

TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
WOOLHOPE  
NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB  
HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"



"HOPE EVER"

ESTABLISHED 1851

VOLUME XL 1971  
PART II

BRISTOL  
AND  
GLOUCESTERSHIRE  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
SOCIETY

TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
WOOLHOPE  
NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB  
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## LIST OF OFFICERS

1970 - 1971

<i>President</i>	-	-	-	Mrs. J. E. O'DONNELL
<i>President-elect</i>	-	-	-	Mr. H. J. POWELL
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	-	-	-	Mr. J. G. HILLABY Mrs. D. CURRIE Mr. J. W. TONKIN Mr. F. M. KENDRICK
<i>Central Committee</i>	-	-	-	Rev. W. PRICE JOHNS, Air-Cdre. L. P. MOORE, Mr. F. NOBLE, Mr. R. C. PERRY ( <i>to retire</i> 1971), Mr. J. G. CALDERBANK, Cmdr. M. B. HALE, Miss R. HICKLING, Mr. S. C. STANFORD ( <i>to retire</i> 1972), Mr. I. HOMES, Mr. R. E. KAY, Mr. H. J. POWELL, Mr. C. T. O. PROSSER ( <i>to retire</i> 1973).
<i>Hon. Secretary</i>	-	-	-	Mr. V. H. COLEMAN
<i>Hon. Assistant Secretary</i>	-	-	-	Mrs. M. TONKIN
<i>Hon. Treasurer</i>	-	-	-	Mr. G. G. HILL
<i>Hon. Auditor</i>	-	-	-	Mr. H. S. WIDGERY
<i>Hon. Librarian</i>	-	-	-	Mr. J. F. W. SHERWOOD
<i>Hon. Assistant Librarian</i>	-	-	-	Mr. J. G. HILLABY
<i>Hon. Editor</i>	-	-	-	Mr. J. W. TONKIN
<i>Hon. Assistant Editors</i>	-	-	-	Mr. F. M. KENDRICK (Natural History) Mr. S. C. STANFORD (Archaeology)

# SECTIONAL RECORDERS

<i>Archaeology</i>	- - -	Mr. R. SHOESMITH
<i>Botany and Geology</i>	- -	Mr. F. M. KENDRICK
<i>Buildings</i>	- - -	Mr. J. W. TONKIN
<i>Deserted Medieval Villages</i>	-	Miss R. HICKLING
<i>Entomology</i>	- - -	Dr. H. G. LANGDALE-SMITH
<i>Ornithology and Mammals</i>	-	Dr. W. H. D. WINCE

<i>Address of</i> <i>Hon. Secretary:</i>	<i>Address of</i> <i>Hon. Asst. Secretary:</i>	<i>Address of</i> <i>Hon. General Editor:</i>
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, 1971

### SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 16 January: The President, Mrs. J. O'Donnell, in the chair.

Mr. I. Homes, a club member, spoke on "Early Herefordshire Hop-growing". He explained that the hop plant was a native of Western Europe and that it was growing in Kent in the early 16th century. The hops are dried in kilns and used for making beer.

SECOND MEETING: 30 January: The President, Mrs. J. O'Donnell, in the chair.

Sectional Recorders for Archaeology, Botany, Buildings, Deserted Medieval Villages, Entomology and Geology read their reports for 1970. These have been printed in these *Transactions* (1970), pp. 158-178.

THIRD MEETING: 13 February: The President, Mrs. J. O'Donnell, in the chair.

Dr. W. H. D. Wince, who has taken Dr. Walker's place as the club's recorder for Mammals and Ornithology, spoke on "Some Seabird Islands". Fulmars, puffins, gannets, arctic terns, guillemots and black-headed gulls were seen on the Hebrides, St. Kilda, the Shetlands and other islands.

FOURTH MEETING: 13 March: The President, Mrs. J. O'Donnell, in the chair.

Mrs. P. Williams, a club member, spoke on the "Bishop's Manor of Whitbourne". She traced its manorial history from c. 1285 and referred to the changes in farming. It is hoped to print her talk in these *Transactions*.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 17 April: The President, Mrs. J. O'Donnell, in the chair.

The secretary reported that the late Mr. J. W. Matthews had left £25 to the club.

The assistant-secretary said that on 31 December 1970, membership totalled 699.

The President briefly reported on the club's activities during the year and thanked the officers, the committee and members for their work, help and support.

The President gave her address, "Herefordshire Markets and Fairs, 1200-1400", which is printed on pp. 186-194.

Mrs. O'Donnell installed Mr. H. J. Powell as President for 1971/72. He thanked Mrs. O'Donnell for her work for the club during the year and said he was pleased to be the club's President for a second time.

### FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 8 May: FOREST OF DEAN

Travelling via Fownhope and Upton Bishop the first visit was to the church of St. Michael at Mitcheldean where the president in describing its architecture drew members' attention to the two north aisle roofs of c. 1460, the rare painted panels which remain above the rood-loft, the 1911 reredos by Storr Barker of Hereford and said that the church was largely rebuilt in the 14th and 15th centuries. The



party later picnicked at Speech House, visited the Arboretum and walked one of the Nature Trails in the Forest of Dean.

Members were informed that the reprint of the club's Centenary Volume had just been published by S. R. Publishers at a cost of £2.75.

#### SECOND MEETING: 5 June: CHIRK CASTLE

Members travelled via Craven Arms, Lydham, Buttington and Oswestry to see and walk along the towpath of the Pontcysllte Aqueduct, one of Telford's engineering feats, 1795-1805, which carries the Shropshire Union Canal, the former Ellesmere Canal, over the Dee. The next visit was to Chirk Castle which has been the home of the Myddleton family since it was bought by Sir Thomas Myddleton in 1595. Members were able to see the entrance hall which is the work of Pugin, 1835-37, the elegant staircase and the staterooms of 1763-73 in the north wing, the long gallery of 1678 forming the east wing and the late 16th-century chapel and bedroom in the south wing.

#### THIRD MEETING: 26 June: CARREG CENNEN AND GOLDEN GROVE

A long drive took members via Sennybridge and Trecastle and thence through mountain scenery to the ruined Carreg Cennen castle. The inner ward, barbican and outer ward are mainly late 13th and early 14th century. It was a Lancastrian stronghold from 1340 until it was slighted in 1462. By the end of the 16th century it was possessed by the Vaughans of Golden Grove who bequeathed it at the beginning of the 19th century to Baron Cawdor whose family in 1932 placed it in the hands of the Office of Works.

Golden Grove in the Towy valley now a Farm Institute run by the Carmarthen-shire County Council was next visited. This house is the third Vaughan home in the vicinity and was built between 1827-32 by Geoffrey Wyattville, a nephew of James Wyatt. It also belongs to Lord Cawdor.

#### FOURTH MEETING: 22 July: MARGAM AND COITY

Travelling via Abergavenny and the Heads of the Valley road members visited the parish church at Margam which is part of the monastic church of the Cistercian abbey of Margam. Dr. F. G. Cowley of the University College of Swansea in explaining its history and architecture said that the abbey was founded in 1147 by Robert of Gloucester who granted it all the land between the Avon and Kenfig, 28 square miles in area. Several granges were established in the Vale of Glamorgan and there were large profits from cattle and wool. It declined in the 14th century and was destroyed by Owen Glyndwr in 1412. Sir Rice Mansell built a large house which was demolished in 1780 near the chapter house. The present mansion, now derelict, was built on higher ground in 1827-30. Members also visited by kind permission of Sir David Evans-Bevan the other monastic remains which include the fine chapter house and orangery. In the small museum of inscribed stones were seen the Conbelin cross, the Bodvoc stone, and the grave slab of Robert, Abbot of Rievaulx, who died at Margam in 1307.

Owing to heavy rain and delay due to one of the coaches breaking down the visit to Coity Castle was cancelled.

#### FIFTH MEETING: 19 August: WIGMORE

At Mortimer's Cross Mr. Tonkin spoke about the battle which was fought there in 1461. The party next visited Leinthall Starkes church which stands in a field in which are bumps which could represent a deserted medieval village. The church is 12th century with a 15th-century roof.

At Wigmore church Mr. Tonkin pointed out the early Norman herring-bone work, Harrold's chapel, the fine roofs and the tomb to Alexander Clogie, a 17th-century vicar. The possible site of the castle of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the grid-system of the Domesday borough layout, the burgage plots, the abbey site, the Roman road stretching across the moor and the glacial lake as well as the school of 1658, the site of the old town hall and the layout of the medieval square were all pointed out.

Members travelled to Deerfold up the new turnpike road to view the Wigmore enclosure of 1822. Mr. Tonkin showed the roads, hedges, quarries and pools and suggested that this land was enclosed to take advantage of the Corn Laws.

#### SIXTH MEETING: 18 September: BANBURY

The main purpose of this meeting was to visit the site of the battle of Edgehill. Here Mr. Whitehead gave a descriptive account of the battle which was fought in late October 1642. He explained where the various regiments were drawn up; the Parliamentarians to the east of Kineton and the Royalists further east close to the village of Radway. He described how the Royalist horse under Rupert cut through the Parliamentarian army but followed them too far before returning to rejoin the battle, and how Balfour's charge saved the day for the Parliamentarians. At Cropredy Mr. Whitehead spoke about the skirmish which took place at Cropredy Bridge.

At Broughton Castle many relics of the Civil War were seen and much of the planning for the Parliamentarians was done here. Mr. Tonkin in describing the house pointed out the various periods of building from the early 14th century through to the 19th. The great hall, basically 14th century, has a fine 16th-century inserted ceiling. The long gallery is the work of Gilbert Scott the younger in the 19th century. Lord Saye and Sele welcomed members and spoke about some of his ancestors who had lived there, particularly "Old Subtlety" of the Civil War.

#### GEOLOGICAL MEETING: 2 October: LEDBURY

A number of quarries and roadside spots in the Ledbury area were visited to examine the exposures of the Upper and Lower Ludlow shales, the Aymestry and Wenlock limestones as well as the Llandovery sandstone and Lower Cambrian rocks. The associated fossils were also noted.

#### CANTERBURY VISIT: 1 to 8 September

Forty members travelled to Christ Church College, Canterbury, and on the way visited Polesden Lacey near Dorking. Next day was spent looking around the city including the cathedral and the walls. In the evening Mr. L. Lyle, M.A., gave a talk on Canterbury.

Friday was spent visiting the Saxon-shore Roman fort at Reculver, the fine Norman parish church at Minster-in-Thamet, the Viking ship at Pegwell Bay, the

impressive Roman fort of Richborough Castle and museum there, St. Clements church and barbican at Sandwich and Dover Castle.

On Saturday members visited the attractive village and parish church of Biddenden, the Pantiles at Tunbridge Wells, Penshurst Place with its great hall and central fire-place, the Roman villa at Lullingstone with its mosaic pavements and the Carmelite house, the "Friars", at Aylesford.

Monday took members to Lympne and Hythe and across Romney Marsh to Rye to see the parish church, its cobbled streets and old buildings. Battle Abbey at Hastings and Bodiam Castle were also visited. In the evening Mr. F. Jenkins, M.A., gave an illustrated talk on Roman Kent.

On Tuesday morning Miss Wilmhurst took the party to the gunpowder mill which was being restored, and also to the Guildhall and Court and Abbey Streets to view the buildings. The museum at the Maison Dieu at Ospringe, the castle and cathedral at Rochester were also visited.

On the return journey a stop was made at Pusey House and its gardens near Faringdon.

#### AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 16 October: The President, Mr. H. J. Powell, in the chair.

This was an open meeting held in the Town Hall as the seventh annual F. C. Morgan lecture. The Rev. B. B. Clarke, M.Sc., a club member and past-president, gave an illustrated lecture on "The Sea Coast of South-west England, Marine Sculpturing of a Highly Diverse Continental Margin" which is printed on pp. 195-202.

The President thanked Mr. Morgan and his daughter for providing the tea.

SECOND MEETING: 6 November: The President, Mr. H. J. Powell, in the chair.

The Sectional Recorders for Archaeology, Botany, Buildings, Deserted Medieval Villages, Entomology, Mammals and Ornithology gave their reports for 1971 which are printed on pp. 280-295.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 4 December: The President, Mr. H. J. Powell, in the chair.

Officers for 1972 were appointed. The accounts for the year ending 31 December 1970, were presented and adopted. These are printed on p. 185.

Mr. F. M. Kendrick gave an illustrated talk on "The Black Mountains".

#### HEREFORD CITY EXCAVATION FUND

During August 1971 excavations were carried out in the grounds of the Liberal Club and £93 from the above fund were used for this purpose.

The Hereford Corporation has donated £100 to this fund for excavations.

#### LIBRARY

The club is very grateful to Mr. V. E. Murray who has given his library of Botanical books to the Woolhope Club.

A number of the club's periodicals have been bound during the year.

#### WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS FIELD CLUB

##### Honorary Treasurer's Cash Account for the year ended 31st December 1970

RECEIPTS				PAYMENTS			
1969	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	1969	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Balances, 1st January 1970			20	Insurance ...	19 5 6	
	Cash at Bank:			—	Printing and Binding		
92	Current Accounts	682 6 1		—	Transactions ...	1,596 0 0	
2,226	General Deposit			64	Printing and Stationery	122 18 11	
	Account ...	2,872 3 9		53	Postage and Telephone	84 7 8	
232	Marshall Fund ...	254 13 11		—	Purchase of Chalkboard	35 5 0	
111	Herefordshire Flora	117 3 8		43	Subscriptions and		
				—	Donations ...	30 16 6	
2,661		3,926 7 5		5	Additions to Library ...	—	
2	Cash in hand ...	1 17 1		34	Expenses of Meetings	21 8 6	
2,663				—	Excavation Expenses	11 0 0	
	West Midland Trustee Savings Bank		3,928 4 6	—	Archaeological Group		
	Archaeological Research Group—			—	Expenses ...	31 18 0	
—	Balance brought in		26 15 3	1	Sundry Expenses ...	5 8 4	
74	Grants ...		397 0 0	—	Honoraria to Assistants	40 0 0	1,998 8 5
	Interest on Investments:			26	Expenses of Covenant		
33	3½% War Stock ...	32 12 10		—	Scheme ...		
59	Herefordshire County				Balances, 31st December 1970		
	Council Loan ...	80 3 0			Cash at Bank:		
166	Bank Deposit Interest	211 18 7		682	Current Accounts ...	916 10 6	
	Subscriptions:			2,872	General Deposit		
836	General ...	862 0 3			Account ...	2,645 10 4	
—	Archaeological Group	25 19 0		255	Marshall Fund ...	272 10 2	
173	Sales of Offprints			117	Herefordshire Flora	123 7 10	
	etc. (net) ...	252 7 5		—	Hereford City Excava-		
115	Income Tax Refunds	43 12 9		—	tions ...	429 18 8	
55	Field Meetings (net)	116 0 6		—	Archaeological		
—	Hereford City Excava-			—	Research Group ...	21 2 1	
	tions Committee ...	427 8 1	2,052 2 5			4,408 19 7	
				2	Cash in hand ...	—	
				—	Less due to Secretary	3 5 10	4,405 13 9
	Note. The club owns £932 14s. 0d. 3½% War						
	Stock and £1,040 Herefordshire County						
	Council Loan Stock.						
£4,174			£6,404 2 2	£4,174			£6,404 2 2

#### 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 May 1971.



## Presidential Address

# Market Centres in Herefordshire 1200-1400

## Some factors influencing development

By JEAN O'DONNELL

TRADE and economic activity are a necessary part of social organisation. The exchange of labour for payment in kind or cash has existed from pre-history and even the self-sufficient organisation of the medieval manor required an exchange for its surplus produce. Some markets and fairs can be traced back to the Anglo-Saxon period and Leominster and Hereford were thriving towns at this time, both with early religious foundations to support. Hereford was referred to as a "port" or market twice in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, and it had an important mint.<sup>1</sup> By the time of Domesday it was a growing city, offering special privileges to its burgesses and having free traders and craftsmen.<sup>2</sup> The establishment of a major castle by William Fitz-Osborn, the presence of a bishop with his palace and household, and the clergy associated with the cathedral would have provided a considerable consumer market for the surrounding countryside to supply with provisions. Fitz-Osborn also moved the market to a new site in High Town<sup>3</sup> where the church of St. Peter's was built at the end of the 11th century. The high cross that marked the boundary of the market was at the end of High Town and St. Peter's cross marked the limit. Like Leominster it has only charters for fairs, although Leominster was able to change the market day from Friday to Tuesday in 1335 by charter. The grant states that there were charters of former kings to the abbot and convent of Radynges. Charters for St. Ethelbert's Fair and St. Denis's Fair were issued in 1189 and 1226 and others were probably held unofficially. In 1215 the city acquired the right to control its market and trade through its guild merchant. By 1377 the estimated population was two thousand eight hundred and fifty-four<sup>4</sup> and although the importance of the castle had declined since the pacification of Wales, trade increased and prosperity grew with an influx of money from pilgrims to the cathedral.

This centre of economic activity must have contributed to the prosperity of the county which continued to increase in population during the three centuries following the Conquest. The phrase applied by Camden in the 16th century equally applied to the 13th:

"For three W.W.W.'s of wheat, wool and water, it yealdeth to no shire of England".

By the 13th century land-owners both big and small were consolidating their holdings-strips in the common fields which were being amalgamated, lords were enclosing their parks, and woods were being assarted to provide more land for the expanding villages. Water mills for grinding corn and fulling cloth were a common feature of village industry and a study of court rolls shows greater variety and

specialisation of occupations within the community. Many churches were enlarged during the 13th and 14th centuries to accommodate greater congregations.

The influence of Bristol upon Herefordshire must have been considerable. By the end of the 13th century it had a population of seventeen thousand and was the second largest city in England. It had sea connections with Ireland and Europe.<sup>5</sup> The river valleys of the Severn and Wye were main channels of distribution, especially for the wine trade. Bishop Swinfield imported his wine for his manors of Bosbury and Prestbury in this way. His steward purchased "five tonells of red wine in a merchant's cellar in Bristol, paid ready money £10 17s. 3d., shipped and paid freightage and saw it delivered into boats that plied upon Severn from that city to Upton, and placed the casks under the care of servants who were furnished with mats to keep off the rain and the frost". A part of the cargo was landed at Haw wharf, between Gloucester and Tewkesbury and conveyed to Bosbury by land carriage. They also bought conger eels in the fish market and had them shipped for the bishop.<sup>6</sup> No doubt that the market at Ledbury which provided tolls for the bishop of 13s. 4d in 1404 and 40s. from the St. Matthew fair, was partly supplied in this fashion.<sup>7</sup> The cheapest transport was by water and in the 13th century was one sixth of that by land.<sup>8</sup> The River Wye seems, at present, vastly unsuitable for transport other than by canoe, but it was not always so. A common right of Wye navigation was recorded in the time of Edward I when it was stated that no weirs or other obstructions were to be erected. The owners of such were to demolish them.<sup>9</sup> Israel Cohen in the club's *Transactions* in 1956 also suggests that the forges at Bicknor, Lydbrook, Monmouth and Cary mills must have sent their products down the Wye from the 13th century onwards. The household accounts of Joan de Valence, show a barrel of venison coming to Goodrich Castle by hired boat from Bristol to Monmouth and thence by road to Goodrich, the messenger being away for seven and a half days.<sup>10</sup>

The excursion by road may have been due to a low river or to existing weirs. In the early navigation proposals of 1662 there was a provision for any person to employ any boat, barge, lighter or other vessel upon the River Wye, for the carrying, transporting, or conveying of any passenger's goods, . . . "as freely to all intents and purposes as is or hath been used or accustomed".<sup>11</sup> This surely indicates a use of the river, however limited.

Since the navigation was eventually improved enough for a regular trade with Bristol in the 18th and early 19th centuries, an earlier use for trade may be deduced. Whether the river could be navigated up to and beyond Hereford is debatable. In 1254 the sheriff of Hereford was instructed to make a quay in order to protect the castle wall from slipping into the water. As there was a bridge crossing, the quay would not be needed for a ferry but possibly for unloading provisions for the castle. There was evidence of an early quay at New Weir near Kenchester when Cecil Moore was looking for a Roman bridge. It was concluded that the remains were those of a quay containing Roman tiles and morticed stones.<sup>12</sup> No date could be given for construction but it provides more hints of early navigation. Boats were being used at Bredwardine for there was a grant by Philip le Parsour of Bredwardine

# HEREFORDSHIRE MARKETS 1200 AD - 1840 AD



of the use of his boats to the monks of St. Pancras and Lewes and the church of Clifford on the Wye.<sup>13</sup>

The economic implications of transport along the Wye are considerable. The growth and development of those villages alongside or near to the river must have been affected by any traffic upon the waters. Twenty percent of Herefordshire market centres were sited near the Wye, also at fording points where boats would have been used. Frequently the river is controlled by a castle. They include Goodrich\*, which has access to the river at Walford and Old Forge, Wilton\*, where the village street runs alongside the river and the ford is marked by the White cross.<sup>14</sup> Ross on the left bank, where the old road ran from the market place straight to the river, Eton\*, in Foy with an ancient crossing to Foy, Hereford\*, Preston-on-Wye, Bridge Sollers, Moccas\*, Staunton, and Winforton. Another economic interest in these towns and villages was the fisheries which provided salmon and lesser fish for the shambles or stall at the nearest market. There was a dispute in 1292 at Eton because Julianna Tregoz had appropriated to herself the fishery of the Wye by her lands in which "it was accustomed to be common to all wishing to fish there".<sup>15</sup> Fishing rights were important and were disputed all through the centuries. The close proximity of these markets to each other in the Wye valley above Hereford, reflects a greater density of population and the better communications provided by both river and the ancient Roman highway to Brecon that ran alongside it.

Communications played an important part in the development of trade. The highways created by the Romans were still in use and maintained. They were perilous, as Edward I's Act of 1284 which enforced clearance of the adjacent undergrowth which hid robbers and brigands, clearly shows. Little reference to roads is made in local records but one highway is mentioned in land deeds of Much Cowarne. This is the road to Gloucester from Leominster via Newent. This road is on Gough's map of the medieval road system as a road from Gloucester to Worcester. It went to Leominster and branched off to Hereford. There was another main road from Chepstow through Monmouth, to Hereford, and Ludlow, and from Hereford to Brecon via Clyro. The roads were better than those of the 17th century before the turnpike improvements, when the journey from Kington to Hereford took five hours.

Before the Black Death of 1349 there were thirty-seven centres for markets and fairs including the border towns of Presteigne and Radnor, Colewent and Painscastle, which have an economic and political unity with Herefordshire at this time.<sup>16</sup> Only three were established after the Black Death. These market towns and villages include those which had been established by prescription "time out of mind" and those to which a charter was issued by the reigning monarch. The form of these grants varies very little throughout this period so that of Much Cowarne serves as a good example.

"The King to his Archbishops etc., Greetings. Know that we have granted and by this our deed confirmed, to our beloved and faithful Richard Pauncefort, that he and his heirs should have forever one market at their manor of Cuern' in county of Hereford, every week upon a Thursday, and that they should have one fair there each year, for three days, viz. on the Eve, the Festival and the morrow of St. Michael's, unless this market and fair should be to the detriment

of neighbouring markets and fairs. Granted at Clarendon May 15th, 1254 (Henry III)."

Other charters issued by Henry III included Pembridge, Eardisley, Preston-on-Wye, Brampton Bryan, and Ross. There were earlier ones granted by King John, another extravagant king, and they possibly included Wilton, Richard's Castle, Ledbury, Goodrich. Other markets apparently already functioning without documentary evidence by 1272, were Ewyas Harold, Wigmore, Weobley, Presteigne, Huntingdon, Hereford, Bromyard, Kington, Radnor, Leominster, Clifford and probably Dorstone although there is no evidence for this. With the accession of Edward I further charters were granted, but there was only one to the bishop of Hereford for his manor of Cradley before the Welsh question was settled and peace established along the Marches.

