TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON" "HOPE EVER"

ESTABLISHED 1851

VOLUME XL 1970

PART I

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

HEREFORDSHIRE

"Hope On" "Hope Ever"

ESTABLISHED 1851

VOLUME XL 1970

PART I

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

HEREFORDSHIRE

"Hope On"  "Hope Ever"

ESTABLISHED 1851

VOLUME XL 1970

PART I

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF OFFICERS

1969 - 1970

President	Mr. J. G. HILLABY
President-elect	Mrs. J. E. O'DONNELL
Vice-Presidents	Mrs. D. McD. CURRIE Mr. J. W. TONKIN Mr. F. M. KENDRICK Mr. H. J. POWELL
Central Committee	Mr. I. HOMES, Mr. R. E. KAY, Mr. C. T. O. PROSSER, Miss M. THOMAS (*to retire* 1970) Rev. W. PRICE JOHNS, Air-Cdre. L. P. MOORE, Mr. F. NOBLE, Mr. R. C. PERRY (*to retire* 1971) Mrs. J. E. O'DONNELL, Miss R. HICKLING, Cmdr. M. B. HALE, Mr. S. C. STANFORD (*to retire* 1972)
Hon. Secretary	Mr. V. H. COLEMAN
Hon. Assistant Secretary	Mrs. M. TONKIN
Hon. Treasurer	Mr. T. L. WILLIAMS
Hon. Assistant Treasurer	Mr. A. D. DAWSON
Hon. Auditor	Mr. H. S. WIDGERY
Hon. Librarian	Mr. J. F. W. SHERWOOD
Hon. Assistant Librarian	Mr. J. G. HILLABY
Hon. Editor	Mr. J. W. TONKIN
Hon. Assistant Editors	Mr. F. M. KENDRICK (Natural History) Mr. S. C. STANFORD (Archaeology)

SECTIONAL RECORDERS

Archaeology - - -	Mr. R. SHOESMITH
Botany and Geology - -	Mr. F. M. KENDRICK
Buildings - - - -	Mr. J. W. TONKIN
Deserted Medieval Villages -	Miss R. HICKLING
Entomology - - -	Dr. J. G. LANGDALE-SMITH
Ornithology and Mammals -	Dr. C. W. WALKER

Address of Hon. Secretary:	*Address of Hon. Asst. Secretary:*	*Address of Hon. General Editor:*
Mr. V. H. COLEMAN Stromness Hereford Road Weobley Hereford	Mrs. M. TONKIN Chy an Whyloryon Wigmore Leominster	Mr. J. W. TONKIN Chy an Whyloryon Wigmore Leominster

Proceedings, 1970

SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 17th January: The President, Mr. J. G. Hillaby, in the chair.

Mr. R. Shoesmith gave an illustrated talk on the excavations at Siraf on the Persian Gulf during the winter of 1968-69. Sites being excavated were a 10th-century mosque, a series of palatial contemporary house sites, pottery kilns and a 14th-century mosque.

SECOND MEETING: 14th February: The President, Mr. J. G. Hillaby, in the chair.

Miss P. Morgan briefly described the two sets, each of 40 lockers, which were thought to be Elizabethan that had recently been erected in the muniment room of the cathedral. Previously they had been in the lady arbour and before that in the chained library.

Mr. F. Noble gave an illustrated talk on "Offa's Dyke and the Dunsaete". The dyke stretched from Prestatyn in the north to Chepstow in the south and seemed to mark a boundary between different nations. It had a riding way on the top for patrols. On the Herefordshire plain it was less massive and appeared to be only a dividing line marking the limit of the customs of the peoples on either side. As here both sides of the dyke was peopled by the Dunsaete and ruled by the Earl and Bishop of Hereford a military defence was not necessary.

THIRD MEETING: 14th March: The President, Mr. J. G. Hillaby, in the chair.

Members were informed that a contract had been signed with S.R. Publishers to re-print the club's Centenary Volume costing between £2 10s. 0d. and £3.

Mr. J. Speed gave an illustrated talk on "Deer and Other Mammals". He explained that there were six species of wild deer in the British Isles, munjack, seeker, red, roe, fallow and chinese water deer. In the Mortimer forest the only species of deer is the fallow, but among these there is a long-coated variety which may eventually be recognised as a separate species.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 11th April: The President, Mr. J. G. Hillaby in the chair.

The assistant secretary, who is also the assistant treasurer, reported that the club now had 657 members.

The President gave his address "Boroughs of the Bishop of Hereford in the late 13th Century'. This is printed on pp. 10-35.

Mrs. J. E. O'Donnell was installed as President for 1970-71.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 7th May: SHREWSBURY AREA

At Shrewsbury members visited the church of St. Chad. The President explained that it is a circular building of Grinshill sandstone with a classical facade. It was designed by the architect, George Steuart, and was completed in 1792. One side-chapel is dedicated to the Shropshire and Herefordshire regiments. In the Quarry

grounds Mr. Noble gave a brief account of the origins of the town and said that the area of earliest settlement appears to have been near old St. Chad's church. The town is situated on a great loop of the river Severn and its castle was built by Roger de Montgomery. Members toured the ancient streets en route to the Augustinian abbey of Haughmond. The President said that it was founded by William FitzAlan of Clun in 1110 A.D. and it was converted into a mansion after the Dissolution. The fine facade of the chapter house and the cruciform 12th-century church were seen.

At Uriconium Mr. Toms spoke about the history of the site and past discoveries. Members when walking around the site were able to see the sophisticated bath-houses dating from 150 A.D. and the unique open-air swimming pool. On the return journey members visited Atcham church to see the window which had been brought there from Bacton in Herefordshire.

SECOND MEETING: 6th June: DEERHURST AREA

At Deerhurst the first visit was to the late Saxon chapel which was built by Odda. The President said that the chapel had been part of the adjoining house and was discovered during alterations in the late 19th century. The present mid-11th-century chapel consists of a nave and chancel in which can be seen the remains of the 17th-century inserted floor when it was part of the adjoining house. In the parish church of Deerhurst the Rev. Maclean explained that this Saxon church dated from *c.* 750 A.D.

At Wainlode on the river Severn Mr. Kendrick explained the geology of the cliff which from the bottom upwards consisted of the following layers, red Keuper marls of the Triassic period, tea-green marls, black shales with bands of sandstone and a band of limestone of the Jurassic period. The whole is capped by river gravels of the bottom terrace of the Welsh glaciation.

At Ashleworth church the President spoke about its architecture and its connection with St. Augustine's, Bristol. The registers and Elizabethan chalice were shown by the vicar. Mr. Tonkin explained that Ashleworth manor was a fine, timber-framed house built *c.* 1500 and later became the vicarage. As a contrast he said the Court built only a little earlier is of limestone as is also the tithe barn of *c.* 1500.

On the return journey Mr. Kendrick described a geological exposure near Bromsberrow which showed the new red sandstone which underlay the Keuper marls seen earlier at Wainlode.

At Snig's End, Corse, the President explained that this was an industrial settlement built *c.* 1847 by the Chartist, Feargus O'Connor.

THIRD MEETING: 20th June: LLANIDLOES and NEWTOWN AREA

A halt was made to view the scanty remains of the Cistercian abbey at Abbey Cwmhir. The President said that it was founded by a daughter of Blanchland and was never finished due to lack of money. At the Dissolution the lands were granted to William Fowler of Shrewsbury and six of the arches were removed to Llanidloes church. At Tylwch members were able to look at the area where it is proposed to make the Dulas Valley reservoir. Lunch was eaten overlooking the Clywedog valley and dam.

At Llanidloes church the Rev. Williams spoke about the 7th-century saint, Idloes, and pointed out the 13th-century arcade which had been brought from Abbey Cwmhir. The church was restored by G. E. Street in 1881. Members also looked at the old Market Hall and Museum.

At Caersws members viewed the Roman fort which was excavated in 1966-67. In Newtown the party visited the ruinous old parish church to see the tomb of the philanthropist, Robert Owen; and also the textile museum in some old weavers' cottages. In the early and mid-19th century the town had a flourishing flannel industry.

SPECIAL MEETING: 27th June: WOOLHOPE AREA

This meeting, led by Mr. Kendrick, studied the geology of the Woolhope Dome.

FOURTH MEETING: 9th July: CAERPHILLY and CASTELL COCH AREA

At Caerleon the President gave a short account of the strategic importance of the legionary fortress of Isca to the conquest of Wales and the subsequent decline of the town as a civil settlement after the withdrawal of military power. Members walked around the remains and the amphitheatre.

At Caerphilly Mr. Knight spoke about the 13th-century concentric castle which was built by Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. The great hall is being rebuilt on the same lines as when it was restored by the architect, William Burges, for the Marquis of Bute.

At Castell Coch, another of Burges' restorations for the Marquis of Bute, the President explained that in the 1870's it was built on 13th-century foundations in the medieval style. Inside, the ceilings and walls of the principal rooms are elaborately decorated.

Travelling across the flat marshes facing the Bristol Channel the President said that a large-scale drainage system had converted them into fertile meadows. The Rev. James in St. Bride's church, Wentlloog, said that this was a poor, depopulated area, and showed members the flood-mark of 1606 when there was great devastation in the area.

FIFTH MEETING: 29th August: GOLDEN VALLEY AREA

At Eaton Bishop church Mr. Powell described its architectural features and the Rev. Owen spoke about the east window which had been recently restored by Dennis King of Norwich. The early 14th-century glass of this window is considered to be the best in Herefordshire and compares well with anything else nationally.

At Bredwardine church Mr. Prosser spoke about its close associations with the Rev. Francis Kilvert, the diarist. Members visited the nearby excavations under the direction of Mr. Shoesmith where so far the remains of 13th, 14th and 16th-century timber and stone buildings have been found as well as some medieval pottery.

At Dorstone Mrs. O'Donnell said that the village lies between the river Dore and its tributary the Pont-y-Weston brook. The motte and bailey castle and the borough with its small green are situated on a ridge which falls away to this tributary. The church lies between this arm and the Dore and is thus not defended by the castle. There is little documentary evidence to show who built the first castle on its

motte. It is oval in shape rising 28 feet above a dry ditch and the bailey is kidney-shaped of 2½ acres. George Marshall identified Dorstone as the Torchestone of the Domesday survey and in 1086 it was held by Durand of Gloucester. Dr. D. Walker in an article on Miles of Gloucester identifies it as Thruxton, so that Marshall's further evidence that Thurstan de Solars could have given his name to the place after holding under Bernard de Neufmarche must be invalid. He quotes from T. Jones "*History of Brecknockshire*" to support this argument. It is more likely, as is suggested by others, that it was held under the castlery of Clifford by Drogo Fitzponz whose family later used the name of Clifford and who made Dorstone their fortified home. This could well be the Dodintune of the Domesday survey which had 7 hides and was held by Drogo Fitzponz. There is little documentary evidence of its borough status but the layout of the streets at the foot of the motte indicates a pattern common to other castle boroughs. It is surmised that this development took place in the 12th century and the defences would have been complete by the Welsh troubles of the 13th century. On the village green, which was probably the market-place, stands the remains of a market cross. In the 1860's there were three annual livestock fairs and one statute fair on 18th November.

The church was rebuilt in 1827 when many of its finer features were destroyed. As an act of atonement, Richard de Brito, one of the murderers of Thomas a Beckett in 1171, founded a chantry chapel. This was confirmed by a stone inscribed "Hanc capellum ex voto ad Mariam Virginem, Ricardus de Brito dedecavit" which was found during the 1827 alterations. Perhaps Richard de Brito fled to the Cluniac priory at Clifford for sanctuary. In the 14th century the living of Dorstone was in their hands as can be seen from entries in the Bishop's Registers.

The castle in 1399 was held by John de Solars under Mortimer of Wigmore. In 1403 Henry IV was urging Sir Walter Fitzwalter to strengthen it, as the neglected condition of the border castles had encouraged Glyndwr to make his successful attack. It is certain that he did devastate this area because in 1406 Dorstone was one of the churches that had its taxes pardonned because of the Welsh wars. On the death of Lady Fitzwalter in 1442 the castle was in the hands of Richard de la Mare. In Elizabeth's reign it passed to the Aubrey family and stayed with them until 1780 when it was sold to the Cornewalls.

The village school was founded by Meredith Maddy in 1643 and closed in 1966. The schoolmaster was to be a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge but was not to be a cleric, although he was expected to teach the Catechism on Saturdays and holy days. Teaching was free for Dorstone children but one shilling a quarter and two shillings and sixpence on admission for children from Peterchurch, Michaelchurch and Craswall. Writing, Grammar, rhetoric, oratory and poetry were to be taught. The schoolmaster's salary was £20 annually. The 1845 Report of the Charity Commissioners described the school as a stone building with a dwelling house of seven rooms attached. The date 1740 is on the front of it.

Members walked down to the site of the old railway line where Mr. Coleman spoke about the Golden Valley Railway which opened in 1881 from Pontrilas to

Dorstone and which was extended in 1889 to Hay. It was 18¾ miles in length and cost £300,000. The passenger servcie ceased in 1941 and the railway closed in 1957. Throughout its existence it rarely made a profit and it never possessed more than one locomotive, two coaches and a brake van.

On the return journey a brief stop was made to view Snodhill Castle and Court.

SIXTH MEETING: 12th September: TALGARTH, TRETOWER and CRICKHOWELL AREA

A brief stop was made to view Bronllys Castle, a tall round keep standing on its motte. It has a vaulted basement and three floors and is thought to be late 12th century. Talgarth tower which resembles the Scottish pele towers is 14th century. The scanty remains of Castell Dinas, once a medieval castle built on top of an Iron Age hill-fort and a seat of the Braose family, was also seen.

At Tretower Mr. Tonkin spoke about the Court and the Castle. They were from *c.*1100 successively in the hands of the Picard, Bluett, Herbert, Vaughan and Parry families. The castle which is very similar to Bronllys until very recently belonged to the Duke of Beaufort. The Court in later times was in various hands and in 1930 passed to the Ministry of Works. The north range was probably built by Ralph Bluett between 1305 and 1346 and rebuilt in the mid-15th century by Roger Vaughan who erected the west range. The gate-house and south and east sides were the work of Thomas Vaughan in the 1480's. There were more alterations in the 16th and 17th centuries.

At Myndd Llangattock, Mr. Kendrick, in describing the geology, said that the Black Mountains were river laid deposits of the Old Red Sandstone period with carboniferous limestone and millstone grits on top as can be seen at Llangattock. The coal measures of the Black Mountains are gone.

The Rev. C. James welcomed members to Crickhowell church which is the only one in Wales dedicated to St. Edmund; it was founded by Lady Sybil Pauncefote. It is of the transitional period with aisles added in the 15th century which were rebuilt in the 19th. Members looked at the parish registers and church plate as well as the Pauncefote, Herbert, Rumsey and Ash family tombs and the 17th-century font.

The President conducted a walk around Crickhowell. The motte and bailey castle situated above the borough guards the crossing of the river Usk. The stone castle was built by the Turbervilles and was added to by the Pauncefote family. Grimble Pauncefote, lord of Crickhowell, was also lord of Much Cowarne, in Herefordshire. Later the lordship passed to the Herbert family. The bridge was built in 1703 and the market place dates from *c.*1830 when the New Road was built and there was an attempt to rebuild some of the town.

YORKSHIRE VISIT: 16th to 21st July

Forty members travelled to St. John's College, York, and on the way visited Haddon Hall and its gardens. That same evening Mr. Hillaby gave an historical introduction to the city of York. This was followed next morning by a tour in the coach and on foot of the medieval defences of the city. In the evening Mr. H. G. Ramm of the R.C.H.M. (York) gave an illustrated lecture on "The Archaeology of Roman York".

A day spent in Wharfedale and Wensleydale included visits to Ripon Cathedral, Fountains Abbey and Richmond Castle.

On Sunday afternoon Mr. Hillaby conducted a tour of a number of the city's churches to illustrate the works of the York school of medieval glass painting. That evening Mr. G. C. F. Foster of the University of Leeds School of History talked about Tudor and Stuart York.

A day in the North Riding included the monastic sites of Rievaulx, Mount Grace Priory, the only Carthusian house in the country of which there are considerable remains, and Whitby parish church and Abbey.

AUTUMN MEETINGS

F. C. MORGAN LECTURE: 24th October in the Town Hall: The President, Mrs. J. O'Donnell, in the chair.

Mrs. P. S. Gelling, M.A., F.S.A., spoke on "Place-names and History in the West Midlands" and said that she had little to add to the work done by Canon Bannister. She confined her talk to place-names not of Celtic origin.

On behalf of the 150 members present Mr. Tonkin thanked Mrs. Gelling for her talk on a subject which is enjoyed by most people. The club also expressed its thanks to Mr. and Miss Morgan for providing the tea.

SECOND MEETING: 7th November: The President, Mrs. J. O'Donnell, in the chair.

Mr. J. K. Knight, of the Ministry of Works, gave an illustrated talk on "Montgomery Castle". He explained that since 1967 he had been responsible for the excavations on the inner and outer works. This followed the 1964 excavations of Lord Herbert's brick mansion of the 1630's in the middle ward. Mr. Knight said that with the help of documentary evidence it has been possible to closely date the inner ward to 1223-30, the middle ward to 1251-53, a new hall, chambers, bakehouse, brew-house and stable-block to 1283-86. In the 1540's Bishop Rowland Leigh built lodgings around the inner ward and in the 1630's the Herbert family built a brick mansion in the middle ward. A mass of armour of about 1540, pottery from the 13th to the 17th centuries, 17th-century glass, medieval floor tiles and iron work have been found.

THIRD MEETING: 28th November: The President, Mrs. J. O'Donnell, in the chair.

The Hon. Mrs. D. Uhlman gave an illustrated talk on "The National Trust" which was founded 75 years ago by Sir Robert Hill and Octavia Hill. It is concerned with the preservation of woodlands, coast lines and open spaces as well as houses and buildings of historical and architectual interest.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 12th December: The President, Mrs. J. O'Donnell, in the chair.

Officers for 1971-72 were elected.

The Hon. Treasurer presented the accounts for 1969. These are printed on p. 9.

Mr. R. E. Kay gave a short talk on "Minor Ecclesiastical Architecture of North Monmouthshire". The Minor churches are mainly built from the local Old Red

Sandstone and usually date from the mid-13th century onwards when the area was more settled. In the 15th and 16th centuries buildings were embellished and enlarged in the Perpendicular style. The majority of the churches have late 13th or early 14th-century unbuttressed west towers of infinite variety. During the 15th and 16th centuries stone and timber porches were added and better window lighting was provided. Inside, screens, lofts and bench-ends of intricate workmanship were erected. The roofs of the oldest churches have barrel ceilings but without bosses. Open roofs are a rarity. There are no remarkable family monuments to be seen but each church had its burial ground and preaching cross although no complete specimen survives. There are a few early fonts. There are a number of bells from before the Reformation but many are of the 17th and 18th centuries.

HEREFORD CITY EXCAVATIONS FUND

During 1970 the Hereford City Excavations Committee handed over £427 8s. 1d. to the club. A separate account has been opened to administer this money which is earmarked for Hereford City Excavations. From this account it was agreed to insure the tools which were also handed over. Mr. Berrett has agreed to look after them.

LIBRARY

As from October 1970, members borrowing books from the Woolhope Library do so through the Reference section of the City Library, Hereford. It has been agreed to spend £200 on binding some of the club's journals and periodicals.

THE WYE VALLEY AS AN AREA OF OUTSTANDING NATURAL BEAUTY

The club was asked by the Herefordshire County Council to make observations on their proposals on the above. A sub-committee looked into this and suggested that the riverside scenery and the adjacent hills forming the skyline must be taken together as the isolated hills and broken ranges give individuality to the different views and because of their intrinsic scenic value it was suggested that the area should include:

(a) The Dinedor and Aconbury Hills with their hill-forts, the parklands of Holme Lacy (and Netherwood) and the river meadows at the confluence of the Wye and the Lugg.

(b) The Woolhope Hills including Backbury with its camp, Stoke Edith Park, Seager Hill, the Wonder landslip together with Marcle Hill which can be seen from many parts of the designated area as the dominant skyline feature. The Woolhope area should be treated as a whole because of its scenic value and variety within a coherent area of national geological interest and importance.

(c) In the Ganarew area the skyline bordering the Wye and a beautiful stretch of the A40 should be included.

(d) Penyard Park should also be included because this hill is a prominent feature from many viewpoints and particularly from the Wye and the A40 near Ross.

PLAQUES IN HEREFORD

The Hereford City surveyor asked the club to provide details of eminent citizens and events for the possible erection of plaques in the city. A sub-committee looked into this and the club suggested that it would like to see plaques set up similar to the one which can be seen in Church Street at the entrance to the Telephone Exchange. A picture or diagram with the text would also be desirable. The details on the plaques should be kept to a minimum but fuller details should be available in the City Guide. The following list was submitted.

Famous Personalities: Mrs. Siddons, David Garrick, Nell Gwynne, Edward Elgar, David Cox, Dr. Bull, Mr. Pilley, Rev. Venn.

Sites: Almshouses (St. Ethelbert's, Aubrey's, Price's, St. Giles', Williams). Churches (St. Owen's, St. Martin's, St. Nicholas', Greyfriars). St. Guthlac's Priory. City Defences (all gateways including Wye Bridge Gate and some reference to the escape of Prince Edward at Widemarsh Gate. One bastion and one rampart plaque in Victoria Street). The Castle (Castle Green, Castle Cliff as the oldest surviving part of the castle above the ground). Kemble Theatre. Corn Exchange. City Arms Hotel (built by the Duke of Norfolk on the site of the North Gate). High Town (indicating the site of the old Market Hall). The old General Hospital. The General Hospital (founded at the suggestion of Dr. Samuel Johnson). The Mansion House (Dr. Brewster). White Cross.

Just as this part was going to the printers the Hereford City surveyor once again asked for the club's help and it is now hoped that the following plaques will soon be seen in the city:

(a) Henry Graves Bull, M.D., 1818-1885, Naturalist, lived here.

(b) David Cox, 1783-1859, Artist, lived here.

(c) Flour mill of the Society for Aiding the Industrious, founded by John Venn, 1848.

(d) Castle Cliff, medieval water-gate of Hereford Castle, later the Bridewell.

(e) Home of James Laurence, Mayor of Hereford, 1627.

(f) Mansion House, 1697, formerly home of William Brewster, D.Med., 1665-1715.

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS FIELD CLUB

Honorary Treasurer's Cash Account for the year ended 31st December 1969

RECEIPTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balances, 1st Jan. 1969		
Cash at Bank:		
Current Account	91 17 6	
General Deposit A/c. ...	2225 12 11	
Marshall Fund	232 10 9	
Herefordshire Flora ...	110 15 10	
	2660 17 0	
Cash in Hand ...	2 0 0	2662 17 0
Interest on Investments		
3½% War Stock	32 12 10	
Herefordshire County Council Loan	59 6 5	
Bank Deposit Interest ...	166 12 2	258 11 5
Subscriptions ...	835 17 6	
Sales of Offprints etc. (Net) ...	172 17 8	
Income Tax Refunds	115 7 6	
Field Meetings (Net)	54 15 3	1178 17 11
Grants		
Ministry of Public Buildings and Works ...	34 0 0	
Hereford City Council ...	40 0 0	74 0 0
		£4174 6 4

PAYMENTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Insurance	20 6 0	
Stationery	63 17 11	
Postage and Telephone ...	52 13 9	
Subscriptions and Donations ...	42 13 6	
Additions to Library	5 5 0	
Expenses of Meetings	34 4 0	
Sundry Expenses ...	15 0	
Expenses of Covenant Scheme		
Fees	21 0 0	
Expenses ...	5 6 8	246 1 10
Balances, 31st Dec. 1969		
Cash at Bank:		
Current Accounts	682 6 1	
General Deposit Account ...	2872 3 9	
Marshall Fund	254 13 11	
Herefordshire Flora ...	117 3 8	
	3926 7 5	
Cash in Hand ...	1 17 1	3928 4 6
		£4174 6 4

Notes

1. The Club owns £932 14s. 0d. 3½% War Stock and £1040 Herefordshire County Council Deposit Loan.
2. There was no payment for printing transactions during the year.

Auditor's Certificate

I have audited the above Honorary Treasurer's Account and certify it to be in accordance with the books and vouchers of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club.

(*Signed*) HERBERT S. WIDGERY,
Chartered Accountant.
19th March 1970.

Presidential Address

The Boroughs of the Bishops of Hereford in the late 13th century, with particular reference to Ledbury

By JOSEPH HILLABY

BOROUGHS AND BURGAGE TENURE IN THE 12th AND 13th CENTURIES

FOR two centuries after the Norman Conquest England witnessed a spate of borough foundations.[1] The process was particularly marked in the years before and after the Great Anarchy of Stephen's reign, 1134-1154. These boroughs were either royal or seigneurial; that is they were founded either by the king or by his lords, lay and spiritual.[2] None of the post-conquest boroughs of this county was of royal foundation; all the Herefordshire boroughs were seigneurial. Ewias Harold, founded by the de Tregoz family, and Weobley, founded by the de Lacy family about 1140, will serve as local examples of lay foundations.[3] However, it is with the boroughs of a spiritual lord, the bishop of Hereford, that we are especially concerned. These were five in number. Three were in Herefordshire—Bromyard, Ledbury and Ross, and there were two on estates of the bishop outside the county—one at Prestbury, near Cheltenham, in Gloucestershire, and the other at Bishop's Castle in south-west Shropshire.

Why was such interest shown in the establishment of boroughs at this time? The reasons were almost wholly financial.[4] Boroughs were intended, by fostering trade, to augment the lord's income. They originated with grants of weekly markets and annual fairs. If trade prospered and the borough grew this would enhance considerably the value of the lord's estate, directly, as a result of the income derived from burgage and other rents, tolls of markets and fairs and the profits of justice, and indirectly, from the consequent increase of economic activity on his adjacent manors.[5]

The new boroughs were either organic or planted; they either developed from an existing rural settlement, a village or a township, or "were artificially created" away from any previous settlement.[6] Whether organic or planted, if they were to be successful they had to be sited at places convenient and attractive to merchants and traders. Markets and fairs, therefore, flourished at the gates and under the protection of castles, monasteries and the greater churches as well as at major communication centres—cross-roads, fords and the like. The Herefordshire lay foundations of Weobley and Ewias Harold, mentioned above, both grew up in the shelter of important castles. This was also the case with one of the boroughs founded by the bishops of

Hereford, Bishop's Castle, a planted borough in a highly exposed position on the Welsh march.[7] The other four, Bromyard, Ledbury, Ross and Prestbury, were organic boroughs. They developed from existing settlements on ancient and extensive episcopal manors, each with a bishop's palace, despite the name not much more than a manor house, and an important parish church.[8]

What do we mean by the term borough? Possibly it would be better first to explain the sense in which it is not being used. As it is used here it does not mean an incorporated borough with a royal charter, defining its privileges of self-government, and its seal.[9] It does not mean a parliamentary borough with the right to send two burgesses to Westminster, although Bromyard, Ledbury and Ross did enjoy this right during the Middle Ages for a short time and Bishop's Castle was enfranchised in the reign of Elizabeth I.[10] It does not mean a taxation borough; a place where the tax on personal property, the subsidy, was levied at the higher borough rate of a tenth rather than at a fifteenth, as it was in rural districts.[11] These were all criteria for borough status which lay in the future but we are concerned with the word in a 12th and 13th-century context. It was only from the late 13th century that the crown began to draw these distinctions between small market towns and what it, the crown, designated, according to the criteria mentioned above, as boroughs. For our purposes a simpler and more comprehensive definition can be accepted; that is "a vill in which the tenements were held by burgage tenure"[12].

If burgage tenure was the hallmark of a borough, at this time, what was a burgage? It was a plot of land which conferred quite precise legal privileges on its owner. The word has come to refer to the structure subsequently erected upon the plot but this sense of burgage, as a house rather than as a plot, developed later.[13] This is shown clearly by a grant, at Ledbury in 1443, of a burgage "*non edificatum in le homhende*".[14] The privileges attaching to the burgages varied according to the individual foundation charters but they all had as a common basis "the payment of a money rent with little or no liability on their occupants for agricultural service of the kind owed by rural tenants to their lord".[15] The burgages conferred that personal freedom which was a prerequisite for anybody who wished to live by trade.

The first documentary evidence for many boroughs is the grant of a weekly market, and frequently an annual fair as well, but not all these grants had the desired effect. At one end of the scale we have the notable success stories, such as that of Stratford-upon-Avon founded by the bishop of Worcester in 1196.[16] At the other end of the scale there were many erstwhile boroughs that never developed beyond the physical bounds of their original village nucleus. This was the case with Wilton and Ploughfield in Herefordshire.[17] Between the two extremes were those places, granted markets and fairs, which, though not graced subsequently by a royal charter nor yet paying subsidies at the higher rate of a tenth, did develop beyond village status into market towns with their own borough courts.[18] All of the bishop of Hereford's boroughs in this county belonged to this intermediate category. Bromyard, Ledbury and Ross never received royal charters of incorporation but in the earliest episcopal records that we have they are shown as legally and financially quite distinct from the original manors, now called foreigns, from which they had been established. The

main entries in the *Red Book* of the bishops of Hereford read: *Burgus de Rosse* and *Manerium de Rosse Forinsecum, Bromyarde Forinsecus* and *Burgus de Bromyarde, Burgus de Ledebury* and *Ledebury Forinsecus.*[19] Each of the six entries has its own sum total value. Although the three boroughs developed but little after 1300 they never lost this legal and financial identity which differentiated them from the surrounding countryside.[20]

THE RED BOOK OF THE BISHOPS OF HEREFORD

In the last decades of the 13th century a detailed survey was drawn up of the estates of the bishops of Hereford.[21] This is commonly referred to as the *Red Book* because of the colour of its leather binding. Until 1970 it was held by the Church Commissioners at Millbank, in London, but it has now been returned to Herefordshire and is in the custody of the County Records Office.[22] A transcript of the more important sections of the *Red Book*, together with an introduction, was published by A. T. Bannister in the *Camden Miscellany* for 1929.[23]

The *Red Book* not only gives details of the tenants, customs and value of all the bishop's manors, it also describes each of the five episcopal boroughs. All of the tenancies are listed, together with the rents due; a total of 255 at Bromyard, 282 at Ledbury, 105 at Ross, 46 at Bishop's Castle and 30 at Prestbury. The normal holding was either a whole or a half burgage. Thus we read that in Middletown at Ledbury "*Juliana de la Crose pro uno burgagio debet . . .* " and in the Homend "*Benedictus Marescalle pro dimidio burgagio debet . . .* ".[24] Occasionally quarter burgages are encountered in the survey. At Bromyard, Ledbury and Ross the annual rent was 1/- for a whole and 6d. for a half burgage. At the two latter boroughs this was paid quarterly; at the feast of St. Andrew, 30th November, the day of the Annunciation, 25th March, the feast of the nativity of St. John, 24th June, and the feast of St. Michael, 29th September. At Bishop's Castle, where many of the burgages were linked to a carefully stated number of acres of enclosed or assart land, the annual rent, paid half yearly at Whitsun and Michaelmas, was in most cases 6d. per burgage.[25] At Prestbury the annual rent, paid quarterly on the same feast days as at Ledbury and Ross, was 2/-.[26]

At the three Herefordshire boroughs there are frequent references to stalls, the Latin term used is *seldae*, usually paying a rent of 3d. or 4d. a year. There were 47½ stalls at Bromyard, 33 at Ledbury and 9 at Ross. It is difficult to establish whether these *seldae* were still temporary structures at this date.[27] A grant of 1273 does specify a "*solda edificata de Ledebyre*" but it is a century later before we get references to "*schopa*".[28] What can be established from details in the *Red Book* and elsewhere is that the stalls were all in or adjacent to the existing market places. The problem of accommodating such a large number of stalls in the market places, as we know them now, will be discussed below.

Mention is also made of tenancies other than burgages or stalls. Thus at Ross Roger the Mercer held half a virgate of land for which he paid 3d. each quarter.[29] In the New Street at Ledbury Walter Whealar held a quarter of land, not to be confused with a quarter burgage, for which he paid ¼d. four times a year.[30] The low rent clearly suggests an undeveloped plot. Later we find reference to one "*quarterium terre edificata in novo vico de Ledebyre*".[31] Parcels of land and *placea*, vacant plots, are quite frequently encountered. The normal rent was 1d. or 2d. but in a few instances 3d. or more was due each year. At Ledbury there are references to "*v shomeles*", five shambles or slaughter-houses, at an inclusive rent of 1/8d. a year, a *furnus*, that is bakehouse or oven, at 6d. annually, and a *fossatum*, a ditch or place surrounded by a ditch, at an annual rental of 1d.[32]

At the end of the entries for Ledbury, Bromyard and Ross the total of rents and other sums due to the bishop, from the borough, are listed (Table I, page 28). The latter payments relate to the holding of the borough court, under the lord's bailiff, and the holding of weekly markets and annual fairs. Table I shows that at Bromyard the pleas and profits of the borough court together with the market tolls were estimated by the jurors to be worth £13 a year. The fair was valued at £1.[33] At Ledbury the estimated annual value of pleas, profits and tolls was £12 10s. 0d. No mention was made of the annual fair as a separate item but the bishop derived a considerable sum from his mills within the borough, £2 13s. 4d. from the watermill and £1 6s. 8d. from the windmill.[34] At the end of each of the three entries the total value of the borough is given. Unfortunately the same information is not recorded for Bishop's Castle or Prestbury, for the *Red Book* describes these two only under sub-headings: "*Tenentes de Burgo*" and "*Redditus Burgi de Prestebury*".[35] The rents are given as a total for Prestbury but there is no indication, in either case, of the annual value of pleas, profits or tolls.

The description of the bishop of Hereford's five boroughs given in the *Red Book* enables us to do two things. Firstly, we can sketch out, with varying clarity, their topography, that is the general pattern of buildings and the use to which they were put together with the street plan, as it was some six hundred years ago. This affords a valuable indication of the social and economic life of the towns. Secondly, we can attempt an estimate of population, perhaps more accurate in relative than in absolute terms.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF LEDBURY IN THE LATE 13th CENTURY

The most detailed picture can be drawn up for Ledbury and Bromyard because here the burgages and other tenancies are carefully listed by streets. In the account of the other three boroughs no streets are named. Time permits the description of only one of the two, Ledbury or Bromyard. I have chosen the former because the latter has been the subject of an inquiry by members of the Bromyard and District Local History Society. They hope to publish their results in book form by the end of the year.[36]

BURGAGE AREA

The critical matter in establishing ground plan is the size of the original burgages. The problem must be discussed, if not solved, before we can go on to draw up a picture of Ledbury in the late 13th century.

There are no foundation charters available for the bishop of Hereford's boroughs such as there are for many other English and Welsh boroughs.[37] Some of these foundation charters indicate quite precisely the dimensions of the original burgages. For example, John de Coutances, bishop of Worcester, 1196-1198, "bestowed on his Burgesses of Stratford (upon-Avon) the inheritance of their Burgages, paying yearly for each of them to himself and his successors 12d. for all services at four times in the year . . . , to every of which Burgages he thereby allowed three perches and a half in breadth, and twelve perches in length; and that they should be free of Toll, for ever, according to the customs of Bristoll (Breteuil); excommunicating all persons that should presume to make violation of those their priviledges".[38] These burgage plots allowed by the bishop conform to the standard, the "traditional lamellate plan", of a relatively narrow road frontage, in this case 60 feet, with a rear garden stretching back a considerable distance, here 200 feet, from the road.[39] The dimensions of the burgage plots varied considerably from borough to borough. At New Sarum the plots were 3 perches by 7 perches, [40] at Altrincham 2 by 5 perches, [41] at Burton-on-Trent 4 by 24 perches, [42] at Knutsford 2½ selions, or open-field strips.[43] In other cases we are given only the area. This varied from the ¼ of an acre granted at Wotton-under-Edge, where the charter was granted "according to the customs and uses of Tetbury", to the full acre granted in the foundation charter of Salford about 1230.[44]

We have, however, because there is no charter, to look elsewhere for help in assessing the size of the original burgage plots of the Hereford episcopal boroughs. If one examines the various editions of the 25in. Ordnance Survey plans for Ledbury and Bromyard a certain regularity, even uniformity, of plan becomes apparent (Maps 4, 5 and 6). This can be noted particularly clearly at Bromyard where the length of the burgage plots along most of the medieval streets, which we know from the description in the *Red Book*, is almost the same, about 180 feet. At Ledbury the burgage plots on the east side of High Street and the Homend are also of about the same length, 180 feet.

The 25in. Ordnance Survey plans do not give us so much help with the width of the plots. In only a few cases does the width of the plots today appear to be virtually the same as it was in the Middle Ages and even there the picture is not as clear as we might wish because of the existence of alleyways. It is a reasonably safe assumption, from what can be seen on the 25in. Ordnance Survey plan today, that all the burgages on the east side of High Street, and the Homend, at Ledbury were served by such alleyways to give rear access.[45] The same seems to be true for Bromyard and Ross. Unfortunately not only have many of these baneful alleyways been built over, leaving no trace, but also a number of burgesses appear to have encroached on their neighbours' or their joint alleyways. This throws any detailed calculations, made on the ground today, awry.[46]

The alleyways are only one of the difficulties. There are two other reasons why it is difficult to establish an overall pattern for the width of the original burgage plots from the existing frontages or from large-scale plans.

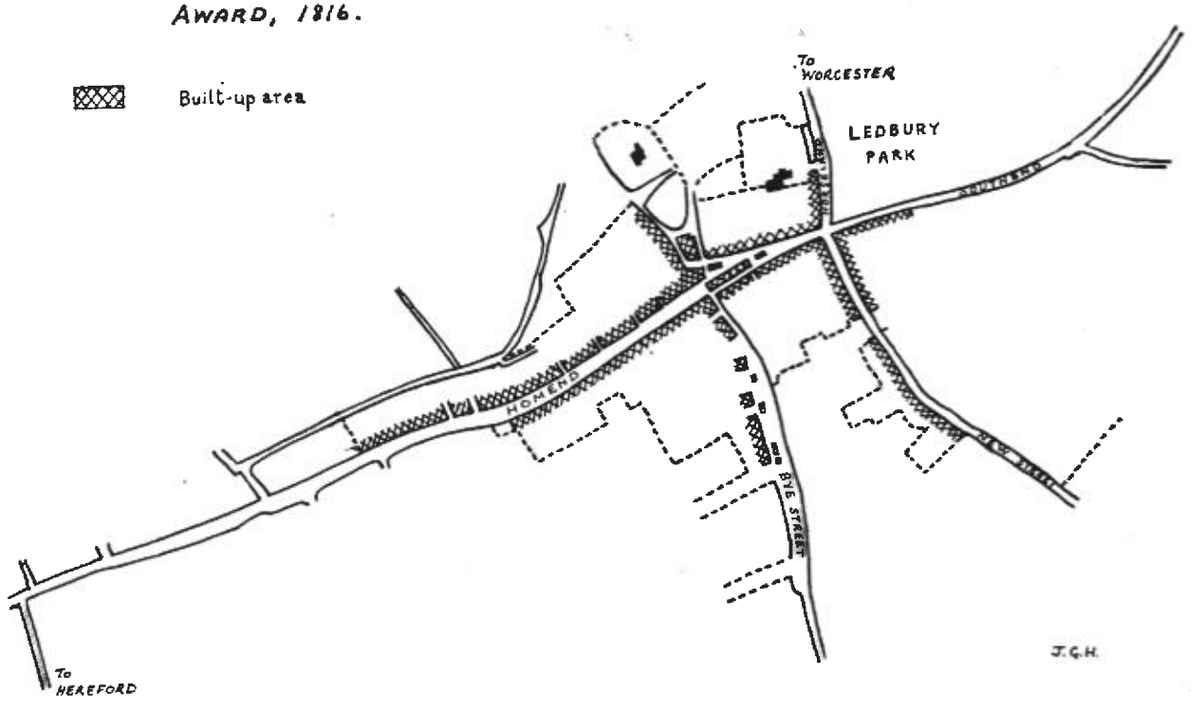
Ledbury and Bromyard were organic boroughs which developed from an earlier manorial nucleus of village and church. They are not set out, therefore, on a grid pattern such as is found in so many of the planted boroughs, e.g. Ludlow, and full uniformity of plot is only possible if a strictly rectilinear pattern is adopted. The plan of Bromyard, Ledbury and Ross, however, is dictated by the pattern of the community which existed prior to the foundation of the borough as well as the lie of the land. The ground plan of Bromyard is dominated by the arc of Church Street, High Street and Broad Street running at one burgage length from the periphery of the ecclesiastical nucleus of the settlement, which is situated atop a bluff projecting out into the Frome valley. Church Street, High Street and Broad Street were placed below and outside the old nucleus. They run almost exactly along the 400 foot contour. Only halfway up High Street, Bromyard, on the way to Cruxwall Street does the ground begin to rise (Map 6). At Ross an arc similar to that at Bromyard is made up of Copse Cross Street, High Street and Wilton Road. In consequence many of the burgage plots of these two towns are of necessity wedge-shaped. Only at Ledbury is the pattern more rectilinear because the ground drops away from the church with the contours forming relatively straight lines rather than arcs.

The other difficulty in establishing the original burgage width is the long process of consolidation and fragmentation which took place gradually and continuously for over 700 years. Consolidation, the bringing together of two or more whole or part burgages to give a wider street frontage, is to be seen most clearly in the building of the larger Inns during the great period of reconstruction in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The Falcon, the Bay Horse and the King's Arms at Bromyard, the Feathers and the Talbot at Ledbury and the King's Head and the Saracen's Head at Ross are all examples of this process. The half-timbered and later Georgianised 34-36 High Street, John Kyrle's house, at Ross is another good example. In the late 19th and early 20th century the Banks were the great offenders in this respect. Today it is the Supermarkets, but the process had begun at a very early date and frequently in a very humble way. Sometimes merely a fraction of a burgage would be added to give tenancies of 1¼, 1½ and 1¾ as well as double and treble burgages. Half a century before the *Red Book*, in 1232, there is a record of a grant by Bishop Hugh Foliot of "*unum burgagium et dimidium quod emimus de Johanne filio Gersente, reddendo episcopo xviij denarios*".[47] The fragmentation of burgages also began early. In the *Red Book* there are a number of references to ¼, and ¾ holdings as well as the frequent reference to ½ burgages. Indeed it appears that the half burgage may have been the standard in some of the streets.[48] Thus at Bromyard, in Maidenswell Street, the *Red Book* lists 14 tenants holding ½ burgages, two holding ¾ burgages, one holding one burgage and two holding 1½ burgages.[49] The situation is even clearer at Stonehill in Bromyard where the *Red Book* lists one tenant holding ¼ burgage, 31 holding ½ burgages and five holding full burgages.[50] Again, as we have seen with the process of consolidation, there is evidence of fragmentation half

a century earlier than the *Red Book*. In the grants of 1232, mentioned above, Bishop Hugh Foliot also included "*dimidium burgagii quod emi de Margaret filia Gilbert Fraunceys, reddendo per annum vj denarios*".

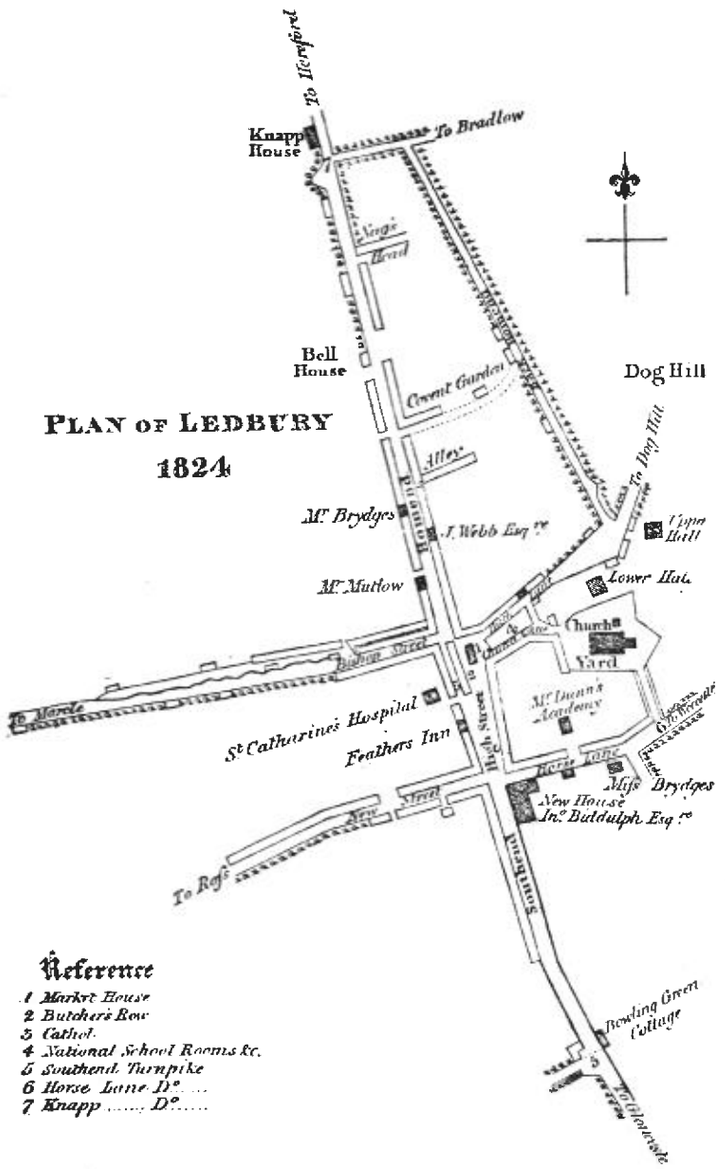
If the width of the burgage plots had been known then by multiplying this figure by the total number of burgages as given in the *Red Book* one would arrive at a minimum length of developed street frontage—adjustment for fractional holdings is assumed.[51] Minimum because this would not take into account those places which did not appear on the rent rolls, such as the hospital of St. Katherine in the High Street at Ledbury. Admittedly this total would have to be apportioned arbitrarily between the two sides of the street but there would at least be then some general indication of how far the burgages extended down those streets which were open at one end; that is all the streets but one, High Street, at Ledbury and all but High Street/Broad Street at Bromyard.

As it is one can only work backwards from the built-up area indicated on the earliest maps and plans, take this as a maximum extension and then compare it with the number of burgages given in the *Red Book*. The discrepancy between the two, despite



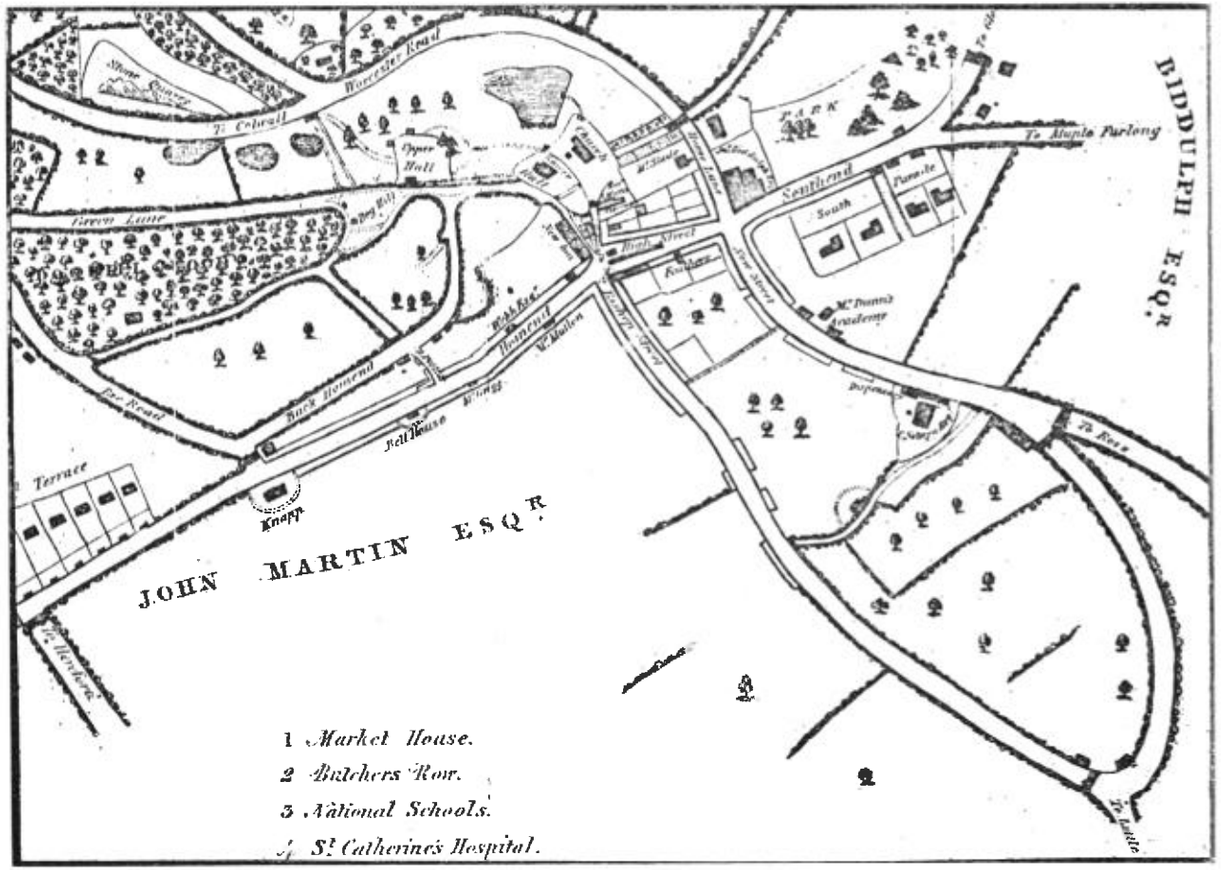
MAP 1
Copy of the built-up area of Ledbury, as shown on the Ledbury Enclosure map of 1816.

the great difference in time, over 500 years, is not large, certainly not as great as one would have anticipated. This, as we shall see below, is one of the most significant facts to emerge from a detailed study of the borough entries in the *Red Book*.

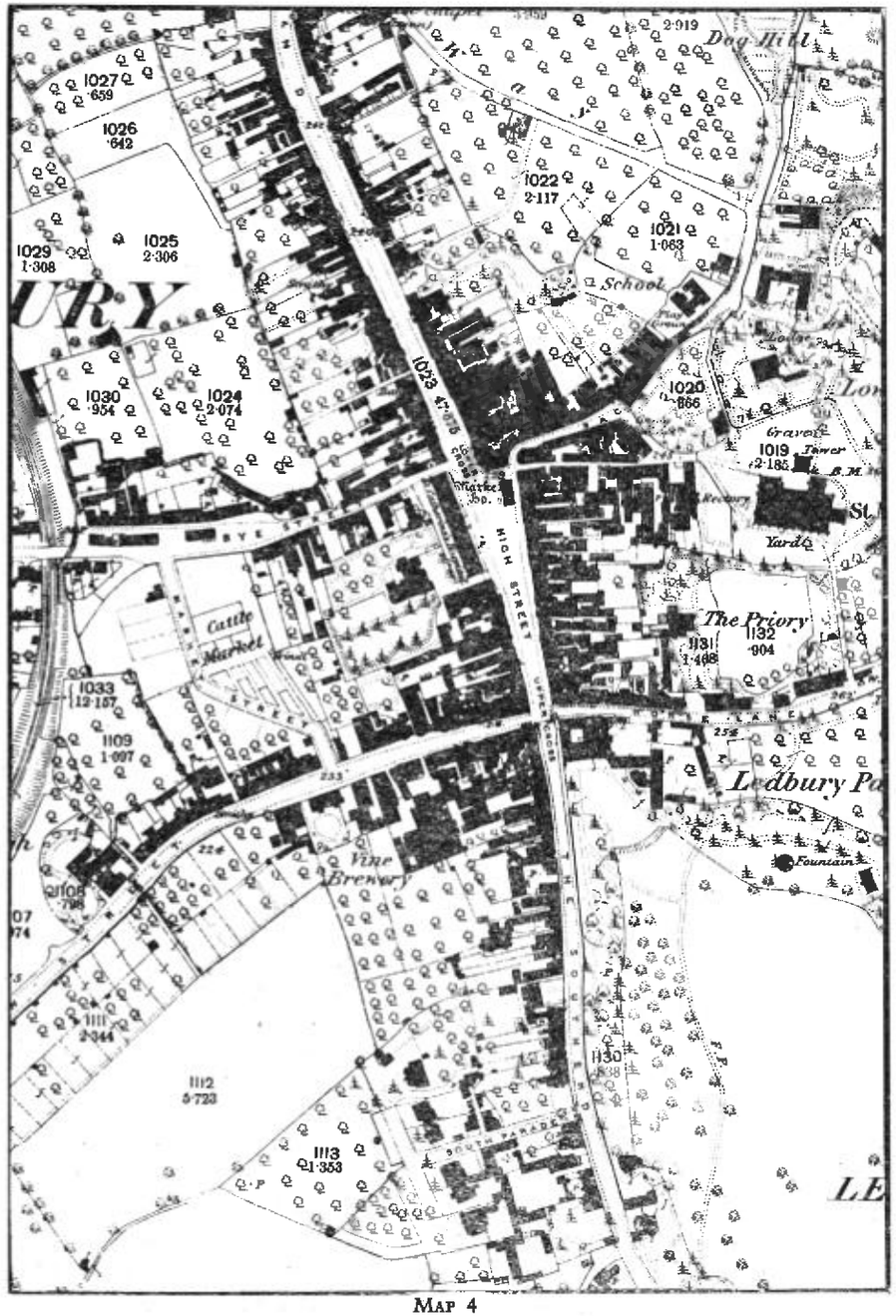


MAP 2
Plan of Ledbury from the *Ledbury guide* of 1824, "sold by John Devereux".

Here again, when we turn to the cartographic evidence, our task is not easy. There is a curious dearth of early maps and plans for the Herefordshire market towns in which we are interested. Tithe maps were drawn up for all five of the bishop's boroughs in the 1830s and 1840s. We do, therefore, have large scale plans for that date but on some of these the built-up area is only blocked in, no detail of buildings or plots is portrayed. This is the case at Bromyard. The Ledbury enclosure award of 1816 includes a map (Map 1). This is of considerable help although it only incidentally illustrates the built-up area of the town. The first editions of the 25in. Ordnance Survey plans come much later, in the 1880s (Map 4). Apart from these I have only found four earlier plans for Ledbury. There is a plan in the *Ledbury Guide* of 1824 (Map 2) and another, by W. Gibbs, in *Hints of old Ledbury by a native inhabitant*, 1831 (Map 3). These are both street plans to a small scale with



MAP 3
John Gibbs' map of Ledbury and environs from *Hints of old Ledbury, by a native inhabitant* of 1831.



MAP 4
1st ed. 25in. O.S. plan of Ledbury, 1885. (½)

little detail. The second, despite elaborate embellishments, is of very indifferent quality. Nevertheless they both afford some help, if used with caution. The two other plans show the lands respectively of the Overcourt and Nethercourt portions in the early 19th century. They give few details of the town.

GROUND PLAN

The *Red Book* lists 282 tenancies at Ledbury and of these 212 are listed by streets:

Southend	20
New Street	35
Middletown	26
Homend	78
Bishop Street	56
Total	215

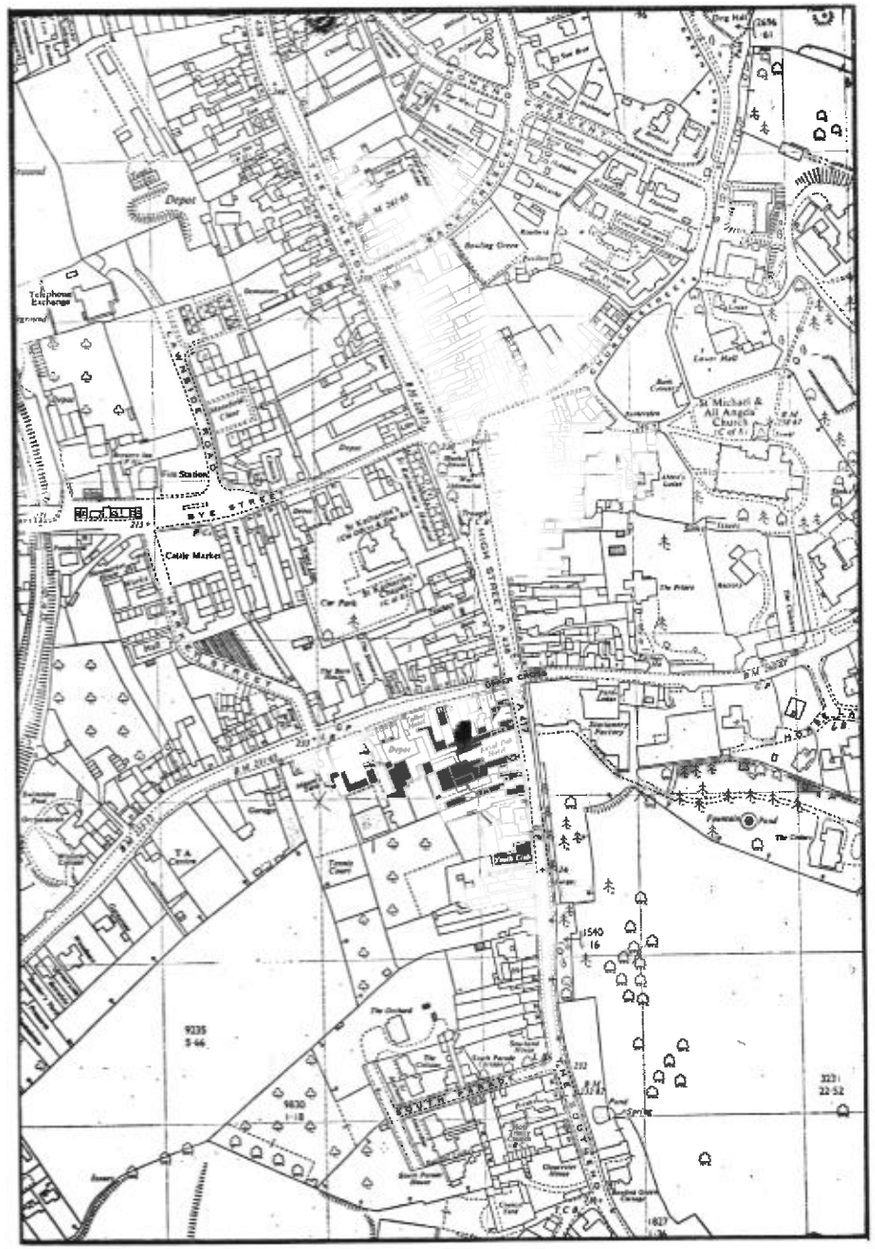
No indication of street is given for the remaining 67 tenancies.

These figures will be related to the existing ground plan and the details shown on the maps of the early 19th century in an attempt to build up a picture of the town in the late 13th century. It may then be possible to suggest the siting of the 67 tenancies not allocated to any of the principal streets.

(i) *Southende*

The 20 persons named, most of them holding one burgage, would all have lived on the west side of the street.[52] This was because the boundary of Ledbury Park ran along the east side of the Southend. According to M. G. Watkins, the bishop's palace or hall "stood on the south side of the church but had long been swept away. Perhaps it now forms part of Ledbury House, built 1590".[53] If this is the case, and the subject will be referred to again below, then Ledbury Park is part of the ancient episcopal Denzein Park which linked up with the bishop's manors at Eastnor and Colwall with its Chase.[54] The very fact that the east side of the Southend was never granted out for building purposes is strong if indirect evidence in support of the contention. Even today, except for Ledbury House itself, the garden wall of the Park is not broken by building until one gets to a point almost opposite Mabel's Furlong Lane. Similarly, until very recently the south side of the Worcester Road was undeveloped.

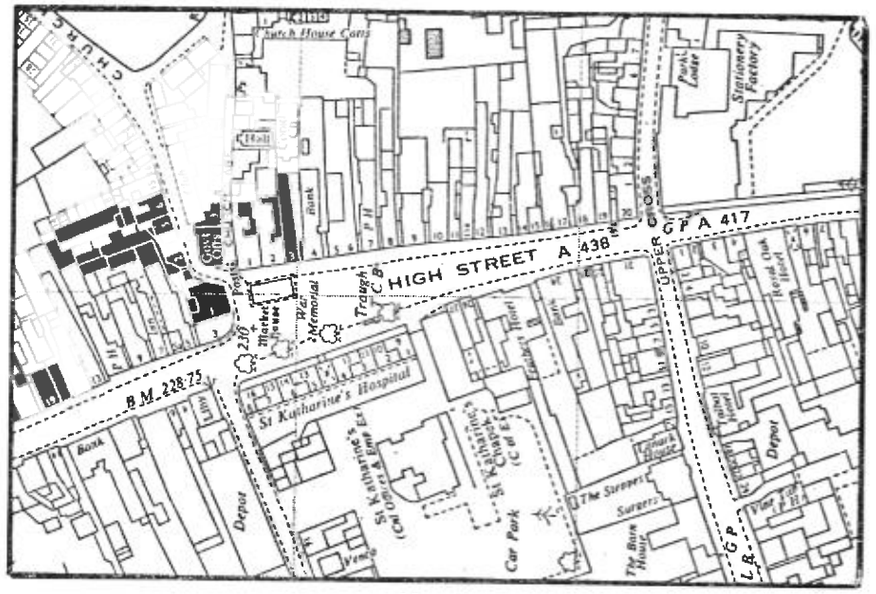
How far did the 20 burgages stretch along the west side of Southend? If one follows the present street numbering indicated on the current 25in. O.S. plan (Map 5) to no. 20 this takes us from the Upper Cross about 2/3 of the way to Mabel's Furlong Lane. The Enclosure map shows, however, that in 1816 Southend was only built up for $\frac{1}{3}$ of the distance to that lane. As there is no good reason to doubt the accuracy of that map it would seem that the development of Southend came to a halt at the end of the 13th century and was not recommenced for 500 years.



MAP 5

Current 25in. O.S. plan of Ledbury, 1966. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

(Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, Crown Copyright reserved.)



MAP 5a

Detail of High Street, Middletown, from map 5 showing the long and narrow medieval burgage plots running at right-angles to the market place.
Compare with pl. V and see page 23.

(ii) *Newestrete*

The name suggests quite distinctly a secondary development within the borough. Its situation at right-angles to the main axis of the town, Southend-High Street-Homend, gives some support to this. Although it was called the New Street in the *Red Book* it must, in fact, have been established some time before 1232 for one of the three burgages given in that year by Bishop Hugh Foliot to the hospital of St. Katherine was described as "*unum burgagium in novo vico quod emimus de Robert Stannings*".[55] New Street, Bromyard, may well be a similar case of secondary development.

The *Red Book* lists 32 tenants of the bishop in this street.[56] If we accept the built up area on the Enclosure map as an accurate statement of the position in 1816 then the burgages would not have extended further than Linden House on the south side of the street (Map 5) but it is difficult to determine whether New Street was built up only as far as Lanark House or beyond Market Street and the Ring of Bells. A careful examination of the Steppes and the Barn House might throw some light on this. Are there any traces of earlier building or are they all of one date?

