grant was for the monks to build an abbey at Trawscoed, which they soon afterwards did. The grant was witnessed by Bishop David of St Davids, William Bray, Osbern fitz Hugh, Margaret Clifford, Walter Clifford the Younger [d.1220], [Fair] Rosamund his sister, Ralph Baskerville, Helias Marun, Hugh Say [d.1190] William Burghill, Simon the monk, Richard the chaplain and many others^{*67} The grant was made for all the successors and predecessors of the three grantees as well as for Walter Clifford's soul and those of his wife and their sons and daughters. This suggests that already, before 1174, Osbern fitz Hugh did not intend to pass his barony on to his children, but that Hugh Say was even at this early date his heir. The following evidence seems to confirm this.

The genealogy of the Say family is difficult, but charter evidence suggests that Helias Say of Clun, during the Anarchy, had at least two sons and a daughter. For some reason Helias' lands were peculiarly divided. To his son Brian Say went [part of?] Stokesay, while Hugh Say [d.1190] seems to have held the overlordship^{*68} and to have been made heir to Burford Barony. To Isabella, the daughter of Helias, went the lordship of Clun until her death in 1199^{*69} and after her it passed to the descendants of her first husband, William fitz Alan of Oswestry. Hugh Say witnessed two charters with Helias Say and Brian Say of Stokesay was with his father, Helias, in Normandy with the Mortimers in May 1162, yet by 1174-7 Hugh Lacy [1155-86] confirmed Hugh Say's grant of Stokesay Church to Haughmond abbey. This was witnessed by Osbern fitz Hugh [Richard's Castle], William fitz William fitz Alan [1160-1210], Herbert of Castle Holdgate, Robert Schemle, Engelardus Stretton, Roger fitz Odon and Adam le Salvage.^{*70} We can see from this that Hugh Say had become overlord of Stokesay after 1166 when his father was recorded in the Lacy carta as owing 3 knights for Stokesay^{*71}. Yet in the period 1174-75, Brian Say was the first of the witnesses of his widowed sister Isabella's grant of her church of Clun to Wenlock Priory.

Probably the next year William Boterell (1175-99), the new husband of Isabella Say, confirmed the grant with the same witnesses^{*72}. It seems likely from the above that the Say fee as held by Helias, the grandson of the Domesday Picot, had disintegrated. So too had the barony of Burford and the two disintegrations seem inextricably linked. An answer seems to lie in what occurred next.

^{*64} RBE, 287.

^{*65} PRO, DL 27/1; See also Rowlands, I.W. 'William Braose and the lordship of Brecon, BBCS XXX [1982-3], 123-33, where it is argued that this document is much later.

^{*66} PR 16 Henry II, 58.

^{*67} Printed in *Monasticon* V, 555 and *Ep Acts* I, 276.

^{*68} See a charter of 1172-94 where William Semer lord of Rowton [Ruiton, maybe Ruyton XI Towns see no. 952, Apr 1272] grants to Hugh priest of Stokesay, 1 acre in Rowton next to another acre granted by Edenera to Hugh Sacerdos of Stokesay. This was conceded by Hugh Say and witnessed by William person of Stoke..., Haughmond no. 950. The charter was probably made after 1177, see no. 1141. Other charters have Hugh Say appearing much later in the witness lists than his suggested father, Helias.

^{*69} See Remfry, P.M., *Clun Castle, 1066 to 1282* [Malvern, 1994]

^{*70} Haughmond, no's. 1142, 950.

^{*71} RBExchequer, 282.

^{*72} *Monasticon* V, 76, no's. IV, V

In 1186 Osbern fitz Hugh of Richard's Castle died and was succeeded in the remnants of his barony of Burford by Hugh Say who only survived him by four years^{*73}. One of Hugh's first acts as the new Lord of Burford seems to have been to confirm the gifts of Osbern "his brother", namely Wychbold mill and a virgate of land at Whitebrook (*Witebroc*), to Haughmond abbey. This charter was witnessed by Walter Clifford (d.1190) and Richard his brother, Gilbert Giffard, Roger Sollars, William Carbonel, Achilles and Roger his brother, Richard chaplain, Thomas chaplain, Walter the cleric and Hugh Katiford^{*74} and has caused much confusion in the Say and fitz Richard genealogies. This is because Hugh described Osbern as his brother, as, by the parlance of the day, he indeed was. However Osbern was not Hugh's uterine brother, but his brother-in-law, both men having married a daughter of the Walter Clifford who was so prominent in the Anarchy.^{*75} Hugh Say had married Lucy Clifford and Osbern fitz Hugh, Amicia Clifford^{*76}. Yet this does not explain why Osbern granted Richards Castle to Hugh Say, probably to the exclusion of his own apparent son, William. It would seem possible that Osbern was merely fulfilling part of an agreement struck in the Anarchy of Stephen's reign. What exactly that agreement was is difficult to say, but the known facts do seem to suggest an answer. Fact, Helias Say the royalist lord of Clun lost possession of Clun castle to a daughter who was married to an Angevin. Fact, Osbern fitz Hugh lost possession of Presteigne castle before 1148 to Roger Port who may have been an Angevin (his relations with Earl Roger of Hereford do not seem to have been good). Fact, Osbern fitz Hugh, on his death, granted Burford to Hugh the son of the royalist Helias Say who according to two independent chronicles battled against Earl Roger of Hereford before making a peace with him. Fact, Hugh fitz Hugh Say's daughter, Margaret, inherited Richard's Castle and not any of his relations who, like Richard Say [see below], certainly held rights in the barony. Taken together this may suggest that there was a pact, or political agreement, drawn up between these three families in the maelstrom of changing allegiances which shook the reign of Stephen

Hugh Say of Richard's Castle died in the 1190 financial year and his son Hugh Say was made responsible for the £11 10s which Osbern fitz Hugh had owed for scutage due on his 23 knights' fees in Herefordshire^{*77}. Hugh fitz Hugh Say's existence as lord of Burford is proved by several charters. In one Matilda the daughter of John le Poer bequeathed her land in Cotheridge [a Burford fee in Worcs] to Haughmond abbey to be held from Hugh fitz Hugh Say its lord as was witnessed by William fitz Alan, John Lestrangle, Ralph Lestrangle and others^{*78}. In another charter Lucy Say the daughter of Walter Clifford conceded to Haughmond, with the consent of her son, Hugh Say, land in Rochford. In return for this the canons gave her a gold cup that Osbern fitz Hugh had given them. The charter was witnessed by Hugh Say and Walter Clifford^{*79}. At around the same time Hugh Say confirmed the gift of Rochford mill, as witnessed by Walter Clifford and Richard his brother, Thomas capellano, Richard sacredote, Simon sac', and Geoffrey his father and Baldwin Bullers^{*80}. Two of these grants were confirmed by Richard fitz Hugh Say, probably after his father's death and before 1208. They were witnessed by Walter Clifford, Gilbert Say, Robert Wyard and John his son, William Carbonel and John and Payn his sons, Osbern Sutton, Geoffrey Burford, Pirone Rochford and Philip Tirel.^{*81}

The second Hugh Say seems to have been a much more warlike character than his father and this in the end may have been his undoing. In 1191 the Welsh seem to have been putting pressure on the lands around the Teme and Lugg valleys. As a consequence the loyal barons of Richard I seem to have been ordered by the Chancellor to seize two Chandos castles, while the Chancellor himself, between 18 May and 8 July, forced Roger Mortimer of Wigmore to surrender Wigmore castle as Roger had been 'intriguing with the Welsh!!'^{*82} As a consequence of these actions

^{*73} PR 32 Henry II, 31.

^{*74} Haughmond no. 1299.

^{*75} See Remfry, P.M., Clifford Castle, 1066 to 1282 [Malvern, 1995] for this man.

^{*76} Haughmond no. 919.

^{*77} PR 2 Richard I, 24, 48, 49; RBExchequer 1190-1, 74.

^{*78} Haughmond no. 254.

^{*79} Haughmond no. 915.

^{*80} Haughmond no. 1299 quoting Dudmaston MS. f.10.

^{*81} Haughmond no. 920.

^{*82} Itinerary of Richard I, (PR Sec), 211; 'Richard of Devizes', 406-7.

William Braose of Radnor was paid 20 marks compensation for Knighton castle which the government had probably taken from him. That Michaelmas Hugh Say was granted £7 8s for munitioning Norton castle with 40 sides of bacon, shields and arms and for giving justice there, 7 shillings together with 25 marks for his garrisoning the castle. He and his allies, Walter Clifford and William Braose, were also granted 3s 6d for giving justice and dealing with the dozen prisoners they held.^{*83} Three years later on Richard I's return to the kingdom Hugh was recorded as holding 23 fees in Herefordshire^{*84} The next year Hugh decided to try to regain his position in Wales and joined the Marchers in the great royally backed campaign against the prince of Deheubarth and his adherents in 1195. At Michaelmas that year it was recorded that Hugh Say had been granted 100s in aid of repairing Bleddfa (*Bledwach*) castle^{*85}, the vill of which had been held by Osbern fitz Richard at Domesday.

In 1196 Rhys ap Gruffydd of Deheubarth attacked Radnor castle and destroyed it and the town. No sooner was the castle destroyed than Roger Mortimer of Wigmore (d.1214) and Hugh Say of Burford, drew up their forces 'in the valley near that town'^{*86}. A great battle ensued and the Marchers were utterly defeated, with the alleged loss of some forty knights and an innumerable number of foot. However a study of the royal records at this time shows no losses at all amongst the known knightly followers of Mortimer, and the only death that can be suggested with any certainty in the Say lordship appears to be that of Hugh Say himself!

By early 1197 it would seem that Hugh fitz Hugh Say of Burford was dead and it seems possible that he either died at the battle or, as his death was not mentioned in the Welsh Chronicles, soon afterwards of his wounds^{*87}. Around the same time it became obvious that another Helias Say had succeeded his father Hugh at Stokesay. Helias was active in Ireland by 1200^{*88}. In 1199 it was recorded in King John's first Pipe Roll that £11 10s scutage was owed by Osbern fitz Hugh, whose heir Hugh Say was. Hugh Say had also been fined 200 marks for marrying the daughter and heir of Osbern, probably without royal sanction.^{*89} An Haughmond charter adds the further information that she was Olimpias and the mother of Helias Say of Stokesay (d.1222)^{*90}. Helias, however, did not inherit Burford and Richard's Castle, that passed to the only known daughter of Hugh Say (d.1196), the much married Margaret. Again it seems likely that some kind of private pact was in operation, and possibly the fine of 200 marks suggests that this was not necessarily beneficial to the king.

In 1197 Margaret Say married Hugh Ferrers and took the barony of Burford to him in marriage. Hugh was the son of Walkelin Ferrers of Oakham in Rutland and his sister Isabella (d.1253) was married to Margaret Say's neighbour, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore (d.1214)^{*91}. As lord of Richard's Castle, Hugh Ferrers confirmed the gift of Geva, the sister of Adam le Salvage, in Cornwood to Haughmond abbey as witnessed by Walter Clifford, John Fabet and William Carbonel^{*92}. Hugh also witnessed a charter of Walter Clifford (d.1220/1)^{*93}. However his career as lord of Burford proved shortlived and he died probably in 1204, leaving Margaret as the widowed Baroness of Richard's Castle and Burford^{*94}. And such independence she did have was soon removed when King John granted her lands to the custody of Earl Thomas Galway of Athol, a commission he held until 30 June 1207 when John ordered Thomas to surrender the castles of Stapleton and Richard's Castle back to the hands of royal bailiffs^{*95}, In the fine rolls for 1207 it was recorded that Thomas Galway had given 1,000 marks for having the lands of Hugh Say. They were now to be taken into the

^{*83} PR 3 Richard I, 77.

^{*84} RBExchequer 1194-5, 86-7.

^{*85} PR 7 Richard I, 108; See Remfry, P.M., Radnor Castle, 1066 to 1282 [Malvern, 1994], 10-13 for the 1195 and 1196 campaigns in Radnorshire.

^{*86} RBH, 177; Pen, 77; See Remfry, P.M., Radnor Castle, 1066 to 1282 [Malvern,1994], 10-13 for an account of the battle.

^{*87} PR 9 Richard I, 197; Eyton IV, 309.

^{*88} Rot Curia Regis I, 123; Salop I, No. 16; Haughmond, no's. 829, 840; Rot Fin, 79. There is also an Emma Say of Shropshire and Ireland who probably belongs to this family at this time, Rot Fin, 80, 128.

^{*89} PR 1 John, 114, 216.

^{*90} Haughmond no's. 1160, 1161, 1166, 1167.

^{*91} Rot Fin, 209.

^{*92} Haughmond no. 264

^{*93} Haughmond no.232.

^{*94} Pipe Roll 1204, 148; Robinson, Castles, 118.

^{*95} Robinson, Mansion, 254-5; Robinson, Castles, 124.

hands of the constable of Chester, Thomas Dispenser, Robert Burgat and William Cantilupe the sheriff of Worcester.^{*96} Thomas was later disgraced and in June 1211 Robert Mortimer of Essex married the widowed Margaret Say and consequently held Richard's Castle for the rest of his life in right of his wife, although he only seems to have managed to acquire 5 1/2 fees of the barony initially.^{*97} During his tenureship of Burford, Robert Mortimer confirmed his predecessors gifts of Wychbold mill; a virgate of land in Richard's Castle (Whitebrook?); 4 acres in Cornwood which Geva Tenbury gave and land in Cotheridge which Matilda the daughter of John le Poer gave with her body for burial as the charters of Matilda and Osbern fitz Hugh (d.1186) testified. The monks of Haughmond then intelligently got Margaret Say, the wife of Robert Mortimer, to confirm the grant, just in case Robert Mortimer did not last long as lord of Burford, which in fact was the case.^{*98}

Robert Mortimer died in the summer of 1219, around the same time as he was presented by Margaret Say with a son and heir, Hugh Mortimer (d.1275). Soon after this Margaret Say, without any reference to a husband, freed the lands of Worcester Priory from having to entertain serjeants in their lands if they were appointed there by the lords of Burford^{*99}. Around the same time it was found that she held special rights in the valley of the Lugg belonging to the land of Richard's Castle from the Red Ditch beneath Pembridge (*Rogedich subtus Penebruge*)^{*100}. Then on 23 November 1219 Margaret married her third and final husband, William Stuteville who was to hold Richard's Castle and Burford till his death in 1259, much to the eventual chagrin of Margaret's son and heir, Hugh Mortimer.^{*101}

William Stuteville's career as lord of Burford does not seem to have been very eventful, and we can expect that little capital was expended on the borough or castle as it was to be held only for William's lifetime and was repeatedly claimed by William's son-in-law, Hugh Mortimer. By holding the castles of Richard's Castle, Stapleton and maybe Bleddfa, William Stuteville was a Marcher Baron and as such it is no surprise to find Robert Bund receiving 6d from the king on 1 October 1226 for going to visit Hugh Mortimer [of Wigmore] and William Stuteville^{*102}. At Easter 1242, Hugh the son of Robert Mortimer, launched a determined attempt to gain his mother's lands, probably on the occasion of her death. The attempt failed, but in 1243 Hugh was granted his mother's hereditary lands of Homme (*Hamme*) and Clifton on Teme in Worcestershire and Cascob (*Cascope*) in Radnorshire as a settlement by his father-in-law^{*103}. It is interesting that no castle was mentioned at Homme and it may be presumed that the old motte of Richard fitz Scrope set in the now peaceful Worcestershire countryside had long been derelict. The same is probably also true of Tenbury or Burford motte. The town of Tenbury Wells offering far better accommodation to the lord of Burford than an ancient and obsolete castle.

William Stuteville died before 20 May 1259 when Sir Hugh Mortimer, aged 40, inherited Richard's Castle and Burford Barony^{*104}. By William's death Hugh now held in Worcestershire Wychbold (*Wychebaud*) and Cotheridge (*Coderugge*) manors from the king of the inheritance of Margaret his mother and *Huweleston* township from the bishop of Worcester. In Shropshire he held Burford manor of the inheritance of his mother, Wooferton (*Wulfreton*) with free hay and Stapleton (*Stepelton*) with its Welshry of Willey (*Wylileg*).^{*105}

Probably soon after assuming the lordship Hugh Mortimer confirmed to Worcester Priory, *Aleweshey per sicheum quod voc. Wudebroc*.^{*106} He may or may not have campaigned with the other Marchers in the lead up to the battle of Lewes in May 1264, but he did support them in the subsequent struggles against Simon Montfort. In June or July 1264 the lands of Roger Mortimer of Wigmore were fired by the victorious earl of Leicester and at the same time Hereford and Hay on Wye castles were captured by

^{*96} Rot Fin, 393, 407.

^{*97} Eyton IV, 312; RBExchequer 1210-12, 488, 509, 512, 603.

^{*98} Haughmond no's. 1300, 1301.

^{*99} Register of Worcester Priory Camden Sec, vol 91, 9b

^{*100} Cal Ing, Misc I, 1219-1307 I, 146-7, No. 444.

^{*101} Fines I, 39; Eyton IV, 315

^{*102} RLC1, 139.

^{*103} Curia Regis 21-26 Henry III, 478, No. 2406; Fines 27 Henry II, No. 77; Eyton IV, 316.

^{*104} Inq Post Mortem 43 Henry III, No. 23.

^{*105} IPM I, 120, no.439.

^{*106} Cott xxvii, 157.

the allied barons before Simon moved north, forcing Hugh Mortimer to surrender his person and Richard's Castle. Earl Simon then proceeded to capture Ludlow castle and make Roger Mortimer of Wigmore and his remaining allies surrender at Montgomery on 25 August. Richard's Castle and Burford Barony were then granted to John fitz John, whose father had held Longtown castle in right of his wife and whose grandfather Geoffrey fitz Peter had won the great battle of Painscastle back in August 1198^{*107}. John held Burford for only one year, he being captured with so many of his friends and companions at the battle of Evesham on 4 August 1265^{*108}. With John's defeat Hugh Mortimer regained Burford and was granted by a grateful king the privilege of hunting hare, fox, weasel and cat in the royal forests of Shropshire.^{*109} Hugh finished his career by becoming sheriff of Hereford in 1272, an office he held until his death.^{*110}

Hugh Mortimer was dead, aged only 56, by 28 November 1275 when an Inquest Post Mortem was held upon the lands he had held before they were passed to his 22 year old son and heir, Robert. In Herefordshire these were found to have been Richard's Castle, held of the barony of Burford, and Rochford (*Rachesford*) which was held of the fee of Clifford by service of 1/4 knight

In 1278 under Staffordshire it was recorded that Robert Mortimer owed £100 relief for his barony^{*111}. Presumably this had been owing since he acquired Burford. No deeds have been uncovered so far of Robert's part in the first Welsh War of Edward I in 1276-7, but in December 1282 he was part of the Marcher army that moved to meet Prince Llywelyn's invasion of Central Wales. Near Builth Wells the Marcher army met Llywelyn with his Welsh army of 160 cavalry and 7,000 foot. There Edmund, Roger (of Chirk), William and Geoffrey Mortimer of Wigmore together with Robert Mortimer their nephew of Burford, the Lestranges, Giffards and Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn destroyed the Welsh army and killed Llywelyn in confused circumstances.^{*112} The statement that Robert Mortimer was the nephew of the Mortimer's of Wigmore has led some authorities into making a direct link between the two families. However this is far more likely to simply echo the Ferrers connection, which in fact was not a blood-relationship at all. In the aftermath of their victory over the Prince of Wales, Robert confirmed the charter whereby Edmund Mortimer of Wigmore granted to Walter Hackelutel all the land late of Gruffydd ab Owain in Elfael Uwch Mynydd (Aberedw), on 25 June 1285.^{*113}

Robert Mortimer of Burford died, aged only 34, before 22 July 1287 when an inquisition was held into his lands. As war was then being waged in South Wales against Rhys ap Maredudd of Dryslwyn it is possible that Robert fell in action, certainly royal records repeatedly mention the good military service he had given his king.