Some grants appear to be rewards for faithful service. John Tregoz, lord of Ewyas Harold, received a grant for a fair at his manor of Eton in 1285 after his part in the battle of Rhuddlan (1284). The Pychards appear to be another political award. In 1294 John was given a market and fair at Thruxton, and Miles one at Standon or Staunton-on-Wye. The king was seeking to control the power of the powerful Earls of Hereford and Gloucester at this time. Part of the dispute was over lands in Breconshire where John Pychard held the manor of Stradewy or Tretower. Thruxton, only numbered as thirty-three in the Poll Tax of 1337 was too small to succeed as a market and four years after the grant, a new one was made transferring the rights to the manor of Stradewy. Staunton, on the other hand, was surprisingly large with Poll Tax numbers of a hundred and thirty, and the village must have occupied most of the ridge that stretches from the church, now rather isolated. Lyonshall received a charter in 1306, as a grant to William Tuschet, although there is reference to an earlier market and fair at Lenhall, in 1218. It may have been revived with a peace along the border and was certainly still in existence by the end of the century. Kingsland provides the only charter issued to a woman in the person of Margaret, widow of Edmund Mortimer. He had been killed in the last Welsh skirmishes of 1304 and he had been present at the capture and death of Llewelyn. The mother of Edmund had been Maud, who held Wigmore against the rebel barons and who received the head of Simon de Montfort after the battle of Evesham. Edward I had good reason to be magnanimous to this family. She received at the same time a grant of a fair at New Radnor where a weekly market was already functioning.<sup>17</sup>

Of the markets existing by 1400, seventy percent had castles to protect the village and house a powerful lord. Fifty percent were boroughs giving burgage tenure to free tenants and trading privileges within the borough. Twenty percent had ecclesiastical landlords who were powerful and could expect concessions from the king. These were Bosbury, Bromyard, Cradley, Ledbury, Madley, Preston, Ross and Leominster. Along the Welsh border only the Marcher strongholds of Ewyas Lacy, Ewyas Harold, Dorstone, Clifford and Kington had markets or fairs before peace was established by Edward I. These boroughs had to be strong to survive and the surrounding villages would already have been dependent on them for defence so they were natural focal points. Only when the threat of attack was removed were there any attempts to make new markets. The first of these was the abortive charter for

Thruxton in 1294. The next was at Kilpeck in 1309 where Alan de Plogenet had a market and a four-day fair. Here the remains of a village are to be seen as earthworks behind the church and the ruins of the castle indicate its former importance. Madley was the last in this group to be created with a grant to the canons of the cathedral in 1312 for a weekly market on Tuesdays, and a two-day fair. This village was well sited near a large church and the cross which is quickly disappearing, chunks at a time, must have marked the site of the market place. At the time of the Poll Tax the population numbered one hundred and ninety-three taxpayers. Corresponding with the formation of the market new work was begun in the church and the chancel was enlarged; the Chilston chapel being added. All giving evidence of a prosperous and growing community.

The great majority of markets had completely gone by 1500. There were only nine left: Bromyard, Hereford, Kington, Ledbury, Leominster, Pembridge, Ross, Weobley and Wigmore.<sup>18</sup> They are far more evenly spread over the county, and all acted as market towns. By 1698 Wigmore had become too insignificant to receive a mention as a market in Richard Blome's *Britannia* although the market hall was shown on the tithe map of c. 1840. He says Bromyard has an "indifferent market for corn and cattle" although the tolls had been worth 40s, to the bishop in the 15th century. Pembridge market is "very inconsiderable". This was due to the rise of Kington "which is the best in the county for corn, cattle, provisions and several commodities". Kington affected Weobley too, for he says that "this town formerly enjoyed a good trade which of late is less considerable by the growth of its neighbouring town, Kyneton".

This decline came much earlier, with two events, the Black Death and the wars of Owen Glyndwr.

There were famines in 1315, 1316 and 1321 when many people died and corn prices were very high,<sup>19</sup> but the markets would have only been temporarily affected. The Black Death in 1349 dealt more lasting blows. The immediate effects were on agriculture. The price of labour doubled—women received twopence a day instead of a penny! Rents fell to keep the workers on the land. Without the labour to sow and harvest there was little surplus produce, and markets were not in any case being held. It was said that flocks and herds wandered about at will. The whole pattern of farming changed, as profits dropped, and many estates were no<sup>20</sup> longer farmed by bailiffs but let out to tenant farmers—those that survived. There was an enormous mortality rate, one-third to half of the population had gone. It took at least twenty years for any recovery and for some settlements there was none. It seems strange that Richard de la Bere should be granted a market in 1357 at Kinnorsley, although it was for good service and prices had made a slight recovery.<sup>21</sup> Three years before, John de Clanvowe was also granted one with "special grace" at Michaelchurch, in Wales. It may be that the failure of neighbouring markets to operate was seized on as a profitable opportunity by these lords. The last of the chartered markets was Bodenham, where Walter Devereux, sheriff of Hereford, obtained a licence in 1379. Here the green that stands in front of the manor house, shows the remains of a village cross and the market shed stood alongside. Bodenham obviously began to expand

at a later date than most places perhaps showing it had escaped the worst ravages of the plague. In the feudal aids of 1428, twenty-one places are recorded as having less than ten persons living there, but with churches to support.

Development was again halted by the frequent attacks across the border from Wales at the beginning of the 15th century. After a hundred years of peaceful co-existence Herefordshire became a battle front. In the register of Bishop Robert Maskell 1406 there is a return of poor benefices, owing to losses in the Welsh wars or poverty. There are thirty-eight Herefordshire names which include the former market villages of Madley, Weobley, Clifford, Dorstone, Moccas, Winforton, Eardisley, Lyonshall, Kington, Leominster, Presteigne, Radnor and Bridge Sollers. Clifford, Moccas and Bridge Sollers never really recovered as villages, for there is little new development. At Bridge Sollers recent aerial photographs show a once larger settlement. A few places retained their fairs and there was an attempt to establish more at the beginning of the 19th century. Kingsland fair supplied Coningsby hospital in Hereford with butter and cheese from the fair in 1617. It still had a fair in 1830 and continued to hold it in "Fair field" next to the church. Other places holding fairs in 1830 were Longtown, Dorstone, Pembridge, Weobley, Brampton Bryan, Presteigne, Huntington, Wigmore, Madley, Orleton, (replacing Richard's Castle) Leintwardine, and Bodenham. The market towns held several fairs as well as their markets and there was a general increase in trading at this time.

By the early 15th century Hereford alone was independently trading as a town with a guild merchant. All other markets that still existed were controlled by their lord who collected the tolls on goods as his profit. The break-down of smaller communities affected by the plague and the ravages of war, checked the promise of the 13th and 14th centuries when villages were flourishing and growing with the impetus of commerce and trade. Some of the market boroughs benefited by the failure of others and evolved into the pattern of today with Hereford as a shire market town surrounded at a surprisingly equal distance by Ross, Ledbury, Leominster and Bromyard as the smaller market towns. None of these was dominated by a castle but all had been carefully nurtured by the power of the medieval church.

Only Kington stands alone with a secular lord who continued to exercise his rights over the market well into the 19th century.<sup>22</sup>

# APPENDIX LIST OF POSSIBLE MARKET AND FAIR CENTRES IN HEREFORDSHIRE

Centre	Date	Source	Market or Fair	Market Rights
Bodenham	1379	Hill	M/f	Devereux
Bosbury	?	Taylor	M	
Brampton	1252	M.C.	M/f	Brian de Brampton
Bromyard	?	Trad.	M/f	Bishop
Bridge Sollers	?	R.C.	f	
Clifford	?	R.C.	M/f	
Cradley	1275	R.C.	M/f	Richard, Bishop of Hereford
Dorstone	?	?	cross	
Eardisley	1223	M.C.	M/f	Walter de Baskeville
Eton Tregoz	1285	M.C.	f	John Tregoz
Ewyas Harold	?	Bannister	f	
Ewyas Lacy	?	W. Rees	M/f	
Goodrich	John	R.C.	M/f	
Hereford	?	Trad.	M/f	
Huntingdon	?	R.C.	f	
Kilpeck	1309	M.C.	M/f	Alan de Plogenet
Kingsland	1306	M.C.	M/f	Margaret Mortimer
Kington	?	R.C.	M/f	
Kinnersley	1357	M.C.	M/f	Richard de la Bere
Ledbury	?	R.C.	M/f	Bishop
Leintwardine	1830	Pigot		
Lyonshall	1301	M.C.	M/f	William Touchet
Madley	1312	M.C.	M/f	Canons of Hereford
Michaelchurch	1354	M.C.	M/f	John de Clanevowe
Much Cowarne	1254	M.C.	M/f	Richard Pauncefoot
Much Marcle	?	W. Rees	f	
Orleton	1830	Pigot		
Pembridge	1239	M.C.	M/f	Henry de Penebrug
Presteigne	?	R.C.	M/f	
Preston	1235	M.C.	M/f	Dean and Chapter
Radnor	1306	M.C.	M/f	Margaret Mortimer
Richards Castle	(market 1304 I.P.M.)	Littlebury	M/f	Robert Mortimer
Ross	1241	M.C.	M/f	Bishop
Stapleton	1334	M.C.	M/f	Geoffrey de Cornubia
Staunton	1294	M.C.	M/f	Michael Pichard
Thrupton	1294	M.C.	M/f	John Pichard
Weobley	by 1291	Salt	M/f	John de Verdon
Wigmore	by 1304	I.Q.P.M.	M/f	Mortimer
Winforton	1318	M.C.	M/f	Roger Mortimer
Wilton	by John	R.C.	M/f	
Colewent	1299	M.C.	M/f	Robert de Tony
Painscastle	1299	M.C.	M/f	Robert de Tony

## ABBREVIATIONS

- M.C. — *Calender of Charter Rolls.*
- R.C. — *Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls (1881-91).*
- I.Q.P.M. — *Inquisitions post mortem.*
- Rees — *William Rees, A Map of South Wales and the Border in the 14c.*
- Taylor — *Silas Taylor Mss. (photostat copy at County Record Office).*
- Bannister — *A. T. Bannister, The History of Ewias Harold.*
- Pigot — *J. Pigot & Co., Directory of Herefordshire (1830).*
- Littlebury — *Littlebury's Postal and Commercial Directory of Hereford (1867).*
- Hill — *James Hill Mss. (d.1728 Local Collection Hereford City Library).*
- Salt — *A. E. W. Salt, The Borough and Honour of Weobley (1953).*
- N.B. See also A Map of Herefordshire (c. 1780) in the Local Collection at Hereford City Library, which gives details of market days.

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<sup>16</sup> See Appendix for full list.  
<sup>17</sup> P.R.O. *Cal. Inquis. P.M.*  
<sup>18</sup> J. Thirsk, *The Agricultural History of England*, 470.  
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<sup>20</sup> Op. cit., 'Before and After the Plague', Chap. XXVIII.  
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## The Sea Coast of SW. England, marine sculpturing of a highly diverse continental margin

By B. B. CLARKE

THE SW. of England is a generally westerly projecting peninsula made of slates, shales, grits and quartzites, mainly of Devonian and Carboniferous age. The rocks, though generally soft are very highly compacted, and tightly folded, and, except in the very far SW., the fold axes are E.-W. It is thus the structural grain of the country that creates the general layout of this large westerly projection of England. It sticks out 140 miles westwards because the grain of the country goes that way. There is re-inforcement by two hard bands one of quartzite and grit through the middle and another of extremely hard grit in Exmoor and the Quantocks in the north. These make upstanding areas rising in Dunkery Beacon to 1708 ft.

The peninsula is further re-inforced by knots of hard granite of Carboniferous age. These also make upstanding areas; Dartmoor in High Willhays rises to 2039 ft. and Bodmin Moor to 1375 ft. There is yet further re-inforcement in the very large number of long sinuous sills and dykes of hard dolerite which knit the whole land mass into a very tightly toughened rock platform. A feature of this peninsula is that in the extreme SW., south of Camborne and Truro, the whole peninsula seems to bend round slightly and project not due west but SW. In fact the whole structure of the peninsula slews round that way and the fold axes are NE.-SW. Petrologists believe the isolated knots of hard granite are connected below the surface; and that deep down in the heart of the peninsula is a granite spine. We only see the highest points in the exposed granites. Like the whole structure it is believed that this deep-seated spine slews round in the extreme SW. Thus this long projection of Western Europe is bent, or, if we look at it another way, it is not a straight line but an arc.

In sculpturing this very tough re-inforced land mass there are two processes at work. There is the generally downward erosion which is the result of weathering and the sculpturing of streams and rivers. This tends to leave the hard rocks upstanding as highland masses like Exmoor, the Quantocks, the Brendons and the granite moors Dartmoor, Bodmin Moor and the uplands of St. Austell, Godolphin and Carnmenellis. There is also the horizontal chiselling of the land mass by the sea. It is this second process that I wish to look at in more detail.

The sea responsible for sculpturing the coastline is that which covers the continental platform. Its depth averages one eighth of a mile. On the outer side the continental platform ends abruptly in the steep continental slope which plunges down to the deep ocean with an average depth of 2½ miles. The surface of the continental platform has valleys, hills, gorges and even mountains. The study of this submarine landscape is still young, and in detail little known. It is the high wave level of the sea on the continental platform that acts as the giant chisel which sculpts the coastline.

The principal agent in working this marine chisel is the rise and fall of the tides. Twice a day an enormous weight of water, charged with dissolved minerals and rock particles in suspension, is lifted up, and thrust against the coastline. Twice a month a vast mass of seawater is lifted higher than usual, and thrust into the coastline. Twice a year, on 21 March and 21 September, the tidal thrust is at a very high level indeed. These are the highest spring tides of the year. The cause of this tidal movement is still to some extent unknown. It is believed to be due to the gravitational pull of the sun and the moon on the iron-rich rocks of the ocean floor, so that the ocean floor breathes in and out, and this causes flooding at the margins of the continental platforms. It is known that the centres of the continental masses rise and fall about 4 inches (10 cm.) twice a day and it is suspected the ocean floors move much more.

The other agent working the marine chisel is the waves. These are long sinuous revolving tubes of water particles, the whole tube rolling in towards the shore. There is thus always an up, over and down movement of water particles in a wave. If the circular movement touches the sea floor, then the downward sweep of water particles will dig up the sand, and the upward sweep will carry the rock particles up and over, so that the oncoming wave digs sand from offshore, brings it inshore, and deposits it to form a sandy beach. Or the wave may dig sand from offshore, and the advancing waves, charged with rock particles, may cut into the solid rock of the coastline and make one of the more splendid coastal features, a **WAVE-CUT PLATFORM**. Often details of the structure of the rocks become clearly visible when rock platforms have been cut by waves in this way, e.g. the folds in the Blue Lias limestone at East Quantoxhead. It is one of the mysteries of the working of the marine chisel that waves can both cut a rock platform and also build up a sandy beach, e.g. at Blue Anchor Bay only a few miles west. Thus there are two kinds of wave, building waves, which are believed to be elliptical tubes of water particles with sand in suspension, which build beaches, and etching waves, which also have sand particles in suspension but are believed to be quite round. It is these that carve the wave-cut platforms. The crest of a wave is always at right angles to the wind direction. Thus the direction waves approach the shore, and so the direction in which the marine chisel works, will vary with the wind direction, and vary from day to day.

Oblique waves with elliptical movement are the best beach builders. They drive up on the beach cobbles, pebbles and sand in an upward movement called the swash, and the water returns in a retreating movement, called the backwash, leaving its load behind. Of these two the swash is the most powerful, and tends to drive to the top of the beach the heavier material like beach cobbles; while the backwash removes the lighter pebbles and leaves them rather lower down the beach and the finer sand it leaves lower still. The rounding of beach material is entirely due to wave travel. Material, which may vary in size from a sand grain to a beach boulder, is rolled up the beach at right angles to the wave crest, and then rolled down again at right angles to the shore. Thus a single pebble may travel very great distances alongshore in this zig-zag motion.

**OFF-SHORE BANKS** of pebbles and sand are produced by storm waves. These are much bigger than normal, and have a very much larger revolving tubular movement. Storm waves can dig stones or sand from the deeper areas of the continental shelf and carry them towards the shore sometimes building up a large beach but often leaving the material as an offshore bank of pebbles or sand generally parallel to the shore. Examples of these are at Porlock Weir and Minehead.

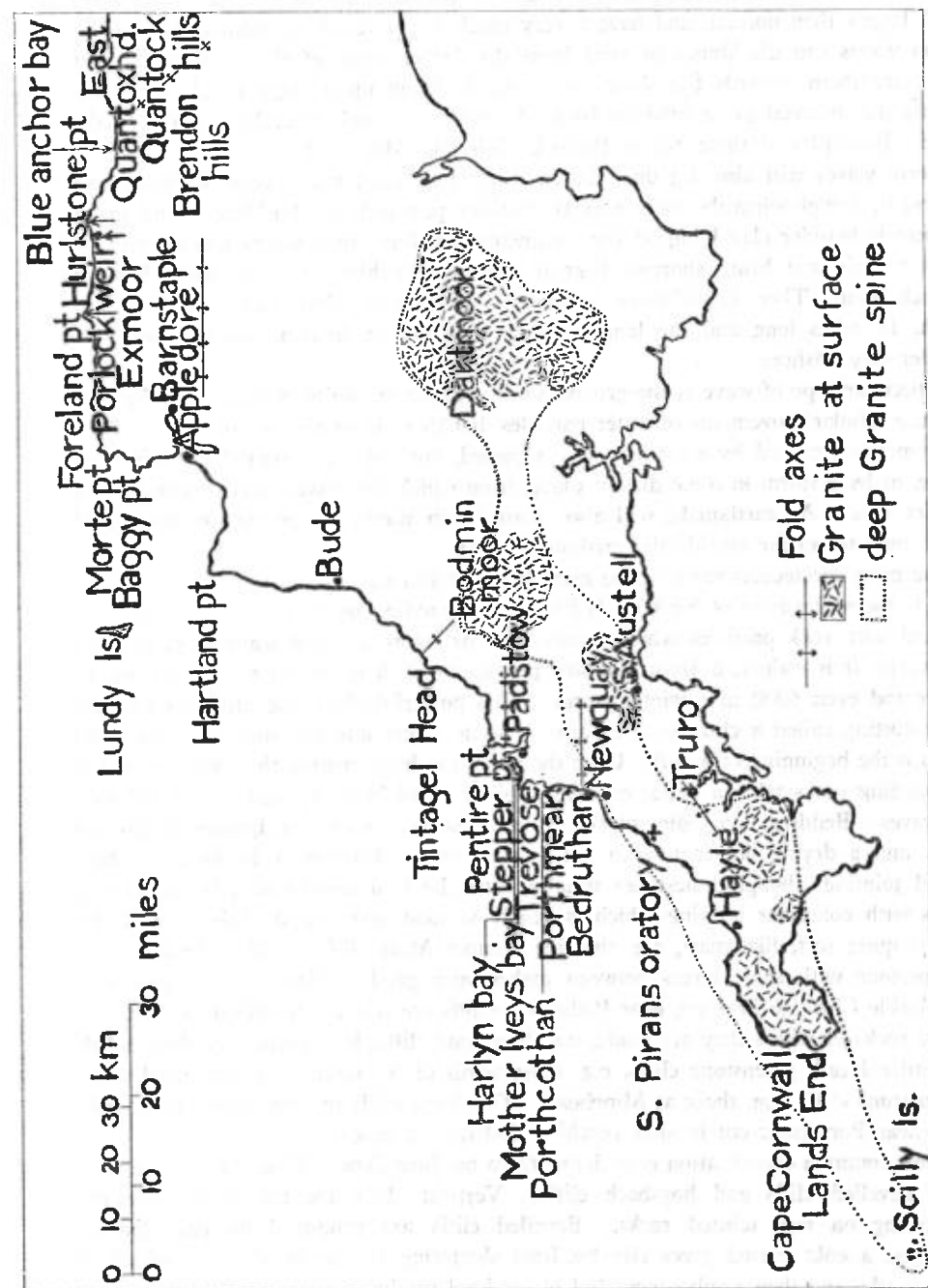
Storm waves will also dig up a beach which has taken many years to build and remove it, though when the more normal condition prevail beach building occurs again. If there is boulder clay lying on the continental platform then storm waves may dig down to this and bring shoreward great masses of pebbles as they have done at Porlock Weir. There is still some mystery about offshore pebble banks as the Chesil beach, 18 miles long and the longest beach structure in Britain, has no source of boulder clay offshore.

A peculiar type of wave is the ground swell. These are quite normal waves in that they are tubular movements of water particles, but there is an absence of wind. They are sometimes caused by a storm that has passed, but the water particles continue to rotate, or by a storm in some distant place, from which the waves have advanced into a quiet zone. An earthquake will also create storm waves in one part of the world which may travel far outside the earthquake zone.

The most spectacular work of the giant hammer and chisel action of the waves and tides is the sculpturing of **SEA CLIFFS**. The pounding by vast masses of seawater charged with rock particles which reaches its maximum at high wave level at high tide varies it is estimated from 600 lbs. per square inch in summer to 2000 lbs. in winter and even 6000 in a winter storm. This powerful chiselling produces first an under-cutting called a cliff notch or nip. This is a bite into the surface of the land which is the beginning of a cliff. Once the notch has been created the structure of the overhanging rocks takes a hand, especially jointing and bedding; and pieces fall into the waves. Bedding is a sedimentary feature, jointing is a cooling feature in igneous rocks, and a drying out feature in sedimentary ones. Igneous rocks have the best cuboid jointing, though limestones usually have the best developed jointing of all. Rocks with columnar jointing which is nearly vertical make good cliffs even if the rock is quite soft, like marl, e.g. the fine Keuper Marl cliffs at Blue Anchor Bay. A limestone with shale layers between makes very good vertical cliffs indeed, e.g. the Marble Cliffs at Trevone, near Padstow. Cliffs are usually described in literature by the rocks of which they are made, e.g. limestone cliffs, lava cliffs, e.g. those north of Pentire Head, greenstone cliffs, e.g. those north of S. Saviour's Point, marl cliffs or sandstone cliffs, e.g. those at Minehead. The finest cliffs on this coast are Bounds Cliff, near Port Isaac cut in slate reaching 400 feet in height.

A less common classification is to define them by their slope. Thus we have vertical cliffs, bevelled cliffs and hogsback cliffs. Vertical cliffs are the result of wave sculpturing on well jointed rocks. Bevelled cliffs are produced by two distinct processes, a cold period gives rise by frost shattering to the bevel slope which is fairly gentle, and then a subsequent fall in sea-level produces the vertical front section first by cutting a cliff notch in the gentle frost shattered slope, and then by the





The coastline of S.W. England from Bridgwater Bay to the Scilly Isles, 160 miles long, showing the place-names in the text, the granite re-inforcement of the peninsula, and the principal fold axes which indicate the trends of highly complex fold patterns.

continued action of wave and tide a new vertical cliff. A fault plane can also occasionally produce a bevel if it is longitudinal to the coast and has the right slope. It may however be at right angles or even a whole series of step faults the cliff has then the appearance of being sliced. A third type of cliff, the hogsback cliff, occurs where a steep face points seaward and a much more gentle slope faces inland. In this case the highest point is the cliff edge. These cliffs are either scarp faces, or they too may on occasion be fault planes.

In the working of the tide and wave hammer and chisel, if the material being chiselled is very hard, progress will be very slow, and a spectacular feature tends to jut out into the sea as a **HEAD, POINT OR PROMONTORY**. A head is much more massive than a point which is a much smaller projection. A promontory is long and thin. It projects a long way out to sea, and often ends in a string of islets, e.g. Merope rocks near Trevoze Head. Heads are often made of igneous rocks because these tend to be hard. They may however also be made of indurated rocks. These are sedimentary rocks, which are not naturally hard, but have become hardened by compression, due to intensive folding. Igneous rocks making heads are lavas, extrusive volcanic rocks, e.g. Pentire Head 180 ft. which is made of a Devonian Spilite, and Tintagel Head which is higher, 271 ft. and made of a Carboniferous lava. Intrusive basic dolerites especially in the form of sills or sheets of igneous rock also tend to give rise to heads, e.g. Dinas Head and Cataclews Point. Granites will form headlands if the marine chisel cuts into the spine of the peninsula, e.g. Lands End, Cape Cornwall or the Giants Castle in the Scilly Isles. Headlands of indurated sedimentary rocks occur at Hartland Point and Hurlstone Point.

**BAYS and BEACHES** are the result of the hammer and chisel action of the waves and tides on softer rocks in the coastline. The beaches are erected by building waves. A beach usually consists of beach cobbles at the top, pebbles below that, and sand below that, in thoroughly well-sorted grain sizes, the coarse sand at the top and the grains getting progressively finer as we go down the beach. The sand is almost entirely the ground up skeletons of marine animals. There is a minute quantity of mineral grains, mostly quartz, slightly more rock grains, slate or dolerite. On the north coast of Cornwall most sand grains are shell, the milky-white ones are ground shells of *Cardium*, the blue grains are *Mytilus*, orange are *Littorina* and *Chlamys*, yellow are *Littorina* and the grey are *Patella*. An abundance of *Chlamys* and *Littorina* grains give the golden colour to many Cornish beaches. The sand grains of a beach are in all states of roundness because the process of polishing is going on all the time. Each grain is covered with a film of seawater so that no grain rubs the next one, yet all are in a constant state of rotation. The sand is washed up the beach by the swash, and down again by the backwash. In time a sand grain becomes very highly polished and a handful of beach sand is indeed a marvel of nature.