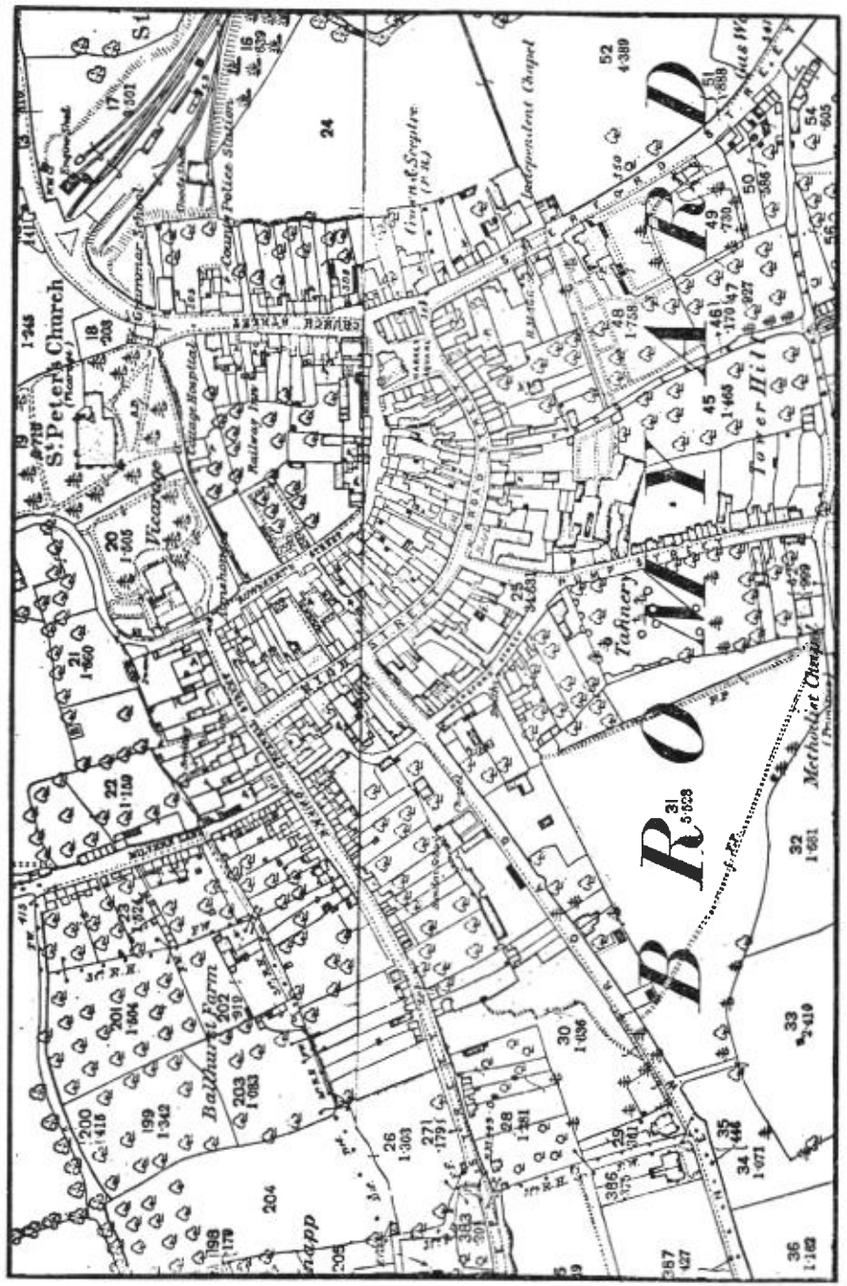
(iii) *Middeltone, the stalls, the Butchers' Row and the Shop Row*

Although the name has now totally disappeared both its position in the survey, between Southend and the Homend, and the number of tenancies make it clear that this was High Street.[57] In 1462 there was a grant of "*totum statum et terminum meam quod habeo in schopa situata in villa de Ledebury in alto vico.*"[58] This is the earliest reference to the new name, High Street, I have encountered.

Middletown was the chief market place of Ledbury. At the entry to Southend stood the Upper Cross, at the entry to the Homend stood the Lower Cross. The grant of 1462 above and a number of others make it clear that, like High Town in Hereford during the Middle Ages, it was filled at first with temporary stalls but these were gradually replaced by more and more permanent structures. In the 13th century they were termed *seldae*, by the 14th century they were called *schopa*. The Market Hall was erected in the 17th century on the site of a row of such shops.[59] There was at least one other and longer island of shops near the present drinking trough. This was the Butchers' Row (pl. II-V). It was shown quite clearly on the Enclosure map of 1816, the plan of 1824 and Gibbs' plan of 1831. All but three of these shops and houses were removed by the Trustees under the Ledbury Improvement Act of 1835.[60] The three then remaining belonged to the St. Katherine's Hospital estate and were eventually removed by the hospital trustees by 1840. The alleyway, called the Cathol, which separated them from the hospital was so narrow as to render its almshouses "dark, confined and unwholesome".[61]

Initially one would assume that as there were only 26 tenants in *Middeltone* this could not be High Street, that the number of tenancies mentioned was too small for the total frontage of the east and west sides of High Street. In fact as the *Red Book*, under the entry *Middeltone*, refers to the buildings along the High Street and does not include any of the stalls which have been within the market place the problem is resolved for St. Katherine's Hospital was founded, or possibly refounded, by Bishop Hugh Foliot in 1232, half a century before the *Red Book* was compiled.[62] Even today the buildings occupy almost half of one side of the market place and the High Street is only numbered up to 27 (Map 5).

We have already noted that the *Red Book* refers to tenants holding 33 stalls or *seldae*. Although the name of the street in which they were situated is not given it is clear that they were in this the wide and central market place. The stalls must have been small if they were all situated here but it is possible that the market place was somewhat larger for the projecting north-east corner of the Homend is out of alignment with both Church Street and Bye Street and may well represent a subsequent encroachment (Map 4 and 5, pl. II and IV).[63] Something very similar is found at Bromyard where the 47½ stalls were accommodated in a much smaller market place than at Ledbury. This was called simply *Seldae*, the Stalls.[64] It has been suggested that this Bromyard market place may have been considerably larger; that the whole of the block of buildings on the north side of Broad Street, between a continuation northwards of Frog Lane and the present western side of the market place, was also subsequent encroachment (Map 6).[65]



MAP 6
1st ed. 25in. O.S. plan of Bromyard, 1866. (½)

To return to Ledbury, the *Red Book* mentions "*v shomeles*", that is shambles or slaughterhouses, usually called *macello* in documents of the period. They immediately precede entries for 14 "*seldae macetr*", stalls of fleshmongers or victuallers.[66] It is most likely, therefore, that these were on the site of what was later termed the Butchers' Row, adjacent to St. Katherine's Hospital. There were also a number of references to a Shop Row. A lease of 1370 refers to "*unam schopam in vico vocato Shopperewe*" at a rent of 10/- a year.[67] A grant of 1402 concerns certain lands and tenements including "*unam Schopam in Ledebury in vico Schoparum*".[68] This was in all probability the second free-standing row; that which was pulled down at the beginning of the 17th century to make way for the Market Hall.[69]

(iv) *Homende*

By far the largest number of holdings were in Homend, 78 in all.[70] The street began at the Lower Cross where it joined Middletown. The Enclosure map of 1816 shows the east side of the Homend built up almost as far as the land on which the Infants' School now stands and the west side built up just beyond the Fox Inn. If one is prepared to assume that there were almost an equal number of burgages on both sides of the street then they would have extended twice as far down both sides of the Homend as they extended down the west side of Southend, for there were four times as many burgages in the Homend as there were in Southend. If one can accept these assumptions then the Homend would have been built at least as far as the Fox but certainly no further than Belle Orchard where there is a distinct curve in the road. The Homend between Lower Cross and Belle Orchard is quite straight (Maps 1-5).

(v) *Bysshopestrete*

There were 56 tenants in *Bysshopestrete*, now called Bye Street.[71] It is, therefore, the second largest street in the town. On both the plan of 1824 and Gibbs' plan of 1831 it is labelled Bishop's Street, yet it is referred to in the text of both the guide books by the new name. In Hereford, where the Bishopstreet of 1264 seems to have been referred to indifferently in the 16th and 17th centuries as Bishopsgate Street and Bye Street, through the wisdom of the city fathers and a rare stroke of the Victorian imagination the name disappeared altogether, in favour of Commercial Street, in 1855.[72] At Ledbury there are a number of references, at dates much later than the *Red Book*, to the street by its old name. In 1418 *unum tenementum edificatum in le Byschopusstret* was granted to Roger Holdere and his wife Joanna.[73] There was a grant in 1494 of a burgage and a half "*in vico vocato Biscopstret, et extendit se a via regia usque ad terram domini episcopi*".[74] An undated grant of half a burgage refers to the street as "*vicum episcopi*".[75]

Bishop Street becomes wider at its western end. The Enclosure map of 1816 and the 1824 plan both show not only a considerable number of small buildings in a series of islands down the middle of the road but also a highly irregular development of the two sides of the street. These features and its size at the end of the 13th century suggests strongly the early establishment of a secondary market area here. A few of the buildings in the road yet remain, between the cattle market and the railway bridge.

Unfortunately the street has witnessed more demolition than any of the other medieval streets of Ledbury. One can trace the process quite clearly on the various editions of the 25in. Ordnance Survey plans.

The 1824 plan also shows a stream running down the middle of Bye Street and gives us a clue as to the development of this secondary market area—drainage. This stream flowed into Bishop Street from the Upper Court, or Upper Hall, for a grant by Richard le Wyte of Ledbuy to William de Notrone and Alice his wife, for two marks of sterling of "*totum terram quam emi de Simone de Longe, jacentem in vico ecclesiali de Ledebury*" refers to the land as "*inter domum Ricardi de Longe et rivulum fluentem de superiori aula . . . in longitudine a giardino inferioris aule usque ad regalem viam*".[76] The cattle market which this stream served has been moved merely from the middle to one side of Bishop Street.[77] The tannery, which stood at the corner of Bishop Street and the Homend, by the Lower Cross, was taken down in 1892 to make room for the Barrett Browning Memorial Institute and Clock Tower.

Even in the late 19th century visitors' attention was drawn to the "many ancient houses" in Bye Street.[78] One of these was referred to as "the Bishop's Palace". The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments goes on to describe it as a "14th-century hall of four bays, or three bays and kitchen wing". This was destroyed subsequent to the drawing up of the Commission's Inventory (pl. I). This was not the Bishop's Palace but got its name by association for, as it was pointed out in 1890, "a small fragment of the structure may yet be seen in the wall of a cottage in Bye Street".[79]

(vi) *The Bishop's Palace*

The bishops of Hereford certainly continued to reside at their Ledbury palace until at least the end of the 13th century. Richard de Swinfield, bishop of Hereford 1282-1317, preferred this to his other town residences although Whitbourne, Prestbury and Sugwas already stood out as the most-favoured manor houses.[80] In 1356 it was decided to carry through a measure of rationalisation of the episcopal residences. Only the palaces in London and Hereford and the five manor houses of Sugwas, Prestbury, Whitbourne, Bishop's Castle and Bosbury were retained.[81] All the others including Ledbury, Bromyard and Ross were abandoned as residences. Leland writing in the years 1535-43 tells us that "there was a faire mansion place for the bysshope at Ledbyri . . . This hous is all in ruyne".[82] The present Ledbury House was built 50 years later, in 1590.

Bromyard, Ledbury and Ross all owed their origins as boroughs to their favoured position at the gates of a major ecclesiastical settlement. This always was, and still is, the dominant factor in their ground plan. At Bromyard and Ross the bishop's palace was adjacent to what is now the churchyard but what was then an important ecclesiastical complex.[83] At Bromyard there was not only the parish church and the bishop's palace on the one site but also the houses of the three portionists. The counterpart at Ledbury included the parish church and the houses of the two portionists, that is Upper Hall, or Over Court, and Lower Hall, or Nether Court. These form a compact ecclesiastical complex similar to those at Bromyard and Ross. All three

are on the higher ground with the town lying below. These factors, together with the undeveloped character of the east side of the Southend make it certain that the palace was here as Watkins said standing on the south side of the church.

(vii) *Village nucleus and seigneurial borough: Church Lane and Back Lane*

This then was the general pattern of the buildings and streets of Ledbury. The Middletown market place, with its stalls or shops, St. Katherine's Hospital and later the Shop and Butcher's Row, was the centre from which the four other streets spread to the north, south and west. To the east, above and slightly away from the noise, the smell and the bustle of the town, were the parish church of St. Michael, recently described as the premiere parish church of the county, the Upper and Lower Hall and adjacent to them the bishop's palace, park and chase; "and a pece of Malvern is the bysshops, fro the crest of the hill, as it aperith by a diche".[84]

What was the link between these two elements? Today Church Lane and Back Lane join the two but there is no mention of them in the *Red Book*. However, we have noted above the grant of a plot of land lying next to the house of Richard Long "*in vico ecclesiali de Ledebury*". that is Church Lane.[85] A release of 1453 refers to a tenement in Ledbury denezyn "*in vico vocato Halle Ende*", that is Back Lane, which gave access to both the Lower and Upper Halls.[86] It is in these two lanes, between town and church, that one would find the 33 tenants of burgages listed in the *Red Book* but not assigned to any street.[87] These lanes in all probability represent the village nucleus from which the town was developed at the time of the first charter.

ECONOMIC LIFE

Situated on one of the principal routes of the county, at a major cross-roads, adjacent to an important ecclesiastical centre and under the protection of the bishop, the attractiveness of the town to merchants and traders is reflected in its growth and size. Some idea of the trades carried on can be derived from the lists of the bishop's tenants. These give Christian name and surname. Many of the latter are prefixed by *le* and an occupation. It is not unreasonable to suggest that even if this is not necessarily the occupation of the burgess named it may well be the occupation of his father or grandfather.[88] These names included:

Mercers	Plumber (*Plumiber*)
Farriers or Horse-leeches (*Mareschalle*)	Goldsmith (*Aurifaber*)
Millers (*Molendinarius*)	Fuller (*Folur*)
Weavers (*le Webbe*)	Skinner (*Pelliparius*)
Baker (*Pistor*)	Cooper (*Cupere*)[89]

This is a subject which it is hoped can be dealt with in more detail at a later date but from the brief list above it can be seen how Ledbury acted as a service centre for the countryside around it. Food, textiles, animals and metal-working were the principal concerns of the burgesses, but there was room for some luxury as indicated by the presence of the goldsmith.

The windmill, the watermill and the *furnus* or oven have already been mentioned. Many boroughs had special provisions in their charters concerning suit of mill and oven. There the burgesses were obliged to grind their corn at the lord's mill for which a multure, usually a twentieth measure of the grain, had to be paid. In some places it was higher; at Altrincham, *c.* 1290, it was 1/18, at Stockport, *c.* 1260, 1/16 and at Morpeth, 1239-66, it was as high as 1/13.[90] We do not know what provision there was at Ledbury but the annual value of the two mills was considerable, £4, more than one-third of the total sum received in rents from the burgages. The provisions in the borough charters relating to ovens were not usually so onerous. The charter of Bakewell is representative. "Any burgess may lawfully construct for himself, on his own ground and hold freely when made, an oven in which he may bake bread, so long as he does not sell such bread".[91] The Ledbury oven mentioned in the *Red Book* would, therefore, have been used not for private but for commercial purposes.

CONCLUSION: POPULATION AND SIZE OF THE BISHOP'S BOROUGHS

Such is the picture of Ledbury at the end of the 13th century which can be drawn from the details in the *Red Book*. How far is Ledbury typical of the five episcopal boroughs? A comparison between the five boroughs, from the point of view of population, can be made quite simply, in relative terms. This is shown in Table I. An indication of their population in absolute terms is not so simple but it is attempted in Table II.

Table I: The relative size of the boroughs of the bishop of Hereford at the end of the 13th century

(a) Value of the boroughs in the Red Book

	Ross	Bromyard	Ledbury	Prestbury	Bishop's Castle
Pleas, profits and tolls as estimated by jury	£5	£13.0.0	£12.10.0		
Fair		£1. 0.0			
Mills		Water	£2.13.4		
		Wind	£1. 6.8		
			£4. 0.0		
Rents	£5.15.?	£9. 1.6½	£11. 0.7½		
Total Value	£10.15.?	£23.1.6½	£27.10.7½		
(b) Tenancies					
(i) Tenancies other than (ii)	96	229	248	30	46
(ii) Tenants of *seldae*	9	26	34		
Total of (i) and (ii)	105	255	282	30	46

Table II: Population of the boroughs of the bishops of Hereford in the late 13th century

	Ross	Bromyard	Ledbury
(i) x 3.5	336	801.5	868
(i) x 4.5	432	1030.5	1116
(i) x 5	480	1145	1240
(i) + (ii) x 3.5	367.5	892.5	987
(i) + (ii) x 4.5	472.5	1147.5	1269
(i) + (ii) x 5	525	1275	1410

(i) Tenancies other than of *seldae* (ii) Tenants of *seldae*

This second table requires some explanation. The *Red Book* gives us the names of the bishop's tenants in his five boroughs. It is assumed that each of these was the head of a household. Some of the names appear more than once. In this case a leaseholder or some other sub-tenancy with household, is assumed. If the *seldae* were not temporary market stalls but more permanent structures each of their tenants would represent a further resident household in the town but the stages in the development from temporary stall to permanent structure, such as existed quite certainly in the 16th and 17th centuries, are difficult to establish and will vary from town to town.[92] For this reason the totals are given both with and without the tenants of the *seldae*.

J. C. Russell suggested in 1948 that the average number of persons in the medieval household, or multiplier as it is usually called, was 3.5 not 5 as was previously held.[93] More recent work has shown that Professor Russell's multiplier is too low and that 4.5 or even 5 is a more satisfactory figure.[94] In particular Russell took the household as the family unit of husband, wife and children, but the urban household with which we are dealing in most cases would have been larger than the immediate family of the tenant. A significant proportion of households would have had servants and apprentices. It should also be remembered that our figures of households do not take into account all the ecclesiastics in the town and their servants. The acceptance of the higher multiplier, 4.5 or 5, would seem, therefore, to be amply justified in Table II.

Table III: Population of the three boroughs from the *Census reports*, 1801-1861

	Ross				Bromyard				Ledbury			
	Borough		Foreign		Township		Parish		Township		Parish	
	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II
1801		2347			983		2392				3058	
1811		2261			1101		2594				3191	
1821	1977		980		1227		2767				3476	
1831	2045		1033		1434		3051				3909	
1841	2523	468	1250	234	1217*	258	2927				4591	
1851	2674	517	1343	250	1394	279	3093	626	3027	584	4624	896
1861	2718	521	1628	344	1385	280	2995	616			5598	1039

I Population total II Number of inhabited houses

* B. H. Babbage, *Report to the General Board of Health* (1850), attributes this decline to the withdrawal of other parishes' paupers from Bromyard.

Table III gives the population of the parish, and where available the borough or township, of Ross, Bromyard and Ledbury from the *Census reports* of 1801-61.[95] At Ross there are separate totals for borough and foreign only from 1821. At Ledbury there are separate figures for the township, as opposed to the whole parish, only from 1851. By establishing a ratio between the two sets of figures—of 2:1 at Ross and 2:3 at Ledbury—we can then project the later totals for borough and township backwards to obtain working estimates of the 1801 population in Ross borough of about 1,600 and in Ledbury township of about 2,000.

Although our survey was drawn up in the years immediately prior to the great famine of 1317-19, which represents the peak of medieval population growth, the facts that emerge from a comparison of Tables I, II and III are still remarkable. It certainly helps us to justify the method adopted above of working backwards from the topography of the early 19th century to establish that of the late 13th century. For we can see quite clearly from these Tables how little the three boroughs changed in terms of total population in the 500 years between the *Red Book* and the first *Census report*. The greatest increase took place in what had been the smallest of the three boroughs, Ross. There a change in terms of x3 or x4 was registered. At Ledbury the population doubled, at the very maximum, but it is more likely to have increased only by about 40%. At Bromyard one is forced to the conclusion that the population was less, possibly by 20%. It is hoped that it may be possible to go into the reasons for the difference in growth between Ross on the one hand, and Ledbury and Bromyard on the other, at a later date. Certainly Ledbury and Bromyard mirrored faithfully the countryside they served, of which it has been said that "it is doubtful whether (the) English rural population came up to its thirteenth century peak until the very eve of the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century".[96]

REFERENCES

1 H. P. R. Finberg, *Gloucestershire Studies* (1957), 64 refers to this as "a period which may be justly termed the golden age of borough-making in England".

2 A. Ballard and J. Tait, *British borough charters, 1216-1307* (1923), liv-lxxxviii.

3 A. T. Bannister, *History of Ewias Harold* (1902), Note R especially 117-120. M. Beresford, *New towns of the Middle Ages* (1967), 450-451 gives "*c.* 1140" as the date of the elevation of Weobley village to a borough. The creation of a borough at Weobley is not mentioned by W. E. Wightman in *The Lacy family in England and Normandy, 1066-1194* (1966) although he devoted one chapter to the creation of the honour of Weobley and another to the de Lacy family in Herefordshire.

4 Beresford, *New towns*, ch. 3 '*Novum Forum*: or, The Profit from a New Town' discusses this matter in detail. Military and defence considerations operated in only a very few cases in England after the Norman Conquest and those were in the Northern and Welsh marches. See F. Noble, 'Medieval boroughs of West Herefordshire', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXVIII (1964), 62-70.

5 See Table 1(a) and pages 12-13 below for the 'profit' the bishops of Hereford derived from their boroughs.

6 A. Ballard, *British borough charters, 1042-1216* (1913), xci. Beresford, *New Towns* deals fully with the second category, of planted boroughs, in England, Wales and Gascony.

7 The ground plan of Bishop's Castle is, in essentials, similar to that of Weobley. The main street is the axis between the castle, on high ground, and the parish church below it. There was, however, a considerable difference between the respective dates of foundation.

8 According to the Domesday Book the manors of Bromyard, Ledbury, Ross and Prestbury all belonged to the church of Hereford in the time of King Edward the Confessor. Bromyard was associated with the bishop of Hereford as early as 840. *Charters and records of Hereford Cathedral*, ed. W. W. Capes (1908), 1.
According to Walter Map, *de Nugis Curialium*, trans. M. R. James (Cymmrodorion Record Series, IX) (1923), 237 the *vill* of Ross was given to the bishop of Hereford by King Edmund Ironside in 1016. Prestbury was a possession of the bishops of Hereford at a very early date, by 803 the '*monasteria*' there and at Beckford were described as "*olim in antiquis diebus ad Herefordensem ecclesiam praestita fuerunt*". *Councils and ecclesiastical documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs (1871), III, 544 and H. P. R. Finberg, *Lucerna* (1964), 158.

9 M. Weinbaum, *The incorporation of boroughs* (1937), 21. The seal "is in fact the frequent actual sign of corporateness". Bishop's Castle was the only one of the five Hereford episcopal boroughs to achieve the distinction of corporate status. The charter of incorporation was granted by Elizabeth I in 1573. F. Lavender, 'The charters of the borough of Bishop's Castle', *Trans. Shropshire Archaeol. Soc.*, LIII (1950), 255-256 and Weinbaum, *Incorporation of boroughs*, 127.

10 *Return of the names of every member returned to serve in each Parliament*, I (Parliamentary papers, 1878), I, 4 and 19 also W. R. Williams, *Parliamentary history of the county of Hereford, 1213-1896* (1896), 154.
For the re-enfranchisement of Bishop's Castle see J. E. Neale, *The Elizabethan House of Commons* (1963), 134 *et seq.*, also H. T. Weyman, 'Members of parliament for Bishop's Castle', *Trans. Shropshire Archaeol. Soc.*, 2S., X (1898), 33-68.

11 J. F. Willard, 'Taxation boroughs and parliamentary boroughs', in *Historical essays in honour of James Tait* (1933), 417-435. In the appendix he shows that only three Herefordshire boroughs were charged at the higher rate in the subsidies taken in the years between 1294 and 1336. They were Hereford, Leominster and Weobley.

12 Ballard and Tait, *British borough charters*, liv. Also J. Tait, *The medieval English borough* (1936), 211. "In the thirteenth century as in the twelfth any place, large or small, old or new, royal or mesne, which had the specific burgage tenure could be described as a borough or free borough . . . but beyond this there were wide differences in the privileges enjoyed by them."

13 M. W. Hemmeon, *Burgage tenure in medieval England* (1914), 92-93.
"The term burgage was, of course, applied first to land when a borough was created by charter where no town existed before, . . . When a house was built on an allotment of land it too was a burgage and both were called burgage." Eventually, however, "a burgage was almost anything 'holden in free burgage' on which or in which it was possible to live, and which in the older boroughs might be anything between and including the cellar and the attic."
Tait, *The medieval English borough*, 99 n. 7 indicates the development of the term even more precisely. "*Burgagium* seems to have developed its several meanings in the following order: (1) Tenure in a *bourg* or borough; (2) the area over which the tenure extended, the *bourg* or borough in a topographical sense; (3) the normal tenement in it; (4) the rent of the tenement."

14 In the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral are a considerable number of grants and other documents relating to St. Katherine's Hospital, Ledbury. A descriptive catalogue of some of these grants, leases etc., was published by A. T. Bannister in *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1923), 231-253. Each of these was given a separate number in the descriptive catalogue. References below are to these numbers, the grant of 1443 is no. 92, followed by the reference number in the Dean and Chapter Archives.

15 H. P. R. Finberg, 'The boroughs of Devon', *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, XXIV (1951), 203-209 and Finberg, *Gloucestershire Studies*, 69.

16 E. M. Carus-Wilson, 'The first half-century of the borough of Stratford-upon-Avon', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2S., XVIII (Aug. 1965), 46-63.

17 A royal charter was granted "to Reginald de Grey, and his heirs, of a weekly market . . . at his manor of Wilton and of a yearly fair there on the vigil, the feast and the morrow of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist" in 1257. *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, I (1903), 477. Despite the protection of Wilton Castle and the proximity of the important Wye crossing the de Grey attempt to esablish a rival borough to that of the bishop of Hereford, at Ross, failed.
Ploughfield was at Preston-on-Wye. It represents an attempt by the canons of Hereford to establish a borough of their own. In 1253 there was a royal "grant to the dean and chapter of a weekly market on Friday at Canons' Preston and of a yearly fair there on the vigil and feast of St. Lawrence and two days following . . ." *Charter Rolls*, I, 435. In an agreement of 1262 the canons' merchants of Preston, as well as the bishop's merchants of Bromyard, Ledbury and Ross, were allowed to trade free of toll in the city of Hereford. *Register of Thomas de Cantilupe*, ed. R. G. Griffiths (Cantilupe Society, 1906), 92. In 1273 the bailiff's accounts

were rendered for what is described as "*Burgus de Ploufeld*"—rents 41s. 6d.; pleas and perquisites of the court 8s. 6d.; 9s. 10½d. from the fair; tolls 6s. 10d. annually. Capes, *Charters and records*, 137; and Dean and Chapter Archives, R2. This should be compared with the value of the bishop's boroughs given in Table 1(a), page 28.

18 "Two features only can be predicated of every borough, the application of burgage tenure to all tenements within its borders; and the possession of a law court with jurisdiction over all the inhabitants of these tenements." A. Ballard, *The English borough in the twelfth century* (1914), 30.

19 The *Red Book* (see note 22 below), pa. 68 and 77; 88 and 97; 119 and 113.

20 The sense of identity found clear expression in the jealous maintenance of the integrity of the borough boundaries. These remained clearly defined until the Local Government Act of 1888 (51 and 52 Vict., c.41). It is interesting to note in this connection that the boundaries of the Ross borough were indicated on the 1st ed. of the 25in. O.S. plan of the northern part of the town (Herefordshire LI, 4) which was published in 1888 but they did not appear on the sheet which covers the southern half of the town (Herefordshire LI, 8) published a year later, in 1889.

21 According to Bannister (see note 23 below) "the rentals seem to have been written at different times" some sections being earlier than 1270 and others later than 1288 "but it is likely that all the returns are based on those of earlier date."

22 Hereford County Record Office, HE/1/133677. Referred to below by the title, the *Red Book*.

23 A. T. Bannister, 'A transcript of the Red Book', in *Camden Miscellany* XV, Camden Society, 3S., XLI (1929), 1-36.

24 *Red Book*, pa. 122-123.

25 *Ibid.*, pa. 185-187.

26 *Ibid.*, pa. 171-172. Finberg, *Gloucestershire Studies*, 70 (following Bannister, *Transcript*, 25?) is incorrect when he states that the bishops of Hereford demanded three shillings yearly rent from their burgesses of Prestbury.

27 C. T. Martin, *The record interpreter* (1949) gives "a shop; a stall; a shed". Carus-Wilson, *Stratford*, 57 indicates that, in 1251-52, there were both *solda* and *stalla* in that borough. For the latter the rent was from 4d. to 1/-, but no more than 2d. was charged for the stalls. "Whatever the precise meaning of the word *solda* at this time, it clearly implied something more substantial than a mere moveable stall or the site on which one could be erected. Such stalls would be used not only by Stratford people but by outside folk—Bracton's *mercatores stallati*, who, when they came to the market, needed to set out their wares on a stand, unlike the dealers in sheep and cattle, corn and wool."

28 Bannister, *Catalogue*, nos. 8 and 69. Hereford Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Archives, A 3728 and A 3320.

29 *Red Book*, pa. 68.

30 *Ibid.*, pa. 120.

31 Bannister, *Catalogue*, no. 51. Dean and Chapter Archives, A 3300.

32 *Red Book*, pa. 132.

33 *Ibid.*, pa. 101.

34 *Ibid.*, pa. 133.

35 *Ibid.*, pa. 185 and 171.

36 This has now been published—*Bromyard: a local history*, ed. J. Hillaby and E. Pearson (Bromyard, 1970). Ch. 3 'Manor and manor foreign', ch. 4 'Borough and town', ch. 5 'Market and fairs' by Phyllis Williams are the relevant sections. It is hoped that another research group, which has now been formed, will be able to analyse the entries for Ross borough and foreign in detail.

37 These are analysed in Ballard and Tait, *British borough charters*.

38 Sir William Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, 2nd ed. rev. augmented and continued by W. Thomas, II (1730), 680. Carus-Wilson, *Stratford*, comments on this foundation charter.

39 M. R. G. Conzen, 'Alnwick, Northumberland: a study in town-plan analysis', *Trans. and papers, Institute of British Geographers*, XXVII (1960), 32.

40 Beresford, *New towns*, 508.

41 Ballard and Tait, *British borough charters*, 52.

42 Ballard, *British borough charters*, 51.

43 Ballard and Tait, *British borough charters*, 52.

44 *Ibid.*, 62.

45 The alleways giving rear access to medieval burgage plots have been commented upon by a number of writers. Developments in Leeds are not untypical of those medieval boroughs which experienced the full effects of rapid expansion during the industrial revolution period. Beresford, *New towns*, 163 "a remarkable survival of these long, narrow (burgage) plots is in the properties that line both sides of the market place (of Briggate) that Maurice Paynel laid out in Leeds in 1207. Many of the burgage houses (later) became inns, and the innyards stretched the full length of the narrow plots, as they still do; a few have footpath rights-of-way through them; and several were taken for the Victorian and Edwardian shopping arcades." The elucidation of the early 13th-century ground plan of Leeds was the work of G. Woledge, 'The medieval borough of Leeds', *Thoresby Society Publications*, XXXVII (1945), 280-309. In the 19th century the alleyways were further developed "room for the expanding population was found by building both residential and commercial accommodation in what had been gardens or *backsides* of the long narrow thirteenth-century burgage plots, access being obtained by tunnels such as those that lead to some of the innyards that occupy these plots today. These yards became notorious for over-crowding and a high death rate. Sanitary reformers of the mid-nineteenth century gave national publicity to these crowded tenement yards and conditions in the Boot and Shoe Yard were often cited" where "in 1839 there were thirty-four (cottages) sheltering 340 persons." M. W. Beresford, 'Prosperity streets and others', in *Leeds and its region*, ed. M. W. Beresford and G. R. J. Jones (1967), 189.

46 Conzen, *Alnwick*, 31-34, makes just such a detailed calculation of the original burgage frontage. This was possible because of the existence of a large scale plan of the borough of 1774. "The 1:528 Ordnance map proves to be less useful as the building development between 1774 and 1851 had already interfered too much with the frontages." Conzen concludes from his analysis of this 1774 plan that "in Alnwick 28-32 feet was the original standard of burgage frontage . . . The smallest measurements recorded in Alnwick, 14 feet and 16 feet, are the halves of the two prominent units. They represent the common lower limit of 'bay' widths in earlier construction. A standard frontage of 28-32 feet therefore seems to imply a row house occupying the head of a standard burgage normally formed a building unit of two structural bays."

47 *Charters and records*, ed. Capes, 69.

48 The foundation charter of Sherborne, Dorset, of 1227-28, divided the borough into three clearly-defined districts each with burgages of different area and rent charge. The "burgages are distributed into three parts: the first part is on the southern side of the way from the chapel of St. Thomas to the castle, where a full burgage contains in length 20 perches and in breadth 4 perches: and he who holds such a burgage shall pay to us and our successors 12d. a year. The second part is on the northern side of the aforesaid way where a full burgage contains in length 24 perches and in breadth 4 perches, and whoever holds such a burgage shall pay yearly 18d. to us and our successors . . . The third part is that which extends from the chapel of St. Thomas to our barn, where a burgage contains in length 2 perches and in breadth 2 perches, and whoever holds such a burgage shall pay 8d. a year to us and our successors." Ballard and Tait, *British borough charters*, 54-55.

49 *Red Book*, pa. 98.

50 *Ibid.*, pa. 99-100. The fragmentation of burgages continued into the 17th and 18th centuries—sometimes for electoral purposes. See J. Hillaby, 'The parliamentary borough of Weobley, 1628-1708', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXIX (1967), 138.

51 Can one assume that a half burgage, in the Hereford episcopal boroughs, necessarily had half the street frontage of full burgage? Could it not be a question of position in the town in relation to the market place? Conzen showed, note 46 above, that at Alnwick there was a frontage relationship of 32/28 feet for a whole to 16/14 feet for a half burgage, and related this to two and one 'bay' structural units. This represents division subsequent to foundation but in the Sherborne foundation charter, note 48 above, there is not a direct relationship between burgage area and rental in the three districts. It is hoped that a detailed survey of the existing ground plots may help to resolve this question.

52 *Red Book*, pa. 119-120.

53 M. G. Watkins, *Collections towards the history and antiquities of the county of Hereford in continuation of Duncumb's history, Hundred of Radlow* (1902), 81.

54 'A roll of the household expenses of Richard de Swinfield, bishop of Hereford, 1289-1290', ed. J. Webb, *Camden Society*, Old Series, LXII (1855), cvii, clxvi-clxviii.

55 *Charters and records*, ed. Capes, 69.

56 *Red Book*, pa. 120-121.

57 *Ibid.*, pa. 122-123.

58 Bannister, *Catalogue*, no. 97. Dean and Chapter Archives, A 3747.

59 "Until 1617 a row of shops stood on the site of the Market House." E. F. Tilley, *Ledbury, a concise guide for visitors* (1898?).

60 "That unsightly row of houses, called the Butchers' Row, in the centre of the town, is by the spirited efforts of the inhabitants (whose good taste has led them to unite in a contribution to raise a fund to purchase and take down the obstacle), in fair prospect of removal. The plan adopted is that of a weekly subscription, of such small sums as may be entered into by almost every inhabitant, though certainly not restricting the liberality of the more opulent classes." By November 1831 the first year's contributions, £247 14s. 4d., had been paid

towards the cost of the first house, £353 18s. 0d. It was not long after that "the deformity of the town, a dirty stack of buildings in the centre . . . to the inconvenience and danger of travelling" was wholly removed. *Hints of old Ledbury by a native inhabitant* (1831), 123.

61 F. Parr, 'Historical notes on old Ledbury,' *Hereford Times*, 10 January-24 May 1884.

62 *Munimenta hospitalis de Ledbury. Confirmacio episcopi hospitalis de Ledbury. Register of Richard de Swinfield*, ed. W. W. Capes (Cantilupe Society, 1906), 51-53.

63 Note in Plates II and IV how the brick facade has been added to Spencer's shop only on the Homend in order to bring together the two building lines.

64 *Red Book*, pa. 100.

65 P. Williams, 'Borough and town' in *Bromyard*, ed. Hillaby and Pearson, 43.

66 *Red Book*, pa. 133.

67 Bannister, *Catalogue*, no. 69. Dean and Chapter Archives, A 3320.

68 *Ibid.*, no. 83. A 3733.

69 See note 59 above. Shop Rows were to be found in other towns. At St. Neots, in Huntingdonshire, the Shop Row is shown clearly on a "Particular survey of the Buildings, Yards, Gardens and Closes on the Site of the Old Priory. Taken by T. Bateman, 1757." Hunts. County Record Office.

70 *Red Book*, pa. 123-127.

71 *Red Book*, pa. 127-130.

72 J. W. Tonkin, 'Early street names of Hereford', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXVIII (1966), 239.

73 Bannister, *Catalogue*, no. 87. Dean and Chapter Archives, A 3737.

74 *Ibid.*, no. 98(a). A 3748.

75 *Ibid.*, no. 143. A 3691.

76 *Ibid.*, no. 151. A 3692.

77 The stream was culverted about 1830. "Add to these eminent acquisitions the negative improvements that have taken place among which may be mentioned the covering of the brook in Bye Street (heretofore such a disgusting nuisance) . . ." *Hints of old Ledbury*, 125.

78 *Ibid.*

79 Jakeman and Carver, *Directory and gazeteer of Herefordshire* (1st ed., 1890), 465.

80 "Of the several towns with which the bishop (Swinfield) was connected by residence, that of Ledbury, if his resort thither be taken as a symptom of it, was the one he most affected." 'Roll of Swinfield,' ed. Webb, cxiv.

81 *Register of Swinfield*, ed. Capes, 226-229.

82 John Leland, *Itinerary in England and Wales, 1535-43*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith (1964 Reprint), V, 184.

83 For the site of the bishop's palace at Bromyard see *Bromyard*, ed. Hillaby and Pearson, 11; for the site at Ross W. H. Cooke, *Collections towards the history and antiquities of the county of Hereford in continuation of Duncomb's History, Greytree hundred* (1892), 104.

84 Leland, *Itinerary*, V, 184.

85 See note 76 above.

86 Bannister, *Catalogue*, no. 96. Dean and Chapter Archives, A 3746.

87 *Red Book*, pa. 130-133.

88 Carus-Wilson, *Stratford*, 55. "At this date (1251-52) these surnames must almost always, if not unvariably, indicate the occupation of the burgess himself or at least that of one of his immediate forebears." The *Red Book* of Hereford has been dated between 1270 and 1288 but it is likely that it was based on returns of earlier date. The date of the Ledbury entries, therefore, are possibly only a decade or so later than those of the *Red Book of the bishops of Worcester* used by Prof. Carus-Wilson. See also R. H. Hilton, *A medieval society* (1966), 197-199. The entries for Bromyard are analysed by P. Williams in *Bromyard*, ed. Hillaby and Pearson, 40-41.

89 *Red Book*, pa. 119-133.

90 Ballard and Tait, *British borough charters*, 122-126.

91 *Ibid.*, lxxxi, 125-126. This was not always the case. At Leeds "*praefati vero burgenses in firmo meo consuetudinine furnere* (*in furno meo consuetudine furnare debent*?) the burgesses, aforesaid, shall bake in my oven according to custom." Maurice Paynel's charter of 1207. T. D. Whitaker, *Loidis and Elmete* (1816), 11. In 1341 the profit of the seignorial bake-house was £1 6s. 8d. and in 1374 Agnes Baxter paid 2/- a year for a license to bake bread in her own home. J. Le Patourel, 'Medieval Leeds, the medieval borough', *Thoresby Society Publications*, XLVI (1957), 17, 18. Agnes Baxter (Baker?) did not pay 2/- a year to the lord for the privilege of baking her own bread. As at Ledbury the oven was for commercial purposes. At Leeds, however, Agnes Baxter was supplementing the work of the lord's oven. There is no record in the *Red Book* of such a seignorial bake-house at Ledbury. It is interesting to note that the citizens of Leeds only rid themselves of this suit of oven in 1839 when £13,000 was paid to the lord of the manor. A. C. Price, *Story of Leeds* (1912), 12-13.

92 See note 27 above. Some of the tenants of *seldae* appear as tenants of burgages in the main streets. As they are in some cases paying rent for more than one burgage it cannot be assumed that the burgages were their residences and the *seldae* merely places of work. When any burgess appears more than once in the list of tenants one can only assume he has become a man of property and is leasing the other burgages. Thus the lease referred to in note 67 of a shop in the Shop Row in 1370 stipulates a rent of 10/- a year. In this case the small annual payment to the bishop has become what we would term a ground rent.

93 J. C. Russell, *British medieval population* (1948). Recently restated in J. C. Russell, 'The pre-plague population of England', *Journal of British Studies*, V (1966).

94 J. Krause, 'The medieval household, large or small?', *Econ. Hist. Review*, 2S., IX (1957), 420-432. H. E. Hallam, 'Some thirteenth century censuses', *Econ. Hist. Review*, 2S., X (1958), 340-361. J. C. Russell in 'Pre-plague population of England', *Journal of British Studies*, V (1966) defends his original position.

95 *Population tables. Numbers of the inhabitants in the years, 1801-1851* and *1851-1861*.

96 M. M. Postan, 'Medieval agrarian society in its prime. 7, England.' *Camb. Econ. History of Europe*, I (1966), 570.

A Roman Road from Mortimer's Cross to Clyro/Hay

By LORD RENNELL OF RODD

A Roman cross road and its military importance, from a point near Mortimer's Cross on Antonine Itinerary Iter XII (M.6.c.)[1] to the 'camp' (near M 53. b.) at Boatside Farm also known as the Hay or Clyro Gaer.

I

DURING the initial Roman occupation of the West Midlands of England and the Welsh March, main military bases were established at Gloucester before they were moved to Caerleon and at Wroxeter before the move to Chester. Iter XII and part of Iter XIII of the Antonine Itinerary (Margary's M 6 a.b.c.) ran from Gloucester to Wroxeter via Hereford/Kenchester and Leintwardine. It was formerly thought that Bravonium (Leintwardine) was only a posting station on the important north-south military line of communication: recent archaeological work has however shown that Bravonium as also the forts at Jay Lane and Buckton were military posts of some importance. The fort at Buckton near Coxall Knoll lies 1½ miles up the Teme valley on a probable route to Castell Collen/Llandrindod.[2] From Hereford/Kenchester another important road, Margary's M 63 a.b. ran up the Wye Valley passing close to Hay and Clyro where it crossed the river. Yet another, and possibly a later, road ran from Caerleon via Usk and Abergavenny to Leintwardine in the south, and from Wroxeter to Chester in the north to become the long enduring Iter XII[3] connecting the two great and long surviving legionary headquarters of Western Britain. As the penetration and conquest of Wales developed, important garrison forts were built, inter alia at Brecon and Castell Collen/Llandrindod[4] as a result of which inter-communication between the points mentioned became an obvious necessity.

There is evidence of a road from Llandrindod to Brecon: and there must have been a road from Leintwardine to Llandrindod. The notes which follow deal with a probable road connecting Iter XII with the middle and upper Wye Valley which would save a detour of two marches via Kenchester/Hereford. They agree with postulates of a militarily logical scheme of communications. The existence of such a cross road was shown conjecturally on a map which accompanies Dudley's paper in the centenary volume[5] of the Woolhope Club under the title "The Herefordshire area in the Roman Period". Although the conjectural road is qualified by Dudley's comment that the course of the road is uncertain the route which is described below and some local evidence satisfies the writer who has been engaged in following it yard by yard and leaves no doubt in his mind, not only that the conjecture is right but that the actual trace is too.

The trace of the road starting from near Mortimer's Cross on Iter XII to the Roman military base near Clyro, is represented for the most part by existing roadways, lanes, and bridle paths, all on a very direct routeing, subject to the comments and explanations which follow. The general bearing and sector bearings of the road, are given in § II. The note in § III gives the postulates on which the identification rests. The importance of such a road is however obvious militarily to enable posts in the area involved in Wales to be reinforced from either the northern or southern main legionary headquarters saving the long detour by way of Kenchester/Hereford from either direction.

II

The following comments and explanations of the sector traces give some idea of the topography and layout involved:

SECTOR 1. The cross road examined does not take off from the present Mortimer's Cross-road itself because there is a steep rock scarp to the west where the modern road B 4362 ascends steeply through a deep rock cutting, in recent times deepened to avoid a very steep section which used to have a very icy surface in the winter. The cross road takes off from Iter XII by a lane, signposted to Ledicot, a little over ¼ mile south of Mortimer's Cross, along a low bank overlooking a flat field to which particular reference is directed (See § IV below). Here it is logical to suppose that there may have been a posting station. The initial bearing of Ledicot Lane points directly to Shobdon. This bearing is resumed by B 4362 at the top of the scarp 1,000 yards to the west at a homestead known as Tin-y-Coed 137 feet above Mortimer's Cross datum point. On Ledicot Lane about 500 yards from the take off point on Iter XII near the wind pump of Buzzards Farm the track ascended the scarp by a grassy bank which is covered with surface workings, probably representing changing road surfaces owing to rutting on the gradient. On reaching the top of the scarp the Roman cross road follows B 4362 on a bearing directly to Shobdon where there is a 14° change of bearing to the next sector. The roadway is difficult to identify in Shobdon village itself on account of considerable topographical change as a result of 'landscaping' and layout connected with the great 18th-century mansion (now demolished) of Shobdon Court and its park.[6]

SECTOR 2. The road diverges from the direct bearing near Milton to avoid the low lying ground at the western end of the disused Shobdon-Pembridge airfield. It keeps to the higher ground by Milton Farm and Milton Cross, to the point where it crosses the Rowe Ditch, a transverse valley dyke discussed at length elsewhere.[7] Here there is a very small local change of bearing to use the ford, at or near the present bridge, over the Arrow River at Court of Noke.[8]

This crossing of the Arrow River was probably also at the "Washford", a boundary point of the Saxon Manor of Staunton on Arrow also described in detail elsewhere.[9] The ford is overlooked by a bluff on which stands the church, motte, and bailey of Staunton-on-Arrow where a Romano-British effigy of Mercury has recently been found.[10] The River Arrow is the only substantial stream crossed by the Mortimer's Cross-Hay/Clyro road in all its course (see § IV).

SECTORS 3 and 4. From a point near the Rowe Ditch to the turning to Lowe Farm and from there to Rhyse Farm there is no appreciable deviation from the direct bearing for three miles.

SECTOR 5. From Rhyse Farm to the cross road at Lyonshall near the Maidenhead Inn[11] there has in the latter area been a good deal of disturbance by the construction of the early 'tramway' from Kington and the later (now abandoned) Kington-Presteigne branch railway line; but the trace is fairly clear.

SECTOR 6. So far as the direct bearings from Lowe Farm via Rhyse Farm to Elsdon is concerned—230°/218°/245°—the changes of bearing are due, as the constructors of the 'tramway' and railway found, to the lowlying and wet area between the Lyonshall cross roads and Lynhales. The unusually substantial but small local changes of bearings in Sectors 4, 5, and 6 were all required to keep the road on better ground away from the whole of the Lynhales quasi-deltaic area which at one time was probably a lake in the lateral glacial moraine of the Arrow Valley glacier. Along the south side of Lynhales the Roman cross road follows the modern secondary road from the Lyonshall, Maidenhead Inn, cross roads to its junction with A.4111 but only as far as Elsdon Farm. Here the Roman trace runs as a ridgeway along the high ground to the entrance to Apostles Lane known as "Cross Ways" on A.4111. There are indications on this high ground of the trace between Elsdon Farm at 620 ft. and Coppice Wood at 800 ft. At one point is a hedge line on a bank with a drop on the south side of the hedge which looks like the remains of an embanked flat base for a road bed. Again, E. of Coppice Wood is a crest-line parish boundary. From Coppice Wood to the Apostles Lane junction on A.4111 the sunk lane (now a rubbish tip just E. of the main road) is on the direct bearing of Apostles Lane itself further west. The reason for the modern road between Elsdon and Bollingham on A.4111 running south of the old track and terminating at the latter point is probably due to the series of farms and steadings built south of the ridgeway to obtain some shelter and water supplies below the bleak ridge of virtually open downland forming the southern watershed of the Arrow Valley around Kington.

SECTOR 7. Coppice Wood to Cefn Farm cross roads. This is a very interesting sector of a little over four miles on a bearing of 234°. This sector trace partakes of a ridgeway in its eastern part frequently with wide verges. The part between "Cross Ways" on A.4111 and Apostles Farm is deep sunk and very winding though the bends and corners involve only negligible deviations from the map line. The writer is inclined to suspect that the trace originally was a true ridgeway out of which, as around Elsdon, a track developed just south and roughly parallel to the ridgeway. If the original alignment of the Roman Road was on the ridge it would run near Great Penlan farm and through Little Penlan joining the modern secondary road from Huntingdon-Kington to Brilley via Brilley Mountain hamlet. In the paddock directly west of Little Penlan there are signs of earth working which suggest that the original alignment was along the general bearing of the sector instead of along the present road, which makes two bends at Little Penlan farm. The abandonment of the direct line could well have been occasioned by deep rutting and mud in the

small dingle south of Little Penlan farm buidings. The maximum deviation on the sector bearing is only some 300 yards at the Penlan farms. This tempting supposition is strengthened because from Brilley Mountain[12] to a point near Cefn Farm Cross and then on to Little Mountain camp (See Sector 8A) the county boundary runs along the route marked for the most part by a heavy dry stone wall. From Apostles Farm to Cefn Cross roads the tracks and alternative local routing are along a ridge of 800 ft. and over. Apostles Farm[13] is obviously an old steading site with medieval construction surviving. In spite of the deviations and bends of the present day track a good case can be made for the Roman origin of Sector 7.

SECTOR 8. From Cefn Farm cross roads or from a nearby point on the county boundary track 300 yards to the north, the Roman road probably turned south to get down into the Wye Valley along the shortest way by Tan House, Bridge Court and Sunny Bank. This is now a steep lane, indeed very steep in the last stretch, before it joins the Wye Valley road M 63 b/A.4153 at Rhydspence. The descent is from point 936 ft. at Cefn cross roads to about 340 ft. at Rhydspence on M 63 b. in about 1½ miles. As such, this decent is not unnaturally deep sunk in parts owing to water erosion, though at Cefn Cross roads it starts as a lane with wide verges. There are two other ways down from Cefn ridge to the Wye Valley: the eastern one which the modern road uses via Brilley village to the Whitney area at a point on M 63 b/A.4253 about half a mile east of Rhydspence, and alternatively a more westerly route from near Little Mountain Camp by Llwyn Gwilym and Cross Ways Farm to Lower House. Of these two the second is the most likely alternative to the directer, if steeper, route by Tan House, Bridge Court and Sunny Bank, which however is also nearer to the general bearing namely 229°, of the cross road from Mortimer's Cross to Hay-Clyro Gaer Camp and on to Brecon.

There are quite a number of local stories in this area of a "Roman Road" starting, as is reported, from Boatside Camp and up the steep side of the left bank of the Wye Valley from Lower House Farm on A.4153 more or less directly towards Little Mountain Camp. I have been unable to find even reasonably secure traditional evidence for these stories. A local collaborator[14] did learn that the then occupier of Llwyn Gwilliam farm while piping water to the house found evidence of a "Roman Road" which he followed for some distance by probing in two fields to the N.N.W. of the homestead (O.S. fields 981 and 941). Llwyn Gwlliam farmstead lies in a hollow nearly on the direct line of sight from Boatside Camp to Little Mountain Camp though the farmstead itself could not have been visible from either end of the line.

Even if the main descent for the Roman cross road from Cefn Farm Cross roads to Rhydspence was the main line, there is nothing inherently improbable for the Boatside (Clyro) Camp to have had a direct track or path as well to Little Moutain Camp and for this trace to have been metalled; there is unfortunately no record of what the occupier of Llwyn Gwilliam farm took to be evidence of a Roman Road. Topographically the direct track from Boatside Camp to Little Mountain could also have run from Lower House Farm along an existing path to Court Evan Gwynne thence

along the modern road to Cross Ways Farm and Pen yr Heol or even directly via Llyn Gwillim and Upper Pen Brilley to Caeau farm which is just south of Little Mountain Camp. Another even vaguer story records "something Roman" (not described) found a full generation ago while a gate post was being erected on this line.

SECTOR 8(a). The lane from Cefn Farm cross roads to Little Mountain 'camp' is a direct continuation of the Apostles Lane route. It follows a well marked lane with metalling, and occasionally flag stones, set on a camber (pl. VII). It is now considerably overgrown with shrubs and bramble; it follows the county boundary until it reaches the piece of open downland which is the fairly flat top of Little Mountain. At the entrance gate to this open area numerous paving stones can be seen on and in the turf. A cambered track leads to Little Mountain camp with a slight drainage ditch each side of a roadway breadth of 10 feet (pl. VIII). It passes the summit of Little Mountain at the 1,171 ft. Trig. point (the height is shown on the 1 in. O.S. sheets but not on the 6 in. sheets). A few yards further on is a dew pond. The roadway then leads to the entrance of a more or less rectangular camp surrounded by a fosse and vallum with apparently only one entrance at the middle of the east side (pl. IX). The camp is a few feet lower than the 1,171 ft. summit and screened by a little rise of ground from sides of the valleys in which the Newchurch-Rhosgoch-Painscastle road runs from the high ground of central Radnorshire to the middle Wye Valley. Thus, Little Mountain camp and its roadway is militarily closely connected with the Mortimer's Cross-Clyro/Hay Gaer road to which it is a flank guard as well as an observation post for the latter work. By its shape and road of access the camp is evidently of Roman origin.

A few yards south of the roadway to the camp is a round basin, filled with large flat paving blocks and dry walling stones, connecting with a wet ditch running towards Caeau Farm. The basin probably contained a spring (evidenced today by the wet outlet ditch) serving the needs of the camp in addition to the supply in the dewpond.

Boatside Farm Camp (also known as the Clyro or Hay Gaer) has been frequently described and commented on, and needs no full description here.

SECTORS 9 and 10. The Cross Road now follows Margary's identification of the Roman M 63 b. and calls for no comment. There is a rocky ridge crossing the Wye river bed diagonally from Boatside Farm to the (disused) Hay railway station. The banks of the river especially the L. bank are fairly high and firm but not precipitous or eroded by the river into cliffs. The ridge in the river can be well seen downstream from the modern river bridge connecting Clyro and Hay. That this is the site of a possible ford is indubitable: another ford however probably also existed upstream of the bridge in the Wyecliff curve of the river. Yet another ford lies downstream at Cabalva.

III

The postulates adopted in looking for and identifying existing roads, lanes, tracks, paths, etc., with Roman roads are, that the latter will

(a) follow the shortest route from point to point subject to terrain but without much regard to such gradients as would today be inappropriate:

(b) avoid rocky terrain necessitating a high labour factor etc., in construction, and also avoid wet or flood ground, swamps, and difficult river crossings:
(c) have importance militarily (or economically, e.g. mining) in communications between relevant points, that is, the road must have a clear purpose:
(d) avoid sectors which could be militarily vulnerable, e.g. defiles, enclosed valleys, heavy timbered country, etc.
(e) bear evidence of Roman work, e.g. stone foundations, paving slabs, 'agger' and ditches, and of course other surface works such as camps, forts, causeways, embankments, etc.

The track of the Roman Cross Road from near Mortimer's Cross to Boatside Farm near Hay was plotted by the writer on the 6in. O.S. Sheets as follows: SO 46SW, 36SE, 35NE, 35NW, 35SW, 25SE, 24NE, 24NW, 24SW. The Summary map accompanying this text is based on the 1in. O.S. Sheets 129, 141 and 142 black edition.

IV

Probable or possible Roman remains on this Mortimer's Cross-Hay road exist at

(i) take off point on Ledicot Lane between Iter XII and Buzzard Farm.
(ii) Staunton on Arrow.
(iii) Little Mountain Camp.
(iv) the Hay-Clyro Gaer at Boatside Farm.

As to (i). Two photographs[15] in the writer's possession of the area at the entrance where the Roman cross road takes off from Iter XII show very faint markings of a rectangular nature in the grass of the arable field on the south side of the lane signposted to Ledicot (pl. VI). The rectangle measured from the air photographs transferred to the 6in. O.S. Sheet seems to be approximately 175 yards x 100 yards—the narrower E-W sides are square to a hedgerow at the entrance to Ledicot Lane. The marks in the field are on the flat ground below the low bank on which the lane runs 50 yards further north. The longer N-S sides are 150 yards from the roadway of Iter XII, one of them being a drainage ditch which crosses the field. The field marks having been cultivated, may only be crop markings although they have no obvious relevance to the agricultural topography of the area today: nothing is visible on the surface of the ground. Two air photographs, both obliques, were taken some time apart. They come from two quite different sources and taken from different angles but the markings on both though faint seem to be identical in the field in position, in shape and in size. There is no evidence that the markings denote or are evidence for a Roman site, except for their apparent rectangularity and the fact that the site, if it is one, is in a field the sides of which do not conform with the markings. Topographically, of course, the site is well placed as a possible posting station on Iter XII in connection with the cross road leading to the Wye Valley. The site lies about 7 miles south of Bravonium (Leintwardine) and about 14 miles north of Magnis (Kenchester).[16] Circumstantial evidence thus does suggest that the markings may represent a posting station.

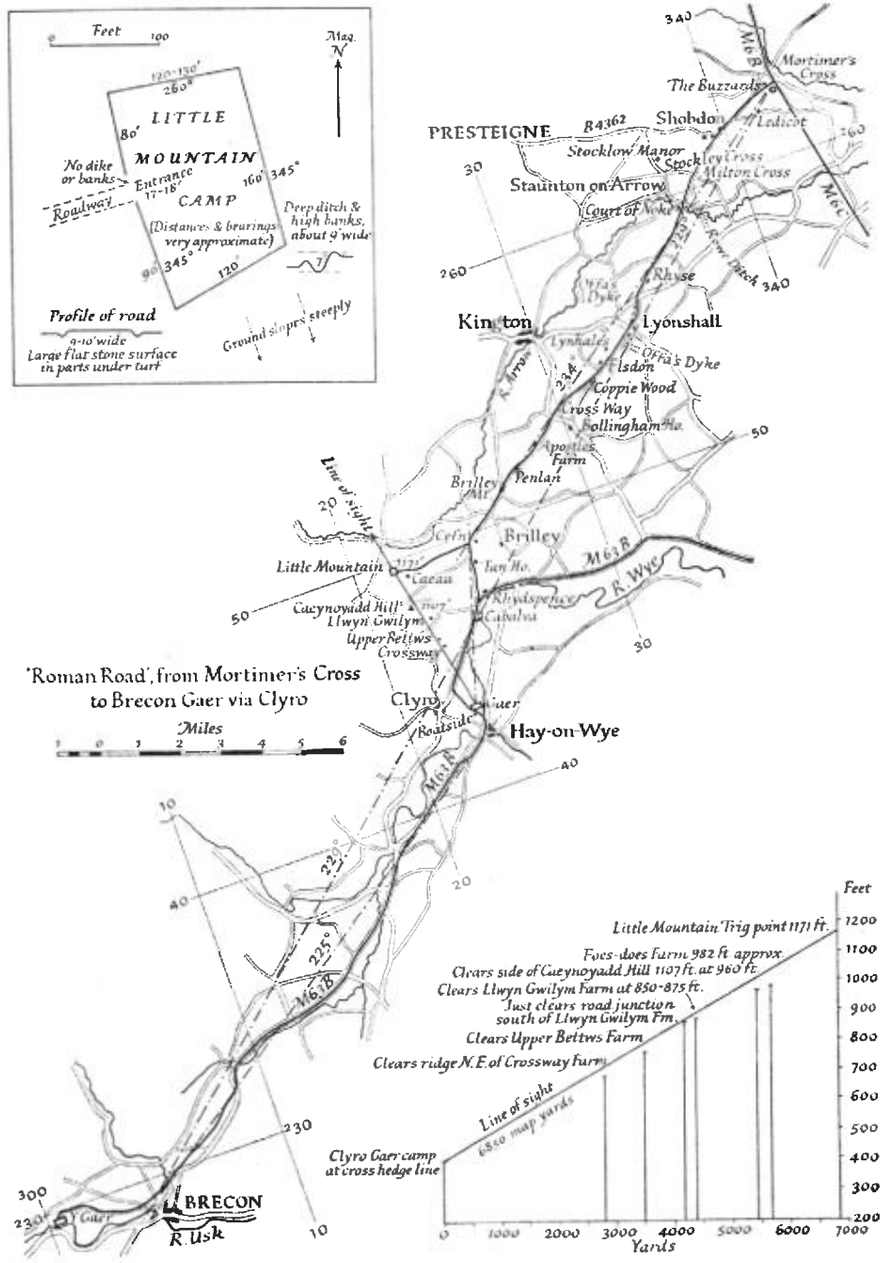
As to (ii). The recent discovery of a stone effigy depicting the god Mercury, described by Mr. Painter with a note by the writer, at Staunton-on-Arrow, is interesting.[17]

Although there is no evidence of where the effigy was originally placed or where it came from to Staunton the presence of such a wayside 'shrine' at Staunton-on-Arrow and its dedication are appropriate to the Mortimer's Cross-Clyro Roman road since it is the only point where the road crosses a modest but perennial river, the Arrow, near the present bridge on the road from Shobdon to Lyonshall at Court of Noke (sectors 1 to 6 above).

As to (iii). The rectangularity of Little Mountain Camp and the obviously Roman approach on a cambered metalled roadway, 9ft. to 10ft. wide with visible side ditches indicates its Roman origin. The writer made a rough survey with prismatic compass and tape of the vallum of the camp and was happy to find later that it agreed very well with an excellent air photograph in the Cambridge collection for use of which he is indebted to Dr. J. K. St. Joseph.

The siting of this small military outpost covering access to the Wye Valley from the Newchurch-Painscastle area of central Radnorshire and its connection with the Roman Camp at Boatside Farm near the Clyro-Hay bridge is obvious. The writer has satisfied himself that the two works are intervisible (see diagram on p. 43). The outpost would also serve to protect movement along the Mortimer's Cross-Clyro Cross Road at its wildest point. The siting of the actual work a little below the two highest points of Little Mountain screening movement in the camp itself, the evident provision of a dew pond and probably a catchment basin to a nearby source of water and above all the construction of the cross access road from Cefn farm cross road establish in the writer's mind the clearly Roman military origin of the work.