Robert was succeeded by his underage son and heir another Hugh Mortimer, who held Burford Barony until his untimely death by poison at the hands of his wife, Isabel in 1304. Hugh's uncle William Mortimer, in a 1289 deed seen by Blount, called himself Sir William Mortimer, Knight, *filius Domini Hugonis Mortimer de Castro Ricardi* and had a seal with the arms of the Say family^{*114}. This obviously shows that the Mortimers of Burford saw themselves as heirs of Helias Say of Clun and his children, but again the reasoning behind this, without the alleged original agreement between the families, is difficult to ascertain. It has been suggested that this William later changed his name to William de la Zouche, but this may more likely have been his namesake, a son of Roger Mortimer of Wigmore (d.1282), who in his lifetime called himself William Mortimer of Castell Tinboeth and Lord William of Lye. The Mortimers of Wigmore had married into the family of de la Zouche.

In 1301 Hugh Mortimer made a grant at Richard's Castle to all his burgesses of Richard's Castle together with his tenants of Moore, Batchcott, Whitbrook and Overton of various rights in consideration of the good service they had done Hugh in the last Welsh war [1294-5]. The grant was witnessed by Roger Marshall, lord of Yarpole,

^{*107} Flores II, 498-9; Dunstaplia, 234-5; William Rishanger, 29-30.

^{*108} William Rishanger, 37.

^{*109} Robinson, Castles, 119.

^{*110} Robinson, Castles, 119.

^{*111} PR Edward I, 1277-8, PRO E372/122.

^{*112} Dunstaplia, 292-3; Pen, 120, 217 note 120,36; AC, 107; Chronicon Petroburgense ed. T. Stapleton, Camden Society [1849], ; Osney, 291; Wykes, 291; Flores, III, 57; Wigornia, 497; CAPW, 435-6; Bermondeseia, 466; Edwards, A., Appointment at Aberedw, puts a different complexion upon the action.

^{*113} C Chart R II, 304.

^{*114} Robinson, Mansions, 238.

Roger Cayne, Philip Crete, Reuall Ludlow, Henry Myle and many others^{*115}. The connection between the Ludlows, the Mortimers of Burford and the Says of Stokesay should be noted. When the last Hugh Mortimer of Burford was poisoned in 1304 it was recorded that he had 103 burgages in Richard's Castle, held land in Pilleth or Wapley (*Wapelith*) of the Mortimer's of Wigmore and had 30 free tenants in Cascob who paid a rental of 30s 2d and that part of this land was treated as an appurtenance of Wigmore^{*116}. Presumably this was his little barony of Bleddfa, now held of the Mortimer's land of Maeliennydd. These family lands at Bleddfa were tenanted by a solidly Welsh population in 1293.^{*117}

Hugh's death may have been brought about by his wife, who was repeatedly accused of poisoning him and other knights of the barony. However she found royal protection from the Queen. With Edward I's death in 1307 she too suddenly died and the suspicion must remain that without royal protection those hounding her through the courts for murder took their revenge!

Hugh Mortimer was eventually succeeded by two co-heiresses, one of whom was Joan Mortimer. She married for her second husband Sir Richard Talbot who lived at Richard's Castle until his death before 29 June 1376^{*118}. Joan's younger sister married into the Cornwall family who were descendants on the female side of the last Brian Brampton of Brampton Bryan (d.1294). She took to her husband Burford Barony and Stapleton Castle. As has been noted above the castles in this barony at Tenbury/Burford and Homme were probably by this time only distant memories, little more in the mind of locals than their denuded remains are today.

Note 1: This paper also contains material pertinent to the report on Richard's Castle, HAN 67, pp 25-34. HAN 68, pp 42-44. It is part of the original text for one of Paul's forthcoming books on Richard's Castle, hence the footnote numbering, and contains material which may not be finally published.

Note 2: It is difficult to portray accurately what was meant by the various terms now used to describe Marcher holdings in the Middle Ages. Even then various terms were often used to describe the same holdings. Here in brief are several of these terms and their explanations.

| | |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Appurtenance: | An incidental property, vill or right belonging to a barony or lordship. Such villis might be many hundreds of miles and quite isolated from the centre of a barony. |
| Fee: | A heritable estate held in feudal law from a superior lord (often the king) who retained some rights in that land. |
| Barony: | The fees or domain of a baron. |
| Marcher Barony: | The fees or domain of a baron in the borderlands which has special military obligations and powers which amount to semi-regal liberties. |

^{*115} See the full transcript of the charter as copied by Elizabeth Taylor in HAN 65 [1996], 25.

^{*116} IPM 32 Edward I, IV 142, no. 63.

^{*117} TRS 1973, 79-85; 1974, 62-8

^{*118} CIPM, 49 Edward III.

- Honour: A holding of a large amount of land including numerous manors or vills and the seigniorial franchises or jurisdictions that are attached to those estates.
- Lordship: The territory belonging to or under the jurisdiction of, or in the power of a lord.
- Marcher Lordship: The territory belonging to or under the jurisdiction or control of a lord which lies predominantly in the borderlands and has special military obligations and powers similar to royal liberties.

It can be seen from the above list that a lord may be baron of several baronies which are then part of his lordship. Baronies, sometimes known as honours, were often divided and amalgamated according to inheritance, war or intrigue. The size of a barony or lordship was always dependant upon the military strength or courtly standing of the baron holding the honour. This is clearly seen in the infighting that followed the frequent succession crises to the Barony of Burford or the Honour of Richard's Castle as it was sometimes known. The barony of Burford therefore included the fees of Richard's Castle, Presteigne/Stapleton, Homme and Bleddfa. As can be seen these were also the principle castles of the barony and proved natural administrative centres for its division.

Useful Information

A tod was a measure of 28 lbs of WOOL, which was 1 thirteenth of a sack.

A sarplar was a large, coarse canvas back for carrying wool, which could carry anything between 2 sacks or half a sack.

A sack was generally 362 lbs, or 2 weys or 12 tods or 52 cloves or 26 stone of 14 lb each. A sack was equivalent to 1 twelfth of a last but occasionally it was 350 lbs or 28 stones of 12.5 lb each.

IRON ORE was measured in dozens i.e units of 12 hundredweights (cwts). A seam was 16 cwts, but this was not a standard measure. A seam or summa was equal to the pack load of a sumpter weighing 504lbs if it was wheat.

A chaldron of COAL was 25.5 cwts.

One Acre with a modern 9 inch furrow means 11 miles with a single furrow plow.

A sester or sextary of ALE or BEER was generally 12 gallons, but varied between 13 to 19 gallons; of GRAIN was 8 bushels; of WINE, OIL or HONEY was usually 4 gallons, but could vary up to 5 or 6 gallons.

A Relic of Wormsley Priory by Brian Redwood

On Saturday 3rd May 1997 the writer in company with Bert Aggas visited the site of Wormsley Priory. The aim was to check the features reported by R.E. Kay in HAN46.

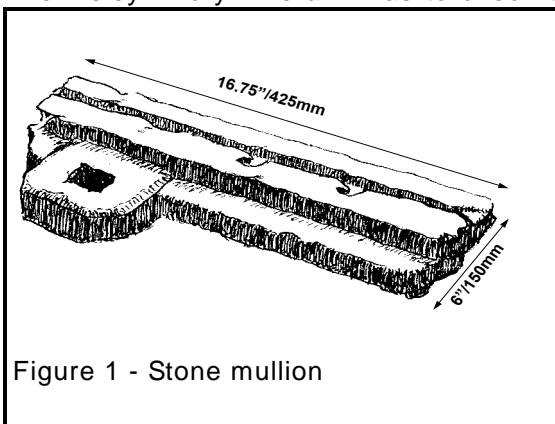


Figure 1 - Stone mullion

These were all found in place with one exception: "the plain and hollow chamfered sill of medieval window opening, showing sockets for iron bars" could not be found. Two days later we were informed that the piece in question had been moved up to The Knole Cottage by the occupier, Mrs. Queenie Kingsland, for its protection. After viewing the stone it was agreed with the owner of the land to place it in Weobley Museum, where it now rests, with the reference A203.



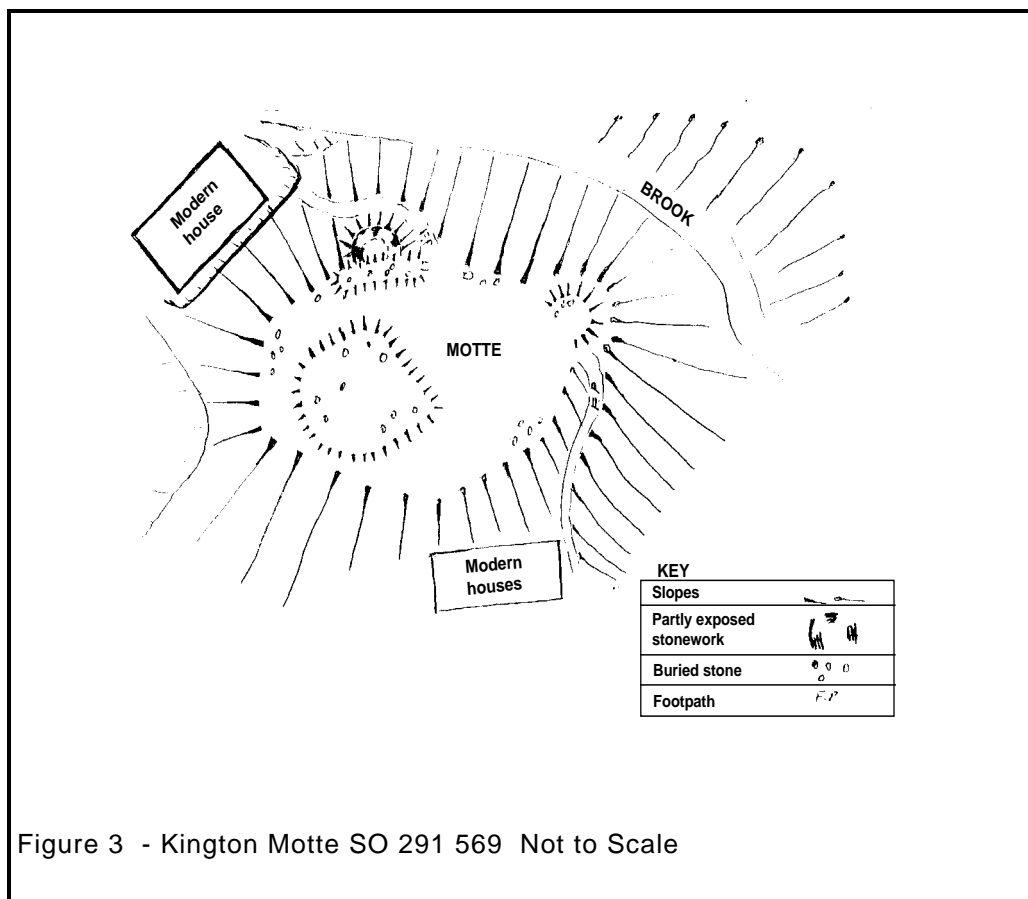
Figure 2 - Window at Brinsop Court

The stone on careful inspection turns out to be a mullion rather than a sill. At one end, the shaft has been worked flat to make a joint and below, protruding from the inner face is a stone bolt-hole to take a bar to secure shutters which would have been hinged to the jambs on either side. This is similar to the same feature to be seen on the windows at Brinsop Court (cf. R.C.H.M. Herefordshire II,31). On the outside face on either side are two sockets to take horizontal iron bars, and bearing on one side of the socket is a channel cut roughly five-eighths inch wide and deep which could take a lattice window.

Mottes in the Kington area by Roger Stirling-Brown

Kington motte (SO 291 569)

Kington motte is tall and seems to be a largely natural feature formed from a boss of shaly rock. Before an earthquake broke its dam it was apparently partly surrounded



by a lake with a fast flowing stream and mill pool which gave it extra defence on the N. side. The top of the motte shows some remains of a defensive bank and at the highest point there is a roughly rectangular mound full of stone; but our greatest discovery to date is a small round tower approximately 20' in diameter with an internal diameter of 6'-8', this is on the N.W. side overlooking a narrow pathway up the very steep slope. Several feet of this tower appear to remain in position, covered in tree roots and ivy. The writer was able to uncover some of the laid core stones on top of the wall to confirm its structure. This tower probably protected a postern gate in the former stone wall surrounding the motte top.

There appears to be remains of another round or D-shaped tower on the N.E. of the circuit. The remnant of what appear to be defensive banks is full of stone and seems more likely to be buried wall connected to the N.W. tower. This new discovery brings into question what sort of structure is buried in the stone-filled mound off centre of the main enclosure. It was the writer's opinion that because of the angular shape of the mound and its rough dimensions of about 30'-34' square, it could contain the foundations of a small square keep similar to Goodrich. (SO 577 200). This could be so, or alternatively, it could be a heap of demolition rubble. If it was a square keep tower it would be a very rare discovery in Herefordshire as we have only Goodrich as a definite survivor, with the possible stump of a 40' square tower built up into a later house at Bredwardine (SO 335 444) and buried foundations of a possible square tower in the ring work at Dilwyn (SO 415 544), compared with many in Shropshire and Gloucestershire.

With the discovery of these towers we have the intriguing possibility of a complete rebuilding of this strong little castle around 1200 to 1240 as an enclosure with two or more round or D-shaped flanking towers with the possibility of a great round

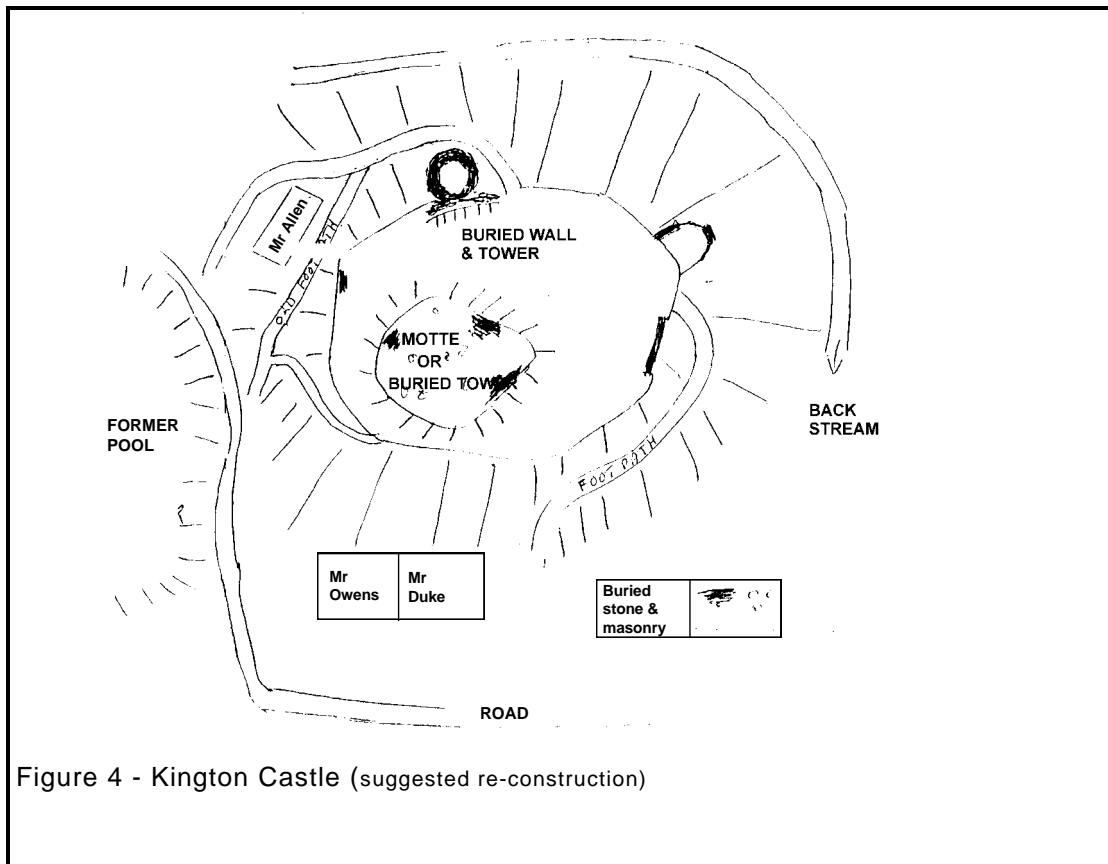


Figure 4 - Kington Castle (suggested re-construction)

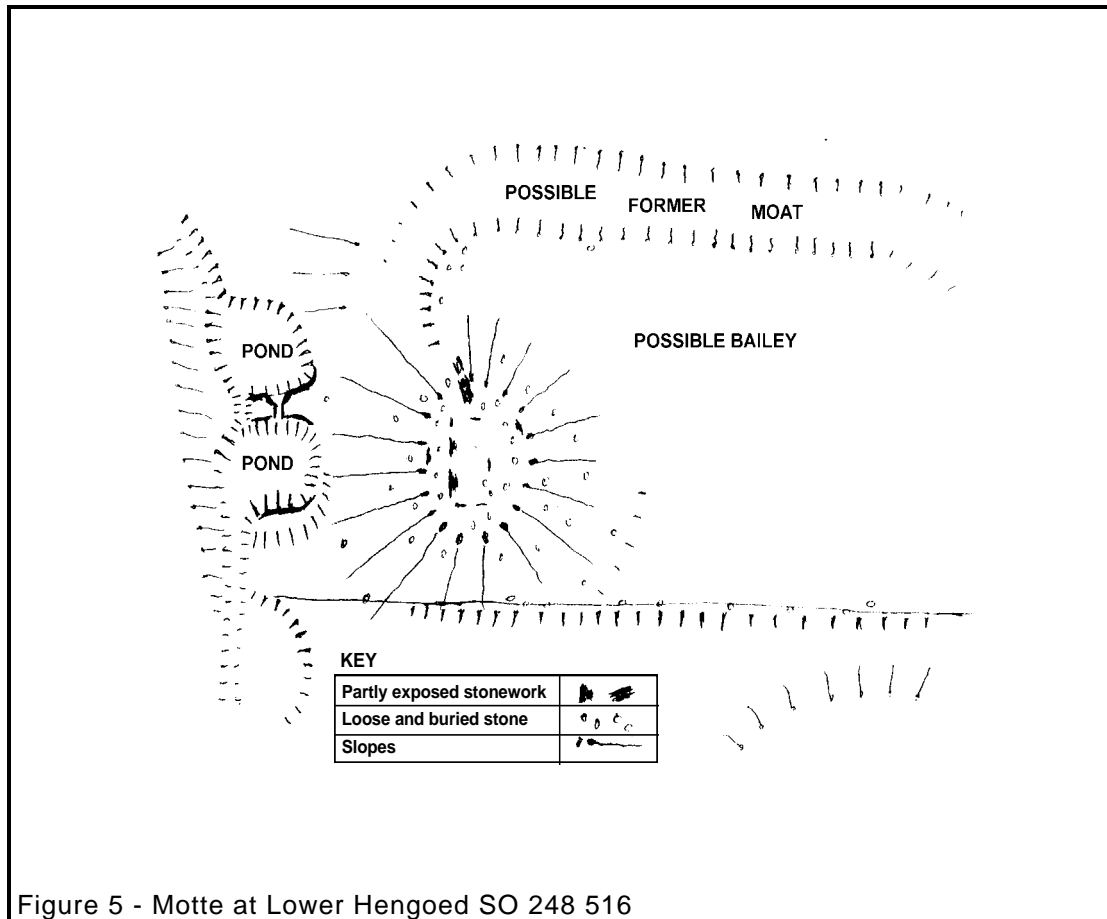
keep inside, commanding the weaker ground between the castle and church, or the re-use of an earlier square keep. In either case, the confirmation of a stone castle in Kington, dating to 1240 or later, should kill the belief in Kington's decline when the new castle and borough of Huntington were laid out around 1228.