An unusual beach formation occurs at Mother Ivey's Bay and Harlyn Bay where there are **REEFS OF BEACHROCK**. This is a beach sand where each individual grain is cemented to its neighbour by a minute blob of calcareous cement at the grain contact. This primary cementation produces a soft but very tough rock. Sometimes however there is a secondary cementation filling all the voids between the

grains and the rock is very hard, quite solid and is in fact a pelletal limestone. Beachrock cementation is believed to take place only at high wave level, so that only a narrow band is formed at any one time. At Mother Ivey's Bay the beachrock is 15 ft. (4.5 m.) thick and extends well above present day HWM to a point well below. It must have taken considerable time in making, though there is no exact evidence of age. The longest reef is 120 ft. (36 m.) long and 60 ft. (18 m.) wide. The rock is well stratified and dips everywhere gently seaward.

Another unusual feature of the beaches is BEACH TUFA. This occurs where ground water passing along joint planes in limestone beds dissolves quantities of carbonate of lime because the water is under pressure. If this water emerges as a spring at the cliff face the pressure is released, and the water throws down much of its load of lime as calcareous tufa or travertine. Porthcothan and Harlyn Bays have good examples.

Bays and headlands however are not the only features of a coastline though they are the big ones. There are also the less usual and smaller geos and stacks.

GEOS are long, steep-sided, narrow gullies, indenting a cliff-bound coast. They are usually the result of the wave-tide hammer and chisel cutting into a fault-shattered mass of rock. A fault plane always has a narrow zone of shattered material on either side, and this is cut away rather easily by the sea, and produces the geo.

A STACK is a small area of unusually hard, or specially indurated, rock, which resists the wave-tide hammer and chisel so that when the surrounding area is cut away, the stack stands up as a residual area. Higher Merope Island, near Trevone is a spectacular stack 180 ft. (56 m.) high on a very small base. Smaller structures occur at Porthcothan and Bedruthan. Some stacks were formed when the sea was at a higher level and now form a series of tooth-like projections standing not out of the sea, but rising from the exposed rock platforms, e.g. those at Rumps Point, near Pentire Head.

Another feature of the coastline is the OFFSHORE ISLAND. Islands generally are of two kinds, oceanic islands which are broken off bits of the continental platform and rise directly from the ocean floor, e.g. Rockall and offshore islands which rise up from the continental platform. The old definition of an island as a piece of land surrounded by water could usefully be replaced by a more imaginative one, that an offshore island is an indication of a former extent of the land. Whenever we look out across the sea to an island we see how far the land once extended. On a world scale there are two other kinds, volcanic islands of which we only have one in Britain, Mull, and coral islands of which we have none now though there were plenty in Silurian and Carboniferous times. Thus all our islands except Mull are evidence of former land extensions.

In SW. England we have one substantial archipelago of islands in the Scillies. This is a scatter of 140 small islands and islets. It is a granite pluton rising up from the continental shelf, the islands being the high points of the rim. The sea between the islands is shallow, whereas outside the scatter there is deep water. The Scillies are evidence that the SW. peninsula once extended a further 25 miles to the west. All the Scillies group are Carboniferous granite, and the rocks of which they are made are dated 288 million years.

Another island is Lundy 12 miles NW. of Hartland Point. This also is a granite but of quite different age. It is a Tertiary granite dated 35 million years. Lundy suggests that the mass of Exmoor extended at one time westwards by another 8 miles, and ended in a great granite headland, of which only the old headland is left, as Lundy Island. Beyond Dinas Head is a whole string of islets showing a former long extension in a substantial promontory. This is a minverite sill. The island of Gulland in Trevone Bay is probably an extension of the greenstone dyke at Stepper Point.

Very important features of this coastline are patches of SAND DUNES. These are miniature mountain ranges made of wind blown sand. Most of them are quite modern, and the dates when buildings, like St. Pirans Oratory, Constantine Chapel and St. Enodoc Church, were engulfed by dune-sand, are known as also are the dates when the migration of the dunes uncovered them again. The chief dune areas are the east bank of the Camel estuary, behind Constantine Bay, Hayle Towans and the coast about Bude. Dunes require for their construction a plentiful supply of beach sand, a prevailing wind which will carry this inshore, a shingle foundation to drain the dune and the plants which are the actual dune builders. There are two which are quite essential *Agropyron junceiforme*, which binds the little foredunes. If these are to grow into big dunes *Ammophyla arenaria* (Marram grass) takes over and the roots of this can bind the whole sand dune together even if it is 100 ft. high. Although the roots of these plants tend to hold the dune in place, the prevailing wind is always pressing the dune material further inland. Dunes tend to migrate inland from the middle so they are usually crescent shape in plan. The top of a dune is undulating, due to powerful wind currents and a col may occur in the top of a dune. As one dune migrates *Agropyron* takes over the clear space and a new dune starts building so that a dune area is usually a succession of ridges. Fossil dune material occurs as Eolianite at Trebetherick, near Padstow.

One of the most striking features of this coast is the long angular ESTUARY of the river Camel, extending inland nearly 10 miles. Steers regards this as an over-deepened valley formed when the sea was at a lower level than today, which has become flooded by a later rise in sea-level. If a line is drawn down the centre of the Camel estuary it is a zig-zag line, the pieces of which are singularly straight. This, together with the excessive deepening of this valley, suggests deep lines of weakness in the Palaeozoic rock platform in which the valley is cut, possibly a series of tear faults, or a big thrust fault with breaks in the advancing edge, or even a big recumbent fold with a broken nose. The only other large inlet in this coast is 50 miles north at Appledore, near Barnstaple.

Smaller inlets are the PORTHS which are quite a characteristic of this coast from Padstow to the Scillies. These are small estuaries which have become impounded by a bar of dune-sand or sometimes storm-beach to form a lake. This may still exist as at Porth Hellick in the Scillies, or it may have been cut through by the stream and the area behind drained leaving a lake flat as at Porthcothan, Porth Mear and St. Columb Minor Porth. The lake clay at Porth Mear has provided detail of the climate and flora of the area in the Bronze Age.

I must conclude with a brief survey of the age of the final sculpturing of the coastal belt. In the Lower Pleistocene the sea stood at 200 ft. (60 m.) above its position today. Thus all features of the coastal belt below this level are later than the Lower Pleistocene. In the cold periods the sea-level was far below the present, at times 300 ft. or 90 m. below. The intense cold caused frost shattering of the surface, and towards the end of the cold period, when water was becoming more abundant with melting snow and ice, but still a low sea-level, deep dissection of the high moors, and sharp downcutting of all the valleys, took place. It is only from the latest cold periods that the frost shattered unconsolidated breccia survives as the head which forms thick aprons at the foot of all the steep slopes and forms a superficial covering of all the cliff tops. There are records of sea-levels oscillating around the present and slightly above in the RAISED BEACH PLATFORMS. These are well preserved in the estuaries especially the Camel, and occur at 25 ft. and 15 ft. O.D. the last shattered and broken. They are narrow showing the duration of the sea-level at that point was short. Some still have beach cobbles or even boulders on them, and the surface of some of these is frost shattered suggesting the cutting of the platform on which they lie predates the last cold period, e.g. at Trebetherick.

What this shows is that the whole coastline, as we see it today, is a Quaternary feature, which is very remarkable in view of the age of the materials being sculptured. The rock materials range from Lower Devonian, 400 million to the granite 288 million and the Blue Lias 180 million, but the sculpturing described has all been done since the middle of the Lower Pleistocene, i.e. during the last 450,000 years and much of it since Middle Pleistocene during the last 250,000 years.

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## Conclusions from a military appreciation of the Roman invasion of the Marches and Wales

By L. P. MOORE

#### I—FOREWORD

SUCH was the influence of steep-wooded hills and mountains upon military operations in the days of hand-to-hand fighting, that the terrain of the Central and Southern Marches and of Wales probably almost pre-ordained the course of invasions westward across the border during that era. Hence the potential of the *military appreciation* in this context to lead the archaeologist to relevant military sites and then to enable him to interpret realistically what he finds within them, is particularly valuable.

Putting oneself accordingly in the situation of Ostorius Scapula, on his appointment to Britain as its Roman Governor, in A.D. 47, as we understand it to have been, reading from authentic historical record, a military appreciation of his campaign for the subjugation of the Marches and Wales was made. The result of this objective study was then equated with the findings of archaeologists and the interpretations they put upon them. The outcome, which now follows, only differed in a few respects from deductions arrived at purely from archaeological science but upon aspects which appear important enough to warrant some discussion and further investigation.

Before charging into Wales, however, it would be helpful to review the prelude to invasion.

#### II—GRAND STRATEGY

I would not say more on this occasion about the political policy and the grand military strategy of Rome towards Britain at the outset of its invasion than that it is commonly understood that her *political* ambitions went no further than the occupation of Southern England and a determination to do everything possible to secure that territory by means of peaceful treaties with her neighbouring tribes. I would not question this assumption.

As to the securing of this limited acquisition, however, one has no doubt that Plautius and his military staff came to Britain fully prepared to find that such peace-making, with doughty independent mountain tribes, was by no means to be counted upon. We may safely assume that he landed in Britain, although hoping for the better, nonetheless fully prepared for the worse and fully furnished with *contingency* plans against that event.

That peaceful methods failed, we well know, for when Ostorius Scapula replaces Plautius in the Autumn of A.D. 47, the Province, Tacitus tells us,<sup>1</sup> is in a "state of chaos". The worse has in fact befallen Rome. The very safety of the Legions is at stake and there is little doubt that Scapula has demanded and has been given complete freedom of action as to how he shall rectify the serious situation and secure Southern Britain for Rome.<sup>2</sup>

### III—THE CONQUEST OF WALES

Tacitus describes how Scapula stabilises the Province "as far as the Severn and the Trent".<sup>3</sup> One should not put too much significance on this *limes*. It was not necessarily the established one before Scapula arrived at the scene of chaos. We do not know what more advanced frontier may have been abandoned before this stage, if indeed there had been a Northern frontier at all. That it was a military holding line of some significance, even if only in reserve, is evident by the military works supporting it. Anchored soundly at its extremities by the lower reaches of the Severn and the Trent, its diagonal axis is, in contrast, too long and not well enough endowed by nature for defence, despite the slight escarpment. But, far more significantly, it permits free intercommunication between the mountain tribes of Wales and those of Brigantia. This must first and immediately be severed: divide and then control.

One or two further considerations of this Severn-Trent *limes* before we leave it. It could not have been a holding line of any sort without an anchor fort at both extremities. An earlier foundation of the known Glevum or another fort in that vicinity almost certainly awaits our discovery. Any extension there might have been down towards the legionary fortress near Exeter, could not alter this conclusion. Nor should we overlook the possibility that the formidable lower Severn was employed as the frontier right up to the gorge, striking Eastwards from about Bridgnorth, much more directly to the Trent. Such would appear to be more tenable than the Avon line, while providing a ready posture for the forthcoming offensive. That it was but an unpopular makeshift is evident by the speed with which Scapula proceeds to supersede it.

Scapula well knows that he cannot hold the Severn-Trent line for long, efficiently, even had he wished to. The lesson he has recently administered to the Iceni and their Allies could not last for ever and probably sooner than later he must remove the Brigantian threat once and for all. He cannot however safely contain Brigantia while a belligerent undefeated group of Welsh tribes, stirred to red heat by Caratacus, threatens his left flank. Nor can he fight on two fronts at the same time. He must therefore subdue Wales first and quickly, while the Brigantian stupor and peace treaty may yet hold.

I believe that most are agreed that the only sound course open to Scapula for the conquest of Wales is to seize and hold its relatively few and small food-producing areas around the river mouths and inland. The tribesmen must then either starve in the mountain wilderness or come out and fight in the open, with inevitable result. What does not however appear to be generally recognised is that, on the basis of this or any other reasonable strategy, Wales must be assaulted *as a whole*, if Rome is to succeed. The apparent stop/go and the continual change of front is frequently held to signify a limited strategic aim or even a vacillation of policy. This point of view does not make sufficient allowance for the illness of Scapula, the initiative of Boudicca, the premature death of Veranius, the rising of Venutius and strife at home, to account for the interruptions. Nor does it recognise the inborn or indoctrinated strategic soundness of Roman Generals.

By the term, "assault of Wales as a whole", should not be envisaged a simultaneous crossing of all frontiers, everywhere in force but here a feint, there a diversion, here a holding and there an assault in concentrated force: relentless threat and pressure everywhere but the real thrust concentrated in place and time at the vital point only.

### IV—DECEANGLIAN CAMPAIGN

No sooner has Scapula stabilised the Severn-Humber line, than he turns upon the Deceangli.<sup>4</sup>

His first aim is to separate the Brigantes from the Welsh tribes. Overrunning Deceanglia quickly, he drives a wedge between them and, before long, Tacitus tells us,<sup>5</sup> his Legions have almost reached "the sea facing Ireland". So significant is this move to the Brigantes, that, despite their recent setback, they feel compelled in desperation to rise. Scapula promptly crushes them, "and", we are told,<sup>6</sup> "that until his conquests were secured, he was resolved to postpone further expansion". "Conquests": thus his Deceanglian campaign was no mere reconnaissance sortie or punitive raid or limited objective. "Further expansion": evidence that this campaign was indeed a prelude to far more: and obviously the subjugation of Wales.

From this moment onwards, a strongly defended position at or near Chester is required as a king pin for any conceivable strategy, whether to attack or to contain Brigantia or North Wales, in order to sever communication between them and to provide a seaward bastion for either frontier. Moreover he requires a base for seaward approaches to both territories, from hereabouts.

Thus, although proof of existence of a fort dating so early has yet to be produced, there is little doubt that it exists to be found. Development of modern Chester has long since spoilt a thorough investigation but the recent discovery of Claudio-Neronian burials beneath the legionary fortress, may well have this meaning.<sup>7</sup>

Scapula requires one more major asset from this Deceanglian campaign, namely to secure the vital salient formed between the middle Severn, the Berwyn escarpment and the lower Dee and this was doubtless a major objective on this occasion. It is notable that we read nothing about Cornovian reaction to this campaign and it may be that they are already an ally of Scapula, only too glad to be shielded from raids by the mountain tribesmen.

This salient turns the northern flank of the tribe between the Severn and the Wye (The Ordovices?) and the southern flank of the Deceangli. Moreover it commands two of the main gateways into Wales—the Severn Valley and the Vale of Llangollen.

With his latest lesson to the Brigantes severe enough to lend real meaning to the new peace treaty with Queen Cartimandua; with the Deceangli subdued; with the Berwyn salient protruding threateningly on the northern flank of the Ordovices or Silures; with his baseline securely anchored on both the mouth of the Dee and that of the Severn and with a supply depot and naval base established near Chester, Scapula is now and only now properly poised for the invasion of Middle and South Wales.

In accordance with the principle of relentless overall pressure, his correct action now is to switch his forces, concentrated, to the Southern Marches; and this we

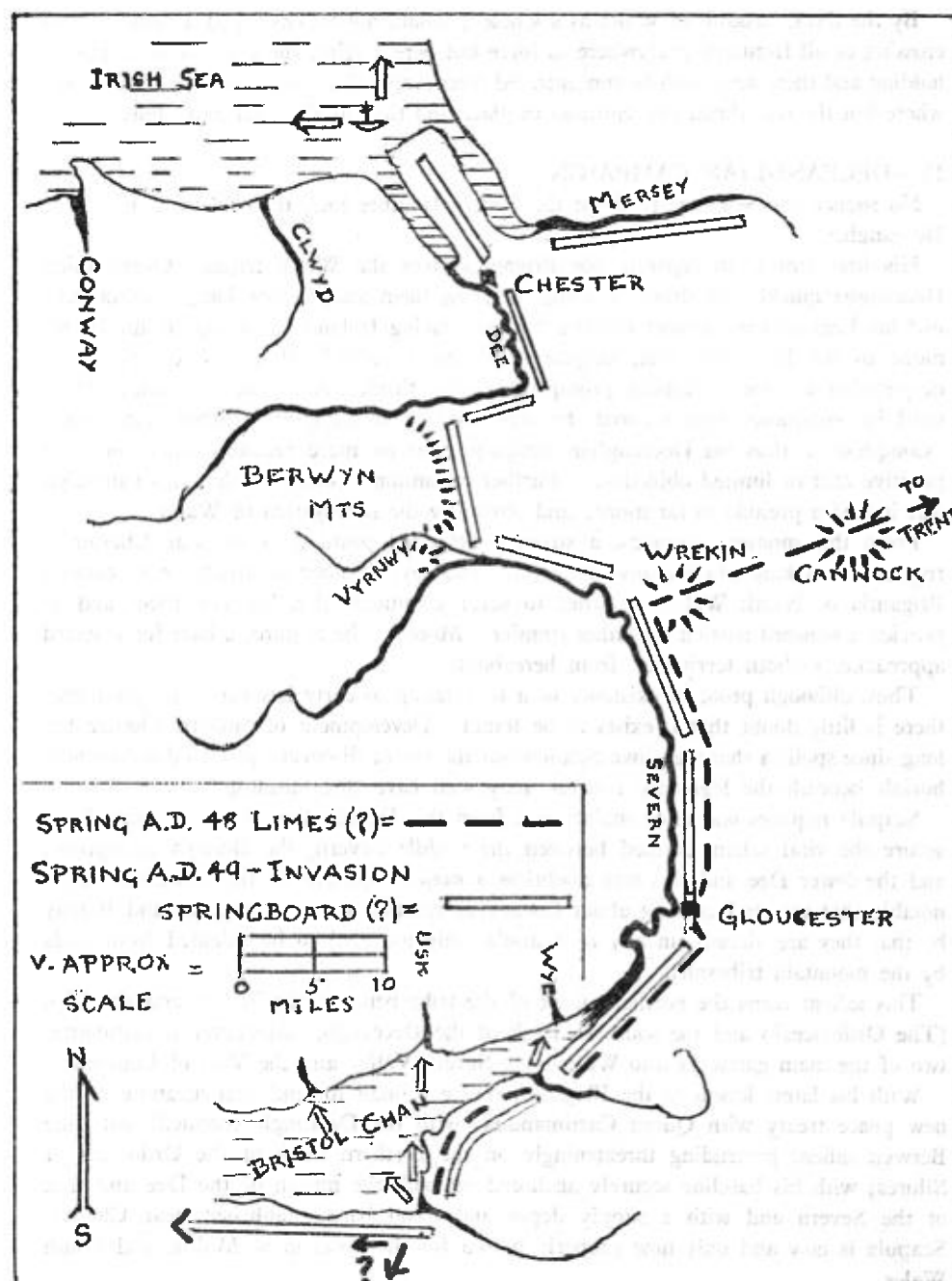


FIG. 1

Scapulan Invasion of the Marches A.D. 47-49.

know he duly does, calling up a Brigade from Camulodunum to reinforce his army.<sup>8</sup> We should allow for a sizeable garrison, based upon Chester and feinting continually with deep raids up the Vale of Llangollen and by sea on the North coast, as a diversionary strategem. Moreover this garrison must at the same time contain Brigantia.

#### V—OPENING OF THE SILURIAN CAMPAIGN

In the Spring of A.D. 49, Scapula crosses the middle and lower Severn.<sup>9</sup> We know even less than hitherto about the course of events but with difficult and heavily-featured terrain now about to come near to taking charge of them in many important respects, our appreciation suddenly becomes far less reliant upon record. We can be fairly sure that Caratacus, in the light of his great experience of Roman arms, has convinced the tribal chiefs that on no account must they divert from guerilla warfare to open confrontation in defence, for example, of their hill forts. A sequence of action now stems from our appreciation as follows. The springboard poise of the Roman arms is depicted in fig. 1, while the four Phases of advance are shown in fig. 2.

In the opening phase, Scapula crosses the middle and lower Severn, in force and on a broad front and while his cavalry sweep the Severn Valley and cover the approaches through the eastern foot hills of the Middle and Lower Marches his main force deploys laterally to concentrate upon and to consolidate two or possibly three main bridgeheads near the west bank of the river.

With the bridgeheads secured and the eastern perimeter of hills commanded, Phase II brings the legions westwards, within a huge pincer movement from the Berwyn salient in the north and the north coast of Somerset, by sea in the south, up to the line of the Rivers Onny, Teme, lower Lugg and lower Wye, securing his southern flank on the formidable natural bastion of the Forest of Dean, here to dig in for the Winter.

Siluria remains the primary target and the biggest problem. In order to divide the Silures from the Ordovices and to outflank the former, Scapula next sweeps across the easy North Herefordshire Plain, protected by the middle Wye on his left flank, to seize the passes through the Cluns and the Radnor Forest, as far south and west as the great gateway between them and the Black Mountains.

The Silures in Monmouthshire are now held between this new Wye salient and a new invading army now assembling on the Somersetshire coast. A period of consolidation in Herefordshire and the Forest of Dean is now however an essential preliminary to the final phases against the Silures, first in Monmouthshire and then in Glamorganshire, while in the meantime, the Ordovices, to whom Caratacus has recently resorted, have yet to be taught a lesson and thereby contained. *The initiative is still with Scapula.* With the South Marches contained, we see him now thrust in the centre against the Ordovices. Why they feel compelled at this stage to stand and fight is not obvious.<sup>10</sup> All we know is that they do so and that they meet the inevitable end of such a confrontation. With the Ordovices as well as the Deceangli now safely out of the way for at least the time being, Scapula resumes his pressure upon the Silures. If he cannot lure their main forces to a decisive battle in Mon-



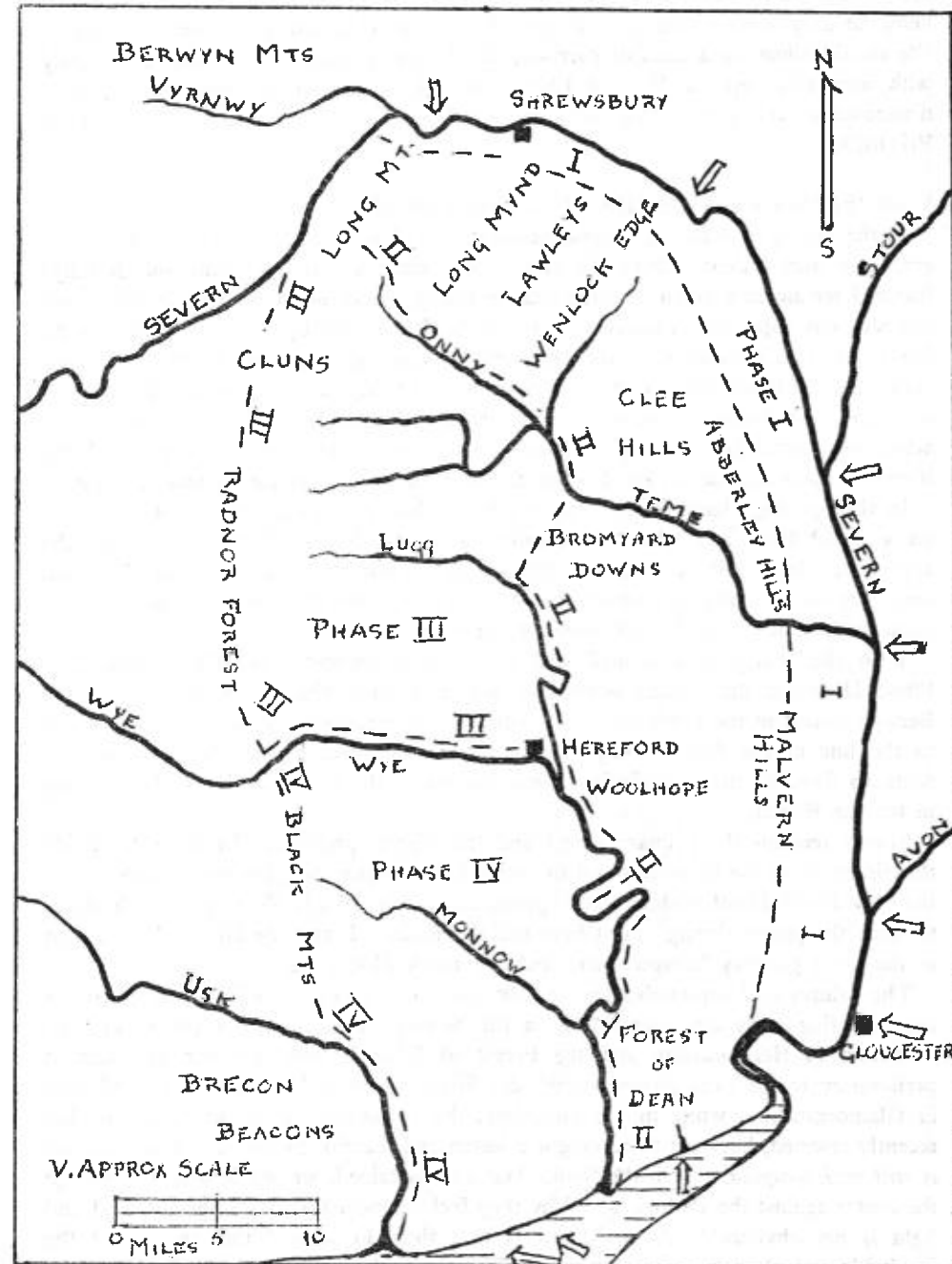


FIG. 2

Scapulan Invasion of Central and Southern Marches.  
(Sketch showing appreciated phases of advance from A.D. 49).

mouthshire—and that surely is his main aim—his next territorial objective will be to seize Archenfield and Monmouthshire and to secure the line of the Black Mountains and the lower Usk. Little does Scapula know that this phase is to take over twenty years to accomplish.