As to (iv). A good deal has been written about the Roman camp at Boatside Farm or the 'Hay/Clyro Gaer'.[18] It was at one time considered owing to its great apparent size to have been a "marching camp" connected with the conquest of Wales probably during Ostorius Scapula's campaigns. Such may have been its origin but more recent evidence and opinions suggest that it was or became an important base and garrison fort. The site of the camp is topographically of strategic importance but only detailed archaeological investigation can produce the necessary evidence. The perimeter contains a spring of water in the corner of the 25 acre enclosure which is divided roughly into two by a hedgeline on a low bank. The work is sited to guard a ford over the Wye where M 63 b crossed from the L. to the R. bank. One of the main difficulties which arises in determining the use of the work is its great size, the fact that the area slopes quite sensibly from S.W. to N.E. and lies near (500 yards) but does not include a slightly higher point of land to the SW. The reason for this choice seems to lie in a desire to enclose the spring in the perimeter and also to be on the line of sight to Little Mountain camp which the higher point of land in question appears not to be. A possible explanation of the size of the camp may be in its use as a supply base for the Wye Valley campaigns and subsequent victualling arrangements of the interior forts from Brecon Gaer to Llandrindod by contact with the more settled and fertile area down the Wye Valley from Kenchester to Hereford and Weston-under-Penyard (Ariconium). The writer has sometimes thought that with all the excellent recent studies on the Roman penetration, occupation and conquest of Wales and the March, not enough attention has been paid to the machinery or military



organisation and administration of the many frequently large bodies of men and their existence in static garrisons. It is true for instance that Nash Williams has dealt with, faithfully and in detail, the forts and camps in Wales and on the March, large and small. We have plans of their gates, granaries, baths, praetoria, etc., but owing to the brevity of our Tacitean records little or nothing about how the granaries were filled, by whom and when, and nothing about the supply of meat, materials and weapons for the men. We know of the existence of mounted units but nothing about transport, in other words what we would now call 'logistics', the work of an Army Service Corps, or a corps of Ordnance Artificers to supply the garrison units. Even light infantry units require animal transport if only to fill their granaries. With these thoughts in mind the conception of the Hay-Clyro Gaer as in the main a supply depot with lines for transport animals, beef and mutton supplies etc., in a part of the camp does not, at any rate to the writer, seem outrageously incompatible with a 25 acre camp on that site.

1 Road numbers beginning with M are those described in I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain* (Phoenix Press) Vol. II. Those beginning with A or B are the modern code numbers. The Boatside Farm Gaer is not to be confused with the Brecon Gaer.

2 Cf. recent studies such as Nash Williams, *The Roman Frontier in Wales*: Graham Webster and D. R. Dudley, *The Roman Conquest of Britain* especially at 115, and 141-7, and Grace Simpson, *Britons and the Roman Army*.

3 Also known in part in later centuries as Watling Street West.

4 Cf. Nash Williams, *The Roman Frontier in Wales*, 58-62 and pl. XXIV.

5 *Herefordshire* (British Publishing Company, Gloucester) in Chapter X, 120 ff., for the Club in 1951.

6 Cf. R.C.H.M., *Herefordshire* Vol. III, 180 *et seq.*

7 *Radnorshire Soc. Trs.* XXX (1960).

8 Rennell, *Valley on the March*, pp. 44-6 and 166-7; also Rennell, 'Land of Lene' in *Culture and Environment* (1963), 303 *et seq.*

9 Notably by the writer in *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* XXXVI (1960), in connection with Dr. Finberg's study of early British *Charters of the West Midlands* (1961) and *Culture and Environment*, 141-142.

10 See *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* XXXIX (1967), an article describing the effigy by Mr. K. Painter of the British Museum with a comment by the writer.

11 *Not* the more important cross roads near Lyonshall Church and Castle. Cf. *Valley on the March*, 5 and 6.

12 Distinguish between Brilley Village, Brilley Mountain village and Brilley Mountain itself.

13 R.C.H.M. *op. cit.* III, 76 and 95.

14 Mr. W. H. Knowles, Clyro Secondary School.
I am also obliged to the Hon. Mrs. Guest, M.F.H. of Cabalva and Dr. J. Walker, Warden Court, Presteigne, for their help and valuable suggestions.

15 I am indebted to Dr. Graham Webster of Birmingham University for sending me one of the air photographs No. P. 65A. It was taken by Mr. W. A. Baker formerly of Malvern whose present whereabouts the writer has been unable to trace. The other air photograph came from Dr. J. K. St. Joseph, Director of Aerial photography at Cambridge University: it is a panoramic photograph from point 129/426626 of the Mortimer's Cross area in the Cambridge collection whose permission I have to reproduce it.

16 Cf. Nash Williams *op. cit.*, 108-9 on spacing of forts and so of marching stages.

17 *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* XXXIX (1967), 152-156.

18 Cf. Graham Webster and D. R. Dudley *The Roman Conquest of Wales*, 146-7 and 171. Also Nash Williams *The Roman Frontier in Wales*, 4-5: and references therein.

19 Buzzards Farm homestead is near the left margin about one third of the distance from the bottom of the plate. Mortimer's Cross road lies just off the right hand side of the plate at the same level as Buzzards Farm. The Ledicot lane of the text runs between these points: the sign-post no longer exists. The main road to Shobdon B 4362 from Mortimer's Cross marked by a line of trees runs north-north-west above Ledicot Lane. The field with crop marking near Mortimer's Cross is now under cultivation to winter wheat and potatoes (May/June, 1971).

Details of Sectors 1-10 giving bearings, distances and maximum deviations and photographs have been lodged with the Woolhope Club.

Results in Herefordshire from Aerial Reconnaissance in 1969

By ARNOLD BAKER

FROM continued aerial reconnaissance in the West Midlands a pattern of settlement is emerging, particularly on the river terraces of the Severn and Warwickshire Avon,[1] areas previously considered to be sparsely populated. River gravels and other permeable soils to the West of the Severn also show evidence of early occupation. For the most part these sites lie concealed under the surface, and are detected through the medium of crop marks or changes in the growth of vegetation where agricultural use is made of the land. It is for excavation to establish the possible relationship of the increasing evidence of early settlement, with the distribution of Roman military sites in the West Midlands.

MILITARY SITES WEST OF THE SEVERN

Aerial reconnaissance by the writer has revealed a complex of Roman forts and marching camps hitherto unknown, along the Watling Street from *Viroconium* to Leintwardine.[2] Unlike auxiliary forts, marching camps occupy areas from 15 to 50 acres, enclosed by a single narrow defensive ditch. Because of their temporary nature these camps are often difficult to place in time, due to a lack of dateable material, and it is the permanent forts which provide the necessary evidence to enlarge on various phases of Roman military occupation.

A line of defence West of the Severn from Gloucester to *Viroconium* has already been postulated,[3] based on the advance of Ostorius Scapula into Wales. Although the remains of forts and marching camps are well in evidence from Leintwardine to *Viroconium*, little is known of military sites between Leintwardine and Gloucester.[4] Aerial reconnaissance in this area over consecutive years proved unrewarding until 1969, when a favourable combination of weather and crops revealed the outline of an auxiliary Roman fort at Stretton Grandison, in the meadows south of the River Frome (fig. 1, pl. X). The fort defences comprise two closely spaced ditches, and four rounded angles were identified. From aerial photographs the camp occupied an area of approximately 4.8 acres and might accommodate a milliary cohort[5] or other possible alternative units for the garrison.

Unfortunately the sides are not as clearly defined as the angles, and only on the west defences is a wide gate visible. This is centrally placed so far as can be judged, and is in all probability the *porta praetoria*; the presence of trees obscures gate positions on the north and east defences. To the south, crop marks of the defensive ditches are too weak to determine a position for this gate, so one cannot be certain whether the fort faced east or west.

From the 1:2500 ordnance survey map of 1929 the area in which the fort is situated was under pasture, with a scatter of trees and circular copses of conifer.

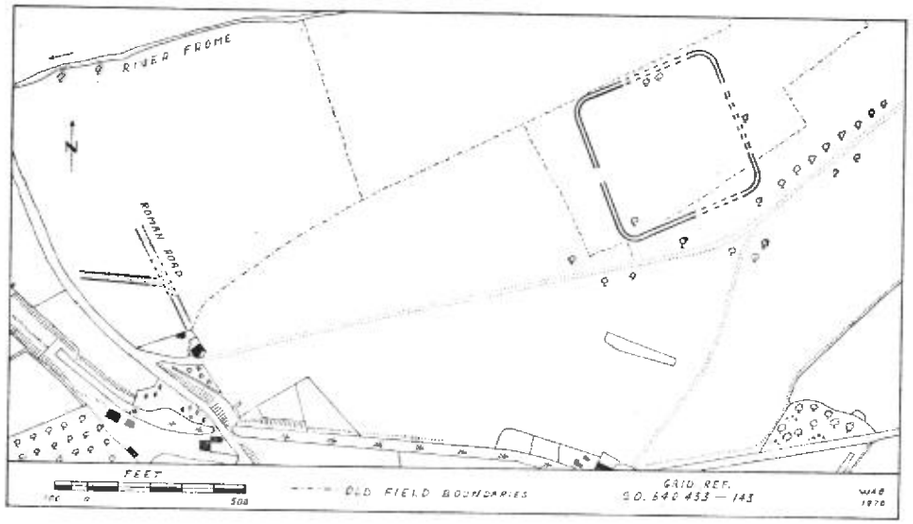


FIG. 1
Auxiliary Roman fort and road junction at Stretton Grandison.

For agricultural purposes, the then existing field boundaries and most of the trees have since been removed, without which the fort would have remained undiscovered. Most of the field boundaries can be traced from crop marks (pl. X), and it would appear that the broad ditch which sweeps across the field in front of the west defences is unrelated to the fort. The value of this site is evident, since it forms a strategic link between the military sites at Leintwardine and Gloucester, and more directly along the Wye valley to the forts at Clyro. Its place in time and history must however remain in question pending excavation. Similar auxiliary forts are known through aerial reconnaissance at Leintwardine and Wroxeter.[6]

ROMAN ROADS

Many uncertainties remain in the known system of Roman roads in Herefordshire. The road from Dymock north-west to Stretton Grandison can be traced by a modern road, which follows the alignment for most of its length. The direction north of Stretton Grandison is however less certain. To the west from Shucknall a road leads directly to the Romano-British town site at Kenchester, where it constitutes the town's main street before continuing its alignment along the Wye valley.

At a point 500 yards west of the fort on the River Frome, in an area where the modern road south of Stretton Grandison deviates from the line of the Roman road, crop marks show continuity of the Dymock to Stretton Grandison alignment, with a short section of road branching off to the west in the direction of Shucknall (fig. 1, pl. XI). This is in line with the road to Kenchester; there is no indication of a road to the east at this point. In an area to the north, partially enclosed by the intersection

of the two roads (fig. 1, pl. XI), crop marks suggest traces of building remains, and is a possible site for a *mansio* which one would expect at such an important junction of civil roads.

SETTLEMENT SITES

East of Kenchester and south of the Roman road crop marks show a settlement site, part of which is being eroded away by extensive gravel working. The site consists of enclosures and pits, with ancillary ditches spread over a wide area (fig. 2, pl. XII).

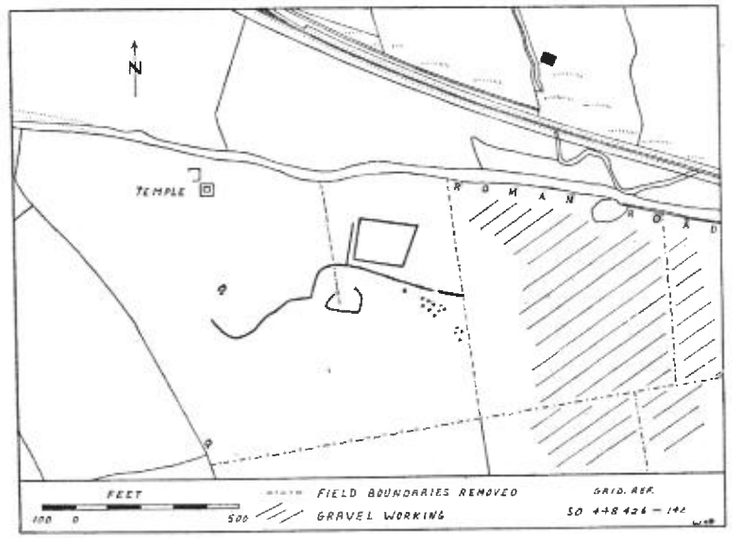


FIG. 2
Enclosure and ditches east of Kenchester.

In the same field a Romano-British temple was recorded in 1961, through parch marks in pasture.[7] Crop marks rarely show a site in detail unless the weather is unusually dry, and in normal conditions only the more substantial features will be revealed. Faint traces of other ditches suggest a greater degree of complexity than is evident from plate XII.

Settlement in the vicinity of Kenchester has proved difficult to find through aerial reconnaissance. Traces of enclosures have been recorded from previous surveys,[8] and as so little is known of urban development at Kenchester, this new settlement site presents an opportunity for excavation before it is completely destroyed.

At Mathon, west of the Malverns, crop marks show traces of a possible circle and ditch, in a field adjacent to existing gravel workings.[9] This area has already produced evidence of early occupation,[10] and the site will be destroyed if gravel extraction is extended to the north.

1 G. Webster and B. Hobley, 'Aerial Reconnaissance over the Warwickshire Avon'. *Archaeological Journal* CXXI (1965).
2 G. Webster, 'Fort and Town in Early Roman Britain', 35, fig. 3, in J. S. Wacher (ed.), *The Civitas Capitals of Roman Britain* (1966). Leicester.
3 G. Webster, 'The Roman Military Advance under Ostorius Scapula', *Archaeological Journal* CXV (1960), 49-98.
4 From Kenchester have come three bronze pendants, including a leaf type of an early form of a military horse trapping.
G. H. Jack. *Excavations* 1912-13, pl. 50, No. 5; 1924-25, pl. 33, No. 15.
Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club XXXII (1949), fig. 7, No. 10.
J.R.S., XI (1921), 207.
Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club (1923) Appendix, coins, 10; Samian, 10 and 17 and pl. 4, figs. 7 and 8; brooch, pl. 12, fig. 1 (cf. Hofheim type 1c and Camulodunum, type III).
5 Cf. Agricolan Fendoch, with an area of *c.* 3.9 acres within the rampart, which housed a cohort.
6 J. K. St. Joseph, 'Roman forts on Watling Street near Penkridge and Wroxeter', *Birmingham Arch. Soc. Trans.* LXIX (1951), 54.
S. C. Stanford, 'The Roman forts at Leintwardine and Buckton', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* XXXIX (1968), 222-326.
7 A. Baker, 'Aerial Reconnaissance over the Romano-British Town of Magna (Kenchester)'. *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* XXXVIII (1966), 192-195.
8 As for 7.
9 The site lies ¼ mile south of Mathon and west of Cradley brook. Grid. Ref. SO. 728445.
10 The finds including a burial urn are housed in the museum at Malvern, Worcs.

The Fortress Salient in the River Wye around Kings Caple

By M. B. HALE and L. P. MOORE

A RECENT survey of Roman roads in south Herefordshire and a military appreciation of the strategy of the South Marches had both emphasised the strategic importance of the salient formed by the deep loop in the River Wye around Kings Caple. This feature provided a fortress and bridgehead site essential to both offensive and defensive warfare in either the invasion of Wales from England or the defence of the Marches against Wales, throughout the centuries of hand-to-hand fighting. A study of it was therefore commenced in the Spring of 1969.

GENERAL

The one inch O.S. Sheet 142 or, preferably, the six inch O.S. Sheets XLVI, N.E., S.W. and N.W., portray the relevant features of the salient. The churchyard and the adjacent paddock to the east of it form a pronounced nearly-square plateau (400 ft. x 300 ft.), having nearly vertically banked perimeters on the north and west faces, below which the ground falls away steeply, offering good command of the western half of the salient. This plateau forms the western tip of a "hog's back" of smoothly-domed high ground extending between 100 ft. and 200 ft. above the river and descending steeply to a flat alluvial flood plain (the valley bed of the river), up to some 1,200 ft. wide, on the west and south perimeters.

A small moated mound marked "Caple Tump" stands on the south roadside opposite the church. The ruins of a castle stand on the south edge of the plateau at N.G.R. SO 562286. A mound, marked "Earthwork", stands at "Point 370", the highest on the salient and a site required for signalling and observation purposes to serve any fort on the plateau. The internal road system is seen to give ready access at several points from the plateau down to the perimeter above the flood level. 19th-century bridges span the Wye at Hoarwithy and Sellack. Spur roads give access to the main lateral on the East bank, between Hereford, Mordiford and Ross. Thus facilities for quick military access to all parts of the perimeter are truly excellent except for heavy vehicles over the floodable meadows and this presented the first problem for our research and the main subject of the excavations now reported.

PENNOXSTONE ROAD

A straight road descends from the village cross-roads, west-south-west, passing between Caple Tump and the church and then beginning a steepening descent past Pennoxstone Court to the west edge of the wood at N.G.R. SO 552284, whence it becomes a grass track descending as a high agger into the meadow. As far as Pennoxstone Court gardens it is a tarmac surface, while from there down to the meadow it is surfaced with river boulders up to about 4 ins. in size, solidly packed, scarcely rutted and about 15 ft. wide. The track over the meadow is some 800 ft. long.

The pure clean stoneless alluvium in the meadow made auger-sounding a simple and reliable method. It disclosed a solid surface, some 20 ft. wide, on a nearly-straight alignment, extending from the east edge of the meadows to the river bank, where it reappeared through the bank 12 ft. below the meadow level (datum level), at a point marked, on the earliest official survey maps only, as Red Rail Ford, where the river is armpit deep at slackest water. Slightly diagonally opposite is the overgrown remains of a distinct ramp going down to the river, from which a spur track, 200 ft. long, joins the main Hoarwithy-Ross road, crossing it to become a boulder-surfaced spur road, 190 ft. long, passing a cottage and thence becoming a deeply-sunken hollow-way climbing steeply up a steep-sided valley to join the Llanfrother Convent-Kynaston road at N.G.R. SO 543278. From Kings Caple cross-roads to this point is practically a straight alignment. Auger-sounding showed the ramp spur to have a paved surface less than one foot below the ground level.

It was decided to investigate all of these related roads and tracks by means of auger-sounding and excavation, commencing with the buried stretch of the Pennoxstone-Red Rail Ford road, with results as follows.

EXCAVATIONS

PENNOXSTONE ROAD (LOWER)

Referring to the 6 in. Ordnance Survey maps mentioned above, this feature is

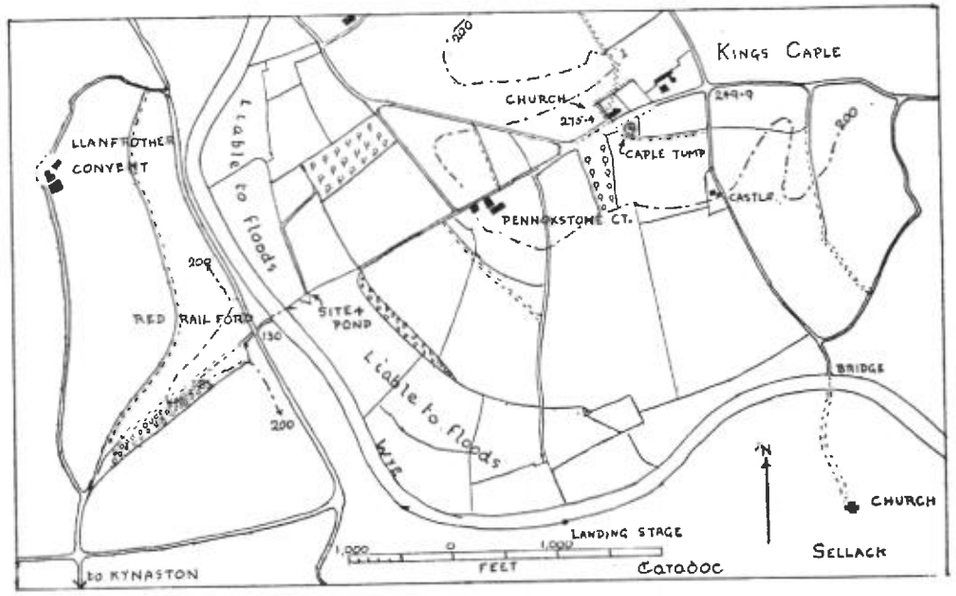


FIG. 1

Pennoxstone Road.

(Based on the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, Crown Copyright reserved).

aligned approximately parallel to the field boundary shown along its northern edge and is reproduced on fig. I, having been traced by auger-sounding.

Numerous pilot trenches, each about 4 ft. x 2 ft. in plan, were cut down to road surface and, based upon these, two transverse trenches were cut across the road (Trenches 1 and 2—fig. 2) in order to determine its dimensions and structure.

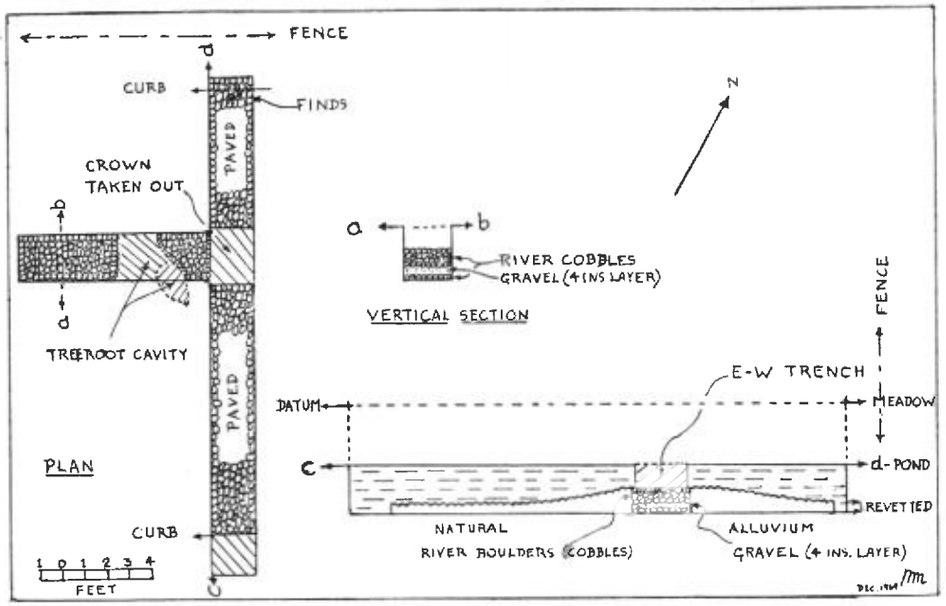


FIG. 2

Lower Pennoxstone Road—Trench 2.

Trench 2 confirmed Trench 1 and so was taken as the criterion. They were identical except that in Trench 1 the road was evidently rebuilt, being much looser than in all the other pilot samples, which were almost the consistency of concrete. Only Trench 2 will therefore be described in detail.

TRENCH 2

This was cut at 260 ft. from the east bank, in the bottom of the east edge of the pond, with a view to reducing the amount of excavation work. Fig. 2 shows the result. It will be seen that the cut along the crown of the road showed the road to have been disrupted in part by the uprooting of a tree (pl. XIII).

A fairly flat-topped crowning, with wheel ruts on either side, was displayed. The 4 in. layer of finer gravel sandwiched between the bottom and upper layers of cobbles may indicate either a rebuilding or a filling of a single construction. Some of the gravel had spilled outside both curbs to a distance of a few inches and this and a similar feature in pilot trenches demonstrated how the road had been continually washed by floods.

No ditches were traced alongside the curbs but a wide shallow wandering depression, associated with the hedgerow, borders the road and encroaches upon it on its north side. This is believed to be caused by the continual concentrating of cattle beneath the high hedgerow for shelter. The road was evidently revetted into natural to the depth of the curb (approximately 6 in.) and as there is no evidence of culverts and agger causeway (except for the ramp entrance at the eastern extremity), nor of curb stones, it appears that a flush construction was adopted to avoid damming of the floodwater. Continual repair must have been involved.

The crown is offset curiously to the north and this may indicate a widening of the road towards the south at a later date.

THE AGGER

The cobbled road of the upper Pennoxstone Road terminates at a steep bank bounding the flood area, whence it debouches on to the meadow via a steep grassed agger, the surface of which has been continually reinforced with brick and stone in recent years.

THE RAMP DOWN TO THE RIVER (EAST BANK)

The point at which this ramp commences its descent to the river has not yet been traced. Its terminus protrudes through the bank some 12 ft. down it, near the low-water mark, in the form of a layer of small undressed limestone slabs.

THE POND

The pond is scarped along its north and west borders and has a shallow decline elsewhere. This four-foot depression appears to be the result of subsidence caused by the subsidence of the ramp walls under flood pressure, since abandonment of the road. Numerous auger soundings and pilot excavations showed the floor of the pond to have been surfaced with river cobbles. Its scarped northern edge follows closely the north curb of the road. The pond drains dry and hard in dry weather.

RED RAIL FORD

Marked on Taylor's 18th-century survey as "Red Rail Ford", this feature is no longer marked. Caused by the sharp bend in the river at this point, at low-water a pebbled beach extends from the east bank for some 15 ft. into the river. At mid-stream the ford is knee-deep, while towards the west bank it is armpit-deep and swift flowing. Several limestone slabs are scattered on the river bed across the ford.

Mr. A. Fleming advises that this name is probably a corruption of the Welsh for "Ford by the current". Mr. Humphries, who is an authority on the Celtic language, has concluded that "Red Rail" is probably derived from "Rhydd Rhawl"—"The road to the ford". *The Hundred of Wormelow, Lower Division,* under Hentland, p. 136, gives "Rhydd-yr-heol"—"The ford of the street". This testifies to the antiquity of the route, while the name "street", applying to both immediate extremities of the stone-paved road excavated, fortifies the conclusion that its origin is probably Roman.

RED RAIL LANDING STAGE

A 6 in. shelf of small limestone slabs, extending some 50 ft. along the west bank at low-water mark, appears to be the foundation of a boat landing stage. It was evidently connected with the waterborne tree bark commerce associated with Red Rail until recent times, before metalled roads supplanted the river.

POINT 370

This "Earthwork" as it is marked on the 1 in. O.S. map, or "Camp" as it is marked on the 6 in. O.S. map, is now ill-defined, having been continually ploughed. In a field survey, however, Mr. N. P. Bridgewater found rough Romano-British pottery sherds on this site, turned up by the plough. As this site was in our view essential to any military garrison of the salient for signalling and observation purposes and in view furthermore of the small area enclosed by its earthworks, these finds support the conclusion that it was indeed used as such by the Roman army.

VALLEY ROAD

This natural extension of the Pennoxstone Road from the west bank up to the Llanfrother-Kynaston road, is of military importance to the salient to which it provides a good western approach for all but wheeled traffic in all weathers. Mr. A Fleming has reported finding a small concentration of rough Romano-British pottery sherds at N.G.R. SO 545278 on a knoll on the southern flank of this steep valley, on what would have been one of the piquet lines for this line of communication.

PLACE NAMES

Mr. A. Fleming has also drawn our attention to the appearance of the names, "Crossway" and Caple *Street,* in several Kings Caple place names. The name "Street" almost invariably applies to a Roman road.

Pennoxstone Road leads to Fawley and Mr. N. Bridgewater has mentioned that Fawley may well be derived from "Fawler", meaning "A variegated Pavement". (vide. Ekwall).

FINDS

The following finds were discovered on or immediately above the north curb of the north-south cut of Trench 2, closely grouped:

1. A $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. segment of the base of a pot; cream ware; black glaze on inner surface; no glazing on outer surface; tree design in unglazed dark brown, thickly applied, on outer surface; sherd thickness 3/16 in.; sealed on road surface. Probably post-medieval.
2. A few fragments of 1 above, similarly sealed.
3. Five 6 in. iron nails; head radius 7/8 in. sealed on road surface.

4. A 2½ in. x 2 in. fragment of well-fired pot; glazed white on inside; pattern of dark green fir trees on green-blue background, glazed; off-white wear; two inches above road surface and Finds 1, 2 and 3 above.

The above are assumed (excepting Find 4) probably to date the abandonment of the road.

CONCLUSIONS

From all of the above evidence it is concluded that the lower Pennoxstone Road is probably of Roman construction, originally, and that it has been in continuous use, formerly for both military and commercial purposes and latterly for commercial purposes only, until about a century ago. It was an integral part of the cobbled upper Pennoxstone Road, now in use, leading up to the centre of Kings Caple village.

ACKOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors wish to thank those who so kindly helped them on the Pennoxstone excavations and especially the following: Captain and Mrs. J. F. Cockburn, not only for their kind permission to explore and excavate on their land but also for their practical help. Messrs. N. P. Bridgewater, A. Fleming, S. C. Stanford and J. Tullock, for their professional advice and encouragement.

Hereford and the Laws of Breteuil

By DAVID WALKER

PAYN[1] FITZ JOHN, one of the leading figures in the administration of the west midlands in the reign of Henry I, issued a writ addressed to "the reeve of Hereford whoever he may be, and to all the burgesses of Hereford, French and English." In it he recorded the success of a woman, Estrilde, who had defended her claim to hold her land in Hereford. This he attested by his letter, and by his seal, and *by the law of Breteuil* (per legem Britollie).[2] That last phrase is an addition to the normal forms of recording adequately the decisions reached in a dispute. The writ, authenticated by the seal, would have been enough, but here Payn has added a small but valuable detail. What can we say of the borough of Hereford in the period which followed the Norman Conquest? What of those two kinds of burgesses, French and English? And what of that 'law of Breteuil'?

When we look at the history of a medieval town three themes especially can be pursued with profit. The first is a sense of corporate personality. Does the borough speak for itself? and, if so, how? The second is to determine, if possible, who are the influential men in the borough—the *prudhommes*? Does their power arise from commerce or from manufacturing? And the third is a matter of law. What customs prevail? Are they peculiar to that borough, or are they common form? For Hereford, the first and the last questions can be answered with some confidence, but the second, the identity of the men of substance may elude us.

Take the first. Does the borough speak for itself? That implies dialogue; dialogue between the citizens and others who may have an interest in the town; above all, dialogue between the citizens and the king or his representatives. May the citizens speak for themselves, or can they only speak through the sheriff, the royal official responsible for the shire, and often, for its principal stronghold. So far as Hereford is concerned, the answer is clear. The citizens had their own official—that 'reeve whoever he may be' of Payn fitz John's writ,—but until the beginning of the reign of Richard I, the borough was a subordinate element, the sheriff all important. The financial records, the Great Rolls of the Pipe, are a valuable index. They survive in a continuous series from the second year of the reign of Henry II.[3] From the beginning of the reign, the sheriff accounted for the money granted to the king by the borough of Hereford.[4] The burgesses rendered account in their own name for the £10 which they contributed towards an aid taken by the king for the marriage of his daughter in 1170.[5] But this was exceptional. In general, the sheriff handled payments due from the citizens.[6] Later in the reign, in 1183, the burgesses were fined £5 for concealing information from the king's officials. They accounted for another £5 for a similar offence two years later.[7] Like other royal boroughs, Hereford was subjected to the financial exaction by the crown known as tallage, and in 1187 the citizens accounted for fifteen marks tallage.[8]

These indications of independent action, where the citizens dealt with their own financial affairs, point to the major change which occurred in the first few months of the reign of Richard I. On 9 October 1189, Richard issued a charter to the citizens of Hereford granting them the town of Hereford for an annual render of £40. They were to take their share in the cost of fortifying the town, and they had to pay forty marks for their charter.[9] They farmed their own town, and they were now responsible for the revenues due to the king from Hereford. The Exchequer accounts for Michaelmas 1190 give no hint of the change, but in the following year the new status of the citizens is fully apparent. The sheriff, listing the money which was due from him, noted that £40 was due from the vill of Hereford, and that the account for this money was now rendered separately. 'Et in villa de Hereford' xl.li.bl. *de quibus compotus debet reddi per se*'.[10] This account was presented by two citizens, Walter the chamberlain and William son of Hugh.[11] So it continued for ten years. In 1193 and 1194, Walter son of Elias and Hugh son of Peter were responsible for the town's account.[12] They were followed by Robert son of Rohard in 1195,[13] Robert Arcturus in 1197,[14] and Robert le Seli in 1198.[15] For a decade the citizens had discharged their own financial responsibilities to the crown.[16]

The farm of £40 is one indication of the wealth and importance of Hereford. The figure may be compared with the farm of £300 for London, £180 for Lincoln, £142 for Winchester, three of the most important cities of medieval England. York, with £100, Cambridge with £60, and Bedford and Colchester with £40, help to set the Hereford farm in perspective.[17] Although it appears in Richard I's charter, the farm of £40 was not a new assessment, for it can be traced back to the reign of Henry I.[18]

For Hereford, as for other parts of the kingdom, the accession of King John in 1199 was an event of ill omen.[19] Sometime during the first year of his reign the sheriff of Herefordshire, William de Braiose, and his under-sheriff, a local knight, William of Burghill, took over the account for the £40 due from Hereford. The sheriff answered for the account in his own name for half the year, and in the name of the town reeve for the other half.[20] Another prominent Herefordshire baron, Walter of Clifford, was also interested in the town, for he paid five marks to the king in order to have the custody of the vill of Hereford.[21] Whatever else it implied, all this meant that the citizens had lost the privilege of dealing with dues payable to the crown from Hereford. For three years the exchequer accounts showed no signs of the change, but in 1203 there was a slight but significant alteration in the Herefordshire account, for the note that a separate account would be rendered for the £40 due from Hereford was written onto the Pipe Roll and then cancelled.[22] The details of how that money had been dispensed were then transferred to the sheriff's main account. In this context it cannot be other than ominous that, in 1203, the men of Hereford paid £5 to the king for permission to buy and sell coloured cloths as they had done in the time of King Henry.[23] All the indications are that King John was treating the citizens of Hereford firmly, if not harshly, and they had even to secure their right to take part in the cloth trade. Almost to the end of the reign the sheriff was responsible for the customary

due of £40 for tallage when it was levied, and for fines and payments imposed on the citizens. Only in 1215 did the citizens account again for their own tallage.[24]

It is in this setting that the charter issued to the burgesses by King John must be read. It was issued on 10 July, 1216.[25] The king confirmed to the citizens their city at a fee-farm of £40 a year. They were to be free from the jurisdiction of the sheriff, but subject to pleas which the king reserved to himself, and subject, therefore, to the king's itinerant justices when they were in the city. The charter restored the conditions which had prevailed in the reign of Richard I, but it went further, for by granting the citizens the right to have a gild merchant, John provided the basis for social and commercial development in the future.

The sphere of influence within which the citizens could act as a matter of right was not only limited by the crown. Indeed, in the 13th century, the townsmen's most dangerous opponents were their powerful neighbours, the bishop of Hereford, and the dean and chapter. Some measure of the balance of forces in Hereford may be gained from the fact that before the Norman Conquest the bishop of Hereford could claim ninety-eight burgages compared with one hundred and three claimed by the king, and the twenty-seven claimed by Earl Harold. There were changes, for Bishop Robert de Losinga (1079-1095) found only sixty episcopal burgages, but the stake which the bishop had in the city was very considerable.[26] The burgesses might claim to speak corporately for 'the whole community of the city of Hereford', but the facts often belied their claim. They could make gifts 'by the common consent and unanimous wish of our city' (*de communi assensu et unanimi voluntate civitatis nostre*).[27] But a sharp distinction was drawn between the citizens, bound by this common purpose, and others who lived within the walls of Hereford. One test came over the payment of tallage. The citizens attempted to make this payment a general obligation by extending it to the tenants of the bishop and of the dean and chapter. But they were challenged, and in 1227 they found themselves in trouble for trying to enforce this payment. They had used the process of distraint, 'the forcible seizure of a man's goods and chattels, to be held until he had met his obligations. In using this process against the men of the bishop and of the chapter, the bailiffs of Hereford were going beyond their powers. Their offence lay in the fact that 'in the common tallage levied in the city they tallaged their own men and fellow citizens (*homines suos concives*) and the men of the canons (*homines canonicorum*), and they listed the names of the men of the bishop and the dean and chapter.'[28] They had, as a result, been excommunicated by the bishop, and the king intervened to secure peace between bishop and citizens. The offending list, which might be cited as a precedent, was destroyed. Some fifty years later, in 1272, the same issue was once more raised, and was referred to one of Edward I's most distinguished judges, Ralph of Hengham and his colleagues, then acting as justices itinerant. They were to seek the opinion of a jury as to the point of fact: did the tenants of the bishop or of the dean and chapter of Hereford, living in the city, pay tallage, or contribute towards tallage with the citizens of Hereford? Had they done so at any time during the reigns of King John or Henry III?[29] The answer was clear and decisive: they had not paid tallage with the citizens, and the attempt to

involve them failed. Financial exactions were not to be a universal responsibility within the city.

By virtue of their liberties, the bishop and the dean and chapter had rights of jurisdiction over their own men, and as a matter of principle, they would not allow these to be infringed. On one occasion, at least, the bailiffs had entered the lands of the bishop and made arrests there. Challenged, they defied the bishop and refused to give up their prisoners. In 1285 this issue was fought out. Edward I sent instructions to the sheriff of Herefordshire to secure the submission of the bailiffs and citizens. The citizens had been defeated, and they had to accept an agreement with the bishop, Richard Swinfield, in which their failure was plainly recorded. The bailiffs, William Godknave and John le Gaunter and Hugh Boloche, in the presence of a group of leading citizens, Walter de la Barre, William Hamelyn, John de la Hulle, John de Stretton, Richard le Husser, Richard clerk, Roger de Holretone, Robert de Dyke, and others, agreed in the name of the whole community of the city of Hereford (*nomine totius communitatis Herefordie*) not to infringe the liberties of the bishop.[30]

Again, the oversight by the citizens of trade within the ecclesiastical liberties could not be allowed. In 1262 it was stated unequivocally in an agreement between Bishop Peter de Aquablanca and the citizens that the bishop and the dean and chapter had the right of enforcing the royal assises of bread and beer, and of using, when necessary, the town pillory and ducking stool. Their tenants in Hereford, and in certain of their manors, were to have freedom of trade in Hereford.[31]

Taxation and trade were of vital significance for the borough. Their wealth, whether gained as merchants or as manufacturers, made burgesses useful victims of royal taxation. Control of trading conditions within Hereford by the burgesses determined how far commerce should be a local monopoly, and could give the citizens a powerful weapon in bargaining with other towns and cities for trading privileges. It was here that the burgesses suffered their heaviest defeats at the hands of the bishop of Hereford. In 1121, Henry I granted the bishop a fair at Hereford lasting three days at the feast of St. Ethelbert, 13 June.[32] This fair was later greatly extended.[33] By the end of Henry III's reign the fair was held for nine days, and for this period the bishop had been given control of all trading activities within five leagues of Hereford.[34] It was not a unique state of affairs, for the citizens of Winchester, York and Oxford, to take three examples, suffered under similar handicaps. When Bishop Peter de Aquablanca decided to take issue with the citizens over this question, their weakness was fully exposed. In 1241 the bishop asserted that the citizens of Hereford were selling wool and hides in their own premises,[35] during St. Ethelbert's fair, contrary to his liberty and the liberty of his church (*contra libertatem suam et ecclesie sue*). The citizens had to meet humiliating terms. They agreed to sell wool and hides under the same conditions as the foreign merchants who came to the fair at Hereford (*communiter cum aliis extraneis mercatoribus ad nundinas Herefordie venientibus*).[36] Within the walls of their own city, they traded for nine days as if they were themselves strangers coming to the bishop's fair. The bishop had temporary control of all the gates of Hereford, and his officials drew the tolls taken at them.

Commerce is the key to the growth of a sense of corporate community in a medieval town. A common interest in business drew merchants together, and for this reason the gild merchant was a powerful institution in any town. When industry developed, the wealthy entrepreneurs were those who controlled trade, and who often had wide contacts in other parts of the country, or further afield, in Europe. In a great city, like London or Lincoln, the rise to power of the influential merchant dynasties can be traced in some detail. This process is not easy to trace at Hereford. The most lucrative trade of the middle ages was certainly the trade in wool and cloth, and the border counties were renowned for their wool. Herefordshire shared in the production of highly-valued, short wooled, fleeces, and it was from a nearby Herefordshire borough, Leominster, that the golden fleece took its name.[37] It could well be expected that the merchants of Hereford would thrive on the trade in wools and fleeces, much in demand by foreign cloth producers.[38] From Henry III they gained the grant of an annual fair in October, which greatly increased their opportunities for trade.[39] What part they played in cloth production is more conjectural. Much would turn on the interpretation of the citizens' success in obtaining from King John the right to buy and sell coloured cloths as they had done in the reign of Henry II.[40] There is ample evidence of a considerable trade in cloths at Hereford, but not much to indicate that the men of the city imported rare and valuable dyes for the production of fine cloths. In the list of charges to be made on all goods brought to market at Hereford, woad, the dye used for poor quality cloths is the only dye mentioned.[41] There were gilds of fullers and dyers, but not, it would seem, of weavers, in the city in the later middle ages, and fulling mills were to be found along the Wye. The destruction of these at the order of Henry VIII caused a permanent decline in the cloth industry at Hereford,[42] but the scale of this industry in its most flourishing period is not known. There was a considerable trade in hides and some tanning was done.[43] This trade was a cause of friction between the bishop and the citizens during the 13th century, and the tanners' gild played its part in the life of the city in the later middle ages. There was some trade in bark for tanning.[44]

That Hereford was thriving and prosperous at the beginning of the 13th century is fairly clear. One illustration of this is to be seen in the affairs of one man, Ailmund of Hereford, who appears sporadically in the financial records of the central government. He acted as one of the supervisors of repairs to Hereford castle in 1183, and in the same year he owed the king the sum of £5 which he paid in order to delay a suit at law.[45] That was small compared with the £100 which he was fined in 1187 for using false measures of corn, a type of fraudulence all too common among medieval corn dealers.[46] Business must have been good, for he had paid this debt by September, 1193![47] He was sufficiently wealthy for his payment to be noted separately when a tallage was raised in 1195.[48] Little wonder that in 1203 he should be called Ailmund the Rich.[49] It looks as if he had some twenty years as a prominent citizen, and he could face heavy payments to the crown without obvious difficulty.

Another illustration is to be found in the presence and activities of the Jews in Hereford. Often hated and persecuted, the Jews lived under royal protection. They were not limited in their financial transactions by the restrictions of canon law, and they

were bound together by widespread family and social ties. They were international financiers. Life was hazardous and unpredictable, but it could also be profitable. To find a settlement of Jews was an indication of business activity. They can be traced at Hereford from the end of the 12th century, and had probably been settled there for some time earlier. A Jew called Moses was to be found in Herefordshire as early as 1179,[50] and it is to be presumed that he was based on Hereford. Another, this time calling himself specifically Elias of Hereford, was active after 1185, and his affairs involved two others, a Jewess Cypora, and Abraham son of the Rabbi Josce.[51] Salecoc and Isaac occur after 1193.[52] But perhaps more important than individual cases such as these, are indications that from 1194 until 1290 Hereford was one of the permanent Jewish settlements in England. Jewish bonds could be registered there, for Hereford had its own *archa*, while a leading official with the title of 'bishop', *l'Eveske*, occurs at Hereford as at London and Exeter, in the 13th century.[53] The Hereford community was probably small, since in 1219, one bailiff could be responsible for the Jews of Hereford and Worcester together.[54]

All this suggests that at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries there was at Hereford a flourishing community working under severe but not crippling limitations. Trade brought wealth. Corporate organisation was recognised by the grant of royal charters from 1189 onwards, and especially by the grant of a gild merchant in 1216. The wealthy merchants had no doubt provided the town with reeves throughout the 12th century, and now served as officials responsible for the city to the king, and responsible also for the defence of the rights of the citizens against their uncomfortable neighbours, the bishop and the dean and chapter.

By what law did this community live? In part, that is easy: by the law of the land, and by the law of its lord. In 1086, when the Domesday survey was carried through, Hereford was directly subject to the king, who retained for himself three pleas and the forfeitures which they carried, breach of the king's peace, house-breaking, and assault.[55] In part, it is not so easy. For in the 12th and 13th centuries, the king did not have much grasp of what the special demands and loyalties of commerce might be, nor much sympathy for the self-interest which was characteristic of any trading community. The most obvious sign of the deficiencies of the law of the land was the special court in which speedy judgment, essential to an itinerant merchant, could be obtained, the *pieds-poudres* court. During the 13th century, and especially during the reign of Edward I, serious efforts were made to include commerce and business within the law of the land by providing remedies at law for the particular problems of trading communities.[56] But throughout the middle ages, it was very much a case of each borough for itself, as the burgesses arranged matters in their gild and in the city, and through local practice, built up a body of local customs. These, reduced to writing, form the 'custumals', the collections of local customary law of individual medieval boroughs.

In 1904, Miss Mary Bateson could list custumals, varying greatly in length and in detail, for some 125 boroughs in England, Wales, and Ireland, with material from Scotland surviving in slightly different form.[57] Even so, she had to regret the fact that so little was known of the sources for a study of the customary law of boroughs in

these islands. The great advances made in the custody and care of local records during the last sixty years have met some of the criticisms which she then made of the state of many borough archives.

Our knowledge of the customs of Hereford derives from late sources. One brief statement of only five of the Hereford customs was drawn up in 1348, to be sent to the citizens of Rhuddlan.[58] The most extensive survey was compiled in the late 15th century by a mayor of Hereford, John Chippenham, who dated his list 1486.[59] This survey only survives in a late copy drawn up in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.[60] Richard Johnson used two translations in his study of the ancient customs of Hereford, one made in 1649 and the other in the time of William III.[61] Although Chippenham's text is based on earlier sources, its statements on matters of historical events 'rest under considerable suspicion'.[62] His compilation is not a systematic treatise, but was made up from a number of statements of customs prevailing in Hereford, each intended for despatch to a different borough for information, Drysllwyn,[63] Carmarthen,[64] Denbigh,[65] Haverfordwest,[66] and Cardiff.[67] This kind of inter-change was not uncommon. The customs of London and Bristol, for example, were widely used. Yet Hereford scarcely needs comparisons of this sort, for it is almost the classic case of transmission.

The most remarkable feature of these Hereford customs is that they were formed around a core of customs which, at a very early date, soon after the Norman Conquest, were transmitted to Hereford from the Norman borough of Breteuil. The discovery of the full implications of this claim was a splendid piece of historical detection carried out by Miss Mary Bateson, who acknowledged the inspiration of the great historian Frederick William Maitland.[68] Her findings were published in a series of short but important papers in the *English Historical Review* in 1900 and 1901.[69]

Her starting point was the brief statement in Domesday Book that in 1086 the English burgesses of Hereford had the same customs as they had had before the Norman Conquest, 'but the French burgesses are quit for twelve pence from all their forfeitures' except the three royal pleas of breach of the king's peace, house-breaking, and assault.[70] That put French men in a privileged position, and at Hereford, as elsewhere, it must be regarded as an inducement to men from northern France to settle in English towns.[71] With life already hazardous in a border town, it was an advantage to know that there was a maximum penalty for any offence which an immigrant might commit, and to work with a simple principle rather than with a complex system of varying fines. At Hereford this privilege had been granted in the reign of William the Conqueror. But how to demonstrate that this privileged position was linked with Breteuil? Many boroughs claimed to have the law of Breteuil, and a small number of these claimed to have the customs of *Breteuil and Hereford*. The most important instance is perhaps Rhuddlan because there the evidence relates to a very early period. As early as 1086 it was recorded in Domesday that at Rhuddlan the burgesses had the laws and customs *which are at Hereford and in Breteuil*, and these customs were defined, briefly, as the privilege of a twelve-penny forfeiture, apart from the three royal reservations.[72] From later dates in the 13th century, evidence of the same equation of the customs of Hereford and Breteuil can be cited. At Burford

in Shropshire the burgesses gained a charter from Hugh de Mortimer in 1265. He granted that they should hold their burgages according to the liberty and customs of the law of Breteuil *as that liberty is used in the city of Hereford*.[73] Ruyton (Shropshire), Welshpool and, less obviously, Llanvyllin (Montgomeryshire) produce similar evidence. There can be no question that the customs of Hereford and the customs of Breteuil were firmly identified.

Domesday Book does not give any indication of the range covered by these customs. Rather, it cites the most outstanding single feature of the customs of Breteuil and Hereford, the twelve-penny fine. By a comparative study Miss Bateson was able to suggest that no fewer than thirty clauses or chapters could be assigned to the customs of Breteuil.[74] She relied heavily upon material from Hereford, and upon a custumal from Preston (Lancashire)[75] as the most extensive sources from England. From Normandy she was able to use the customs of a borough not far from Breteuil itself, Verneuil, 'which had a body of rules that must have been remarkably like those of Breteuil'.[76] Statements of these customs of Verneuil survive from the reigns of Henry I and Henry II, and when in 1199 King John issued a charter confirming their liberties to the citizens of Breteuil, he was able to identify them succinctly as the liberties of the burgesses of Verneuil.[77] In other words, the local law which was binding upon the burgesses of Hereford in the 12th and 13th centuries, was, in origin, a Norman importation. It was introduced to Hereford by the great Norman magnate, William fitz Osbern, lord of Breteuil and earl of Hereford.

It was this law which Payn fitz John invoked in his writ about Estrilde and her land. Why did he do so? The document does not make this clear, but we can hazard a guess. A commonplace entry in the financial accounts for John's reign may provide a clue. In 1209 two Herefordshire widows paid fines, one Alda or Auda, widow of Gilbert de Broi, a fine of fifteen marks, and the other Margaret, widow of Simon de Brekeberie, thirty marks. They did this in order to have custody of their sons and to marry as they wished.[78] Here was a point at which borough customs in general differed from feudal custom. A feudal society took it for granted that if a man died his lord should have the custody of his heir and lands until the boy was old enough to manage them for himself. In town society, the family tended to have this right.[79] In the same way, a lord might dispose of marriageable women, including widows, as he wished, while in towns, burgesses might often claim the right to give their daughters in marriage as they chose, and widows might claim the right to remarry or not as they wished. In 1209, these were the rights which the two widows purchased from the king. Unfortunately, it is not clear from the reconstruction of the customs of Breteuil whether these privileges were part of the original customs, for the evidence is at best ambiguous. But by Payn fitz John's writ, a woman secured recognition of her right to hold land. It was to be held by her, and by her heir, and she could defend their claim by Payn's writ, by his seal, and by the law of Breteuil. It looks very much as if this is an application of a borough custom which gave to a widow a greater degree of control over her heir and her land than was normal in a feudal society. It looks as if we are dealing with a widow who wished to have her husband's land and his heir, by the law of Breteuil. Estrilde claimed her rights by appeal to a body of customs

imported by the Normans, and speedily found to be advantageous by the community of immigrants which settled at Hereford under the powerful patronage of William fitz Osbern. Intended at first for those Frenchmen who settled in the borough, they became the established privilege of the burgesses. Perhaps a detailed study of the charters issued in the 12th and 13th centuries, especially those affecting the cathedral and its chapter, might throw some light on the extent to which French and English elements intermingled in Hereford after the Norman Conquest. Those customs which were said to be 'at Hereford and Breteuil', were well established and recognised by 1086, and they were to determine much of the day to day routine of life at Hereford throughout the Middle Ages.

1 This paper was originally delivered at a W.E.A. school at Hereford, in April, 1967.

2 See, David Walker, 'Some Charters relating to St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester,' *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton, Pipe Roll Society*, New Series, 36, pp. 248, 259.

3 One roll survives from the reign of Henry I, for the year 1129-30. With rare exceptions, the rolls to the end of John's reign can be studied in the series published by the Pipe Roll Society. Fragments of the roll for the first year of Henry II's reign, 1154-5, are printed in the *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, Rolls Series, 3 vols. (1896), ii, 648-658. The roll for the first year of Richard I must be consulted in the edition by Joseph Hunter, issued by the Record Commissioners in 1844.

4 *P[ipe] R[oll] 2-3-4 Henry II, 51.*

5 *P.R. 16 Henry II*, 58. They finished paying this debt in 1175. *P.R. 21 Henry II*, 86.

6 Cf. the payments imposed by the royal justices, John Cumin and Thurstan son of Simon, in 1173, and by William de Braiose and Miles de Mucegros in 1174. *P.R. 19 Henry II*, 41; *P.R. 20 Henry II*, 123.

7 *P.R. 29 Henry II*, 111; *P.R. 31 Henry II*, 198.

8 *P.R. 33 Henry II*, 133. This debt was still outstanding at the accession of Richard I. (*Great Roll of the Pipe for the first year of King Richard the First*, ed. J. Hunter (1844), 143). During the early years of Richard's reign the Herefordshire account was allowed to fall into great confusion, and it is not clear when the citizens paid this debt.

9 Original Charter at Hereford. Printed. *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, iii, 240; *Hist. Mss. Comm. Report XII*, App. 4, p. 284. Translation in R. Johnson, *The Ancient Customs of the City of Hereford*, 43.

10 *P.R. 2 Richard I*, 45. *xl. li. bl.* is £40 of *blanched* or *assayed* money, a technical reference to one of the methods used at the Exchequer for estimating the true value of the coins paid in by the sheriff.

11 *ib.*, 46.

12 *P.R. 5 Richard I*, 86, 87; *P.R. 6 Richard I*, 136; J. Duncumb, *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford* (1804), i, 344.

13 *P.R. 7 Richard I*, 108; *P.R. 8 Richard I*, 88.

14 *P.R. 9 Richard I*, 194.

15 *P.R. 10 Richard I*, 211.

16 This could be matched from the history of other towns. Gloucester was in a similar position from 1166 until 1177-8. Osmund the reeve rendered a separate account for the borough of Gloucester during this period. In 1178 the sheriff paid £5 into the exchequer, due from Gloucester 'when it was in the hand of the burgesses'. (*P.R. 12 Henry II*, 80; *P.R. 24 Henry II*, 56-7.)

17 J. Tait, *The Medieval English Borough*, 184, for a useful table. For Lincoln, J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, 191. For London, G. A. Williams, *Medieval London: from Commune to Capital*, 2, 87. When Canterbury was granted to its citizens in fee farm in 1234, the farm was fixed at £60. W. Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, 42.

18 J. Tait and V. H. Galbraith, *The Herefordshire Domesday, P.R.S.*, N.S., 25, pp. 75, 125.

19 Cf. the effects of John's reign on the affairs of Lincoln. See, Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, 193-201.

20 *P.R. 1 John*, 215. There was obviously some confusion about these events at the Exchequer, and this is reflected in the entries in the records. See, *The Memoranda Roll for 1 John, P.R.S.*, N.S. vol. 21, pp. 5, 50.

21 *ib.*, 51; *P.R. 2 John*, 241.

22 *P.R. 4 John*, 272.
23 *ib.*, 275. The rights of towns, and in particular the privilege of holding the town at farm, were liable to arbitrary curtailment under the Angevin Kings. See J. Tait, *The Medieval English Borough*, 162-181.
24 *P.R. 16 John*, 137.
25 Original Charter at Hereford. Printed, *Rotuli Chartarum*, ed. T. Duffus Hardy (1837), 212. Translation, Johnson, p. 43. Duncumb noted that 'the original incorporation of Hereford has generally been attributed to King John', but he followed the lead afforded by records of the early years of Henry III's reign and assumed that 'the original charter of privileges granted to the inhabitants of Hereford' was made by Henry III. (*Collections*, i, 345, 355.)
26 D[omesday] B[ook], i, ff. 179b, 181b; *V.C.H. Heref.*, i, 309, 310, 320.
27 H[ereford] C[athedral] C[harter] no. 3218. W. W. Capes, *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, p. 62. The phrase occurs in a charter recording a gift to the newly founded hospital of St. Ethelbert, soon after 1227, and it recurs in an agreement of 1241. (*ib.*, 77.)
28 H.C.C. no. 2947a; Capes, 63.
29 Capes, p. 128. The device of seeking a decision from the king's justices had been used in 1256, when Bishop Peter de Aquablanca claimed, to the disadvantage of the burgesses, the goods of felons in the city. (Cf. Johnson, 67.)
30 *Register Swinfield*, 95; Capes, 153.
31 *Register Cantilupe*, 91; Capes, 119; Johnson, 68.
32 Capes, 4; Duncumb, i, 296; Johnson, 66. See also, C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154*, vol. ii, *Regesta Henrici Primi*, nos. 1265, 1267.
33 A charter alleged to have been issued by Roger, earl of Hereford, between 1148 and 1155, purports to grant a four day extension of this fair, but the claim cannot be seriously defended. (Capes, 13; see also, David Walker, 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford, 1095-1201'. *Camden Miscellany XXII*, Camden Series (Royal Historical Society), 4th series, i, 22, no. 19.)
34 H.C.C. no. 1400 (A.D. 1261-2); Capes, 119; Johnson, 66.
35 *in domibus suis*, i.e., in their houses or dwellings. Whether this means 'in their shops', or, as we might now say, 'under the counter', is an open question.
36 Capes, 77; *Register Swinfield*, 90; Duncumb, i, 299; Johnson, 67.
37 Cf. E. Power, *The Medieval English Wool Trade*, 21, 23; G. F. Townsend, *The Town and Borough of Leominster*, 25.
38 The paucity of information about the wool trade of the English midland and border counties in this period may be judged by reference to R. H. Hilton's recent study, *A Medieval Society*, 84, 178-9.
39 Johnson, 44; See *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, i, 25; iii, 240.
40 *P.R. 4 John*, 275; see above, p. 56.
41 Johnson, 47-8. This list, from the reign of Edward I, is matched by a later list issued in the reign of Richard II. (*ib.*, 50).
42 *ib.*, 85, 88.
43 *ib.*, 69, 85.
44 *ib.*, 48, 50.
45 *P.R. 29 Henry II*, 109, 111.
46 *P.R. 33 Henry II*, 132.
47 *P.R. 5 Richard I*, 88.
48 *P.R. 7 Richard I*, 110.
49 *P.R. 5 John*, 56. He does not occur after 1204. *P.R. 6 John*, 18.
50 *P.R. 25 Henry II*, 41.
51 *P.R. 31 Henry II*, 198. For Abraham son of the Rabbi Josce, see H. G. Richardson, *The English Jewry under the Angevin Kings*, 121.
52 *P.R. 5 Richard I*, 92. Other examples might be cited from the early 13th century. See, Richardson, 123, 126.
53 *ib.*, 14, 125. The number of settlements in England in the 13th century varied from as many as seventeen to as few as thirteen.
54 *ib.*, 133, 179, 193.
55 *D.B.*, i, f.179; *V.C.H. Heref.*, i, 310.
56 See especially, T. F. T. Plucknett, *The Legislation of Edward I*, 136-161.
57 *Borough Customs*, vol. i, Selden Society, 18 (1904), xviii-lvi. General reference might also be made to *British Borough Charters 1042-1216*, ed. A. Ballard (1913) *1216-1307*, ed. A. Ballard and J. Tait (1923), and *1307-1660*, ed. M. Weinbaum (1943).
58 *ib.*, xxx; Johnson, 9.
59 In the list of officers printed by Duncumb, and later by Johnson, he appears as mayor in 1483, 1486 and 1490. (Duncumb, i, 365; Johnson, 169-70). Richard II granted the right to use the style of mayor in his charter of 1384. The lists of mayors begins in 1382. (Duncumb, i, 364; Johnson, 50-51, 168.)

60 Bateson, *Borough Customs*, i, p. xxxi; it is not a complete or exclusive list of customs.
61 Johnson, 40. *Hist. Mss. Comm. 13th Report*, pt. iv, 289. In Duncumb, the long statement of customs is given in volume i, 318 ff.
62 Bateson, *Borough Customs*, i, p. xxxi. A muddled dating clause has led to the mistaken view that these customs date from the reign of Henry II.
63 Chapters 1-48. This analysis is based on Bateson, *Borough Customs*, i, pp. xxxi-xxxii.
64 Chapters 49-73, derived from a document drawn up by John le Gaunter, bailiff of Hereford during the reign of Edward I. Johnson places him as chief bailiff in 1281, 1284, 1287, 1288, 1290, and 1291. (Johnson, 166.)
65 Chapter 74.
66 Chapters 75-78.
67 Chapters 79-91, drawn up by John le Gaunter.
68 *E[nglish] H[istorical] R[eview]*, vol. XV (1900), 76.
69 Vol. XV, 73-8, 302-18, 496-523, 754-757; vol. XVI, 92-110, 332-345.
70 *D.B.*, i, f.179; *V.C.H. Heref.*, i, 310.
71 Miss Bateson considered this particular question in *E.H.R.*, XVI, 92 ff.
72 *D.B.*, i, f.269; quoted, *E.H.R.*, XV, 302, 306.
73 *ib.*, XV, 316, quoting Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, iv, 318.
74 *E.H.R.*, XV, 754-757.
75 *ib.*, 496-500.
76 *ib.*, 76.
77 *ib.*, 78. Miss Bateson could cite the early customs of Verneuil for twenty out of thirty chapters in her reconstruction of the customs of Breteuil.
78 *P.R. 11 John*, 62. They cleared the debts in the following year. *P.R. 12 John*, 146. Alda can be traced elsewhere. (Cf. *The Herefordshire Domesday*, ed. J. Tait and V. H. Galbraith, *P.R.S.*, N.S. 25, p. 110; *Book of Fees*, pp. 102, 337.) For the general question of marriage and wardships, see A. L. Poole, *Obligations of Society in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, 97 ff.
79 There was often uncertainty about this point. Intestacy, especially, raised difficulties, and gave the lord of the fee opportunities to intervene and assert his own claims. (See M. Bateson, *Borough Customs*, ii (1906), Selden Society, 21, pp. 74-100.)

The Eleventh-Century Norman Work in Hereford Cathedral

By H. J. POWELL

THIS paper is an attempt to prove that the Cathedral was commenced in 1080 and to suggest what the intention of the Norman builders was and how their work in the south transept was completed in the 12th century.

The east wall of the south transept of Hereford Cathedral has always been regarded as some of the earliest of Robert of Losinga's Norman work and it has been photographed and described in probably every guide book and paper written about the building. It was always said to have been built in 1080 until the advent of the Royal Commission who suggested 1110, but no one ever explained the break in the triforium until George Marshall wrote his book on the Cathedral. This paper elaborates on George Marshall's interesting theory and makes one or two additional suggestions.

On the other hand, the west wall of the south transept has really received very little attention and, as far as is known, no attempt has been made to produce a drawing showing what it originally looked like.

It is usually described with a statement that the large perpendicular window was inserted in the west wall between 1421-1448 and that at the same time the vault was erected and the northern clerestory window was converted into a perpendicular light with two mullions and a transom. In passing it might be mentioned that this vault is of the tierceron type and is not a lierne vault as it is wrongly described in George Marshall's excellent book on the cathedral.

A recent investigation into the ancient fireplace in this wall disclosed the very interesting features that the wall contained both internally and externally, and as this fireplace has an important bearing on the design of the Norman wall the following facts are of interest.

The fireplace in the west wall of the south transept has been described at different times as follows:

1. A Norman fireplace.
2. 15th or 16th century. (Royal Commission).
3. 18th century. (George Marshall).

It would appear that this problem has never been investigated from a practical angle and therefore an investigation of these suggestions will be of interest.

The Royal Commission probably suggested the 15th or 16th century because the fireplace was formed in what appears to be stonework inserted at the time when the large west window was built in this wall. Also the mouldings around the jambs of the fireplace opening would not fit any earlier period. However the flue finishes under the splayed cill on the inside of this window and would require an iron flue pipe and

a bend to pass through the window. Such a flue would not draw and the fact that it faces the prevailing wind would only worsen the situation. The Royal Commission would appear to be in error over this matter.

If this fireplace was formed in the 18th century the flue is very strange indeed. At this period fireplaces and flues were coming into general use and their construction was becoming well understood. George Marshall says the flue, most likely, discharged above the cloister roof, as there can never have been a chimney. If this is true the fireplace would have been virtually useless for the reasons given above. To make it work it would have been necessary to take an iron flue pipe through the window and up to the top of the transept, much like the present-day stoves. Even then the fireplace would not have burned as the stoves do, not having any controlled air for combustion. It is difficult to believe that any 18th-century builder would make such a fireplace and flue and in any case would the expense really be warranted for the occasional use of a Consistory Court.