Motte at Lower Hengoed (SO 248 516)

Although this site has been written off by some experts as a natural feature, it has appeared on various lists as a possible motte, and is now shown as such on recent editions of the OS maps. Therefore we were grateful for the landowner's permission to visit and examine the site. We were able to confirm that it is a motte with a faintly defined possible bailey. In addition we noted two or more fish ponds in a stream immediately below the motte on the W. side which may have formed part of the defences, though some 19th century brickwork and concrete on one of the overflow sluices casts some doubt of their being contemporary with the castle. Even so, fish ponds of this type have been used for hundreds of years and the lack of visible surviving mortar in the stone revetments to the ponds may point to them being of an earlier date with a later re-use as watering ponds. They could also have been used as header ponds for a mill.

The motte is of oval form, about 60' by 50' on top, a common size for motte tops in the Border area. Any stone defences usually consisted of an oval shell-keep, with internal buildings of wood or stone. In this case there is obvious evidence of a former stone structure in buried masonry and stone, and much loose stone scattered all over the motte top and slopes. When the writer last visited twenty years ago, a short length of straight stone walling was partly exposed on the motte top, this is still visible in places. This wall appears to be part of a rectangular structure approximately 30' x 40'. This could have been a hall-type keep or a later house, we could not confirm either way as we could not ascertain the wall thickness without excavation and the

foundations appear to be fragmentary. There are some partly buried remains of a wing wall jutting out of the side of the mound which would have connected up to a stone curtain wall around a bailey. The land has obviously been ploughed up to the base of the motte, removing the vestige of a ditch around the motte on the weaker sides. A slight bank in the field N.E. of the motte may delineate the bailey; there is a long damp hollow N.E. of this which may mark the position of a former moat or ditch. There is slightly higher ground to the S.E. of the bailey but a high stone curtain wall and/or towers would dominate this. A stone-surfaced bridle road, now a footpath, connects the site to the present road network. There is some discoloration in the



grass and much loose stone in the field S. of the site and a bridle-road which may mark the position of a small settlement.

Castle Twts, Lower Hergest (SO 276 555)

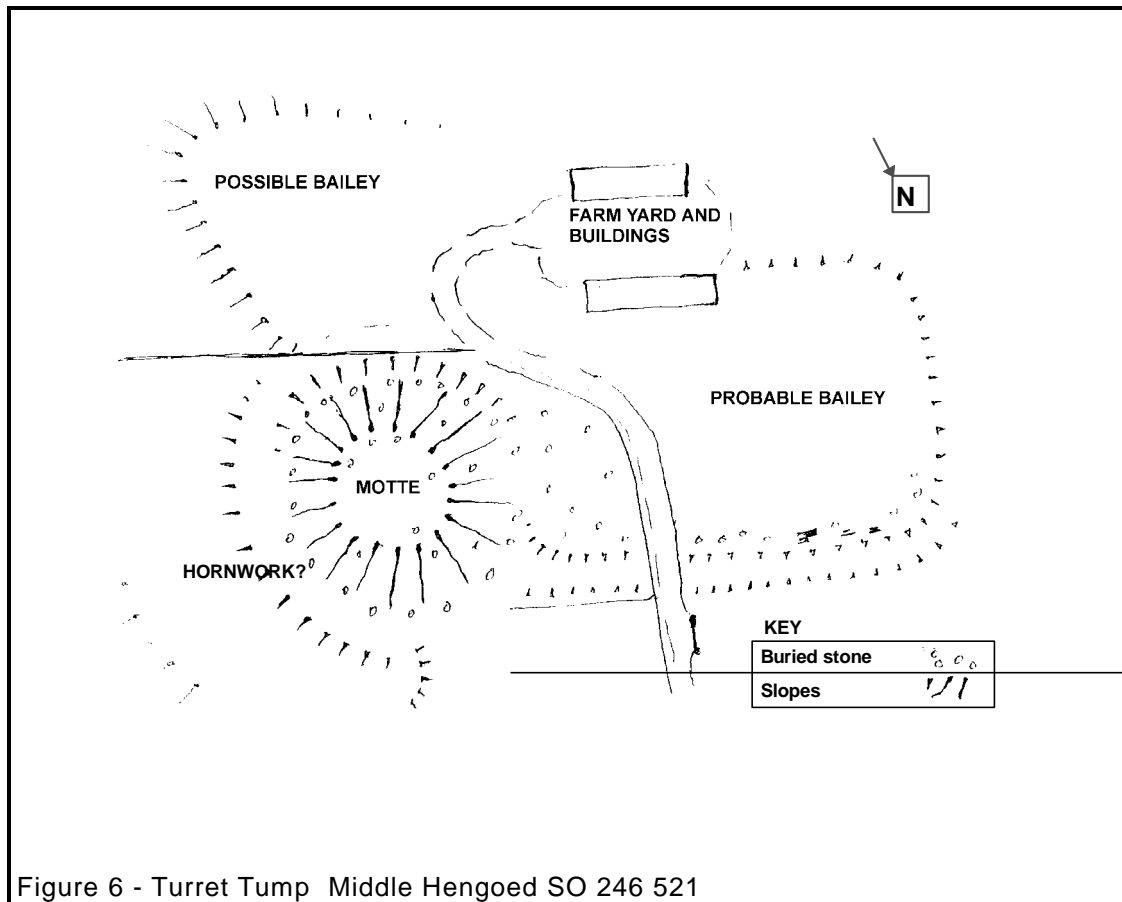
There appears to be the stump of a substantial round tower, buried in its own debris, built into the wall of a possible shell-keep, buried foundations of which are still discernible. Buried foundations of a small outer court or large barbican are attached to this. A small D-shaped foundation to the N.W. of the mound may be a former flanking tower covering the approach on the W. side. The whole site is on a steep hillock up to 100' high in places. On the E. slope a probable outer enclosure, marked by banks and scarps, commands an obvious roadway to the castle.

The site ,and that of nearby Hergest Court, was held by a branch of the Vaughan family, related to the holders of Tretower Court and Castle. As both sites look similar in layout there may have been some exchange of ideas with an early move to more comfortable lodgings at the Court; the castle being kept as a retreat for troubled times¹.

To the E. of the site, the ridge again rises into another knoll, and there is a vague possibility that this too was included in the outer defences of the castle.

Turret Tump, Middle Hengoed (SO 246 521)

This is a motte with two baileys, one probably being a hornwork on the E. side. There is new information about this site for where it was long thought to have been only an



earth and timber castle of early date, it almost certainly had a later phase of stone buildings. The former ditch around the motte is filled with stone, there are lots of loose stones on and around the mound and more buried stone or masonry in the motte. In fact, current evidence points to a former round or polygonal stone tower on the motte, as this area is too small for a shell keep but is well able to support a keep of 30' to 40' in diameter. It is possible that foundations and several feet of tower lie buried in its own debris as at Richard's Castle and Huntington. The fairly large bailey encloses part of the present farm buildings which have some re-used stone with diagonal tool marks. A short length of filled-in bailey ditch can be seen on the paddock on the W. Side of the farm drive, stone shows through the turf here and possibly surviving curtain wall foundations.

Huntington Castle (SO 249 539)

Much has been written about this castle so we will concentrate on the new discoveries and confirmation of previous research.

There are earthworks and ruins of a stone castle of motte and bailey form which seems to have been of one build or rebuilding around 1228. A piece of curved wall was exposed in the side of the motte around twenty-five years ago which points to the existence of a round keep on the motte. It is the writer's opinion that most of this keep still remains buried in its own debris. It will probably have been built on the original ground level, soil being piled around the base to give the impression of a motte (see Skenfrith) unless this new stone castle was built on an earlier earthwork motte and bailey which is possible as there was, I believe, a settlement here before 1066. There has always been some confusion with Turret Castle, Hell Wood (SO 259 534) which was thought to have been abandoned in favour of the *new* castle of Huntington, but there is no proof of this.

The oval bailey has around it sections of wall still standing to wall-walk level at 20' internally, with three or four round or D-shaped towers on it, with a probable twin-towered gatehouse. In front of this was a barbican which appears to be D-shaped. This main bailey enclosure appears to have a cross wall splitting it in two; the inner ward so formed appears to have included the main or lord's hall and service rooms (kitchens etc.) and what could be a drawbridge pit in a defended entrance to the keep. There is also a buried stair to a basement against the S. face of the curtain wall near Dr. Logan Jack's excavation.

The N. end of the bailey has a vaulted basement, now collapsed, with a stair which probably supported an outer hall or residential block, the portion of the standing wall contains a shaft which may have been a chimney or garderobe shaft. It was likely that there was a flanking tower on this angle which could have been used as a solar to a hall block in this position. There would almost certainly have been other lean-to buildings in this bailey.

An interesting feature here, if it existed, is the so-called *octagon*. This could have been a free standing chapel like the one in the bailey at Ludlow Castle. There is an outer bailey to the N. and E. of the site which does not appear to have been walled in stone.

To the S. There is another enclosure, bisected by the road, which had fish ponds or an outer moat. This was almost certainly the outer enclosure mentioned as newly palisaded along with repairs to the castle in 1403. South of this enclosure are signs of the failed borough site. An aerial photograph in the SMR shows two stony mounds with trees on which may indicate the position of the town gate. We were unable to visit these on the reconnaissance due to lack of time and bad weather.

Note:

All measurements in this article are approximate, and in feet.

References:

1. Herefordshire Castles - a list of Classified Sites by Roger Stirling-Brown

Useful Information

A thrive was usually a measure of 12 sheaves, but up to 24 of GRAIN.

A trug was half a seam or 4 bushels, a bushel being 4 pecks or 8 gallons.

Edward I fixed the statute quarter at 8 bushels.

A quarter of WHEAT was 504 lbs or 4.5 cwt or 8 bushels.

A tun, equal to 2 pipes, was 252 gallons of WINE or 216 gallons of ALE. A dolium was equivalent to one tun, but varied between 208 to 250 gallons.

A hogshead of CLARET was 46 gallons, of BEER 54 gallons, 52.5 imperial gallons or 63 old wine gallons.

Ariconium: a fieldwork summary by Elizabeth Taylor

[Editorial note. Elizabeth produced this document shortly before she died in April 1998. It is a useful summary of the various findings and theories over the last 200 years. Her comments are in italics.]

English Heritage's projected desk-based report on Ariconium has already been going for about 18 months to 2 years and will take as long again before publication. The need for a comprehensive survey of all known finds, excavations and air photos is obvious; Ariconium has remained an incomprehensible mystery since the 18th century and is as little understood by most of us as it was then. When published, the report will have computer-plotted air photos which should be valuable and Finds reports which will be able to give more accurate dating and make interesting comparisons of local wealth and status.

The pottery reports may provide us with answers to many questions; perhaps telling us something of the trade routes connected with the settlement; domestic, military and industrial. Of equal importance will be the report on the native British pottery; for Ariconium's flourishing Iron Age and 1st-century occupation, iron production and manufacture provides perhaps the most interesting of all Ariconium's aspects. Meanwhile this very shortened collection may be of some use.

ANTONINE Itinerary 13th: Caerleon to Reading. Via Usk 11 miles Monmouth - 11 to Ariconium - 15 to Gloucester.

[The following are printed fully in G.H.Jack's Report on Excavation at Ariconium. WNFC.Trans.1923. Supplement.]

1785. (First report) Thomas Hopkins Merrick of Bolitree.

'The Old Town...I imagine larger than the city of Gloucester...covered a great part of the land I occupy at Bolitree, together with much more of the neighbouring lands; indeed, where the streets stood might almost be traced by the colour of the soil.'

Had never heard of any ruins above ground, but when ploughing, hit ruins underground. Vast quantities of stone obtained, walls lying a foot to a yard and more below the surface.

A cavity found when prodding with a stick revealed a collapsed wall. A sound floor 4 or 5ft. below had a quantity of blackened (not burnt) but perfect wheat on floor.

When digging a hedge about 4 ft deep, found a fine, smooth floor which continued with the hedge about 120-140 feet. Did not look for the breadth. A 'pavement' was expected but the face of the floor was too hard for anything other than a pickaxe to penetrate. Was disappointed to find only very fine sand, as used to dry ink. Floor 'a great curiosity' being so hard. Roman coins and rarely British ones, images, fibulae and other curiosities found.

[It was Thomas Hopkins Merrick 'who erected the castellated additions to the family residence.' (Cooke/Duncumb see below) The 'vast quantities of stone' were almost certainly used at Bolitree to build the splendid castle folly. Stone is also lavishly used in farm buildings, field walls etc. Merrick's account was the base on which succeeding accounts were embroidered until 1923.]

1805. Brayley and Britain Vol.VI. [Superior Guide Book writers]

Recounts the appearance of the place before Merrick enclosed and levelled it 40-50 years ago. 'fragments of pavements, pillars with stones having holes for the jambs of doors'. Land now belongs to Merrick's brother. Reports finds made 'Last summer' during road widening: skeletons, stone walled front of a building which had well worked stones of 'considerable size'; the interior fill was of 'black and shining earth, pottery, bones, iron [*Was the black and shining earth glittering with hammer scale?*] Kill Dane field was mentioned. [*17th c. deeds of Linton show that Killerdine was the earlier field name. There are many -erdine field names in Greytrees Hundred and Holme Lacy e.g. Scutterdine, Mangerdine.*]

1821. Fosbrooke. Ariconensia.

Tradition says 'city' extended Bolytree to Bromsash. More than 20 acres. [They are 3/4 mile apart!] Thought it looked like Kenchester. Foundations still found on digging BUT oldest inhabitants knew of no other part of building except vault with steps found by children - site forgotten. Urns, vases, pans, fibulae etc. 'but no tessellated pavement found.'

1870, Brit.Arch.Soc. (WNFC Trans. 1882)

Visited site. Mr.Palmer showed 9 British coins some of Cunobelin. 118 Roman from Claudius 41 to Magnentius 350-3. 20 fibulae; 1 silver and 6 bronze rings; 4 intagli (2 cornelian); keys; pins; nails etc. Dr.Bull said blackened soil extends over area of nearly 100 acres.

1883. Judge Cooke, History of Greytrees Hundred.(Duncumb).

'Greater part of coins found in a field of 60 acres and in an adjoining enclosure were the foundations of a building 27x16ft. containing some human bones'. [Does not give his source. J

1908. Victoria County Hist. p.189-90

Quotes from most of above. No pavements found: 'further proof' of Fosbrooke's theory 'that excavations had not reached the site of the actual inhabited town,' Thought none of the jewellery and other finds were of importance and a bronze statuette of Diana was only 5ins tall. [*Late Victorian scholars knew certain 'facts' before dealing with a subject and no amount of evidence to the contrary shook their belief in such 'facts', hence the continuing belief in a town. The belief is still widespread.*]

1923. Excavation, G.H.Jack. (WNFC Trans.1923 Supplement.)

6 Trial Trenches. (1-6) 14 days duration of excavation.

(1) Shapeless mass of masonry; building presumed near. Few bits of coarse pot, some stones. (2,4,5,6) all trenches in black earth. (3) in red. (2) Coarse pottery and few pieces of Samian including Dr.37 1st C.

Building (1) 'Kitchen block'. [roughly SO 647240]

3-4 courses of 6in. stone walls in part of E room. Walls 18in. wide on 2ft. footings. Two rooms: 19x34ft.(E end) 19x28ft.(middle), possible foundations of part of room to west shown on plan. The 2 rooms said to be 68ft. long (inc. walls). ['Kitchen block' title because of finds in E room: 2 querns, culinary pottery, mortaria, large jars and cooking pots.] East room paved with thin, random shaped slabs bedded on 3in. thick fine concrete on natural soil. Wall plaster with colouring found near inside of south wall of East room; ochre, dark red and white lines. Stone roof tiles with nails. 1 imbrex (part). On plan, the Middle room has footings only and no floor is mentioned.

Building (2) [near]. 'Suite of heated rooms'.

18ft. of wall found; broken ends so no continuation. 'Remains of furnace, hearth or hypocaust'. [Plan shows random 'build']. Fragment of flue tile found in centre of 'hearth'; another piece found 40ft. away. Space between buildings covered in clinker gravel 2in. thick.

Finds include: 3 bronze rings set with glass, 1 fibula, 9 coins: 81-330, 2 Iron Age glass beads, ring-shape with opaque white wavy line; 3 pieces of glass bottles, 1 white, 2 greenish; 1 piece of greenish window glass. Pottery included some pre-Flavian Samian and Iron Age; and 2 early to mid-1st cent, fibulae. 'But (of early coarse pottery) almost every early type is found wanting. It should accompany early Samian to prove early civil occupation.' Jack thought that absence of early coarse pottery could be explained if early occupation was solely military. 'Civil elements cannot have become numerous till the end of the 2nd century. The coarse pottery chiefly dateable 250-400 shows iron production must have increased rapidly after mid-3rd cent.

Floor of house was certainly in use in Constantine period and probably built not more than half a century before.'

[*Building 2 was diagonal to Building 1.*]

1927. G.H.Jack, WNFC Trans.1927 p.231 [about SO 647240]

Cropmarks immediately south of excavated 1923 site - belt of parched corn running SW and 5 distinct lines of green corn, 2ft wide, parallel with parch mark. 12 ft, wide

road found 2ft. below surface. Slag on surface, 4th c. RB pot fragments. Clay about 18ins below surface but no real explanation for green corn lines. No constructed drain. Slag road.