The whole pattern of events since the middle of A.D. 47 has been strikingly in accord with the Grand Strategy postulated. Unlike Tacitus, we must give the Silures their full military due and we have to recognise the human failings of even a Roman general. That this next campaign eventually drives a sickening Scapula into his death bed,<sup>11</sup> seems to testify to the military worth of his last adversary. His successors, the aged Didius Gallus and the short-lived aggressive Veranius, evidently re-establish the South Marches, although at great cost, for by A.D. 59 we see Paulinus striking against the Druids by way of Deceanglia and the sea.<sup>12</sup> Before however he can consolidate the conquest of North Wales, the Boudiccan uprising diverts him from his task. In the withdrawal to follow, retention of the vital anchor bastion of the Forest of Dean must have been a pre-occupation of the II Legion and one can well understand why Poenius Postumus was pinned down at Glevum.

Thus frustrated, first by the Silures and then by the rising of Venutius and the consequent break by Brigantia with Rome, history has to await the punishment of the Brigantes by Cerealis before the legions resume their original and consistent strategic aim—the conquest of Wales.

"A pause could now be made in the North", writes Tacitus, "to complete the conquest of Wales". We see how, in the course of a brilliant campaign lasting about four years, Frontinus occupies and consolidates Central and South Wales. The way is now—and only now—open for the campaigns of Agricola, Urbicus and Severus through the north of Britain into Caledonia.

## VII—CONCLUSIONS

Whatever the limitations of political ambition in the government of Britain by Rome, there can be no doubt that military plans provided from the outset for the conquest of Britain in its entirety, in the event of failure of peaceful means. A pre-requisite of this was the conquest of Wales and one's belief is that the plan for this was launched on the appointment of Ostorius Scapula to the Governorship of Britain in consequence of the very crisis that led to his appointment, rather than in that of the Boudiccan uprising.

That the campaign took so long and was interrupted so frequently, can for the most part be traced to the effect of internal or external pressure too powerful to contain at the time. A continuity of military strategy can in fact be traced throughout.

The stabilising *limes* Scapula improvised before his assault upon Deceanglia, probably joined the Severn (from the Humber and the Trent) at its Gorge. Key fortified bases were probably constructed at or near Gloucester before the Deceanglian campaign and at or near Chester before commencement of the Ordovician campaign in the Spring of A.D. 49. The Deceanglian campaign of A.D. 48 was one of conquest and strategic acquisition, with the latter notably including the "Chester" base and the Berwyn salient. Conquest or containment of the Ordovices followed as Scapula's



next essential preliminary to his crucial assault upon Siluria, with a view to its encirclement. While Scapula probably reached the Usk and the Black Mountains, he failed to consolidate his hold and, of much more significance, to bring his enemy to decisive battle before his untimely death. Thereafter we see his master plan unfold in the hands of his successors, and we sense the nostalgic pleasure and the envy exuding from the ageing Vespasian as he devours the dispatches from his trusted Frontinus.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to thank Dr. G. W. Webster and Mr. S. C. Stanford for their kind help and encouragement during the drafting of the Appreciation.

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- <sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, Book XII, 31.
- <sup>2</sup> Gibbon, commenting upon the initiative allowed by the Emperors to their Generals and Governors, writes in his *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, as follows. "—when the arms of the Legions were carried to a great distance from Italy, the Generals assumed the liberty of directing them against whatever people and in whatever manner they judged most advantageous for the public service".
- <sup>3</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, Book XII, 31.
- <sup>4</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, Book XII, 32.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>7</sup> J. Chester N. Wales *Architect. Archaeol. Hist. Soc.*, XXXV (1942), pp. 49-51; XXXVIII (1950), p. 18.
- <sup>8</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, Book XII, 33.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>10</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, Book XII, 34 and 35.
- <sup>11</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, Book XII, 38 and 39.
- <sup>12</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, Book XIV, 29 and 30.

## Hereford Castle Excavations 1968-69

By P. J. LEACH

*An exploratory excavation was carried out in advance of landscaping to Redcliffe Gardens adjoining the Castle Green. Evidence of three phases of the castle's history was forthcoming; a mid-13th-century period of construction, the Civil War, and post Civil War landscaping.*

CONSIDERING the relative importance of Hereford Castle and its town in the Middle Ages it is regrettable that so little now remains of what must once have been a major military work. Illustrations and documentary sources give little more than an outline of its original appearance. Its early destruction prevented adequate recording by the later antiquaries. The best surviving account is by John Leland writing in the 16th century<sup>1</sup> and this is supplemented by Speed's map of 1611 on which an illustration also appears.<sup>2</sup>

Previous to 1968 the only archaeological investigation in the castle area had been the excavation in 1960 of a religious building on the Castle Green.<sup>3</sup> The construction of a new bandstand and landscaping of Redcliffe Gardens made desirable a trial investigation in the area affected. The work was made possible through the co-operation of Hereford Corporation and was directed by me on behalf of the Hereford Excavation Committee. The excavations were financed by the Committee with the aid of a grant from the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works and were undertaken over a series of weekends during the winter of 1968-69. Thanks are due to all volunteers who worked on the site, in particular Mr. A. H. Berrett.

The area examined was the south-east corner of Redcliffe Gardens close by Castle Cliffe, a building considered to be the only surviving portion of the castle. Although much altered and re-used, this building probably represents part of a gatehouse, either connecting the keep with its bailey or a water gate to the river.

Early in 1968 a machine-excavated trench was cut on the site of the present bandstand. This has yet to be published but was put down at right-angles to the Castle Green across the estimated site of the keep and keep ditch. Of the former no evidence was found, but a great accumulation of largely 17th-century debris indicated the complete levelling of the site, presumably subsequent to the post Civil War demolition. With this evidence in mind, along with the discovery of massive stone walling it was thought possible that excavation by Castle Cliffe might locate the ditch edge and possibly some bridge foundations.

The investigation was undertaken by means of four trenches, I-IV, I and II being subsequently combined.

#### Period I

As in much of Hereford, the underlying natural deposit is a horizontally bedded river gravel. This gravel was probably the result of glacial meltwater and is generally a mixed sand and pebble deposit which provides good drainage. A bluff

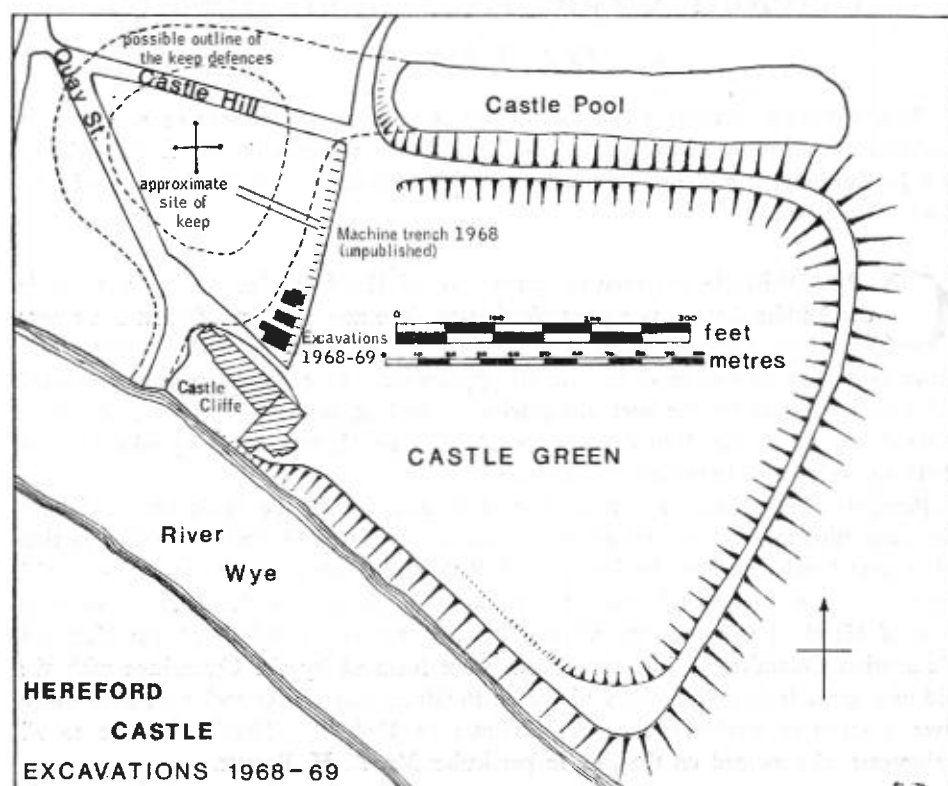


FIG. 1  
Site showing excavations 1968-69.

of gravel has been utilized for the castle site and is well exposed by undercutting of the river below the Castle Green.

In the areas investigated this gravel, layer 5, was found at about 3 ft. below the surface at the eastern end of each trench. In a line approximately north-east south-west, the gravel surface terminates in an abrupt cut face. Where followed down in trench I-II, the cut was about 9½ ft. deep. The absence of weathering to any significant degree indicates fairly rapid re-burial except perhaps in trench III where a gentler slope exists. Against this face in I-II was built massive drystone walling, layer 9, (pl. II) bounded by traces of poor quality cement. The stones, of local sandstone, were in most cases roughly shaped and packed with smaller rubble, particularly along the junction with the natural cut face. The main piece of stonework continued outwards roughly at right-angles to the cut with a maximum depth where observed of 8 ft.; resting ultimately upon layer 5. A branch of layer 9 was built at right-angles to the main section, extending out to the south-west corner of I-II. This arm, of similar construction to the remainder, was no more than five courses deep and rested upon coarse, disturbed gravel.

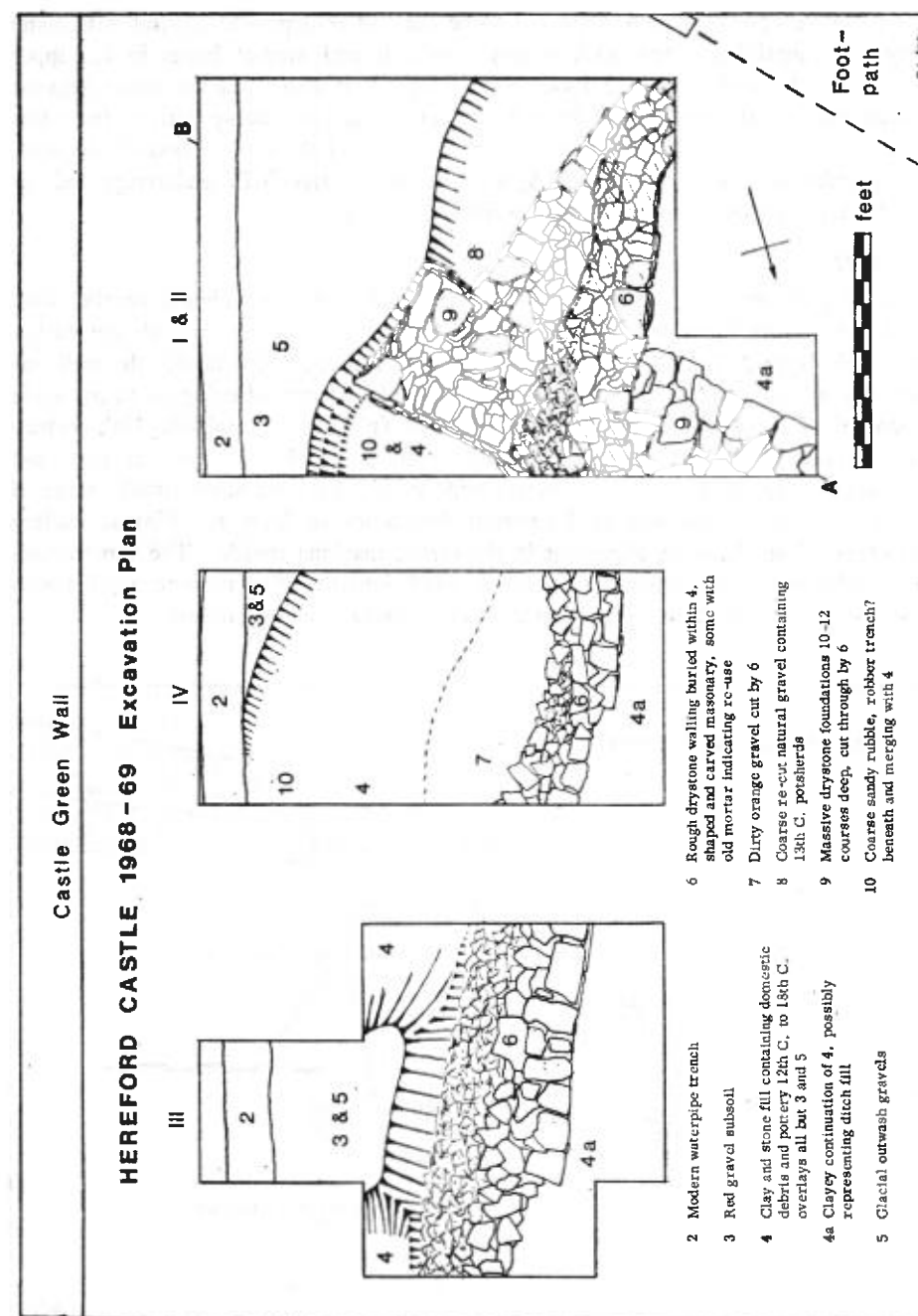


FIG. 2  
Plan of excavations in Redcliffe Gardens.

The coarse gravel, layer 8, appeared to be cut and re-deposited natural with some dirty soil containing a few 13th-century potsherds and animal bones in its upper levels. Besides underlying the lesser arm of layer 9 it also filled the space between this section and the cut face of layer 5. Layer 8 was presumably derived from this cut and is apparently contemporary with the cutting and the construction of the stone wall foundations. The gravel, layer 8, was also seen in trench IV underlying and cut into by layer 10 and terminated by the line of layer 6.

### Period II

Crossing all trenches was a line of walling, layer 6, running almost parallel with the Castle Green boundary. In trench I-II it was seen to cut through the earlier stonework, layer 9, (pl. I) and rest upon its lower courses. Structurally the wall was built dry of large cut stones some of which had old mortar adhering to them, while a handful of moulded pieces were also observed (pl. IV) of probable 13th-century date. Where excavated fully layer 6 was found to be five to six feet high and consisting of well-laid stones two courses wide backed by loose stone rubble, some of which was undoubtedly due to the partial destruction of layer 6. Similar walling was observed on the same alignment in the earlier machine trench. The construction of a garden wall beside Quay Street also revealed similar walling running parallel with this street and again containing fragments of medieval stone moulding.

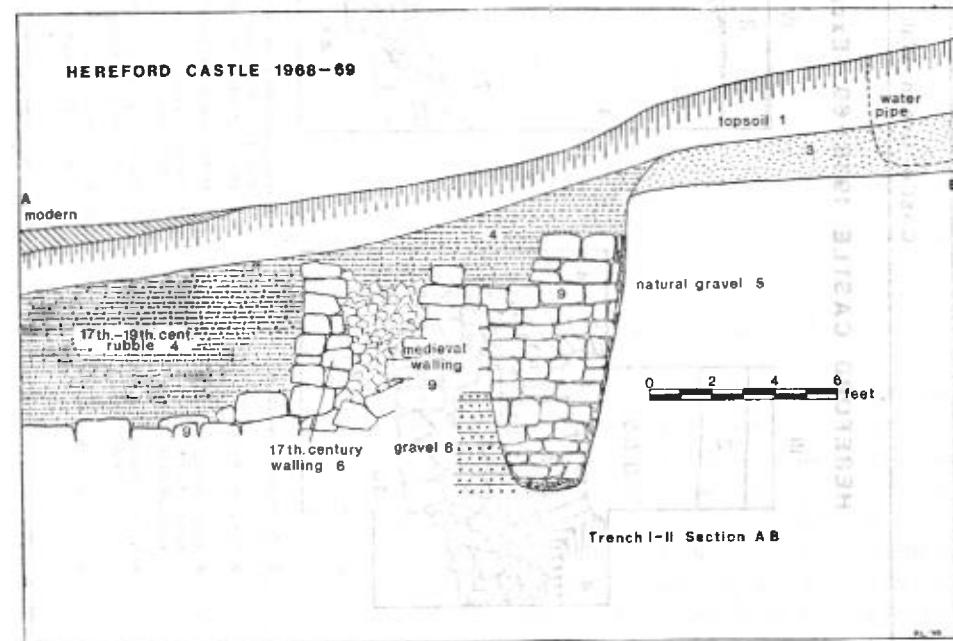


FIG. 3

Section A-B through trench I-II Redcliffe Gardens.

### Period III

With the exception of the natural gravel, all the features on the site were buried below a thick deposit of spoil, layer 4. This consisted of a very mixed deposit of clay, stones and domestic rubbish, by its nature suggesting a fairly rapid accumulation of material. The walling, layer 6, was contained within this accumulation although it rested upon either medieval stonework or gravel. Outside layer 6 the fill was of a darker colour and contained pottery and clay pipes of a late 17th-century date although earlier wares were well mixed. Behind and above layer 6, 18th-century pottery was more common though still well mixed with older material and considerable quantities of animal bones. The only coins found were a sixpence of William III, 1697, and a halfpenny of Charles II, 1672-5, both in poor condition. In trench IV the nature of layer 4 differed somewhat in that it appeared more stony and of a grey sandy texture, layer 10, and this seems to be repeated in the north-east corner of trenches I-II and also in III. It is possible that this represents a robber trench as the cut face of layer 5 seems to have been disturbed, particularly in trench III. More medieval sherds were observed in layer 10 although still with a sprinkling of 17th and 18th-century pottery.

### THE FINDS

#### Medieval Pottery

The bulk of this material came from the unstratified fill which smothered the site from the 17th century onwards. The only pottery in a medieval context came from the gravel, layer 8, which buried the medieval stone foundations in trenches I-II. This pottery (fig. 4) was of two sorts (a) 1-5 coarse cooking pot body and rim sherds of a type familiar in the West Midlands,<sup>4</sup> (b) 6-9 dark green glazed jug sherds probably all from one vessel. The coarse unglazed pottery can be paralleled elsewhere in Hereford,<sup>5</sup> while the jug sherds are of a type similar to the products of the Ham

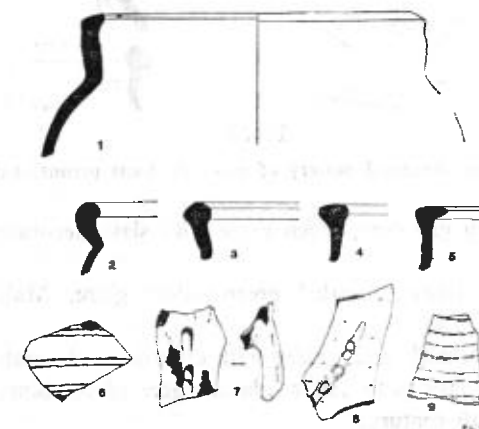


FIG. 4

Stratified medieval pottery associated with period I wall foundations trench I-II (4).

Green kilns, Bristol,<sup>6</sup> although the fabric in this case suggests a local copy. All the pottery could be dated to around the mid-13th century, suggesting a likely date for the associated structures.

#### *Unstratified Medieval Pottery and Tiles*

A considerable quantity of medieval sherds were obtained from the 17th-18th century debris. The great majority were tiles and glazed pottery of probable local manufacture mixed with unglazed cooking-pot sherds (fig. 5). Unless specified all sherds are late 13th-14th century.

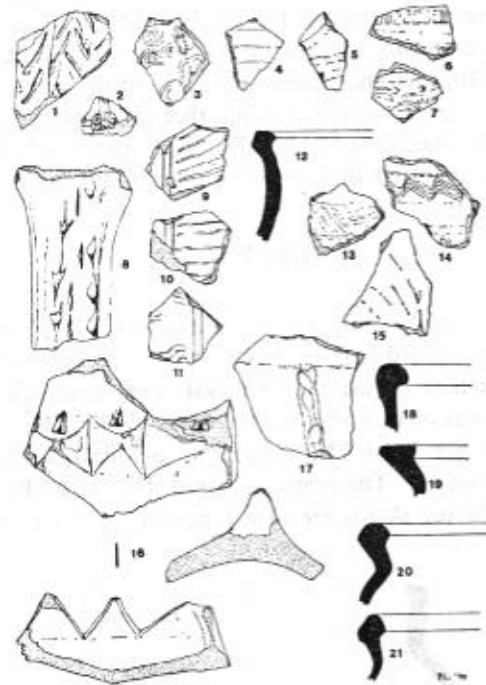


FIG. 5

Unstratified medieval pottery of probable local manufacture (4).

1. Pink fabric, grey grit core, green glaze with slash decoration. A Ham Green type but local fabric.
2. Pale pink grit fabric, mottled green-yellow glaze, Midland type, possibly Coventry area.
3. Fine pink fabric, dark green glaze with curvilinear decoration. Midland type.
4. Fine pink grit fabric with yellow glaze, traces of combing. Fabric similar to Chester ware, 11th-12th century.
5. Pale pink grit fabric, green glaze covering applied strips of grey clay. Midland type, as 2.

6. Fine grey fabric, green glaze with rouletting. Midlands type but Home Counties? fabric.

7. Fine pink fabric, green glaze, slashed decoration, Midlands type.

8-12. Pink coarse fabric with grey core, pale green glaze. Fabric and glaze suggest a strap handle, body and rim sherds from a single jug.

13-15. Coarse gritted sherds of tripod pitchers with green and orange glazes and typical combed and rouletted patterns. Midland types, 1200-1250.

16. Ridge tile of fine pink fabric with a grey core, dark green glaze. Midland type, 15th century?

17-21. Unglazed cooking pot rims and a body sherd with thumbled strip decoration. All very coarse fabric.

A small proportion of the pottery was recognisable as imported wares or that very similar to the products of other factories (fig. 6). Late 13th-14th century unless specified.

22-23. Two sherds of fine red micaceous fabric with applied strips of grey and white slip, green-orange glaze. Uncertain origin.<sup>7</sup>

24. White grit fabric glazed pale green with applied red clay strip decoration glazed brown. Rouen import, 11th-12th century.

25. White grit fabric, green glaze with scale decoration. Rouen import?

26. Fine white fabric, mottled green glaze. S.W. French import?

27. Jug spout with applied strip below lip, copying S.W. French imports, grey grit fabric with green glaze. Ham Green.

28. Face mask from a jug, grey fabric with green glaze, typical Ham Green but fabric doubtful.

29-35. Strap handles, spouts and rims from Ham Green jugs. Coarse pink and grey fabrics, hard fired with green glazes.

34. Probably a horn terminal from a roof tile, possibly local ware.

#### *Post-Medieval Material (not illustrated)*

The 17th-18th-century spoil was datable by the considerable amounts of post-medieval material present within it. This material included glazed earthenware pottery of 16th and 17th-century types, similar pottery decorated with slip and a few sherds from tygs. Much of this pottery was similar in all respects to the Herefordshire post-medieval kilns.<sup>8</sup> Small quantities of Staffordshire slipware were also present including combed and feathered types, and a few sherds of stoneware were recovered. Considerable numbers of clay pipes were found in the deposit the majority of which are datable between 1660 and 1700. Other small finds included 18th-century glass and two poor coins, one of William III and the other of Charles II.

A substantial topsoil of dark brown soil covered the whole site and contained many finds from the 13th to 20th centuries. Other late disturbances included a waterpipe trench excavated in 1968, layer 2, and a layer of red clay overlying the topsoil in the west ends of the cuttings and put down recently for landscaping purposes.

The identification of French imported ware and some of the non-local sherds is based upon verbal information from M. Ponsford, Bristol City Museum, and R. Thompson, Southampton Museums.



FIG. 6  
Unstratified medieval pottery, imported wares (4).

### CONCLUSIONS

From the evidence previously summarised a possible chronology of events is suggested.

The earliest activity appears to be the scarping of the natural gravel and the construction of the medieval stonework, layer 9, presumably on the perimeter of an earlier moat surrounding the keep. From the evidence and associated pottery, this was a single operation and was subsequently re-buried as foundations almost immediately. A mid-13th-century date is postulated for this construction which would coincide with a recorded period of building activity under Henry III.