We are now left with the question as to whether this was originally a Norman fireplace as it was always said to be until the advent of the Commission. It is still labelled as such with a framed notice in the opening.

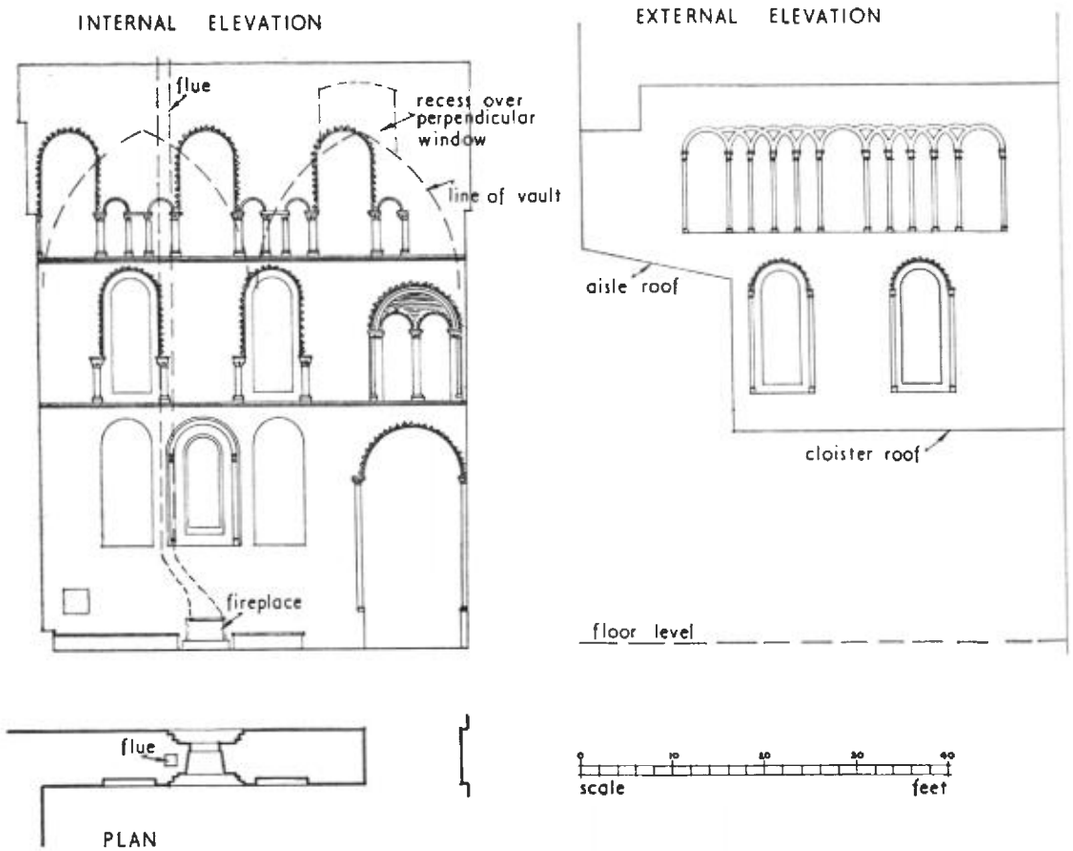
Having considered the alternatives and in the light of further investigation it will be seen that there are various points in its favour. In the first place the fireplace opening is in the centre of the former recessed Norman window, one respond of which still remains behind the existing window jamb. If the flue had run straight up from here before the insertion of the perpendicular window it could have discharged at the top of the transept wall where it would at least have had a fair chance of drawing.

If the fireplace and flue is carefully inspected it will be seen that the fireplace jambs seem older than the walling adjacent and that the flue itself has a very modern look and has the appearance of never having been used. It is, moreover, set about 9 ins. back from the wall face and finishes under the cill of the window with a square stone slab. There is no sign of any bend or junction for a pipe. On reference to a booklet *Hereford Cathedral its history and restoration* by the Rev. W. Heather, LL.D., published in 1869 the following occurs on page 24 referring to the restoration of the South Transept. 'As a matter of course the whole of the stonework and vaulting has been brought once more to light by the removal of whitewash and mortar, but beyond this preliminary step, a very serious and menacing fissure in the east wall has been made good. The canopy work of Bishop Trevenant's tomb has been restored, and so has the curious fireplace in the west wall. The Norman arcading, too, has been brought into view and restored.'

Also in *Hereford, Herefordshire and the Wye* by D. R. Chapman, published in 1883, is the following on page 36, 'Ancient fireplace, restored in accordance with the original remains.' (sic) Would a fireplace built in the late 18th century be in ruins in the mid-19th century? In the light of our present-day knowledge of Victorian Church Architects it is more than probable that the flue as existing is a complete Victorian restoration, very probably nearer the inside surface of the wall than the original for ease of construction.

This now leads us to the theory that this fireplace was in fact originally Norman but when the Consistory Court was moved here in the 18th century the opening was reduced with a new surround and hearth and some attempt was made to use it probably with the help of a flue pipe of some sort. It could not have been very successful neither could the heat generated in such a fireplace have been of much help in the Cathedral.

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL
WEST WALL OF SOUTH TRANSEPT



George Marshall tells us that the opening in the centre of the west wall above the fireplace was a window which shed light on the altar of the Virgin which was in the centre of the east wall opposite. The Royal Commission also says this archway was a window. What constructive evidence is there for saying this?

If the remaining jamb is examined from a ladder we shall find that it consists of an attached shaft with a Norman base and capital and is similar to the window design found in the Dean's Vestry which was the former Treasury. The opening was about 6 ft. wide and the wall at this point is about 6 ft. thick. This would give a window about 4 ft. wide.

It has already been suggested by George Marshall that the east wall was only at first built to the top of the triforium as the clerestory has window arches surrounded by chevron ornament which points to 12th-century work, also the clerestory was set out without regard to the lay-out of the triforium. Now on the west wall the chevron ornament occurs at triforium level as we shall presently see and it is probable that the west wall was first built to triforium passage level and a lean-to roof was placed from the east wall to the west wall. This would account for the window mentioned above as otherwise there would have been no light in this wall.

When the work was re-commenced on this transept in the 12th century the clerestory of the east wall was constructed and also the west wall starting at the triforium level.

This ties in well with George Marshall's suggestion that the triforium arch of the east wall over the south choir aisle was altered to conform with the later design of the presbytery triforium as the corresponding arch in the west wall would have been built to the later design.

The suggestion that the east wall of the south transept was not at first joined to the tower pier cannot be true as it is known that a corresponding portion of the Norman north transept was built adjoining the N.E. tower pier and remains of the Norman triforium can be seen there both externally and internally. (See George Marshall's book, plates 4 and 9). This is however to the original design of the south transept and must have been built at the same time. It obviously was not altered at a later date as on the south side which I think proves that the north transept was not completed in Norman times and agrees with George Marshall's theory. The opposite triforium arch on the west wall of the north transept would have been originally inserted later when the nave was constructed.

The answer surely is that the north-east and south-east tower piers were erected when the presbytery was built together with the east wall of the south transept up to the top of the triforium and on the north side the arch of the north choir aisle together with the triforium arches over. This would enable the north choir aisle to be erected. The clerestory of the choir must have been built with a timber roof similar to the south transept before the erection of the later vault. One cannot imagine the elaborate transitional Norman retro choir being constructed if the presbytery had no clerestory. Also it should be remembered that the south transept has a Norman clerestory.

Now the triforium of the west wall of the south transept displays an unusual feature for instead of being a blind arcade there are the remains externally of a Norman window and internally an opening similar to the clerestory in the east wall which proves there was a passageway. Both these openings are surrounded with chevron ornament which dates them as 12th century. No doubt there was another of these windows further south which was disturbed when the large perpendicular window was

put in. There is no evidence that there were any small arches between the window openings internally.

There remains now the clerestory and here another problem presents itself. There is left the remains of a clerestory internally which is similar to that on the opposite wall. The present stove pipe passes through one of the small arches which would have been adjacent to the window opening. The present perpendicular clerestory window at the north end would seem to have been placed in an original Norman window and the arched opening of the central light, however, is not opposite its counterpart in the east wall but more to the south.

Also from above the vault it can be seen that the clerestory window mentioned above is not under a Norman arch but in a recess that is carried 4 ft. 6 in. above the vault and finishes with a segmental arch. The reason for this is probably that this window was inserted to the higher level when the large south window was built between 1389-1404 and before the vault was erected. When the vault was built this window was reduced in height and the head finished at vault level with a rough arch as can be seen from above. Now externally at clerestory level between the two perpendicular windows there is the remains of some blind Norman arcading which is quite different from the east wall and it was obvious that it would be necessary to make measured drawings of the external and internal elevations to see how this blind arcade related to the internal window positions.

By taking some measurements of the west wall at ground level and above the vault and on the roof some drawings of the west wall were prepared from which it was found that the blind arcade appeared to run between the positions where the clerestory windows would have been as measured from the inside and therefore it seemed possible that there could have been windows in this clerestory. The reason for doubting this is because in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* for 1871 covering a meeting in Herefordshire and in an article on the cathedral by Gordon Hills he says 'Owing to this light in the triforium, the clerestory above, in the western side, was merely a series of blank panels.' Now he must have had some good authority for saying this particularly as only nine years had passed since this transept had been thoroughly restored, and furthermore the statement was not disputed in an article on Hereford Cathedral in the *Archaeological Journal* for 1877 by Gilbert Scott the architect responsible for that restoration. In this article Scott refers to the former paper and says 'I shall, therefore, with his kind consent, make free use of Mr. Hills' collected information, adding, if possible, any I may have elsewhere picked up; and if in any instance I may happen to differ at all from his conclusions, I trust that this may in no degree be considered as evincing any want of the highest appreciation for his very able and laborious researches.'

From the drawing referred to it can be seen that this wall displays the features mentioned and that the flue could have run to the top of the wall missing the windows at all levels.

Bullingham - Old Church

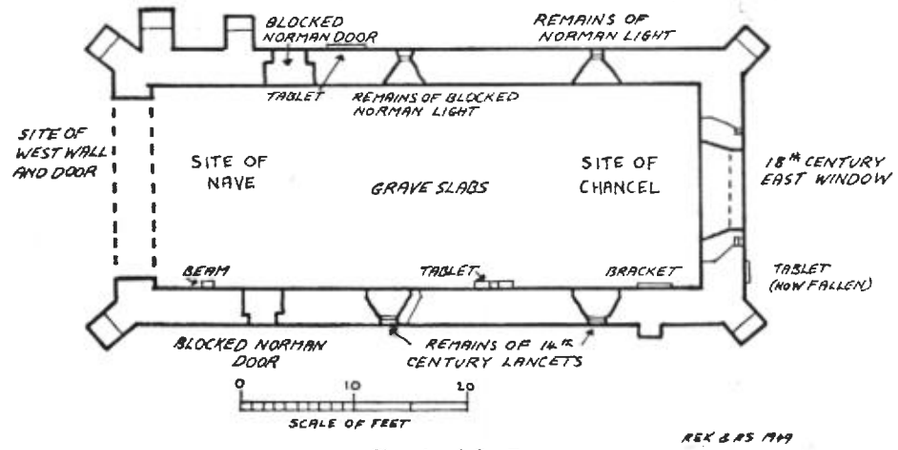
By R. SHOESMITH, R. E. KAY, I. N. LANCASTER

IN early 1967, the Woolhope Archaeological Research Group received a report of damage to the Old Church at Bullingham. A visit shortly afterwards confirmed this—the churchyard had been bulldozed flat, and a bulldozer had cleared along the nave and chancel. This, and the removal of the ivy which had protected the building, rapidly hastened the disintegration of the remaining fabric.

In the middle of 1968, the Ministry of Works gave permission for most of the masonry, including all the Norman features, to be levelled, because of its dangerous condition. Unfortunately, this work was carried out before any photographic or other record could be taken.

The Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments[1] and Pevsner[2] were both hampered by the large amounts of ivy when the site was visited so we decided to gather together any pictorial evidence remaining. No trace of any suitable photographs could be found, so a record has been brought together of paintings, sketches etc., showing the more recent history of the building. The inadequate and incomplete record which follows demonstrates what may well happen to many of the older churches and buildings in the county as they become disused unless far more comprehensive records are kept.

The Church of St. Peter at Upper Bullingham is in the north-east corner of the parish of Grafton some two miles south of Hereford. The church itself is quite small (see plan fig. 1) being some 48 ft. by 18 ft. and built of local sandstone. It was probably built during the late 11th or the 12th centuries and appears to have had little alteration until the 18th century. Both doors, which have been blocked, are of Norman date and until recently had plain round rear-arches (see fig. 2), the north



Church of St. Peter.

FIG. 1

Plan of Bullingham Old Church.

door having a large flat lintel. The north wall also had two windows, each of one lancet-light, probably of the 12th century. At some time the westernmost one had been blocked. The south wall has had some alteration, the easternmost window being of one lancet-light, whilst the westernmost had been altered to a debased form of ogee

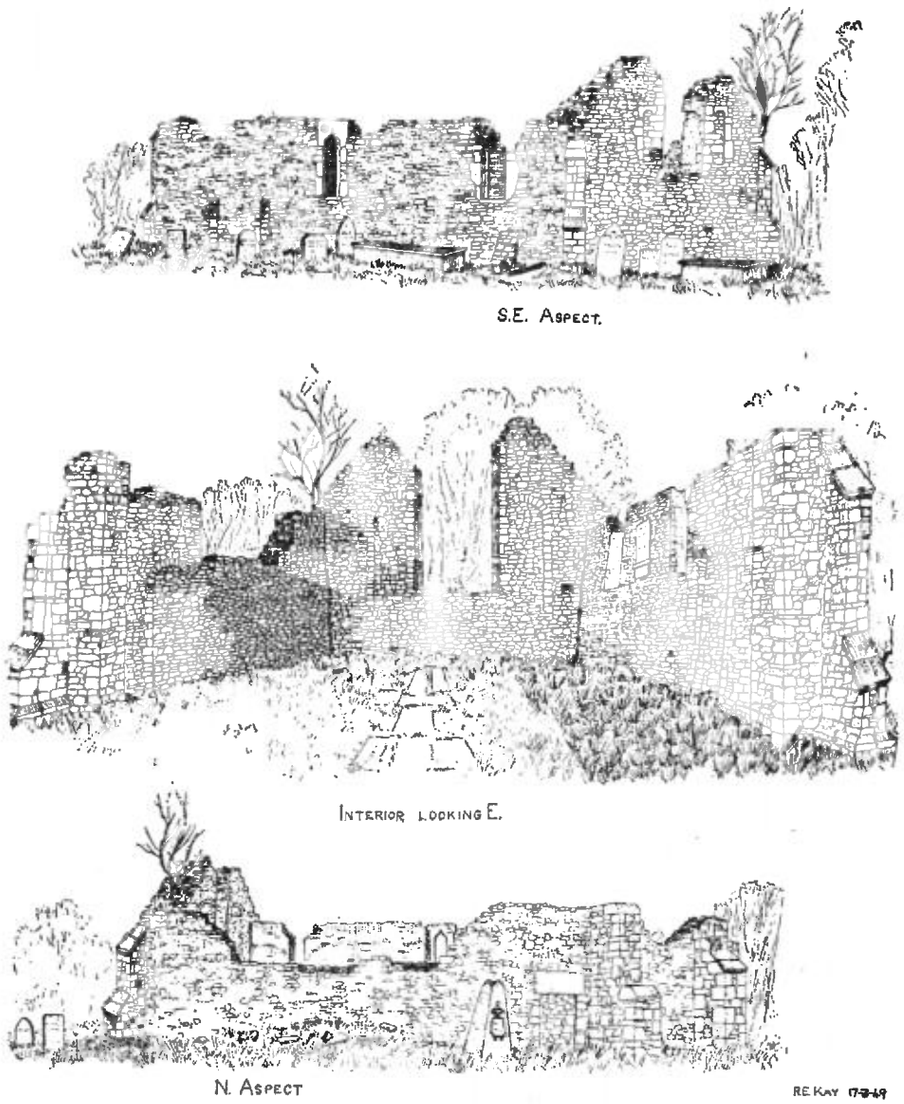


Fig. 2
Bullingham Old Church in 1949.
Drawings by R. E. Kay.

or trefoiled head. The splay of the earlier window was visible to the east of the 14th-century one. The east wall originally had 12th-century windows, the outer splays showing north and south of the late pseudo-Gothic replacement. At some time the four angles of the building were furnished with two stage buttresses. The north-west angle received a further addition of two substantial buttresses, and the south wall, near its east end, a small one less than one-third the height of the wall. The west wall has long been removed and the stumps brought to a rough face.

The illustrations show the gradual changes in the fortunes of this building:

PLATE XIV

The south-west aspect prior to re-building in 1819.

This copy of a water-colour shows the massively buttressed west wall supporting the wooden bell tower. At this time the south door was still in use with a rough porch on the outside.

A very poor water-colour, now in the vestry of the new church, shows the west front after the alterations. It appears that the whole west wall was re-built, the wooden bell-tower removed, and a door inserted between two new buttresses. Above the door was a pseudo-Gothic west window and a small louvred opening, perhaps associated with the bell. A stone cross adorned the gable end.

PLATE XV

The north-east aspect about 1850.

A water-colour by Gill shows the church about the middle of the 19th century. The two Norman north windows can be seen and the ogee-headed pseudo-Gothic east window. This also shows the two-stage nave and chancel roof. Signs of decay, with ivy growing onto the south roof, are becoming visible.

A similar water-colour of the same date (not illustrated) shows that the south porch had been removed.

FIGURE TWO

A hundred years later only the shell of the building remained when R. E. Kay made these sketches in 1949.

S.E. Aspect: Little shows of the south door shown in Plate XIV, but the western window survives intact. This may be an 18th-century replacement of an earlier Norman window. The 12th-century windows, cut by the remains of the pseudo-Gothic insertion show on the east face.

Interior looking East

The 12th-century features are shown on this drawing. The rounded rear arches of the north and south doors and the early east windows show the original simplicity of the building. Above the south door, the sawn-off beams may have originally supported the wooden bell tower of Plate XIV.

The North Aspect

This shows the massive lintel belonging to the blocked north door, which could possibly indicate an 11th-century date for the original building.

PLATE XVI

The North-west aspect in 1968.

All loose and dangerous masonry has been removed and the grounds bulldozed level. Little now remains of any architectural or historical interest.

The reconstruction in 1819 seems to have done comparatively little to stop the deterioration of the fabric, and a new church, a little distance away was consecrated in April, 1880.

The state of the old church was such that it had to be shored up in the 1870's and then further reinforced with iron tie-rods. Once abandoned as a place of worship, the roof and weak west wall must soon have been removed, and further attempts to make the building safe brought about the inevitable decay.

It is worth observing that prior to 1949, no photographs of this building have been traced. This situation may well apply to many of the deserted and partially ruinous churches in the county.

1 *Herefordshire*, Vol. I (1930), 83a.
2 N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Herefordshire* (1963), 140.

The Medieval Homestead of Wallingstones

By N. P. BRIDGEWATER

This account describes the excavation[1] of a medieval homestead, originally named WALDYNGESTON, in the parish of Llangarron, south Herefordshire (N.G.R. SO. 503222). It lies in the ancient district of Archenfield (fig. 1). A 13th-century land surface, containing occupational material, was found below the present mound and part of the original ditch system was revealed. Contemporary with this, or soon afterwards, but before A.D. 1250, a first-floor hall was built with an undercroft used as a workshop, and also a garderobe tower. A mound was raised upon this land surface for the site of a stone-built house, possibly half-timbered, as a wing to the upper floor of the hall. This was occupied for about half a century, when it was then abandoned and the hall partially demolished. After a period without occupation on the site, another building on the mound appears to have been in use during the 15th century, and the hall undercroft was used as a rubbish pit. At this time a curtain wall was erected around the mound, possibly with a moat outside. The discovery of a large quantity of various domestic objects was a special feature of the excavation, and these finds will be offered to the Hereford City Museum.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE (fig. 2).

THE focal point of the site (c.200 feet above Ordnance datum) is a low mound, about 125 feet in length and width, mostly surrounded by ditches and marshy land. It is almost certain that some of the water-courses are of recent origin, so that in medieval times the area would have been much drier. The bedrock here is the Old Red Sandstone, which is covered with red sandy subsoil with clay in parts, and much clay was found in the mound. There is also a large rectangular withy-bed (FP) to the east, which originally may have been a fishpond. Low mounds (near W) stand to the west. The Nant-y-Waun, a stream flowing northwards, was probably a natural water-course. The curved feature D-D represents a crop mark visible at certain seasons, in the rushes of the marshy area. It is possible that the period 1 ditch system, found by excavations (fig. 3) may have formerly joined up both with this feature and with the present visible drainage ditch (E) on the northern side of the mound. The latter could well have been an overflow from the old fishpond into the Nant-y-Waun brook. The shape of this comprehensive drainage system suggests that other features may have existed in the present marshy area.

The recent discovery of Wallingstones by the writer was made by reference to Bryant's map of Herefordshire (1832-4); it does not appear on the 6 inch Ordnance Survey

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Although no such evidence exists for the actual occupation, the following references* to land at WALDYNGESTON almost certainly appertain to our site of Wallingstones.[2]

FIG. 1
Wallingstones—The Archenfield district.

The names *Danyeston and Bernythen,* can be recognised today as Dason Farm, near Hentland, and Bernithan Court, in Llangarron. *Kyngiscapull* is King's Caple, and *Bedilston* is Biddlestone. The general indication is that WALDYNGESTON was an area or manor, perhaps, in which the villages of Langstone, Llangunnock, TreReece and TreEssey were situated. These deeds form a series, and show that Roger Maynston was interested in Wallingstones from 1499 to 1526, and they probably represent steps taken to safeguard the property against forfeiture. In 1499 he gave the land to Ralph and John ap Huys as a precautionary grant, so that if he was impeached the donees could later see that the land came back to his family. In 1526 the land was returned to him, and in the last deed his trustees devise the property to various descendants. It should be noted that until recently the term 'town' was used in Herefordshire to denote 'tun'—an enclosed homestead farm, being applied to the smallest hamlet or even to a farmyard.

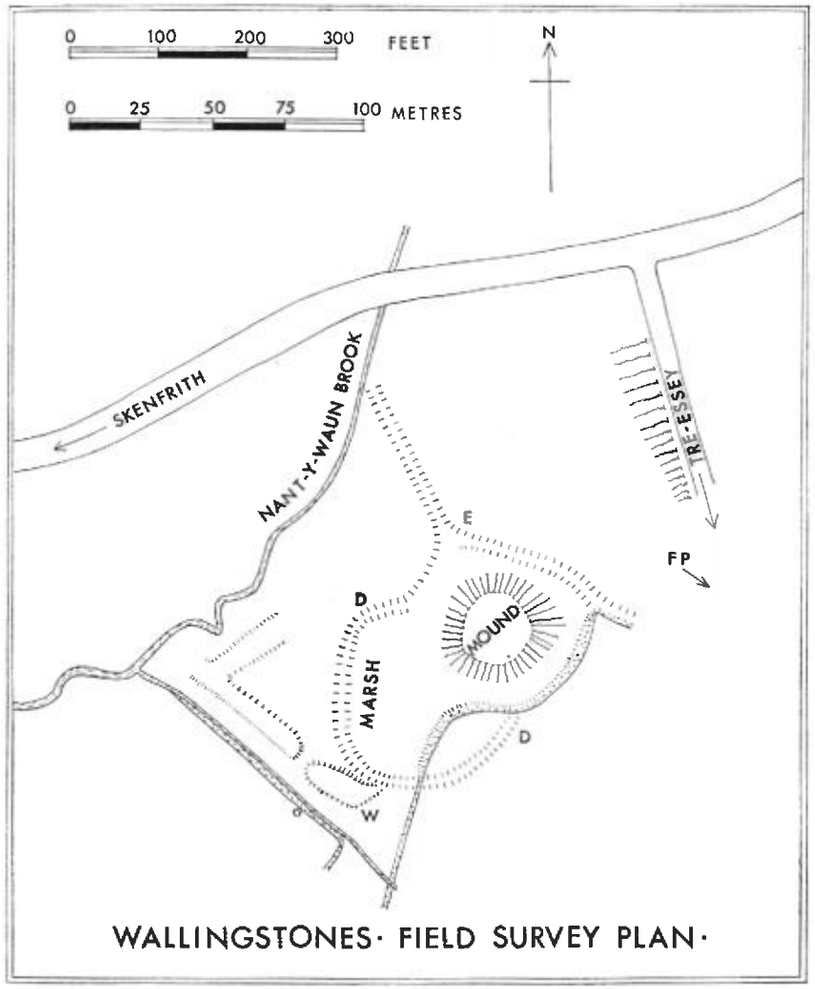


FIG. 2
Wallingstones—Field survey plan.

Just to the north of Wallingstones lies Trippenkennett. That this may have been an ancient homestead is suggested by the proposed derivation *Tref-pen-cenedlon*—meaning "the homestead (or household) of the head of the kindred (or tribe)".[3] The Hundreds of Wormelow[4] states "Wallingstones and Wallhead are the site of an ancient fort or Castle". This land was part of the estate of William Chinn of Trepenkennet in 1714. The name "Trepenkennet" occurs in the Llyfr Baglan which was completed in 1607, and from the 15th until the 17th century it was the home of a branch of the ancient family, the Gwillims of Erchinfield.

* *A Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* in P.R.O. Vol. 6.

C.4074 Grant by Roger Maynston, gentleman, to Ralph and John ap Huys, sons of John ap Huy of Danyeston in Irchynfelde, of all his lands in Bernythan and Waldyngeston and all his other lands in the lordship of Irchynfelde or elsewhere in the hundred of Wormelow. Witness: Sir John Phelpotte, Chaplain, and others (named). Bernythen, Friday, 9 August 1499.

C.7244 Grant by John ap Huy, of Kyngiscapull, one of the sons of John ap Huy of Danyeston in Irchynfelde, to Roger Maynston of all the lands etc., which he, together with Ralph ap Huy, his late brother, had by the gift of the said Roger in Bernythen, Waldyngeston and elsewhere within the hundred of Wormelow. 1 May 1526.

C.7489 Indenture, being a grant by Roger ap Maynston, gentleman, of Bernythen, to John ap Phelpot, rector of Peturstow, chaplain, and John ap Huy, of Bedilston, of all his lands in Bernythen, Waldyngston and Treyevan, in the townships (villages) of Trecelly, Langeston, Langannock and TreReece, or elsewhere in the hundred of Wormelow. Dated at Bernythen 31 May 1526.

C.7422 Grant by John ap Phelpot, chaplain and John ap Huy of Bedilston, to Roger ap Maynston, gentleman, and the heirs male of his body, of one "le Rough" called "Cregerough" with all the lands in Waldyngston, in the townships (villages) of Langeston, Langannock, TreReece and TreEssey, which they had by the gift of the said Roger within the hundred of Wormelow: remainder to their heirs female of Roger's body: remainder to Roger's right heirs. Dated at Waldyngston 6 June 1526.

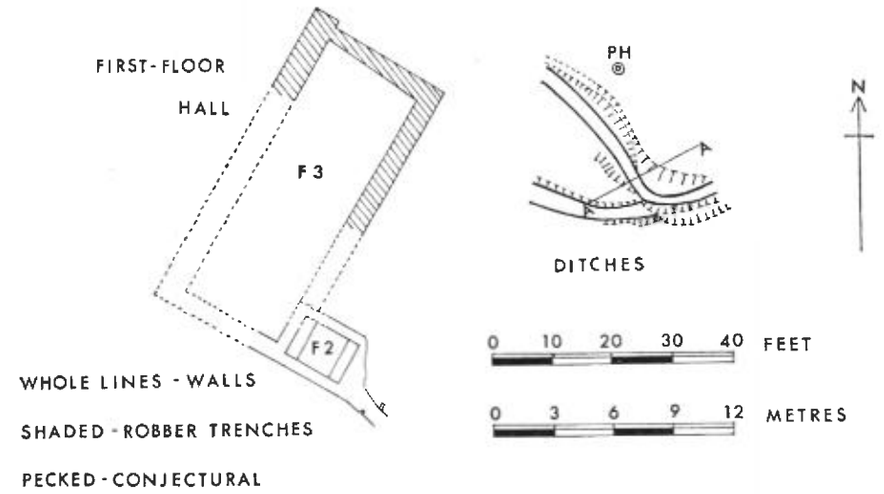
The Nant-y-Waun stream (fig. 2) meaning "the brook in the meadow", divides Wallingstones and Trippenkennett, and is in fact the boundary separating the parishes of Llangarron and St. Weonards. There is another, curious, field name—"Snaps Castle" —which refers to the field on the south of, and adjacent to, the Wallingstones site. Trial trenches in this field failed to reveal any occupational or structural features. In the Hereford City Library there is a manuscript of 1811 entitled "Lands of Wallingstones *farm*, situated in the parishes of St. Weonards and Llangarron". One wonders if this is represented by the feature W (on fig. 2).

The etymology of WALDYNGESTON has not been described, but the first element could be the O.E. personal name WALDING, for which there is some evidence in English place names.[5]

Of the history in early Norman times we know that this district was a Welshry interspersed with feudal arrangements, so that documentary detail is likely to be absent in the feudal period. Undoubtedly our site lies in an ancient tribal area, and a Saxon origin is quite feasible, as Saxon place names occur in Archenfield well beyond the western bank of the Wye.

THE EXCAVATION

Excavations were carried out during five seasons, from 1959 until 1963. The excavation of a mound containing structures poses certain problems of technique. Ideally, completely open excavation, to embrace the whole mound, would have been most efficient, but as this was impossible to do, a series of open boxes were made each season until most of the western half of the mound had been covered (fig. 6). Even so, all of this area could not be cleared to the natural. Owing to the waterlogged nature of the site and the extensive stone robbing it was not possible to complete the excavation of the eastern part.



WALLINGSTONES · PERIOD 1 ·

FIG. 3
Wallingstones—Period 1.

PERIOD SUMMARY

1A Ditch system and possibly timber buildings.
1B First-floor hall with undercroft used as workshop.
Garderobe tower.
Phase 1 occupation, before *c*,A.D. 1250.
II (1) Mound erected and house F1 built, as wing to upper floor of hall.
(2) Phase 2 occupation, *c*. 1250-1300/1325.
III House F1 abandoned. House destruction layer.
Hall and garderobe partially demolished and west-end wall of F1 removed.
1300/1325—before 1400.
IV (1) House F5 possibly in use.
Phase 3 occupation. Before 1400-1500.
(2) Curtain wall probably built now. Outer walls of garderobe still standing.
Possibly a moat was now dug.
V Final destruction, after *c*. 1500.

THE EVIDENCE FROM EXCAVATION

PERIOD I (fig. 3)

Although it was not possible to expose the whole medieval land surface underlying the mound, this was encountered in many places. It consisted of a greyish sandy loam probably darkened by the incorporation of organic matter and ashes from continued occupation (layer 3, section A, fig. 7).[6] The main feature of this period was the ditch

system (see pl. XVII) cutting the land surface (fig. 3 and section A, fig. 7) and draining from the south-east to north-west. A smaller ditch joined it from the west. As very little silt was found, there must have been a continuous drainage to a lower level. The only finds from the ditches were the base of a medieval cooking-pot and the kernel of a blackthorn.

In the old land surface slightly north of the ditch a post-hole, 15 ins. diameter and 2½ ft. deep, contained the remains of a wooden post of 9 ins. diameter. This could be indicative of timber buildings during this period. Some fragmentary remains of stonework were also discovered 9 ft. south-east of the ditch, and although some of the stones were scattered others appear to have been laid.

Very few finds were obtained from the old land surface. These consisted of medieval cooking-pot sherds, animal bones, some bloomery iron slag, a horse-shoe nail and a shale spindle whorl (appendix IV, No. 1).

The features F3 and F2 are regarded as a joint structure, built in period IB, consisting of first-floor hall and garderobe tower, respectively. Although these may have been contemporary with the ditch system the possibility of a timber building in period IA would suggest a later replacement by stone buildings. Only indirect evidence can be supplied to justify placing F3 and F2 in the pre-mound phase. Thus it can be noted that both are free-standing structures on the subsoil. Moreover, the large quantity of finds in the body of the mound proves the existence of some former local occupation.

The stone-built hall, a house of 'hall and cellar' type, is a typical Norman house, common in the latter part of the 12th century, and continuing into the 14th and 15th centuries. The hall was raised for defensive purposes.[7] The existence of F3 can be clearly inferred from the evidence of backfilling in its robbed wall trenches (section D, fig. 8). The floor of the undercroft (layer 6) was at wall footing level and some of the objects embedded in this floor suggest that it could have been used as a work-shop or general store. These finds belong to phase 1 occupation and include an auger or bit (appendix IV, No. 31), and a weed-hook (No. 32). Also, at one spot was found a small pit, 12 ins. diameter and 6 ins. depth, full of mortar, and the surrounding soil was red as from heating. Some mortar lumps and a little charcoal were also present in the floor. It is possible that the room was partly floored with sandstone flags as the remains of these were discovered (see pl. XX). Various sherds were present in the floor, both cooking-pot and glazed pot fragments—but these cannot be closely dated beyond describing them as of 13th-century date (appendix I).

It is possible that the outside area adjacent to F3 and F2 was paved, because a few sandstone flags were found here resting on the old land surface. The function of F2 cannot be defined with certainty. It is here interpreted as a garderobe tower, but could possibly have been a solar or a chapel. Reference to the garderobe plan (fig. 10 and pl. XIX) shows that the stretch of curtain wall, A, was a later addition, after the south-western end wall of F3 had been demolished. Similarly, the curtain wall at B is incurved to join up with the other side of F2. This alignment is peculiar, and it suggests that the builders of the curtain wall were trying to utilise the remains of F2 but that it was not visible to them when they planned the position of the curtain wall. A short stretch of robbed wall was found at C, but beyond the fact that this appears

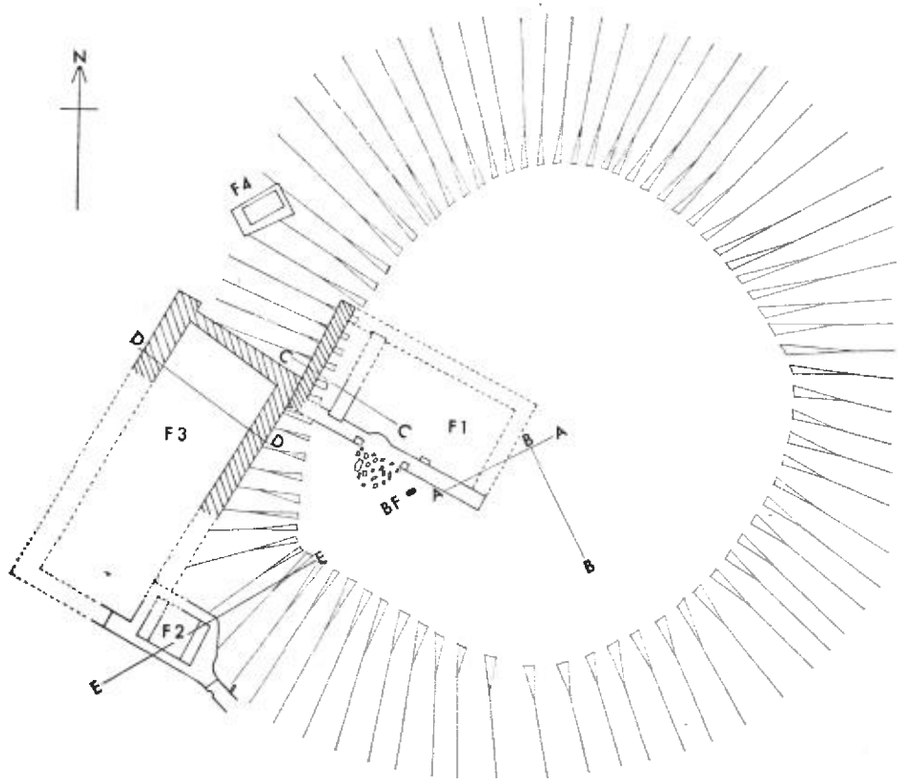


FIG. 4
Wallingstones—Periods 2 and 3.

to be contemporary with the curtain wall, no interpretation of its function can be made. There is also a slot in the stonework, D, which seems to be a useless feature—it is too low to be a putlog hole.

That F2 is contemporary with F3 is shown by the complete wall bonding at their junction. The presence of the internal walls, E1 and E2, is difficult to explain. If

they were strengthening walls to allow a stream of water to pass through the garderobe pit, there is no confirmation of such a channel in section E (fig. 9). However,, reference to section E shows the decayed remains of a wooden post supported by a flat stone, and a portion of wooden plank, were also found in layer 8. Thus there may have been a wooden floor, which was also supported by posts, resting on the internal walls.

Shaped stones (pl. XVIII), the functional significance of which is discussed in appendix X, were found in layer 8, and these were probably constructional elements from the hall or undercroft. F2 is rather small for a chapel or solar,[8] but would be large enough for an oratory, but in this case the walls E1 and E2 are superfluous. A chapel, solar or oratory would have been at first-floor level. One objection to the idea of a garderobe is that there is no provision in the basement for cleaning out the pit. An external stair is essential for a first-floor hall, but there is no evidence of this at F2. For the purpose of definition in this report, F2 is defined as a garderobe.

PERIOD II (fig. 4)

The mound was now erected, its south-western slope abutting the structures F3 and F2. The main body of the mound consisted of a large variety of soils, including much occupational material from period I. It was clear that the ditch system had been firstly filled and levelled off before the mound was heaped above it (section A, fig. 7). These soils ranged from yellow, reddish-brown and dark clayey loams, interspersed with sandy loams, to yellow, red and grey clays, the clays having been obtained by deep digging. Among these mound layers, dark loams containing charcoal were frequently encountered. It was noteworthy that the various mound materials and ditch-fill had been used haphazardly, with no suggestion of systematic construction—thus precluding the correlation of dating with the location of objects in the mound. An appreciable quantity and range of finds were obtained from the ditch-fill and mound, and these derive from the period I occupation.

As portions of shaped stones and ridge tiles with hooked crests (see type specimen Appendix III, No. 1) were discovered in the mound, this is clear evidence for the existence of a former stone building in the vicinity (i.e., the hall). A silver short-cross penny, minted in the period A.D. 1210-1250, provides a *terminus post quem* of 1210 for the construction of the mound.[9] Another dateable find was a jug spout, made between 1250-1300.[10] The iron arrowheads (appendix IV, Nos. 5 and 6) are also of this period and the Ham Green pottery found in these layers is consistent with this dating (appendix I, Nos. 2 and 3).

A date of about 1250 may therefore be submitted for the commencement of phase 2 occupation. The animal and bird remains are described in appendix VIII.

Following upon the erection of the mound must have been the building of a house F1. Although only seven courses of stone-work remain, it is a reasonable assumption that this house would have been half-timbered. Only the lower courses of the south wall now remain (pl. XVII), but it was possible to delineate the extent of the west wall from the excavation of the robbed wall trench. The latter must have had stone footings about one foot deep (section C, fig. 8), but the south wall was free standing, resting in a shallow slot cut into the mound surface. The reconstructed outline of this building

(F1, fig. 4) is termed the "house", but as the dimensions are only 35 ft. long and 20 ft. wide, it is unlikely to represent the complete house. The mound surface was thoroughly excavated to the north and east of F1 without revealing a trace of possible structures. It is likely that all remains of other free-standing or timber walls were destroyed without trace, and even the siting of the north and east walls of the reconstructed outline are conjectural. However, the small size of F1, when considered in isolation, does not appear anomalous when F1 is regarded as the wing of a larger house, the other wing being the original first-floor hall of period 1. The probable floor levels are consistent with this hypothesis.

A short length of a cross-wall in F1 remained, dividing the house into two rooms of unequal size. This wall was recessed into the south wall and was laid upon the stone floor (layer 2, section C, fig. 8). As the recess was not a true bond, probably this wall was a later addition.

A doorway was found in the south wall of F1, leading to a cobbled area of large pitched stones. Subsidence of the mound material occurred beneath the house, due to its position over the ditch system, being clearly indicated by the sloping of the mound layers (as in section B, fig. 7).

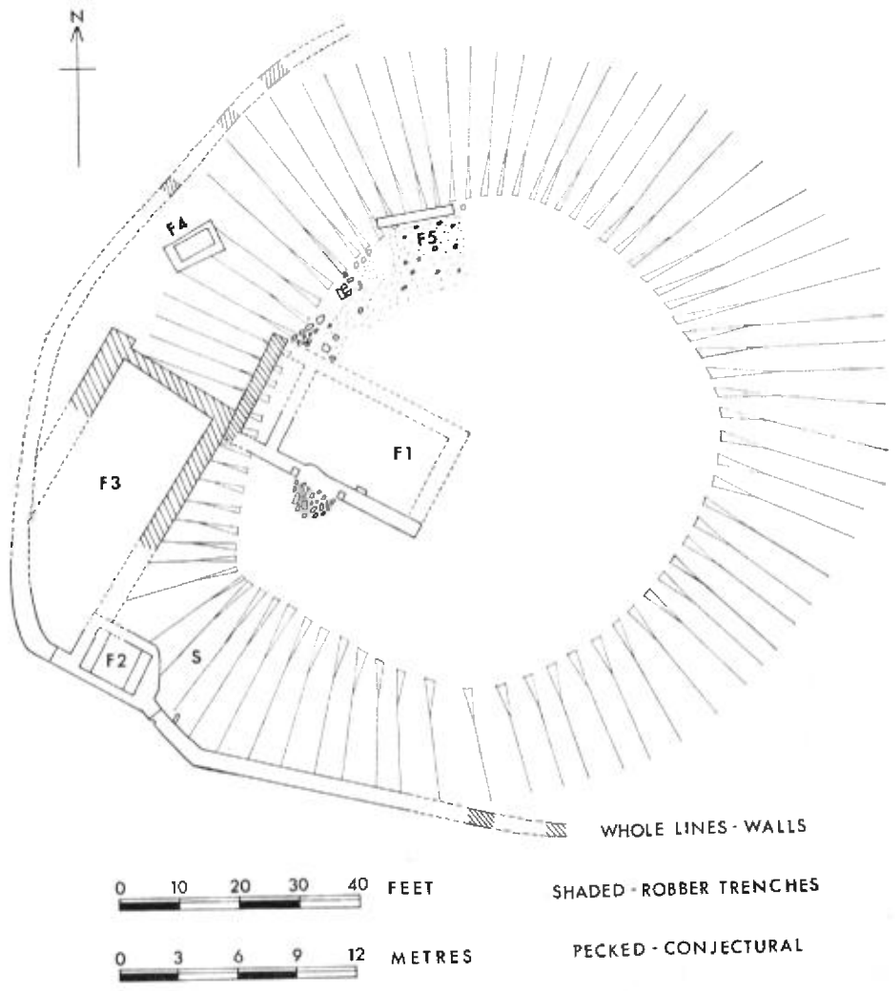
Associated with the second phase of occupation on the site was the crude stone floor (layer 2), of the house, which contained some glazed sherds (appendix 1, Nos. 10, 11) and fragments of cooking-pots. In the area lying beyond the conjectural east-wall was a thin rubbish layer (layer 3+, section B, fig. 7). This contained cooking-pot sherds (appendix 1, Nos. 14-18), glazed pottery, and two iron arrowheads (appendix IV, Nos. 27 and 28). No. 27 is a 13th-century type. None of these finds are suitable for close dating purposes, and there is no indication of the length of occupation but the stratification suggests that they belong to phase 2. Adjacent to the cobbled area outside the south doorway was a small iron-smelting bowl furnace (BF on fig. 4) containing bloomery slag, and the soil around it, which was burnt, was also covered with slag, charcoal and sand.

So far, there is no evidence of the demolition of stone structures, therefore the garderobe walling must have been intact during phase 2 occupation. This is evident from an inspection of layers 2 and 7, section E (fig. 9).

PERIOD III (fig. 4)

Changes now occur with the abandonment of the house F1, the partial demolition of the hall and garderobe, and the removal of the west end-wall of F1. This could have been early in the 14th century, when a black loam and plaster deposit (layer 1, section C, fig. 8) accumulated inside the larger room of F1. It is not clear why this deposit was not present in the smaller room too. Layer 1 has a *terminus post quem* of about 1250, as suggested by the French import ware (appendix I, No. 39) found in it, in addition to the Nuneaton ware (No. 40) and Ham Green ware (No. 17). The absence of finds of the 14th or 15th century suggests that it accumulated during the late 13th-early-14th century.

Reference to section D (fig. 8) shows that the thick layer 4 must have accumulated whilst the undercroft walls were still standing. The area must therefore have been



WALLINGSTONES · PERIODS 4 & 5 ·

FIG. 5

Wallingstones—Periods 4 and 5.

used as a rubbish pit largely during a subsequent occupation. This also applies to the garderobe pit, where a similar rubbish layer accumulated (layer 8, section E, fig. 9); and in which the iron shield boss was found (appendix V). It must be remembered, however, that the bottom portion of layer 8 must have accumulated during phase 2 occupation.

The commencement of period III, which appears to have been non-occupational, is therefore placed at about 1300-1325. Associated with this period may be the layer outside the house (layer 2+, section B, fig. 7).

PERIOD IV (fig. 5)

The evidence for further occupation (phase 3) is chiefly derived from finds of 15th-century date, and these may be connected with a house at F5 (fig. 5) which, when uncovered by excavation, consisted of a badly robbed free-standing wall, 18 ins. wide. Adjacent to the wall was a large stony area which could have been a crude floor or floor-base, extending southwards as far as house F1. This interpretation implies a gap in occupation of nearly a century, although some finds of the 14th century could extend this a little.

The period IV finds occurred largely in the undercroft rubbish layer (mentioned under period III). These[11] included objects of iron, bronze and bone, with whetstones, shells (oyster, mussel and cockle) and window glass fragments. There was much glazed pottery in this layer, and it is partly because of the paucity of cooking-pots that a later period here may be deduced. Some of the finds can be dated to the 15th century. Thus the bifid-rim bowl (appendix I, No. 22) and the lobed-cup sherds (No. 31) are both of this date.

The 14th-century finds referred to included the French jetton (appendix VII, No. 2) and the iron arrowhead (appendix IV, No. 49).

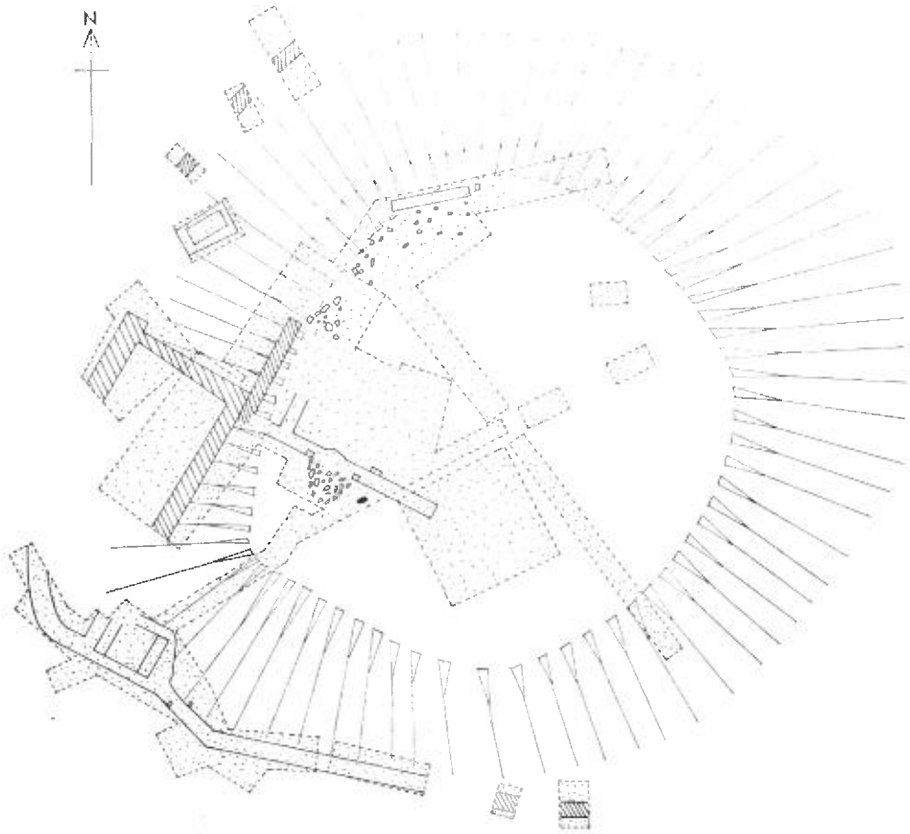
There was also a lobed-cup handle and rim found in the trampled soil adjoining the cobbles outside house F1 (appendix I, No. 42). Other finds of 15th-century date occurred in the period V final destruction and backfill layers. These included Nos. 37 and 38 (appendix I), a bifid-rim bowl sherd and loped-cup sherds (not catalogued): a handled cup (No. 36) and a condiment dish (No. 30); both of these latter two could be of 14th-15th-century date.

The other main structure which could have been built at this time was the curtain wall. As described under period I, the remains of the garderobe F2 had been incorporated into the curtain wall, which must also have cut across the demolished south-western end of the hall. As it was not possible to excavate the lower levels outside the curtain wall properly, due to water-logging, the existence of a moat cannot be proved, but it is suggested by the black silty layer found beneath the stony final destruction at several places, such as layer 11, section E (fig. 9).

PERIOD V (fig. 5)

Judging by the finds, there appears to have been no occupation after the 15th century. There is no doubt that after this time extensive stone-robbing occurred, and such stone-work would have been re-used in neighbouring farm buildings. There was much evidence of the process of sorting out the dressed wall stone, leaving rubble and mortar, which had been backfilled into wall trenches. This can be seen in sections C and D (fig. 8). This activity also left behind a general scatter of destruction material over the site, and one can visualise such a site being frequently visited over the centuries by seekers of useful building material.[12] It is in this period that most of the remaining

courses of the garderobe tower must have been removed, and this area of the mound levelled off (layer 7, section E, fig. 9). On the surface of this layer, in the area S on fig. 5, there was a large spread of consolidated stones and slag. A similar slag-surfaced



WALLINGSTONES · EXCAVATION AREAS ·

FIG. 6

Wallingstones—Excavation areas.

area was found near the centre of the mound (layer 1A, section B, fig. 7). These slaggy areas may have been an improvised track used by the stone robbers.

The final destruction layer contained a large quantity of residual objects[13] and many of these objects are described in the appropriate appendices.

Several ridge tiles of three main types were found (appendix III), in addition to those discovered in lower levels, but because of their context it cannot be decided precisely to which period they belonged. However, this point is discussed in appendix III. It is generally agreed that decorated, glazed ridge tiles were used in conjunction with stone roofing tiles (often termed "slates"), and remains of these were found. Several sizes are represented, the largest being 24 ins. long and 16 ins. wide. Portions of two ventilating-finials were found (appendix VI).

The sequence of stone robbing from the undercroft can actually be determined, as the stratigraphy shows that the east-wall was removed first, the rubble being thrown to the west and allowed to cover the stump of the west wall (layers 2, section D, fig. 8). After removal of the wall masonry, some of the rubble was backfilled, this including some darker soil (layer 1), and this is confirmed by finding portions of identical sherds from the same vessel in layers 1 and 2. The west wall would then have been removed, the rubble from this being thrown to the east, and the robbed trench was then backfilled. This sequence also confirms the suggestion of a partial dismantlement of the walls prior to the accumulation of the rubbish layer 4.

OTHER STRUCTURES

F4 was a small free-standing building (pl. XX) about 7 ft. long and 3 ft. wide internally, consisting of sandstone walls 12-16 ins. thick, which were faced on the inside but rough on the mound side. It appeared therefore to have been built into the mound. The function of this building could not be ascertained, although it may have been a water storage tank. There were no drains, and if a doorway or a floor had existed these parts are now missing. An extension of the excavation showed that the structure was an isolated one. A rim sherd of Romano-British pottery of typically local form, was found just above subsoil level, underneath the tail of the mound, near the edge of the building.

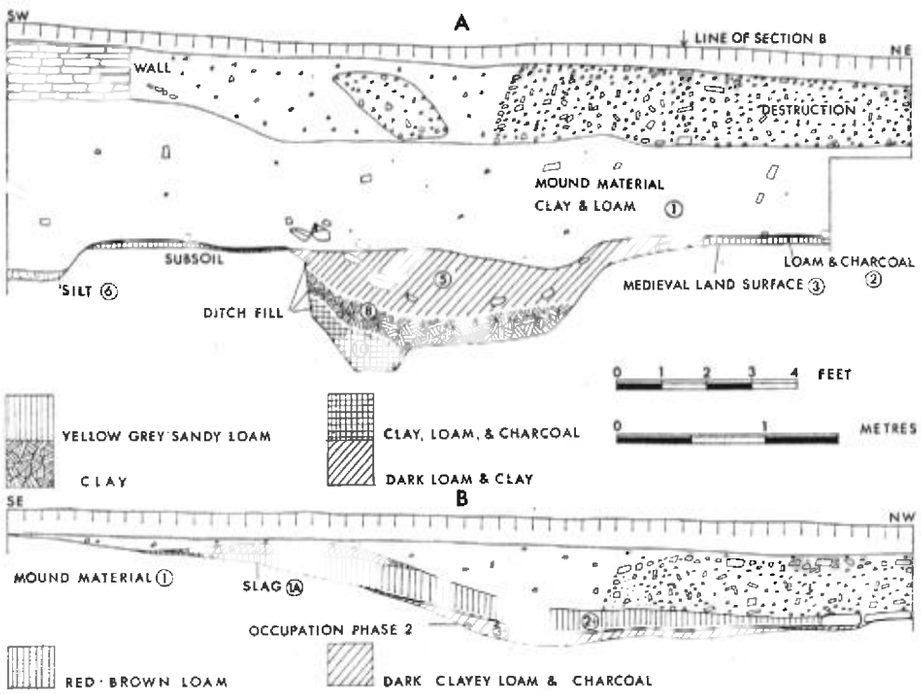
In the south corner of the field, a free-standing wall (W on fig. 2), about 70 ft. long, was discovered, which was orientated west and east, with a corner at the west-end. This was the only evidence available. If this had been a medieval building, at least a few pottery sherds and roof tiles would have been found, and this wall must be the remains of a comparatively recent barn.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Enough work has been done to yield a fine group of finds and to demonstrate the comparatively wealthy position of the inhabitants, amounting almost to manorial status. Although the period dating is only approximate and many of the finds cannot be dated, a careful analysis of the stratigraphical evidence at Wallingstones has produced a reasonably consistent history, and if this is accepted, then some of the numerous finds have consequently been placed within certain date brackets.

At Wallingstones we have glimpses of an early past in the ancient name WALDYNGESTON, suggestive of Saxon origins, and in the adjacent property of Trippenkennett. However, the first signs of occupation on the site, as shown by excavation, are given by the ditch system which may have been dug by the occupiers of timber buildings, later replaced by the first-floor hall with its garderobe tower. The hall was roofed with stone tiles, capped by ridge-tiles with hooked crests (probably obtained from the Midlands), and possibly two ventilating finials. Architecturally, the hall must have been quite an impressive sight. We also have examples of the stonework giving a clue to the architectural style; and other constructional items—such as nails, a door key and staple—were found during excavation.

The use of good quality glazed pottery, including sophisticated wares imported from Bristol, in addition to the mass of cooking-pots, suggests a well-organised household of means, and contemporary coinage was in use. Several bones of horses were found, and as some horses were shod they must have been used for travel, and such would have been needed by men on military service. Military activity by archers is indicated by the type of arrowheads in use. These arrowheads, or quarrels for cross-bows, may well have



WALLINGSTONES· SECTIONS A & B·

FIG. 7

Wallingstones—Sections A and B.

LEDBURY, BYE STREET.

I—The "licensed temperance Lodging House known as the Bishop's Palace. Now destroyed, it has been described as a 14th-century hall of four bays, or three bays and kitchen wing". This was not the Bishop's Palace. It, apparently, got its name by association for a fragment of the Palace was built into the wall. (See page 26).

(Reproduced by kind permission of The National Monuments Record (England). Crown Copyright.)

LEDBURY, HIGH STREET, LOOKING SOUTH.

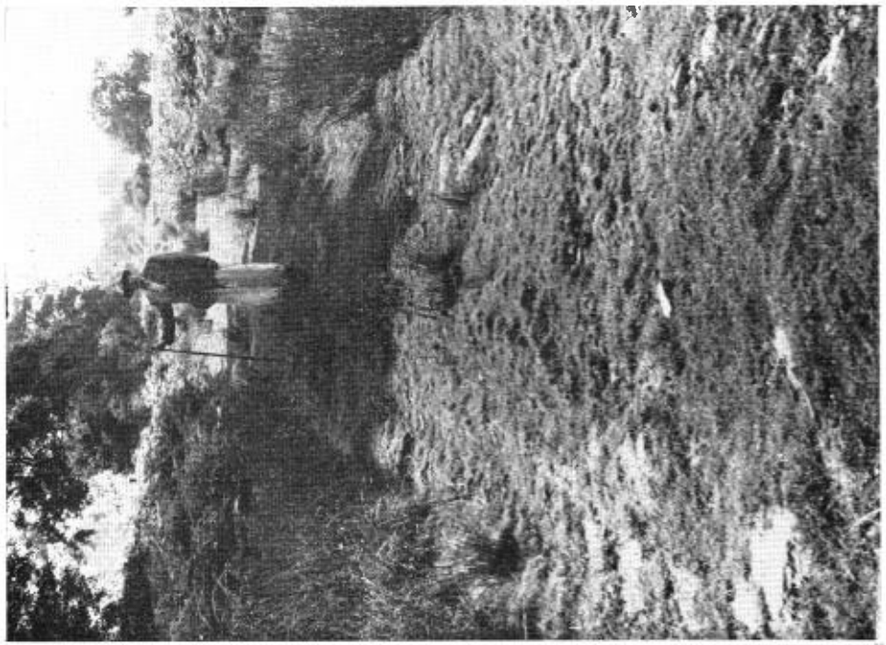
II—Lower Cross, the junction of the Homend and High Street. On the right is the north-east corner of the Butchers' Row. This was demolished after the passing of the Ledbury Improvement Act, 1835.

III—High Street, or Middletown, seen from the Homend. In the middle distance a full view of the north end of the Butchers' Row. To the right the alleyway called the Cathol. It was so narrow as to render the old St. Katherine's hospital "dark, confined and unwholesome". (See page 23).

LEDBURY, HIGH STREET, LOOKING NORTH

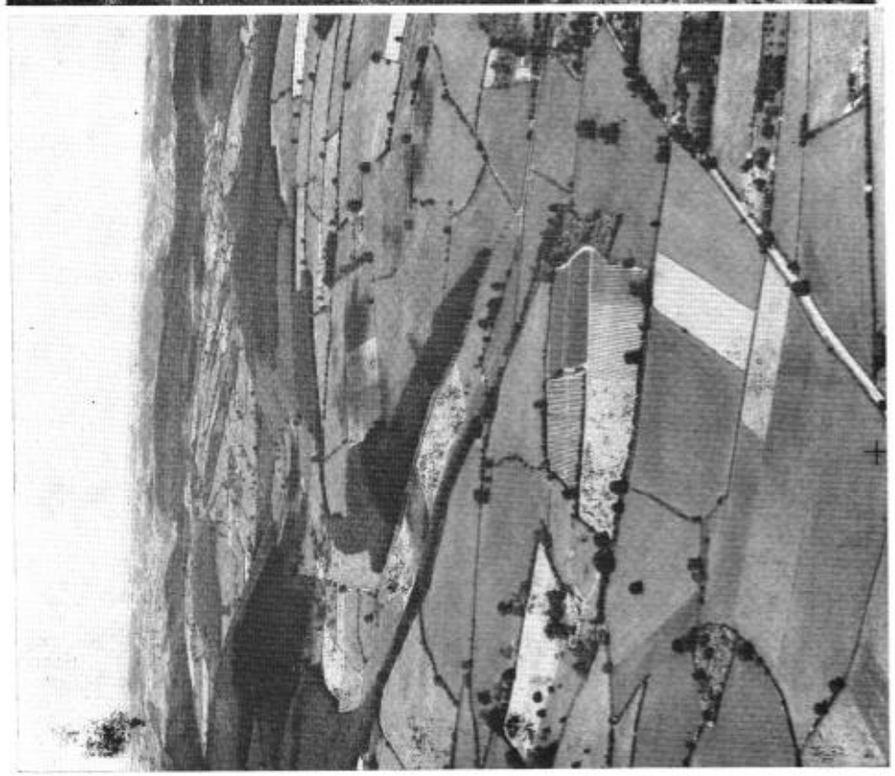
IV—The Market House erected in the early 17th century on the site of a second row of shops which, in their turn, had replaced the earlier medieval market stalls. (See page 23). On the left part of the east or market front of the Butchers' Row.

V—High Street in the late 18th century showing southern facade of the Butchers' Row, left middle distance, and Market House. The impressive range of gable heads on the right reflects the lines of the medieval burgage plots running at right-angles to the market square. (See maps 4 and 5).



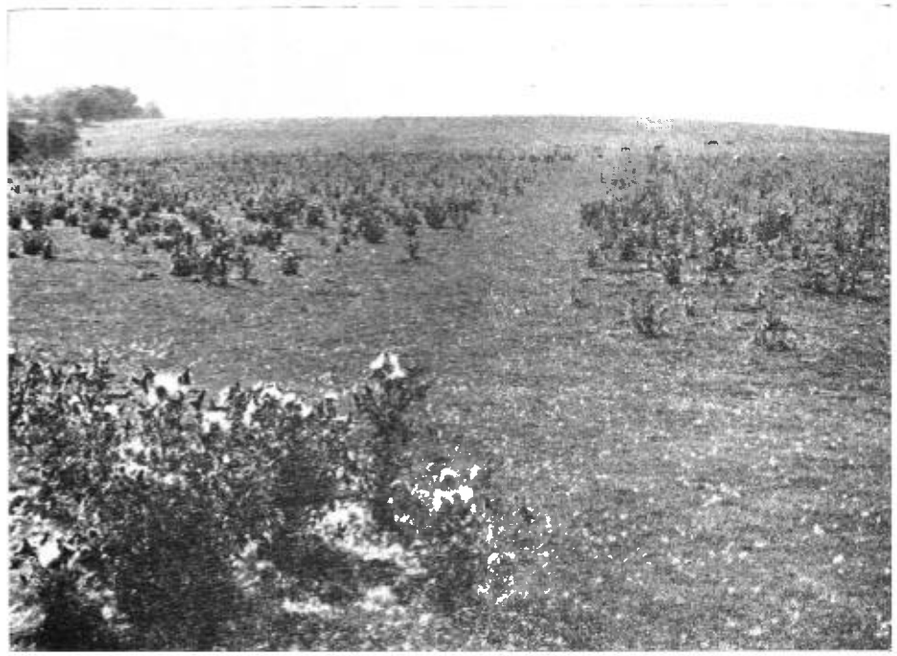
VII—Road showing paving stones (Sector 8a).