1930-2. Alfred Watkins. WNFC Trans. 1932-3 p.LXXXI. and p.188.

4 trial digs in Wigg meadows [c. SO 637229]. In or very near Bridgewater's later excavations. These covered 5/8 mile. 21-30in. below turf; 7-8ft. wide; compact floor of iron slag and stones. Rusty powder as if ore scattered over it and spilt on track. Track was not followed as far as Frogmore. Other length of slag road at Ryeford farm. [see map].

1959. N.P.Bridgewater. Ancient Buried Roads. WNFC Trans.1959 p.218-226.

(1) Slag road Bury Hill to Goomstool. 15ins below surface slag and stone agger 4ft.9ins with 3ft. each side of grit and small stones. 6in. deep gully into subsoil on one side; other side was road junction. Second road of same construction at angle of 40 deg. towards Eccleswall farm. 'No remains' between Bury Hill and Goomstool.

(2) 170yds NW of Goomstool. Slag road to Lea, 10ft. wide.

(3) 560yds WSW of Eccleswall farm, intersecting road described in (1). 9ft wide, very well made of slag plus tobacco pipe and 2 chips post-med. pot. ? Road made for re-smelting slag at Burton Mill c.1700?

Third Route Bury Hill - Frogmore.

Bury Hill - ponds in brook - other side of A40 in Wigg Meadow. Wigg I. SO 636228. 18ft wide, 2ft6ins below surface. Compact, 3-Sins thick slag and pebbles. Ridge each side with less hard, cindery/slag/coal/iron residues. [These in Wigg I]

Wigg II. Large area of slag and black earth; slight trace of road.

Wigg III. SO 634225. Nearly 50 feet of slag spread. 8 trenches showed road with structure alongside. Floor of structure 15ins below surface. Finds in occupation and destruction levels: pottery, slag, charcoal, nails, red brick fragments, stone roof tile with nail, glass, part horseshoe, bones and lead. 2nd-4th cent. finds. Road and structure from 2nd, c. [*Solid remains of structure would have been reported.*] Excav. 7 in grounds of Frogmore. Slag over 30ft.wide owing to marshy ground.

Layers of slag revealed near Coleraine Farm during water pipe laying 1958 and at Bill Mills corner.

Section in lane above new pumping station. 8in slag over 8in charcoal and blackened earth for 80 feet along the route.

Wigg Meadows. Pottery. Hfd. Museum no.7703.

[IA, RB, Sam.Dr.36 2ndc. etc.]

[*Road not really followed before Goodrich ford. Nothing Roman found south of ford.*]

1964 N.P.Bridgewater, WNFC Trans.1965 p.124-135

SO 643244. North of Bolitree-Bromsash road. Six furnaces, slag pits and working hollows plus trial trenches sampling area 72x84 ft. Bedrock at 15-18ins. 320ft. above datum. Whole of complex 'possibly 250 acres'. South of road, 'large amounts of pottery brought up by the plough together with building stones, while north of the road has a large acreage of furnace sites'. No evidence for a town, 'more realistic picture might be a villa estate with other buildings appertaining to a posting station, adjoining an industrial belt.' [*Coal (always small quantities) was seen as evidence for smithing operations. R.F.Tylecote was present part of the time, and advising] Good report.*]

1968. Garrod & Moss. HAN 8.

Map indicating limits of industrial activity and positions of ploughed out building materials.

SO 647238 Trial trenches on slopes just below 400ft contour line. Only 1st c. deposits remain. Native A/B ware in quantity; denarius of Mark Antony; 2 early Roman brooches.

SO 645241 'Rescue dig where many tesserae seen in plough soil'. [*These were sandstone and limestone only.*] Robber trench of external wall forming T junction with footings of cross wall. Coin of Diocletian and 'orange ware'. On old turf line, part damaged by cross wall: remains of 5 bowl furnaces; 1st c. penannular brooch; nat. ware sherd. Main building not found. Time did not permit further search.

[Finds with Hfd.& Worcs.County Unit.]

1989. Excavation - Bryan & Mark Walters. HAN.54, Sept.1990.

SO 6428 2388. Following air survey in drought. After ploughing, much SV Ware of 1st cent. and masses of iron slag but nothing proving the military use which was implied by the lay out of cropmark ditches. 40 x 2m N-S traverse was cut for sectioning through 4 ditches. Geophysical survey. 'The 2 fortlets almost certainly pre-Flavian, may date to early 50s.. Fortlets are both small; if square, each would enclose about 0.6 of an acre... Quantities of stratified native ware with early SV Ware. The quantity of pottery from Ditch 10 belies a short stay. Ditch 20... hardly defensive.' Sees this as an administrative centre; 'Nominal military presence suggests a compliant, non-aggressive British work force, in all probability receiving benefits from the Romans in return for their skilled labour.'

1993. Terry James & Martin Sterry. DAG Newsletter 20, April 1993.

Deep ploughing for potatoes in Middle and Lower Hask fields brought up prehistoric finds, including the first microlith from the site. Several damaged La Tene II type and other bronze brooches; coins from Dobunnic to Nero, Claudius, Domitian and Faustina Jr., 3rd and 4th c. Painted wall plaster and mosaics from building at SO 6445 2410. [Garrod & Moss building?] 2 intaglios of cornelian and jasper. Late IA pottery dense around SO 647 238 which is littered with animal bones presumably ploughed from the top layers of early 1st c. pits. Pre-Roman artefacts could date from 1st or 2nd c. BC. Without excavation and scientific dating of stratified organic material, the foundation date of the settlement will never be obtained.

[These finds and others were made by valued members of DAG who use metal detectors responsibly to the advantage of archaeology.]

1. Summary of all known buildings.

- 1785. Town larger than Gloucester city; streets can be traced. Walls below surface; vast quantities of stone removed; Floors of two buildings described.
- 1805. Stone front of building.
- 1883. Building containing human bones. [No source. Doubtful?]
- 1923. Building of 2 or perhaps 3 rooms. painted wall plaster. Part of wall of second building, Surface finds suggesting another FA building in different part of field.
- 1968. Robbed trench of presumed building with tesserae in vicinity.

2. Abbreviations:

| | |
|------------------|----------------------------------|
| Brit. Arch. Soc. | British Archaeological Society |
| DAG | Dean Archaeological Group |
| IA | Iron Age |
| WNFC | Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club |

Roman Roads in Herefordshire by Peter Halliwell

Introduction

This is an attempt to update the information available on Roman roads in Herefordshire, as little work has been done since the earlier work of several dedicated Woolhope Club members. This is not new research, but a compilation of existing knowledge and ideas. To make sense of the system it has been necessary to go beyond the confines of the county, the writer has always felt that those county archaeological maps where information is cut off exactly at the border are unhelpful in understanding the pattern.

The border between the Cornovii and the Dobunni is open to dispute, it has been suggested that the whole of Herefordshire fell within the Dobunni sphere, with the border somewhere near Craven Arms.

It has recently been suggested that the civitas of the Silures may have extended almost as far north as the River Wye. This could possibly detract from the possibility of MAGNIS being a civitas capital.

The vexed question of the status of Kenchester (MAGNIS) is also important, Stan Stanford has always pressed for a separate civitas based on Magnis which received little favour. Recently some authorities have felt that Magnis could have been a Pagus capital, with the possibility of elevation to a late Civitas status. Little is known in Britain about Pagi, though in Gaul they were well developed, both are Celtic areas.

The discovery of a previously unknown amphitheatre at Catterick Bridge (CATARACTONIUM) which was completely buried and constructed of wood, has raised the possibility of one being found at Magnis. Previously all known amphitheatres had been built on earthwork features. The lack of civic amenities had been a stumbling block to Magnis being a Civitas capital.

The above two have an important bearing on the road pattern, as obviously 'capitals' had to be connected to their hinterlands, and a more complicated road system is to be expected.

Another problem is that there is practically no knowledge of where the civilian civitas gave way to the military occupation of mid Wales. The Auxiliary Forts at Clyro, Clifford and Hindwell could well have been in the military sphere.

Herefordshire was part of a frontier area for some years and as a result there developed a north south military road linking Chester, Wroxeter with Usk/Caerleon to allow movement between these great military bases. To this road east-west branches were necessary to allow supplies to be brought forward for the advance into Wales.

Brandon Camp is generally accepted as a "Stores Depot", does this imply supporting roads. The obvious route into Wales is up the Teme and Clun valleys, a fort was once postulated at Bicton north west of Clun, another at Discoed, but both have lost favour in recent years. Though Bicton does appear in Jones & Mattingby "An Atlas of Roman Britain".

It used to be axiomatic that Roman forts were linked by Roman roads, the only real exception being some forts in the Central Valley of Scotland:- Drumquhassie, Malling, Bochastlet Doune and Dalginross. Presumably the Romans withdrew back to Hadrian's Wall before they could be connected to the road system. Other "isolated" forts are probably such, because the connecting roads have not yet been discovered. Presumably therefore Hindwall Farm 'should': have been on a road! Recently a possible Roman road has been suggested (Roger Pye, Paul Remfry & Dr Gibson) from New Radnor school eastwards, indicate by a continuous hedge line to at least Womaston. The recent concept of a 'Campaign Fort', midway between a Temporary Marching Camp, and a permanent Auxiliary fort may be pertinent in this context.

The starting point must be the OS Map of Roman Britain 4th Edition 1978, and the rather disappointing 4th Edition (Revised) of 1991, and Hargary's "Roman Roads in Britain" 3rd Edition 1973. The OS has, in the 4th edition, imposed a very strict criteria for roads, which are only given two classifications; Course Certain and Course Uncertain. While the OS 3rd edition was perhaps too liberal, I feel that the 4th edition was unnecessarily strict.

Margary has two classifications: Course Certain and Course Inferred. The two classifications do not entirely agree, Margary tends to accept roads that are 'reasonable' as Certain, and the 'gaps' between these sections as Inferred.

In addition, there is the work of certain professionals, and that of dedicated and informed amateurs.

It is not known how the Romans referred to the roads, names or numbers? Some roads in Italy did have names.

This is offered more in the nature of a 'consultative paper', rather than a definitive article, and the writer submits it in its present inadequate state as a basis for future work, or in the hope that it might stimulate others. All comments and suggestions would be most welcome.

Gazetteer

The writer wishes to thank the late Richard Kay for helpful suggestions to the gazetteer. The unevenness of the gazetteer is appreciated, but otherwise with a full description of all roads it would have grown to an inordinate length. There is still much information from the Field Name Survey to be incorporated.

Note - The inclusion or omission of any road in the gazetteer does not imply recognition or rejection by the writer or the ARS.

| | From -To | Proposer | Comments |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| I | Wroxeter, Leintwardine, Hereford, Monmouth | Margary 6b,c,d | Entirely accepted by Margary, but not by the OS south of Hereford |
| II | Stretton Grandison, Clyro | Margary 63a,b | Entirely accepted by Margary, and except for the last stage before Clifford by OS |
| III | 6c,Kenchester, Abergavenny | Margary 633 | |
| IV | Golden Valley | Margary 631 | |
| V | Stretton Grandison, Gloucester | Margary 613 | Accepted by Margary, certain to Dymock, uncertain to Ariconium |
| VI | Blackwardine, Ariconium | Margary 613 | Accepted by Margary, some portion as certain by OS, the rest uncertain |
| VII | Ariconium, Monmouth | Margary 612a | Accepted by Margary, not accepted by OS. Elizabeth Taylor considers that the road did not cross the Wye at Walford/Goodrich, but at Wilton, Ross On Wye (Note 5) |
| VIII | Ariconium, Gloucester | Margary 611 | Accepted by Margary, OS considers some portions certain, others inferred, some not accepted. |
| IX | Ariconium, Mitcheldean, Lydney | Margary 614 | Accepted by Margary, but not by OS |
| X | Bridgnorth, Craven Arms, Bishops Castle, Newtown | Margary 193 | Accepted by Margary, but not by OS. Originally proposed by Dr Haughton. Strictly outside the county, but very close to northern border. must have had effect on Herefordshire. Two possible branches, one north to Forden Gaer, one south to Castell Collen. |
| XI | Ariconium, Hope Mansell | Margary 615 | Accepted by Margary, but not by OS. |
| XII | Mortimers Cross, Little Mountain | Lord Rodd | |
| XIII | Blackwardine, Craven Arms/Wistanstow | Dr Haughton | Extension of Margary 613 |
| XIV | 6c, 613 Connection | Dr Haughton | |
| XV | Wigmore west to Ongar Street | Jim Tonkin | Possibility suggested |
| XVI | Leintwardine to Castell Collen | Webster | General direction only |
| XVII | Leintwardine north west to Margary 193 | Webster | General direction only |
| XVIII | Leintwardine, Stowe | | Road and hedge alignments, Roman buildings at Stowe (Villa?). What might be a Roman road appears on an airphotograph at the SMR on the other side of the valley at Brampton Bryan cemetery |

| | From -To | Proposer | Comments |
|--------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| XIX | Clyro/Little Mountain, Painscastle, Colwyn Castle, Castell Collen | Jack Spurgeon, RCAHM Wales | |
| XX | Kings Caple Spur | Woolhope Club | |
| XXI | Clun, Clee Hill Trackway | | This Neolithic/Bronze Age Trackway, Lily Chitty from Cardigan Bay to Bewdley, probably still in use |
| XXII | Tedstone Wafre north to Wall Town | Former Hereford County Arch. Section and Woolhope Club. | About 4 miles from Tedstone Wafre through High Lane, Lea Green and Broadheath (Kinte Farm) possibly crossing the Teme towards Walltoen (Cleobury Mortimer). Suggested. |
| XXIII | Tedstone Wafre south to ;join Margary 610 | Webster, former Hereford County Arch. Section and Frank Attwell | Attwell has a more detailed course for this route, including a possible Roman fort at SO 620 510. Crendon Court, Grendon Bishop, Bilfield, Hampton Charles, Kyre Green, Howes Hill |
| XXIV | Tedstone Wafre west to Blackwardine | | Via Field House Farm, Hubbage, Streetfield (SO 621 588), Fencote Abbey to Docklow, along the A44, and then through Humber Court to Blackwardine. Attwell and in part by Woolhope Club. This road could extend eastwards from Tedstone Wafre. |
| XXV | Sapey Fortlet | Woolhope Club. | Short section of road south or south east of the fortlet |
| XXVI | Broadheath to Dilwyn | | Broadheath, Bank Street (SO 636 626), Brockleton Farm, Grafton, Bockmanton, Brook Hall, crossing A44 at Eaton, Ivington, crossing A4113 to Dilwyn. This would pass close to Stretford south of Leominster. Possible continuation to The Hurst (SO 392 533) near |
| XXVII | Teme Valley | | Bromfield Temporary Marching Camp towards Bewdley/ Droitwich/ Worcester. Would appear to be a logical route. |
| XXVIII | 6c, Wellington, Marden, Ullingswick, Acton Beauchamp, Suckley | Woolhope Club | Could have continued to Worcester or Teweakesbury. Mr & Mrs Hopkinson report a possible Roman fort at SO 382 327 on this route, from a photograph by St Joseph in Bromyard Library.. |
| XXX | 63a Eastwards from Stretton Grandison/Canon Frome | | David Whitehead has discovered traces at Castle Frome probably heading towards Worcester. |
| XXXI | A438 Ledbury to Tewkesbury Road | Halliwell | There are four 'street' names on either side of A438 east of Eastnor. |
| XXXII | Dymock/Newent Eastwards via Staunton | Halliwell | There are four 'street' names east of Dymock, from the known Roman road at Dymock towards Tewkesbury |
| XXXIII | Ross, Abergavenny Road | Geoff Mein in Archaeology in Wales (CBA 2). | Via Llyfos, Cross Ash, Llantilio Crosseny all of which are proposed as Temporary Marching Camps by John Sorrell. |

| | | | |
|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| XXXIV | Duke Street (SO 799 499) | Halliwell | On the outskirts of Welland on A4104, does not appear on 1/50,000 map, but is marked by an official county "village type" road name sign. |
| XXXV | Worcester, Greenstreet Farm Halliwell(SO 797 592), Martly, Sapey/Tedstone Wafre | | A possibility, |
| XXXVI | Abbey Dore to Longtown and down the Monnow Valley to join Margary 630 Ext. | John Sorrell | John Sorrell has traced from the air a road from Abbey Dore to Longtown and a possible Roman fort at SO 382 323. The road would then follow the Monnow Valley to Pandy, and then SW to Abergavenny. He also proposes a northward continuation via Craswall to Hay |
| XXXVII | Grosmont to Abergavenny | John Sorrell | proposes a road via Llangattock Lingoed (SO 361 203) and Llanddewi (SO 340 170). This would be in addition to the two Margary routes, either along the Monnow Valley/Afon Cafenni or by Campston Hill (SO 365 223) and Skirrid (SO 332 170) |
| XXXVIII | Miscellaneous Roads | Julie Crickmore (BAR 127) | Droitwich westwards; Droitwich north west towards River Stour north of Stourport; Bewdley westwards to Teme Valley. |
| XXXIX | Ariconium, Castlefields, Pontrilas | Bryan Walters | Ariconium to Castlefields, crossing the Wye near Bridstow, Peterstow (Roman period iron smelting), then following the B4521 to The Folly where it crosses Margary 6c. Then to Castlefields, Roman fort, via Garway to join Margary 630 at Pontrilas. It would have passed south of Michaelchurch where there is a Roman altar inscribed to the God of the Three Roads. |
| XL | Pont-y-Pinna | Ruth Richardson | 'Street' names in this area |
| XLI | Womaston, Hindwell Ash, New Radnor | Paul Remfry, Roger Pye & Dr Gibson | Hedge line and lanes to join School Lane at New Radnor, would pass eastwards north of Hindwell Farm Roman fort. |
| XLII | Stretton Grandison north west to Margary 613 | Frank Attwell | Roughly following the A417, |
| XLIII | Hanley Williams/Broadheath to Clifton upon Teme | | Roughly following the B4204, passing Sapey fortlet, see No XXV Proposed by Frank Attwell. |
| | Wheat Common (SO 507 709) westwards north of Moor Park School to Overton, and then up the Mary Knoll Valley | Frank Attwell | This could be part of Margary 613 northwards extension |

Notes & References

In Britannia Vol XXVIII 1997, Dr Alastair Strang in his article "Explaining Ptolemy's Roman Britain", puts BRANNOGENIUM (BRAVONIUM) Leintwardine in the territory of the Ordovices rather than in the more conventional view of being in Cornovi territory. His map on page 25 would appear, as far as the scale permits, to put MAGNIS in the territory of the Silures, roughly near the junction of the Ordovices, Cornovi and Dobunni areas.

All this, if correct, would affect the status of Kenchester. Geographically Kenchester, or part of the Herefordshire Basin, in the territory of the Ordovices would not make much sense. Likewise if in the Coronovi territory, the necessary road connections with Caerwent would be difficult. Independent, or part of the Dobunni appears to make greater sense, especially as it has been usually accepted that Civitas boundaries were geographical in nature.