The later drystone walling, layer 6, is datable to a period following either complete or partial destruction of the castle, by its composition of re-used stone including medieval mouldings. This destruction of medieval features is also suggested by the supposed robber trench, layer 10. Layer 6 is buried by layer 4, a largely late 17th-century deposit and it is therefore suggested that this wall may be associated with the Civil War, possibly Royalist re-fortification.

The great quantity of late 17th and 18th-century material evidently represents the wholesale destruction and obliteration of the keep site at this time, culminating in the 18th-century landscaping.

In conclusion it must be said that larger scale operations might alter or at least modify these conclusions. Nevertheless, archaeological evidence seems to have thrown some light upon three periods in the castle's history; building activity during Henry III's reign, the Civil War, and the subsequent destruction and landscaping.

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- <sup>2</sup> For a brief modern account of Hereford Castle see *The History of the Kings Works*, H.M.S.O. (1963) Vol. II, 343-54.
- <sup>3</sup> F. G. Heys and J. Norwood, 'Excavations at Castle Green 1960', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Field Club*, XXXVI (1960), 343-54.
- <sup>4</sup> For general references to pottery of this type see the following: J. G. Hurst, 'White Castle and the Dating of Medieval Pottery', *Medieval Archaeol.*, VI-VII (1962-3), 135-155.
- <sup>5</sup> E. M. Jope, 'The Regional Cultures of Medieval Britain', *Culture and Environment* (1963), 227-250.
- <sup>6</sup> See excavation reports in recent *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Field Club* for medieval sites in the city and county.
- <sup>7</sup> K. J. Barton, 'A Medieval Pottery Kiln at Ham Green Bristol', *Trans. Bristol Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.* (1963), 95-126.
- <sup>8</sup> Compare with a jug found at Hertford College, Oxford, 1888, in the Ashmolean Museum.
- <sup>9</sup> For a general account see F. C. Morgan, *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Field Club*, XXXV (1956), 133-38.

### APPENDIX

A good series of late 17th-century tobacco pipes were obtained from the moat ditch and destruction layer 4. This is one of the best excavated series yet obtained in Hereford, the majority coming from the unpublished machine trench through the moat. I am particularly grateful to Mr. A. J. Clark of Ross-on-Wye for his report on these and to Mr. J. Parry for his invaluable assistance.

## Clay Tobacco Pipes from the Castle Green, Hereford

By A. J. CLARKE

Of the 130 specimens of pipes found the following makers' marks and bowl forms are worth discussion. They will be described as follows: the numbers will refer to the drawings of maker's marks and the letters to the bowl form.

No. 1 [A]

W.C., incuse letters, with swags over and under, impressed upon the round heel of the pipe. This is probably the mark of William Chearington, of Bristol, who was admitted freeman of the city on 9 May 1660, by order of Mayor, Alderman at the Common Council. He seems to have been working until 1703-4. <sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> (Oswald 6a).<sup>3</sup>

Nos. 2 and 3

W.C., raised letters, with three or four pellets over and under and often one between the letters. This is probably the mark of William Cissol, of Bristol, who was admitted freeman on 19 February 1660, the final reference to him being when his apprentice John Lewis was admitted in 1669. <sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> (Oswald 6b).<sup>3</sup>





FIG. 7  
Makers' marks 1-25 actual size.

- No. 4 I.B., raised letters within a circle of short radial lines. The mark is on the heel of the pipe. Maker unknown, bowl form unobtainable from the sherd.
- No. 5 E.F., raised letters, within a circle of raised dots, marked upon the round heel. Two bowls were found with this stamp, the maker is unknown (Oswald 6b).<sup>3</sup>
- No. 6 T.I., incuse letters on a round heel. Maker unknown, several specimens found. The stem is marked as in drawing of bowl F. This stem stamp also occurs on bowls marked T.M. (Oswald 4a/5a).<sup>3</sup>
- No. 7 R.B., incuse letters upon a round heel, this is probably the mark of Richard Berriman or Burman, 1619-1652. The letters are divided by a device, which on pipes from elsewhere often resembles a dagger.<sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> (Oswald 4a).<sup>3</sup>
- Nos. 8-11 [D] R.E., raised letters, with various other devices, i.e. pellets over and under or within a circle of raised dots, pellets do not occur on no. 8. Maker unknown. (Similar to Oswald 6b).<sup>3</sup>
- Nos. 12 and 13 [C] W.V., raised letters, within a heart or oval. Maker unknown.<sup>4</sup> (Oswald 6).<sup>3</sup>
- No. 14 GREE P OVEL, raised letters upon a round heel. This is probably the mark of George Pool<sup>5</sup> or Gregory Powel 1696-1717, both of Broseley. Bowl form unobtainable.
- No. 15 ? Raised letters upon what was probably a racquet shaped heel. A very eroded sherd, maker unknown, bowl form unobtainable.
- Nos. 16-22 Marks of the "asterisk", "cartwheel" or "radiate star" type. The mark 16 occurred twice on bowl type I. The others occur on bowl types G/H (Oswald 6).<sup>3</sup> The mark 16 is very crude and was probably made with a roughly-carved wooden stamp. The marks 17 and 18 were likely to have been a double impression made by turning the stamp 45° after the first impression and stamping again. No. 19 has finer raised radials than the others. No. 20, and variations of it, is the most common of this type of mark having 8 or 16 radials, but no. 21 is more unusual having twelve. No. 22 is again crude and looks at first like a double impression, but this is not so, because the mark is identical upon the heel and the back of the bowl.
- This type of mark is on the heel, or the heel and back of the bowl, in Herefordshire only very rarely do they occur on the bowl alone.



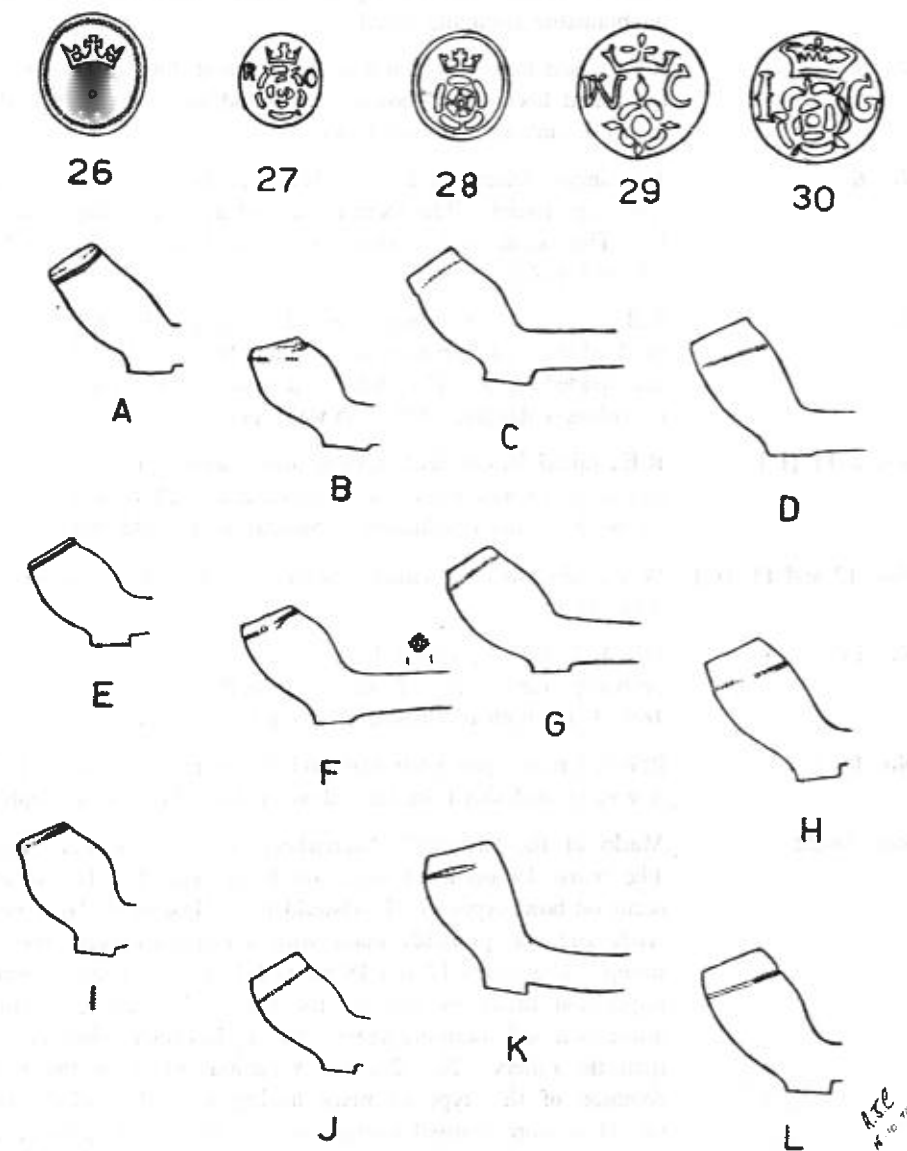


FIG. 8  
Makers' marks 26-30 actual size.

Nos. 23-30

Marks of the crowned-rose type, three of which have a letter either side.

No. 23, 24 and 25. There are several examples of each type, no. 23 is marked on bowl type K, both on the heel and on the back of the bowl. No. 24 is on bowl type L, being marked upon the bowl only. No. 25 also occurs on bowl type L, being marked upon the heel and bowl. These marks are of the plain crowned-rose type, with varying types of arched crowns and roses having five petals.

No. 26 is marked on bowl form J, a very fine mark showing an open crown, with a five-petal rose, surrounded by a dotted circle. This mark is only on the heel.

No. 27 is marked on bowl form L; it shows an open crown with a five-petal rose, being marked both on the heel and on the back of the bowl. The letters R.O. on either side, are likely to be the mark of Richard Overton, of Birtley, who took an apprentice on 14 July 1670, after leaving another master by order of the Sessions of Peace.<sup>9</sup>

No. 28 is very unusual in that all the other marks are raised but this one is incuse, being an open crown with a five-petal rose, within an impressed circle. This mark is on the back of the bowl.

No. 29 is a much bolder mark than the others, with an open crown and a four-petal rose, with the sepal spines showing clearly. The letters W.C. on either side are the marks of an unknown maker, marked upon the heel only.

No. 30 is another bold mark, this time on the back of the bowl, showing an open crown with a five-petal rose beneath, with letters I.G. either side, maker unknown.

The "asterisk" and "crowned rose" marks, although, apparently, not exactly identical, do appear at other places, i.e. London,<sup>6</sup> Plymouth,<sup>7</sup> Holland,<sup>8</sup> and elsewhere. It is most likely that these marks are from North Herefordshire, i.e. at Birtley<sup>9</sup> and Pipe Aston, but the "asterisk" probably comes from Pipe Aston. The bowls bearing these two marks would probably have been made between 1650-80.

In other parts of Hereford, clay pipes with similar stamps to the above and other types, have been found in some quantity and generally suggest, that during the late 17th century imports of pipes were mainly from Bristol and North Herefordshire and only in the early 18th century were there more Broseley pipes imported.

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- <sup>2</sup> Pritchard, J., 'Tobacco pipes of Bristol and their makers', *Trans. Bristol Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, XLV (1923).
- <sup>3</sup> Oswald, A. H., 'The Evolution and Chronology of the English Clay Tobacco Pipe', *Archaeological News Letter*, V, 12 (1955).

- <sup>4</sup> Oswald, A. H., 'Clay Pipes from Sibdon Castle', *Trans. Shropshire Archaeol. Soc.*, LIV (1951).  
<sup>5</sup> Oswald, A. H. and James, R. E., 'Broseley Pipes', *Archaeological News Letter*, V, 10, 11 (1955).  
<sup>6</sup> Atkinson, D. R. and Oswald, A. H., 'London Clay Tobacco Pipes', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, XXXII (1969).  
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<sup>8</sup> Friederich, F. H. W., 'Pijpelogie', *Westerheem*, Jaarg., XIII, 1, 2 and 3 (1964).  
<sup>9</sup> Morgan, F. C., 'Herefordshire Tobacco Pipes', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Field Club*, XXXI (1945).

Much useful reference was also made to Oswald, A. H., 'The Archaeology and Economic History of English Clay Tobacco Pipes', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, XXIII (1960).

The club gratefully acknowledges a grant from the Department of the Environment towards the publishing of this paper.

## Hereford City Excavations 1970

By R. SHOESMITH

### SUMMARY

*Re-building on three sites on the line of the Saxon north defences of the city enabled some recording to be undertaken.*

*The line of the ditch was partially established at three points and a series of pits cut through and behind the rampart produced pottery and other occupation material from the 10th century onward.*

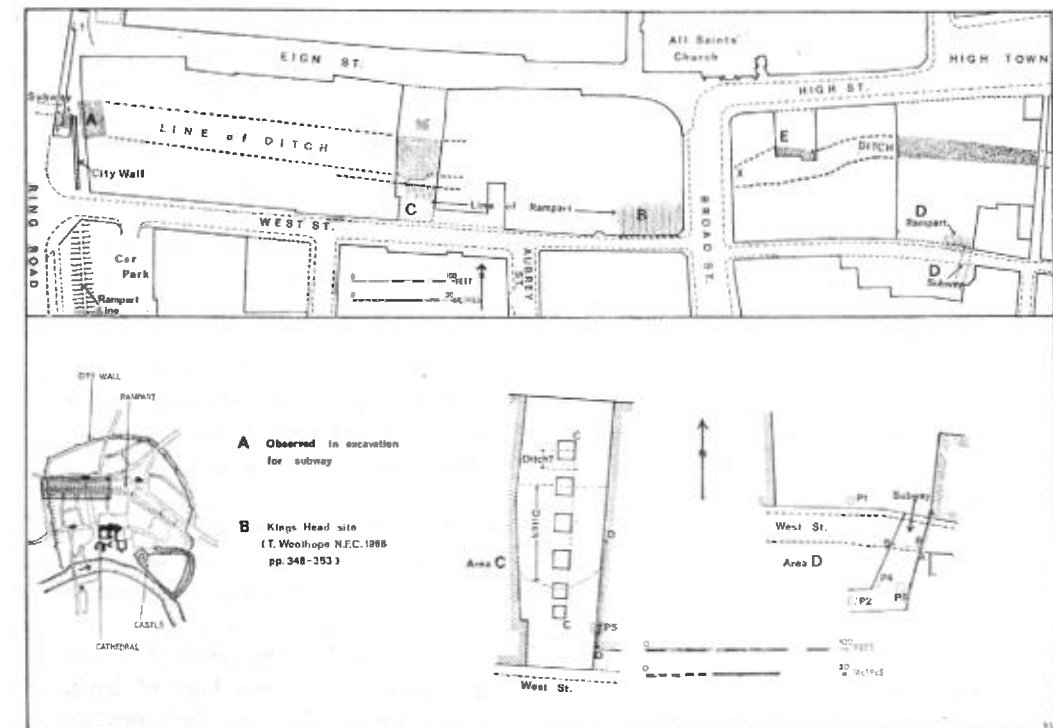


FIG. 1

Plan showing sites examined.

(Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.)  
 (Crown copyright reserved.)

### DESCRIPTION OF THE SITES SHOWN ON FIG. 1

**Site A.** During subway excavations in 1968 a section of the ditch was exposed close to the turning point from the ditch now under the ring road.

**Site B.** Observations during building works on the King's Head Site which were reported in a previous issue of the *Transactions*.<sup>1</sup>

*Site C.* The shop formerly occupied by Sid Wright (Greengrocer) between West Street and Eign Street was demolished in June 1970, to make way for a supermarket.

This gave an opportunity for examining the ditch and rampart which crossed the site from west to east. Unfortunately, the only holes to be dug to any depth were for the concrete bases for the steel framework and a series of holes to underpin the next property to the east. These holes were cleared mainly by machine and under these conditions it was only possible to take approximate measurements and obtain, over a period of time, a section across the ditch and some details of pits to the south. The area from the ditch northwards towards Eign Street had previously been disturbed down to natural gravel by cellars belonging to the previous shop.

*Section C-C* (fig. 2). This section shows the simplified ditch profile across the site. The ditch could readily be identified by the heavy black silt with which it was filled. Above this, in all the trenches, was a mixture of gravel, soil and stone used for levelling when the ditch, presumably after having been used as an open sewer, was completely disused. This layer showed many signs of more modern disturbance. The northernmost trench, rather surprisingly, produced further black silt. It would seem doubtful that this was a second ditch, being very shallow and of little width, and it was most probably a further drain or sewer. Very few finds came from these trenches, the ditch containing little except occasional bones. However, the remains of a tripod pitcher (fig. 4, no. 13) and a sole of a leather shoe (fig. 6, no. 1) were found lying on the natural gravel at the bottom of the ditch and seeds were also obtained from the same layer. (Note 4).

*Section D-D* (fig. 2). This section was completed over a period of some weeks during underpinning operations. The edge of the ditch was found, showing the cut into natural gravel. Traces of rampart material were found pushed over the top of the ditch fill in later levelling operations. The original rampart area had been completely disturbed by later pits.

A line of stakes along the south edge of the ditch about 25 cm. apart were still well preserved in the ditch silt and these were also observed further to the south and west in section C-C. They would appear to be the remains of a fence surrounding the bulge in the ditch, presumably when it was used as a sewer. (Note 1).

*Pit 5.* (fig. 1 and fig. 2). A stone-lined pit was found at the south of section D-D, some 2 m. square and this was completely removed. It was built of loose, unmortared stone and was filled for some 1½ m. with a soft, wet, black mixture identified as sawdust and containing many small, cut pieces of wood. This was presumably an early saw-pit and contained a wooden bowl (fig. 5, no. 1), a body sherd of a jug (fig. 4, no. 14) and a second shoe with part of its upper (fig. 6, no. 2). Lack of closely datable finds from this pit means that a 15th-century date can only be suggested.

*Site D.* When demolition of Greenland's Store took place to make way for a new branch of Marks and Spencer's it was not expected that very much of archaeological interest would be present as the previous store had very deep cellars. As a result, it was only during the later stages of the work, when the subway was to be cut under West Street, that the site was examined in any detail. A series of pits, one with a

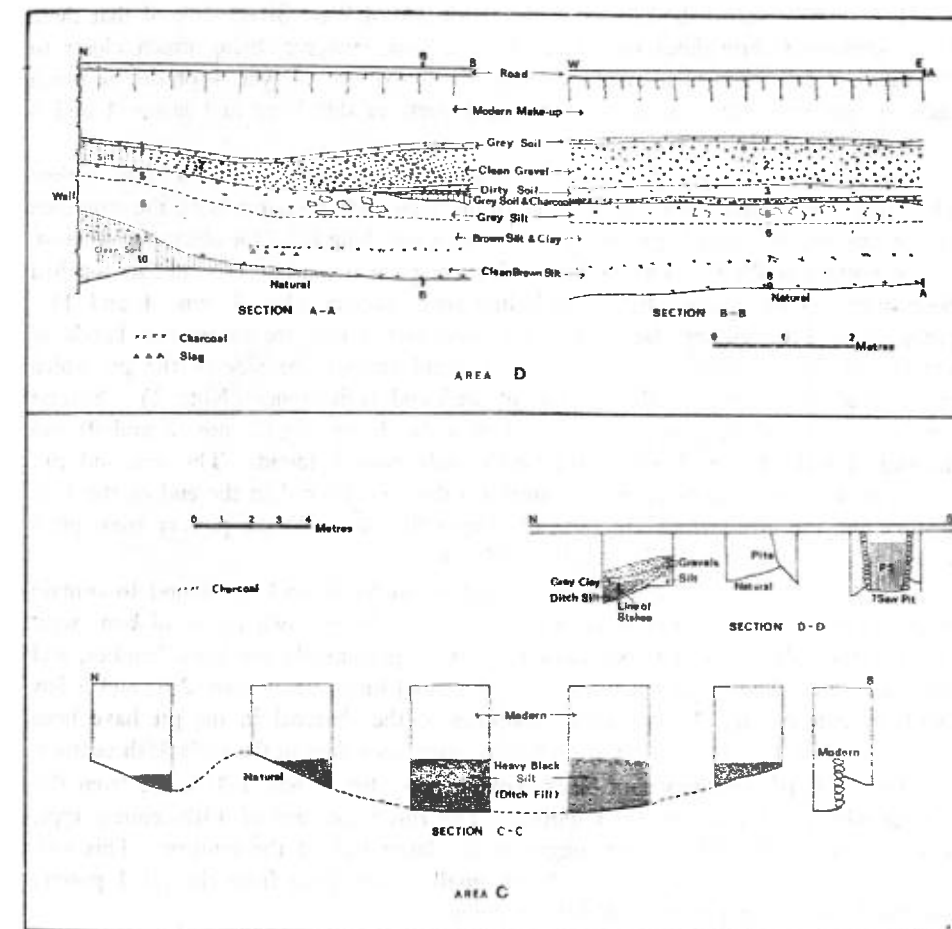


FIG. 2  
Sections from areas C and D.

bottom at 5 m. below the surface of West Street, were examined, and it was possible to draw quick sections during the cutting of the subway under West Street.

The line of the ditch was taken from the contractors' plans where the lower part of it was found under the old cellars. This was apparently much deeper than the ditch on site C.

*Sections A-A and B-B* (fig. 2). Section A-A is taken north-south along the east face of the subway cutting. Natural gravel was found to be about 3 m. below the present road surface. This section apparently shows the tail of the rampart (layer 10) with further ditch cleanings (layers 5 and 6) and possibly an increase in height of the rampart (or alternatively levelling after disuse) (layer 2). The earliest road layer was on top of the thin grey soil layer (layer 1).

Section B-B across the subway at the south side of West Street showed that these layers continued throughout the area. This section, however, being much closer to the rampart tail, showed greater evidence of occupation. Layer 4 produced much charcoal and evidence of iron working, and reports of this layer and layers 1 and 6 are given in note 1.

*Pit 1.* It was not possible, with this or any pit on the site, to draw a cross-section. Most pits were cleared manually along with the surrounding materials by the workmen on the site, and it was only possible to carry out a watching brief for objects of interest.

The bottom of Pit 1 was about 5 m. below the present road surface and its top had been disturbed by a later deposit including some pottery (fig. 3, nos. 4 and 11), probably of 14th-century date. The pit contained a mixture in uneven bands of gravel and silt. A fibrous matter was also found against one side of the pit which has been shown to contain the remains of seed and fruit stones (Note 2). Several sherds of two cooking pots, enabling profiles to be drawn (fig. 3, nos. 8 and 9) and the rim of a third (fig. 3, no. 10) were the only pottery found. The size and rim design of the cooking pots in this pit suggest a date not later than the end of the 13th century and the grits, which are generally larger than those in the pottery from pit 3 would argue a date nearer the middle of the century.

*Pit 2.* This pit was very rapidly cleared by workmen and was found to contain mainly refuse from bone and metal workers' shops. Many sawn pieces of bone were found, mainly the cores and ends after thin slices, presumably for knife handles, had been sawn off. The pit produced most of the small finds (fig. 5, nos. 2-6) and a few sherds of pottery (fig. 3, nos. 5-7). Samples of the charcoal in the pit have been identified (Note 1). The pottery from this pit suggests a date in the early 15th century.

*Pit 3.* Further examples of black cooking pots (fig. 3, nos. 1-3) came from this cess-pit which was very rapidly removed. The rim forms are of 13th-century type, number 3 being of infolded type suggesting the latter half of the century. This supposition is strengthened by the grits being smaller than those from the pit 1 pottery and the fabric being generally slightly smoother.

*Pit 4.* This pit, unfortunately only half removed, at a time when I was not present at the site, produced the only examples of Saxon Chester ware seen on the site. These could all be from the same pot and the rim and part of the body is illustrated (fig. 3, no. 12). A sample of iron ore and wood from the pit gave further evidence of iron making (Note 1) in this area, and it would be quite feasible to compare this pit with layer 4 in section B-B. The pit, unfortunately, gives no fresh evidence for the date of this pottery type.

*Site E.* As this report was being completed, demolition of two shops in High Street again exposed signs of the ditch. This has been included in fig. 1. The ditch was only exposed for a short time when the floors of the old cellars were removed, and at this point was some 4 m. below the present road surface.

*The results incorporated in this report would not have been possible without the kind and wholehearted co-operation of the contractors and workmen on both major sites and this is gratefully acknowledged.*



I—Mid-17th-century drystone wall overlying medieval foundations trench I-II.