RENNELL, ROMAN ROAD

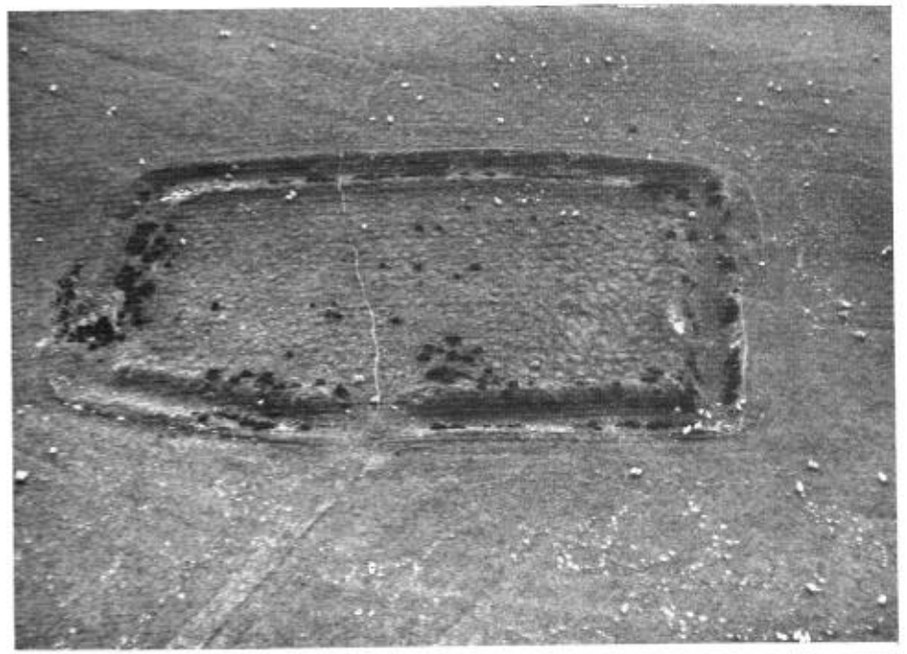


VI—Panorama near Mortimer's Cross looking north-west from SO 426626. 19

Reproduced by kind permission of Dr. J. K. S. St. Joseph, Director of Aerial Photography at Cambridge University



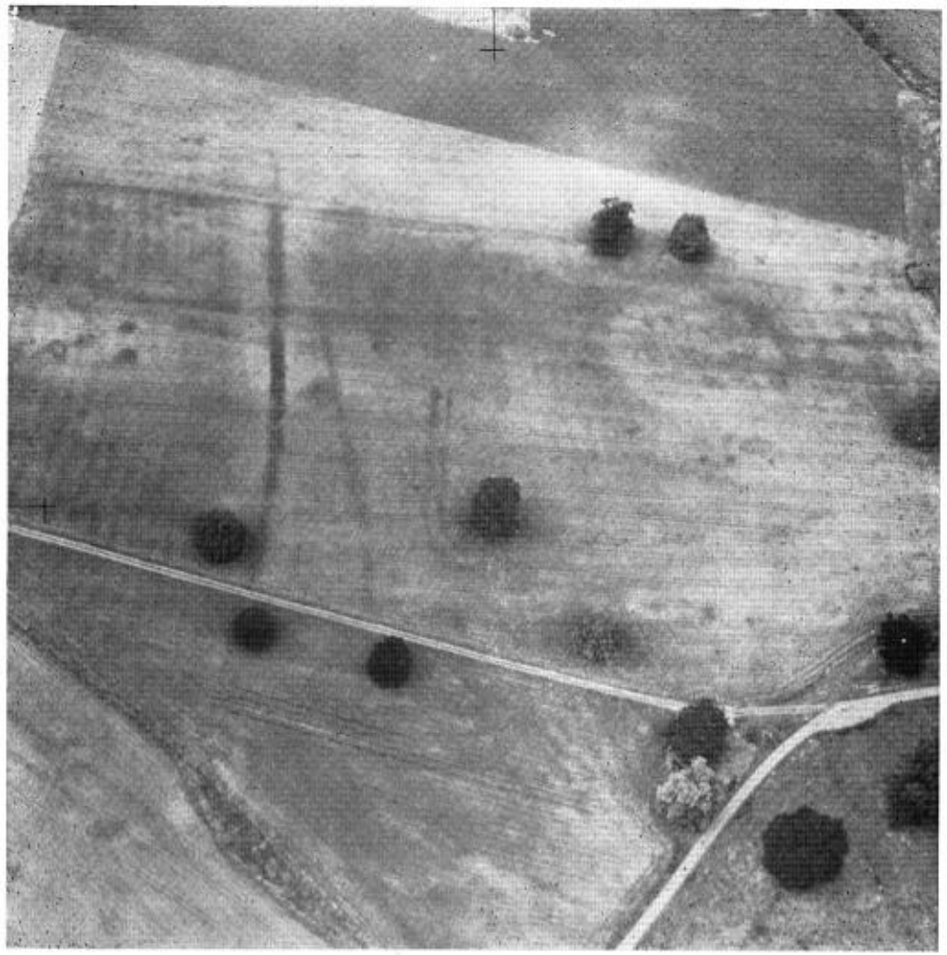
VIII—Track from gate to Little Mountain Camp.



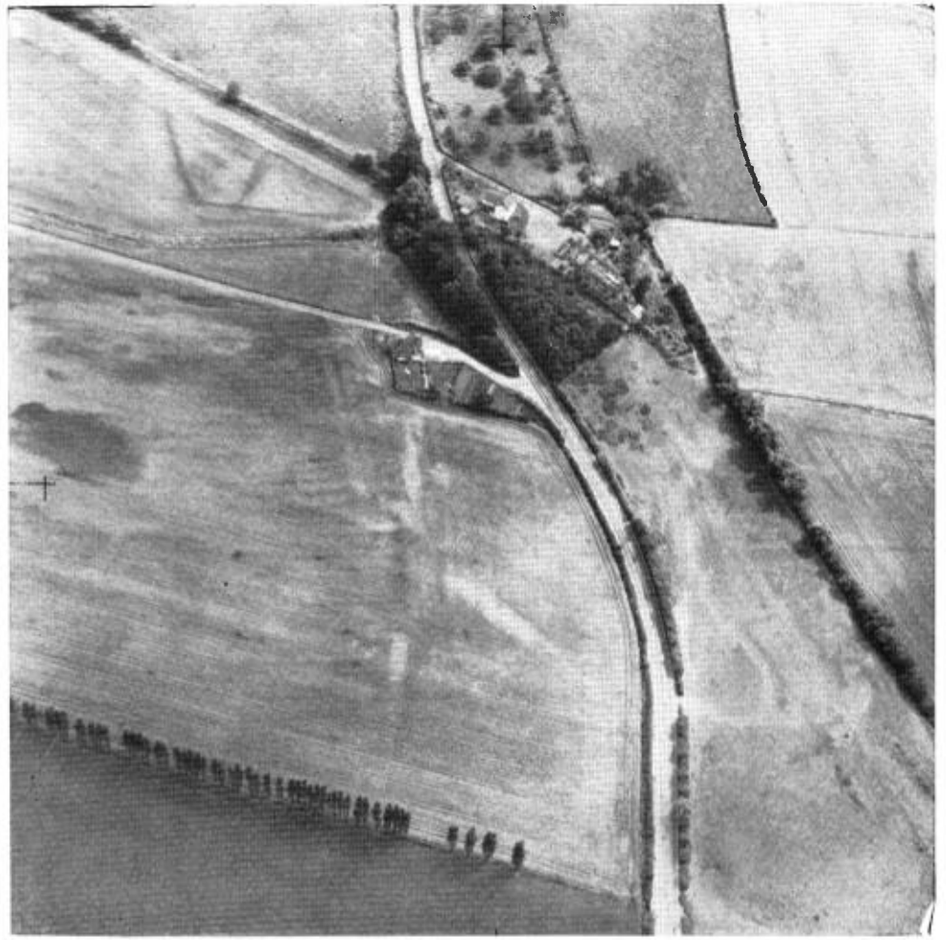
IX—Little Mountain Camp.

Reproduced by kind permission of Dr. J. K. S. St. Joseph, Director of Aerial Photography at Cambridge University.

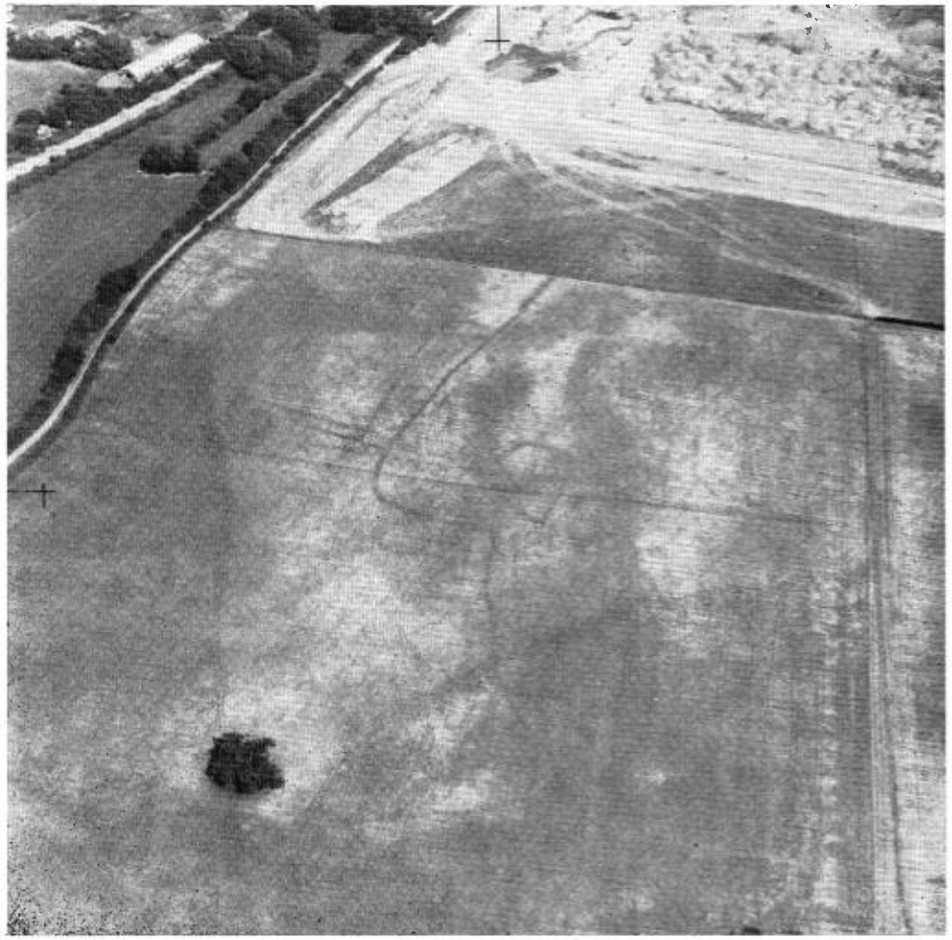
RENNELL, ROMAN ROAD



X—Auxiliary Roman fort at Stretton Grandison, view north.



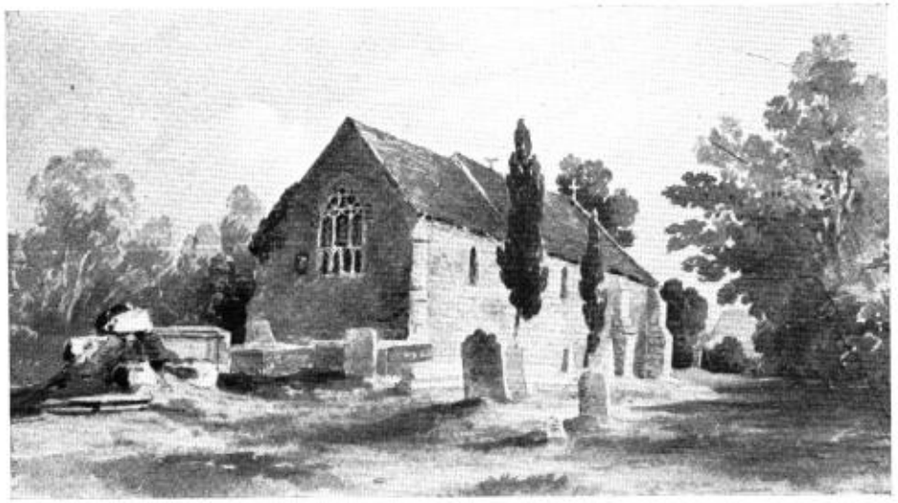
XI—Roman road junction at Stretton Grandison, view south.



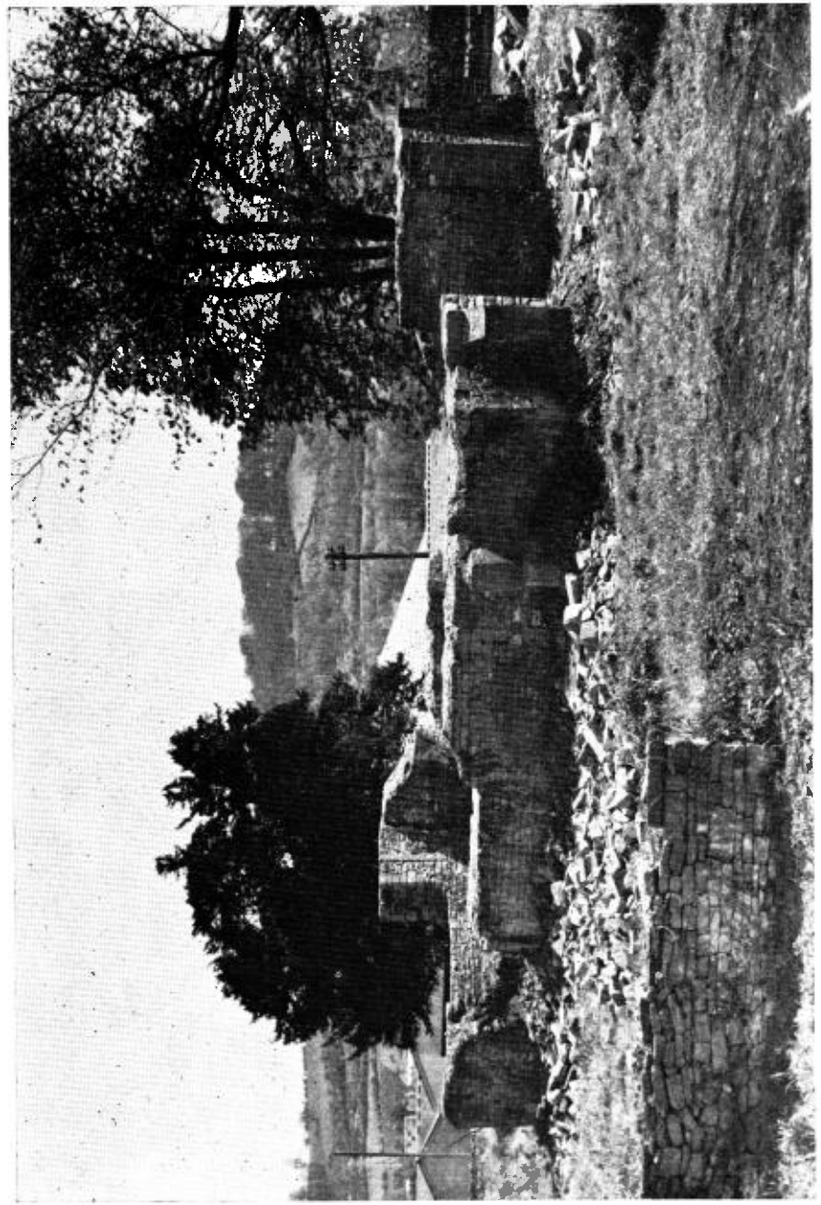
XII—Settlement site, east of Kenchester.

XIII—Junction of north-south with east-west trench. Tree root hole visible on right.

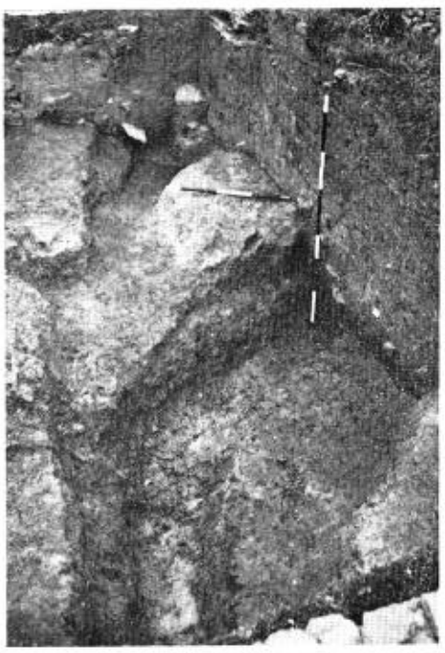
XIV—Bullingham Old Church prior to 1819.
Photo: I. N. Lancaster from a copy of a watercolour in the Pilley collection.



XV—Bullingham Old Church *c.*1850.
Photo: I. N. Lancaster from a watercolour by W. Gill in the Pilley Collection.



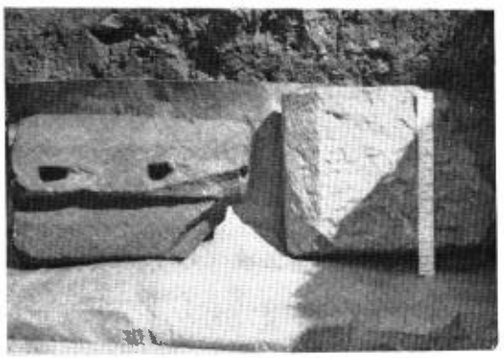
XVI—Bullingham Old Church in 1968.
Photo: Donovan C. Wilson. (Reproduced by courtesy of the National Monuments Record).



XVII—Wallingstones.

Left. Ditch system underneath mound from south-east.

Right. South wall of house (F1) from north-west. Threshold stone in centre.

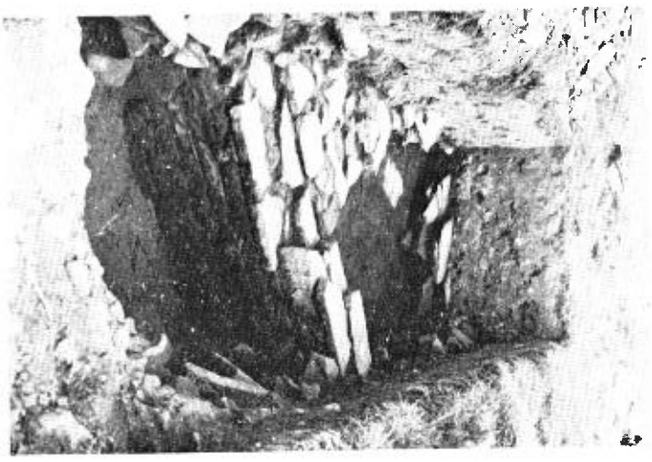


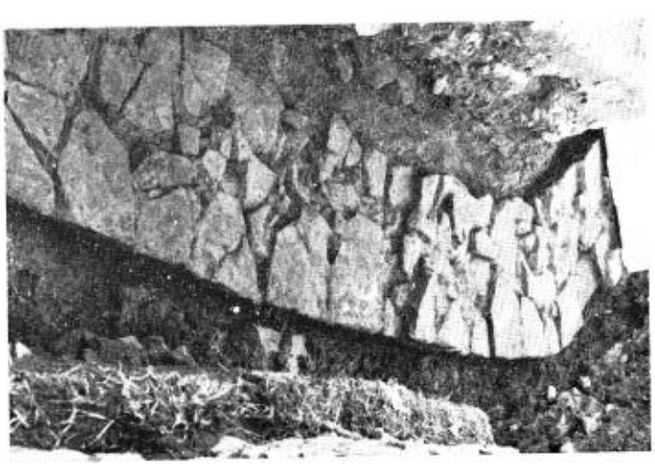
XVIII—Wallingstones.

Top. South-west corner of garderobe, showing internal butting wall and junction with curtain wall.

Bottom. Two shaped stones from garderobe.

BRIDGEWATER, WALLINGSTONES

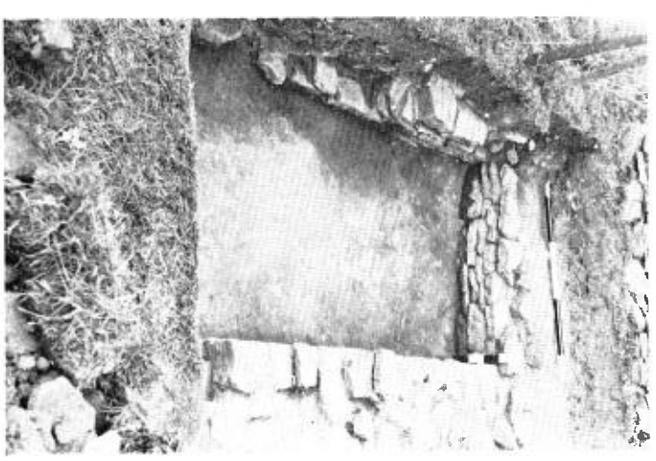




XIX—Wallingstones.

Left. South wall of garderobe, showing south-east corner with rubbish layer behind.

Right. Curtain wall from north-west, adjoining garderobe.

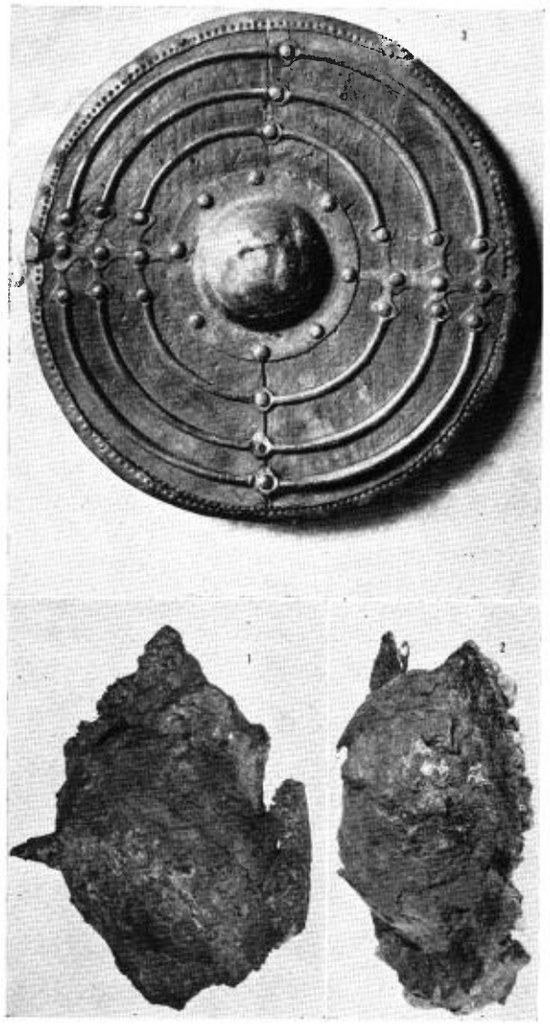


XX—Wallingstones.

Left. Undercroft from south-east. Line of robbed wall to right of string, with floor slabs in background, and rubbish layer above.

Right. Room F4, from south-west.

BRIDGEWATER, WALLINGSTONES

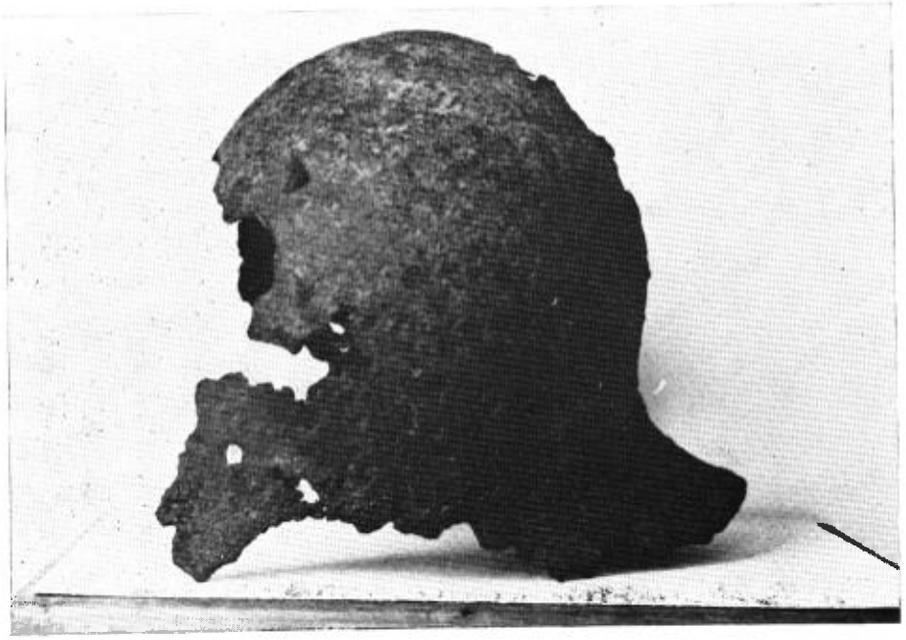


XXI—Wallingstones.

1. Shield boss from Wallingstones ($\frac{1}{8}$).
2. Shield boss from Whitchurch Vagas ($\frac{1}{8}$).
3. Wooden shield from Telemark, Norway ($\frac{1}{8}$).

XXII—Memorial slab to Maud Harper in Stretton Sugwas church.

XXIII—Amberley Court, Marden.



XXIV—Iron helmet of the "Barbuta" type, *c.*1460.
P. J. Leach.

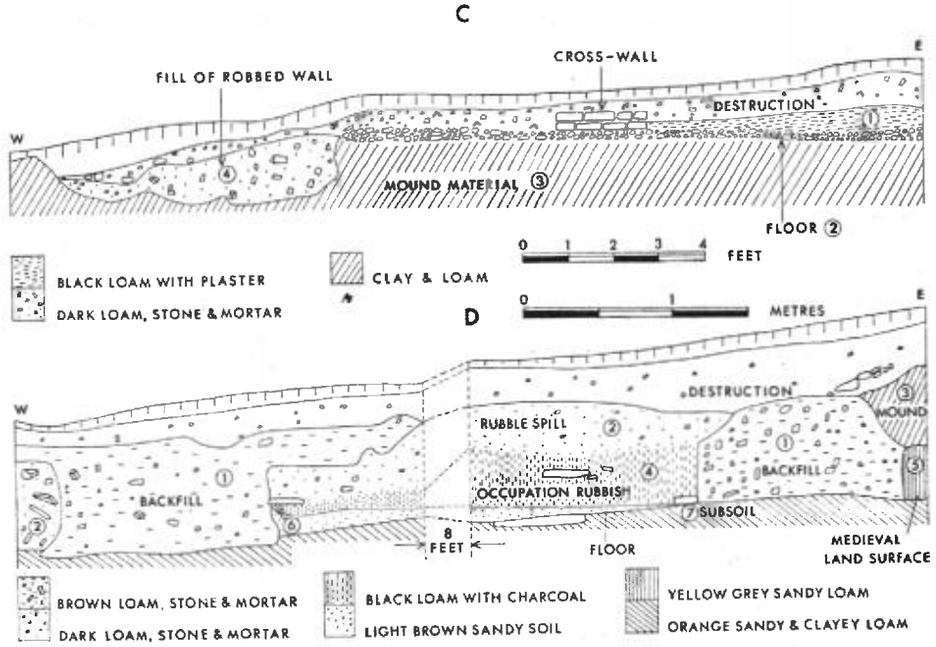
XXV—Aerial photograph of Presteigne.

come from St. Briavels (Forest of Dean), where large quantities were made in Henry III's reign, during the years 1223-1293.[14] Indeed it seems that some member of the family had seen military service, and the shield boss (appendix V) and rowel spur (appendix IV, No. 60) may well be relics from this age. The presence of iron bloomery slag indicates that iron smelting and smithing was carried out on the site. Bronze working also appears to have been undertaken, as evidenced by the hat-badge mould and the appliqué decoration for woodwork. In particular, the making of hat-badges is of unusual interest, and these might have been worn by the archers.

The finds in the undercroft suggest that the local carpenter worked there and probably the various agricultural implements were stored there too.

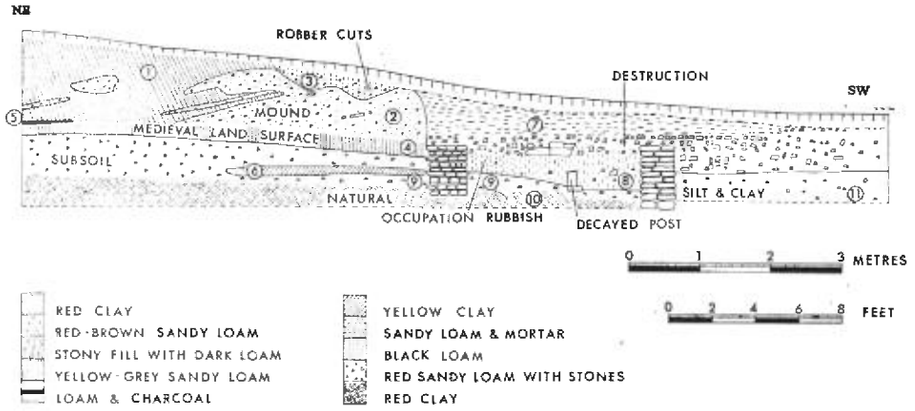
The reason for erecting the mound is not clear. Whilst there may have been an increase in water level due to a change in climate, the occupants may simply have decided to extend living accommodation at hall level, so that the house on the mound was simply a wing to the hall. This wing may have been half-timbered, roofed with slates and possibly with ridge tiles of the hand-moulded and cut-pinnacle types.

It also possesed a stone floor and a south doorway with a cobbled area outside. It is known that the floor of this wing subsequently subsided, but this cannot have been until the end of the century as there was no sign of patching-up.



WALLINGSTONES · SECTIONS C & D ·

FIG. 8
Wallingstones—Sections C and D.



WALLINGSTONES· SECTION E

FIG. 9

Wallingstones—Section E.

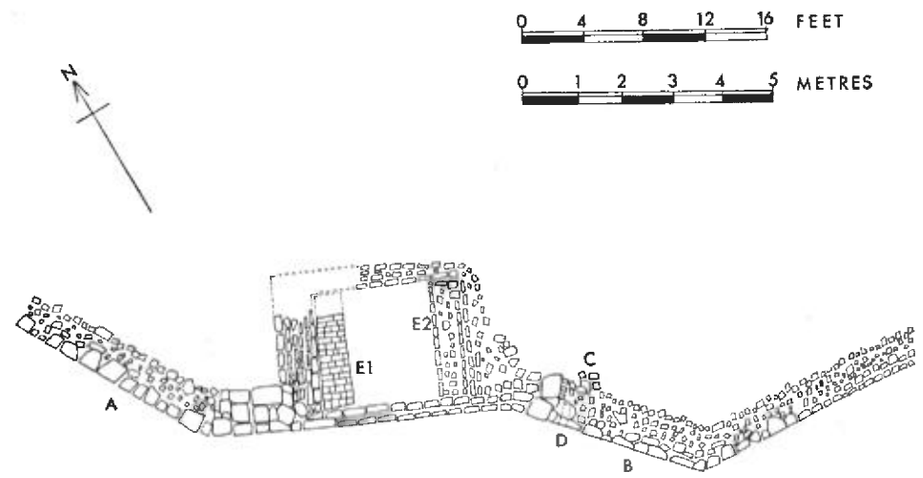
During the occupation of this wing it seems that it was converted into two rooms of unequal size by building a party wall. From the various finds it is clear that the standard of living was similar to that of the preceding period. There are the good quality pottery jugs and bowls, obtained from such places as Bristol, the Midlands and even from Gascony, storage chests as evidenced by keys, table knives, and items of dress such as buttons, pins and buckles. The finding of a bowl furnace proves that iron smelting, and probably smithing, was still carried out.

At the beginning of the 14th century a drastic change occurs, with the upper hall and house being abandoned and the site being deserted for most of the 14th century. This may have been due to the Black Death, but the subsidence of the house floor may have been contributory. During this period much of the walling was taken away.

Towards the end of the 14th century, newcomers to the site built another house on the mound, and also the curtain wall. This may simply have been an enclosure to discourage the entry of undesirable persons and animals, or it could have been a protective measure from local raids in a time of political instability. These were the conditions until 1536 (The Act of Union), with Welsh raids in Archenfield and the Golden Valley causing much destruction of property and lives.

Although their type of house cannot be visualised, the occupants are seen to be people of means and were probably here for most of the 15th century. There was an abundance of pottery vessels—glazed jugs, bowls and jars. One of the more unusual pieces of tableware was a condiment dish; originally this consisted of two compartments, one of which would hold salt. Although pepper was in use at this time, some local herb or spice may have been used with the salt.

Several items of horse equipment appear—two rowel spurs, a bridle boss, strap terminal, harness ring, snaffle-bit ring and horseshoe; and flocks of sheep must have



WALLINGSTONES· GARDEROBE PLAN·

FIG. 10

Wallingstones—Garderobe plan.

been kept, as the remains of a sheep bell suggest. There must have been a keen angler here, judging by the very neatly shaped plummet discarded, as such an item would be used for ledgering. This method of fishing would not have been adopted in the local shallow streams, but only in deeper water such as the Monnow or Wye.

Herefordshire is famous for its cider making, which is thought to have begun here in the 14th century, and a storage vessel for cider may well have been the cistern referred to in appendix I (No. 28), although, of course, such a vessel would be equally suitable for beer or wine, both of which were made locally in medieval times. One surprising find was the bronze balance arm; such a delicate instrument could have been used for checking coin weights, or, alternatively, for weighing spices or herbs.

There must also have been a local campanologist, as the portions of bell metal testify —the small bells (cymbala), which are appropriate in this context, were normally in a row, set in a frame, and were struck with a wooden bar or hammer.[15] A variety of hones, some very neatly worked and made from local stone, were used for sharpening tools used by carpenters and field workers. The hand grinding of corn was also a routine task, as shown by quern fragments. Other items of diet are indicated by the numbers of sea shells—oyster, mussel and cockle, which were probably transported in brine-filled casks from the coast.

From the carbonaceous remains we know that in the vicinity there was some oak forest with hazel scrub.

The close of occupation is considered, on archaeological evidence, to be at the end of the 15th century, and documentary records now help us, where it is seen that Roger Maynston is the owner of the property. Two interesting points emerge from this. Firstly, the property is still named WALDYNSTON, and secondly, the last deed (C.7422) states that it was signed there in 1526. This shows that the occupation actually carried on into the beginning of the 16th century. The property must have been of appreciable value, to the extent of the legal precautions to preserve the land for the Maynston family. The value of the property may not have merely consisted of the house, but chiefly in the farming land around it. There are records of ownership after this, and during the succeeding centuries, as the excavation has shown, the buildings were extensively robbed of their stone work. During this period the diversion of two streams has made the area very marshy. Today, the site has been completely drained and levelled.

APPENDIX I. THE POTTERY

The total quantity of sherds was not determined either numerically or by weight, but the specimens illustrated and catalogued are only a small proportion of the total. There was a preponderance of coarse over glazed pottery.

CATALOGUE OF GLAZED POTTERY. ILLUSTRATED (16) in figs. 11 and 12

The following catalogued items have the specified common characteristics.

Buff Surface with grey and red-brown core. Very few or no grits—Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 15, 17.

Brown, Sandy Surface. Very few or no grits—Numbers 6, 8, 10, 12.

Red or Red-brown sandy surface. Very few or no grits—Numbers 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 24, 25, 27, 35, 36.

Red-brown, hard sandy surface. Very few or no grits—Numbers 20, 21, 23.

Bright-red, hard sandy surface. Some small grits—Numbers 22, 26.

Period I B

12. External mottled green glaze.
13. No decoration or glaze.
14. Traces of external mottled green glaze.
15. Thin pale—green wash on rim interior.
16. No glaze.

Period II (1)

1. External olive-green glaze.
2. External light-green mottled glaze. Ham Green ware (appendix II).
3. External olive-green glaze. Stick-end body decoration. Ham Green ware (appendix II).
4. External olive-green glaze. Outside of rim is built up with thumbed impressions.
5. Brown, very hard, fine-textured, sandy surface, containing some quartz grains and very small grits. Thick black glaze applied externally. Pierced decoration on sides. Dated by J. G. Hurst to 1250-1300.

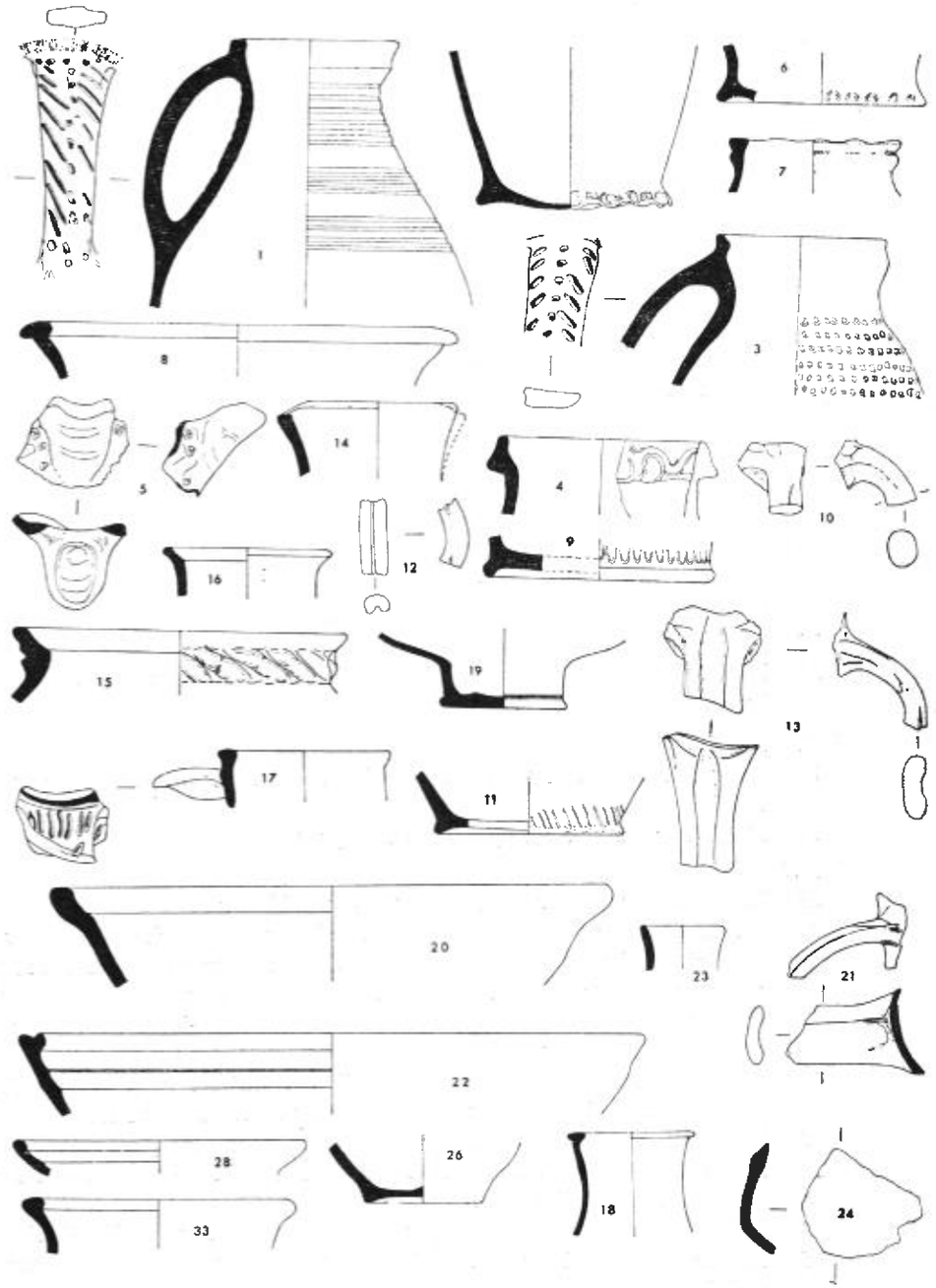


FIG. 11
Glazed pottery (½).

6. Dull green external glaze.
7. Dull brown, hard, fine-textured sandy surface. No grits. External dark-green glaze. Grooved rim.
8. Pale-green glaze, with some flecks of deep-green, applied inside and out.
9. External orange-brown glaze.

Period III

17. External light-green glaze. Ham Green ware (appendix II).

Period II (2) and III

10. External orange-brown glaze.
11. External mottled green glaze.

Period II (2)-IV

26. Traces of external mottled green glaze.

Period III-IV (1)

18. Red-brown, hard, fine textured, smooth surface with no grits. Thin orange-brown external glaze.
19. Reddish surface of medium texture with no grits. Mottled brown and dark-green glaze applied inside and out.

20 & 21. No glaze.

22. Bifid rim of bowl. No glaze. 15th century.
25. Mottled brown and dark-green external glaze.
27. No. glaze.
28. Dark-red sandy surface with some small grits. Internally applied mottled brown and dark-green glaze.

Period IV (2)

23. Rim and neck of bottle or small jug. Mottled brown and dark-green external glaze.
24. Mottled brown and dark-green external glaze.

Period V

29. Soft grey surface with black core. No grits. No glaze.
30. One half of double condiment dish. Buff-coloured stony surface with grey core containing a few small grits. Light-green glaze on interior surface and top edges. J. G. Hurst notes that condiment dishes are usually 15th century, but this one could be 14th century. The outside is rougher than most specimens and the corner projections are unusual.
31. Reddish, hard, sandy surface with small and medium grits. Longitudinal recession in handle. No glaze. Possibly residual from period II.
32. Red, hard, fine-textured, sandy surface with no grits. No glaze.
33. Dull brown, sandy surface with some small grits. Mottled brown and dark-green glaze on interior and rim.
34. Red, fine-textured, sandy surface with grey core. No grits. No glaze.
35. Mottled brown and dark-green glaze inside and out. This type occurs in period IV.

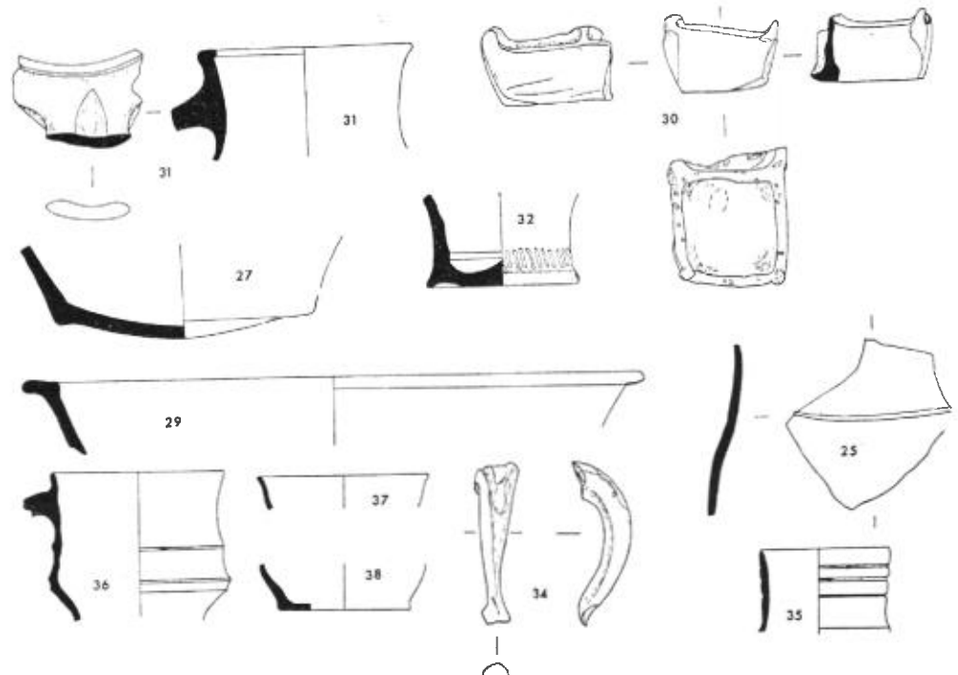


FIG. 12
Glazed pottery (¼)

36. Reddish sandy surface with a few very small grits. Orange-brown, heavy glaze inside and out. Probably had two handles. Probably 15th century.

37 & 38. Brown, hard, fine-textured, sandy surface. Coated inside and out with heavy dark-brown glaze. No grits. 15th century.

Not Illustrated

Period III

39. Two thin body sherds of import ware, from the Saintes region of western France (G. C. Dunning and K. J. Barton have examined these). White fabric, externally glazed bright-green, applied over a silvery slip. The dating of these wares appears to stretch from the mid-13th century to the late 14th century.[17]
40. Portion of slashed jug handle. Creamy core with no grits. Light-green glaze. "Nuneaton ware" 1220-1250. Identified and dated by R. Thompson (Coventry).

Period IV (1)

41. Lobed-cup sherds. Creamy core with no grits. Heavily glazed inside and out dark-green, some mottled. 15th century. Identified and dated by J. G. Hurst.
42. Lobed-cup handle and rim fragment. Creamy core. Heavy dark-green glaze. 15th century.

CATALOGUE OF COARSE POTTERY (fig. 13)

The coarse pottery, consisting mostly of cooking-pots with a few bowls, is typical of that found in the castles of South Wales and the Monmouthshire border country. The forms and fabrics are paralleled by those discovered at Whitecastle, Grosmont, Skenfrith and Ogmore.[18] The rim forms may be variously described as everted, outcurved, flanged, rectangular, and rolled-over, but it is not possible to discern a typological sequence from them. The fabrics are nearly all identical, that is, they are hard, grey and buff in colour, containing quartz grits, and the similarity of these fabrics to those found on the castle sites implies the use of a common clay and standard technique, and therefore suggests that these vessels were mass produced, somewhere in the area described above. From the available evidence it is difficult to envisage each site producing its own coarse pottery with such a uniformity. Most of the sherds have sooty deposits outside, whilst a few have them inside.

Period II (1)

1. Everted Rim.
2. Heavy round rim, outcurved.

3 & 4. Rounded rim, outcurved.

5. Flanged rim, rounded externally.
6. Everted rim, rounded externally.
8. Flanged rim.
9. Heavy outcurved, rectangular rim.
10. Heavy, rolled-over, squared rim.
11. Outcurved rim, slight flange, squared face.
12. Wide flanged rim with bevelled faces.
13. Heavy, flanged, rolled-over rim.

Period II (2)

14. Slightly outcurved rim, with external bevel.
15. Heavy, outcurved rim, with external bevel.
16. Outcurved, rectangular rim, with squared top
17. Everted rim, with rounded face.
18. Heavy, rolled-over rim, with external bevel.

Period III

19. Slightly outcurved, round rim.
21. Slightly outcurved, rounded rim.

Period IV

20. Everted, rounded rim.

Period V

22. Everted and expanded rim.
23. Outcurved squared rim.
24. Squared rim, with rounded external face.
25. Bowl rim, squared with rounded external face.
26. Bowl rim. Heavy concave, with flat top.

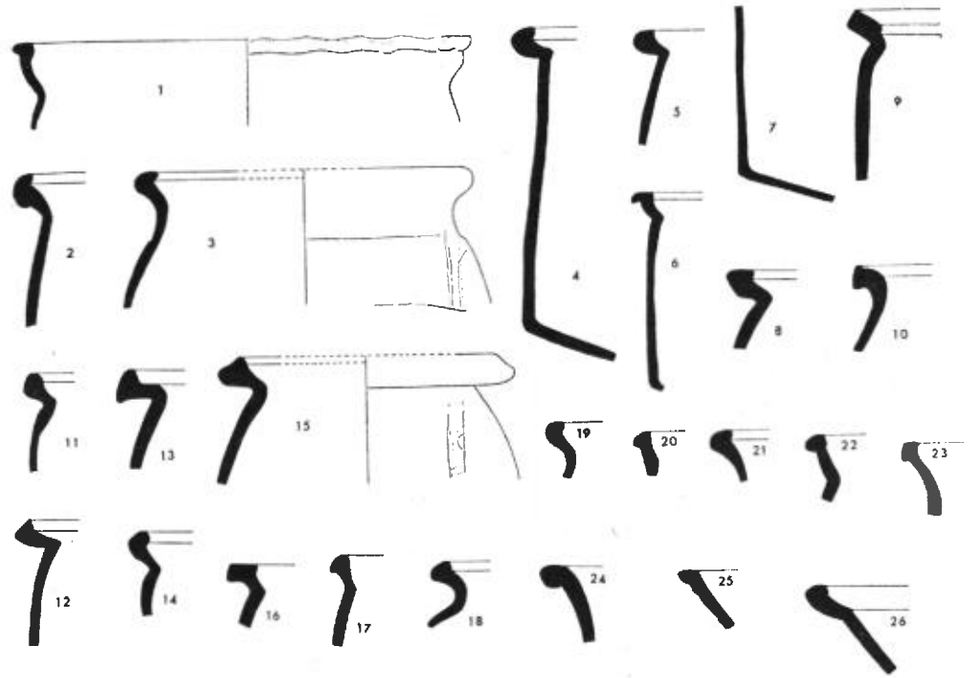


FIG. 13
Coarse pottery (¼)

Miscellaneous. Not Illustrated.

Period II (1)

27. Tripod pitcher foot. Hard, grey sandy surface. Similar types have been found on Shropshire sites,[19] where they could be dated to the early and mid-13th century, although West Midland types have also been found in 12th century contexts.

Period II (2)-IV

28. Cistern bung-hole collar. Bore 0.6 inch. Cisterns have been found on several medieval sites.[20] They were used as containers of liquids in which dregs deposit, and in our context may have been used to hold rough cider, wine or beer.

APPENDIX II. HAM GREEN WARE. By K. J. Barton, F.S.A.

These three fragments are of undoubted Ham Green origin.[21] The form, body decoration and other features are all consistent with material from the kiln site.

BASE (fig. 11, No. 2) is paralleled by *No. 1, fig.5* and fulfills the description in Bases, p. 111. It bears the marks of a bridge-spouted pot on its bottom.

UPPER JUG FRAGMENT (fig. 11, No. 3). Has a handle decoration paralleled by *No. 14, fig. 4* and a body decoration similar to *Nos. 25 and 26, fig. 3.*

HANDLE FRAGMENT (fig. 11, No. 17). Bears seven slashes across the top, similar to *No. 7, fig. 4.*

The body is "B" type and the date range should be *c.* A.D. 1240-1300.

APPENDIX III. RIDGE TILES (fig. 14)

Several specimens of glazed ridge roof tiles with pinnacles, some decorated, were found. The majority were discovered in the final destruction layer of period V, to which belong those illustrated. Those found in the mound were all, with one exception, hooked crests (the *type* is shown in No. 1, fig. 14), and this leads to the conclusion that they belonged to the period I hall. Probably, therefore, the other types (Nos. 3-7) were mostly used on the houses F1 and F5, but one moulded crest was found in the mound material, and therefore derived from a period I structure.

The hooked crest is a common Midland type, and such were made in the 13th century at the Potters' Marston kiln,[22] but they seem to last during the 14th century at various Midland sites.[23] A hooked crest tile is illustrated in the Shifnal report (S.H.1 27, fig. 43),[24] but the crest is bent over to a marked degree.

The Wallingstones crests are different also in another respect, as they are pegged into a socket in the tile, being stopped by a flange present on the crest. In the Potters' Marston report it is suggested that the purpose of the hooks on the crests is to lift the tiles from the kilns. Although the cut pinnacle type of tile—as in Nos. 4-7, fig. 14—is attributed to the 14th or 15th century at Ogmore Castle,[25] it is now thought that they were in use by 1275. This seems to be confirmed on the present site.

Description (fig. 14)

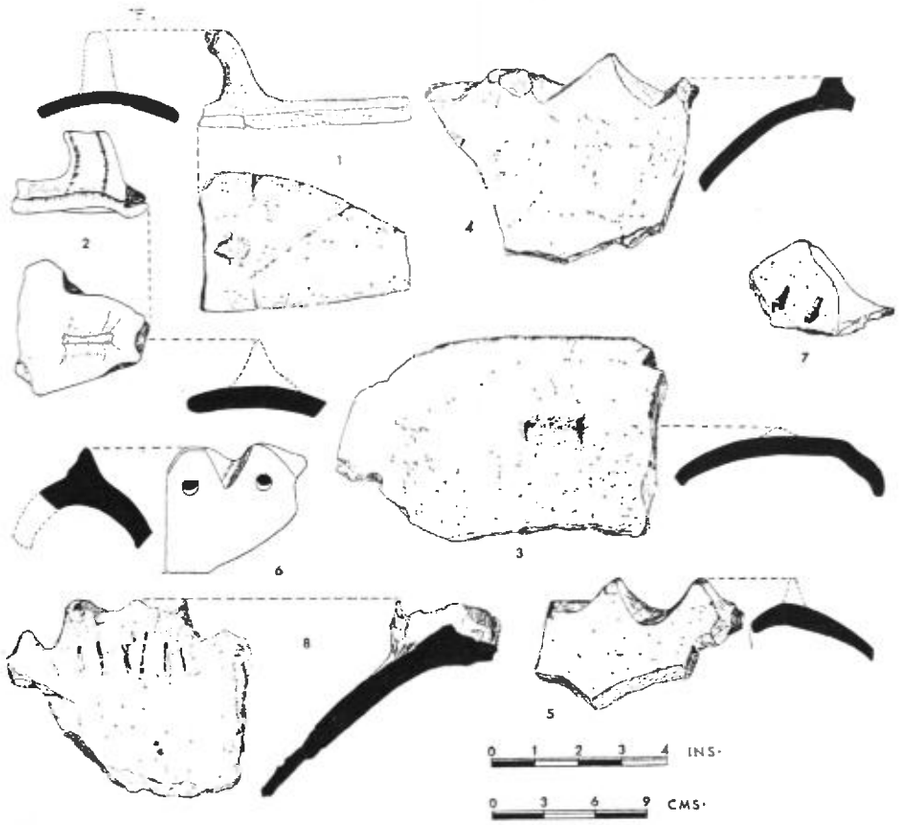
1. Hooked crest. Rounded crest pegged into socket and joint smoothed over. Rather soft, red-brown, sandy surface with grey core. External light green glaze.
2. Hooked crest. Oblong crest pegged into socket and joint smoothed over, and plugged on underside. Fabric and glaze as 1.
3. Moulded crest. Crest, hand-moulded and pinched up. Fairly hard, red-brown, sandy surface. External glaze dark-green with adjoining mottled patch.
4. Cut pinnacle. Fabric and glaze as 1.
5. Cut pinnacle. Fairly hard, buffcoloured, sandy surface with grey core. External light-green mottled glaze.
6. Cut pinnacle. Surface as 1. External olive green glaze. Abraded specimen.
7. Cut pinnacle. Surface as 3. External light-green glaze.
8. Finial base. Side and ridge of tile, incorporating the circular base of a roof finial (similar to that described in appendix VI) with remains of crest alongside. Rather hard, reddish, sandy surface containing a few small grits. Heavily applied dark-green glaze externally.

APPENDIX IV. SMALL FINDS (figs. 15, 16)

The objects catalogued refer to finds other than pottery, coins and bones. Of the 104 catalogued items only 44 have been illustrated here.[26] This choice is governed by the principle of selecting the more unusual objects (e.g. weed-hooks), or a series (e.g. arrowheads), and that the published illustration of well known objects (e.g. spurs, horseshoes) is not essential. The finds do not of course necessarily belong to the periods in which they are listed, as some may be residual material from earlier periods. Such are the Edwardian coins. The complete set of items have been drawn for deposition with the actual finds in the Hereford City Museum.

Period 1A and 1B

1. Shale spindle whorl. Max. diameter = 1.5 ins. Weight = 31g. Made from Blue Lias shale, the nearest known source being at Awre on the river Severn.



WALLINGSTONES. RIDGE TILES.
FIG. 14
Wallingstones—Ridge tiles.

Not Illustrated

2. Iron door key. Length 5½ ins.
3. Iron horse shoe nail. Length 1.6 ins.

Period 1B

31. Iron auger or bit, 10 ins. long.[27] The blade section is not semi-circular, the biting edge being part of a circle of smaller radius than that of the trailing edge. The tip is formed into a curve and is not bent over by blunting, hence it is associated with the biting edge of the blade. The form of this tool suggests a boring action, not a gouging one, the biting edge and tip commencing the cutting, and the trailing edge is of greater curvature to give less resistance to the circular boring motion. This function is also confirmed by the long shank, whereas that of a gouge would be shorter.
32. Iron Weed hook. See appendix XI for discussion.

Not Illustrated

33. Metal tag, length 0.8 inch.
34. Small iron chain link.

Period II (1)

4. Iron arrowhead with short barbs. Similar to type 13, *Med. Cat.* fig. 16.[28]
5. Iron arrowhead or Quarrel. Military type with broad flat blade and marked shoulder, probably used before A.D. 1270. *Med. Cat.* fig. 16, No. 1; fig. 17, No. 5; pl. XV, No. 1.
6. Iron arrowhead. Military type, slender. A.D. 1241-1263. *Med. Cat.* fig. 16, No. 7; fig. 17, No. 8.
7. Table knife with portion of handle. Iron and bronze.
8. Iron hook. Length 1.5 ins.
9. Iron belt hook.
10. Fragment of stone mould, of calcareous shaley mudstone. This block would have been used to cast pewter or bronze hat badges, which could be stitched to clothing. On one side there is a tapered keying-hole and on the other the remains of a dome-shaped dowel; both these devices were intended to ensure accurate registration when slotting together the components of the mould. All that has survived of the original designs are the ends of the matrices of rectangular, hatched frames and rings attached by stems to the corners. These protruding annulets were a standard feature of German hat-badge designs from the 13th century onwards.[29]
11. Broad-bladed iron tool, 3 ins. in length. The blade has not been intended for an impacted cutting stroke, but either pushed (as for a razor) or held vertically between fingers and thumb, and drawn along some yielding material (such as leather), with an intermittent rocking motion, on the curved edge. This tool is really designed for close-up work. The tang need not have had a wooden handle, as many tools often had leather or raw-hide wrapping as a finger hand-grip. This object is therefore probably either a razor or leather-working tool. A rather similar tool was discovered at Shifnal[30] and is described as a mason's chisel, but this is larger and its sides do not slope away so much.
12. Iron tool, practically identical to No. 11.

FIG. 15
Small finds (½).

13. Rivetted bronze fitting. A flat plate 1.7 x 0.8 ins. with three rivets.
14. Bone weaving comb. Remaining length 3.3 ins. Consists of three laminated sections joined by iron pins through bored holes. Both outside faces have a double grooved linear decoration.

Not Illustrated

15. Bronze appliqué. Fragment of decorative bronze wire.
16. Small iron link, possible from a chain. Outside diameter 0.5 inch.
17. Iron spike, length 9 ins. 18. Iron horseshoe nail, length 1.1 ins.
19. Bronze washer, diam. 0.4 inch. 20. Small iron staple, length 0.9 inch.
21. Iron buckle, roughly square but rounded. Max. length 1.4 ins.
22. Iron chest key. Length 3.2 ins. The "bit" is missing.
23. Small iron nails c. 1.5 ins. long, small heads.
24. Bronze foil, probably clippings. 25. Two flint scrapers and one flake.
26. Bone hair comb. Fragment with only three teeth.

Period II (2)

27. Iron arrowhead, socketed and leaf-shaped. This is a 13th-century form and must be residual from period I. *Med. Cat.* type 3.
28. Iron arrowhead, tanged and leaf-shaped.

Not Illustrated

29. Iron nails with large heads—clouts.
30. Two bone needles, both broken, one with eye.

Period III

35. Coiled spring of bronze. Length 1.9 ins. One end terminates in a ring, the other in a point. Function unknown.
36. Lead button with leaf decoration, and remains of a tang.

Not Illustrated

37. Iron washer. Diameter 2 ins.
38. Fragment of a pair of shears with moulded spring-handle.
39. Bronze pin. Length 1.5 ins. 40. Iron chest key. Length 3.5 ins.
41. Bronze rectangular belt buckle. Length 2.2 ins.
42. Metal button, with eye. Diameter 0.6 inch. 43. Iron table knife.

Period II (2)-IV

46. Lead button, finely decorated, with remains of tang.
59. Iron boss of shield. (See appendix V and fig. 17A).

Not Illustrated

60. Iron rowel spur, complete with strap links in single terminals and five rowels. There are no similar specimens in the *Medieval Catalogue* so that the date could be any time between the first half of the 13th until the late 15th century.
61. Two iron (?) needles 2.9 and 1.1 ins. in length, non-magnetic.
63. Horseshoe.

Period III-IV (1)

44. Bronze finger ring with sockets for two stones, now missing.
45. Lead button, finely decorated, with remains of tang.
47. Bronze decorative boss, for woodwork, diameter 2.6 ins.
48. Two bronze pins, one with head, the other broken.
49. Iron arrowhead. Military type. Similar to specimens in *Med. Cat.* fig. 16, No. 9; Pl. XV, No. 16, and fig. 17, No. 24—dated to A.D. 1361.
50. Bone table-knife handle, a portion in two parts, with bronze rivet.
51. Portion of iron lock.
52. Stone spindle whorl, one half remaining. Diameter 1.5 ins.
53. Pottery spindle whorl, one half remaining. Diameter 1.6 ins.
54. Small hone, tapering with eye at one end. Length 2.6 ins.

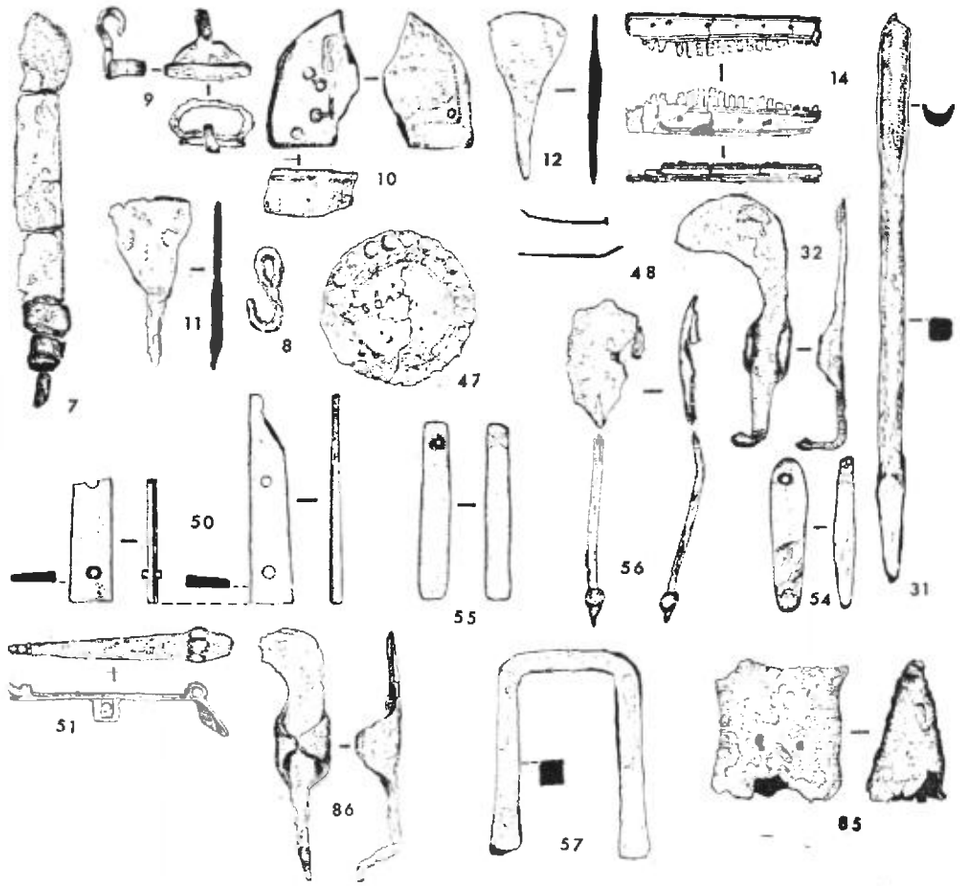


FIG. 16
Small finds (½).