References

Forgotten Highways - The Romans & Water Transport in Western Britain, CBA West Midlands No 36 1993

An Atlas of Roman Britain, Jones & Mattingly Chapter on The Economy.

Note 1 River Transport

This has been advanced strongly throughout Britain by R Selkirk in his "Piercebridge Formula - a dramatic new view of Roman History" and partially refuted by J D Anderson in his "Roman Military Supply in N E England" BAR 224. What part did the Severn, Wye and Teme play in our region? the truth is we do not know.

Note 2 Dating

It is extremely difficult to ascribe a date for the construction of any road, over a period of some 433 years. Presumably Watling Street West was constructed in Pre-Flavian times, though perhaps not all of one work. Barri Jones & David Mattingly considered that Bicton fort (Clun) could have been of Claudio-Neronian date AD 43-68.

Note 3 Diversion of Watling Street West at Wigmore

The writer has often considered the possibility of the road being diverted where it crossed the Vale of Wigmore. Especially during the later Roman period when the climate was colder and wetter. It was only during WWII that Italian POWs finally drained Wigmore Moor, and it still floods most winters. My next door neighbour owned land across which runs the Roman road, and he assures me that beneath the road are no foundations for crossing marshy ground.

Note 4 Letton Lake

An interesting idea, first suggested by Richard Kay was that the Roman road from Kenchester to Clyro must have found the greatest difficulty in crossing the area between Letton and Willersley. The area, like Wigmore, might have been passable in the early Roman period when it was warmer and drier, but not in the later period. Richard suggests that the road might have been diverted south of the Wye to Clifford where there are two Roman forts, recrossing the Wye again near Hay On Wye to reach the vexillation fortress at Boatside Farm. Though this of course would involve two river crossings. The possible Roman fort at SO 2920 4530 east of Clock Mills, Clifford, gives some credence to the hypothesis that the Roman road was on the south bank of the Wye.

The square shape of the bailey at Newton Tump (SO 293 441) has suggested a possible Roman origin which could support a south bank route and a road down the Golden Valley. Suggested by the County SMR.

Gordon McDonald has postulated a possible late similar diversion to the Roman road from Gloucester along the north bank of the River Severn, where earlier it had crossed Walmore Common previously Walmore Marsh.

Today Letton Lake is just a small stream, similarly there is a stream Wigmore Lake across Wigmore Moor.

To the north of the officially postulated north bank route is Buck Street (SO 373 456)1 Pig Street (SO 367 4831 and Eccles Creen at SO 379 485. Whether any credence can be placed in these as Roman road indicators is problematic, but it could suggest an even more northerly route.

Note 5 Ariconium

Mark Walters took aerial photographs which clearly show all the roads beginning in Middle Hask Field. This shows that this was the settlement, and not just part of it as previously thought. As well as the known roads - the route over the Wye through Ross was shown on a different line to the one previously thought. It shows that a crossing must have been in existence at Wilton which ties in nicely with the discovery of 'Pencrecks Streete' in an old 17th C deed which suggests that the road to Monmouth (BLESTIUM) did not cross at Walford-Goodrich as Margary thought. The other new and unsuspected road went north to Rudhall, or may have been an earlier or later northward route to Blackwardine etc.. The Upper Streets field in Upton Bishop could be a clue as to this road's direction after Rudhall. If so - the road would also have gone through Old Gore and on to Blackwardine.

References to Roman Roads in the Woolhope Transactions and HAN

Members of the Woolhope Club did a lot of early work on tracing the route of Roman roads.

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Greenway, by Arthur's Stone: 1927, 150.

Hollow, near the Batcho: 1933, lx; at Tillington: 1930, 135; at Uley Bury camp: 1933 lxvii.

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Old, at Llanigon: 1921, 14.

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Roman Roads in Herefordshire, Mathew Hale, p 327-332 Trans XXXVIII 1968

A Roman Road from Mortimers Cross to Clyro/Hay, Lord Rennell of Rodd, p 36-44 Trans XL 1970

The Fortress Salient in the River Wye around Kings Caple, Hale & Moore, p 49-54 Trans XL 1970

Conclusions from a Military Appreciation of the Roman Invasion of The Marches and Wales, L P Moore, p 203-210 Trans XLI 1971

Forts and Settlements

Forts

SO 382 327 (Hopkinson)
SO 382 323 (Sorrell) ? GR
SO 620 510 (Attwell)
Castlefields
Monmouth
Dingestow
Black Bush Farm
Stretton Grandison
Ariconium
Tedstone Wafre
Clifford (2)
Clyro
Hindwell
Clock Mills
Stretford Bridge
Buckton
Jay Lane
Clun ?
Discoed ?
Newton ?

Settlements

Blackwardine
Leintwardine
Ariconium
Stretton Grandison
Magnis
Dymock
Canon Frome

Wigmore Castle Update by Peter Halliwell

The owner John Caunt reports that he has seen parch marks along the line where the north boundary of the "Outer" Bailey would have been. He also thinks that he has seen

the remains of a possible turret on this line. The exact position of these features is not exactly clear.

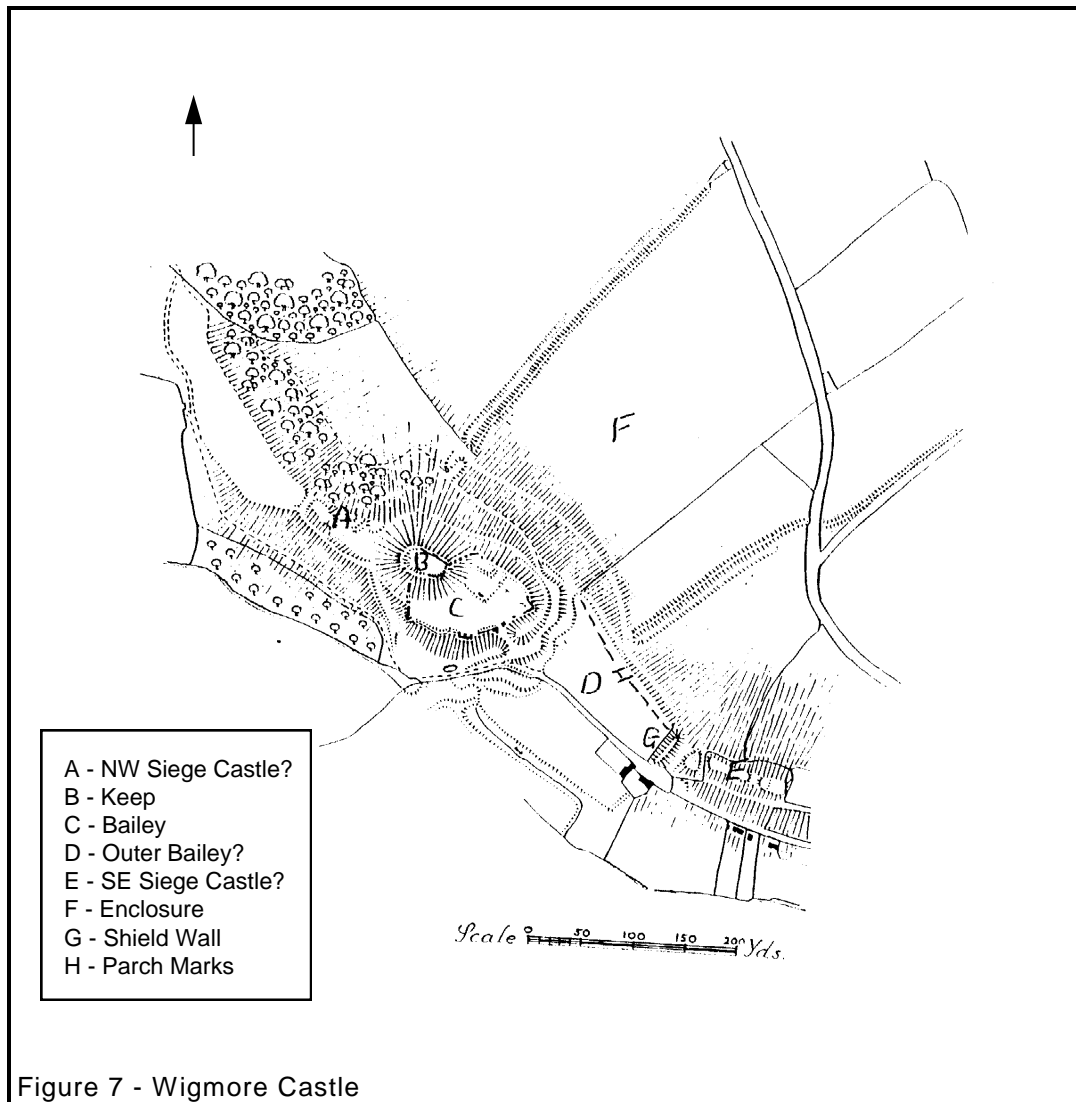


Figure 7 - Wigmore Castle

It is by no means certain that there was an Outer Bailey, and if there was a SE Siege Castle, it would have been very close to this bailey. The so-called Outer Bailey could have been simply Dead Ground between the two military features, or at best another outer enclosure. The Shield Wall (SW/NE Bank) could well have been part of the Siege Castle. Even if the Siege Castle does eventually turn out to be the original Wigmore Castle, it would still present a military danger if it were re-occupied.

Further investigation is required to elucidate these problems. The Siege Castle theory currently appears to find favour with English Heritage, and they are to carry out further investigations in the Outer Bailey.

Report on the excavations at Wigmore Castle by Richard Stone

In 1996 Marches Archaeology excavated a trench within the Inner Bailey of Wigmore Castle, on behalf of English Heritage. The castle consists of a shell keep at the summit of the hill, with a lower inner bailey to the east and an outer bailey to the south-east, beyond the gatehouse to the inner bailey. The excavation was in the south-west part of the Inner Bailey, against the inner face of the curtain wall. It consisted of a single trench 10m long and 3m wide. The primary objective of the work was to provide English Heritage's engineers with information about the form and dimensions of the wall, which had partially collapsed on its outer face. The opportunity to find out more detailed information about the use of the site was, however, of great interest as well. As this work is part of the much wider conservation project which will continue for several years, the results are so far only provisional and further study remains to be done.

The earliest evidence of human activity on the site consists of a pit and is so far undated but is thought to be prehistoric. A gradual accumulation of clay, interspersed with organic layers, grew up above this to a depth of about 2.5m. Within this was a single timber post, again undated and the function unclear.

At some time in the Norman period a timber building was erected on the site. Its large hearth showed signs of substantial reuse and alterations, perhaps over a long period. The form of soil deposition suggests there was some form of enclosure at that time, but the later digging for the curtain wall removed any evidence of this and it is likely that there was some form of defence to the south, in or near the position of the present wall.

Later, probably in the thirteenth century, the timber building was removed. After an interval during which the area was used for some time for ironworking, a masonry curtain wall was built to enclose the bailey. At the north end of the trench was a masonry building with fine internal plaster, which was roughly contemporary with the bailey wall. In the space between this building and the bailey wall was an open area which was at one stage used for leadworking. There were two pits which had filled with molten lead and many trimmings from finishing of new lead. It is thought that this may have been associated with the construction of buildings in the vicinity.

In the fourteenth century the building was removed and the entire trench was covered with stone-working debris. This was from the rebuilding or perhaps refacing, of the bailey's curtain wall. This new work had fine ashlar hands of alternate thick and thin courses. Within the wall was a recess, probably a fireplace. This indicates that the curtain wall was not seen purely as a defensive structure, but as part of the life of the castle. It was therefore treated as a structure serving the requirements of the people living there.

There was little evidence for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, suggesting that at this time this part of the castle was not intensively used, its heyday having passed. Amongst the rubble of the later destruction of the wall numerous sherds of painted medieval window glass were found, indicating that this area was used as a dumping ground. The latest deposits in the trench were from the decay of the curtain wall in the seventeenth century, confirming the documented history of the castle.

Editorial note: This is a summary of the illustrated talk given on December 5th, 1997.

Field Meeting at Lingen by Margaret Feryok

On Sunday 12 October 1997 the ARS met at Lingen Church, there were eight people present. The day was led by Margaret Feryok, the weather was windy with showers but generally fine.

Lingen Earthworks

Members were taken into the adjoining field where there is a motte and bailey castle. It is a large rectangular bailey, 63 metres long by 53 metres wide, facing in

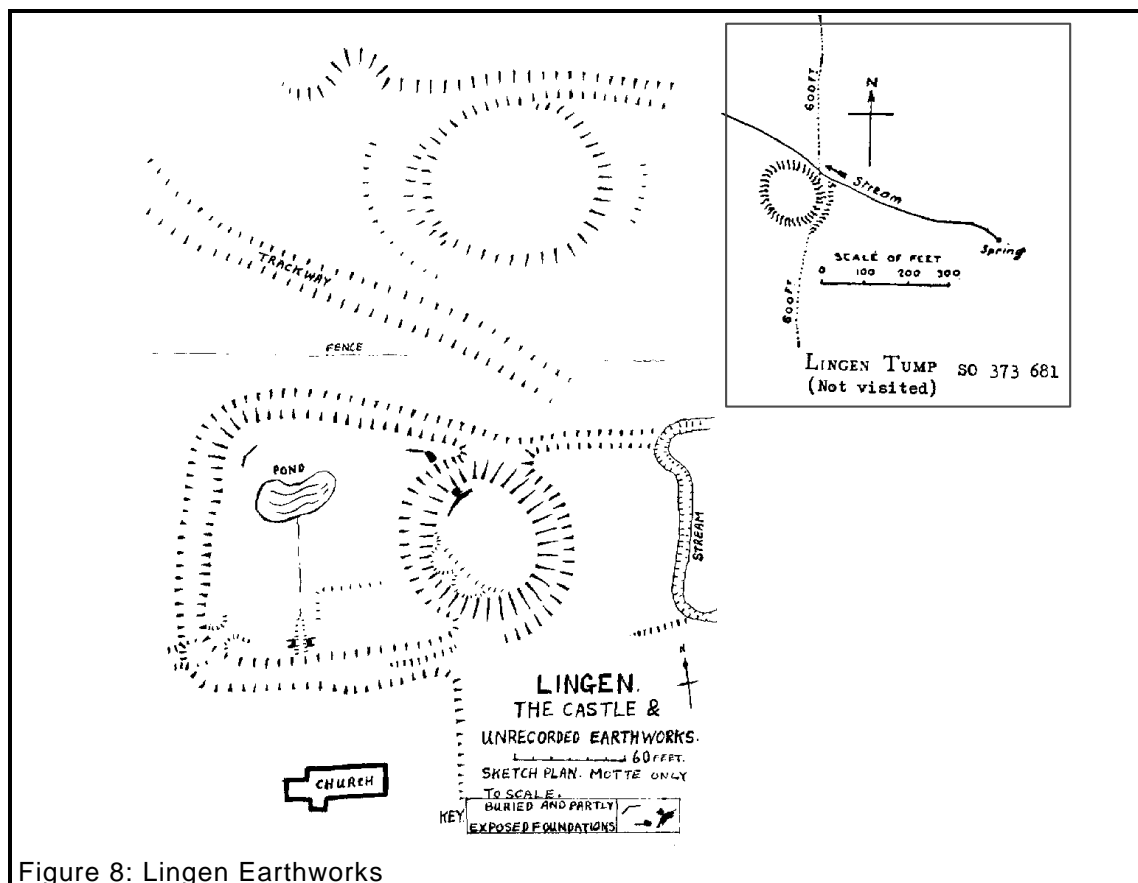


Figure 8: Lingen Earthworks

an east, west direction - see Figure 8. There are no standing stone walls left, but much stone lies in the banks of the bailey and around the sides of the motte. The ditch of the moat, which was still wet in 1873, is still visible on three sides. Mounds and banks of a deserted medieval village also surround it on three sides.

The owners of the castle, the Lingsens took their name from the village. Lingen is called Lingham in Domesday Book, other variations of the name include Lingein, Lyneine, Lyngham, Lynghen and Lingayne, There is some thought that it might have a Welsh origin, llyn means water. A stream runs through the village. Its Old English name would be lind hegum - lime tree enclosures, after the three deer hays or banks that are supposed to be in the surrounding forest, Nearby Limebrook, home of the Priory, was known by the name Lingebrook up until the 16th century. It was never called Lingenbrook. The name Limebrook first appears in 1348.

The Lingsens were a Norman family, its first known member Ralph de Lingen, witnessed a charter in Hereford Cathedral in 1153. It was his son another Ralph, who may have founded Limebrook Priory sometime around 1190. The Lingen family were vassals of the Mortimers and held several manors for them, including Knill, Kinsham, Covenhope, Credenhill, Aymestrey, Lye, and later on Stoke Edith and Freens Court near Hereford. They tended to name their first born Ralph or John until the 15th century when they settled on John. In the 350 Years they lived at Lingen, they served the Mortimers, fighting in the Welsh wars against Prince Llewelyn. Lingsens also went

on campaigns in Scotland and Ireland, Many of them were knighted, two members of the family attended parliament. They often served as escheators, sheriffs, and held several offices of commission in the county.

In about 1500 the family acquired and moved to Stoke Edith. From this time onwards, their fortunes seemed to go down hill. The first incumbent there, John Lingen VIII, married in 1508 but in 1524 the Bishop of Hereford petitioned the king for his arrest for living in an adulterous manner with one Anne Giles of Withington and remaining "recalcitrant after excommunication". He may also have killed a Welshman in 1526, though a John Lingen was accused, he was never arrested or pleaded his case. To avoid the confiscation of his estates, he left them to his younger son William before he died. The direct family line came to an end when the eldest son of the adulterer died in 1554. He left an only daughter Jane. She and her husband, William Shelley were catholics and it is alleged that there was a priest hole in her home at Freens Court. She died in 1610 to be succeeded by her cousin Edward who was sent to prison in Ludlow Castle in 1624. He was found to be a lunatic and was confined to his house in Stoke Edith where he died in 1635. His son Henry Lingen was a prominent Royalist general in the Civil War. Once again, the family had to pay heavily for backing the wrong side, but at the Restoration he was made a member of parliament, He died in 1662, no doubt their ancestral castle was already a ruin by then.

Birtley Dyke

From the castle the group drove to Birtley, about a mile north of Lingen. Starting at the old Toll Gate, on the road we walked east along Birtley Dyke.