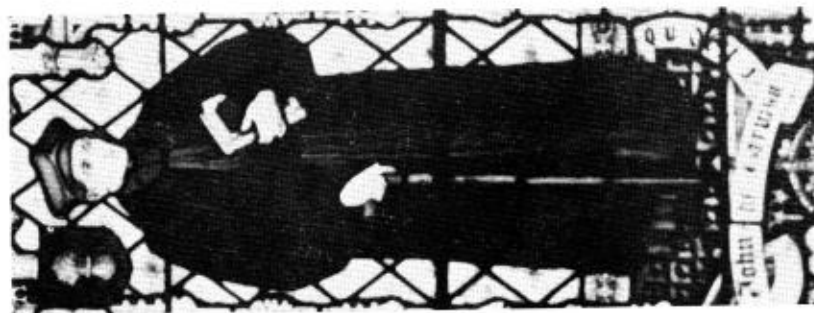
II—Medieval stone foundations trench I-II.



III—Medieval stone foundations trench I-II.

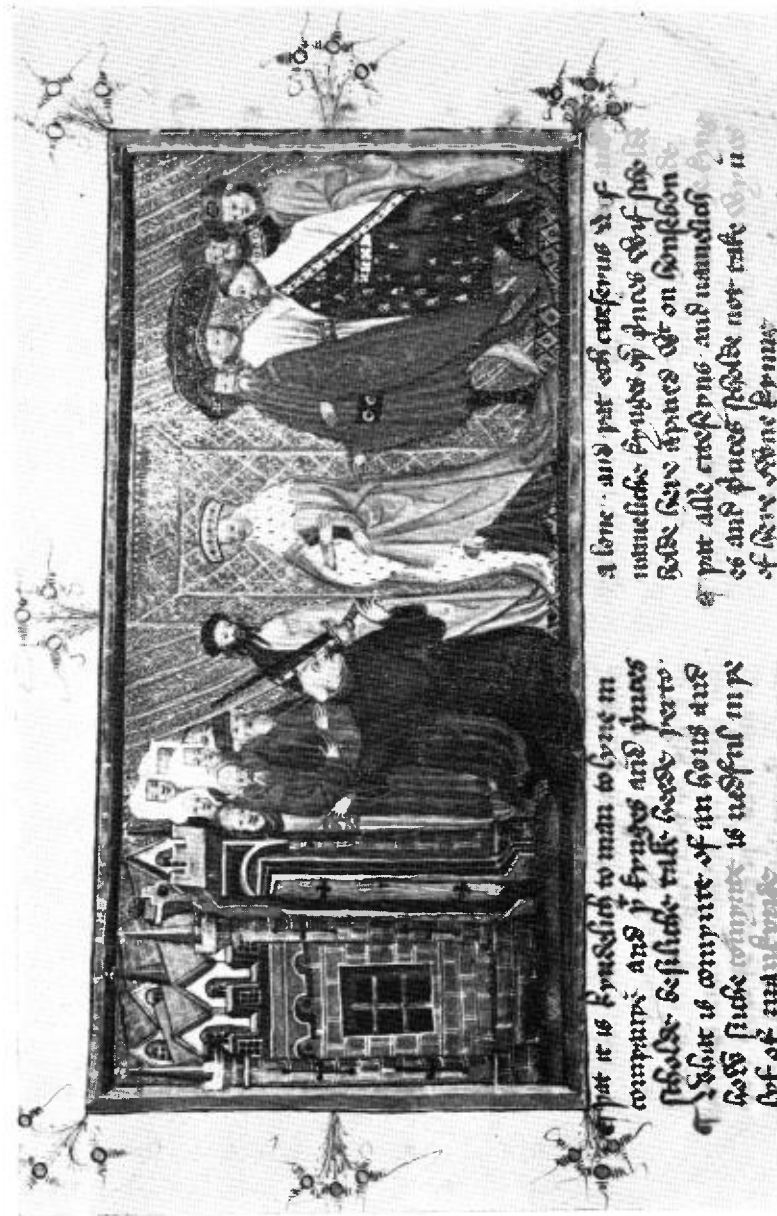


IV—Medieval stone mouldings re-used in the 17th-century wall, trench IV.



V—John Trevisa  
as shown in a window of  
Westbury-on-Trym Church.

GETHYN-JONES, JOHN TREVISA



VI—Illumination in Trevisa's translation of *De Regimine Principum*. Bodleian MS. Digby 233  
(By courtesy of the Bodleian Library).



VII—16th-century pot. Accession no. 9628.

MUSEUM REPORT

*The report would have been of little value but for the efforts of J. S. R. Hood, Miss H. J. A. McCutcheon, Professor G. F. Mitchell and J. Parry who provided the specialist reports and I am deeply in their debt.*

It is hoped that the finds and records will be deposited in Hereford Museum.

## THE FINDS

### POTTERY

#### *Fig. 3*

1. Several sherds making a complete profile of a cooking pot with a sagging base. Grey core and surfaces with small grits. Probably early 13th century, c.f. Breinton no. 13.<sup>2</sup> From pit 3.
2. Rim of cooking pot. Grey core and fabric with larger grits than 1 above. From pit 3.
3. Infolded rim of cooking pot. Grey-brown, fine gritted fabric with brownish surfaces, c.f. Offa Street no. 11<sup>3</sup> and Hen Domen no. 70.<sup>4</sup> Probably late 13th century. From pit 3.
4. Part of handle, side and base of a large tray or dish. Fine grey fabric fired red on underneath. The tray has been shaped using a knife and smoothed off using fingers. Mottled, good quality olive-green glaze on inside, thinning towards the handle. Possibly an oven dish but probably a tray as there is no evidence of burning on the outside, c.f. Upton I, no. 40.<sup>5</sup> From above pit 1.
5. Several sherds of perhaps two similar bowls with red fabric and surfaces. An applied strip goes round the neck, of a similar fabric, with a thumbled decoration. The whole is very poorly glazed, mainly on the inside of the rim with a mottled yellowish-green glaze. The fabric has occasional sizable grits. From pit 2.
6. Approximately half of a tripod bowl. Red fabric and external surfaces. Internal surface fired black with an olive-green mottled glaze becoming lighter and more yellowish towards the rim. The vessel has a roughly thumbled-out spout and three legs of uncertain length. From pit 2.
7. Rim sherds of similar type to 6, but a finer quality. From pit 2.
8. Several pieces of a large (40 cm. diameter) cooking pot, standing some 24 cm. high. Grey fabric and surfaces with large grits. Presumably middle to late 13th century. From pit 1.
9. Full profile of cooking pot. Similar fabric to 8 above, but larger grits and pot feels more brittle. Slightly infolded rim, c.f. Breinton 30,<sup>2</sup> Detton 25,<sup>6</sup> Hampton Wafer 6.<sup>7</sup> Possibly mid-13th century. From pit 1.
10. Small rim sherd of cooking pot. Similar fabric to 8 above. From pit 1.
11. Jug handle. Fine grey fabric fired red on surfaces. Red skin applied externally and covered with a poor quality, occasionally mottled, olive-green glaze. Slight signs of poor internal brownish glaze. From above pit 1.
12. Chester ware rim. Fine red fabric with small grits, blackened on the outside. Band of roller applied rouletting on the shoulder. Several sherds, probably from the same pot, c.f. Hereford 1967 p. 61.<sup>8</sup> From pit 4.



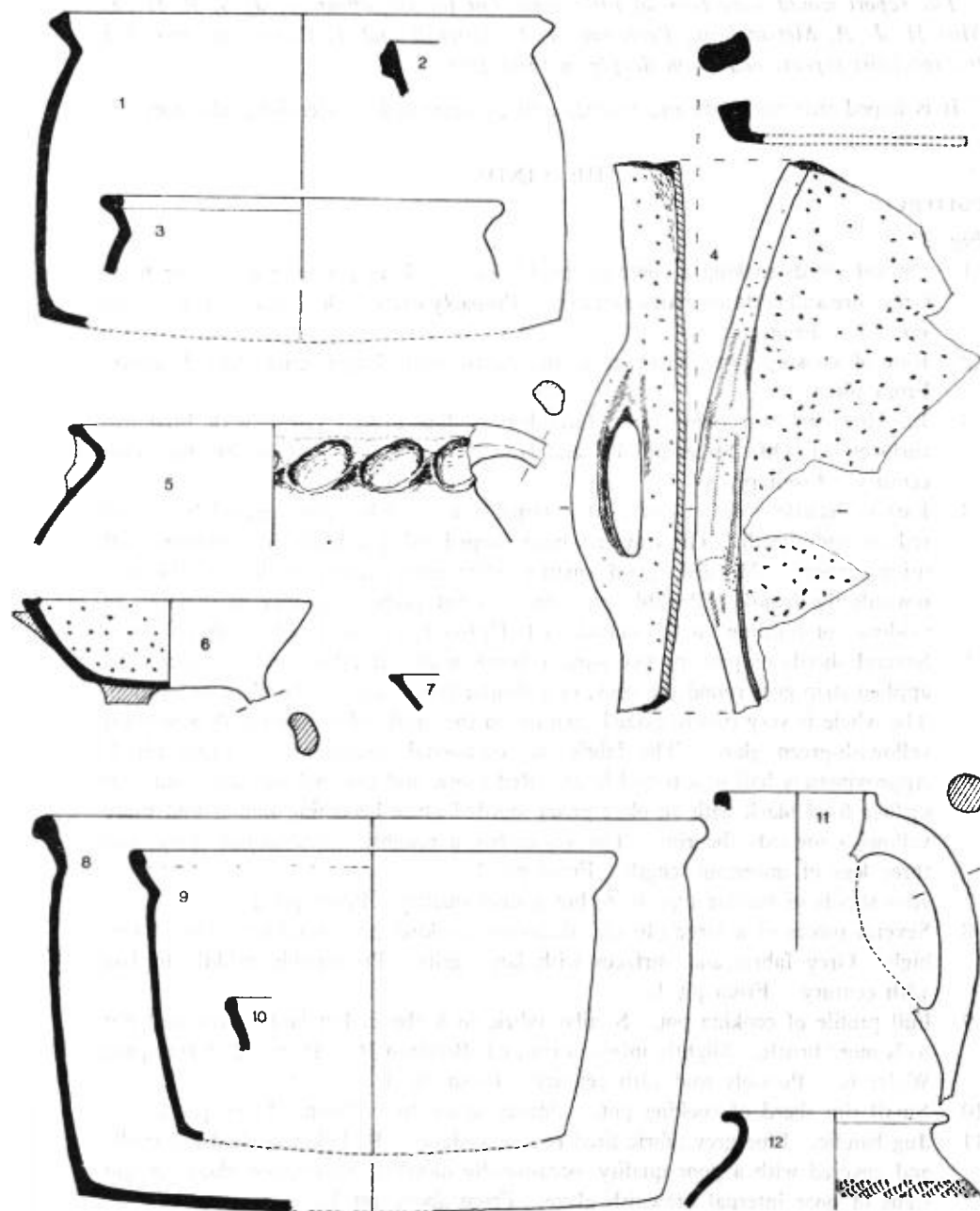


FIG. 3  
Medieval pottery (4).

Fig. 4

13. Several sherds of a tripod pitcher. This is about 26 cm. high with a base about 18 cm. in diameter. It is of a dark grey fabric with occasional small grits (similar to several cooking pots), with a buff skin on the outside. Externally, including the base, it has a thin green glaze. The vessel is of uneven thickness with little evidence of wheel turning. It has three short, round-sectioned feet and a wide dish-sectioned strap handle decorated with two rows of vertical slashing. The upper part of the body is decorated with diagonal criss-crossing lines probably made with a bristle brush. Insufficient remains of the vessel to determine the type of spout, if any.

Tripod pitchers have a wide distribution in the West Country, the nearest published examples coming from Gloucester,<sup>9</sup> Worcester<sup>10</sup> and Hen Domen<sup>4</sup> although two examples came from the Chave and Jackson site in Hereford, and are illustrated in fig. 8 (Note 5). The main distribution has been considered to be east of the Severn Valley.<sup>11</sup> They date from the 11th century possibly through into the 14th<sup>9</sup> and the Hereford example would appear to be from the earlier half of this range. From site C at the bottom of the black silt of the ditch fill where it can have arrived at any time during the period that the ditch was open after its last cleaning. It would appear that the ditch was not cleaned after its final disuse as a defensive work when it presumably became an open sewer (see note 4).

14. Body sherd. Fine buff-red fabric and surfaces. Remains of poor quality, external glaze. Thin, round-sectioned handle. Possibly 15th century. From pit 5.
15. Staffordshire type Posset Pot. Light-coloured fabric with a pale yellow glaze and black decoration. Late 17th century. Unstratified, site D.
16. Large cup of orange-red fabric with applied strips of white and dark-brown externally. Clear glazed. Late 17th century. Unstratified, site D.
17. Rim of large cooking pot (36cm. diameter). Grey fabric and surfaces with large grits. Thicker pottery than other cooking pots above. Probably late 12th century. From site C, ditch fill.
18. Tyg. Fine, hard red fabric, three-handled with usual black manganese glaze. Similar, except in shape, to the North Herefordshire examples.<sup>12</sup> 17th century. Unstratified, site D.
19. Most of a large rectangular dish (43 cm. by 38 cm.). Buff fabric and underside. Internally black with applied, but hardly raised, intertwining motif in yellow. Glazed internally. Along with no. 20 this shows signs of heating on the outer edges of the base and was presumably used for keeping food warm in front of a fire. Unstratified, site D.
20. Three-quarters of a large circular dish (38cm. diameter). Red-brown fabric and underside. Internally decorated with wavy lines in yellow on red-brown background. Serrated edging around rim. Glazed internally. Unstratified, site D.



FIG. 4

Medieval and Post-medieval pottery ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

## SMALL FINDS

Fig. 5

1. Wooden turned bowl, presumably of the 15th-century. From pit 5. (Note 1).
2. Worked bone. Probably uncompleted part of knife handle. From pit 2.
3. Pin, ? silver with twist of wire for head. From pit 2.
4. Iron Key. From pit 2.
5. Piece of copper sheet, possibly part of a bowl or the edging for a wooden bowl. From pit 2.
6. Iron arrow-head. From pit 2.

Fig 6. Leather Shoes.

1. Most of sole of left shoe, size 6-7 (about 27 cm. long). Some evidence from stitching of external sole repairs. From ditch fill on site C.
  2. Most of sole and part of upper of slip-on type shoe, 22 cm. long. Probably a woman's or child's left shoe. The upper was found in two pieces with a line of stitching showing on the front part on the inside of the shoe. From pit 5.
- Dating is difficult in both cases, but from associated finds, it would be reasonable to date no. 1 as 12th-early 13th century, c.f. Weoley, Fig. 52,<sup>13</sup> and no. 2 possibly to the 15th century.

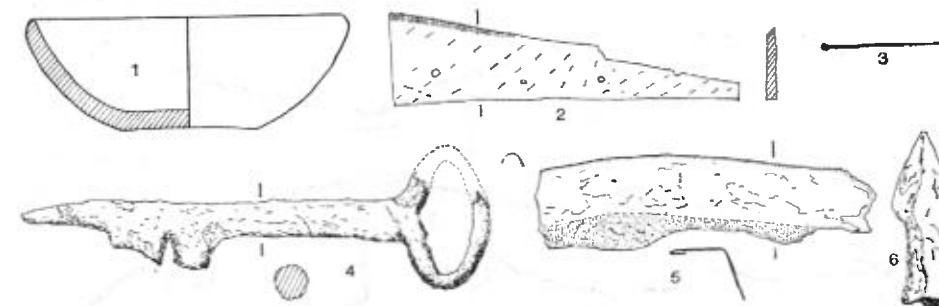


FIG. 5

Small finds (1,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; remainder,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

## ADDITIONAL NOTES

## NOTE 1. SOIL AND WOOD SAMPLES

By J. S. R. Hood, Trinity College, Dublin

SITE D. (see sections fig. 2)

*Layer 1.* Clay/silt, containing charcoal fragments and numerous small stones and some pebbles. Probably exposed for some time as a trample layer. Unlikely to have had much, if any, vegetation growing on it.

*Layer 4.* Sample sieved through 8BS, 16BS, 30BS and 85BS sieves. All samples contained some fine silt adhering to the fragments, small amounts of charcoal, sand grains and powdered  $\text{CaCO}_3$ . All material had iron present, as flakes or globules, but the majority of the material was in the form of magnetic iron oxide.

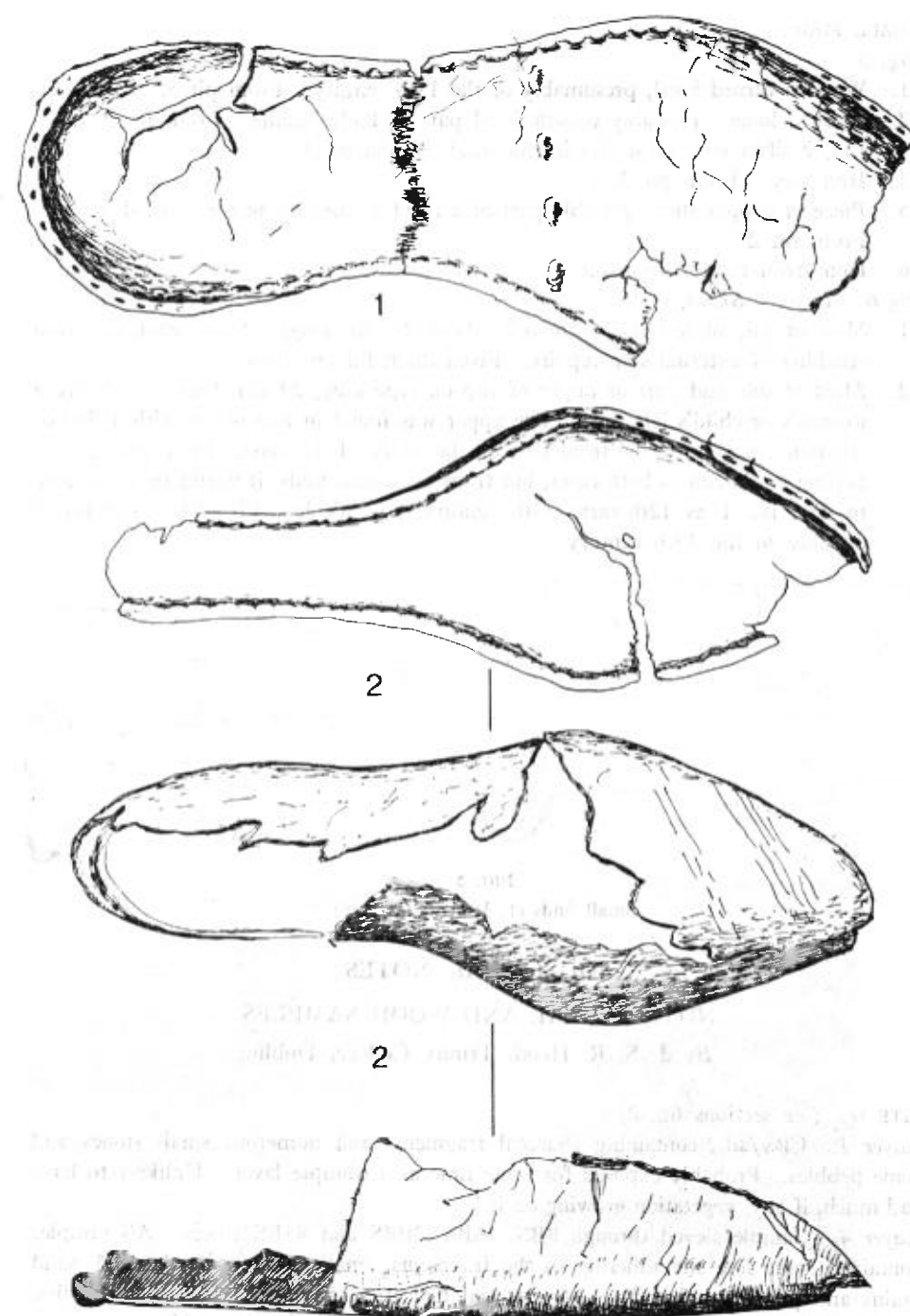


FIG. 6  
(Leather shoes  $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

50% of the sample, by weight, would not pass through an 8BS sieve (2 mm.).

10% " " " " " a 16BS sieve.

10% " " " " " a 30BS sieve.

5% " " " " " an 85BS sieve.

25% passed through an 85BS sieve.

All samples were similar in composition. As a very high proportion (80%) was magnetic iron oxide, the sample probably comes from an iron foundry or smelting area, the iron ore being crushed before use.

**Layer 6.** Clay, with some gleying, containing charcoal fragments and some small stones. Some evidence of having been water-logged. Probably a ditch throw-out and trample layer.

**Pit 2.** Charcoal from small stems or branches of:

*Fagus sylvatica* (Beech)

*Betula* sp. (Birch)

*Salix* sp. (Willow)

*Tilia* sp. (Lime)

*Populus* sp. ? (Poplar)

**Pit 4.** Iron slag and charcoal (*Quercus*-oak). Limestone and burnt clay fragments. Probably remains of iron smelting.

**SITE C.** (see plan fig. 1. and sections fig. 2)

**Wooden Bowl** (pit 5) (fig. 5, no. 1). Turned wooden bowl, 17 cm. in diameter and 6 cm. deep. Made from a plank of birch (*Betula* sp.). The underside of the bowl has been gouged to remove the stub left after turning.

**Stakes along ditch edge.** Four similar stakes of oak (*Quercus* sp.), 75 x 8 cm., trigonous to subterete, tapered at both ends. Cut from logs 20 cm. or more in diameter, by splitting along the radius.

## NOTE 2. SEED AND FRUIT STONES FROM PIT 1

By Professor G. F. Mitchell, Trinity College, Dublin

The following material was present (provisional list)

<i>Agrostemma githago</i>	some fragments
<i>Carophyllaceae</i>	1 seed
<i>Compositae</i>	3 seeds
<i>Ficus carica</i>	2 seeds
<i>Gramineae</i>	1 caryopsis
<i>Linum catharticum</i>	1 seed
<i>Papaver</i> sp.	1 seed
<i>Polygonum</i> sp.	1 nutlet
<i>Prunella vulgaris</i>	1 seed
<i>Prunus</i> sp.	8 fruit stones
<i>Ranunculus repens</i>	2 achenes
<i>Rubus</i> sp.	several fruit stones
<i>Rumex</i> sp.	1 Perianth

- Vitis* sp. 2 fruit stones  
*Linum usitatissimum* ? Cultivated flax  
*Leontodon* sp.  
*Lapsana communis*  
*Umbelliferae*  
 Insect pupae  
 Small mammal bones.

Mr. Hood comments:

The two interesting finds are:

- Vitis* sp. — the grape  
 and *Ficus carica* — the fig

The grape could well be local<sup>14</sup> and<sup>15</sup> but as the fig was almost certainly imported, the grape may also have been. The *Prunus* sp. (Cherry) and *Rubus* sp. (Blackberry family) were probably eaten for food. The rest are weeds of no importance except *Agrostemma* which is a weed of wheat fields very common in the 13th century. The plant remains indicate that the material might have been a faecal deposit.

### NOTE 3. CLAY PIPES

By J. Parry, Hereford City Museum

Fig 7. All are unstratified.

1. Bulbous bowl, probably of Broseley manufacture, marked C.M. within a heart, stamped on the heel. Maker unknown, there being no record mark in Thursfield<sup>16</sup> or Oswald<sup>17</sup> (Oswald type 6b).<sup>18</sup>
2. Bulbous bowl of North Herefordshire type, marked on the heel and back of the bowl with a "Crowned Rose" and the letters R.O. on either side which are probably the initials of Robert Overton<sup>19</sup> of Birtley. The crown is of an open type with a five-petal rose beneath (Oswald type 6).<sup>18</sup>
3. Bulbous bowl similar to 2 above except that the crown is of arched type (Oswald type 6).<sup>18</sup>
4. Bulbous bowl, with round heel, marked on the back and heel with a fine "Crowned Rose" surrounded by a dotted circle. The crown is of an open type, with a fine five-petal rose beneath. Manufactured in North Herefordshire. Late 17th century (Oswald type 6).
5. Bulbous bowl with round heel, marked on the heel with an "asterisk" with sixteen radials. North Herefordshire mark, probably made at Pipe Aston. (Oswald 6).
6. Heel sherds, marked R.E., maker unknown. Late 17th century.

Unillustrated are two 17th-century unmarked bowls and one length of stem showing rouletting and three bowls of 18th-19th-century date, one showing the insignia of the Royal Antidiluvian Order of the Buffaloes.