55. Small hone, roughly rectangular with bevelled eye at one end. Length 3 ins. Nos. 54 and 55 are both made from micaceous sandstone, rather similar to a specimen from Caplar Quarry.[31]
56. Metal spoon, length 5.6 ins. with knob at end of handle. The metal is similar to pewter.
57. Iron grip. Length 3.7 ins., which may have been the handle of a handbell.
58. Jet bead, one half remaining. Length 0.65 inch.

Not Illustrated

62. Bronze strap-end buckle 1.4 ins. length.
64. Large hone, nearly complete, with scratch marks which may represent a tally. Length 5.3 ins.
65. Medium-sized hone, broken.
66. Small hone, broken.
67. Iron door key. Length 5.4 ins.
68. Iron table-knife blade.
69. Horseshoe.
70. Iron harness buckle. Length 2.5 ins. Width 2.5 ins.
71. Iron grip with perforations at each end. Length 5.1 ins. Function unknown, but it resembles a modern saucepan lid handle.
72. Iron table knife.
73. Metal spoon, fragmentary. Similar to find No. 56.
74. Bronze button, associated with three shanks.
75. Iron needle.

Period V

76. Bone peg. Length 2 ins. Round in cross section, but squared at one end.
77. Bronze cusp ornament, with centre hole and three small peripheral holes. Diameter 1 inch.
78. Bronze button, plain with shank missing. Diameter 0.5 inch.
79. Bronze balance arm. See appendix IX.

80-82. Bell metal fragments.
83. Bronze bridle boss. Diameter 1.8 ins.

84. Bronze strap terminal. Length 1.4 ins. Two horizontal plates joined by two rivets.
85. Iron sheep bell.
86. Iron weed hook. See appendix XI.

Not Illustrated

87. Iron table knife, portion.
88. Iron key, portion.

89 & 90. Iron table knife, portions.

91. Iron barred padlock key, portion
92. Iron ring, portion.
93. Iron harness buckle.
94. Iron rowel spur, portion.
95. Large iron hook.
96. Iron table knife, portion.
97. Rectangular bronze belt buckle with remains of pin. Length 2.5 ins.
98. Lead plummet, perforated at top.
99. Bone bead. Diameter 0.5 inch.
100. Small circular bronze buckle with pin. Diameter 0.75 inch.
101. Bronze washer. Diameter 0.4 inch, with small perforation.
102. Iron snaffle-bit ring.
103. Bronze strip clipping.
104. Iron slag runner. (Bloomery slag).

APPENDIX V. THE SHIELD-BOSS

The shield-boss was deposited in the rubbish of the garderobe pit during the interval A.D. 1250-1500. The shield to which this belonged could therefore have been in use either during this interval or before 1250, and it is clear that this is a 13th-century type. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Dunning for his examination of this find and the accompanying paper on Medieval Shields.

THE SHIELD-BOSS FROM WALLINGSTONES, AND NOTES ON MEDIEVAL SHIELDS

By G. C. DUNNING, F.S.A.

The shield-boss (fig. 17A and pl. XXI), is made of thin iron, hemispherical in shape, with a terminal spike. The flange is flat and present all round the circumference but only in one place, for a length of 2 ins. is it preserved to the full width of $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. This part is pierced by a hole for a rivet to fix the boss to the shield. The number of these holes was almost certainly six, based on the analogy of the complete examples mentioned below. The boss is 7 ins. in diameter at the edge of the flange, and the central dome is $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter and $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins. high. The method of fixing the spike is not clear, but probably it has a shank which was hammered over on the inside of the boss.

A second medieval shield-boss of the same type as that from Wallingstones was found by Mr. Bridgewater when investigating an iron-working site in the Lower Vagas field at Whitchurch, south Herefordshire. The excavation revealed two floors, composed of slag and stones, at depths of $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. and $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. below the surface. The floors are different in date; the upper floor is post-medieval, and in the lower floor were rims of 13th-century cooking-pots.[32] The shield-boss was in the lower floor, and is thus securely dated to the 13th century.

The Whitchurch shield-boss (fig. 17B and pl. XXI.2) is also made of thin iron. The dome is $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins. in diameter and $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins. high. It is flattened on top, and devoid of a spike or other central feature (this is confirmed by a radiograph). The flange, 6.3 ins. in diameter at the edge, is present continuously for over half of the circumference, and for 2 ins. on the remaining part. It is 1 in. wide and slopes downwards to the edge, which is marked by nicks, presumably made by a file. The flange is pierced by four holes, spaced equally round the circumference.

The great rarity of shield-bosses dated to the medieval period makes the two examples found by Mr. Bridgewater, both in Herefordshire, of extreme interest. A short study of the scanty comparative material follows the above descriptions. It has proved possible to produce shield-bosses both earlier and later in date than the 13th century examples from Herefordshire, and thus to place them in a general series.

Medieval shield-bosses in England

Shield-bosses of the type found in Herefordshire have been noted from only two other sites in England, and are described here for the sake of completeness.

A shield-boss found in Radcliffe Square, Oxford (fig. 17, C.1) is in the Ashmolean Museum (No. 1951, 109). It has a hemi-spherical dome, 4.4 ins. in diameter and 1½ ins. high, without a spike. About one-third of the flange is present, and a small part on the opposite side. The flange is flat, 0.7 in. wide and 5.8 ins. in diameter at the edge. Radiography revealed three rivet holes in the flange over a quarter-length of the cirmumference, giving eight holes in the complete flange.

In the Northampton Museum are two complete shield-bosses (Nos. D396 and D397) among the large collection of Iron Age finds from the famous hill-fort of Hunsbury, 1¾ miles S.W. of Northampton.[33] They are illustrated in fig. 17, C.2 and 3.

The two bosses are almost exactly the same in type and size. The domes are slightly more conical in profile than those illustrated already, and may be described as mammiform. They are both 5 ins. in diameter, and 2.3 ins. and 2 ins. high respectively. The tops are pierced by a large hole, through which projects a spike, rectangular in section and ending in a blunt point, 1.8 ins. long on No. 2 and attaining 4½ ins. long on No. 3. The inside ends of the spikes are expanded and flat, like the heads of large

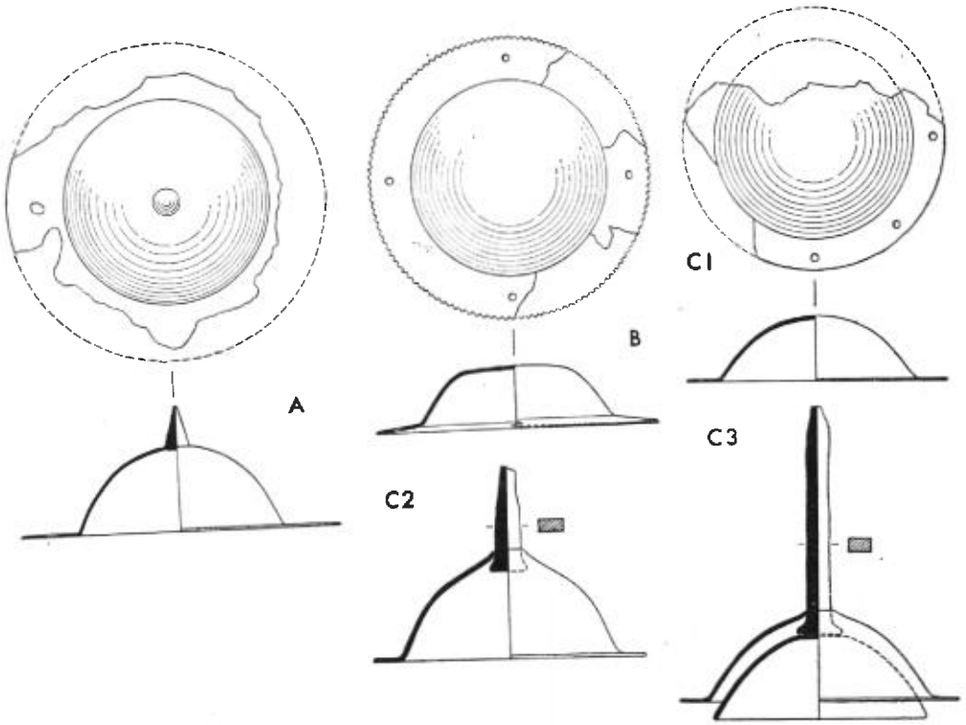


FIG. 17
Shield bosses (¼).
A. Wallingstones.
B. Whitchurch Vagas.
C1. Oxford.
C2 and 3. Hunsbury.

nails. The method of fixing the spikes differs radically on the two bosses. On No. 2 the spike is secured by solder, but on No. 3 the long spike is loose, and held in position by a separate, smaller, hemi-spherical cap inside the shield-boss. The top of this cap is flattened and presses against the flat head of the spike. The margin of the cap projects 0.4 ins. below the flange of the boss, so that the central part of the shield, presumably made of wood, was recessed to receive it. The spike was therefore held in position by pressure due to the close fitting of the various components; the method seems peculiarly elaborate, but the cap inside the boss would double the resistance of the structure to a sword blow when in action.

The flanges of both shield-bosses are nearly complete, but on neither are any rivet holes now visible; careful cleaning would no doubt reveal them.

The shape of the Hunsbury shield-bosses, the long spikes and the evolved methods of fixing them suggest that the bosses are developed from the 13th-century type as known in Herefordshire and at Oxford, and so probably later in date. The finds from Hunsbury are almost entirely of the prehistoric Iron Age, and nothing else of medieval or later date appears to be known from the site. This paucity of finds suggests that the shield-bosses are the relics of some temporary occupation of the place. A suitable context is provided by the Battle of Northampton, fought in 1460, during the Wars of the Roses. Northampton was held by Henry VI and attacked by the Yorkists, who won the day after the royal forces had fled in panic. The two shield-bosses may thus with good reason be dated mid-15th century, and identified as part of the equipment of the Yorkist army, conveniently quartered inside Hunsbury prior to the decisive battle at Northampton.

Viking and Medieval Shields in England and Scandinavia

The history of shields and their bosses in Viking times and during the medieval period in England and Scandinavia is demonstrated by extant examples, the evidence of which is reinforced by contemporary illustrations in manuscripts and other pictorial sources.

In England a start may be made with the tall conical and sugar-loaf bosses of the late 7th and 8th centuries.[34] Comparable and related types were also current in continental Europe and in Scandinavia.[35] Although actual examples of bosses of the late Saxon period are not yet known from England, illustrations show that derivatives of these types were in use on circular shields until the 11th century at least.[36] One of the chief sources for information of this kind, the Bayeux Tapestry, depicts Saxon archers and foot soldiers carrying circular, convex shields with a conical boss ending in a point.[37] The only shield of about this period is known from iron stains in a man's grave on the south side of the Anglican Cathedral of North Elmham, Norfolk; the shield was apparently circular, about 27 ins. in diameter, provided with four large studs for securing the grip though no boss could be detected.[38]

In Scandinavia and north-west Europe the types of shield-boss described above are replaced by hemi-spherical bosses. These are normal in innumerable Viking graves in Scandinavia,[39] and several have been found in Norse burials of the 9th century and later in Scotland and the Isle of Man.[40] From Viking times onwards throughout

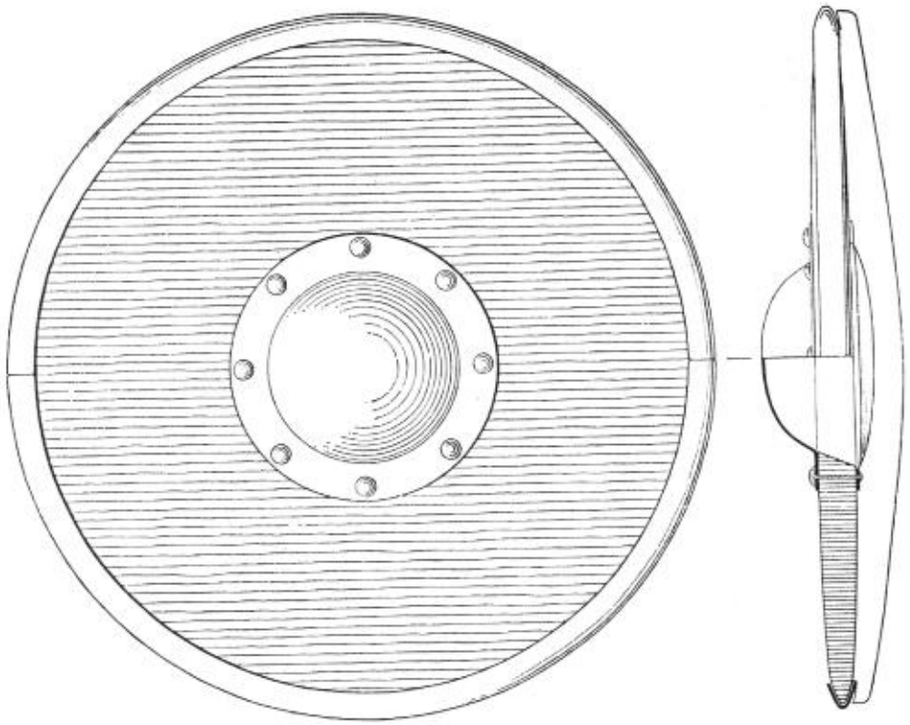


FIG. 18
Wooden shield from Telemark, Norway (¼).

the medieval period the hemi-spherical boss on circular shields was almost universal in Scandinavia and north-west Europe, and its persistence is a striking witness to the strength of the tradition in fighting equipment inherited from the Vikings.

However, a different form of shield makes its appearance in the Bayeux Tapestry. The Norman cavalry, so conspicuous in the tapestry, carry long, kite-shaped shields with rounded tops and pointed at the lower ends.[41] This type of shield, introduced into England by the Normans, was especially designed for use by cavalry.[42] The kite-shaped shield continued in use in England during the medieval period; it underwent developments in size and shape which need not concern us here.[43]

In the medieval period the circular shield or buckler was elaborated and embellished. Usually it was made of wood covered with leather, protected round the edge by curved iron strips and provided with a central hemi-spherical boss. The Wallingstones and Whitchurch shield-bosses (fig. 17 A and B), and that found at Oxford (fig. 17 C.1) belong here, but of course none of these bosses gives any information about the shield itself. For details of the strip decoration on the shield and the nature of the grip or handle recourse must be made to complete examples from France[44] and Scandinavia. Although Saxon circular shields were sometimes ornamented with strapwork, for

instance a 7th-century shield found at Thetford which had seven decorative strap mounts radiating from the boss,[45] no direct connexion can be shown between these and the fully developed medieval shields.

The finest series of medieval shields are from Norway, and are preserved in the Universitetets Oldsaksamling at Oslo. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Martin Blindheim for information about these shields, supplying photographs, and kindly providing facilities for one to make drawings at Oslo. The shields vary from about 14 ins. to 20 ins. in diameter, and are composed of a single disc of wood bordered by two semi-circular edge bindings of iron, and by elaborate concentric or radiating iron strips riveted to the front and sometimes also on the back.

The front of the shield is convex and its back concave. Usually the boss is hemispherical, but two bosses have the profile flattened on top like the boss from Whitechurch (fig. 17, B). The boss is fastened by eight large rivets, which may be plain and dome-shaped, or square or quadrilobed in shape. The grip is also of wood, and extends across the entire width of the shield, which it thus helps to strengthen. One of the Norwegian shields, found at Gimsø, Solum, Telemark, is illustrated in fig. 18 to show its structural parts, and on pl. XXI.3, to show the concentric iron strapwork. Most of the shields, which are dated by runic inscriptions or stylistically between the 12th and 15th centuries, have been described and illustrated.[46]

Although the circular shield or buckler is the proper equipment for foot soldiers, in Norway it was retained for use by horsemen well into the Middle Ages. On the back panel of a massive late 12th-century carved chair from Blaker, Oppland, is shown a combat between two mounted warriors, both armed with swords and carrying bucklers of the type described above.[47]

Later history of the Buckler

In the succeeding Tudor and Stuart periods in Britain the leather-covered wooden buckler, about 18 ins in diameter, is the lineal descendant of the medieval circular shield. The two shield-bosses from Hunsbury (fig. 17, C.2-3) belong here. Examples of 16th or 17th century bucklers found in London had elaborately shaped iron bosses with a long central terminal, which ends in a flat button instead of the usual spike.[48] The Highlander's buckler or targe, as known from examples of the 17th and 18th centuries, is the counterpart of these in Scotland.[49] The targe was made of two plies of oak pegged together and covered with leather, often highly ornamented with tooled and stamped patterns and partly coloured in red. The iron boss was small and hemi-spherical, into which a long steel spike could be screwed.

This brief recension of the history of the circular shield in Britain, from the late Anglo-Saxon period down to the 18th century, demonstrates that the type was in use during some ten centuries. It is a fair assumption that the buckler was in almost continuous usage over this long period. It will be clear that much still remains to be discovered about the history and development of shields and their bosses in this country, particularly in the medieval period. The Wallingstones and Whitchurch shield-bosses are therefore valuable finds, which help to fill an astonishing gap in medieval archaeology.

APPENDIX VI. REPORT ON ROOF FINIAL FROM WALLINGSTONES.

by G. C. DUNNING, F.S.A.

The evidence consists of 4 fragments, of which three belong to the finial (marked D+, E+ and J+) and one to the socket for it on the ridge-tile. The pieces of the finial comprises:

1. Lower part of the terminal spike, with a frilled collar applied round its base.
2. Top of globular body of finial, with scar on upper surface where the spike was attached, and a central plug or dowel to secure the spike to the finial.
3. Open lower end of finial, roughly made with wreathing on the outside. The three pieces belong to one or two finials of the same type and about the same size, and so can be combined in a single drawing (fig. 19). As reconstructed, the finial was about 11½ ins. in total height and 5¾ ins. body diameter. There is evidence that two finials of the type are represented, because the method adopted to fix the spike to the body of the finial differs; fragment 1 is a hollow spike, whereas on 2 the spike was applied to the body of the finial and secured by a central dowel. The presence of two identical finials suggests that they were placed at the gable ends of the roof of the principal room or hall on the site.
4. Part of hollow socket which would be attached to the top of ridge-tile as shown in the drawing. The four fragments are made of grey ware with light red or reddish-buff surface. The spike and body of the finial are green-glazed outside; the glaze is not of good quality, it is uneven and sub-lustrous. The glaze is also present on the lower part of the finial, but here it is thinner and in patches. Glaze similar to that on the finial also covers the socket on the ridge-tile. The Wallingstones finials belong to a well defined type current in the Marches and in south-east Wales. The type specimen was found on the site of St. Giles' Chapel at Hereford[50] and is exhibited in Hereford Museum. The other examples of this type are fragmentary; they were found at White Castle, Monmouthshire; in High Street, Cardiff and in Llandaff. These finds are preserved in the National Museum of Wales.

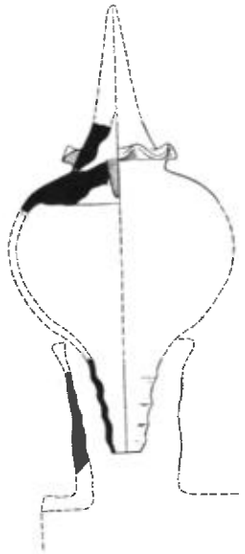


FIG. 19
Roof finial (1/5).

The date of the Hereford type of roof-finial is not closely determined, but the contexts in which they occur at White Castle and at Wallingstones indicate the 13th century, most probably in the second half of the century. At Wallingstones, the fragments were discovered in the final destruction layer and the most appropriate milieu would have been the hall roof.

APPENDIX VII. THE COINS (51)

1. Silver short cross penny of John, probably minted *c.*A.D. 1210, but in any case was not current after 1250. Fairly good condition. Obv. HENRICVS REX. Rev. ABEL ON LYND. The coin was minted in London by the moneyer, Abel. From top of the ditch filling under the mound (layer 5, section A, fig. 7).
2. French Jetton, probably 14th century. Agnus Dei. Good condition. Obv. Cross Pattée and lys. AVE MARIA MATE. Rev. GETES SANS FAILIR. Coll. Rouyer No. 1025. Deposited in rubbish layer of undercroft (layer 4, section D, fig. 8).
3. Penny of Alexander III of Scotland, 1249-92. Issued *c.* 1285. Much damaged. Obv. DEI GRA- Rev. (REX S)COTER (VM). Long cross with mullets, 5 points, in each sector. Probably minted at Berwick. From back-fill of the robbed undercroft (layer I, section D, fig. 8).
4. Silver penny of Edward I, 1280-81. In good condition. Obv. Crowned bust facing. The stops are crescent-shaped. Brooke, Class III (C). EDW. R. ANGL. DNS. HYB. Rev. Long cross, 3 pellets to each angle. CIVI. TAS. LON. DON. London mint. From final destruction layer.
5. Silver penny of Edward I, 1272-1307. Fragmentary. Obv. EDWA. R.ANGL. DNS. HYB. Rev. CIVITAS. LONDON. This is Brookes' Class X, J. J. North's Class Xd, in circulation 1302-1310, so that the coin could possibly be an Edward II issue, using the old dies. From final destruction layer.
6. Silver long cross penny, possibly Edward I. Very fragmentary. From final destruction layer.
7. Copper cartwheel penny of George III. Issued 1797. Much oxidised. Obv. GEORGIVS III. REX. Laureated bust rt., raised border. Rev. BRITANNIA. 1797. Britannia seated left on shield. Surface find.

APPENDIX VIII. BONES AND SHELLS[52]

There is not a large collection of bones for a site in which occupation covers about three centuries, for the reason that total excavation could not be carried out. Phase 2 occupation is not well represented because, of the layers examined, only the rubbish

layer outside the house (and possibly the garderobe pit) would be likely places to find animal waste, and these areas were small. Clearly, the main tip during phase 2 lies elsewhere, probably around the base of the mound.

The animals represented during the occupation phases were

Phase 1.—Ox, horse, pig, sheep/goat, deer, birds, dog, cat.
Total 132 bones.

Phase 2.—Ox, horse, pig, sheep/goat, birds, deer.
Total 77 bones.

Phase 3.—Ox, horse, pig, sheep/goat, deer, birds.
Total 105 bones.

Cattle, pig, sheep and birds would have been the main items of diet and this was also probably true for horse in the first phase, but it is doubtful for subsequent periods, when several parts of the skeleton are missing. The horse, as shown in the discussion must have been a transport animal.

The cattle were all very small animals probably akin to the Kerry breed type. The horses were also small, being about 12 hands at the withers. There was little evidence of chopped or split bones, only three of cattle and one of pig.

The only game represented is deer, and both the red and fallow deer bones are present. Most of the bird bones are from domestic fowls and chicken but there are also a few odd bones from a game-cock, blackbird, partridge and goose. Two of the more unusual types of bone, present in the first phase, were those of a dog and a cat, both large animals. A number of sea shells were found in phase 3—oyster, mussel and cockle.

APPENDIX IX. BALANCE BEAM (appendix IV, No. 79)

FIG. 20

This is 4¼ ins. long, slightly bowed upwards towards the remaining base of a pointer. Two small lugs, each 1/16th inch long, project from the sides of the beam at a central point, below the base of the pointer; the underside of the beam here being slightly notched. The eye at one end of the beam is intact whilst the other is damaged. The beam, which is roughly square in cross section but now rounded off, and the pointer and lugs, are all of bronze. As illustrated in the reconstruction (fig. 20), the beam was probably supported by a knife edge suspended by a stirrup from a convenient point above. This mechanism is suggested by the presence of the notch underneath the bar. Pans would be attached to the beam ends by strings threaded through the eyes.

The find may be compared with the three medieval balance beams from Old Sarum.[33] These were constructed differently, where in each case the beam was suspended from above by a string threaded through a hole in the base of the pointer, the string acting as a zero point.

These balances are usually considered to have been used for checking coin weights. Although this balance beam was found in the latest destruction level (period V) there is not much doubt that it is residual material from an earlier period.

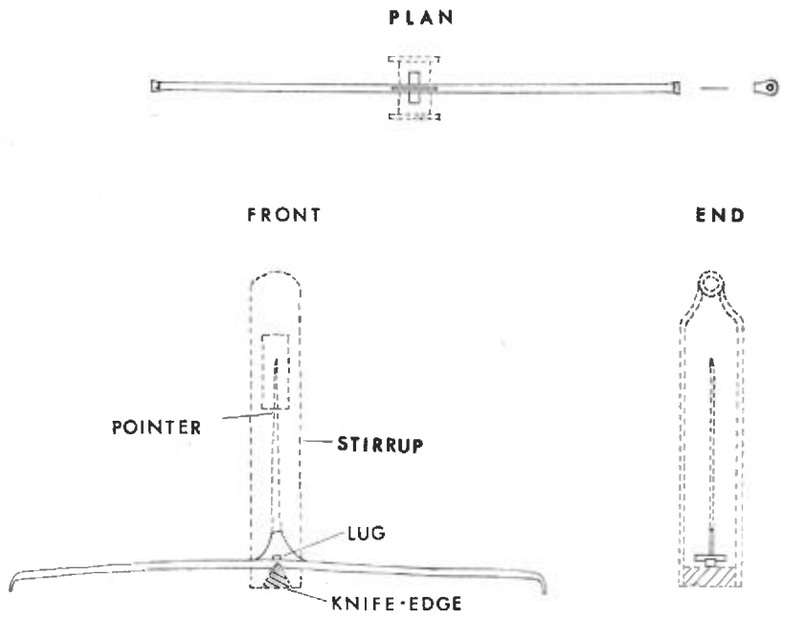


FIG. 20
Balance beam reconstructed (⅔).

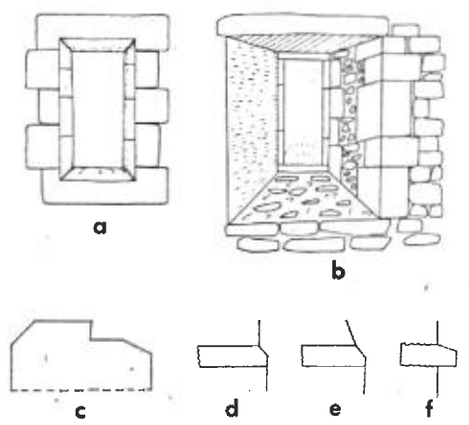


FIG. 21
Stones from the Garderobe (not to scale).

APPENDIX X. STONES FROM THE GARDEROBE *by* E. A. READ

FIG. 21

Two stones which probably belong to the period I hall or undercroft were found in the rubbish layer of the abandoned garderobe. These are shown in pl. XVIII. The left-hand stone is shaped as in fig. 21 (C), and is an ashlar window jamb with rebate, having an external chamfer followed by a plain inner face, with sockets for iron bars or a grille. An internal chamfer set back from the rebate denotes a splayed opening, widening to the interior. This type of window would normally have splayed ashlar quoins on the interior jambs, and, if of slight width, a flat lintel throughout. Such a window would have been seen in a basement or overlooking the inner ward of the castle. This type of masonry commenced in the Early Norman period. Two examples are shown in fig. 21 (a) and (b).

The right-hand stone in the photograph does not show any sign of weathering on its upper face, and this, coupled with its rough tooling, indicates a stone shaped for, and set in, masonry up to the chamfered edge. Such a stone could be set into the base of a wall, a buttress or parapet, or could serve as a dripstone (as in fig. 21 (d), (e), (f), respectively).

APPENDIX XI. WEED HOOKS *by* J. W. ANSTEE

(The Museum of English Rural Life, University of Reading)

Of the two iron weed-hooks (Nos. 32 and 86, fig. 16), No. 32 is securely dated to the period before 1250 A.D. but the other is probably later.

The weed-hook (or little sickle) is designed for a specific and unusual method of hafting to a long wooden stick. A socket is formed by its two "wings" folding over to clasp the shaft, and the long shank is turned over at the tip and rivetted through. This offers considerable resistance to a pulling action.

The tool is used in conjuction with another, the "cootch". This is a long wooden stick forked at one end, which held the weed in place while it was being cut with the weed-hook, held in the other hand and pulled towards the worker. The handles were generally made from hazel. These two tools were used if the ground was hard and dry, whilst in soft ground some weeds were pulled out with long wooden tongs.

Weed-hooks have been obtained from Romano-British sites, and were also in use until the early 20th century, so that the present medieval examples form a useful addition to the series.

A medieval MSS (The Queen Mary Psalter) shows weeds being cut above ground, but it is reasonably certain that, in later times in any case, they were cut just below the surface. The exact method would depend upon the shape of the hook. The Wallingstones specimens are obviously well worn from long use.

Hand weeding of the growing cereal crop was an important form of cultivation. The deep-rooted perennial weeds, such as docks and thistles were the main target. Thistles were cut in July; if cut earlier each root would throw up three or four plants, and in fact they were not so vigorous in July. It was essential to eradicate them before seeding. This is all neatly summarised with customary country wisdom in the saying

"Thistles cut in May come up again next day, thistles cut in June come up again soon, cut them in July they'll be sure to die". Weeds other than thistles, however, were attacked at the end of May or early June. There is a local phrase, at Whitchurch in our district, which undoubtedly refers to the use of weed-hooks—"Thistle bodging with a widdock".

Weeding by means of a cootch and weed-hook is depicted on one of the 15th-century misericords of the Priory Church, Great Malvern.[54]

REFERENCES

1 The excavation was undertaken by members of the Archenfield Archaeological Group, namely Col. A. Bellhouse, A. Clarke, A. Fleming, H. Armstrong, R. E. Kay, Mr. and Mrs. M. P. Watkins, Mrs. M. Sanders and family, Miss Howe, Mrs. Howells, A. Selway, with S. Clarke and D. Thacker. Permission to excavate was granted by Mr. W. J. Williams of Tre-Essey and thanks are due to Mr. A. Brewer for backfilling. The group is also indebted to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust for financial aid towards the purchase of equipment, which has been helpful in training members in excavation techniques. A grant from the Wye Valley Guild is also very much appreciated. Considerable benefit was derived from specialist advice given by J. G. Hurst. F.S.A., P. A. Rahtz, F.S.A., and P. A. Barker, F.S.A., whose help is gladly acknowledged. I am also indebted to G. C. Dunning, F.S.A., K. J. Barton, F.S.A., E. A. Read and J. W. Anstee for their specialist reports.

2 The documentary evidence quoted was found firstly by Mr. A. Fleming, but I am also grateful for additional observations from Mr. M. P. Watkins and Mr. Ralph Griffiths, B.A.

3 Derivation kindly supplied both by Prof. W. Rees and Mr. K. E. Kissack.

4 John Hobson Matthews, *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford (Lower Division Part II)*, (1915) 80, 82.

5 Professor B. G. Charles quotes: *Place Names of the West-Riding of Yorkshire*, Part VII, 299: *Place Names of Gloucestershire*, Part IV, 208.

6 Section lines are shown on the period plan, fig. 4.

7 Margaret Wood, *The English Medieval House*, (1965). Ch. 2.

8 I am obliged to Mr. M. W. Barley for the observations in this paragraph.

9 Appendix VII, No. 1.

10 Appendix I, No. 5. Kindly examined by J. G. Hurst.

11 Catalogued in appendix IV and illustrated in figs. 16, 17, 18.

12 Clay tobacco pipe fragments and a George III penny were found.

13 Examples of this are three coins of Edward I (appendix VII, Nos. 4, 5, 6) from period II and many cooking-pot sherds. From period IV there is another bifid-rim bowl and sherds of highly glazed purple-brown ware of the 15th century.

14 C. E. Hart, *Royal Forest*, (1966) p. 49 and appendix V.

15 Theophilus, *On Divers Arts*, Trans. by Hawthorne and Smith (1963), 176 and pl. XV.

16 I am obliged to Mr. A. Clarke for drawing the glazed pottery.

17 K. J. Barton. Medieval Pottery at Rouen. *Arch. J.* CXXII. (1965), 83, fig. 4, No. 25.

18 B. H. St. J. O'Neil 'Finds from Coity, Ogmore, Grosmont, and White Castles'. *Ant. J.* XV (1935), 320.

19 P. A. Barker, 'Medieval Pottery from Abbey Foregate, Shrewsbury', *Trans. Shropshire Arch. Soc.*, LVII (1964), 265.

20 A. Fox, 'A trading site at Bantham, South Devon'. Appendix on medieval pottery by G. C. Dunning, *Ant. J.*, XXXV (1955), 64.

21 K. J. Barton, 'A medieval pottery kiln at Ham Green, Bristol', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, Vol. 82 (1963), 95-126.

22 Joyce Haynes, 'Report on a 13th-century kiln site at Potter's Marston, Leics.', *A.N.L.*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1951), 29.

23 Information from J. G. Hurst.

24 P. A. Barker, 'Excavation of the moated site at Shifnal, Shropshire, 1962', *Trans. Shropshire Archaeol. Soc.*, LVII (1964), 202.

25 *op.cit.*, note (18).

26 I am obliged to Mr. R. E. Kay for both the published and unpublished sets of drawings of small finds.

27 I am indebted to Mr. Beeny ,a professional engineer, for these observations.

28 *Medieval Catalogue* (London Museum Catalogues: No. 7, 1940).

29 This item was kindly examined and described by Mr. Brian Spencer, of the London Museum.
30 *op.cit.*, note (24), 194.
31 Information kindly supplied by the Geological Survey and Museum, South Kensington.
32 *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* XXXVI PART II (1959), 228-232 and 268, section WX.
33 The bosses are briefly described, but not illustrated by Clare I. Fell in *Arch. J.*, XC III (1936), 67, No. 26).
34 Vera I. Evison, 'Sugar-loaf Shield bosses', *Ant. J.*, XLIII (1963), 38 ff.
35 Evison, *op.cit.*, p. 51 ff.
36 Evison, *op.cit.*, p. 57. D. M. Wilson, *The Anglo-Saxons*, (1960), 115, figs. 24 and 26.
37 *The Bayeux Tapestry*, (Phaidon Press, 1957), 63-4 and pls. 64, 65, 70 and 72.
38 *Medieval Archaeology*, VI-VII (1962), 94-5, fig. 34.
39 For the weapons in a typical warriors' grave see A. E. Herteig, 'Bidrag til Jernalderens Busetnings-historie på Toten', *Skrifter utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo.* (1955), figs. 54 and 57.
40 H. Shetelig, 'The Viking Graves in Great Britain and Ireland', *Acta Archaeologica*, XVI (1945), figs. 3, 7, and 17. Gerhard Bersu and D. M. Wilson, *Three Viking Graves in the Isle of Man* (1966), 59, fig. 36.
41 *The Bayeux Tapestry*, pls. 16, 18, 63, 65, 70 and 71.
42 Curved shields of oval shape, pointed at the lower end, are known already in the Viking period, but there is as yet no evidence of these in England. Shetelig and Falk. *Scandinavian Archaeology* (1937), 399.
43 Claude Blair, *European Armour* (1958), 181-2.
44 Violet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné du Mobilier francais*, VI (1875), 243 ff., figs. 1-7.
45 Evison, *op.cit.*, 45, fig. 3.
46 S. Grieg, Middelalderske Byfund fra Bergen og Oslo (1933), 320-23, figs. 292-95.
47 Martin Blindheim, *Norwegian Romanesque decorative sculpture, 1090-1210.* (1965), 38, fig. 154.
48 M. R. Holmes, 'Arms and Armour in Tudor and Stuart London' (*London Museum Catalogue No. 8, 1957*), 6, 15, fig. 1 (boss) and pl. IX (buckler).
49 Ian Finlay, *Scottish Crafts.* (1948), 87-8 and coloured plate facing p. 86.
50 *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1927), 102. For description and plan of the chapel, see R.C.H.M. *Herefordshire*, 1, 130.
51 For the examination of the coins, I am indebted to the following:
Dr. J. P. Kent (British Museum), (Nos. 1 and 2), J. F. L. Norwood (Nos. 4, 5) and Dr. C. Scott-Garrett (Nos. 3, 7).
52 The majority of the bones were identified by Dr. E. Francis, Dept. of Zoology, Sheffield University, whilst others were handled by Mr. L. F. Cowley, M.Sc., and Mr. A. Clarke.
53 J. W. G. Musty, 'A pipe-line near Old Sarum. Prehistoric, Roman and Medieval finds', *W.A.M.* LVII (1958-9), 179-191.
54 Information kindly supplied by Mr. Hugh Armstrong.

The Club is much indebted to the Council for British Archaeology for a grant towards publishing this report.

Who was Maud Harper?

By W. E. GRIFFITHS

STRETTON Sugwas church is a bit of an architectural mystery. To see a 15th century black-and-white tower rising above the coldly correct Victorian masonry is rather disconcerting. The explanation is that the church was pulled down in 1877 and rebuilt with the old materials, which were inserted rather haphazardly into the new building. It does however contain two works of genius. One is a Norman tympanum carved with a superb relief of Samson tearing the lion apart (Judges, XIV, 5-6). The patriarchal figure with full beard, flowing mane of hair, and pleated skirt, is seated astride the lion's back and has seized the animal's jaws, one in each hand, forcing the mouth wide open. The carving is full of that strange vigour that characterises the work of the school which produced (among a host of fine things) the extraordinary decoration of Shobdon and Kilpeck, the writhing magnificence of the font at Castle Frome, and the gentle beauty of the Entry into Jerusalem at Aston Eyre in Shropshire.

The other work of art, though much later and vastly different in subject, is equally astonishing. It is a 15th-century incised memorial slab, now built into the south wall of the nave near the entrance (pl. XXII).[1] The simple yet bold design, and the finely-traced black-filled lines, are in the pure style of medieval brasses. The figures of a young man and a young woman lie beneath an elaborate canopy. Because of the upright position of the slab they seem to be standing, though in fact they are lying with their heads on cushions. They are flanked by fluted and banded columns supporting a canopy of great elaboration, with ogee-shaped crocketted pinnacles decorating the surface of a balustrade angled to make it look as if it projects in front of the figures. At the foot of the slab is a black-letter inscription in four lines. The head of each figure rests on a large square cushion with tasselled corners. The man is on the dexter side and gazes out with a mild and slightly stupid expression. He has short hair neatly bobbed and turned under at the edges all round; he wears a long heavily folded gown, presumably of velvet, with ermine collar, cuffs and hem; at his waist are a leather purse and sheathed dagger; and his sharply pointed shoes are visible beneath the hem of the gown. His hands are joined in prayer, and his feet rest on a dog curled up in sleep.

Let no one imagine that the Middle Ages was a period devoid of the art of the human figure. This young couple is as vividly alive as any modern painting. It is as if a breath of the Renaissance had already disturbed the stagnant air of medieval England. The female figure is that of a young girl, not older than twenty-two and perhaps as young as eighteen. Across five centuries she gazes from her cold bed with that special magic that is the mark of genius. The face is young, calm and beautiful, with a hint of firmness in the chin to make up for the amiable and indecisive countenance of her husband. Her dress is a miracle of starched white linen. From the tiny waist it falls over the full hips in long pleats and is carefully arranged in a cascade of folds about her feet. Between the long, oval, folded hands a single star-shaped button is

visible on her bodice. The long sleeves end in deep starched cuffs; a shawl collar hangs from shoulder to shoulder, and above it a muslin underdress reaches to a high collar at the neck, from which hangs a plain thread probably carrying a cross which she clasps in the tips of her fingers. The elaborate butterfly headdress has been carefully placed so that it falls to the left, across her left eyebrow and touching her left shoulder; but the effect is such that the starched folds appear to be streaming sideways in the wind. A touch of happy fantasy is provided by the little lapdog, complete with collar, who peeps from behind the foot of her gown, gazing up at his mistress. These are no paupers but a couple from the upper echelons of border society in the England of Edward IV. The whole thing is a masterpiece.

The inscription reads: *Orate p aiabs ricardi Grenewey t matild' uxoris ei filia iohis harp de welinton que matilda obiit xxvii die mesis marcii anno dni m cccc septuagesimo tercio*. Translated into English, this means: "Pray for the souls of Richard Greenway and Maud his wife, daughter of John Harper of Wellington. The said Maud died on the 27th day of March in the year of Our Lord 1473." The figure of a little bird ends the inscription.[2]

Who was Maud Harper? Would it be possible to find out, at such a distance of time? It would be a harder nut to crack than Mrs. Dawson. Though the memorial is ostensibly to both husband and wife, it appears principally to relate to the girl. There is no mention of the date of her husband's death. In fact it may not be a memorial to Richard at all, but only to his wife, though in that case it seems odd that he should be represented as lying alongside her, and also that the word *animabus* should be in the plural. These twin husband-and-wife memorials have always rather puzzled me. There is a very odd example at the little church of Dolwyddelan in Caernarvonshire, a brass to Maredudd ab Ieuan and his wife Alice, who are said to have died (the word is *obierunt*, the plural) on the 18th March, 1525. What happened that they should both die on the same day? Were they overwhelmed by some catastrophe, such as an attack on their household? Maredudd ab Ieuan had many enemies, and lived in a bloodthirsty age, as a glance at the pages of Sir John Wynne's *History of the Gwydir Family* will confirm. But whatever the truth of the matter at Stretton Sugwas, it seems likely that the engraved slab was commissioned by Maud's family after her death, probably by her father who is expressly mentioned by name. Of course there is no guarantee that the figures are actual portraits of the deceased. They may not even relate to the real ages of the couple, but rather represent them in an idyllic state of eternal youth. But on the whole it seems unlikely that they are far removed from the actual ages of the pair, especially if we accept that the memorial was raised by Maud's parents, who would wish to remember their beloved daughter as she was in life. In any case, it is pretty certain that the figures on the slab are taken from actual models. But why death should have struck down so young a couple was a mystery.

I was rather at a loss to know even where to begin. There were Harpers buried at Eardisley—Alice, wife of Thomas Harper, died 1680; Henry Harper, died 1687, his daughter Elizabeth, died 1708, and his wife Sarah, died 1711. But these were separated by more than two centuries from Maud, and it seemed quite impossible to tell if they were related. A more sober starting point was the information that Maud was from

Wellington. This is a village four miles north-east of Stretton Sugwas, on the road from Hereford to Leominster. Maud's husband was presumably from Stretton Sugwas, since there seemed no reason to doubt that the memorial slab had been in the old church before the rebuilding of 1880. An article by G. Marshall in the *Transactions of the Woolhope Club* for 1921 informed me that Sugwas had been a manor of the Bishops of Hereford and had actually contained an episcopal palace, the remains of which survived till 1792. But there was no mention of the Greenway family. A Richard Greeneway, son of Griffith Greeneway, of Hereford town, was born about 1659 and was vicar of Walford in 1681. But it was a pure shot in the dark to suggest that he was a descendant of the family. If only I could lay my hands on some Hereford episcopal records of the 15th century, I might be able to discover something.

This was not difficult. The Bishop at the time of Maud's death (and life) was John Stanbury (1453-1474), whose chantry chapel projects from the north aisle of the presbytery of the Cathedral, opposite his elaborately panelled table-tomb. I discovered that the registers of Bishop Stanbury and of his successor Thomas Milling (1474-1492) had been edited by A. T. Bannister and printed by the *Canterbury and York Society* in 1919 and 1920. They at once began to throw light on the subject of my enquiry—or at any rate on members of her family. Bishop Stanbury's chantry was endowed by his executors after his death. The deed of endowment is dated 10 August, 1490, and among the benefactors is mentioned "William Harper, son and heir of the late John Harper of Wellington." This was Maud's brother; and I was able to ascertain something of his history. He had been a priest, and was appointed to the living of Credenhill in October, 1454. In March, 1471, he was appointed vicar of Bosbury, four miles north of Ledbury, but resigned this appointment twelve months later (possibly on account of changed circumstances after the Battle of Tewkesbury ?).[3] The Greenways figured even more prominently than the Harpers in the documents, mainly in the person of John Greenway, a canon of Hereford Cathedral and an ecclesiastical commissioner of some distinction. He had already acted for the Archdeacon of Shropshire in August, 1455, when he conducted an inquest into the presentment to the living of Cleobury North on the resignation of William Webb. In April, 1462, he was appointed a canon of the Cathedral and prebendary of the *Pratum Minor* (the "Little Meadow"), and in June of the same year was commissioned to receive the purgation of Henry Ward and Edward his son from a charge of polluting Byford church by violence. In March, 1463, he is mentioned as a member of the chapter of the Cathedral, and as prebendary of the *Pratum Major* (the "Great Meadow"), in the case of the contested election of a Dean. The canons had voted for the election of James Goldwell, but lay interference, headed by one Richard Rudhall[4] resulted in Goldwell's exclusion in favour of John ap Richard. The Bishop intervened, declared the election invalid, and appointed Richard Pede to the Deanery. For the time being I was at a loss to know where the *Pratum Major* and the *Pratum Minor* were; though I noticed that there is a place called the Great Demesne near Garway.

Greenway continued to serve on episcopal commissions. In April, 1464, he and William Rawlings, vicar of Wellington, enquired into the value of the living of Dilwyn, but they did not move speedily enough to satisfy the vicar of that parish, who five

months later requested and obtained another enquiry. In May of the same year Greenway was called upon to assess the dilapidations to buildings belonging to the precentor of the Cathedral, John Bailey, left unrepaired by his predecessor William Middleham. In July Greenway is again mentioned as one of the canons in a ceremony to cleanse the burial ground of the Cathedral from its pollution by bloodshed. In March, 1466, he is again found assessing dilapidations of the church and buildings at Stretton-in-the-Dale, caused by the neglect of the former rector David Halliwell. This was in answer to an appeal by the incumbent, William Huggins. I was not sure if "Stretton-in-the-Dale" referred to Stretton Sugwas or to Stretton Grandison.[5] In the following month Canon Greenway resigned the prebend of the *Pratum Minor*, his former colleague William Rawlings, the vicar of Wellington, being appointed in his place; and was granted the prebend of Warham, immediately west of Hereford. Several years elapsed before he is again mentioned. In the interval it is clear that advancing years caused him to give up the busy life of an episcopal administrator and settle for that of a parish priest, because in August, 1483, was recorded his resignation of the living of Monkland. He died in May, 1486, having lived just long enough to see a Tudor on the throne.

Of course I had no indication of John Greenway's relationship to Maud—or even if they were related at all. But the continual mention of places in the immediate neighbourhood of Stretton Sugwas made me feel pretty certain that he was Maud's brother-in-law. In any case the documents gave a fascinating glimpse of the society in which Maud moved. These people were undoubtedly her contemporaries and neighbours: her brother William, the vicar of Wellington, the canons of the Cathedral, even the hot-tempered folk who resorted to arms in Byford church or Hereford Cathedral close. But there was one document that outshone all others in interest. It was dated 30 March, 1466, and empowered Richard Pede, the Dean of the Cathedral, to hear and decide on an action for divorce brought by Matilda Swinfen, of the diocese of Worcester, against Richard Greenway, of the diocese of Hereford. Did the chaste memorial in Stretton Sugwas church conceal a story of romance, even of scandal? Had the mild-mannered Richard Greenway deserted his lawful wife and fallen in love with the beautiful daughter of John Harper? To these questions the sedate records of the Bishop gave no further answer.

Swinfen is another form of the name Swinfield, and we would nowadays render the name of the first Mrs. Greenway as "Maud Swinfield." A gentleman of that name had been Bishop of Hereford from 1282 to 1317, and is well known to border antiquarians for his sojourn, with a great retinue, at Stokesay Castle in 1290. His bill of fare has been preserved for posterity, and includes bread, wine, ale, pigs, calves, kids, "5 bushels of oats for 35 horses," and "alms for several days." But I was wandering from the point; and the point was that there were now two Mauds to look for, not one. Or were there? Could they be one and the same person? It was possible that Maud Harper first married, when very young, a man named Swinfield; was left a widow by his early death; re-married Richard Greenway; and then petitioned—apparently unsuccessfully—for divorce. But this sounded too tortuous an explanation.

Of course one way to look at the problem was to realise that Maud comes to us

straight out of the Wars of the Roses. Two of the greatest battlefields of that tragic era were quite close to her home. The field of Tewkesbury (May, 1471), which ran red with the blood of so many Lancastrians, was thirty miles to the east; and Mortimer's Cross (February, 1461) was only twelve miles north of her childhood home at Wellington. At the time of the latter encounter she cannot have been more than about ten years old; and one can imagine the wonder and excitement aroused in the mind of the young girl by the preparations for the conflict and the news coming in after the battle was over. The battle of Mortimer's Cross took place between a formidable Lancastrian host under the command of Owain Tudor (who had married Catherine de Valois, King Henry V's widow), his son Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, and James Butler, Earl of Ormonde and Wiltshire, and a Yorkist army led by the youthful Edward, Earl of March, soon to become King Edward IV. The Lancastrians were completely routed, 3,800 of them being killed; the Earls of Pembroke and Wiltshire escaped, but Owain Tudor was captured and beheaded at Hereford where he was buried in the Grey Friars' church. Imagine my surprise and delight when I discovered among the names of those who fought on the Yorkist side, "Mr. Harper de Welyngton, homo belli." So Maud's father had actually taken part in the battle. Such an act can scarcely have gone unrewarded when Edward ascended the throne a few weeks later. I was not sure what social class was indicated by the phrase *homo belli*, but it sounded perfectly in accordance with the elegance and breeding exhibited in the scene on the Stretton Sugwas memorial. The Harpers (and doubtless the Greenways too) were evidently well-to-do gentry, what we should call "county families."

This was confirmed when I discovered at last the rich vein of information I had been seeking: the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*. Maud's family occupied, during the reign of Edward IV, a position of considerable importance on the Welsh March. They had clearly been under a cloud so long as a Lancastrian king sat on the throne. On 4 December, 1459, a number of border gentlemen were granted a pardon "of all treasons, insurrections, rebellions, felonies, maintenances, negligences, extortions, misprisions, ignorances, contempts, deceptions, trespasses and offences, and all consequent actions, suits, quarrels, demands, debts, forfeitures and losses." Included among the names were "John Harper of Welington," "William Harper of Welington, co. Hereford," and "John Harper of Welyngton, the younger." What on earth had Maud's father and (presumably) two brothers been up to? But I was right in thinking that John Harper's support of the Yorkist cause at Mortimer's Cross would not go unrewarded. Within ten months of the accession of Edward IV, on 1 January, 1462, in what I suppose was the medieval equivalent of a New Year Honours List, Harper was appointed auditor of accounts for "all bailiffs and other officers of all the king's castles, towns, lordships, manors and lands in South and North Wales and the counties of Chester and Flint," as well as auditor for estates escheated to the Crown in Brecknock, Hereford, Salop and Gloucester; and for this appointment he was to receive "the accustomed fees with all other profits." In July he and William Weldon were appointed auditors of account "of all chamberlains, sheriffs, escheators, bailiffs and other ministers of the king" in the same area of Wales and Cheshire; and this grant was confirmed and renewed in July, 1463, and in March, 1465. Of course Harper was a not uncommon name in the Rolls,

and the issue was somewhat complicated by the fact that there was another "John Harper," a J.P. of Staffordshire, who was active on the border of Wales at the same time. But I felt fairly confident that these references were indeed to Maud's father, because in February, 1467, "Henry Harper and William Clarke of Wellington, co. Hereford" were appointed auditors for the chamberlain of South Wales and for all the royal officials in the counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan. This was clearly the right family; and "Henry Harper" I took to be another brother of Maud's. The matter was clinched when I discovered that the Staffordshire John Harper had died in 1464; the confirmation of March, 1465, must therefore refer, like that of July, 1463, and the original appointment of July, 1462, to the Herefordshire John Harper. He even became the King's Escheator; in a grant of Laugharne Castle to one John Don, dated November, 1467, John Harper was mentioned as "escheator in the county of Hereford and the marches of Wales adjacent." The Escheator was a royal official who presided over enquiries into cases of escheat, *i.e.* of forfeitures of estates to the Crown because of lack of an heir, or through rebellion or treason, etc. How long these royal favours lasted is uncertain, but by the reign of Richard III they seem to have terminated, because in September, 1484, William Mistlebroke and Richard Lessher were appointed auditors for South Wales, "receiving such fees as William Weldon and John Harper, late auditors, had from the issues of the premises with all other profits." John Harper and his fellow-auditor may have relinquished their appointments on the accession of Richard III, but it seemed just as likely that by this time they had died.

The Greenways figured much less prominently than the Harpers in the Rolls. But that John Harper's influence was exerted on his son-in-law's behalf even after Maud's death seemed to be suggested by a document of September, 1473, granting to Richard Greenway the auditorship of the lands of John, Earl of Shrewsbury, during the minority of his son George. The same supervision of the Shrewsbury estates was evident in a commission of four gentlemen, of whom Richard Greenway was one, set up in December, 1476 to enquire into the estates of "Katharine, late countess of Shrewsbury" in "the county of Hereford and the marches of Wales adjacent." What made me feel certain that this was Maud's widower was the fact that not only was it the *Herefordshire* estates of the countess that were under examination, but also that one of Richard's colleagues on the commission was Thomas Braynton, a member of the family which in 1510 held the manor of Sugwas, and has left its name in the parish of Breinton, immediately adjoining Sugwas Court on the north bank of the Wye. This Thomas Braynton or Breynton was to crop up later in circumstances that placed the identification of Richard Greenway beyond any doubt. Richard may also have been the person mentioned in a document of June, 1478, (in the *Close Rolls*, this time). This was a bond between Sir George Neville of Abergavenny and Lord Boyle relating to Holt Castle in Denbighshire and neighbouring lands, the auditors being John Knight and "Richard Grenewey."

It was already becoming possible to see the outlines of a chronology emerging. Maud died in 1473, and was born, I should guess, about 1451. She must have been one of John Harper's younger children. Her brother William was evidently the eldest son, because he was termed John Harper's "son and heir." He was already ordained by

1454, and must have been born about 1433. So his father was probably born, say, about 1411, towards the end of the reign of Henry IV. He would probably have thrilled his little daughter with recollections from his childhood of having seen some of the heroic survivors of Agincourt, or with the whispered stories of his youth about the legendary Glyndwr haunting the woods of Monnington near Vowchurch. Maud's other brothers would then have been born between 1433 and 1451; her father would have been forty when she was born, fifty when he took part in the Battle of Mortimer's Cross (valiant effort!), and sixty-two when Maud died; and his own death about 1483 at the age of seventy-two rounded off a perfectly feasible chronology. It was quite understandable that the little daughter of his middle age should be his spoiled darling, for whose tombstone only the finest craftsman was employed to erect a memorial to a father's grief.

The evidence I had unearthed for Richard Greenway's survival beyond the date of Maud's death quoted on the grave-slab (March, 1473) raised the problem of the "man-and-wife memorial" in an acute form. Richard was clearly still alive in December, 1476. The scene on the slab is evidently a single work: the man and wife are shown lying side by side, and the form of exhortation *Orate pro animabus* implies that both are dead. On the other hand there is no mention of the date of Richard's death. That the stone should have been carved shortly after Maud's death would explain the latter omission; but it seemed hardly credible that the scene would be as shown while Richard was still alive. If the stone were not carved till 1477 at the earliest, it would explain the scene but not the absence of the date of Richard's death. Moreover it seemed strange that John Harper would wait so long before raising a memorial to his beloved daughter. On the available evidence, it was best to suppose that John Harper did not meet the artist who fashioned the slab until after Richard's death, was then so struck with the excellence of his work that he commissioned him to engrave a memorial to the daughter who had died at least four years before, but had so little concern for his recently departed son-in-law that he omitted to inform the craftsman of the date of his demise. Or possibly the carver found that he had miscalculated his spacing, and had not room to insert the information about Richard, whereupon old John Harper said, "Never mind, leave it out; it's Maud's memorial anyway." This of course implied that the stone was not carved before 1477 at the earliest, which in turn meant that the artist cannot have depicted Maud from personal knowledge (unless indeed he knew her four years before). He could of course have used some other model, but this would hardly satisfy the father who would wish to remember his daughter as she really was; and in that case the artist must have worked from drawings or paintings of the girl. But these were uncertainties in which I only floundered deeper and deeper; it was not until later that my eyes were opened to the truth of the matter.

None of the documents I had come across made any mention of Maud herself. In spite of all my researches I really knew very little about her. I did not know the date of her birth, nor who her mother was, nor where in Wellington the family home had been, nor whether Maud left any children behind her. Her daily life is perhaps not too difficult to visualise, and must have resembled in some aspects that depicted

in the *Paston Letters* (without, one hopes, the violence and insecurity that stalk through their pages). We can without much difficulty picture her waving good-bye as her father rides off through the muddy farmyard; or gossiping over her needlework with the daughters of neighbouring squires (their talk revolved inevitably about dress, because we may be sure of one aspect in which women have not changed from that day to this); or trying on the latest houppelande dress sent down from London; or gazing in the mirror as she tries on some towering headgear which would rouse glances of envy at Ascot even to-day. We can even fancy we hear her bubbling laughter as she runs hand-in-hand with her lover through the waving fields of corn. Memory even revived a connection with Maud's country that till now I had no idea existed. One March week-end thirty years ago, before the War, I spent shooting rabbits on Dinmore Hill, and wild duck on the reaches of the Lugg. It was my one and only experience of hunting, and I was thankful I never hit any of the poor frightened creatures. My companion told me that there were deer on Dinmore Hill, though we never saw any. My hunt for duck was ludicrously unsuccessful, and ended with my falling into the ice-cold waters of the river and being barely rescued from the swirling flood. It is odd now to reflect that this must have been the very country in which Maud's father and brothers hunted the deer. But I had not yet discovered where in Wellington Maud's home was situated. Nor did the parish church yield any clue; the Harpers must surely have been buried there, but have left no memorial behind them. The church itself must have been much the same as it is today. The 15th-century roofs of the nave and north transept still remain, and there are even three early-15th-century bells which Maud herself must have heard ringing across the meadows as she set out with her family to hear Mass.

At this point in my labours I made a curious discovery. I looked up the list of Herefordshire sheriffs, and found that "Richard Grenewey" had been sheriff of the county from November, 1491, to November, 1492, and again from November, 1498, to November, 1499, (also that Henry Harper had been sheriff from November, 1496, to November, 1497). This at once threw me into confusion. If this were really the Richard who had married Maud, he must have outlived her by more than twenty-six years, which made nonsense of his appearance on the Stretton Sugwas slab. It began to look as if the husband-and-wife scene on the slab, and the injunction *Orate,* etc., were nothing more than pious fictions, and were intended to convey to the beholder that Richard and Maud were still united even though death had removed her from this present world. This would certainly solve the complicated arrangements necessary under the supposition that the slab was carved some years after Maud's death. On the other hand it was just possible that the "Richard Greenway" of the sheriffs' list was Maud's son. Maud is unlikely to have had a child before about 1470, which would make her son only twenty-one at the time of his first appointment as sheriff. This seemed a bit young; but I was not conversant enough with the ages of 15th-century sheriffs (in fact I was completely ignorant about them) to know if it were possible. I suppose that if Edward IV could become king at the age of nineteen, there was no reason why a man should not become sheriff at twenty-one. It was tantalising that the record should yield so many clues that raised more problems than they solved.

On the whole, I concluded, the Richard Greenway who became sheriff must have been Maud's widower. On the assumption that he was about three years older than she (though don't ask me to justify such an assumption), he would have been born about 1448, which would make him fifty years old at the time of his second appointment as sheriff. This sounded reasonable. I wonder did he marry for a second (or was it a third?) time. It was quite surprising to reflect that he could well have lived into the reign of Henry VIII.

The *Calendar of Fine Rolls* provided confirmation of the high standing of the Harper and Greenway families in Herefordshire society. We have already seen that John Harper was Escheator for the county in 1467, and I now discovered his appointment to this office, in November, 1464. The appointment of Henry Harper as sheriff in 1496, and of Richard Greenway in 1491 and 1498, which we already know of, were likewise recorded. What I had not known before was that John Harper's eldest son was actually knighted; in November, 1470, was recorded a grant of the farm of the subsidy on certain cloths, at a yearly rental, from "Sir William Harper of Credynhyll, co. Hereford." I must admit that this was the only evidence I ever came across for the knighthood; all the other documents, including the pedigrees that I was later to discover, referred to Maud's brother as plain "William Harper." A moment's reflection brought to the surface the realisation of a possible discrepancy. The William Harper of Credenhill who was knighted could hardly be the same as the William Harper who was vicar of Credenhill in 1454 and of Bosbury in 1471; if so, it was the first time I had heard of a priest being knighted.[6] The former was certainly Maud's brother, since he is several times referred to as John Harper's "son and heir;" he is the one who was pardoned in 1459, the one who was knighted, and the one who helped endow the Stanbury chantry in 1490. The priest must have been some other relative, very likely Maud's uncle, and his resignation of the living of Bosbury in 1472 may have been merely due to his advancing years rather than any changed political circumstances —which in any case were likely to be favourable rather than unfavourable because of the Yorkist sympathies of the Harpers. This adjustment in the family relationships did not involve any serious disruption of my suggested chronology; if William Harper were of an age to be pardoned in 1459, he could still have been born in the 1430s.

The office of Escheator remained in the family for many years; "William Harper" is mentioned in the Rolls as Escheator in May, 1506, though by that time we have probably reached the second generation from John Harper. Richard Greenway, in addition to the records of his appointments as sheriff, was mentioned in December, 1488, as being "of Stretton, co. Hereford, gentilman"—an interesting proof that he was still living at Stretton Sugwas fifteen years after Maud's death. There was now no question of his appearance on the memorial slab as being anything more than a convention. Reference to the *Calendar of Close Rolls* revealed still more of John Harper's wealth and position. A document of February, 1455, was a charter of the demise of the manor of Stoke Edith (six miles east of Hereford), and of the advowson of Stoke Edith church, from five gentlemen of whom John Harper was one. Among the witnesses were Eustace and Richard Whitney, a name that I was to find significant later. I came across further references to Maud's brother Henry both in the *Patent*

Rolls and in the *Calendar of Ancient Deeds* in the Public Record Office. In March, and April, 1478, he was one of seven members of a commission appointed to enquire into the Herefordshire estates of the late George and Isabel, Duke and Duchess of Clarence. Another member of the commission was the Thomas Breynton who had served on a commission with Richard in 1476. In June, 1482, one William May granted lands in the city and county of Hereford to seven gentlemen, of whom Henry Harper was one, three others being members of the Breynton family—one of them the same Thomas Breynton, of whom more anon. In March, 1490, one John Chippenham renounced all claims to the lands held by these gentlemen; and in the same month they conveyed four tenements in Hereford, as well as land elsewhere, to Elizabeth the widow of William May.