This dyke is first mentioned in Woolhope Transactions 1936 by George Marshall,

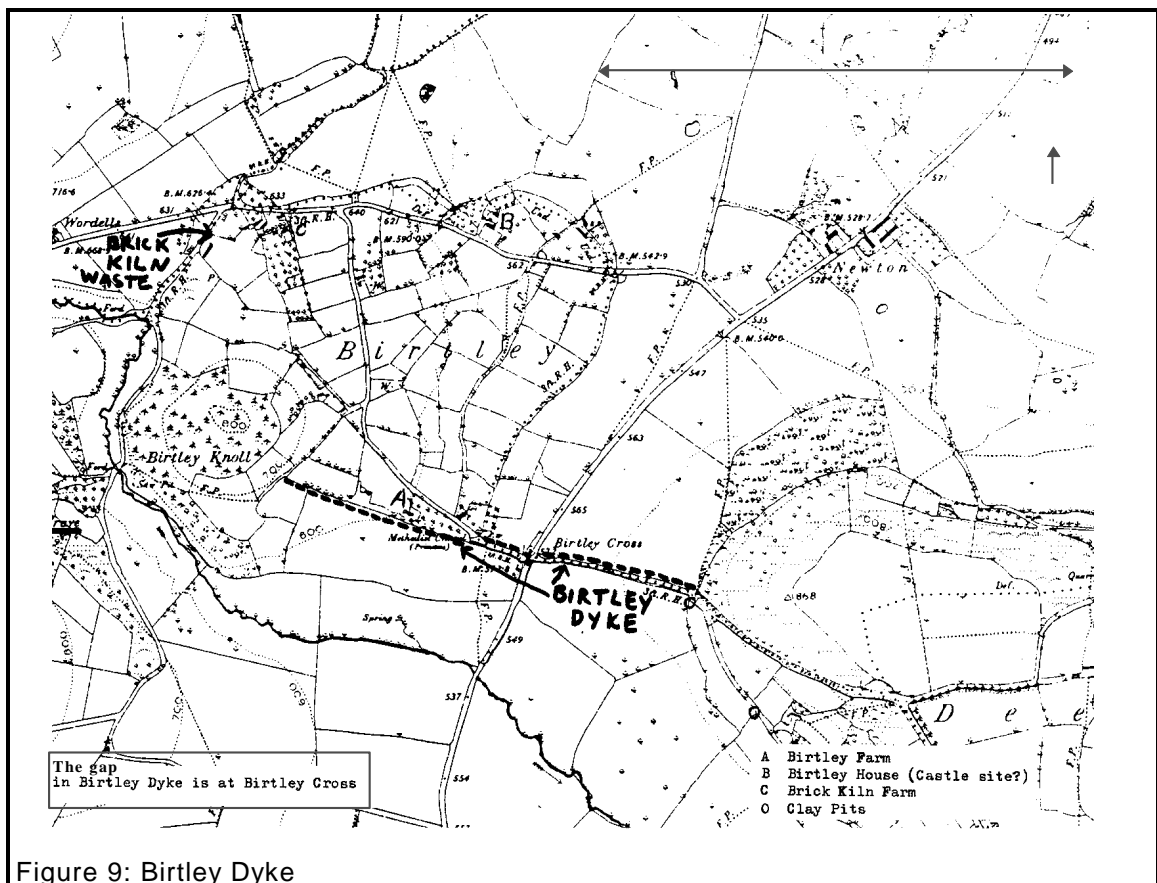


Figure 9: Birtley Dyke

it is an earthwork of unknown date which runs east to west between Birtley Knoll and the hill which faces it to the east, a distance of about 403 metres, It cuts the valley of the Lingen off from the rest of the valley which heads north to Leintwardine. It is ditched to the south and the eastern part of the ditch has become a very deep holloway called Sunk Lane. At its eastern end is a claypit filled with water which may have served a nearby kiln site, which we also visited. There was also a spot where

over 33 pieces of Roman pottery were found near this area. We walked back to Birtley and saw where a section had inadvertently been cut through the Dyke by modern road construction. It was unreinforced dumped earth.

Near this spot is the site of Birtley Pipe Kiln. It was found by local man John Griffith at Birtley Farm next to the dyke, under the Knoll, White clay smoking pipes were used from the early 17th to the 19th centuries. Stamps on Birtley pipes include a rose and crown and R O, a radiating star, and initials RO and IB on a round stamp. There is another pipe kiln site at Pipe Aston, about 5 miles east of here, and last year an ARS field meeting found pipe kiln waste at Elton, about 0.5 miles south west of Pipe Aston. A Richard Overton is mentioned as a pipe maker in 1670 in the Hereford Court Session, taking over a young apprentice to complete his training. The stamp RO might be his initials. With no evidence of white clay in the area, north Herefordshire seems the unlikely centre of a pipe making industry in the 17th and 18th centuries.

From Birtley Dyke, the meeting moved to Brick Kiln Farm where remains of brick, drain pipe, and tile firing are visible in the lane just west of the farm. This lane leads to a small holding called Cwm Crave (SO 360 690), This is at the end of a small valley or cwm which bears the same name. If the name is indeed Welsh, as it sounds, it means 'wild garlic valley'. The house appears to be built of bricks from the farm. Several houses in Lingen itself are built from bricks that look similar.

The claypit for the kiln lies just beyond Cwm Crave to the south. In an entry to a notebook dated 1945, George Marshall mentions brick kilns in this valley and talks about a boy who "trod the clay barefoot". He also visited the pottery site near Birtley Dyke on the same day.

The Lingen Pottery Kilns

Thomas Turner of Leintwardine who was bailiff and woodward of Deerfold Forest (near Lingen), between 10th of May 1609 and 1616, cut and carried off much wood for his own use and profit without making an account to the king whose wood it was. He also allowed people to dig up clay and make kilns and cut wood for fuel. For this he received £40 and he helped them do it. Fifty acres of forest were dug up and ten kilns made. He denied all the charges.

In 1874 a bottle (?) of green and white ware was exhibited at a Woolhope Club dinner. It came from the Rev. Middleton who'd learned of a Matthew Lowe whose family had owned land at Grove Head (SO 377 673) an area near Lingen. A story had passed down through his family of pottery made from local clay and fired with local oak. A kiln site was still visible at Grove Head and at other places around Lingen. Alfred Watkins visited Grove Head in 1924 and found pot sherds but no kiln site. He had seen two similar sites, one at Whitney on Wye, and one near Upton Bishop. There is also one at Strangworth near Titley and at Bacton in the Golden Valley. In 1933 Watkins first mentions John Griffith, the same local man who found the pipe kiln, and digs up pottery with him at Boresford just west of Birtley. Griffith went on to excavate all the known kiln sites around Lingen, there are nine of them. He also reconstructed the vessels from the pieces he found. These include pieces showing the unique local decoration of black or dark brown glaze studded with crushed crystals, especially on the small cups or 'tygs'. The clay used was red glacial till clay, washed in when a lake filled the valley. Sites are identified by the appearance of stone bats or spacers, made from local shale. The stones oxidise to red and get spattered with glaze when they are used in a kiln.

The history of Lingen and Birtley is deeply affected by that of the forest which surrounds it. In the early 17th century, the forest of Deerfold changed hands several times. At first it was rented by the Crown to wealthy individuals eager to exploit it for firewood and timber, most of which was destined for the nearby iron works at Downton. Through out the century different landowners acquired parts of the forest, ditched and enclosed them, and proceeded to cut the trees down.

The inhabitants felt constrained by the enclosures but they did want the deer to be destroyed to protect their crops. At one point the Earl of Lindsay ditched and enclosed his half of the forest, only to have the commoners break down his mounds and fences and let their cattle on his land, His successor, Lord Craven, received a petition from

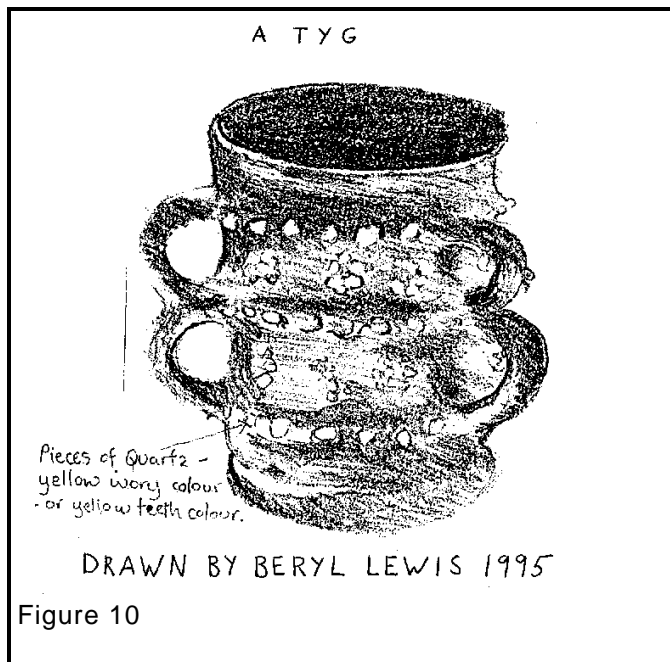


Figure 10

the inhabitants refusing to pay rent for the use of the common land. In 1664 an agreement was reached between Lord Craven, Lord Harley and the commoners which allowed the enclosure of all the forest. This process was completed by 1818 and led to "the extinction of the rights of the commoners" Part of the agreement of 1664 allots the "rights of soil" to Richard Knight of Bringewood.

It was an atmosphere of increasing insecurity and acquisitive greed which surrounded the period in which the pottery was made. While the ownership and use of the land was in flux, everyone was out for as much as he could get. The forest must have been a dreadful sight when they got through with

it.

Chapel Farm

After lunch the group visited Chapel Farm, a beautifully preserved medieval farmhouse in the Deerfold area. It is reputed to be the site of the chapel of the Blessed St Mary and St Leonard. The first record of it appears when it was given to the nuns of the nearby priory of Limebrook by Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore in 1250. Another cell of nuns is supposed to have lived there. This grant mentions the old name of Deerfold which is Sutelefford. It was still called the Chapel of St Leonard in the 16th century.

Whether nuns still lived there in 1414 is unclear. At that time Sir John Oldcastle, the Lollard, is said to have hidden near there after his escape from London. He was born at Almeley, near Weobley, a few miles south west of Lingen. Because of this story, the chapel became associated with the Lollards. Oldcastle Wood, just south east of Lingen village may be a reference to this area's most famous fugitive, who was finally caught in 1417 near Welshpool.

The present building, which dates from later in the 15th century, shows a very high degree of craftsmanship. This is most apparent in the beautifully carved wooden braces in the roof. Wall paintings have also been uncovered, There are elements which point to an older building being here or near here. The hearth of an upstairs fireplace is covered with medieval floor tiles. There is a Norman carved stone window niche and another carved stone which may be a sundial.

In the late 19th century when the house was being repaired a line of worked stone was uncovered at the north west corner of the house, some two feet below the surface. This may be part of the older chapel building. More recent excavations for building work revealed more stone chiselled in a medieval manner and also some locally made post medieval pottery, including a piece showing crushed quartz crystal decoration, The field west of the house is called Chapel Field. It is the most complete building of its period in the county and has been carefully restored by its present owner, Mr Pollitt, who kindly let the Woolhope Club members see it. Mr & Mrs Pollitt accompanied us during the field meeting.

At the end of the day a few of us paid a visit to Grove Head, the largest of the local kiln sites. We tried to see if we could find the kiln sites and places in the bank of the nearby stream where clay was dug out and brought up.

References

The information about the origin of the name Lingen and the history of the Lingen family comes from Ancrene Wisse by E J Dobson, 1976.

Some information about Chapel Farm came from Hereford & Worcester County Archaeological Service - "Watching Brief at Chapel Farm, Wigmore (HWCM 1678)" by Robin Jackson 1994

All the rest comes from past Woolhope Transactions 1869, 1946, 1956, 1917, 1924, 1874, 1927, 1949, 1933, 1936, 1931.

I would also like to thank Steve Clarke and Julia Wilson of the Monmouth Archaeological Society for their help.

Editorial Note

The Lingen area was visited on 15/9/91 under the leadership of Jim Tonkin (HAN 57 p28-29) and on 14/4/91 with Roger Stirling-Brown when Birtley was also visited (HAN 57 p 22-27). Additional information in HAN 60 p 59.

The report on the Clay Pipe sites at Aston visited on 13/10/96 is in HAN 67 p 41.

The Lingen Tithe map does not indicate the position of the dyke, or the names of any fields alongside which might indicate an earthwork

It is difficult to find any military reason for Birtley Dyke, could it be a boundary? It follows the watershed, a col between the Teme and the Lugg, and was probably a northward escape channel for the ice of the Hereford Ice Sheet.

The Leintwardine Tithe Map similarly reveals nothing. Today north of Sunk Lane (north east) of Birtley Cross is in Walford, Letton & Newton Civil Parish, but in Leintwardine Ecclesiastical Parish.

Useful Information

Cribs are poles in a framework. These frameworks could be used for lots of jobs: holding banks in rivers; holding feed or hurdles for holding sheep.

Bucking is steeping or boiling yarn, clothes or cloth in a lye of wood ash etc. It was a process of bleaching. The word is also used for a method of bruising ore by hammering.

To try is to separate one thing from another i.e. in a sieve or something similar.

A searce is a sieve.

Untrinded means unturned or unspun. Trind is the equivalent to treen, turned wooden ware.

Field Meeting at Goodrich by Roz Lowe

Seventeen members and guests assembled at the Goodrich Castle car park on Sunday, 7/9/97 at 10.30am for a field meeting in the Goodrich area led by Roz Lowe. We were glad to have Jon Cooke of English Heritage with us. Jon is in charge of the archaeological side in the latest phase of the work at Wigmore Castle.

One purpose of the Field meeting was to visit the site of the water-driven forge at Old Forge, as an application has been made for planning permission to convert the disused mill building into a house. Thanks are due to Mrs Truscott for permission to visit the site.

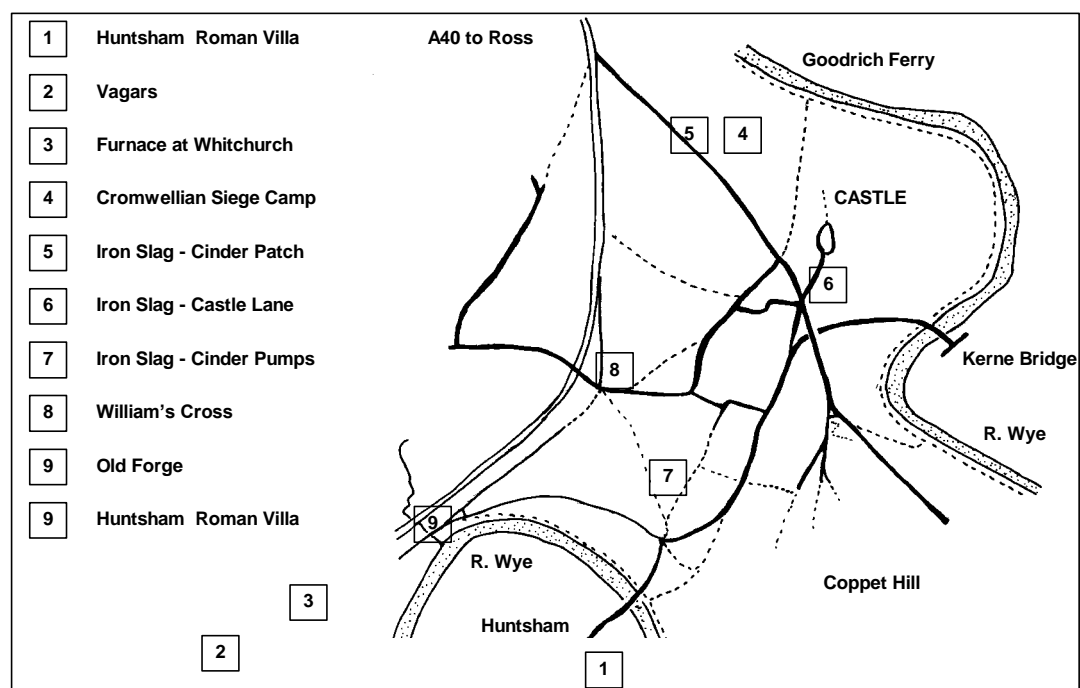


Figure 11 Goodrich showing sites mentioned in text

Goodrich Manorial Survey

Extensive use was made of a Survey of Goodrich Manor, drawn up in 1717, which has large-scale maps and listings of the demesne holdings. The Survey is held at Hereford Record Office - Reference AW87. See a fuller description of this survey at the end of the meeting report.

Please note that the tracings of AW87 and the Goodrich Tithe Map of 1838 have had some details edited out for clarity, and have been annotated with road directions, new road locations and the site of the Cross Keys to help with orientation. The maps from AW87 do not follow the current convention for North at the top. Water is shown as dotted, roads as hatched areas on the maps.

Goodrich Manor & Iron Working Sites

Goodrich, in common with many other parishes in South Herefordshire, has extensive traces of early iron-working. From 16th & 17th centuries iron processing in Goodrich and Whitchurch can be followed by use of original documents. Some authors have admitted the difficulty of distinguishing between the different iron working locations in Goodrich and Whitchurch or have catalogued references to Whitchurch and Goodrich possibly without realising that the 'furnace' and 'forge' referred to were not co-located.

^{1,2}. [The activities of the ~~Foley~~ [incorrect] family at New Weir are well-known and chronicled, and are not the concern of this article.]

What is probably not so well known is the extent of the lands of the manor of Goodrich outside Goodrich parish, and how much of this land was, or had been, concerned with iron production.

From the Iron Age to medieval times, ironmaking was not automated, and the choice of production site was governed more by access to raw materials (iron ore, limestone for flux, quantities of charcoal) and transport than to running water. It is noticeable that the pre-industrial sites in Goodrich are in high, windy locations, near to small springs and roads. With the advent of automation considerations changed.

There is an excellent description of the two-stage process necessary to produce merchantable iron in John van Laun's '17th century ironmaking in south west Herefordshire'³, and a wider historical & technical perspective in Schubert, 'History of the Iron & Steel Industry.'⁴. Simply stated, a 'furnace' carried out the first stage of extraction from iron ore and/or ancient 'cinders' using charcoal as fuel. Cinders containing a high percentage of iron were available in large quantities from inefficient Roman and medieval smelting in major centres such as Monmouth and Whitchurch, but also in Goodrich itself. The carbon-rich output from the furnace was further processed in the 'forge'. The furnace output was refined at a higher temperature in a charcoal-fired 'finery', then hammered by a large water-powered hammer, heated in a 'chafery' and hammered into bars etc. Limestone and/or iron slag was used as a flux to carry away impurities.

From early times the Lords of Goodrich owned all the natural resources needed for making iron except iron ore itself. Limestone is freely available on Coppet Hill and the Dowards, charcoal from the Doward and Longrove woods. An inquisition post mortem of 1372 on the death of Elizabeth Talbot, quoted by Duncumb, states that there was 'one wood called Coppingwode, worth nothing but for big timber. And underwood called Douwarth and Longegroue containing 100 acres; it is made into charcoal every ninth year and is then worth 10l.' Once ironmaking technology was able to reclaim iron-rich cinders left from earlier times, it became important for the manor to retain ownership of former manufacturing sites.

The manorial survey of 1717 allows the mapping of iron-slag areas known from field-walking, excavation and Cinder field names. Most of these had been retained as demesne lands by the manor, and some were investigated during the field meeting.