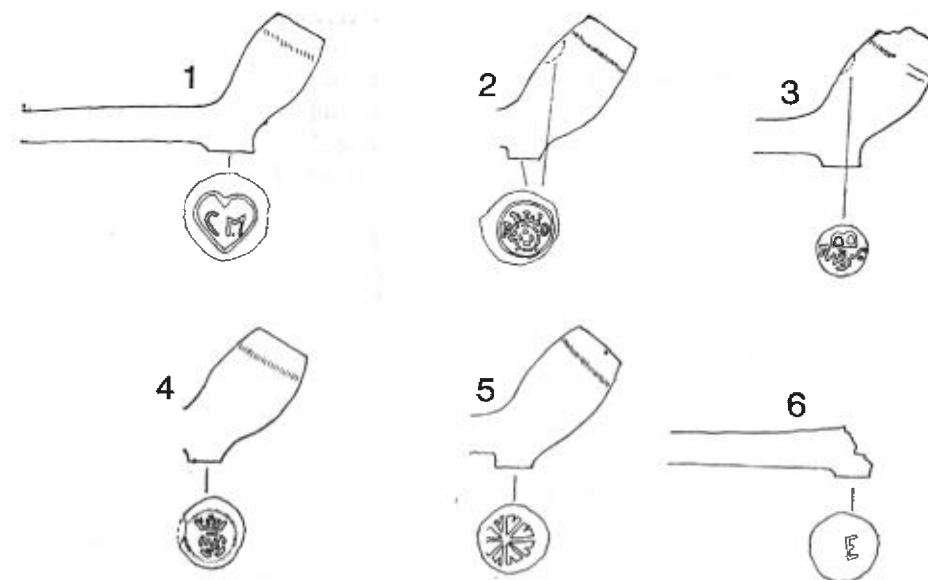


FIG. 7

Clay pipes (bowls,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; stamps, actual size).

### NOTE 4. THE DITCH SAMPLE FROM SITE C

By H. J. A. McCutcheon and J. S. R. Hood, Trinity College, Dublin

The sample chosen was taken from an undisturbed portion of the ditch filling and was directly touching the natural gravel, some two-thirds of the way down the internal slope.

The sample, a water deposited grey silt, was found to have a large number of plant and animal remains. Unlike the material from pit 1, which was probably a faecal deposit, this sample would appear to be from natural vegetation. The large amounts of *Urtica* (nettle) and other weed species suggest a fertile and slightly disturbed soil. The aquatic remains, *Lemna* (duckweed) and the gastropods, indicate that the ditch was filled with water for some time and was not too polluted.

The following material was present:

<i>Urtica dioica</i>	a	o—occasional
<i>Urtica urens</i>	a	f—frequent
<i>Chenopodiaceae</i> sp.	o	a—abundant
<i>Chenopodium</i> cf. <i>rubrum</i>	f	
<i>Verbena officinalis</i>	o	
<i>Rumex</i> sp.	o	
<i>Polygonum</i> sp.	o	
<i>Cirsium</i> sp.	o	
<i>Caryophyllaceae</i> cf. <i>Stellaria media</i>	o	

<i>Gramineae</i>	1 caryopsis
<i>Ranunculus repens</i>	1 fruit
<i>Solanum</i> ( <i>dulcamara</i> or <i>nigrum</i> )	1 fruit
<i>Lemna</i> sp.	2 fruits
<i>Cruciferae</i> cf. <i>Brassica</i> sp.	1 seed
<i>Linum usitatissimum</i>	Cultivated flax
Charcoal	
<i>Bithynia tentaculata</i>	a
<i>Insecta</i>	a
<i>Valvata</i> cf. <i>Piscinalis</i>	f
<i>Planorbis</i> sp.	
<i>Pisidium</i>	

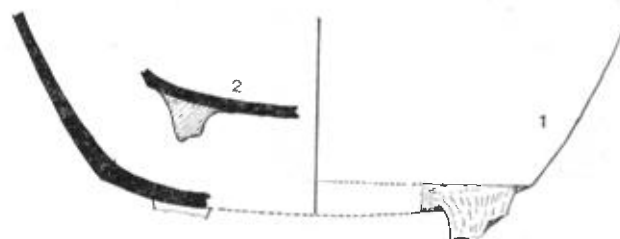


FIG. 8

Tripod pitchers from Chave & Jackson's site, (4). See note 5.

#### NOTE 5. TWO TRIPOD PITCHERS FROM HEREFORD

By R. Shoesmith

A large amount of 13th-century material was obtained during building works at the premises of Chave and Jackson on the east side of Broad Street several years ago. Although mainly cooking pots, the fragments include the remains of two tripod pitchers illustrated in fig. 8. The material is unpublished and is in Hereford Museum (no. 8294).

1. Part of base and side of a tripod pitcher. Thick, coarse gritted, grey fabric with buff skins both internally and externally. Pale, poor quality, yellow-green glaze externally and on base. Round-sectioned feet of uncertain length.
2. Small sherd including foot of tripod pitcher. Thick, grey ware, but much finer and more sandy than 1 above. Buff skin internally and externally with slight signs of poor, mottled, pale-green glaze. Round-sectioned short feet.

Both these pitchers are much heavier than the one from site C (fig. 4, no. 13) and would appear to be of a later date.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Although the whole of the work carried out during 1970 has been that of observation and recording on building sites, a fragmentary picture can be established of what was the northern area of the early town.

The sections in area D give ample evidence of several clearances of the ditch interspersed with layers of charcoal and occasional slag which could well be associated with the iron smelting remains in pit 4 (the Chester ware pit). On this basis, layers 3 and 4 would indicate a reasonable time when there was no further cleaning of the ditch and the clean gravel (layer 2) on top of this would probably be the results of levelling the rampart to make a base for the road. The silt and gravel at the north of section A-A would then logically be at the tail of the rampart. Adjusting levels a little, this would suggest that the maximum width of the rampart at this point was about 22 m., which compares as well as possible with the results on the Western rampart.<sup>8</sup> It is interesting to note that the ditch in curving inwards at site E, agrees with the settlement still visible on the front of the City Arms Hotel (shown by X on fig. 1) and observed by Watkins.<sup>20</sup> This presumably indicates a slight inturning and narrowing of the ditch to enable it to be bridged at the Northgate on the line of Broad Street.

Analysis of the animal and vegetable remains in the sample from the bottom of the ditch on site C suggests that water originally flowed freely, presumably from the Eign Brook, and it was some time later, when the rampart had been partly removed and the ditch area roughly fenced off, that it became an open sewer and was eventually filled in, possibly remaining as foul pools in some areas longer than others.

The areas opening on to West Street must have continued as small shops and yards for many years as indicated by the remains of timber, bone and metal working found in pits. Possibly the area to the north of site D had a house facing on High Town in the mid-13th century and using the cess pit near West Street (pit 1), which has been shown to contain the remains of what must have been an expensive meal (Note 2).

The post-medieval pottery demonstrates the gradual change of use of this area to one of small inns and taverns interspersed with yards and shops which has continued into the 20th century.

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## John Trevisa An Associate of Nicholas Hereford

By J. E. GETHYN-JONES

ON 31 May 1927 Dr. Linton Smith, Bishop of Hereford 1920-30, read a paper on Nicholas Hereford. His Lordship put forward a sound case for the identification of the Nicholas Hereford of Sufton with the Lollard of the same name. The Bishop pointed out that the former had been married and later, when a widower, had entered Oxford and taken Holy Orders. Dr. Linton Smith suggested, quoting Canon Capes, that "It is not impossible that the reformer married when in minor orders, receiving dispensation for that purpose". This last supposition now needs to be amended.

1970 was both the date of the publication of the latest translation of the English Bible and also the 6th centenary of the ordination of three people whose names (along with that of John Wyclif) for centuries have been closely associated with the first English translation. One of these was John Trevisa a former vicar of Berkeley. It was during research into the life of my illustrious predecessor that details concerning the ordination of Nicholas Hereford first came to my notice. This short biography of John Trevisa is here presented because of his connection with Nicholas and in the hope that the official record of the latter's progress through minor orders to the priesthood, and also some other details of his life at Oxford, may be of interest.

Trevisa was born c. 1342, probably at Trevesa Farm in the Cornish parish of St. Enoder, a farm which, according to a 15th-century copy of an earlier rent roll preserved in the muniments room of Berkeley castle, then formed part of the considerable Berkeley estate and was occupied by one Ralph Trevysa.

The church of St. Enoder was at that time appropriated to Glasney College at Penryn near Falmouth, an important seminary in the Middle Ages and one to which scholars came from far and wide. The Berkeley influence upon the college during the second quarter of the 14th century may not have been inconsiderable. James Berkeley, son of Thomas II, Lord Berkeley (1281-1321), was Bishop of Exeter for a brief period in 1327, while Peter Berkeley, son of Maurice III, Lord Berkeley (1321-26), was Canon of the Collegiate Church of Glasney from 1331 to 1334. In addition Sir Maurice Berkeley, another son of Maurice, Lord Berkeley, in 1329, successfully pleaded with King Edward III that certain canons and prebendaries of Glasney should retain their benefices for life. Thomas III, Lord Berkeley (1326-61), elder brother of Sir Maurice, is known to have supported financially promising students. It is conceivable that John Trevisa, perhaps through the influence of the Berkeleys, may have received his early education at Glasney College before entering Stapledon Hall, now Exeter College, Oxford, in the lent term of 1362 where he remained in residence until 1365—possibly until 1369.

Stapledon Hall had been founded in 1314 by Walter de Stapledon, Bishop of Exeter. The college had a west country bias in that its fellowships were, originally,



intended to be confined to men from Cornwall and Devon, i.e., the diocese of Exeter. This could well explain why, as H. R. Hodgkin records,<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Hereford and William Middleworth (Devon), in addition to John Trevisa, held fellowships at Stapledon Hall during the period 1362-65.

Middleworth left Stapledon Hall in 1365 and, after a brief period as a fellow of Merton College, was appointed to a fellowship at Canterbury Hall where John Wyclif was Master.

Four years later Wyclif and Middleworth were expelled from Canterbury Hall<sup>2</sup> and the latter entered Queen's College. Trevisa and Hereford had accepted fellowships at Queen's in that same year (1369).

That college had been founded in 1340 by a north country priest, Robert Eglesfield, chaplain to Queen Philippa (wife of King Edward III). It had been intended that membership of the college should be restricted to men from the northern counties. It is stated that Queen's "was more distinctly religious [in character] than the older colleges and its fellows were expressly required to take Holy Orders".<sup>3</sup> Perhaps to conform with the above regulation the three distinguished new lay fellows at Queen's appear in the Ordination lists of 1370.

The register of Simon Sudbury, Bishop of London 1362-1375,<sup>4</sup> contains the details of the rapid progress of Hereford, Middleworth and Trevisa from acolyte to priesthood in three months—the dates for the four stage advancement are identical for each candidate. The first service, when they were admitted as acolytes, took place on 9 March 1370. On 30 March they were advanced to subdeacon in the Chapel of the Bishop's Palace in London. They were made deacon on 13 April in St. Paul's Cathedral, and priested in the Chapel of St. Mary in that Cathedral on 8 June. Middleworth and Trevisa were ordained by means of letters dimissory from Ralph de Ryngsted, Keeper of the Spiritualities of the diocese of Exeter, while Hereford had letters dimissory from Hereford. Their title, in each case, was that of Queens Hall (college), Oxford, and their description at the last two services were Deacons, Not Beneficed, and Priests, Not Beneficed or Religious.

It was an unkind fate which decided that Trevisa should be made camerarius (treasurer) in his first year with the task of clearing up the mess in the college accounts made by his predecessor Gilbert Grimsby and to be saddled with his debt. Hereford became treasurer in 1374-5<sup>5</sup> and Middleworth bursar during the same period.<sup>6</sup>

In 1374 Wyclif, who had previously rented rooms at Queen's (1363-5), returned to that college. Hodgkin suggests that he may have "retained his rooms at Queen's continuously from 1374-1381" (p.32). The gap in the college rolls from September 1375 to June 1378 and the disappearance of the indentures of receipts up until October 1380 is blamed for the more general belief that he was in residence only during 1374-5 and 1380-81. He came as a commenal and not a fellow, but was rightly treated by the authorities with great consideration as befitted a Doctor of Divinity and a personage of European reputation. Thus came together, perhaps intentionally, four profound scholars whose names have always been linked closely with the translation of the English Bible. Archdeacon A. J. Winnington-Ingram suggests that it was during the next five years that this project got under way.<sup>7</sup>

The election of three west of England fellows, Hereford, Middleworth and Trevisa, in 1369 began a dispute at Queen's which became an open quarrel in 1376 when a north of England fellow, Thomas Carlisle (who had been elected in 1369), appealed to the Archbishop of York, as Visitor, accusing the Provost, Henry Whitfield, of breaking the foundation statutes by preferring numerous west of England men to fellowships. The protest was passed to the King's Chancery. The controversy dragged on and finally the Provost was removed and retired, apparently without ill feeling, to an Archdeaconry. Certain of the west of England fellows were ejected. Frank, Lydford and Trevisa are named, but, from a later entry in the college register, it seems possible that Hereford too, was deprived. The ejected ones, in protest, took with them the college seal, some muniments, books and other things. The properties were finally returned on 13 May 1378,<sup>8</sup> and after an enquiry into their removal the offenders were pardoned and most of them eventually returned in good standing to the college. The rolls record that both Hereford and Wyclif were in residence, as commenales and not fellows, in 1380, when the former was "then labouring at his translation of the Old Testament".<sup>9</sup>

Hodgkin concludes his account of Hereford at Queen's with a devastating, and perhaps rather unjustified, derogation of his character thus:

"The wild course pursued by Nicholas of Hereford after 1381 [after Wyclif, with perhaps his restraining influence, had left Oxford] is well known—first as leader of the Wyclifites at Oxford; then at Rome, in an attempt to win over the Pope himself; and finally, after recantation, as a successful climber to ecclesiastical offices."<sup>10</sup>

Hereford's later career is fully documented in Bishop Linton Smith's article and in Emden, so let a return to Trevisa now be made.

Trevisa re-entered Queen's in good standing and rented rooms during the periods 1383-6<sup>11</sup> and 1394-6.<sup>12</sup> The last college entry concerning him occurs in 1399-1400.

The date of Trevisa's arrival in Berkeley is not known. He dedicated the *Polychronicon* to Thomas IV, Lord Berkeley (to whom he was chaplain), and stated he had completed that work on Thursday, 18 April 1387. An undated episcopal decree of Wakefield, Bishop of Worcester 1375-1396, described Trevisa as vicar of Berkeley, while letters of attorney from the King, Richard II, dated at Westminster 5 November 1390, called him vicar of Berkeley and Canon of the Collegiate Church of Westbury. Thus it appears likely that Trevisa's installation to Berkeley took place in the 1380's. His death is established by an entry, dated 21 May 1402, in a Worcester diocesan register recording the installation of one John Bonejohn to the vicarage of Berkeley, vacant by the death of John Trevisa, the last incumbent.

Hodgkin writes of Trevisa as "a brilliant and fiery Celt, with a taste for literature". He was undoubtedly a man of great ability and independence of mind. He was, too, an outspoken critic of corruption in every walk in life, and vocally contemptuous of the venality, worldly indulgences and prideful ostentation displayed, often openly, by members of some monastic communities.

Trevisa's greatness lay in his championship of the English language. Dr. Basil Cottle in *The Triumph of English 1350-1400* (Blandford Press, 1969) calls him "the historian of this change", and elsewhere described him as a "father of English prose."<sup>13</sup> His known translations include such massive works as Higden's *Polychronicon* (with an introduction and many comments by Trevisa), the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* of Bartholomew Anglicus, the *De Regimine Principum* by Aegidius Romanus, *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, and many others.

Professor David C. Fowler, in *Piers the Plowman* (University of Washington Press, 1961), suggests that Trevisa may have been the author of the "B" text of that work.

The greatest controversy, however, concerns a tradition that Trevisa made a translation of the Bible into English. This belief seems to have sprung from Caxton's statement in his introduction to Trevisa's translation of the *Polychronicon* that he, Trevisa, also translated the Bible. Modern scholarship is of the opinion that whereas he may not have undertaken a separate translation he may well have been involved with Hereford, Middleworth and Wyclif in Biblical translation during their period together at Oxford, a time which undoubtedly had its influence upon the first Wyclifite Bible which has Hereford's name so closely associated with it. There is, however, in the muniments room of Berkeley Castle a 17th-century letter from Lord Berkeley to James, Duke of York, in which the former begged leave to present a biblical translation which had been in his family for centuries. This manuscript may have no connection with Trevisa. It may, on the other hand, have been a translation of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* or another work. A later tradition claims that the MS. was subsequently given by James, when King James II, to the Vatican, but recent inquiries have not been successful.

Whether this one time Vicar of Berkeley translated or played a part in the translation of the Bible into English, will in all probability, never now be known. His works, however, are so numerous and his contributions towards the victory of our native language in his days so great that it is fit and proper today, so near in time to the 6th centenary of his priesting, to thank God for the life and works of one of whom Professor Fowler wrote, "we may well be dealing with a major figure, perhaps second only to Chaucer in the English literature of the Middle Ages".<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Six Centuries of an Oxford College* (Oxford, 1947), 30.

<sup>2</sup> Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (Oxford, 3 Vols., 1957-59), 2103.

<sup>3</sup> J. Wells, *Oxford and its Colleges*, London, 13th Edition, 108.

<sup>4</sup> The Canterbury and York Society, No. 34 (Oxford, 1927).

<sup>5</sup> Emden, 913.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1280.

<sup>7</sup> *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Field Club*, XXXVI (1961).

<sup>8</sup> Emden, 1280.

<sup>9</sup> Hodgkin, 35.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 35-6.

<sup>11</sup> Emden, 1903.

<sup>12</sup> Stainer, *Compoli* iv, 381 and 400.

<sup>13</sup> *1250 Years at Westbury-on-Trym*, (Bristol, 1967), 26.

<sup>14</sup> 'New Light on John Trevisa', *Traditio*, XVIII (1962), 317.

## The Harpers and the Greenways

By W. E. GRIFFITHS

IN the last number of the *Transactions* I wrote a short article about Maud Harper, who died in 1473 and whose memorial slab is preserved in Stretton Sugwas church, and about her father John Harper and other members of her family. After its conclusion I continued my researches into the Harper and Greenway families, and discovered so much more about them that it has become necessary to produce a second article, not only to continue the story but also to correct some mistakes in the earlier version. In venturing to deal with medieval Herefordshire, I was treading unfamiliar ground, and perpetrated a number of errors—some of them quite gross—both of commission and omission. As my researches deepened I began to understand a great deal that had remained obscure during my earlier work, which had in fact done little more than scratch the surface. In the present article I aim to correct and amplify the earlier story, and to give it the full documentation that I had not thought necessary in the first article. I have thought it most useful to deal with the various aspects of the story under the following headings: (i) the reason for the pardon of John Harper and his sons in December 1459; (ii) a revised pedigree of the Harper family, with fuller biographies of the principal figures in the story; (iii) some account of the Greenway family; and (iv) a brief mention of Maud's successive homes.

### THE PARDON OF 1459

On 4 December 1459 John Harper and his sons William and John were granted a pardon of a long list of offences including treason, insurrection, rebellion, etc.<sup>1</sup> The reason for the pardon escaped me at the time of discovery, but as I grew more familiar with the history of the border in the 15th century, it became evident. The document was issued at Coventry, and was one of a number of similar pardons extended to many border families. This particular one is confined to gentlemen from the Harpers' native village of Wellington; the complete list is as follows: William Harper; Thomas Butler; William Strangford, chaplain; John Sherry, chaplain; John Harper the younger; Thomas Casewall; William Chapman; and John Harper.

There can be little doubt that the pardon was one of the acts of the Parliament of Devils that began its work at Coventry in November 1459, and was the outcome of what might be termed "the Ludlow Affair." In the autumn of 1459 Richard Duke of York, the Yorkist claimant to the throne of England, had gone to earth on his home ground of the Welsh March. The main strength of the house of York lay in this area, by reason of their Mortimer inheritance. The events that took place at Ludlow in October 1459 graphically illustrate the insecurity of life in 15th-century England and the moral degeneration of a society nurtured by the Hundred Years War.<sup>2</sup> The preliminaries are thus related in a version of the *Brut Chronicle*<sup>3</sup>: "Richard Earl of Salisbury, having with him 7,000 of well arrayed men, dreading the malices of his enemies and especially of the Queen and her company, the which hated him deadly

and the Duke of York and the Earl of Warwick also, took his way toward Ludlow where the said Duke of York lay at that time, to the intent that they both together would have ridden to the King to Coleshill in (Warwickshire)". King Henry would probably have received them with his usual courtesy, but Queen Margaret, who was at Eccleshall north-west of Stafford, did not intend to miss this opportunity of attacking them, and sent an army under the command of Lord Audley to intercept them. A sharp encounter took place at Blore Heath near Lichfield on 23 September. Audley was slain, but Salisbury's two sons were taken prisoner, and the Earl and Duke returned in haste to Ludlow where they were joined by the Earl of Warwick from Calais, bringing with him an army of hardened soldiers from the French wars. There they dug themselves in, none too soon before the King's forces confronted them. *William Gregory's Chronicle* describes their preparations: "And this same year there was a great affray at Ludlow between the King and the Duke of York, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of March. The Duke of York let make a great deep ditch and fortified it with guns, carts, and stakes, but his party was over weak, for (with) the King was more than 30,000 of harnessed men, beside naked (unarmed) men that were compelled for to come with the King."

The question of the site of Richard's encampment is intriguing. Is it possible that something yet remains of this "great deep ditch?" A glance at the map (6-in. O.S. sheet SO 57 S.W.) shows "Earthworks" marked south-west of the town and south of the River Teme (SO 508471). But these are curiously placed, and their purpose and date are obscure. They consist of a straight line of three parallel ditches (with two intervening banks) up the slope of the hill west of the bridge over the Teme, merging at the top into a single wide ditch. They could of course be hollow trails climbing the hill, but they appear too straight and regular for such an explanation. It seems more likely that they were intended to protect an area on the brow of the Teme gorge from attack from the south. The position is one of great magnificence with an unrivalled view over the town and castle of Ludlow. This was evidently the reason for such a choice of location: to overlook and dominate the town, and perhaps especially the castle. But it is precisely this aspect of the site that makes one suspect they are Civil War earthworks rather than the relics of earlier struggles. I know nothing of the history of Ludlow Castle during the Civil War. But several lines of evidence converge in suggesting that Richard's camp was elsewhere. In the first place he would only need to overlook the town if the King had already occupied it, and although we have no evidence for the site of Henry's camp, it seems unlikely that he had occupied the town. In the Lancastrian version of the affair quoted below, it is stated that the Yorkist leaders slipped quietly out of their camp on the night of the encounter, "under colour they would have refreshed them awhile in the town of Ludlow." This they could hardly have done had the King's forces held the town. It is just possible that the encampment was between the river and the south wall of the town (SO 509743); a road following the curve of the wall is still called "Camp Lane." But the position seems too low-lying, too dominated both by the town wall on the north and the Teme heights on the south. Once again it is the *Rolls* account that indicates the most likely spot, when it states that the confrontation took place "at

Ludford in the shire of Hereford (*sic*), in the fields of the same." Richard's encampment must surely have been on the level spur of ground south of Ludford church (about SO 512739).

The Tudor historian Edward Hall gives a more polished account of the affair than the earlier chronicles<sup>5</sup>: "The King, accompanied with the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, and others of the line of Lancaster, determined clearly to set on the Duke of York and his confederates, and them by force either utterly to vanquish, or by policy to trap and bring to confusion; whereupon in hope of good luck, the King with his army by long marching came near to the Duke of York, which was strongly encamped *a little from the town of Ludlow*, near adjoining to the confines of Wales, to whom not long before was come his trusty friend Richard Earl of Warwick, with a great number of expert men in martial feats, whom he had brought with him from Calais, whereof two were men of approved policy in the wars of Normandy and Guyenne, the one called Andrew Trollope and the other John Blount. These armies thus lying, the one in the conspect and view of the other, studied all means and policies how to take advantage each of other, and how with less jeopardy the one might set on the other." On 10 October the Yorkist leaders despatched a letter to the King, affirming their loyalty and protesting against "the importunate impatience and violence of such persons as intend of extreme malice to proceed under the shadow of your high might and presence to our destruction." But two days later an act of treachery left them in extreme peril. The *Great Chronicle of London* relates<sup>6</sup>: "Forasmuch as in the year before at Ludlow field that Andrew Trollope with many of the Old Soldiers of Calais went and departed secretly from the Duke of York's party unto the King's party and there showed the secretness (secrets) of the Duke and his host, wherefore the said Duke secretly by counsel with such lords as he had upon his party fled and voided, leaving behind upon the field his people to keep the field for a countenance till upon the morn." The Yorkists scattered and took refuge. The Duke and his second son the Earl of Rutland retreated through Wales and eventually reached Ireland. His eldest son, Edward Earl of March, together with the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, made their way to Devon, where they hired a ship which took them to Guernsey and eventually to Calais.