I had the feeling that I could go on gathering information about the Harper and Greenway families *ad infinitum*. But it was becoming too diffuse; I was getting further and further away from Maud, the original object of my enquiry. I must try to get back to her immediate surroundings. To some extent I was enabled to do this by consulting a catalogue of the Hereford Cathedral Muniments. These threw a rather feeble light on some of the estates of the Harper family. In October, 1476, were filed letters of attorney from "William Harpere son and heir of John Harpere late of Wellyngton," relating to a close called "Lantyesclos" at Madley. The chief interest of this lay in the word *late*. It may of course have implied that John Harper had moved his residence, but in that case one would have expected the name of his new home to be given; and it became necessary to consider whether he were not already dead by that date. On consulting my notes I found that there was no specific reference to him later than November, 1467, (unless we accept the memorial slab, March, 1473, as being a reference).[7] So it is possible that he did not long survive his beloved daughter. Perhaps the shock of losing her was too much for him. The document of October, 1476, was again referred to in a grant of August, 1491, which stated: "Also of a messuage and a close called Lawtiesclose lying in Madley in the county of Hereford, which they formerly held of the grant of William Harper, son and heir of John Harper, formerly of Welyngton, and Walter Ragon, by a deed dated 2 October, 1476." But surpassing these documents in interest was one dated August, 1468, a gift to the Cathedral of lands "in the demesne of Mawardyn," including the holdings called "Fosters and Shirrefes." from "John Harper, senior, of Welyngton." On the death of "the said John Harper, senior, and Katherine his wife," the properties were to revert to John Harper, junior, and his heirs. "Mawardyn" is of course Marden, on the Lugg a mile south-east of Wellington; and the fact that John Harper owned land there was later to prove of great significance. But I was chiefly delighted to learn that Maud's mother was named Katherine. From all this welter of legal documents I had at last learnt something that seemed to bring me closer to her: the Christian name of her mother.

There was one charming document that I cannot resist quoting, though quite honestly it may be a red herring. It was in a rather unlikely place, the Shrewsbury Public Library, and appeared to refer to some Shropshire estates of the Harpers. It was dated 1412, and was a grant of certain lands at Eaton Constantine (near the south-west

foot of The Wrekin), belonging to William son of "John Harpere of Welynton," to John Cresset of Eaton Constantine and Alice his wife, "for their lives at a rent of a rose at Midsummer." On the face of it this showed that the Harpers owned widely separated estates in the border, that the Christian names John and William were firmly rooted in the family tradition, and that they had lived at Wellington at least from the time of Henry IV. One is even tempted to think that the William Harper mentioned was Maud's grandfather, and the John Harper her great-grandfather. But it is alarming to note that the Shropshire town of Wellington is only four miles from Eaton Constantine. Perhaps the document has nothing whatever to do with Maud's family. But the 15th-century date, and the inclusion of both the names John and William, seemed an odd coincidence. I was beginning to feel that chasing Harpers up and down the Welsh March (if you will pardon an expression that is not really intended as a pun) was a somewhat hazardous occupation. However, I *was* able to confirm from another source that the Harpers had lived at Wellington from the time of Henry IV, if not of Richard II; and that William at least was an old family name. The *Calendar of Ancient Deeds* contained a reference to a grant of March, 1391, by Massias Chandos (of the ancient family which had held the manor of Wellington since the Conquest) of certain lands in Wellington to Hugh Harper, rector of Bishopstone, William Lank, vicar of Wellington, and Roger Partridge of Wellington. A similar grant from Richard Hinton, chaplain, was dated January, 1393. In April, 1403, Hugh Harper, now a canon of Hereford Cathedral, granted these "lands and tenements" to three gentlemen of whom one was "William Harpere of Welynton." And in 1405 these same three granted the holdings back to John Chandos, son of Massias Chandos. So the long connection of the Harper family with Wellington was established beyond question.

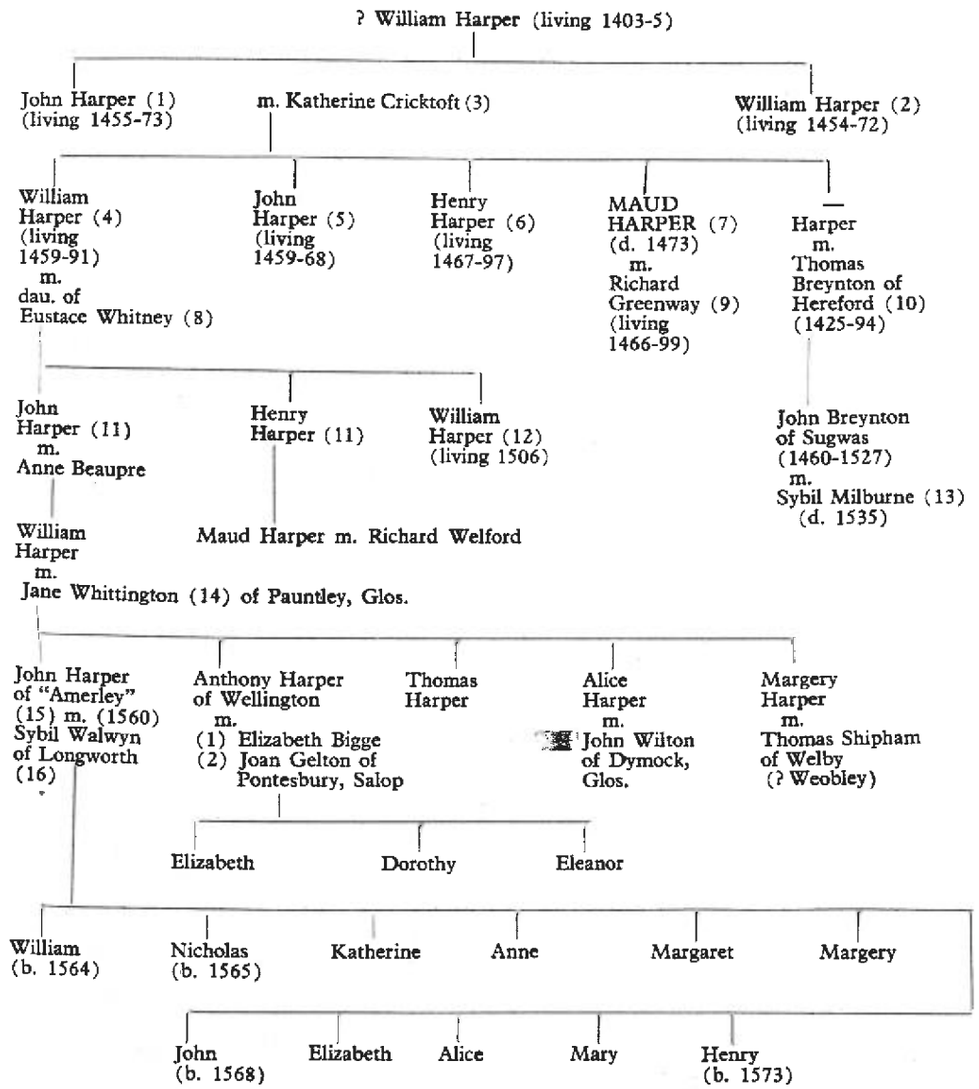
There was one person about whom the records maintained an obstinate silence, and that was Maud Swinfield. What was the secret behind this mysterious petition for divorce? All I knew of her was that she was from the diocese of Worcester, which was rather a big place in which to search for her. The names Swinfen and Swinfield were conspicuous by their absence from both public and local records. There is in Tong church in Shropshire a brass to Sir William Vernon, who died in 1467, and his wife Margaret. She is said to be the daughter of "Sir Robert Pypis and Spernores," but this, according to Mill Stephenson, is incorrect; she was really the daughter and heiress of Sir William Swynfen. Whether this piece of information had any connecttion with Maud Swinfield I was unable to tell; the date is right, but I could discover nothing about Sir William Swynfen, and in any case Tong is in the diocese of Lichfield. It appeared likely, however, that the family came from Swinfen Hall just south of Lichfield, and were in turn related to the Swynfens of Sutton Cheney, north of Hinckley in Leicestershire. A little rummaging among antiquarian publications disclosed that Margaret Swynfen had died in 1460 and was the heiress of Pipe in Staffordshire. This I took to be Pipe Ridware, about five miles north of Lichfield (unlike Swinfen Hall which is south of that town). This did not really get me anywhere, but by a curious freak of coincidence there is a parish of *Pipe* and Lyde north of

Hereford, only three miles from Stretton Sugwas. But the search was becoming unprofitable, and I abandoned it.

It was at this juncture that I discovered the pedigrees that suddenly released a flood of information. They were principally contained in the heraldic *Visitations* of the border counties, especially that by Robert Cooke for Herefordshire, 1569, edited by F. W. Weaver in 1886; and in a fascinating book by the Rev. C. J. Robinson, *Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire* (1873). I must admit that the information did not seem completely reliable, and indeed on one or two points was self-contradictory, but it provided me with a wealth of new material. There was also in the County Record Office at Hereford a 17th-century MS pedigree of the Harpers which was clearly a copy of that given in Cooke, with one or two additional details the most useful of which was the evidence it provided to show that the *Visitation* was dated 1586 rather than 1569. This was denied by Weaver, but the internal evidence of the pedigrees supports the later date; in any case it does not affect the 15th-century portion of the pedigree. The Harpers were said to be "of Wellington and Amberley in Marden." This was the first indication I had had of another family seat in addition to Wellington, but it tallied with the document of 1466 describing John Harper's lands "in the demesne of Mawardyn." At what date Amberley came into the possession of the family I was unable to discover; I have discussed the question under item (15) on p. 131. Amberley Court lies to the east of Marden, about a mile north-west of Preston Wynne. I looked up the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments' volume on *East Herefordshire*, and was delighted to find it described as a fine 14th-century house (now, I believe, generally regarded as early-15th century). It was clearly a place to visit, and my wife and I drove over there one day, to discover that it is indeed a beautiful house (pl. XXIII), to which we were welcomed with great kindness by the occupant, Mrs. Powell. It is of a classic medieval type, H-shaped in plan, with a central block containing a screens passage and what was originally a spere-truss hall open to the roof though an upper floor has since been inserted, and lateral wings containing on one side the kitchens and servants' sleeping quarters, and on the other the parlour and bedrooms. A post in the screens passage bears the rather enigmatic inscription "Tuder 1452;" if indeed the date is correctly read and is not really 1752, it is an early instance of the use of Arabic numerals in this country. This is the nearest we shall get, I think, to Maud's actual home;[8] and it is fascinating to reflect that her determined little face may have gazed from its windows, and that its rooms and staircases may have known the swish of those voluminous linen skirts that are depicted on her memorial.

The pedigrees also showed the family arms. John Harper bore the arms quarterly, 1 and 4, *sable a chevron argent and a canton ermine* (Harper), 2 and 3, *azure on a cross engrailed argent five escallops sable* (Cricktoft). The significance of the Cricktoft arms is discussed below under item (3). With the aid of the pedigrees, and the information I had already acquired about the Harpers, I was able to plot the family tree—though one or two of its branches are somewhat conjectural. The series begins (as far as we are concerned; I do not intend to pursue the family any further back in time) with Hugh Harper, rector of Bishopstone 1391 and 1393, canon of Hereford Cathedral

1403. He was uncertainly related to William Harper (born *c.* 1308?), mentioned in the grants of 1403 and 1405. This may have been Maud's grandfather. The remainder of the pedigree is given below, numbered to correspond with the notes that follow and that serve both as a commentary and a recapitulation. The pedigree well illustrates how successful the Harpers were in all generations in marrying into the best county families.



NOTES ON THE PEDIGREE

(1) Maud's father; born probably *c.* 1410; transferred the manor and advowson of Stoke Edith 1455; pardoned 1459; fought at Mortimer's Cross 1461; King's Auditor 1462, 1463, 1465; King's Escheator 1464, 1467; grants of lands in "Mawardyn" 1468; commissioned Maud's memorial 1473; may have been dead by 1476 or even 1474. That his was the first name recorded in the pedigrees seemed evident from the fact that he was called "John Harp of Walinton," this being the form in which his name is given on Maud's memorial; also by working back from the date 1586. Beginning with William Harper who was born in 1564, and allowing thirty years per generation, we get John Harper of "Amerley" born *c.* 1534, William Harper *c.* 1504, John Harper *c.* 1474, "Sir" William Harper *c.* 1444, and John Harper (Maud's father) *c.* 1414. This is only three years different from the assessment already made on other grounds.

(2) Maud's uncle; vicar of Credenhill 1454 and possibly 1470; of Bosbury 1471-2. Probably distinct from item (4), but see footnote (6) on p. 132.

(3) Maud's mother. The name is curious and I was not able to determine where she came from; the Cricktofts, Criketots or Critofts were very elusive. "William Cricketot, Esq.," very probably a member of the family, was one of the commissioners appointed by Henry VI in 1433 to make a return of the principal families of the border. It is possible that Katherine's home had been near the eastern edge of the county. A deed of 1337 was a sale to "Sir Roger de Criketot" of land "in Sothintone in the manor of Estenore." This was clearly Eastnor near Ledbury, and doubtless "Sothintone" could be identified by someone with local knowledge. She may even have come from Oxfordshire. Ferreting among the armorials produced the arms of Critoft of that county, *azure on a cross engrailed argent five escallops gules.* This is virtually the same as Katherine's arms in the pedigrees; the red colour of *gules* could easily be mistaken for *sable* on a coat darkened by time. But the Critoft arms were impaled by those of Dauntsey, and this brought me back to Herefordshire. The Dauntseys or Daunseys were from Brinsop, and in the pedigrees one of the numerous John Daunseys had married an heiress of "Crytoft" (or "Criketoft" according to Robinson). An approximate date for this event could be estimated from the statement that their son Thomas Daunsey "had Webton" in 1463. Another piece of evidence linking the Cricktofts with western rather than eastern Herefordshire (and hence with a district much nearer Wellington) was the statement by Robinson that a Roger Criketot had succeeded to Moccas Castle *c.* 1375 through his marriage to Alice de Fresne. However by *c.* 1430 Moccas was no longer in the possession of the Criketots. I was wandering in an historical labyrinth.

(4) Maud's eldest brother; born probably *c.* 1440; pardoned 1459; mentioned in a deed of 1476; endowed Bishop Stanbury's chantry 1490; mentioned in a deed of 1491. Probably distinct from item (2), but see footnote (6) on p. 132.

(5) Maud's brother; pardoned 1459; mentioned in a deed of 1468.

(6) Maud's brother; King's Auditor 1467; mentioned in deeds of 1482 and 1490; High Sheriff 1496-7.

(7) MAUD HARPER; born probably *c.* 1450; second wife of Richard Greenway of Stretton Sugwas; died 27 March, 1473, and buried in Stretton Sugwas church.

(8) This was an ancient family which had held the manors of Whitney and Pencombe ever since the Conquest; the name Eustace re-appeared in successive generations in memory of the holder of that name who is mentioned in the Domesday Book. Whitneys were High Sheriffs in 1377, 1413, 1427, 1432, 1436 and 1474. The Eustace Whitney whose daughter married William Harper lived from 1411 to 1480; he was M.P. for Herefordshire in 1467-8, and a J.P. in 1461-3 and 1473-5. On the other hand the Whitney pedigree in Cooke stated that the wife of William Harper was a daughter of *Robert* Whitney.

(9) Maud's husband. His origin is uncertain though there were Greenways living in Staffordshire (at Biddulph between Stoke and Congleton) in the first half of the 15th century. His first wife had been Maud Swinfield, who petitioned for divorce in 1466. He was auditor of the lands of the Earl of Shrewsbury 1473; on a commission of enquiry 1476; mentioned in a bond of 1478; living at Stretton Sugwas 1488; High Sheriff 1491-2 and 1498-9.[9] According to Robinson the Greenways were the owners of the manor of Sugwas, in which tenure they were succeeded by the Breyntons (see item (10)). Also according to Robinson, Richard Greenway died in 1476, and the person who later became High Sheriff was some other member of the family. This is clearly an error and is due to a misreading of the date on Maud's memorial, and to the belief (which this article has shown to be unfounded) that Richard and Maud died in the same year.

(10) Thomas Breynton, so frequently mentioned in the foregoing pages, is thus seen to have been Maud's brother-in-law. He turned out to be reasonably well known to historians. He was born *c.* 1425; was M.P. for Hereford (town) in 1449; Mayor of Hereford 1462, 1465 and 1470; a J.P. in 1470, 1473, 1475-6 and 1481-4; and served on several royal commissions from 1478 to 1484. He died in 1494.

(11) According to the Harper pedigrees, it was John who married Anne Beaupre, and there is no mention of a Henry Harper. But according to the Welford (of Wistaston) pedigree, it was Henry who married the "daughter and heiress of Beaupre." The appearance of a Maud Harper in the next generation sounds genuine enough, and serves to authenticate her father.

(12) At least I judge there should be a nephew of Maud's named William from the gentleman of that name who was King's Escheator in 1506.

(13) A daughter of Simon Milburne who was a J.P. for Herefordshire in 1473-5 and 1483-4.

(14) A Whittington was High Sheriff of Herefordshire in 1424.

(15) "Amerley" I take to mean Amberley, though it could be Almeley. The disappearance of the *b* is certainly puzzling. But there is no evidence elsewhere that the Harpers had any connection with Almeley, and I think we are fairly safe in reading "Amberley" for "Amerley." Since this John is the only member of the family specifically designated in the pedigrees as "of Amerley," it may be that Amberley Court was not in the possession of the Harpers before his day. This seems to be corroborated by the *Shropshire Visitation* of 1623, wherein John's brother Anthony is designated as "of Wellington," as if he remained in possession of the old family home when his elder brother acquired Amberley. But we have seen that Maud's father certainly possessed lands in Marden. It would have been useful to know exactly where "Fosters and Shirrefes" were. There are several items in the Public Record Office that might throw light on this problem: surveys of the manor of Marden dating from 1608 and the Commonwealth period, a map of 1596, and Marden rentals of various dates between 1496 and 1528. But these I regret I have not seen. The earlier history of Amberley is given by Robinson. It was granted at the Conquest to Ansfrid de Cormeilles, lapsed to the Crown in the reign of Stephen, and was granted by Henry III to Alexander le Seculer, through whose daughter it passed in 1292 to her husband Walter de Fresne. Edward III granted it to Richard of Monmouth, and it subsequently came into the possession of the Lingens of Sutton. From them it must at some time or other have passed to the Harpers. In any case the John Harper "of Amerley" was probably responsible for building the upper floor into the hall at Amberley, an insertion dated by the R.C.H.M. to the 16th century. According to Robinson, the house still belonged to the Harpers in 1658, but was shortly afterwards sold to John Weston of Sutton Place, Surrey.

(16) The *Visitation* pedigree calls the place "Longford," but it is clearly Longworth, near the junction of the rivers Lugg and Frome south of Lugwardine. According to Robinson, the lady's name was Eleanor, not Sybil. The Walwyns were another well-known county family, and provided an M.P. in 1453-4, and High Sheriffs in 1379, 1383, 1389, 1393, 1395, 1411, 1439 and 1531.

This is as far as I intend to carry the story of the Harpers of Wellington. What have we learnt? We have learnt a great deal about the Harper family, and have traced them across two centuries from the time of Richard II to within two years of the Spanish Armada. We have also learnt a good deal about husband-and-wife memorials, and moreover we learnt it the hard way, which is the best way of learning anything. We have learnt quite a lot about Maud's husband Richard Greenway, though unfortunately we have not solved the mystery of his early divorce. But about Maud herself, the prime object of our enquiry, we have learnt virtually nothing. I particularly regretted my failure to discover two things: the date of her birth (though it *must* have been round about 1450); and whether she had any children.

On the conclusion of my labours I visited Wellington, to see for myself the place where the Harpers had lived. It was a beautiful sunny day in late summer. Wellington consists of a long dusty street along the shallow valley of the Wellington Brook, which joins the Lugg opposite Marden church. The sheltering woods of Dinmore Hill hem in the village to the north—Wellington Wood, Gains Wood, Burghope Wood, Queen's Wood—the remnants of the forest where John Harper hunted the deer. In the village are several old half-timbered houses, some of which might even date from Maud's time. It is lush Herefordshire orchard country, and around the houses the ripening apples glowed in the hot September sun. Apart from the occasional mini-car dashing past,

the road through the village has probably changed little since the 15th century. I have seen few places that better illustrate Tennyson's lines:

"Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly; but it lies
Deep-meadow'd, happy, fair with orchard lawns
And bowery hollows."

But the ghost of Maud Harper no longer haunts this fair corner of the March. She blossomed briefly like an English rose in 15th-century Herefordshire, in a world that to us is now on the other side of time. The 27th of March, 1973, will be the five-hundredth anniversary of her death. Who knows? On that day I may lay a flower on her grave, partly in response to the injunction to pray for her soul, and partly in tribute to the unknown genius whose chiselled lines have immortalised her.

1 I am indebted to Miss Jacqueline Rogers for the photograph. The slab is very difficult to photograph, because the proximity of the font renders a frontal view impossible. It is therefore necessary to take a slightly oblique view, which makes the figures unduly elongated.

2 Was this the carver's signature? It is difficult to tell what species of bird it is. It is speckled all over, but this I think is merely a convention for feathers. Its vertical tail suggests a wren, but it looks too big for such a diminutive bird. My wife tells me it is probably a woodlark. It would be interesting to discover if a similar bird appears on any other late-15th century slabs or brasses in the West Midlands.

3 See item (2) on p. 130 for the possibility that this was Maud's uncle rather than her brother (and see also footnote (6)).

4 Archdeacon and Vicar General, as I was later to discover. He died in 1476, and his brass is in the south-east transept of the Cathedral.

5 I discovered later that it was Church Stretton in Shropshire.

6 Mr. J. W. Tonkin has kindly enlightened my ignorance in this matter by pointing out that "Sir" was a common courtesy title for priests in the Middle Ages. This would certainly explain the absence of any other references to a supposed knighthood. It raises the question, however, of whether there were really two William Harpers, or only one. It still seems to me doubtful that the William Harper who is always referred to as John Harper's "son and heir," and who married a daughter of the aristocratic Whitney family, was only a humble parish priest. On the other hand it would explain why, in the document of August, 1468, John Harper's lands in Marden were granted on his death to his son John rather than to William. The handful of available dates do not help one way or the other. In the pedigree I have assumed that William Harper (Maud's brother) was born *c.* 1440; if he were vicar of Credenhill in 1454 this cannot be so and he must have been born *c.* 1430; but a glance at the remaining dates will show that this is not impossible.

7 There is perhaps some support for this in a document of July 1474 in the *Patent Rolls* which refers to "Hugh Shirley, escheator in the county of Hereford."

8 With the proviso given in item (15) on p. 131. *A propos* of Amberley, I cannot resist adding a mention of the earliest document of all those to which I was led in the course of my research, providing as it does another illustration of the extraordinary fairytale rents that were sometimes paid in the Middle Ages. In 1295 Richard de Burmers granted to John Baldwin half an acre of land "in the field of Odich in the manor of Mauwardin, near the land of Ambresley." Apart from an initial payment of 10s., the rent was "one grain of corn."

9 Quite by accident I later came across a reference (*Welsh History Review*, III, no. 2 (Dec., 1966), 163-4) showing that Richard Greenway and William Mistlebrook (see p. 122) addressed a memorandum to the chamberlain of North Wales in 1491; and that in 1494 Greenway accompanied Robert Frost, Prince Arthur's almoner, on a tour of North Wales from Chester by way of Denbigh and Ludlow, returning to Chester and thence to Caernarvon.

A book belonging to Thomas Cleobury, Abbot of Dore

By A. G. WATSON

AMONGST the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum is a composite volume, Harley 218, which was evidently put together in 1526 by Thomas Cleobury, antepenultimate abbot of Dore. The book has some interest as evidence of what such a person could acquire for himself at this time in this rather remote part of the country, and examination of it has brought together a few facts about Cleobury.

The evidence of Cleobury's ownership appears on the first leaf of the volume: 'Istud opuscusculum [sic] nouiter compilatum et constat Cluberuo jam dudum dorensi Anno domini millesimo cccc xxvj to 1526'. Cleobury, a monk of Dore, was elected abbot in 1516,[1] but apparently held office for only some seven years: a list of summonses to Convocation of 1523 names 'Johannes, abbas de Dora',[2] evidently the John Glyne who on 22 March, 1526, made his profession of obedience as abbot to the Bishop of Hereford.[3] Why Cleobury relinquished his office has not been discovered. By Letters patent of 12 February, 1525-6, he was granted a pension of £16 13s. 4d.,[4] he appears as *quondam* abbot amongst the pensioners of his house in 1540,[5] amongst the certificates of pensioned ex-religious made *c.*1554 preserved in the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Hereford,[6] and as late as 1557-8 in the Receivers' Accounts (as 'Thomas Cliobye' *quondam* abbot of Dore). The only other facts that have come to light about him are that *c.* 1554 he was said to be unmarried, to be aged 71, to be of honest and religious conversation and to have 'lyved on the same dwellyng and remayng continually in the Cyte of Hereford'.[7] It has been suggested that his dwelling may have been the house in the parish of St. Nicholas for which, before the Dissolution, the abbot of Dore paid five pence annually to the Priory of St. Guthlac.[8] As the Receivers' Accounts of 1-6 Elizabeth (1558-64)[9] contain no mention of Cleobury it is probable that he died in 1557 or 1558.

The volume that Cleobury put together for himself contains eight main sections, three printed and the rest in manuscript. Only two of these bear any indication of their earlier provenance. Fols. 159-68, a parchment manuscript of the 15th century, bears on fol. 160r 'Dan John Hartylbury Monke of Dor[r?]' in a hand of the early 16th century and on both sides of fol. 168 is visible what is probably the same name. John Hartylbury is presumably the 'Dom John Hartylbury, Cistercian of Dore' who was ordained at Whitborne Manor in 1511.[10] Nothing has been discovered about him. The south rather than the west of England would seem to be the origin of fols. 52-103, a paper section in several hands of the 15th century of which the most considerable works are Lydgate's *Testament* and Robert Mannyng's *Meditacions on the soper*. Fols. 102v-103v contain the January to March pages of an ecclesiastical calendar into which a few feast days have been inserted in a contemporary hand. None of these

help with establishing the provenance but there is also added, perhaps in the same hand, 'hundra de thornegate' and six other names, all of which are places in the hundred of Thorngate in the west of Hampshire. Farther, against 15 March in the calendar is added 'Obitus Mathei Salman', presumably he who was mayor of Southampton[11] and whose will was proved on 1 April, 1495.[12] From his will it is clear that Salman was a man of considerable possessions who left money to churches in Southampton and Jersey. He also willed of a certain house that if his brother should die without heirs 'reditus huius domus exebeat pro valore unum capellanum ad celebrandum missam matutinale in ecclesia Sancti Laurencii pro salutem anime mee'. It is highly probable, therefore, that this section of the book came from the Southampton area and possible that it may have a connexion with St. Lawrence's church.

The following are the principal contents of Harley 218.[13]

1. fols. 2-49 (printed): Johann Lichtenberger, *Prognosticatio,* Strasbourg, c.1500.
2. fols. 50-51 (printed): Two leaves from Aristotle's *Problemata,* printed in Cologne in 1495(?).
3. fols. 52-103 (manuscript, on paper, in several 15th-century hands): John Lydgate's *Testament,* Robert Mannyng of Brunne's *Meditacions on the soper,* short tracts on chronology, etc.
4. fols. 104-21 (manuscript, on parchment, of the 13th century); The *Imago Mundi* attributed to Honorius of Autun and others, and several short theological works.
5. fols. 122-46 (printed): the *De Viris Illustribus* attributed to Sextus Aurelius Victor, printed in Venice in 1477.
6. fols. 147-58 (manuscript, on paper, in several 15th-century hands): Short tracts in Latin and English on arithmetic, astronomy, astrology, etc.
7. fols. 159-68 (manuscript, on parchment, of the 15th century): Commentary on the Ten Commandments attributed to Wyclif, and four short pious tracts.
8. fols. 169-74 (manuscript, on parchment, of the 14th century): A tract on the Compotus, in Latin, imperfect at the beginning.

In contents Cleobury's compilation is of a common late-medieval type, belonging more to the Middle Ages than to the 16th century. Dore was a typically remote and rather obscure Cistercian monastery[14] and Cleobury's tastes must be contrasted with those of his Benedictine contemporary in the neighbouring diocese of Worcester, Robert Joseph Beecham or Willis of Evesham, whose letters show a love for the Latin classics and the works of the humanists of his own day.[15]

Most of Cleobury's pieces were, in fact, very popular. Lichtenberger's *Prognosticatio* was widely read as a prediction of the events of the closing years of the 15th century and as far ahead as 1567. It circulated in numerous Latin, German and Italian editions, some produced as late as 1547 and even 1620. Although most of the contents deal with Germany and Central Europe there is enough of general interest, and illustrations, to have attracted English readers and, indeed, the present copy bears fairly numerous annotations, some in a hand which may be Cleobury's, which show how the forecasts were interpretated in relation to English events. On fol. 47, for example, the prophecy for 1512, 'Claustralium religiositas in multis locis extinguetur, & erint homines sine iugo viventes: & omni vicio se exercentes' is annotated 'anno domini 1539' (i.e. the year

of the suppression of the Greater Monasteries), on fol. 32 the same hand writes 'Anglia sive Britannia' and on fol. 38 'Martinus Luther' on the illustration to the concluding lines on the previous page, 'Monachus in alba cuculla et dyabolus in scapulis eius retro habens leripipium longum ad terram cum amplis etiam brachiis habens discipulum secum stantem'.

While the *Prognosticatio* would serve Cleobury as a commentary on the contemporary world, the *Imago Mundi* and *De Viris Illustribus* would provide him with material on distant places and people of earlier ages. The *Imago Mundi,* another enormously popular work of which numerous manuscripts survive, covers cosmography, geography, zoology, mineralogy and other topics dear to the medieval reader. The Roman biographies of the *De Viris Illustribus* also survive in many manuscripts and in early printed editions.

Religious material in the vernacular is represented in Cleobury's book mainly by the Lydgate and Mannyng tracts and by the Treatise on the Commandments. More practical matters are covered by the treatise on the Computus, a work on reckoning time and calculating the incidence of the Church festivals, and by the fragment of Aristotle's *Problemata* which, coming from the first book of that work, deals entirely with medicine. Medicine is also dealt with in some of the shorter pieces which deal, too, with making azure and parchment and with the astrolabe.

As an illustration of the movement of medieval books from their origins to the great libraries it may be worth recording the stages between Cleobury and the British Museum. These are few and mostly clear. Just what happened to it on Cleobury's death is not known but we may assume that it remained in the Hereford area. John Dee is the first known owner and we know from a little note-book of his that he made a journey in the West Midlands in 1574, being at Presteigne on 30 August and in Hereford on 1 September.[16] It is a reasonable supposition that he acquired the volume during this trip. Be that as it may, both Cleobury's book and Dee's own note-book passed with some two dozen other Dee manuscripts to the parliamentarian and antiquary, Sir Simonds D'Ewes, who died in 1650.[17]. In 1705 D'Ewes's collections were sold by his descendents to Robert Harley, later Earl of Oxford, and with the rest of the Harleian Manuscripts came to the British Museum on its foundation in 1753.

1 *Registrum Ricardi Mayew* (Canterbury and York Society, 1921), 231.
2 *Registrum Caroli Bothe* (Canterbury and York Society, 1921), 139.
3 *Ibid.*, 177.
4 P.R.O., Receivers' Accounts, LR6/123/3. The authority for his pension was never entered on the Patent Rolls and neither the Originalia Rolls, the Chancery Warrants, the Exchequer Warrants of Issue nor the Tellers' Rolls contain it. For some reason he and another monk do not appear in Cardinal Pole's list of pensioners of 2-3 Philip and Mary (P.R.O. E164/31, British Museum Additional MS 8102), though both reappear in the Receivers' Accounts at the expense of other monks who are temporarily dropped.
5 *Letters and Papers Henry VIII,* XVI (1898), 731, quoting Bodleian MS Tanner 343 (not 334 as stated). The *Monasticon* (ed. of 1846) V, p. 553, states that Cleobury died in 1529, but it records him and his successor in inverted order and probably deduces this date from the succession of the last abbot in that year.
6 I owe this information to Mr. F. C. Morgan. See F. C. and P. E. Morgan, 'Some nuns, ex-religious and former chantry priests living in the diocese of Hereford (*c.*1554)', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* XXXVII (1962), 135-48.
7 *Ibid.* 140.
8 *Ibid.* 146.

9 P.R.O. LR6/114/1-6.
10 *Reg. Mayew*, 256.
11 See *The Book of Remembrance of Southampton*, III, ed. H. W. Gidden (Publications of the Southampton Record Society No. 30, 1930), 7.
12 P.C.C. 21 Vox.
13 For a more detailed description see A. G. Watson, 'A sixteenth-century English *Sammelband*', *The Library*, 5th series, XIX (1964), 216-22.
14 Obscure, but not amongst the poorest or smallest. The number of monks at Dore when it was suppressed is variously given as eight and nine (D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, (1953), 104) but 'out of the eighty houses [dissolved in 1536] only sixteen . . . held a community of twelve or more' (Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, III, (1959), 307). In income (£111 7s. 8d. according to the *Valor* of 1536) Dore just comes into Knowles's category of houses of medium income. The obscurity of Dore is suggested by the facts that Dr. C. H. Talbot's *Letters from the English Abbots to the Chapter at Citeaux 1442-1521* (1967) contains only two mentions of it and that in J. M. Canivez's *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis* (1933-41) it makes no appearance after 1471 and only four appearances after the 13th century, which compares poorly with other English Cistercian houses.
15 See Knowles, *Religious Orders*, III, 100-7.
16 British Museum MS Harley 473. On the identification of the manuscript as Dee's (which is in any case clear from the handwriting and confirmed by a note on a flyleaf about his relationship with 'my good cosen Joane Prise', daughter of Sir John Prise of Porteham) see F. Noble, 'The identification of Dr. John Dee as the author of Harleian ms. 473 from its Radnorshire references', *The Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, XXVI (1956), 40-42.
17 See A. G. Watson, *The Library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (1966), 211 (A929) and 314 (M64) respectively.

The Presteigne Area 1750–1860

A STUDY IN LANDSCAPE HISTORY

By ROGER MACKLIN

'One cannot understand the English landscape, town or country, or savour it to the full, apprehend all its wonderful variety, without going back to the history that lies behind it'.
W. G. Hoskins.

INTRODUCTION

THE parish of Lingen, the three townships of Stapleton, Willey and Kinsham and the town of Presteigne form the area covered by this study. The transitional position of the area astride the Welsh highlands and the Herefordshire lowlands means that it is influenced by the physical and cultural characteristics of both the highland and the lowland. The aim of the study is to show how the factors operating in the period 1750-1860, affected the landscape. This crucial period in the history of the landscape was one of change, a period when the 'New Farming' introduced a new type of rural economy, and the period when the last vestiges of the medieval landscapes were submerged under what is essentially our present landscape.

The approach adopted, because of the variable nature of the source material, is that of presenting a series of period pictures of the landscape at approximately fifteen year intervals. Within each and every period, the same themes are examined with reference to the changes that have taken place over the preceeding period. In this way an otherwise disparate collection of material is given unity. The study is based on primary sources. Secondary sources, which are for this remote area sparse anyway, are used only in support of the primary material.

THE PHYSICAL FRAMEWORK AND CULTURAL ANTECEDENTS

The physical geogaphy of the area is relevant in so far as it acts as a framework within which social and economic factors operate in the creation of the cultural landscape.

The Silurian, Ludlow and Wenlock limestones and Devonian Old Red Sandstone are the foundation of the area, manifesting their presence in the relief and drainage of the region. There is a lack of good building stone in the vicinity, Reeves Hill quarry being the only local source. Hedges are universal and Stonewall Hill is so named because of its uniqueness. Map evidence suggests that much of the drainage is underground, testified to by the many wells and springs that exist at the base of slopes. Stapleton is an example of a spring-line settlement. What surface drainage there is, trends mainly north-west/south-east with north-east/south-west tributaries. The north-west/south-east fault between the limestones and sandstones is followed by a number of streams. The area has summit levels just over 1,000 feet, but is well dissected by the valleys. As a result of glaciation Newer Drift was patchily distributed, but is more prominent on the lower slopes. The Lugg valley in which the town of Presteigne is located, is floored with alluvium.

Climatically the area has a growing season of between seven and eight months. It is a transitional zone lying between the areas that receive more than 50 inches of rain in at least 70% of years to the west and the areas that receive less than 30 inches of rain in at least 30% of years to the east. The maximum rainfall is in the second half of the year. The following quotation from the writings of the agricultural writer John Clark in 1794, is an early attempt to explain the comparative mildness of the area:

> 'The Welsh mountains . . . by their great elevation, partly intercept, and partly attract the clouds in wet weather, and by stripping them of a portion of that superabundant moisture with which they are charged, may contribute to the mildness of this district'.

The soils which have developed are of the acid brown type, free draining and with a silt loam texture.

The foregoing factors are of importance with regard to the agricultural consequences that are attendant, for example, the steepness of slope, or the difference in soil between valley bottom and mountain top, both will set bounds to the changes new techniques, and changing economic conditions can effect.

Historically the area is essentially English or lowland in character. Offa's Dyke lies to the west and the Domesday survey and the Marcher Lordships extended further west, and until the nineteenth century there were outliers of Herefordshire beyond Presteigne. The creation of Radnorshire and the delineation of the present English-Welsh border took place in 1536 and follows the road over Stonewall Hill and then along a tributary of the Lugg and the Lugg itself. The area has always looked east rather than to the highlands of Wales.

The evidence for the rural landscape in the 18th century is in the form of Isaac Taylor's one-inch to a mile map of Herefordshire published in 1754. The map maker's claim that the map is, 'Engraved from the original drawing made from an accurate survey proved by Trigonometry', is not entirely unfounded, for it is based on field survey. It is crudely drawn but it is not necessarily any less accurate because of this.

On the basis of roads marked as enclosed and unenclosed on the map the likely limit of enclosure has been drawn (fig. 1). It is, however, very probable that this is an over-statement of the amount of unenclosed land, and the reasons for believing this will be explained later. Undoubtedly though, the isolation of the area resulted in its being one of late final enclosure compared with lowland Herefordshire.

Only a small number of the buildings listed as dating from before 1714 by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments are shown on Isaac Taylor's map. It is evident that many of these buildings, which all date from before the date of the map, are within the 'unenclosed' area. The clusters of Lingen, Kinsham and Stapleton, all of ancient origin are evident. Some areas, especially Willey and the west part of Lingen, however, are strangely without surviving pre-1714 dwellings and these are the areas for which there is later evidence for enclosure.

Six watermills are shown on the Isaac Taylor map, these being fulling or corn mills. The Old Mill, on the banks of the Lugg, near Presteigne, is one of these. The corn and woollen trades appear to have been the basis of the area's 18th-century prosperity, and to a large measure also the basis of Presteigne's prosperity.

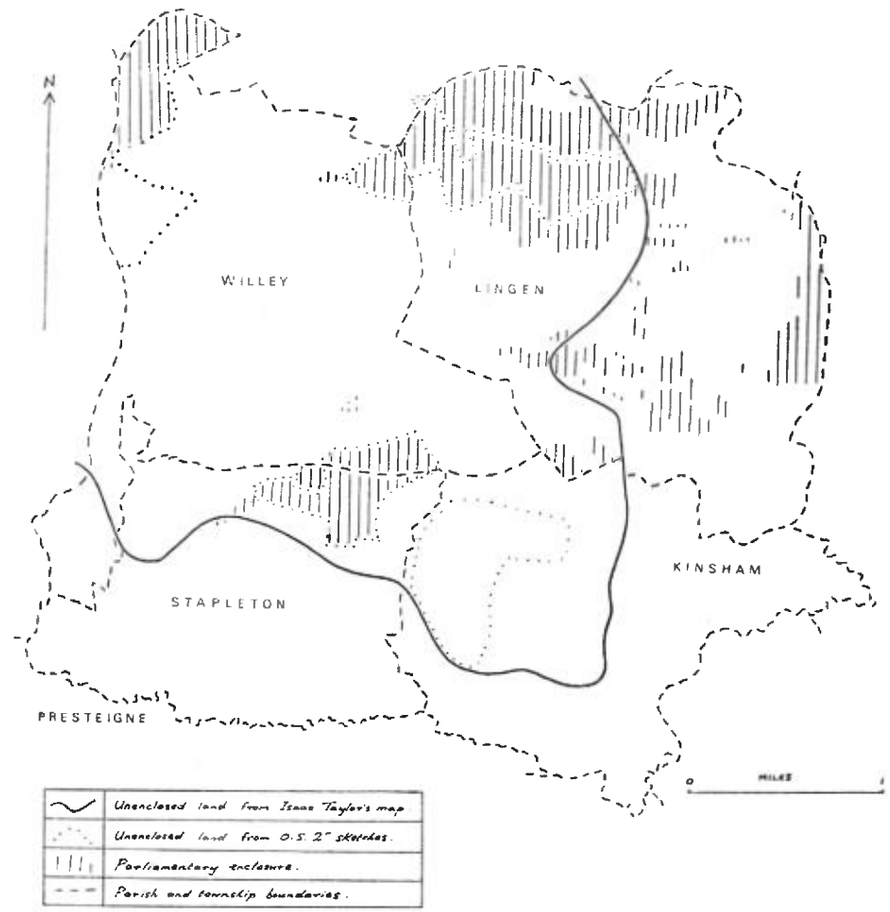


FIG. 1
The Enclosure Movement.

The extent of the woodland cannot be accurately gauged from Isaac Taylor's map as its precise limits are not indicated. There is no proprietor and occupier relationship evidence as there is for later times. The countryside was prosperous and because of this the 18th century is a period of building and rebuilding. There are several houses on the Isaac Taylor map that date from between 1714 and 1750, that is, they are not described by the Royal Commission but are on the map.

Turning now to Presteigne. It lies at the crossroads of the road from Leominster to New Radnor and the road from Hereford and Kington to Knighton. By 1780 or soon after both routes had been turnpiked, the latter via Monaughty, replacing the ancient route from Presteigne to Knighton over Stonewall Hill. Until about 1780 or 1790,

however, Presteigne was on the main route from London to Aberystwyth, when the turnpike through Kington and New Radnor to Aberystwyth was opened and became the main coaching road.

Presteigne was and is essentially a rural town. It is part of the rural landscape. Of it the local historian, W. H. Howse could write, 'few towns can have changed so little in the space of four hundred years'. Its plan can be seen from the aerial photograph (pl. XXV). The medieval burgage plots are identifiable and the street plan must also date from that time. Besides the addition of a modern housing estate, and some 19th-century infilling and minor extensions, the town is certainly now very much the same as it must have been in 1750. Comparison of Isaac Taylor's Presteigne with that on all later maps lends further support.

The 18th-century affluence of Presteigne was based on three factors. Firstly, the manufacture of woollen cloth which was established in Presteigne in the Tudor period. A small woollen factory was brought into production under the encouragement of the Breconshire Agricultural Society soon after 1755. The two other factors, the corn trade and catering trade, are closely related. The fact that Presteigne was on a main route, meant that provision had to be made for travellers, hence the large number of inns in Presteigne at this time. The many malthouses provide the link between the inns and the corn trade.

A somewhat brief picture therefore, has been drawn of the area in the mid-18th century. The later in time we progress though, the greater the amount of evidence that can be drawn upon, and the more detailed the picture that can be constructed.

THE REVOLUTIONARY AND NAPOLEONIC WARS

Looking back from the immediate post-Napoleonic War period, it is possible to survey the changes that had taken place since the mid-18th century.

The, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Hereford*, by John Clark, published by the Board of Agriculture in 1794, contains general information about the county, but some observations that are made are applicable to the area in particular.

From 1796 the evidence of the Land Tax is available. The Land Tax is useful in that it lists all those whose lands were valued at more than £20 and differentiates between proprietors and occupiers. Having the data over a period of time it is possible to chart the fortunes of the different categories of landowners and occupiers and to evaluate whether or not there has been a growth in the size of large estates and a decline in the number of small landowners. The use of the Land Tax returns, however, is fraught with pitfalls. Those valued at under £20 a year are not listed which means that the returns do not present a complete picture. There is evidence that numbers of owner-occupiers avoided paying the tax, so that changes in their numbers may be due to nothing more than variations in the comprehensiveness of the returns.

Tenants who held leases of long duration were sometimes listed as owners and it is possible that tenant farmers who paid the Land Tax as an addition to their rent, instead of deducting it, as was the usual practice, may have been carelessly returned as owners. There are examples known of proprietors with increased rents and additional property paying no extra taxes with the connivance of the assessors, who were local men. No

simple or constant relationship between tax and acreage, even within a parish is evident. The possibility and indeed reality of the ownership of land in more than one parish should not be discounted. Detailed analysis from the Land Tax assessment is therefore difficult.

Dating from 1815 are the Ordnance Survey two-inch to a mile original drawings for the area. As the surveyors were paid on a piece rate basis, the work was skimped in many areas and a re-survey was necessary. This was the case in the Presteigne area before the first edition one-inch map could be published, hence the difference between the 1815 sketches and the 1832-33 published version. Even so, these sketches are the most detailed map of the area for their time and so they cannot be disregarded, but their possible shortcomings must always be borne in mind.

Presteigne appears to have been somewhat backward agriculturally compared with lowland Herefordshire where there was little unenclosed land, as noted by John Clark:

> '. . . there is no natural nakedness to cover, nothing that can be seen from any position, which the traveller would not wish to view. One half of the waste land is situate in those quarters that join the counties of Brecon and Radnor . . '

Clark advocated enclosure:

> 'The farmers in this county are often at a loss for labourers: the enclosure of the wastes would increase the number of hands for labour, by removing the means of idleness'.

He describes the prevailing system at harvest time:

> 'The grain is cut by persons who come from the mountainous parts of Wales annually for that purpose, mostly from Cardiganshire. A foreman generally agrees for a whole farm at a stated price per acre, who finds the requisite number of hands to fulfill his contract, at whatever price he can'.

The pattern of cultivation appears to have been that the bottom land was kept in meadow and pasture, the hilly part in tillage, and the highest parts being unenclosed rough pasture. That this latter category was cultivatable is testified to by Clark who cites a farmer in northern Herefordshire who:

> '. . . deserves the more credit, because his land is a dry hill, which in the hands of the common run of farmers would have suffered to carry gorse and briars'.

Enclosure was not necessarily early, but it must have been by private agreement, as no Act exists for enclosure before 1815. The upward movement of enclosure in the area, can be illustrated by mapping the unenclosed area as shown on the 1815 two-inch to a mile Ordnance Survey drawings, and comparing it with the unenclosed land on the Isaac Taylor map (fig. 1). It is assumed that the margin of cultivation is depicted accurately on the former as it is drawn in some detail. This movement was probably accelerated by the increased demand for home produce and the rising prices for the same, during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic War period, indeed, the same pattern is repeated throughout all the uplands of England and Wales at this time. Although the estimate from the Isaac Taylor map almost certainly overemphasises the amount of unenclosed land, it can nevertheless, be seen that only the highest areas remain unenclosed by 1815.

> 'The situation of the high-way reflects no inconsiderable portion of disgrace upon the notice of this district. To say that the roads are bad is, in fact, saying nothing. They are bad over most of the Kingdom . . . but here they are so in a very uncommon degree . . . ' (Clark 1794).

This was despite the many parliamentary road improvement acts that dealt with the area. To remedy the situation the expense of improving the roads and keeping them in repair was to be met by the creation of turnpike trusts, who were to finance this work, and recoup their expenditure by levying tolls on the users of the road. Local names are prominent amongst the trustees. All the turnpiking that was done in the area was completed by 1800 at the latest and probably earlier. It is difficult to give exact dates as the Acts available for study are incomplete as a series and have often been merely renewals of the powers granted under earlier Acts. There is no guarantee that work was actually carried out immediately and at least one road covered under an act was never turnpiked, that being from Lingen by Boresford to Willey's Oak. The road from Knighton to Presteigne through Norton was turnpiked while the ancient route to Knighton over Stonewall Hill was not. Turnpike roads are specifically marked on the 1815 two-inch sketches, the first edition of the Ordnance Survey and Bryant's map, as well as the second edition of the Ordnance Survey. Tollgates and toll houses represented a new feature in the landscape.

Field boundaries it appears, have been drawn on the Ordnance Survey two-inch sketches diagramatically. Woodland is marked in some detail but cannot be compared in extent with the woodland shown on Isaac Taylor's map, because of its imprecise delimitation on the latter. Individual buildings are marked on the sketches in the countryside and fenced and unfenced roads are differentiated.

The first two census reports in 1801 and 1811 make it possible for population to be included as a theme. The figures and trends can be viewed as reflecting changes in the economy and landscape of the area. From the census figures, the population of Lingen parish stands well above that of the other three, 247 compared with 129 of the next highest, Stapleton. The village of Lingen is the main factor in this pre-eminence. Stapleton is only marginally above both Kinsham and Willey which have 112 and 102 respectively. Lingen is over twice as populous as Willey . Between 1801 and 1811, the population of Lingen, Kinsham and Willey did not markedly change, while that of Stapleton inexplicably rose from 129 to 151.

The Land Tax records when analysed, present us with a breakdown of the agricultural population, bearing in mind the limitations already enumerated. The overall picture from 1796 to 1816 is one of decline in the total number of proprietors, occupiers, and owner-occupiers—the three classes the data has been grouped into. Definition of the latter group however, seems to have been somewhat inaccurate at times, with wide fluctuations between years. The nadir of the decline in numbers appears to have been about 1815 in Lingen, Stapleton and Kinsham, but slightly earlier, about 1812 in Willey. In this and other instances Willey is always either slightly before or slightly after the other parishes depending on the instance in experiencing the wind of change, because of its more marginal character. A decrease in the taxation assessments is noted during the period.

The estates of the Earl of Oxford at least, increased during the period. In 1796 his Lordship was only paying Land Tax in the parishes of Willey and Stapleton, by 1816 he was paying taxes in these and in Lingen and Kinsham. The Kinsham estates however, built up throughout the 18th century, were heavily mortgaged in 1802 and 1803 and by 1813 so heavily encumbered that receivers were appointed.

The *Victoria County History* states that, 'In 1816 rents in Herefordshire had already fallen from 10 to 33%, many farms were unoccupied, and labourers were out of work'. It is likely that a somewhat marginal area like Presteigne would feel the effects.

The same names of those who were the prosperous larger farmers of the area are also those that occur in the lists of names of turnpike trustees. From their ranks are also the names of those who were Land Tax assessors and collectors. Later also, these are the men closely associated with enclosure.

Before the end of the 18th century Presteigne had fallen on bad times. There were 230 houses and 65 families receiving outdoor relief, while another 91 were inmates of the workhouse. Yet still Presteigne was a fashionable resort with its dancing and assembles. Elegant Georgian buildings further emphasise this fashionable period in the town's development. The Warden, the ancient castle site, a fashionable promenade in the days when the fashion came to Presteigne, was presented to the town in 1805, by the fifth Earl of Oxford. Williams, the county historian could write of Presteigne in 1818:

> 'it forms a pleasing retreat for its (the county's) gentry, and is a respectable residence for genteel families that love quiet and retirement and that can be delighted with picturesque scenery'.

The Worcester-Aberyswyth coaches passed through Presteigne regularly at least up to 1814. From this time Presteigne is in relative decline, although the population as indicated by the 1801 and 1811 census returns, rose from 1,057 to 1,114. Studying the 1815 Ordnance Survey map, the most notable addition to Presteigne since the 1754 Isaac Taylor map, is the spread of settlement into England across the Lugg bridge into Frog Street of Stapleton township.

The end of the Napoleonic Wars is also the eve of Parliamentary enclosure in the area with its attendant landscape changes and the years 1815-16 to the early 1830's represent a distinct period of landscape evolution from that which had gone before.

PARLIAMENTARY ENCLOSURE

From the early 1830's date two maps, the first published Ordnance Survey one-inch map of 1833 and Bryant's 1835 one and a half inch map of Herefordshire which was surveyed 1832-34. The Land Tax assessments available end in 1830 and census data is available for 1821 and 1831.

The most important source of new evidence available at this time however, are the enclosure awards. These are the result of Parliamentary acts and cover only small areas in the parishes to which they apply. They form the last stage in the process that had been continuing for centuries, and represent in the main, a tidying up operation, rather than radical change. This accords with W. E. Tate's study of Herefordshire

enclosure, where he states that not more than 4% of the county area was enclosed by parliamentary means.

The first enclosure award in the area is for Willey and is dated 1819. It deals with the division and allotment of, 'Commons Waste and Commonable lands' which are distributed in eight plots of land within the parish. Willey Oak is one of these. The total area involved is 165 acres, exclusive of the Public Roads. The award is accompanied by a map which shows the lands involved, which was surveyed by a local man, William Galliers and is attractively drawn and coloured and is on a scale of about twenty inches to the mile. The map shows existing hedges and indicates the liability of providing the necessary new boundaries by a T symbol. The liability being on the person within whose allotment the T is marked. The ownership of the surrounding, already enclosed land, is indicated.

Provision is made in the award for four public carriage roads, 'Of the Breadth of Thirty Feet', the course of which is fully described in the award. The evidence points to these having been tracks that existed previously but one, Pedwardine Road, appears not to have existed before the award or at any time after. One private carriage and drift road (an access road for stock) of twenty feet breadth was prescribed.

The cost of obtaining the award was to be paid for by the sale of four allotments for £1,045 5s. 0d., which means that the enclosure cost over £6 for every acre involved, clearly an expensive undertaking. The land was divided in proportion to the ownership of common rights. Some of those possessing rights but receiving land did not reside in the township. The Earl of Oxford as lord of the manor received a tenth part of the residue of the land after setting out the roads and deducting the allotments sold to defray the expenses. The Warren was the only area remaining unenclosed in the parish and it remains unenclosed even today.

The next award is that of Stapleton in 1824. Again it involves common and waste land, to a total of 123 acres. The area, besides three minute plots elsewhere in the parish, lies astride Stapleton Hill road on the hill itself. This latter area is adjacent to an area enclosed in Willey in 1819. Again there is a map drawn by William Galliers described in the awards as being 'late of Presteigne . . . but now of the Borough of Leominster'. The T convention is used here too. Existing hedges are simply lines rather than pictorial representations of hedges as on his 1819 map. The map is to a scale of approximately 18.4 inches to the mile. Six allotments were sold to defray expenses, their purchase price is not given.

One public carriage road and three private husbandry roads were intended as detailed in the award. These latter were laid out on Stapleton Hill where there was something resembling the straight line division of the landscape we associate with parliamentary enclosure. The private roads were given widths of thirty feet, twenty-six feet, and twenty feet respectively. The public road width was thirty feet as in Willey, although today and most probably in 1824, the actual width of the road is something like fifteen feet, with verges on either side occupying the remaining fifteen feet.

A public stone quarry was awarded to the Surveyor of Highways. A public pool, on Stapleton Hill, also shown on the Willey enclosure was awarded, 'to and for the use of all and every Proprietors of lands within the said Township of Stapleton for ever.' The streamless nature of the neighbourhood would render such a pool a useful asset.

As can be seen from fig. 1 the 1815 map shows areas enclosed which are later dealt with in the enclosure award. Mention is made of this apparently illegal enclosure in the award where plots so marked, are referred to as 'an incroachment before the passing of the said Act'.

The Lingen enclosure award is later than the other two, it dates from 1829. It is part of a much larger award, including lands in Shobdon and Aymestrey parishes as well as in Lingen. The enclosure is on a much larger scale even within the parish of Lingen alone than the awards of Willey and Stapleton together. Only a portion of the land on Harley's Mountain, adjacent to the 1819 Willey allotment, was marked as unenclosed in 1815. The rest of Harley's Mountain and the parts in the remainder of the parish affected by the award are marked as enclosed in 1815. It is apparent when the award is examined in detail that much of it is concerned with a general redistribution of holdings into more compact units. The mover behind this appears to have been the lord of the manor, William Hanbury, as all the exchanges except one, involve him. On Harley's Mountain, however, there was a division into larger regular fields. Undoubtedly though elsewhere in the parish there was some enclosure for the first time. Neither the cost nor the total acreage is listed. One of the commissioners is R. Allerton, a London surveyor and valuer. His employment is in keeping with the trend observed that professional men are employed from further afield as the 19th century progresses. No scale is given on the Lingen plan.

Nine public roads are detailed, one of forty feet width, the rest of thirty feet, and a private road of twenty feet. Only one of the public roads appears not to have existed as such beforehand. An, 'allotment for the highways is provided . . . for materials for the repair of the highways and a Public Pool is provided for the use of the Public for ever', as in the Stapleton award.

There is no record of any Parliamentary enclosure award for Kinsham. Indeed the only unenclosed area marked on the 1815 map, Coles Hill, remains in that state at the present time. Its steepness precludes it having an agricultural use. Taken as a whole therefore, the general aspect presented by the landscape in the early 1830's is much the same as it is today, for all the four parishes.

The 1833 Ordnance Survey one-inch map and the one and a half inch Bryant map present a complete picture of the landscape after enclosure. Field boundaries are not shown except in a few areas, the reason for which remains obscure. Between the two maps there are detail differences in the road system. The Bryant map shows an improvement in the road between Pant Hall in Willey township and north to Boresford outside the area. According to the 1815 map this road was then non-existent. This proves that for this area the Bryant may was surveyed slightly later than the Ordnance Survey. The road in question is part of the same that it was proposed to turnpike but which was never carried out. Both maps show individual buildings, and there is close coincidence between them. Little building appears to have taken place. Fewer tracks are marked on the Bryant map than the Ordnance Survey. The extent of the woodland

is more clearly shown on the Bryant than the Ordnance Survey, in comparison with the 1815 map, there are only minor changes.

Having the census figures of 1801 and 1811 available, it is possible to compare the figures of 1821 and 1831 with them. Lingen shows a marked rise 1811-1821 continued 1821-1831, 244 to 298. The same trend is observable in Willey, 107 to 147. Kinsham on the other hand shows a slight decline, and Stapleton maintains its 1811 level. Too much should not be read into minor fluctuations as in real terms they would amount to an inward or outward movement of only three or four families.

Following the 1832 Reform Act, there exists a Register of Voters for 1835 which lists only those with the necessary qualifications. A similar selection of names appear as have appeared in the Land Tax returns. Unlike the Land Tax which is simply a list of names, the Register lists residences as well.

The period 1815-1830 is characterised by falling wheat and meat prices and rents. The Land Tax shows what effects these national trends were having locally. In Lingen, Stapleton, and Willey the trend was for there to be more proprietors and occupiers, a rise in total numbers, or at least a rise in the number of those paying tax. In Kinsham where the tax levied increased, numbers were maintained, but did not increase. Comparing the total numbers involved in 1796 with those in 1830, in Lingen and Willey, there was an increase from 30 to 37, and 16 to 19 respectively, and in Stapleton and Kinsham a decline from 31 to 27, and 28 to 18 respectively. Few significant changes appear to have taken place in the inter-parish ownership structure. The larger proprietors were still the only ones with properties in three parishes. The medium-sized farmer might have property in two parishes and the tenant farmer in only one. Parliamentary enclosure, as it only affected a small proportion of the total area, can have had little effect on the population. In fact, as recorded the only population decline that took place in the period was in Kinsham which did not experience enclosure.

Presteigne is described in the 18th edition of Paterson's Roads, 1829 as being '. . . without exception the handsomest and best built town in the county, and may be considered as its metropolis . . . the Warden . . . is ornamented with promenades and plantations laid out with great taste, and forms a very agreeable appendage to the place'.

The population of Presteigne was still rising from 1,114 in 1811 to 1,288 in 1821 and 1,513 in 1831. The Bryant map and first edition of the Ordnance Survey show that little absolute growth had taken place although there was probably some infilling. In 1830 the present Shire Hall was built on the site of the old county gaol in Broad Street. In the 1830's the Methodists built the Old Chapel in Harper Street. This date of establishment accords well with the progress of Methodism in the area as chartered by Miss D. Sylvester, *The Church and the Geographer* (Liverpool Essays in Geography). Methodist chapels were established at Brecon in 1770, Kington in 1805 and Leominster in 1873, Presteigne being therefore in line between Kington and Leominster. The woollen factory that was established in the 18th century closed down in the 1830's. Up to this time flax had been grown locally but after this time was no longer cultivated.

The period is mainly characterised by the depressed state of agriculture. In terms of the landscape though, it had been a period of activity and change, in which the conclusion of the enclosure process was reached.

THE TITHE SURVEY

For the early 1840's the main source of landscape evidence are the tithe maps and their schedules. These enumerate, in the schedule, every field in the parish. Each field has a number which corresponds with a number on the map. The proprietor and occupier of every field can be ascertained from the schedule and the acreage of each field given. However, the most important information in it, concerns the contemporary utilisation of the fields. The utilisation is classified into woodland, meadow, arable, pasture and orchard. The result of this is that a detailed land use map can be compiled (fig. 2). An extra category, agriculturally unproductive land, has been added.

Willey, Stapleton and Lower Kinsham form part of the Tithe survey of Presteigne parish dating from 1845. Lingen, being a separate parish, has its own survey dating

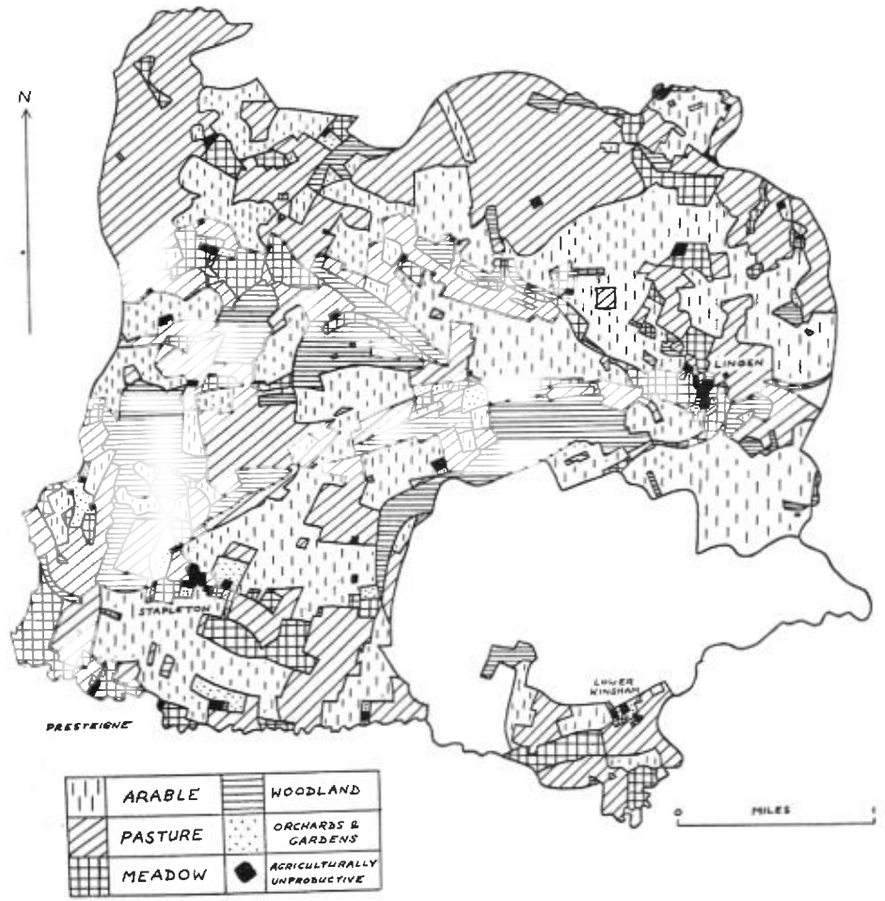


FIG. 2
Land Use map from the Tithe Survey.

from 1841. These have however been mapped together. Kinsham, until amalgamation under the Divided Parishes Act of 1886, was divided into Upper and Lower Kinsham. Lower Kinsham was part of the parish of Presteigne, and thus included in the Tithe survey of that parish. Upper Kinsham was a parish in its own right. No Tithe map or apportionment exists for Upper Kinsham. It is believed that the Tithes were either merged into the freehold of the lands or extinguished at some date before 1845. For other data collection purposes also, Kinsham is divided into Upper and Lower Kinsham. The Land Tax and census were collected on this basis but have been summed throughout for simplicity and comparability.