Both furnace and forge required access to large quantities of charcoal, and the furnace to the supplies of ore and cinder. Both operations needed water, but if the forge was mechanised it required considerable water power to drive the hammer. This could lead to the forge(s) being at some distance from the supplying furnace: St Weonards' furnace supplied Peterchurch, Pontrilas and Llancillo forges.³ These considerations no doubt led to the establishment, in the 16th century, of a furnace at Whitchurch and a forge at Old Forge, now in Goodrich parish. By 1717, neither furnace or forge were still in operation, but in 1738 a survey and valuation of the manor⁵ gave the value of £1150 for 'considerable cinders in Goodrich' - an enormous sum considering most cinders would already have been taken away. Not all the demesne lands have been investigated yet.

In 1959 Bridgewater⁶ excavated the 'Vagas' field in Whitchurch (SO 545171). He concluded that the smelting of iron ore had been carried on there in Roman and medieval times. In 1717 the 'Vagers' was held from the manor by Thomas Gwilym, tenant at will.

The Whitchurch furnace site (SO 5490 1745) was evidently sitting on much accumulation of cinder, because in 1672 in an Exchequer case *Nourse v Gwilym*⁵ a deponent stated that he could not repair and relay the wooden troughs conveying water to the furnace satisfactorily because 'att a certain place in the said pcel of Ground called the Sinder pitt' he was forced to lay the 'said Trowes aboute a foote and a halfe higher...by reason there was not ground there to lay them because the Earth and Cinders were there digged away to a great depth'. Various deponents stated that the furnace had been built upon the site of an ancient furnace about 13 years previously. The small stream supplying the furnace site is fed from springs in the hills rising to Welsh Newton, and went on to feed pools in front of the Manor House.

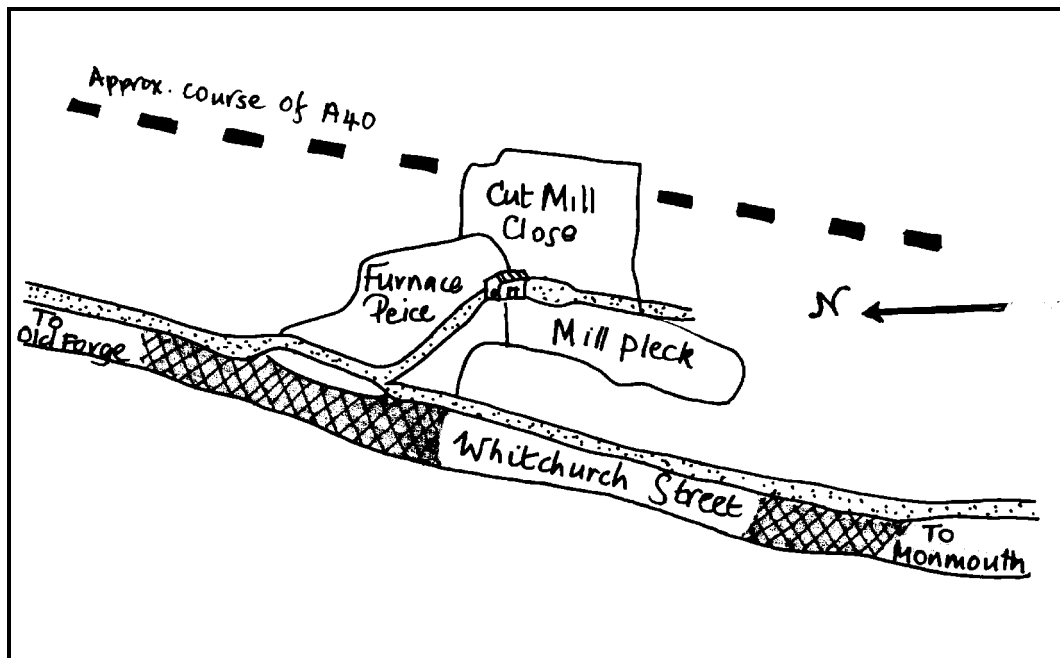


Figure 12 AW87: Goodrich Manor - part of demesne lands in Whitchurch village

In 1717 Joseph Powell, the tenant of Flanesford Priory farm was also a tenant at will of the Cutt Mill, Mill Pleck, Cutt Mill Close and 'the Furnace piece whereon the old Furnace stood' in Whitchurch. The field is not named on the tithe map. Part of the site has disappeared under the embankment of the slip road to the A40, but Mill Cottage is still there, and part of Furnace Piece. Slag can be picked up easily in the stream in front of it, and around Whitchurch Village.

The site at Old Forge (SO 559 185) lies mostly on the Goodrich bank of the River Garron, immediately next to the bridge carrying the old Monmouth-Ross road over the Garron, which is situated only 100 metres or so upstream from the confluence with the Wye. After crossing the bridge, the old road to Ross heads uphill towards the Cross Keys, while the road towards Huntsham diverges to follow the Wye. Figure 13 - Old Forge in 1717 shows the area in the 1717 Survey.

The triangular area between the two roads to Ross and Hunsom (Huntsham) was manorial waste, isolated by the roads, and the locality has been known as 'New Mill' at least since the 1630's, when a dispute about land ownership took place.⁶

A lease of the forge in 1633⁷ between the Earl & Countess of Kent and George Kemble of Pembridge Castle describes it as 'the forge called Newmill forge sett lyeinge and beinge in the parish of Whitchurch..'. Note that 'Old Mill' is further upstream on the Garron. Appended to the lease is an inventory of the equipment at the forge as at 4th April, 1633, which makes it clear that there was a chafery, two fineries and a 'one greate hammer' and 'one great anvill'.

The Earl and Countess reserved the right of fish & fishing in the forge pool, and the taking of sedge - a clear indication that the site on the Garron rather than one in Whitchurch itself is described. [The 1717 map does not make it clear how large the forge pool was, and still is, but the tithe Map below does.]

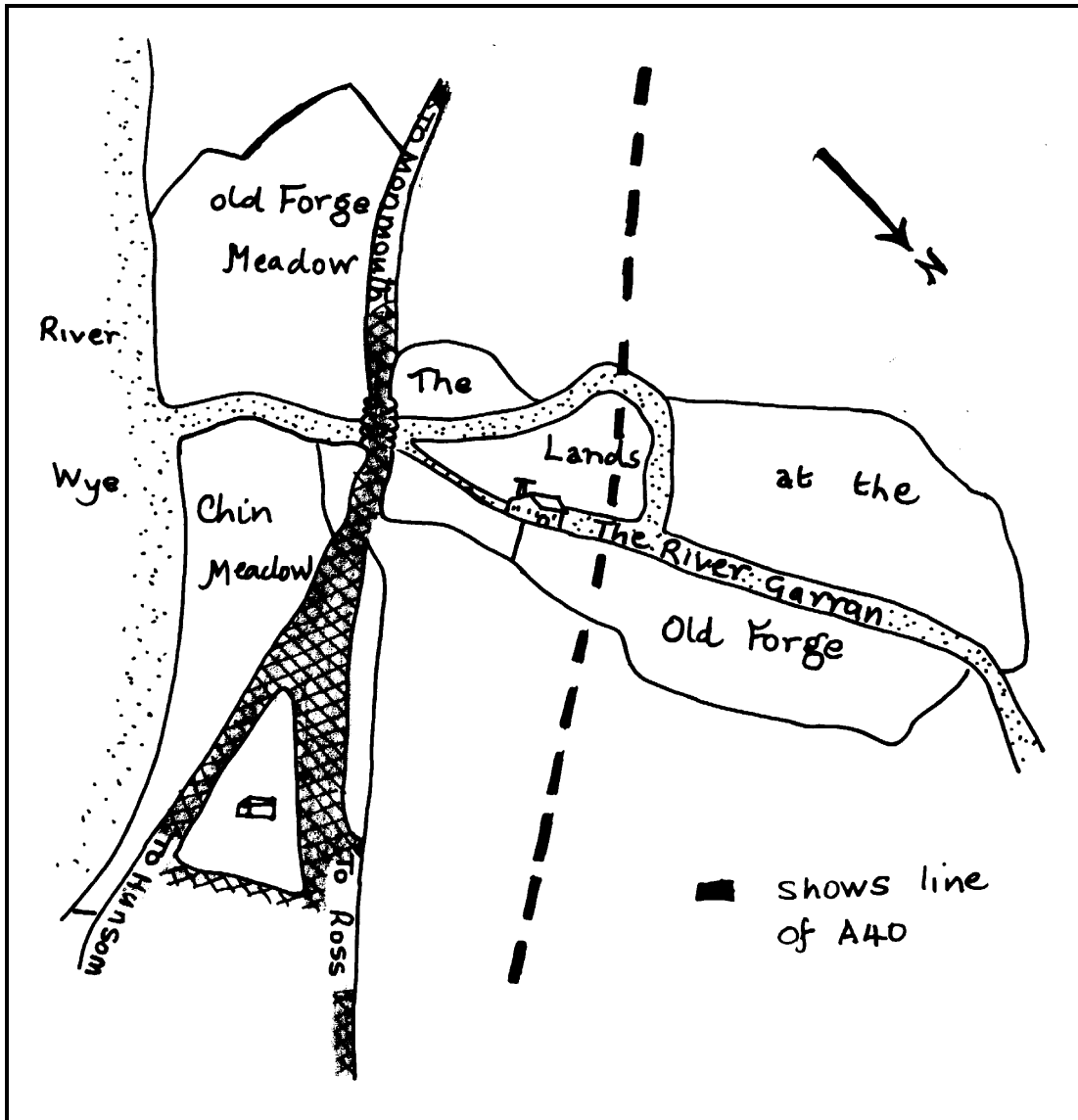


Figure 13 - Old Forge in 1717

An account exists of 'money expended in and about the repaying of the Breach in the Floudgates and damme head at Newmill Fordge' from October 1646 to August 1647⁸. This is only a few months after, so tradition has it, 'Roaring Meg' was cast at Old Forge and used in breaking the siege at Goodrich Castle.

Although the location of the Forge hammer would seem to be dictated by the position of the leat i.e. in the same place as the Mill building, in 1717 Old Forge Meadow was leased by Thomas Fletcher where it is described as 'the old Forge meadow whereon the old forge stood' (AW87).

'The lands at the Old Forge' have been occupied since early this century by the family of the current owner, whose father came to manage the Corn mill. The mill was in operation at least until the last war, and a bakery was run using an oven in what is now a derelict cottage. The back wall of the cottage is cut out of the solid rock.

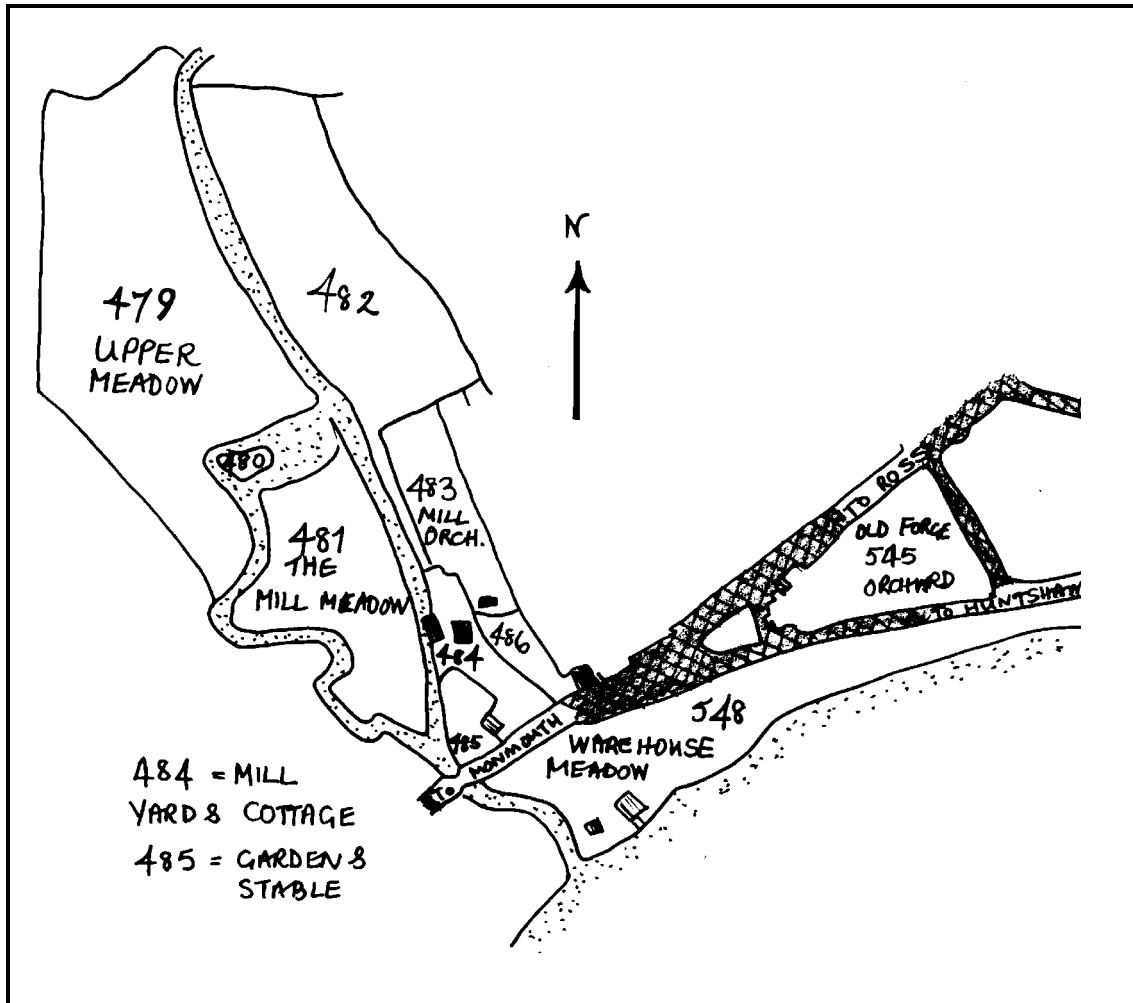


Figure 14 Goodrich Tithe Map of 1838

The site has been cut in two by the new A40 between Ross & Monmouth, which formerly came down from the Cross Keys and over the Garron bridge between the mill and the Wye. The A40 embankment has covered an area about 10 metres (35') wide right across the site, cutting off the leat from the weir to the mill. The leat can just be traced on the level ground remaining. Access is still possible from the mill to the weir and pond by a new bridge over the Garron. Some dressed stone can be seen in the river bed, but it is not identifiable. Cinders can be picked up near the bridge.

The base of the weir embankment is stone, but it has been repaired & concreted. It is in poor condition, with fallen trees in the river. A fish ladder has been built to the north side of the weir. No trace of sluice gates could be seen. The mill building, of stone, cannot be dated easily. There are 18/19C windows and fireplaces but no obvious early features to identify the 1717 mill. The walls have been strengthened and the building is in no danger. The cast iron wheel is still in situ, though collapsed. The building nearer to the bridge, shown as a stable in the Tithe Map, is still in use as a garage. According to the owner, this is where digging produces a lot of slag.

Before leaving, the single-span red sandstone bridge over the Garron was examined. RCHM considers it to be 'early C19', though no report of re-building has been found, and it appears to be a stone bridge in the 1717 map. There are elegant ogee-headed panels on both parapets.

William's Cross

The next short visit was to the site of William's Cross (SO 5675 1899), convenient for lunch at the Cross Keys. William's Cross is clearly shown in 1717 - Figure 15.

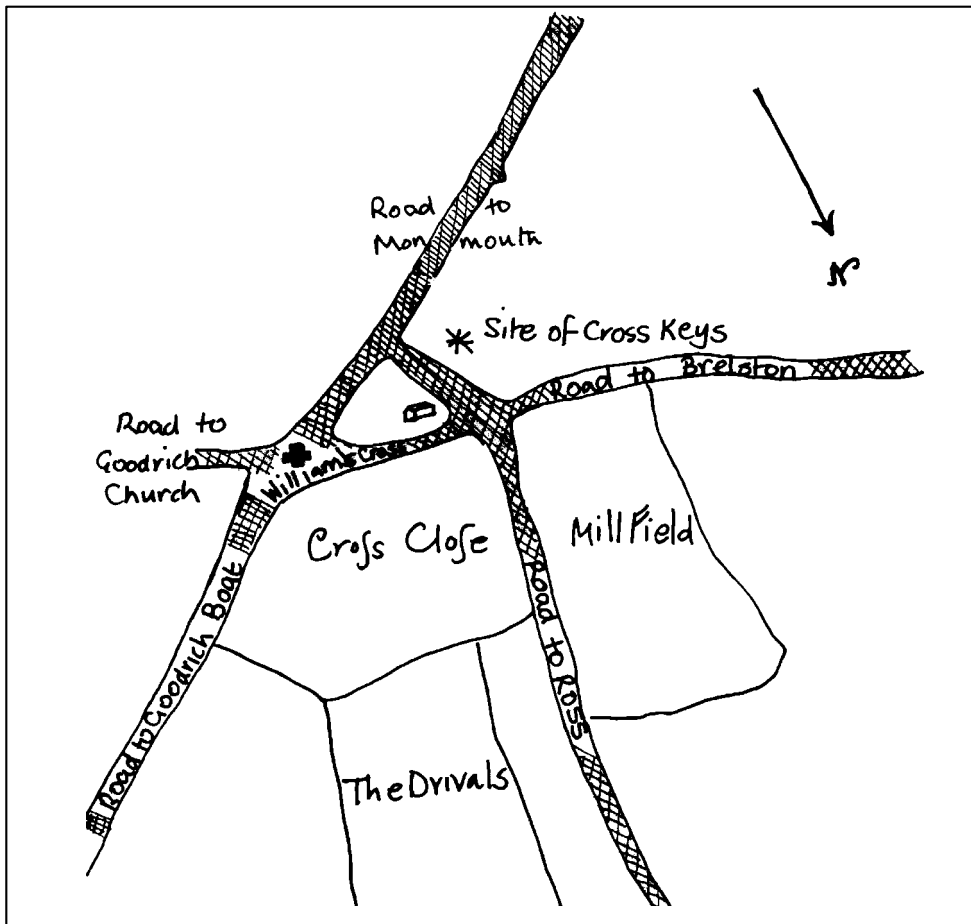


Figure 15 Williams Cross in 1717 (AW87). Site of Cross Keys shown

It is difficult now to realise what an ancient, important cross-roads this was, and how inconveniently laid out. The Ross-Monmouth road remained as the old A40 until the dual carriageway was built in the 1960's. Coming to meet it, past William's Cross, was the road from the ancient ferry crossing below Goodrich Castle. There may have been a building already on the site of the Cross Keys, but as the map only shows demesne lands one cannot tell. The building shown as an 'incroachment' on the triangle between the roads was the fore-runner of Bivia House, now called 'Goodrich Manor'(!).

There is no doubt that William's Cross was a real standing cross. There is an undated possibly C17 map⁹ of one field which shows 'the road to William's Cross'. Alfred Watkins noted, in his book on Herefordshire Crosses¹⁰, that it is shown on Taylor's map of 1758, but was unable to find pieces of it in the fields, although told there were some. He may have been looking in the wrong place, as it is some 200 metres from the Cross Keys. He said that he had been told that the milestone there was made from part of the Cross - but it was not locatable on our visit.

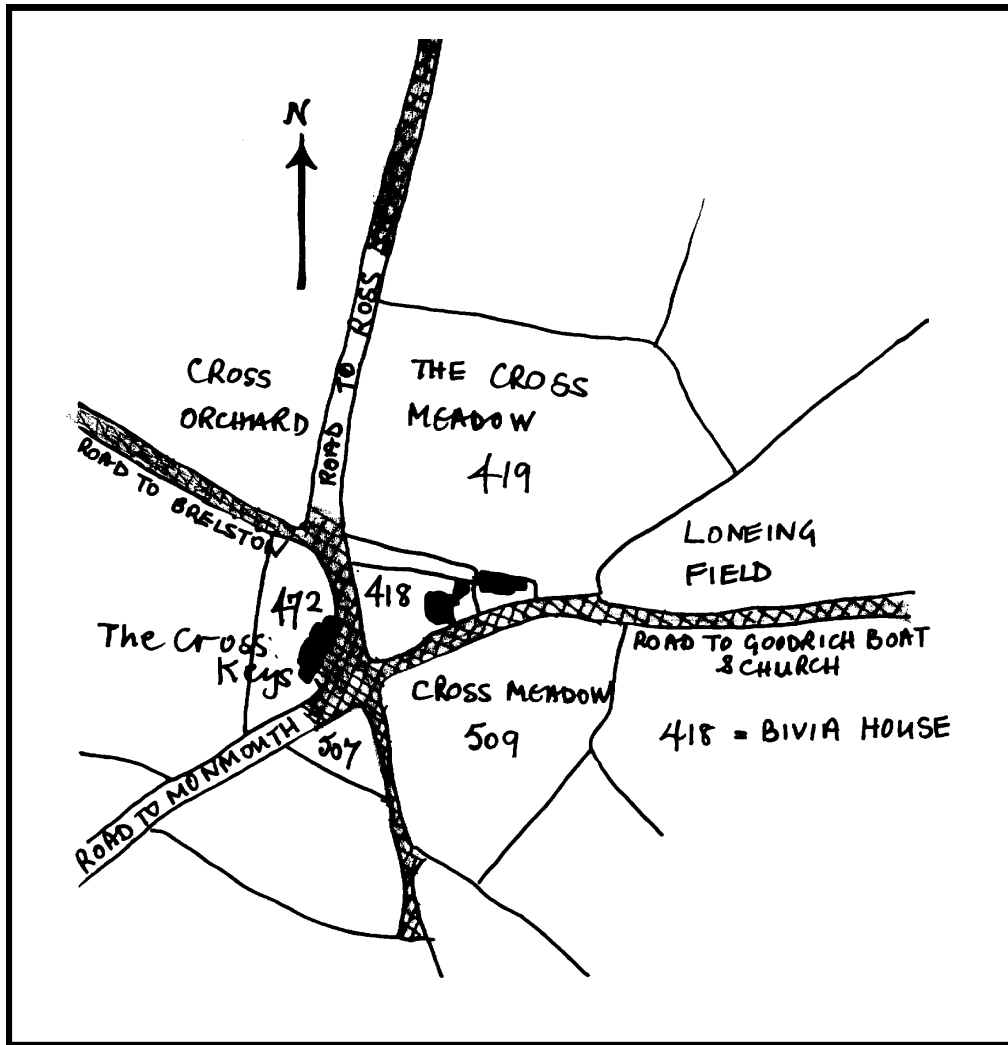


Figure 16 Cross Keys in 1838 (Tithe Map)

A most interesting incidental mention of a cross comes in Charles Nash's 'Goodrich Court Guide' of 1845¹¹. He is describing the house called 'Y Crwys' in Goodrich, restored by the architect of Goodrich Court. He says of Goodrich Court 'At the further end of the grounds is a village erroneously called the Croose, which name it has derived from the antient British name for a Cross, that stood at the intersection of two roads. William de Valence appears to have removed that Cross, and built in its place a chapel.....from the time of Henry VIII until within about 40 years, this curious building was used for a gaol'. He's certainly correct about the building being used as a gaol - it is on the 1717 map as one, but so far no corroboration has been found for his story about the cross. 'Croose' or a variant is the name of that area of Goodrich now. Y Crwys is at SO 574 195

The demise of the cross probably came about in 1818. At the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions, Henry Barnes and Kingsmill Evans (JPs) applied to replace the road from William's Cross across the fields to Bryant's to be replaced (after improvements) by the road to Bryants by way of Goodrich House¹². In effect, this replaces the hypotenuse of a triangle by the other two sides. The reason for this diversion was the parlous state of the old road. No mention was made of William's Cross - it stood right in the way - and unfortunately the map showing the planned diversion has lost the portion showing the Cross area. By the time of the Tithe Map (Fig. 16) the road had gone, and today only a footpath marks the way, albeit in the field above.

Owing to the presence of over-friendly horses and foals, only two of us could examine a large stone near the field gate. The stone is partially dressed red sandstone, of a size and shape, and with a small socket hole which make it possible that it was part of the stepped, segmented base leading up to a cross.

Cinder Pumps

After lunch, the Meeting re-convened near Huntsham Bridge to investigate iron working in the field behind Poplands Cottage (SO 569 185). This was called 'Cinder Pumps' in the Tithe map. In the next field the farmer had asked us to investigate a dressed stone in the ground.

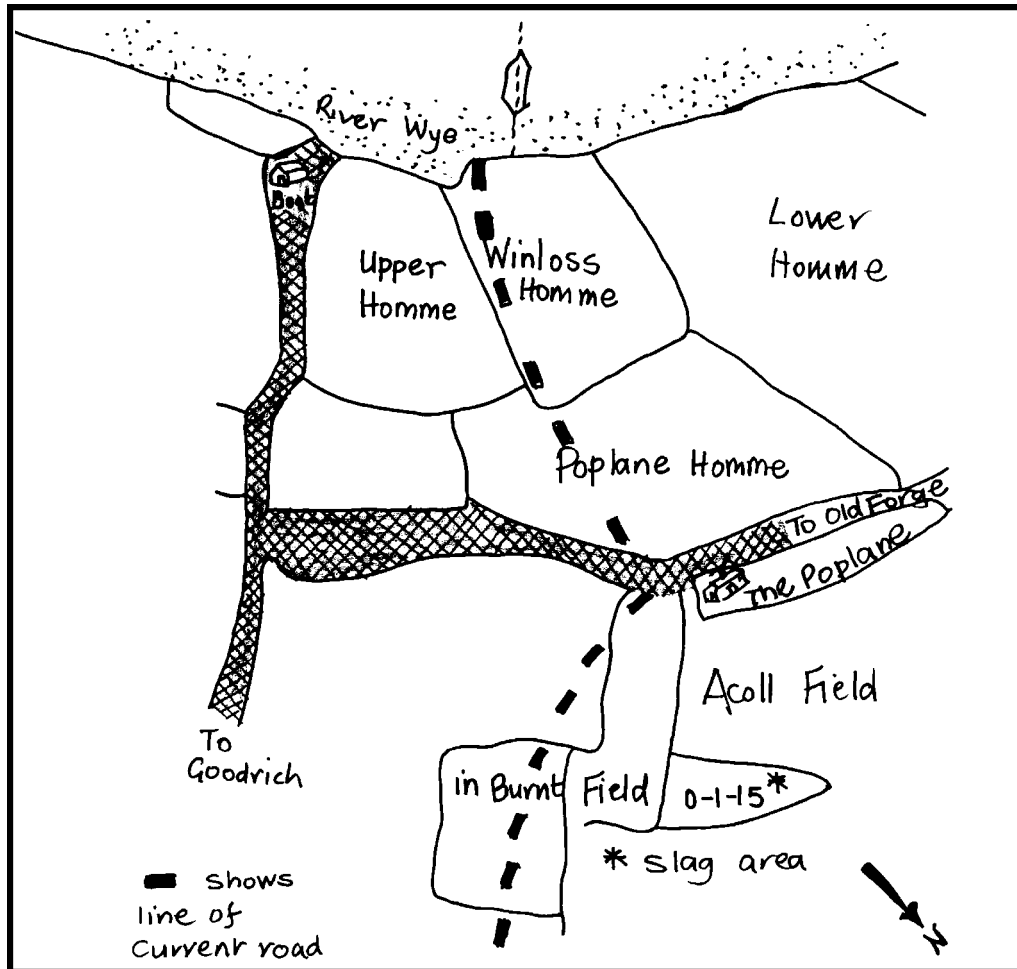


Figure 17 Area around Popland & Huntsham Ferry in 1717 (AW87)

The 1717 map (Fig. 6) shows Huntsham Ferry at the top, and the road from Old Forge joining the road from Huntsham ferry to Goodrich at a T-junction. The road improvements resulting from the building of Kerne Bridge (1824-28) caused a major diversion of the road, shown by the thick dotted line. 'The Poplane' in 1717 is now 'Poplands'. [Note that the derivation of 'Poplane' names is supposed to be from 'Pope Lane' i.e. a lane leading to ecclesiastical land. This may be true, as the road from Flanesford Priory to 'Priory Field' near Old Forge passes Poplane]

The small field called 'Cinder Pumps', now united with its neighbour to the west, lies immediately behind The Poplane, covering the area where the words 'Acoll Field' appear on the map, and including the small area (0r-1r-15p) which rather neatly fits the area in Cinder Pumps which seems to be the main area of slag. In 1717 the small area was leased by Thomas Hill, who lived in 'Yaxton', now Rocklands, on the other side of the road to Huntsham Ferry. Previously, it had been leased by William Philpotts. Although the adjacent plot is called 'in Burnt Field' on the AW87 map, in the written details in AW87 the plot is called 'Burnley Field'. By the time of the Tithe Map, the area including Burnt Field to the left of the current road was called the 'Great Burns'. There was also another small field called 'The Burns' just to the North. The area of slag runs under the Cinder Pumps field boundary, but seems to stop before reaching a sudden slope down into the valley floor.

Cinder Pumps was under beet at the time of the visit, and we had been asked to avoid the crops. No datable material was found with the slag during the recce or the meeting, but an attempt will be made when the beet is lifted. Burnt Field was walked, but no trace of slag or burnt material was found where rabbit holes has disturbed the grassland.

The farmer's stone was partially embedded at the foot of the slope in Burnt field. When excavated, it proved to be dressed stone, about 45x25x12cm, with a 'Y' in C18 style lettering deeply incised. Almost certainly it is a field boundary marker, as the field has been sub-divided without fencing in the past. The 'Y' may refer to Yaxton, the earlier name of Rocklands nearby. The farmer has been advised that it should not be damaged or moved.

Cinder Field

The next location (SO 571 197) under investigation is an extensive area of iron slag in a field behind Goodrich Cricket Club ground, which also goes under the lime tree avenue which runs in the direction of Goodrich Church. This area was called Cinder Field in the tithe map. No datable material has been found yet, and it was decided to leave this for further field walking. [Note. The field with the siege camp has now been ploughed, and there are extensive slag deposits.]

Civil War siege camp

Ron Shoemsmith had brought along an aerial photograph of a putative siege camp built during the siege of Goodrich Castle in 1646, located in the field on the other side of the road from the Cricket Club ground (SO 573 199). A quick phone-call gave the members permission to walk the field. The field now forms part of the open parkland surrounding the demolished Goodrich Court. Before 1828, the road into Goodrich left the Ross-Monmouth road near the Gothic Goodrich Court gatehouse (extant) and curved around past Giddis to rejoin the current road below the Goodrich Court Gas Works (extant). Dr. (Later Sir) Samuel Rush Meyrick, had the original road diverted while he was building Goodrich Court¹³ - obviously traffic nuisance is nothing new. A later drive to Goodrich Court also crossed the field from the south.

There is no trace of either road on the surface, and more surprisingly, little on Ron's aerial photo. The siege camp, a large rectangle with diamond-shaped corners lies on a downward slope facing Goodrich Castle over the valley which carries the old road from Y Crwys down to the Goodrich Ferry. Woodland below the field aand under the Castle slightly obscure the view, but it is obvious that small cannon can easily reach the Castle, but the camp is safe from sniper fire.

Goodrich Court Grounds

The final visit was to the site of Goodrich Court and grounds (SO 572 202). The site of the building is now a nature reserve, but mature trees, a summerhouse and some of the formal layout remains. The pleasure gardens and parkland between the Court and the hill facing the Castle have reverted to woodland. The Woolhope Club visited Goodrich Court early this century, and after tea walked across the pleasure gardens and down towards the Castle. On the way across the old road leading to the ferry they picked up yet more iron slag! Unfortunately, so much extraneous material has been dumped in this field - even glass slag is strewn around - that the site is unlikely to be found again.

In the pleasure grounds is a beautiful Well House, in sandstone, with wheel intact but in a somewhat dangerous condition. Supposedly underneath is a reservoir rather than a well. However, its location is not far from a field shown on the 1717 Map as 'Groves Field alias Conduit Close'.

A lead conduit feeding Goodrich Castle was supposed to have originated on this area, and was cut during the 1646 siege. Ron Shoemsmith assured us that Sir Samuel Meyrick removed the last of the pipework, which must have been well hidden to have escaped the depredations of the local people for 200 years. The Tithe map shows a pond in the area below the Siege Camp, which is also a candidate for the source of water. Both these sources would have required a siphon to supply the Castle, so it is surprising that springs just above Y Crwys could not have been tapped.

After this visit some members returned for tea to Charlton, home of the writer, which was owned by Sir Samuel Meyrick from 1841 to 1847. [Editor's Note. The refreshments provided by Roz at the end of the day were much appreciated by those present.] The day closed at about 5.30 pm, the weather was warm & sunny.

Thanks are due to Mrs Marshall, Mr Morgan, Mrs Hunter, Mr Harbord, Mr Roper and Mr & Mrs Seal for permission to walk on their lands.

References

HRO stands for Hereford Record Office

- 1: 'Water Mills of the Middle Wye Valley, S D Coates & D G Tucker Monmouth District Museum Service, 1983
- 2: 'A Gazetteer of Charcoal-fired Furnaces in Great Britain in use since 1660' Philip Riden, Merton Priory Press, 1993
- 3: '17th Century ironmaking in south west Herefordshire' John van Laun in the Journal of the Historical Metallurgical Society, 1979, pp55-68.
- 4: 'The History of the British Iron and Steel Industry circa 450BC - AD 1775', H.R.Schubert, London, 1957
- 5: Nourse v Gwilym case re Furnace at Whitchurch. E134 (Exchequer Depositions taken under Commission) 24/25 Charles II. Hilary No. 15 Hereford. Copy in Hereford Library in Large Pamphlet Box.
- 6: New Mill Hill dispute Goodrich Manor Papers, HRO O68/II/18
- 7: Lease of New Mill Forge in 1633. Hereford Diocesan Register 1635-1667 pp155 et seq. Copy in Hereford Library Ref. 672
- 8: Account of money expended on Newmill Fordge in 1646. Original in HRO O68/II/42. Typed copy in Hereford Library.
- 9: Map of 'Prior's Field' showing 'road to William's Cross'. HRO O68/MAPS/1
- 10: 'The Standing Crosses of Herefordshire', Alfred Watkins, 1930. HRO
- 11: 'Guide to Goodrich Court', Charles Nash, 1845 pp 30-31. HRO E98/1
- 12: Diversion of road at William's Cross. Hereford County Quarter Sessions Michaelmas 1818. HRO
- 13: Diversion of road from Ross-Monmouth into Goodrich, near Goodrich Court. Hereford County Quarter Sessions HRO 19 Oct 1829
- 14: Goodrich Tithe Map HRO

'A Survey of the Mannor of Goodrich in the County of Herefordshire'

This Survey of the demesne holdings of the Manor of Goodrich is held at the Hereford Record Office, Ref: AW87. It consists of a large bound volume, containing ten fold-out maps (the eleventh is missing) followed by a written survey of the Manorial tenants.

The maps show demesne lands as follows:

- 1) Wilton Bridge (Ross) to Goodrich Croose
- 2) Copped Wood (in book after Map 7)
- 3) Flanesford
- 4) Old Forge to Huntsome Boat
- 5) Hunsham Common
- 6) Weare Hill
- 7) Goodrich Church and William's Cross
- 8) Whitchurch to Goldsmith's Wood, Ganarew
- 9) Longrove Common
- 10) Leadbrook's Mill, Newland, Gloucestershire
- 11) Doward (missing)

The surveyor chosen by the Duke of Kent, Lord of the Manor of Goodrich, was Edward Lawrence, a Northamptonshire land-surveyor who, as was the custom, came to London during Term and advertised for business. He published at least 3 treatises, one of which was 'The Duty of a Steward to his Lord' with 'A survey of the Manor of Kingston (*sic*) in 'the County of Herefordshire' published in 1727. There is a copy of the Account he submitted to the Duke of Kent in the Hereford RO (XO/17) which shows that he spent 8 months surveying in Herefordshire & Gloucestershire. There is a copy of the Account he submitted to the Duke of Kent in the HRO (XO/17). The preamble to the Account reads as follows:

| | | |
|--------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|
| | Acres | |
| In Bedfordshire (nearly) | 2000 | |
| In Gloucestershire | 2772} | The woods and other Lands |
| In Herefordshire | 5778} | formerly surveyed which I |
| | | Examined is here <u>Included</u> |

I have surveyed at least 1000 Acres of Free Land (as appears by ye Mapps) which I could not avoid by reason it lay so intermixed wth other of your Graces lands.

I have Likewise spent a Considerable part of my time to obtain the Lives in Being, to take abstracts of Leases, Coppys and other writings in order to set forth your Graces Lands, as well as to make up perfect Rent Rolls with the Improved Values from the same, together with the Coppypolders of Inheritance and Freeholders in the Severall Mannors.

These and the abovementioned Surveys I shall leave intirely to your Graces generosity not Doubting but you will some way or other as your Grace shall think fit Encourage me for the Extraordinary trouble I have been at.'

The Account shows expenses owing for work at Credenhill, Goodrich, Ewridge, Yatton and Cullern, extracts of which are given below:

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| | £ |
| Expences in Credenhill & Goodrich Mannors | |
| To a man & horse removing from Huntly to Weston..... | - 2 6 |
| To a man for 24 days Assistance at Creden-hill..... | 1 4 - |
| To a man and two Horses removing from Credenhill to Goodrich..... | - 6 - |
| To a man for his Assistance 31 days at Goodrich..... | 1 11 - |
| To Horse hire and Passage over the Wye whilst at Goodrich..... | - 13 6 |
| To Carriage of Box's to Gloucester & from thence to London..... | - 12 6 |
| To Coach Hire & Expences to London from Gloucester..... | 1 9 6 |
| To 39 weeks Board Wages from Jan 1st to S ^{br} 29th 1717..... | 13 13 - |
| To Coach Hire and Expences from London to Rest..... | - 11 - |
| | |
| To 21 weeks Board wages whilst making up the Books of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire..... | 7 7 - |
| Paid for Binding the Book of Gloucestershire..... | 1 15 -' |

To set against these expenses, Lawrence had already received £34-3-5 from Mr Henry Vaughan, as well as other advances.