The Presteigne map, measuring six feet by eight feet, was drawn on a scale of about twelve inches to a mile, and the Lingen map at a scale of approximately ten inches to a mile. The surveyor of the latter is Richard Allerton who also surveyed the Lingen enclosure award in 1829.

The total acreages in the divisions meadow and pasture, woodland and arable are given. These can be converted to percentages for each of the parishes. Lower Kinsham is disregarded because of its small area. The woodland is the most constant, comprising 7% of the total in Lingen, 12% in Stapleton and 13% in Willey. The arable acreages were 45%, 28% and 29% respectively, and meadow and pasture were 48%, 60% and 58%. It cannot be established on what basis a differentiation was made between meadow and pasture from the schedule itself. However, by inspection from the Land Use map (fig. 2) it can be seen that pasture predominated over meadow in all three parishes. It is apparent though, that meadow land, with exceptions, is situated along watercourses and is entirely, with one exception in Upper Willey, confined to lower lying ground. The woodland in the main is situated on higher land and some of the steeper slopes. The areas that were enclosed in Willey on Harley's Mountain and Stapleton Hill, are mainly pasture. Orchards and gardens are to be found within the vicinity of farms. There are notable arable concentrations around the villages of Stapleton and Lingen.

From the Tithe schedule a map of the farm units of the area could be drawn. In general it would be seen that the smaller units are situated around the villages and in the Birtley area in the north of Lingen parish, where also the concentration of arable land is greatest. The largest units are to be found in the more upland parts, for example, nearly all of Harley's Mountain is included in one unit but the size of single units alone gives no indication of the proprietor-tenant structure.

The fields in the tithe schedule are nearly always given names. These are interesting as they are often indicative of a particular utilisation. Sometimes the usage suggested by the name in no way corresponds to the utilisation at the time of the tithe survey, for example, 'Gorsty Hill' is listed as being meadow, and 'Broomy piece' as arable. More often however, the names are descriptive of the situation of the field or of its size, for example, 'Yew Tree Meadow' or 'Six Acres', even if the latter does consist of over 10 acres.

The Tithe map can also be taken at its face value as a map in the manner of the Ordnance Survey or Bryant, only on a larger scale and comparison can be made with the former maps from which it is separated by over fifteen years. The distribution of the woodland had changed little since the maps of the early 30's. The road system is

shown in great detail but the main roads are still those of the 18th century, so too probably are all the farm tracks, the majority of which are shown for the first time. Individual buildings are not simply marked but are shown in their true plan, Willey Court, for example, surrounded by its gardens, trees and farmlands, contrasts markedly with the desolate nature of the Warren which is adjacent to it.

A comparison between the enclosure awards and the Tithe maps for similar areas, reveals that there are fewer field boundaries on the later map. It is possible that the enclosure awards were not carried out to the letter and the hedges, though planned, were not erected if they divided the lands of one person. It is not possible to make such a comparison with areas of pre-parliamentary enclosure as no maps exist that show field boundaries.

The Tithe map schedule or apportionment, unlike the Land Tax enumerates all farmers, even the smallest occupier. Taking Lingen parish as a representative example, in 1841 there were twenty-three proprietors, seven owner occupiers and forty occupiers. Nine proprietors alone owned 90% of the parish but of these nine, Lord Bateman of Shobdon Hall, the successor to William Hanbury, owned 63%. The second largest owner held only 8%. These nine proprietors did not farm the land themselves but let it out. Lord Bateman had twenty-three occupiers on his 1,333 acres, while keeping for himself 106 acres of woodland. The largest single area he let was 754 acres, over half his total, and the next largest 300 acres, together account for about 85%.

Throughout the parish, taking into account multiple occupancies, and cases of proprietors being occupiers to others, some picture of the size of farms can be formed. Only three farms are of over 100 acres, 7 are between 50 and 100 acres, 5 between 25 and 50, 8 between 10 and 25, 6 between 5 and 10, and 18 below 5 acres. Over half therefore, are under 10 acres in size. The position was similar in the other townships, the small landowner was holding his own.

Comparison can be made between the proprietor-occupier structure in Lingen in 1841 with that in 1830 from the Land Tax. The figures for 1830 are, fourteen proprietors, nine owner occupiers, and fourteen occupiers. This is compared with twenty-three, seven and forty respectively for 1841. The degree to which the Land Tax provides an underestimate of the total farming population is adequately illustrated. 1831-41 saw a small decline in the population of Lingen, from 298 to 285.

In the early 1830's wheat prices slumped to their lowest level since the late-18th century, picking up again in the late 30's and reaching a peak unequalled since 1815. During the 1840's the price level fell again. Meat prices on the other hand showed no wide fluctuations. Rent movements reached their lowest level since 1815 during this period, but at the end of it there were signs of recovery.

The census figures for 1831 and 1841 are available and can be compared with the figures of the two previous census reports. The most notable feature of the decade 1831-41 is the increase of the population of Kinsham from 109 to 152, but this was only a temporary phenomenon, the population declining to 114 in 1851. No explanation can be put forward with certainty for this increase. Stapleton and Willey show little change.

The population of Presteigne over the period drops sharply from its 1831 peak of

1,513 to 1,407 in 1841. Dugdale in the 1834 edition of *Curiosities of Great Britain* mentions in passing that 'there was little trade'. Presteigne evidently had fallen on bad times. His comment that, 'Presteigne (was) the handsomest and best built (town) in the county', must have been of little comfort to the inhabitants. Malting was still the principal industry at this time. Not all was stagnation and decline though, in 1845 the Baptist Church in Hereford Street was opened, in 1840 a straw-hat factory established in the town, and sometime in the 1840's a small nail factory was established in Broad Street. The Tithe map gives a plan of the town. As it is not concerned with the buildings of the town, so their street frontages only are marked on the map. The map does, however, give a clear idea of the extent of the town at this time. The recent extension across the Lugg Bridge into Stapleton parish is seen and some slight growth along the roads to the north and south.

The years following the cessation of hostilities in 1815 were years of depression in agriculture. 1843 saw rioting in Rhayader, '. . . a town of wretched mud hovels, invariably fronted with a pigsty or a dunghill or both.' (Williams 1955), conditions in marked contrast to those prevailing in Presteigne. The rioting, part of the larger Rebecca movement, resulted from the depression in general and was directed against the property of the turnpike trusts in particular. The Presteigne area was apparently quiet, although the travelling investigating Commissioners sat there, as well as at Rhayader and elsewhere throughout south and west Wales. The mid-40's, The Hungry Forties, are a turning point and the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 mark the beginning of an era of prosperity.

THE YEARS OF PROSPERITY

From the 1850's primary information directly concerning the rural landscape changes in its nature and diminishes in quantity. For the early 1860's there is nothing approaching the scale of the enclosure maps or the Tithe survey. The information is to be sought from more diverse sources. While on the one hand, information about the rural scene is scarcer, material about the urban scene, Presteigne, proliferates as was not the case before.

Directories are a limited source of material for the landscape historian. They generally provide a summary paragraph on the size, position and physical nature of the parish, then list its principal inhabitants. The useful information obtained from such a source is usually incidental, for example, tradesmen are usually listed and this enables a picture to be drawn of the rural economy of Lingen. Registers of Voters exist for 1849-50 and 1861-2 and these complement the Directory information. Another purpose to which these could be put, but which has not been attempted here, is to examine the constancy of names using the Land Tax for the years before 1830 which will indicate migratory trends.

There exists a Sale Particulars brochure of 1854 for an estate in Willey and a later undated pair of maps are in Hereford City Library. The former particulars indicate land use thus enabling a comparison with the Tithe map. The latter are without their particulars so that no such comparisons can be made. The second edition of the one-inch Ordnance Survey map was published in 1868.

Caird, in his perambulation of England 1850-1 oddly does not report on Herefordshire, but in 1853, the Royal Agricultural Society, in their Journal, published a prize report by T. Rowlandson, on the agricultural state of Herefordshire. Rowlandson's comments are of a general nature like Clark's in 1794, concerning Herefordshire as a whole, for example,

> 'The amount of drainage executed in Herefordshire is by no means so extensive as might be desirable, seeing the benefits which it would confer',

And,

> 'The demands for the navy during the war cleared the county of a very considerable amount of its timber, still sufficient is left not only for pictorial effect, but also for domestic utility'.

Because there are no maps showing the extent of the woodland before the Napoleonic Wars, this latter statement cannot be tested.

The Land Use map drawn from the 1854 Sale Particulars information on to a copy of the map that accompanied the particulars (fig. 3), comprises three farms in Willey totalling 560 acres, which represents over a quarter of the area of the township. The map has no scale. The particulars eulogise the qualities of the estate.

> 'This estate, the soil of which is Ryeland, Turnip and Barley in character, is situate in a romantic and beautiful part of the County of Hereford, is finely undulated, and presents charming Building sites for the erection of a Mansion. It is thickly interspersed with thriving and ornamental Timber, and intersected with copious Streams of Water, is of a most improving charcter, and forms a most desirable Investment'. (Sale Particulars, 1854).

The classification of the state of cultivation for every field is comparable with that of the Tithe Land Use map (fig. 3), meadow, pasture, arable and woodland, plus a derived agriculturally unproductive category. The comparison reveals that the land use has exactly the same usage despite nine years separating the two dates. Looking in detail at the map there have been no changes in boundaries, roads or buildings.

The undated sale maps by their style are later in date than 1854. They cover a larger area than the 1854 map, most of the parish of Willey including all the 1854 area and extend into Stapleton. Parish boundaries are for the most part the boundaries of farm units where they meet them which is true throughout the whole area. The areas of Parliamentary enclosure, except the Willey portion of Harley's Mountain, form no part of the estate.

Rent levels were moving towards an unprecedented peak nationally, and the 1850's were a period of prosperity for the Presteigne area also and rebuilding of farmhouses and buildings generally took place. Despite this, 'Kinsham Court, formerly the seat of members of the Oxford family, is now in a most dilapidated condition . . .', (Cassey 1858).

The years 1841 to 1851 showed a decline in the populations of Kinsham and Willey 152 to 114, and 155 to 123 respectively, which by 1861 was completely made up in Willey where the population was 158, but only partially so in Kinsham to 132. Stapleton as usual remained stable, while Lingen rising from 285 in 1841 to 296 in

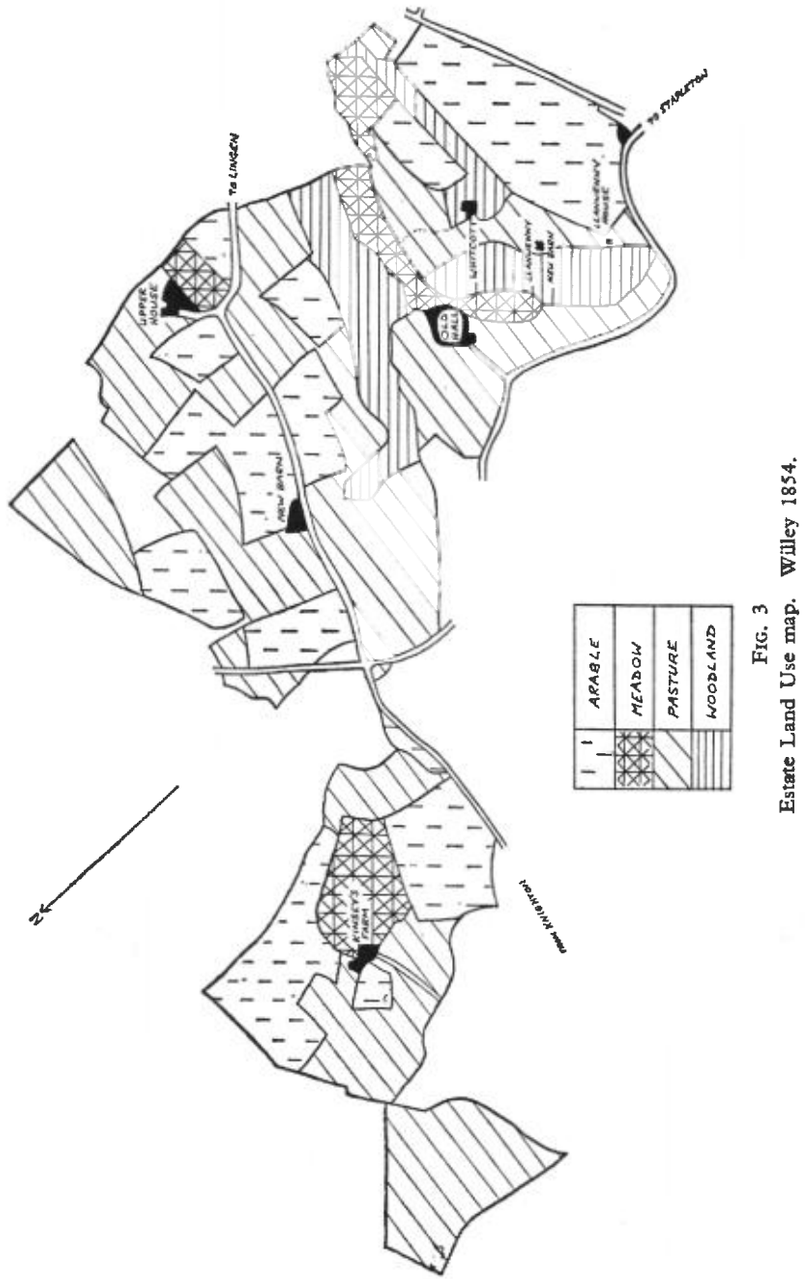


FIG. 3 Estate Land Use map. Willey 1854.

1851, fell again to 287 in 1861. For Kinsham and Willey 1861 represents the beginning of their permanent population decline, although this may be discerned beginning possibly at 1841 for Kinsham. Stapleton's population declined, post 1871 after a rise from the 1861 level of 159 to 190 in 1871. The eclipse of Lingen came much later and again the fact that Lingen had a substantial village population was probably the reason. It will be noted that Willey is the earliest to decline.

Lingen was, and is, the only real village in the area, unlike Stapleton, which is merely a collection of farms and cottages. It had a church, two chapels and a day school, and supported the services of two beer retailers who also doubled as shopkeeper and hurdle maker respectively, and a mason who was also a shopkeeper, a wheelright, and a blacksmith. This was in 1858. By 1876 a parsonage had been built and a Co-operative Stores opened, and it was noted that, 'The projected railway from Presteigne to Clun and Bishop's Castle is surveyed to intersect the parish, but the plan seems is abeyance'. (Littlebury's, 1876).

The area has increasing outside contact in this period. Mention is made of a Cheltenham lady resident, and of landowners who lived in Hereford, Leominster, Birmingham, London, Ireland and one as far afield as the Cape of Good Hope.

The second edition of the Ordnance Survey one-inch map of 1868, yields little information. At this scale it could only be a restatement of what had been mapped before in greater detail as few changes had taken place.

In Presteigne the population recovered from its 1841 low of 1,407, reaching 1,453 in 1851, 1,603 in 1861, which surpassed the previous high of 1,513 in 1831 and reached its highest population ever before or since in 1871, 1713. From 1871 there has been a constant decline. The 1931 figure of 1,102 is comparable with the 1811 total of 1,114.

During the period 1851-71 a number of new businesses were opened in Presteigne—a spade-handle factory, a saw-mill, a tannery and a cooperage. clearly all industries closely related to the rural economy of the area. The spade-handle factory was situated by the Barley Mow in Hereford Street and John Weaver built for his workmen the brick houses near the inn in 1863, and those in Gas House Row opposite. The factory gave employment to 30-40 people.

The 1850's, 60's and 70's saw Presteigne dragging itself into the mainstream of 19th-century life. During the 1850's Capital Stores was established in High Street, and two banks came to Presteigne, and in 1857 the Gas works was built. 1856 saw the building of the Italianate Assembly Rooms, on the site in Market Hall at the corner of Broad Street and Hereford Street. In 1867 a Methodist chapel had been founded and in 1870 a Wesleyan chapel was opened in St. David's Street. 1868 and 1869 respectively saw the establishment of British and National Schools. 1868 also saw the inauguration of a horse drawn railway omnibus which took intending passengers to the railway at Knighton. The electric telegraph arrived in Presteigne in 1870. The railway arrived late in Presteigne, in 1874, too late to aid the expansion of the town, when the population was already in decline. It no doubt aided its further decline in fact, by making it possible to introduce products that made local manufacture uneconomic.

The prosperity of the years 1850 to 1870 was in marked contrast to the 1880's. The spade-handle factory and others, such as the nail factory established in the 1840's, closed but the Free Mash Tun Act of 1880 struck the greatest blow. This largely put the small man out of business as the large breweries could extract their malt more economically. In 1888 the turnpike roads were taken over by the County Council under the Local Government Act in 1888. The administrative work of the county has been carried on at Llandrindod Wells since 1889 but Presteigne still remained the assize town and in name the County town.

CONCLUSION

Thus we have seen, that even within a micro-region, such as studied there are contrasts. The higher, more remote township of Willey, although presenting a veneer of prosperity was more marginal than the rest of the area and this was reflected in its population density and structure. The most striking feature of the area as a whole though, is the lack of change that took place during the period. Enclosure, even parliamentary enclosure, was hardly a cataclysmic occurrence and this was the greatest single landscape change. The impression gained is that of gradual, almost imperceptible change. Even the structure of the agricultural community, as evidenced particularly by the Land Tax, shows no major change and there is no direct evidence for a decline in the numbers of small landowners.

In Presteigne however, there were plenty of changes. Its 18th-century importance was due to its position on a main coaching route. After it was by-passed it never really recovered. The rise of centres elsewhere to pre-eminence spelt the relative decline of Presteigne, and after 1871 with the coming of the railway, absolute decline.

The remoteness and isolation of its location in the 18th century had been its strength, giving it local importance. This was gradually whittled away until it suffered by competition with other towns. Presteigne is now 7 miles from the nearest 'A' road, and is very much a back-water which progress has passed by.

I would like to thank Mr. W. Rollinson, M.A., of the University of Liverpool, for his profitable criticism and encouragement at all stages of the work and all the people in Herefordshire, too numerous to mention by name, who unstintingly gave me help and by their kindness made my work so enjoyable.

Joseph Arch in Herefordshire in 1860

By PAMELA HORN

THE name of Joseph Arch is usually associated with that of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union which he helped to found in 1872. This society was the first nationally-organised union among the farm workers, and at the time of its establishment Arch's name appeared in virtually every national newspaper and in most local ones as well. By the landowning and farming classes he was almost universally castigated as a dangerous agitator, but by other less-committed members of the community he was seen as a man seeking to improve the position of his fellow workers. Workers, indeed, whose living standards were recognised as extremely low.

Arch's post-1872 career, including his long presidency of the N.A.L.U. and his two spells in Parliament as Liberal M.P. for North-West Norfolk (in 1886 and again from 1892 to 1900), is fairly well documented. Less is known of his pre-1872 situation, and in particular of his working habits.

Joseph Arch was born at the village of Barford in Warwickshire, on 10th November, 1826. After spending three years at school, from the age of six until nine, he followed his father into agricultural work, first as a bird scarer, then as a plough boy and eventually as an all-round labourer. However, following his marriage in February, 1847, he found his regular earnings as a farm worker were inadequate to meet the increased calls upon them—and this was particularly the case when he had to support a young family (he eventually had seven children). In these circumstances he began to seek more highly-paid contract work, and at the same time to specialise in hedge-cutting and fencing. Arch was certainly winning prizes for his hedge-cutting by 1857, for in that year the Warwick Advertiser of 31st October records that at the Wellesbourne Ploughing Society's competition he obtained a third prize of 10s. in the 'Ordinary Hedging Class'. In the following year he won a second prize of £1 15s. for hedge-cutting and ditching at the Warwickshire Agricultural Society's show.

By this time he was beginning to travel farther afield in search of work, but unfortunately almost no detailed record of his employment appears to have survived. This article is concerned with the sole exception discovered so far—namely the work he performed on the Arkwright family's Hampton Court estate near Leominster in Herefordshire, during February, 1860.

The Hampton Court contract was a fencing one, and Mr. John H. Arkwright clearly brought Arch and a fellow Barford labourer specially to his estate for the work, since he paid their travelling expenses from Dinmore to Stratford-upon-Avon in Warwickshire —an outlay of some £1 12s. 4d., or 16s. 2d. each. It is perhaps worth noting that the second labourer, John Ivens, was also a prize-winning hedge-cutter; he was a little older than Arch, having been born in 1822, and was possibly a slightly more skilful workman. In any event, when they were competing together at the Warwickshire Agricultural Society's hedging and ditching competition in 1868, Ivens won the second prize and Arch the fourth!

Altogether the two Barford labourers were employed for twelve days at Hampton Court, laying 101½ perches of fencing at the estate's Hillhouse and Newton Court Farms. For 26¾ perches they were paid at the rate of 1s. 3d. a perch and for 74¾ perches at the rate of 1s. a perch, giving a total income of £5 8s. 2d. or £2 14s. 1d. each. This rate was in excess of that normally paid by the Arkwrights for their fencing work, as Mr. Arkwright admitted at a later date. Writing in 1874, he declared: "The pay was fair, and the work well done. At that date, fourteen years ago, our own hedgers could not have done the same amount of work. This incident more than anything else in my experience, has proved to me that wages must be gauged by individual capability, not by a fixed tariff . . . "[1] It is perhaps worth noting that even in 1892, when wages in the county had risen somewhat, the average piecework rate for "pleaching or laying hedges" in Herefordshire was only 8d. to 1s. per 7 yards. Arch and Ivens, as we have seen were obtaining 1s. and 1s. 3d. per 5½ yards for their fencing work over thirty years earlier.[2]

However, the Hampton Court contract was not Arch's only Herefordshire venture in 1860. Immediately prior to this he had been employed at the Hoskyns estate at Harewood; indeed, he informed the Select Committee on the Game Laws in May, 1873, that in all he had worked in Herefordshire "between two and three months".[3] Unfortunately, no information relating to the Harewood contract has survived.

But if the Herefordshire episode is valuable as evidence of Arch's pre-1872 working habits, it is equally valuable as a contributory factor in the development of his own beliefs. There is no doubt that the position of the Herefordshire labourer at this time was unfavourable. Even by the early 1870's basic wages remained at about 11s. per week—just as they had done twenty years before. And although some labourers benefited, in addition, from perquisites, such as "two rows of potatoes, skim milk and cider", these were no complete compensation[4] Arch later claimed, indeed, that the privations endured by the Herefordshire farm workers were the worst he had witnessed during the course of his travels as a jobbing labourer. According to a biography of him written in 1872, he had often found "full-grown, able-bodied men, with wives and children to support, working hard for seven shillings a week. He himself lodged with one such man for nearly two months, during which time, not a bit of meat appeared upon the table. How the wife and children lived, Arch never knew. The husband and father fared thus: breakfast, a dry crust; dinner, ditto; supper—the great meal of the day—sometimes "scald chops", . . . consisting of broken bread moistened by pouring hot water upon it; and sometimes a pint of cider warmed over the fire, and a crust dipped into it. This from Monday till Saturday, and on Sunday *occasionally*, a bit of bacon".[5]

Whilst this description is undoubtedly an exaggeration—the Hampton Court Labour Books, for example, show a basic weekly wage of 10s. or 11s. as the norm, rather than 7s.—there is, nevertheless, sufficient impartial evidence to suggest that many Herefordshire labourers did face considerable hardships. For instance, Mr. Lingen, the consulting surgeon at the Hereford Infirmary, declared in 1869: "The cottage accommodation in this neighbourhood, with few exceptions, is utterly inadequate to provide for the health, decency and morals, of the inmates . . . " Similarly, in the same year, the Rev. Nash

Stephenson, vicar of Bromyard and Educational Secretary of the Social Science Association, states: "Labourers constantly engaged by a farmer are mostly paid 9s. a week through the year, from which must be deducted wet or broken days; but in harvest time they are mostly engaged in take work . . . I had charge of a populous parish near Solihull in Warwickshire for nearly thirty years . . . The labourers there are certainly in a better position than they are here. Wages are higher, houses are better, though rent is about the same, and coals are 14s. instead of 28s. a ton. The state of education is much in advance of what it is here, and there is not nearly as much drunkenness there . . . "[6]

There was, therefore, *some* justification for Arch's resentment at the treatment afforded to his fellow workers in Herefordshire. And this feeling undoubtedly contributed to his later desire to establish the N.A.L.U.

In the event, however, when an agricultural union *was* formed in Herefordshire, in 1871—one year before the N.A.L.U.—it was led not by Arch but by Thomas Strange, a schoolmaster at the Primitive Methodist School at Leintwardine.[7] Nevertheless, Arch did address at least one meeting of this organisation—known as the North Herefordshire and South Shropshire Agricultural Labourers' Improvement Society—in 1872.[8] And Thomas Strange, for his part, helped in the recruitment campaigns of the N.A.L.U. in the same year; indeed, he played an active role at the meeting held at Leamington on 29th May, 1872, to inaugurate the national union.[9]

1 Frederick Clifford, 'The Labour Bill in Farming', *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, 2nd Series, XI 1875), 108-109. Also the Cash Book of the Hampton Court Estate, entry for 22nd February, 1860, at Herefordshire County Record Office.

2 For average piecework rates in the Bromyard Poor Law Union, Herefordshire, in 1892, see *Royal Commission on Labour*—Report by Roger C. Richards (1893-94), XXXV, para. 19.

3 *Select Committee on the Game Laws* (1873), XIII, meeting on 2nd May, 1873, Q.8028.

4 Major A. E. W. Salt, M.A., 'The Agricultural Labourer in Herefordshire', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXII (1946-48), 99.

5 Rev. F. S. Attenborough, *Joseph Arch*, Leamington (1872), 36. This should be compared with a statement made by a Herefordshire labourer to A. Wilson Fox in October, 1902: "Fifty-six years ago there were more allowances. A man could get a bag of wheat at market price from the farmer, and if he wanted a pig he could buy it from the farmer and pay for it by instalements. Broth and milk were given to the children 'graciously' in the old days, and if a man was kept late he was given supper. The men had as much cider as they liked then".—See A Wilson Fox, 'Agricultural Wages in England and Wales during the Last Half Century', *Essays in Agrarian History*, II (1968), 139.

6 *Royal Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture*—Second Report, Evidence connected with Mr. Norman's Report on Herefordshire (1868-69), XVIII, Part II, Appendix C, para. 1, and Appendix A, para. 5.

7 J. P. D. Dunbabin, 'The Incidence and Organisation of Agricultural Trades Unionism in the 1870's', *Agricultural History Review*, 16, Part II (1968), 126, and *Littlebury's Directory and Gazetteer of Herefordshire*, 1867.

8 E. L. Jones, 'The Agricultural Labour Market in England, 1793-1872', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, XVII, no. 2 (December, 1964), 336.

9 'Labourers in Council', *The Congregationalist* (1872), 420. This anonymous article states: "Mr. T. Strange, 'The leader of the Herefordshire Hinds', moved—'That a National Union of Agricultural Labourers be formed, having district Unions throughout the Kingdom, and its centre of management at Leamington' ".

Reports of Sectional Recorders

Archaeology, 1970

By R. SHOESMITH

IRON AGE

Midsummer Hill Camp (SO 760375). An extensive excavation in the interior of the hill-fort has shown that it was closely covered by post-hole buildings, ranging from 8 ft. square to 12 x 15 ft. The intensity and regularity of plan, in the early phases at least, is closely similar to that found previously at Croft Ambrey and Credenhill Camp. As on the latter two sites the structures had been repeatedly re-built, mostly five or six times. There is some evidence for structures using sleeper trenches as wall foundations, but over most of the area these had been ploughed away in medieval times.

The only feature that is certainly attributable to pre-Iron Age activities is a conical pit about 5 ft. deep, but no artifacts are associated with this.

S. C. Stanford for the Malvern Hills Archaeological Committee.

ROMAN

Huntsham (SO 565175). During the final season, the eastern end of the villa was investigated. The main feature was a large entrance into the central courtyard, cut through the precinct wall and eastern wing, with flanking 'rooms' of which two were fan-shaped, but of unequal length. That these structures were probably enclosed rooms was shown by remains of crude flooring.

The commencement of a return wall indicated the possibility of a northern wing parallel to that discovered in 1965.

The other result obtained was the completion of excavation of the eastern side of the precinct wall, this length being 260 ft. including two entrances. The other entrance led to the 4th-century cottage house discovered and fully excavated in 1964.

The density of finds this season was not so large as usual and suggested that the eastern wing was not an occupation area, but two mid-4th-century coins were obtained from the destruction layer.

N. P. Bridgewater for the Archenfield Excavation Group.

MEDIEVAL

Hereford—Coningsby's Hospital (SO 512404). Examination of the burials, discovered during March, 1970, under the old dining room, suggests that they were interred previous to the hospital's foundation in 1614. Following the discovery of human remains, two bodies were partly excavated and examined. Both were orientated east-west and carefully laid out approximately 18 to 20 inches below the present earth floor.

It would appear that the whole building was the chapel of the Knights of St. John, constructed early in the 13th century and altered in the early 17th century by inserting two partition walls to form the dining hall with the hospital above.

It is suggested from the evidence that the interments came from a period when the whole building was a chapel[1] and it would be reasonable to presume that the remains are those of original inmates, members of the order of the Knights of St. John. Alternatively the remains could be those of monks from the neighbouring Blackfriars monastery. The burials occurred without associated finds or traces of coffins, which in any case may not have survived in the acid soil conditions. The only datable material consisted of a few potsherds and tile fragments of 13th or 14th-century date.

R. Shoesmith and P. J. Leach.

1 'A human skeleton was found under the floor of the chapel when the heating apparatus was installed'. *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXIX (1938), 190.

Hereford—Sites in West Street (SO 508399 and SO 510399). Two sites on the northern line of the Saxon Ditch and Bank were examined during building work.

Sherds of a tripod pitcher and ecological material came from the bottom of the ditch. The latter indicated that the ditch was filled with water for some time and was not too polluted.

Various pits in the rear and underneath the rampart gave material from the 11th to the 15th centuries and included rim and rouletted sherds of Chester ware. A sample from a 13th-century cess-pit produced fig seeds and grape stones.

R. Shoesmith for the Hereford Excavations Committee.

Bredwardine (SO 336440). Work continued on the medieval site for a week at Easter and a fortnight during late August. A further large area was opened and this has indicated a longer occupation of the site with early timber buildings followed by others with stone foundations.

It now appears that there are two periods of timber buildings, one with posts and a slightly later one with sleeper beams. Pottery indicates a 12th-century date.

Three periods of stone building follow, the earliest, with some well-squared stone and massive walling could well be the 'castle' mentioned in early documents. This is followed by a stone and tufa construction with a coin of Edward I or II (1275-1327) in the occupation associated with it. (This is the second coin of this period from the site).

Both these sets of buildings were largely removed and replaced in the 14th century by a farmhouse complex. This, of poor construction, made use of the earlier stone walls in several places.

Further robbing and building work occurred during the 16th century and in turn suffered stone robbers in the 18th century.

Work will continue in 1971. R. Shoesmith.

Hentland (SO 543263). There is a strong possibility that the site now being excavated is associated with the activities of St. Dubricius, as is clearly stated in the Book of Llandaff.

An appreciable part of a building has been found, of medieval type, probably converted later into a Tudor residence. The evidence for this consists of stone sills, and also a quantity of Flemish or Tudor type bricks. Large amounts of 13th-century wares have been recovered, together with glazed ridge tiles with hooked and moulded crests. A small quantity of 16th-century pottery was also obtained.

The floor area of this building was a roughly levelled make-up layer, also containing some medieval material, and this covered an earlier occupation layer cut by a fine ditch, 7 ft. wide at the top and 3 ft. deep. A contemporary post-hole was also found. It is suspected that this ditch surrounds an early cemetery enclosure. A rim-sherd of typical West-Midland Romano-British form has been discovered, but the finish is unusual and is foreign to the Archenfield district.

The site lies alongside the supposed Roman road which crosses Archenfield from Red Rail, near Kings Caple.

N. P. Bridgewater for the Archenfield Excavation Group.

INDUSTRIAL

Mills on the River Arrow. A survey of the Arrow and its tributaries has resulted in a list of 37 mills. The Parkstile Mill at Huntington has now been renovated and is in working order.

W. R. Pye.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH SECTION

REPORT FOR 1970

MEMBERSHIP for 1970 has again shown a slight increase over the previous year and now some 80 copies of each issue of the Newsletter are circulated. This year there has been no Annual General Meeting. As mentioned in the last Transactions the section is having an 'eighteen month year' so as to follow the same financial year operated by the parent body.

Field meetings have been held each month during the season and have included an exploration of the part of Offa's Dyke between Garnons Hill and Yazor Wood which succeeded in establishing the line over what has been a doubtful section (see Newsletter no. 18). The next meeting made a photographic survey of the very overgrown ruins of Wigmore Castle and visited Mr. Griffith's collection of 17th and 18th-century North Herefordshire pottery.

The May meeting made a tour of some of the water mills on the River Arrow (see Newsletter no. 18), and the following month the section continued the surveys of the Leominster Canal and Little Hereford Deserted Medieval Village started in 1969.

July and August included visits to two excavations at Hentland and Midsummer Hill and were followed by a survey of the Pencombe area in September, and an exploratory visit to the recently discovered Roman site at Stretton Grandison.

Few indoor meetings have been held, but aerial photographs in the county library have been examined and Mr. Stanford addressed a meeting on the Midsummer Hill excavations.

The Newsletter continues to include notes about local excavations, reports of meetings and short items of interest to members. Contributions are also gratefully received from the Old Buildings Recording Group. Four issues have been circulated during the last twelve months.

Botany, 1969

By F. M. KENDRICK

ALTHOUGH no new records have been created this year there have been a few interesting reports received about some of the old records. The interest lies in the persistence of plants in old stations, in some cases unusual ones and in others the change in status. The main ones are as follows, the references being to the flora.

53 *Descurainia Sophia* (*Sisymbrium Sophia*) (Felix weed).

Found growing in Gatley Park. Always a rare plant this has now become scarce. A medicinal plant used for the treatment of fractured limbs was thought in many records to be an escape from cultivation. Recent research has shown that it also was an impurity in imported seeds and that new and improved methods of cleaning seeds has made this now a very rare plant.

85 *Helianthemum chamaecistum* (Rock Rose).

89 *Viola hirta* (Hairy Violet).

220 *Poterium sanguisorba* (Salad Burnet).

486 *Blackstonia perfoliata* (Yellow-wort)

These plants were all found growing in a quarry at Kimbolton where one would not normally expect to find them as they all have high lime requirements. The explanation here of course is that the quarry is one in a cornstone which appears to have quite a high limestone content. These are all old records, most of them reported by the Rev. Hutchinson of Kimbolton and must have existed in this station for at least one hundred years. The Rock Rose is quite rare in the northern parts of the county.

265 *Geum rivale* (Water Avens).

This was found between Wigmore and Chapel Farm. Though always scarce in the lowlands this plant was once fairly common in upland areas. Modern drainage and other farm improvements have caused it to become much more scarce. This is an old record referred to by Duncumb without giving any specific locality other than "northern parts".

266 *Geum intermedium.*

The same locality as G. rivale and again an uncommon plant. This plant is the result of a cross between Water Avens and Herb Bennett and is generally found near stations for the Water Avens. The hybrid is fertile and sets seeds.

358 *Adoxa moschatellina* (Moschatel).

I found this plant growing in abundance at Blaen Olchon during early May.

360 *Sambucus ebulus* (Dane-wort. Dwarf Elder).

Reported on stream-side near Nupend Farm, Fownhope. Rare in the county most records seem to have been relics of cultivation as herbalists found many uses for all parts of this plant.

404 *Chrysanthemum segetum* (Corn Marigold).

In quantity near Staunton Park. Once reported as locally plentiful especially in the south of the county is now becoming unusual mainly one expects because of the cleaner cereal seeds. This is the first record for many years from the north of the county.

874 *Ceterach officinarum* (Scaly Harts' Tongue) (Rusty Back).

On wall at Yatton Park, Aymestrey, apparently well established.

892 *Lycopodium clavatum* (Stagshorn Moss).

This is an old record for Wapley Hill having been observed there by Rev. Crouch in 1864. Due to forestry activities is now restricted to one station, the steep bank facing Presteigne.

Botany, 1970

By F. M. KENDRICK

IT is a pleasure to know that reports of rare and interesting plants found in the county continue to be received and that in most years at least one new plant is discovered. The most interesting finds in 1970 are as follows.

NEW RECORD

Epipactis loptechila (Narrow-lipped Helleborine).

Several flowering spikes were found on the Great Doward and identified by Dr. Young. This rare orchid has not been reported from Herefordshire before though it was recorded from Tintern in 1920 and Madgetts in 1933.

OTHER RECORDS

Antirrhinum orontium (Weasels Snout).

Has been reported from near Harewood End. The Flora gives it as a rare colonist of cultivated ground but reports have come in from several areas in the last few years so it may be that this plant is on the increase.

Mimulus luteus.

During a field meeting I saw a specimen of this plant on a tributary of the Dore at Dorstone. The Flora gives it as a rare and not permanent in its stations but I have been given to understand that it seems to be increasing on streams in the Dorstone area.

Rumex maritimus (Golden Dock).

Found in a pool at Clehonger. It was reported from this station in 1880 but when the Flora was published in 1889 it was said to have disappeared—now some 90 years later it has turned up again. This brings up the longevity of buried seeds and though I can find no record for this particular plant but experiments by Dr. Beale with seeds of the Crisped Dock found the seeds germinated freely after 60 years. Experiments have also proved that acid or water-logged soil conditions preserve the seeds better.

Epipactis purpurata (Violet Helleborine).

Some three years ago I reported a specimen of this plant from the Ledbury area. It would seem that the plant found conditions favourable as several fine specimens were recorded from the same spot this year.

Ophrys insectifera (Fly Orchid).

Several flowering spikes were found in the Nature Trust reserve on the Doward. This is a new area and one can only hope that this now rare orchid is on the increase. The last reported station, Harpers Quarry, is some half mile from this new find.

Thelypteris palustris (Marsh Fern).

Recorded in the County Flora from Pont-y-Spig then a detached part of Herefordshire, but ceded to Monmouthshire in 1911. Though no longer within the county it is of interest to know that it still survives in its original station.

Buildings, 1970

By J. W. TONKIN

MUCH has been done again during the year and the Recording Group has met regularly. Its principal work has been in the recording of the houses of the Grimsworth Hundred. This is not reported below as it is hoped to publish a detailed account of the work at a later date. As in previous years we feel we owe a great debt to the University of Birmingham and the W.E.A. for encouraging this work

In the notes below information in the R.C.H.M. Inventory has not been repeated, though often the two need to be read together.

HEREFORD

BARTON MANOR, 50 BARTON ROAD. SO 503397

An interesting early 18th-century brick house on the common plan of two square rooms separated by a through passage. It has two storeys and attics as well as cellars running the full length of the house. The fireplaces are set across the corners of the rooms while the windows are single mullion and transom type. There is a timber-framed, two-room, two-storey kitchen wing at right-angles to the house which appears to be of 17th-century date.

24 EAST STREET. SO 512399

When this workshop was stripped for repair it turned out to be the one remaining bay of a medieval hall. It had lost its big arch-braces and wind-braces but the mortices for these still remained in the posts and purlins. It is now being restored.

5 HARLEY COURT. SO 511398 (R.C.H.M. 101)

While this house was undergoing repair a fire necessitated the removal of a ceiling revealing an open roof of two bays with intermediate trusses. Beyond this was a service-bay. The hall roof has cambered tie-beams in the main trusses and arched-braced collars in the intermediate. The tie-beam and wall-plates are well-moulded and the wind-braces have deep cusping with pierced spandrels. The original colouring still remains on all this woodwork. In the cellars the central part of the hall floor is strengthened and this presumably marks the site of the hearth, probably for a brazier rather than a fire. It probably dates from *c.*1400.

25 ST. OWEN'S STREET. SO 513399

An opportunity was taken of examining this house while it was empty. It is a fine late 18th-century house, 1788 on lead work, with additions of about 20 years later. There is a good staircase of the period, and some reused early 17th-century panelling.

29 AND 31 ST. OWEN'S STREET. SO 513399

These two cottages, since demolished, were probably originally one 16th-century house which had been refronted in brick probably in the late 18th century. There were heavy tie-beam trusses between the rooms and in the central room upstairs was a ceiling with a 17th-century plaster frieze.

ACTON BEAUCHAMP

SEVINGTON. SO 687495

A 17th-century stone house with Georgian additions apparently of two dates. The original house was of three-room plan with a big lateral fireplace in the hall. There is what appears to be an external kitchen at the end of a long range of buildings opposite a door in the service-end gable. This range has interesting upper base-cruck trusses of two types.

BOSBURY

GOLDHILL. SO 677436 (R.C.H.M. 41)

A timber-framed, two-room plan house of *c.*1600 with substantial additions at two later dates in the 17th century, refaced and added to again *c.*1880.

BROMYARD

55, 57, 59 HIGH STREET. SO 654547

An open-hall of *c.*1500 now divided into three shops. The central truss has big arch-braces and there are finely moulded wall-plates. The whole structure was probably of four bays the two central bays comprising the hall.

A lot of work has been done in Bromyard this year and the results of this can be found in *Bromyard A Local History*, Bromyard and District Local History Society, 1970, Chap. 7.

CLIFFORD

LONGHOUSE. SO 255453 (R.C.H.M. 6)

A four-bay building with a fireplace at each end. Only two bays are now lived in and there is a doorway from these into the agricultural western end.

DOCKLOW

PAIR OF COTTAGES. SO 568575

A pair of rubble cottages with a late bake-oven made all the more interesting by being shared by both houses. The interior walls are of brick. These are still on the two-room plan and were probably built for the Oaklands estate.

EARDISLEY

LOWER WELSON. SO 294503 (R.C.H.M. 38)

A small part of this interesting complex was unsafe and was due for demolition. It was a three-bay building with one closed truss with a cambered tie-beam and one open truss with collar-beam and small brackets to the principal rafters from the post. It was probably an open chamber. The lower part of the walls was of stone.

EASTNOR

HILLEND COTTAGES. SO 741362

A timber-framed three-storey 17th-century house with close-set timbering in the main block and jettied at first and second floors in the cross-wing. It has a timber porch with a chamber over and the small windows flanking the main ones as in houses in Ledbury.

KIMBOLTON

OAK CROFT COTTAGES. SO 541620

An interesting group of three cottages. The biggest is the usual local two-room plan type and was probably built *c.*1800 of rubble. Adjoining it and apparently of the same build is a tiny cottage only 14 ft. by 11 ft. The third cottage, only 12 ft. square, was added soon after as a wing to the first.

LEDBURY RURAL

OLD PLAISTOW. SO 692397 (R.C.H.M. 34)

Appears to have been an open hall which was divided soon after building. Joined to house is a hop room with cider-mill under and a pair of early 18th century hopper-type kilns. There is evidence that these replaced earlier lath and plaster kilns and that there was an earlier hop room.

WALL HILLS. SO 695383

Two timber-framed cruck-trussed barns one of three bays and one of two bays probably of 15th-century date, built independent of each other but later joined to make a T-shaped building. Raised in the 19th century.

NORTON

COCKALAY. SO 684579 (R.C.H.M. 2)

Now in a derelict condition. The western part appears to be older than the main block. The latter which may have replaced part of the older house has very elaborate stops to the beams and is probably of mid-17th-century date.

UPPER NORTON. SO 681581

Three-room, three-storey brick house of early 18th century with two-storey service-wing making an L at the back. There is a cellar under the parlour and a hop treading-hole in the parlour floor. Opposite the back door is a two-storey brick barn with inserted lath and plaster hop kilns which cannot be much later in date than the building. In a continuation of the service-wing is a complete cider-press and mill.

ORLETON

CHURCH HOUSE COTTAGE. SO 494673 (R.C.H.M. 9)

Appears to be of two builds, both in the 17th century. The southern end has well-stopped and chamfered joints over half the downstairs room and seems to have had a tallet or sleeping platform. The second downstairs room and room above were added soon after.

TEDSTONE DELAMERE

THRIFT FARM. SO 709593

Has a hopper-type hop kiln in the centre of a very long brick and stone building. Two other kilns have been demolished.

UPPER SAPEY

DUDSHILL COURT. SO 686643 (R.C.H.M. 4)

Timber-framed, three-bay cruck barn with added later bay. It is weather-boarded and probably dates from the 16th century.

WACTON

COTTAGE AT WACTON GREEN. SO 618568

Two-room plan house with local sandstone front and side wall and timber-framed rear now derelict. The front is timber-framed above first-floor level. It appears to be of early 18th-century date.

COTTAGE AT SO 617568

Another derelict two-room plan cottage close to that above, but entirely of brick and apparently late 18th century. There is no bake-oven but it has a wash-house with a copper added at one end.

COTTAGE. SO 619568

A third cottage, now roofless and ruined. It is similar to those above but rather later.

WELLINGTON HEATH

PEGS FARM. SO 702411 (R.C.H.M. 2)

The central truss of the hall is of the base-cruck type, a rather superior form of building found in this area in the late 14th century. The end trusses of the hall are of cruck construction, making this the only house seen in this county to date with a combination of crucks and base-crucks.

WHITBOURNE

GAINES. SO 719553

A big brick house at first sight apparently late 18th century, but the core is a five-bay house probably of the late 17th century which still retains many of its original features. The late 18th-century additions contain a good staircase and plaster ceilings. The library in the Gothic revival style is probably early 19th century.

WHITBOURNE COURT. SO 725569 (R.C.H.M. 2)

The four main periods of building are easily distinguished: medieval with clasped purlins, arched-braced collar-beam trusses with a change of scantling at the collar; late 17th century when the Birch family added to it; late 18th century alterations and additions; the 1878 south wing. Some of the single mullion and transom windows of the second period still survive.

WIGMORE

COURT BARN. SO 413691 (R.C.H.M. 10)

This building and the next may be in danger of demolition for a road improvement scheme. The barn proved to be medieval, not 17th century. The central portion was a two-bay open-hall with vaulted stone cellars beneath. The northern end once had close-set timber-framing and seems to have been the solar end while the southern, service-end was converted into a cottage in the 17th century.

COURT HOUSE. SO 414691

A brick, lobby-entrance house not mentioned by R.C.H.M. or Pevsner. It appears to have been built in the mid-17th century on a three-room plan with a service-wing making an L at the northern end. The brickwork is of English bond. The house was raised *c.*1800 when bigger bricks laid in the Flemish bond were used.

GRAPE TREE. SO 417686

Demolished in December, 1969, for road improvement this was a typical two-room plan cottage of the 18th century. The bricks used were small and hand-made and the beams were all chamfered with ogee stops. The living room had a big stone, lateral fireplace.

OLD VICARAGE SITE. SO 413690

During bulldozing the foundations of the timber-framed vicarage pulled down about a hundred years ago were revealed. They consisted of the typical stone footings about 18 ins. high and the same width. The building was about 45 ft. by 30 ft. and there was a footing dividing it into two equal divisions.

WINSLOW

CROWLES ASH. SO 622530

A two-storey, three-bay house of rubble built early in the 18th century. It has a hop-treading hole just inside the front door and traces of a loading door on the first-floor in the gable wall.

ROWDEN MILL. SO 629566 (R.C.H.M. 3)

A careful examination of this building showed that the base of the chimney-stack forms an integral part of the stone wall of the mill and it would appear that the lower part of the mill is of the same date as the timber-framed house.

During the year members of the Listed Buildings Sub-Committee have looked at 60 buildings most of which were for minor changes. Of these seven were possible demolitions.

As far as is known the following listed buildings were demolished during 1969 and 1970. In some cases these were outbuildings and the important main building survives.

1. Barn at Chapel Farm, How Caple.
2. Building at rear of 15 St. Owen's Street, Hereford.
3. Outbuildings at White Swan, Eardisland.
4. Small part of outbuildings, Lower Welson, Eardisley.
5. 13 and 15 Bridge Street, Leominster.

In addition to the cruck buildings mentioned above another previously unrecorded cruck house was found at Warham Court, Breinton. Thus four more can be added to previously published lists.

Of the buildings mentioned above Mr. I. Homes recorded those in Eastnor, Ledbury Rural, Tedstone Delamere, Upper Sapey and also Upper Norton and Crowles Ash. Mrs. P. Williams found the Bromyard, Whitbourne and Acton Beauchamp houses and Cockalay. Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Perry and Mr. Martin Perry recorded those in Docklow, Kimbolton and Wacton and also Rowden Mill. The first three Hereford examples were reported by Mr. D. Begg. All were recorded by the writer and his wife with the help of various members of the group apart from those done by Mr. Homes and the Perry family.

As well as *Bromyard* mentioned above another article on Herefordshire houses published during the year was 'Social Standing and Base-crucks in Herefordshire' by J. W. Tonkin in *Vernacular Architecture*, I, 1970.

Mr. C. H. I. Homes and Mr. R. C. Perry were elected to membership of the Vernacular Architecture Group.

Deserted Medieval Villages

By ROSAMUND HICKLING

THIS year the work of the Extramural class of Birmingham University was concentrated on local documentary sources of evidence for medieval settlements in the Hundred of Broxash. Additional documentary evidence for the common open-field system of cultivation being widespread in the county, has come to light. This system of cultivation is normally associated with a settlement pattern of nucleated villages rather than a scatter of isolated farms. For this reason I feel that in cases like Livers Ocle, where there is no sign of earthworks on the ground, it is still reasonable to assume that the site of the chapel represents the probable location of the 28 tax payers recorded in 1377.

The study has also indicated the existence of small hamlets which do not appear in the tax documents listed below. These tax documents provide evidence for the existence of the places which are named in them at the dates shown.

I would like to thank the members of the class for their support and encouragement without which this report would not have been produced, particularly Mrs. J. O'Donnell who supplied the Hearth Tax figures.

The National Grid Reference for each site is given followed by the initials and figures where appropriate, for the documents in which they appear. The sites are listed under the modern Hundred and where this differs from the medieval Hundred, the name of the medieval Hundred is given in brackets after the name of the site.

DS	Domesday Survey 1086 A.D.
NV	Nomina Villarum 1316 A.D.
LS	Lay Subsidy Rolls 1334 A.D.
PT	Poll Tax 1377 A.D., the figures refer to the number of people paying tax.
HT	Hearth Tax 1665 A.D., the figures refer to the number of dwellings.
1428	Tax on churches, parishes with less than 10 inhabitants paid no tax.
1801	Census, figures refer to the number of inhabited dwellings in the parish or township.

BROXASH HUNDRED

AVENBURY. SO 662532. DS, NV, LS, PT41, HT24

Earthworks observed here by a field meeting of the Club in 1918 have since been ploughed out, *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* 1918 lvi., the field between the rectory and the church contains an unusual amount of stone.

LIVER'S OCLE. SO 577464. DS, LS, PT28

No earthworks are visible, but the Ordnance Survey record the remains of a chapel here. The boundaries of the extra-parochial area of Liver's Ocle are shown on Bryant's Map of Herefordshire 1834, and a surviving Estate map of 1791 for the adjoining hamlet of Hillhampton indicates that the common open-field system of agriculture was in use in this area. This, together with the evidence of the Poll Tax of 1377 seems sufficient to indicate that this was the site of a medieval settlement.

THINGHILL. SO 567449. DS, LS, PT33, HT11

Part of a moated site can be seen in front of the Court, the road south of the cottages is sunken and sunken ways lead off into the field to the east of the road, some of these have been filled in by recent tipping. To the west of the road, terraces and a slight hollow way are visible.

THINGHILL, PARVA. SO 552454. DS, LS

Slight earthworks are visible in the orchard north of the 14th-century house called Thinghill Grange, and the site of a cottage is visible in the adjoining ploughed field to the west, where bricks and 19th-century pottery were found.

WHITECHURCH MAUND. SO 566488. DS, LS

Open-fields enclosed by the Bodenham Enclosure Award of 1813. The Grid Reference indicates site of a chapel identified from documents in the Hereford City Library Local Collection. This is a shrunken settlement, house platforms are visible in fields south of Upper Maund Farm and vague earthworks are visible on either side of the road from Upper Maund Farm to Upper Maund Common.

WISTESTON. SO 517484. HT7, 1801-17

The location of the chapel is shown on the Marden Map of about 1723 in the County Record Office. Vague earthworks are visible in the orchard north of the well-defined track linking the existing houses of Upper Wisteston with Wisteston Court. The 1801 Census records Wisteston as a township.

WOOD. SO 550519. LS

Vague earthworks are visible east of the farmhouse built in 1600, which is now deserted.

VERN. SO 519508. HT8, 1801-16

There is a clearly marked sunken way south of the existing farmhouse with two house platforms which can be identified with buildings shown on the Marden Map of 1723 together with the remains of selions of open-field cultivation in an adjoining field. This, like Wisteston is recorded as a township in 1801.

GREYTREE

MUCH MARCLE. SO 657327. DS, NV, LS, PT206, HT31, 1801-113

Clearly marked toft boundaries in the field north of the castle motte and a sunken way and vague earthworks east of the outer bailey. These earthworks indicate the former extent of the village. Enclosure Award 1797.

GRIMSWORTH

DEVEREUX WOOTTON. SO 385485

A very well marked hollow way zigzags across the field adjoining the road south of Devereux Wootton farmhouse.

MORETON-ON-LUGG. SO 505456. DS, NV, LS, PT41, HT29, 1801-14, 1947-9

The church stands within a large rectangular moat, no other earthworks are visible because houses built since 1947 surround the church.

BURGHOPE (BROXASH). SO 502504. DS, NV, LS

Vague earthworks in orchard east and south of the farmhouse.

RADLOW

ASHPERTON. SO 643415. DS, NV, LS, PT53

House platforms north of road leading to church and castle site. Evidence for three-field system of agriculture in *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem*. 9 Edw. III.

CANON FROME. SO 645435. DS, NV, LS, PT55, 1801-16

Church and Court House, no visible earthworks because the grounds of the house have been landscaped.

CATLEY. SO 680444. LS, PT shared 92 with Upleadon

Slight earthworks on both sides of the road south of the farms.

STANFORD REGIS (BROXASH). SO 667500. DS, NV, LS, PT19, HT9, 1801-12

Ordnance Survey Parcel No. 161 is called "Borough Croft" in the Tithe Survey Map, Stanford Regis is recorded as the name of a township in the 1801 Census and its boundary is shown on Bryant's Map of 1834. There are no visible earthworks.

WELLINGTON. SO 698412

Earthworks are visible in the field south of Prior's Court. Hereford City Library Local Collection contains documents referring to Wellington, Ledbury including No. 3671 concerning 3 messuages, 3 gardens and 23 acres of land in Wellington. The name survives only in the later settlement of Wellington Heath now a civil parish but formerly part of Ledbury Foreign or Rural.

BARTESTREE. SO 567409. DS

Deep sunken ways and clearly marked house platforms are visible on both sides of the main road east of the chapel.

STRETFORD

LAWTON. SO 445594. DS, NV, LS

A deep sunken way and vague earthworks are visible south of Lawton Hall and Bury Farm.

STRETFORD. SO 444558. DS, NV, LS, PT65, 1428 under 10 inhabitants, 1801-9

No clearly marked earthworks are visible but the small size of the parish makes it probable that the substantial population of 1377 was located in a village around the church where there are now only two inhabited dwellings.

WEBTREE

ARKSTONE. SO 436361. NV, LS, PT108 shared with Kingstone

Very slight earthworks are visible in the field north and west of Arkstone Court. Strips enclosed from open-field cultivation can be seen on the Ordnance Survey maps.

ROTHERWAS. SO 536383. DS, NV, LS

No earthworks are visible around the 14th-century chapel, the manor-house has been demolished and the area incorporated in the Defence Department Works.

WILMASTONE. SO 340402. DS, LS, PT11

No earthworks are visible but a Plan by J. L. Davis of the Herefordshire Estates of Sir George Cornewall 1772, shows four dwellings and three fields, Wilmaston Upper and Lower Fields and Parkfield, with unenclosed strips of land in different ownerships.

WOLPHY

KIMBOLTON. SO 526622

There are well marked house platforms either side of the valley and northwards from Lower Kimbolton Farm on either side of the road. The isolated church is sited half way between this deserted site and the existing village of Stockton. Five custumarii are recorded for Kimbolton in the Land Rev. M.B. 217 ff 318-321 see H. L. Gray, *The English Field Systems*, Appendix 1. Ridge and furrow can be clearly seen in a field north of the site.

LAYSTERS. SO 568633. DS, NV, LS, PT (no sum recorded)

A circular mound south of the church was excavated early in this century but the only finds were signs of burnt material and stone. This could be a motte, east of the church are slight but clearly marked hollow-ways and house platforms.

RICHARDS CASTLE. SO 484702. DS, NV, LS, PT134, 1801-75

Slight earthworks in the field east of the old church and the remains of the castle. The field is enclosed by a substantial wall, the remains of which can be clearly seen on the north and east sides. The modern village has migrated to a site beside the B.4361.

WORMELOW

DEWSALL. SO 486335. DS, LS, PT27, 1801-6

Sunken way leading up the hill east of the church. The field between the church and farmhouse has been bulldozed level and the farmhouse is no longer occupied.

Entomology, 1970

By H. G. LANGDALE-SMITH

IN early May Brimstone, Cabbage White and Orange Tips appeared.
In July Wall and Holly Blue.
In mid July Ringlets appeared in Haugh Wood and Shucknall Hill.

At the end of July there were many Peacock butterflies.

In early August second brood Wood White and many Brimstones appeared in an orchard at Tarrington and here two Holly Blues and a Silver Washed Fritillary appeared, a stray from Stoke Edith Woods.

In September there were many Wall butterflies, Painted Ladies and Small Coppers to be seen.

Geology, 1970

By F. M. KENDRICK

IN response to a number of requests a field day was organised with the object of examining the Woolhope area. In spite of very unfavourable weather conditions during the morning we managed to inspect all of the formations from the Llandovery to the Lower Downtonian and to relate the old classification to the proposed new one. Visits were made to at least one exposure in each formation and a representative series of fossils was found. The most notable finds were the trilobite *Bumastus barriensis* from the Wenlock Limestone of Little Hill and a very nice impression of a skin of a *Pterygotus* from Perton Quarries. The structure of the "Dome" and its relationship with other Silurian areas was pointed out from various vantage points and some of the recent work on the geomorphology of the area explained.

Hereford City Museum Report, 1970

By MARY H. HEYWOOD

ACCESSIONS

9275 Roman pottery, 2nd-century A.D., part of a large quantity from a well at Treadington, Gloucestershire, destroyed by the M.5 motorway. The sherds are mainly from course, orange-coloured jars; also a black glazed base and 2 sherds of Samian ware. See *Trans. Worcestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, 1965, 15-28 and Cheltenham Museum.

9355 Iron Age and Romano-British sherds and small finds from excavations on the Iron Age hill-fort at Credenhill in 1963. *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, 1963, 331.

9397 Roman bronze jewellery and toilet implements found in fields on the site of the Roman settlement of Ariconium, Weston-under-Penyard, Ross.

9400 Pottery and small finds from excavations on the site of Hereford Castle in Radcliffe Gardens, Winter 1968-9. The material dates from the 12th to 18th centuries, largely unstratified.

9415 Medieval pottery, small finds and post-Medieval material from excavations at Wallingstones, Llangarron. N.G.R.503222.

9467 15th-century iron helmet found in the bed of the River Lugg at Lugwardine, Hereford. N.G.R.547407. It has been identified as an Italian type, known as a *Barbuta* and should date about 1460. This is a type rarely found in Britain, the majority having been made in Milan and neighbouring North Italian steel centres, although some may have been made elsewhere in Europe, possibly also in England. See pl. XXIV.

9398 Gold ¼ Stater, probably Dobunnic, 1st-century A.D. See *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, 1968, 367 and Mack, 1964, no. 68.[1]

9349 Roman bronze as issued by the Emperor Domitian.
obverse IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AUG. GERM. COS. XVII (PER P.P.).
reverse FORTUNAE AUGUSTI S.C.
Minted in Rome 95/6 A.D. R.I.C. II no. 422.[2]

9335 Silver ½ Groat of Henry VII, found at Almeley. Type III, group D(North) [3], minted at Canterbury *c.*1486-1500. Initial mark *Tun/Tun*.
obverse HENRIC. DI. GRA. REX. AGL. Z. FR.
reverse outer: POSVI/DEVM A/E'MEV.
inner: CIVI/TAS/CAN/TOR.

Some of the interesting non-archaeological items which have been acquired by the museum.

9320 Medals and decorations belonging to Sir Edward Hopton of Canon Frome Court, consisting of the badge and star of the order Knight Commander of the Bath, and campaign medals for the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny and the Zulu War.

9436 Tunic of the Herefordshire regiment (T.A.), worn by a drummer boy of 15 years, *c.*1913.

9269 Large Victorian photograph album, leather bound with a lock and a painted porcelain angel inset as a plaque on the front cover.

9278 Wooden costrel or cider barrel, held by 2 iron hoops, and a wire handle.

9317 Toy model of an Alfa Romeo racing car, made *c.*1924. 4 solid rubber tyres, the front wheels controlled by the steering wheel, red painted metal body, operated by a clockwork motor with a large key, made in France.

9343 No. 3A folding pocket Kodak camera. Model B2, taking a roll film, contained in a stiff leather case. *c.*1920.

9381 Victorian card case decorated with Mother of Pearl lozenges and hinged, lined inside with purple silk and containing a concertina arrangement to hold cards.

9323-4 2 silk dresses of *c.* 1770 which have undergone alteration in the 19th century.

9332 Wedding dress of 1908. Grey silk, consisting of bodice, skirt and belt, lined with muslin throughout. Also a photograph of the dress being worn in 1908.

9334 2 19th-century bead purses.

9439 Reticule (small handbag) in white satin, with embroidered flowers and white lace borders. *c.*1830-40.

9461 Large kashmir shawl; cream background with printed decoration in the Paisley motif in various colours; worn originally as part of a wedding outfit in *c.*1850.

9270 *Bridge and Weir*. Oil painting by Neville Ball.

9276 Portrait of Dr. Edgar Morris, surgeon at Hereford General Hospital. Red chalk drawing by Brian Hatton, signed B.H. 1910.

9336 *Great Yew in Bredwardine Churchyard*. Brush drawing by Mary Rennell 1966.

9448 *Ruth*. Red chalk drawing by Brian Hatton.

9295 Large oak wardrobe, with double panelled doors, each with a lock and handle, and each held by 3 decorative iron hinges. Late 17th century.

9277 Mounted specimen of a male albino pheasant, *phasianus colchicus Linnaeus*, believed to have been caught at Yarpole.

9438 Mounted specimen of a Great Crested Grebe, female, *podiceps griseigena*. Found injured at Shobdon Court.

9339 Large branching spray of white coral from the Pacific Ocean.

1 R. P. Mack, *Coinage of Ancient Britain*, 1964, 2nd edition, London 1964.
2 *Roman Imperial Coinage*, Vol. II, H. Mattingly and E. Sydenham, London 1926.
3 J. J. North, *English Hammered Coinage*, Vol. II, London 1960.