The above accounts—and especially that of Hall—give of course the Yorkist and Tudor point of view. The Lancastrian view of the affair can be seen in the attainder of the Yorkist Earls drawn up by the Coventry Parliament in November 1459.<sup>7</sup> No mention is made of Trollope's defection. "And the Friday, in the vigil of the Feast of the Translation of S. Edward King and Confessor, the 38th year of your most noble reign,<sup>8</sup> at Ludford in the shire of Hereford, in the fields of the same, the said (Yorkist leaders), with other knights and people, such as they had blinded and assembled by wages, promises, and other exquisite means, brought in certain persons before the people, to swear that ye were deceased, doing Mass to be said, and offering all to make the people the less to dread to take the field . . . They being in the same fields the same day and place, traitorously ranged in battle, fortified their chosen ground, their carts with guns set before their battles, made their skirmishes, laid their ambushes there, suddenly to have taken the advantage of your host. And they intending the

destruction of your most noble person, the same Friday and town, in the field there falsely and traitorously reared war against you, and then and there shot the said guns, and shot as well at your most royal person, as at your lords and people . . . But Almighty God . . . smote the hearts of the said Duke of York and Earls suddenly from that most presumptuous pride, to the most shameful fall of cowardice that could be thought, so that about midnight then next ensuing they stole away out of the field, under colour they would have refreshed them awhile in the town of Ludlow, leaving their standards and banners in their battle directly against your field, fled out of the town unarmed, with few persons into Wales."

Once the Yorkist leaders had gone, the March was at the mercy of a rabble of French war veterans. As soon as the "Old Soldiers" had had enough to drink, Ludlow was subjected to the same treatment as any French city. Gregory<sup>9</sup> paints a vivid picture of the sack of the town: "The misrule of the King's gallants at Ludlow, when they had drunk enough of wine that was in taverns and in other places, they full ungodly smote out the heads of the pipes and hogsheads of wine, that men went wet-shod in wine, and then they robbed the town, and bore away bedding, cloth and other stuff, and defiled many women. The Duchess of York was taken to the Duke (of) Buckingham and to his lady, for they two were sisters,<sup>10</sup> and there she was till the field was done at Northampton,<sup>11</sup> and she was kept full strait and many a great rebuke." Small wonder that Marcher folk had little love for the Lancastrians, and even less for "Old Soldiers."

The parliament that was summoned to Coventry in the following month doled out the appropriate rewards and punishments. Richard of York was formally stripped of all his possessions in the March, and the public records are full of documents setting up a new administration in the great Mortimer empire. On 21 February 1460 John Milewater of Stoke Edith (who later changed sides and fought alongside John Harper at Mortimer's Cross) was appointed receiver of the castle and lordship of Wigmore and all other lordships formerly belonging to Richard Duke of York in the Welsh March.<sup>12</sup> Some items are of particular interest to us. On 29 May the manor of Marden, where the Harper house of Amberley lay, and which was one of Richard of York's manors, was committed for a period of seven years to Thomas Fitz Harry,<sup>13</sup> a faithful Lancastrian who had already served Henry VI well, and was to continue to do so even after the disaster of Mortimer's Cross. And on 21 December (1459), among the Herefordshire commissioners of array "to resist the rebellion of Richard Duke of York . . . attainted of high treason by authority of the Parliament held last at Coventry," we find the name of Thomas Braynton,<sup>14</sup> who had probably already married Maud's sister. But if the Brayntons were still in favour with the Lancastrians, the Harpers had clearly supported Richard of York at Ludlow, and were showing signs of that unswerving loyalty to the houses of York and Tudor that was to bring them such honour and profit during the reigns of Edward IV and Henry VII.

#### THE HARPER PEDIGREE

The evidence for the history of the Harper family in the 15th century has now become copious enough to enable a revised, and I believe a much more reliable,

pedigree to be drawn (fig. 1). If this is compared with that given in my previous article, a number of changes will be discerned. The most important of these are: (i) the branch of the family descended directly from Maud and Richard, and its eventual link-up with the main Harper stem; (ii) the elimination of Maud's fictitious nephews William and Henry; (iii) the ancestry of Maud's mother; and (iv) the recovery of the name of Maud's sister. In the new pedigree I have given Roman numerals to the successive John and William Harpers, in order to avoid confusion.<sup>15</sup>

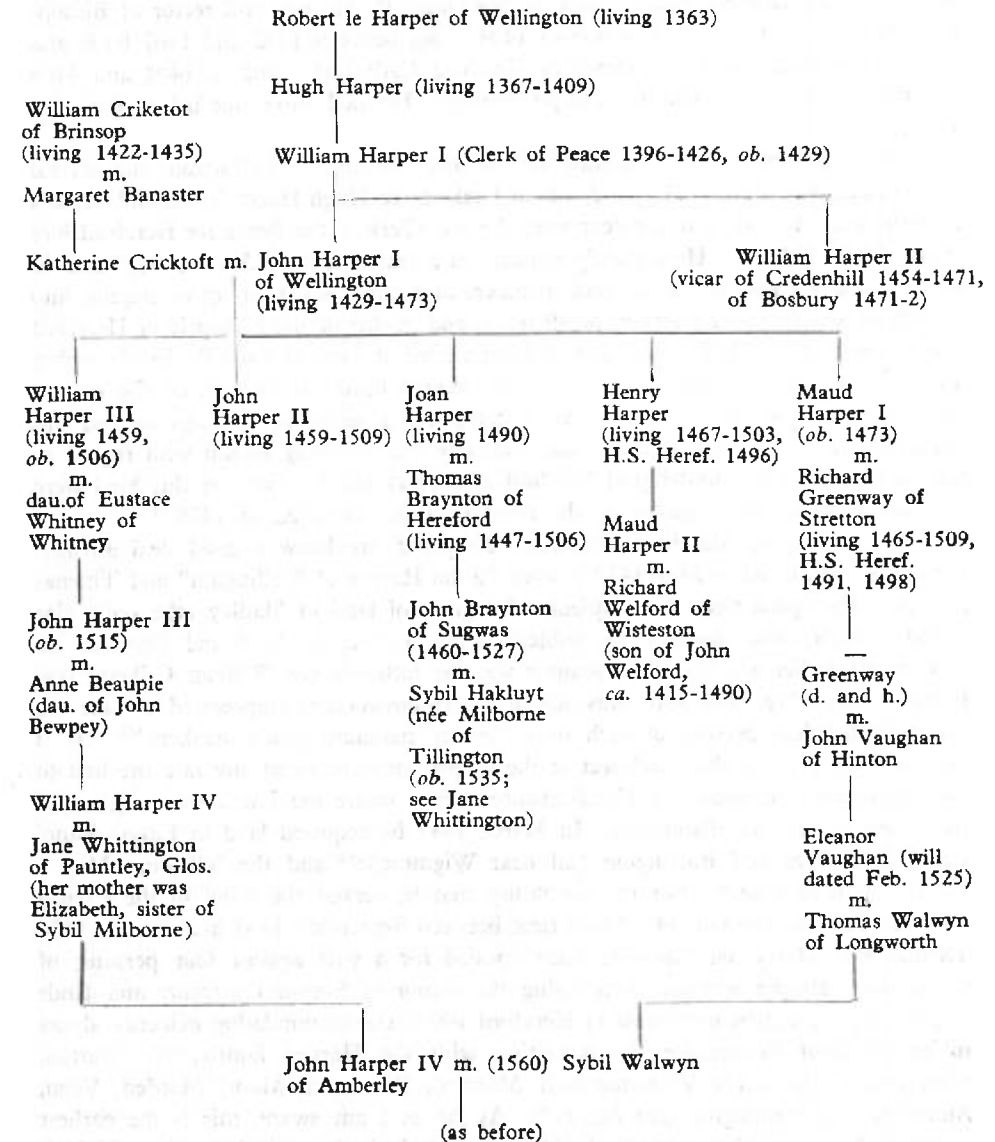


Fig. 1. PEDIGREE OF THE HARPER FAMILY



The earliest part of the pedigree is still somewhat tentative. I take it that the family was descended from *Robert le Harper* of Wellington, mentioned in a deed of May 1363.<sup>16</sup> The building up of the family estate seems however to have been begun by *Hugh Harper*, perhaps Robert's son, who is first mentioned in a deed of November 1367.<sup>17</sup> In March 1391 he was rector of Bishopstone, and was one of three recipients of land in Wellington from Massias Chandos, of the family who had long held the manor of Wellington.<sup>18</sup> In fact he and two others came to hold the seisin of the manor, though it eventually reverted to the Chandos family.<sup>19</sup> He was still rector of Bishopstone in January 1393<sup>20</sup> and in August 1404,<sup>21</sup> but between 1402 and 1407 he is also several times mentioned as a canon of Hereford Cathedral,<sup>22</sup> and in 1404 and 1409 as a penitentiary (priest dealing with penitents).<sup>23</sup> He died some time before February 1434.<sup>24</sup>

All these documents are concerned with dealings in land at Wellington, and several of them mention *William Harper I*, whom I take to be Hugh Harper's son and Maud's grandfather. According to a recent work, he was Clerk of the Peace for Herefordshire from 1396 to 1426.<sup>25</sup> He certainly appears in a transaction of April 1404,<sup>26</sup> and in the same month was one of the four members of a commission set up to enquire into the extent and terms of payment of all issues and profits of the bishopric of Hereford during voidance.<sup>27</sup> He is mentioned again in a deed of January 1406.<sup>28</sup> In November 1420 he was one of a number of border gentlemen fined for trespass on the manor, town and lordship of Talgarth after a complicated series of dealings carried out apparently without royal licence;<sup>29</sup> and similarly the following month with regard to the castle, manor and lordship of Snodhill near Dorstone.<sup>30</sup> Fines of this kind were a common device for augmenting the royal income. He died in 1429.<sup>31</sup>

Of the history of Maud's father, *John Harper I*, we know a good deal already. He is first mentioned in May 1429,<sup>32</sup> when "John Harper of Wellington" and Thomas Ragon of Brompton were the recipients of a grant of land in Madley (the same plot called Lanty's Close that was the subject of negotiations in 1476 and 1491, as we saw in my earlier article). The grantor was his father-in-law William Criketot (see below).<sup>33</sup> In May 1434 John was one of the commissioners empowered to take the oaths of the chief persons of each shire "not to maintain peace breakers."<sup>34</sup> It is clear that he was the chief architect of the family fortunes, or at any rate the first to hold positions of eminence in Herefordshire. Even under the Lancastrian regime he was a person of some distinction. In March 1441 he acquired land in Elton, Aston, Leinthall Starkes and Burrington (all near Wigmore);<sup>35</sup> and the following May a holding in Kingstone.<sup>36</sup> For the possibility that he served the King in the French wars in 1449, see footnote 44. Some time between September 1452 and August 1454 Thomas Fitz Harry and his wife Joan applied for a writ against four persons, of whom John Harper was one, concerning the manor of Sutton Overcourt and lands in precisely the region north-east of Hereford which the accumulating evidence shows to be of great importance in connection with the Harper family, viz. Sutton, "Winstanton" (probably Wisteston near Marden), Bodenham Moor, Marden, Venn, Amberley and Withington (see fig. 2).<sup>37</sup> As far as I am aware, this is the earliest mention of a connection between the Harpers and Amberley, which by the mid-16th

century, if not before, had become the principal home of the family. We shall return to this document when we come to consider the locations of Maud's homes.

We saw in the previous article that in February 1455 John Harper and four others transferred the manor and advowson of Stoke Edith to John Milewater and five others.<sup>38</sup> The reason for this became clear when I discovered that in March 1453 Richard Earl of Warwick had authorised these gentlemen to take possession of the manor and grant it to the persons of their choice.<sup>39</sup> Clearly Harper was a person of some standing in county society. Indeed, by October 1458 he was one of the three auditors of the lordship of Denbigh in North Wales.<sup>40</sup> His blossoming career was placed in jeopardy by his support of Richard Duke of York at Ludlow in the following year, but the check was only temporary. John Harper had clearly sensed that a wind of change was blowing. New honours were to come his way on the accession of Edward IV in 1461. These I have described in my earlier article.<sup>41</sup> We may add one that I missed on that occasion. In 1464 he was granted an annuity of £10 out of the revenues of the lordships of Pembridge and "Ereslane" (Eardisland).<sup>42</sup> Otherwise we need only concern ourselves with the date of his death, which is not easy to determine. We may assume from the wording on Maud's tombstone that he was still alive in March 1473. In October 1476 he is described as "late of Wellington," and in September 1484 as "late auditor."<sup>43</sup> He was almost certainly dead by August 1490; the deed of endowment of the Stanbury chantry omits his name in favour of his son William; the wording is *Wilhelmi Harper, filii et heredis Johannis Harpere, nuper de Welyngton*.<sup>44</sup>

We come now to *William Harper II*, who was most likely John Harper's brother, and probably his younger brother if we proceed on the assumption that the elder inherited the family estate while the younger entered the Church. The correct identification of this gentleman is the first step in disentangling the various William Harpers, real and imaginary. He is the "Sir William Harper" of Credenhill who so led me astray in my earlier article; it took me a long time to realise that genuine knights are always referred to in the documents as "knight" (or *chivaler*, or *armiger*) and never as "sir." His career as a priest can be clearly traced in the registers of the bishops of Hereford.<sup>45</sup> He was ordained as an acolyte in the cathedral on 20 February 1440, and was attached, for the duration of his novitiate, to Wormsley Priory, where incidentally he was a contemporary of the John Greenway whom we met in the first article. He was ordained subdeacon in St. Katherine's Chapel in the cathedral on 11 March 1441, and finally priest (there is no record of his ordination as deacon) in Ledbury church on 10 June 1441. He presumably served as a chaplain for some years, because the first record of his appointment to a living is to Credenhill in October 1454,<sup>46</sup> a position he still held in November 1470.<sup>47</sup> In July 1471 he was transferred to the living of Bosbury,<sup>48</sup> but had resigned by March 1472.<sup>49</sup>

The next step is to consider John Harper's children, of whom we can identify five: three sons and two daughters. The eldest was almost certainly *William Harper III*, who is twice referred to as John Harper's "son and heir." He is first mentioned in the pardon of December 1459, and like his father was rewarded in 1464 with an annuity, this time of 20 marks, from the revenues of Pembridge and Eardisland.<sup>50</sup> In October

1476 he is mentioned in connection with Lanty's Close at Madley.<sup>51</sup> In January 1480 comes an interesting item, wherein he is summoned for not appearing to answer for a debt of 40s. to a London draper.<sup>52</sup> In this document he is described as "late of Wellington," the significance of which we shall consider later. It was he who helped endow the Stanbury chantry in August 1490, and he is mentioned again in August 1491.<sup>53</sup> Finally, a writ to the Herefordshire escheator (who incidentally was his brother-in-law Thomas Braynton) in June 1506 proves that he had died shortly before that date.<sup>54</sup>

John Harper's second son was *John Harper II*. We may infer this from the fact that in the grant of August 1468, the lands in Marden were to pass to him on his father's death: in other words, he was second only in importance to William the "son and heir." Like him, he is first mentioned in the pardon of December 1459. By March 1465 he was escheator in a case relating to castles and manors in Swansea and Gower.<sup>55</sup> He later took up the profession of arms and rendered distinguished service to Henry Tudor during his exile in Brittany (1471-1485), and finally at the Battle of Bosworth (August 1485). On Henry's accession to the throne, he is described as the King's servant, yeoman and harbinger (quartermaster), and was granted the office of sergeant-at-mace in parliament for life, with a pension of 12d. per day.<sup>56</sup> The grant was renewed in March 1489, with the additional stipulation of an annual Christmas issue of a suit of livery.<sup>57</sup> In April 1491 he was a member of a commission instructed to impress sailors and soldiers for service in the fleet.<sup>58</sup> He lived to attend, in his capacity as sergeant-at-arms, both the funeral of Henry VII on 11 May 1509 and the coronation of Henry VIII on the following 24 June.<sup>59</sup> By that time he must have been about seventy-one, and to the end remained faithful to the Henry Tudor whom he had served so well.

John Harper's third son, *Henry Harper*, had an equally distinguished career. He was apparently too young to require the King's pardon in 1459, and is first mentioned in February 1467, when he was appointed auditor of accounts to the chamberlain of South Wales.<sup>60</sup> He served on commissions enquiring into the Herefordshire estates of the King's brother, George Duke of Clarence (executed in February 1478), in March and April 1478.<sup>61</sup> He was appointed auditor of an area covering eleven counties in the Midlands and as far south-west as Somerset in April 1478.<sup>62</sup> By October 1480 he had relinquished this post,<sup>63</sup> but was reappointed in January 1481<sup>64</sup> and held it till September 1485 (*i.e.*, until the accession of Henry VII),<sup>65</sup> when the appointment was changed to auditorship of the Earldom of March.<sup>66</sup> His domestic activities are reflected in his acquisition of lands in Hereford in June 1482, September 1482 and March 1491.<sup>67</sup> He served as sheriff of Herefordshire in 1496-7.<sup>68</sup> He was still auditor of the Earldom of March in October 1503,<sup>69</sup> but this appointment had terminated by December 1509,<sup>70</sup> though whether because of his death or the accession of Henry VIII is unknown. The absence of his name from the Pardon Roll of that monarch (July 1509) may perhaps be taken to mean that he was no longer living.

When we turn to consider the two daughters of John Harper of whom we have any knowledge, we meet first the beautiful *Maud Harper I*, the starting-point of all this vast enquiry. Her history is as enigmatic as ever. It is of course much more difficult

to trace the history of medieval ladies than of their menfolk. All we know of her for certain is that she married Richard Greenway of Stretton and died on 27 March 1473; and that much we knew at the very beginning of our search. If we accept that the figures on her memorial slab are true likenesses, she looks about twenty-two and Richard about twenty-five. She would therefore have been born *c.* 1451, and Richard *c.* 1448. They were probably married *c.* 1470. But we may have cause to push back this dating by about ten years, as will be seen when we come to deal with the question of Maud's children. In the pedigrees she is shown as having an unnamed sister who married Thomas Braynton of Hereford. I felt I had scored something of a triumph when I discovered a deed of November 1490, relating to land in Wellington, and naming "Thomas Breynton, of the city of Hereford, gentleman, *Joan* his wife, and John their son."<sup>71</sup> Thomas Braynton's history is well documented and is summarised in J. C. Wedgwood and A. D. Holt, *History of Parliament 1439-1509* (Biographies, 1936), pp. 109-10. He is first mentioned in July 1447.<sup>72</sup> He was M.P. for Hereford in 1449 and Mayor of the town on a number of occasions (1462, 1465, 1470); a justice of the peace at various times between 1470 and 1484; Escheator from 1479 to 1480; and served on several royal commissions. Wedgwood and Holt say he died in 1494, but "Thomas Braynton the elder" was still escheator for Herefordshire in May 1506.<sup>73</sup> If all these references are to the same person, he must have been about eighty by this time. The Brayntons later acquired the manor of Sugwas and eventually the Greenways' old home at Stretton: a companion slab to Maud's in Stretton Sugwas church, dated 1622, is to Mary, the wife of John Breinton of Stretton. Thomas Braynton's son John (1460-1527) married Sybil, the widow of Richard Hakluyt of Eaton (near Leominster); she had originally been a Milborne of Tillington and was a sister to Elizabeth Whittington of Pauntley in Gloucestershire, whose daughter Jane married *William Harper IV* (see fig. 1). If there was one thing impressed upon me by my researches, it was the fantastic network of family relationships in 15th-century Herefordshire; sooner or later everyone was related to everyone else.

A moment's reflection will show that Joan must have been older than Maud—providing, that is, that she was Thomas Braynton's first wife. Their son John was born in 1460, so Joan was probably born *c.* 1440, whereas Maud, as we have seen, is unlikely to have been born before 1450. It is in fact possible to draw up a reasonable list of the birth-dates of John Harper I's children: William 1436, John 1438, Joan 1440, Henry 1442, and Maud 1451 (with probably others between Henry and Maud). This would make William twenty-three and John twenty-one at the time of the pardon of 1459, and Henry only seventeen which would account for his omission from the list of those pardoned. It would imply that Joan married Thomas Braynton at the age of nineteen in 1459 (but *before* the "Ludlow Affair" separated the two families); that Henry was fifty-four when he became Sheriff in 1496; and that William died at the age of seventy in 1506. It would also imply that John Harper I married Katherine Cricktoft *c.* 1435, and that he was probably born in the period 1410-1415. But the section on the Greenways, below, will show that the date of Maud's birth is still an open question.



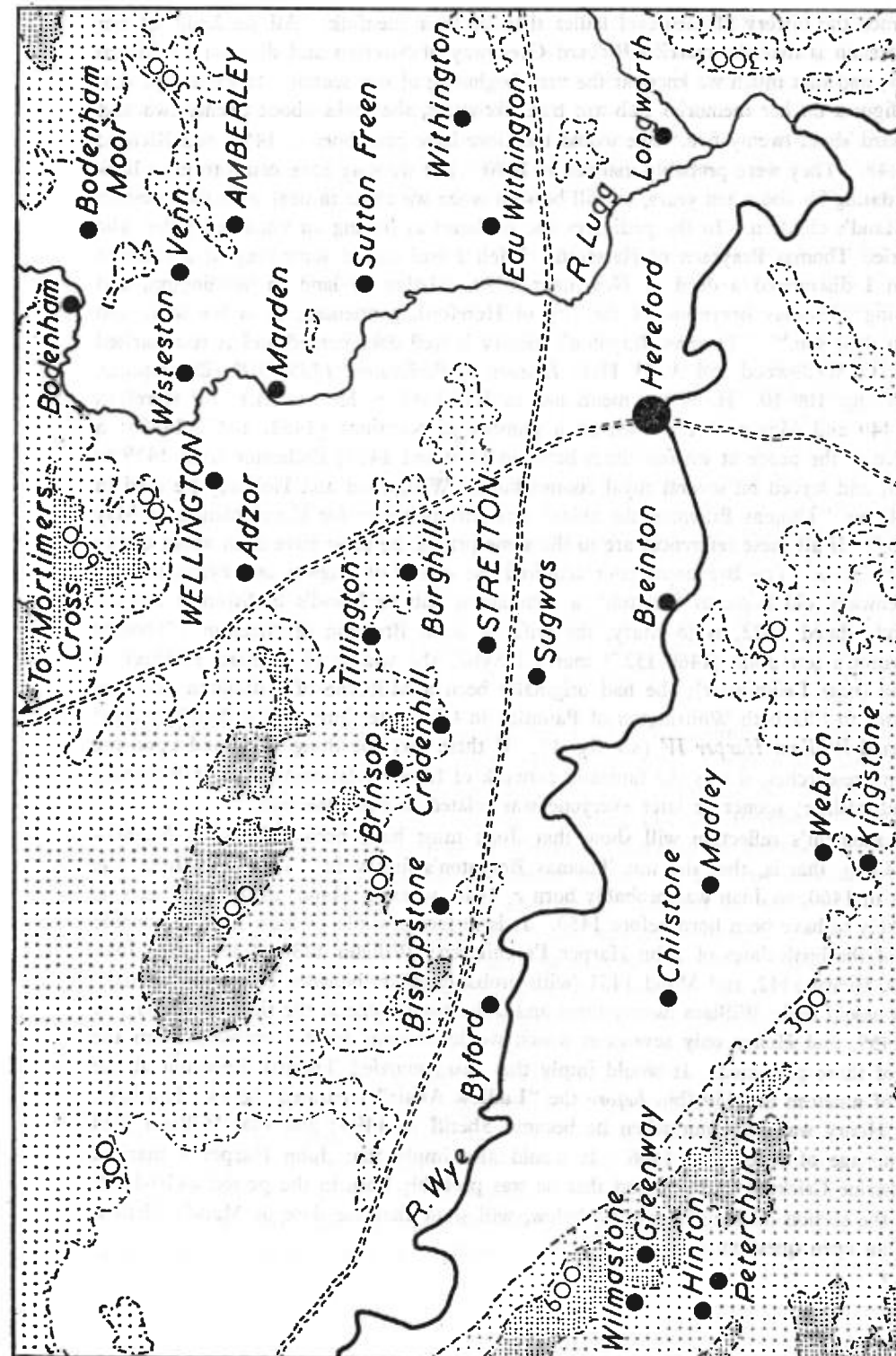


FIG. 2.  
The Maud Harper country. Scale 1 in. = 2 miles.

It remains to consider a number of minor details in the family tree. First, there is the ancestry of Maud's mother, *Katherine Cricktoft*. In my earlier article I had searched for it in vain, but a second attempt was more rewarding. Her father was undoubtedly the William Cryketot of "Chyldeston" who in 1429 had granted Lanty's Close in Madley to John Harper I.<sup>74</sup> "Chyldeston" is represented today by the farm of Chilstone between Tyberton and Madley (SO 398396). In June 1431, however, he is described as "of Wotton," when he was called upon to settle a bill of 110s. 7d. with a number of London grocers.<sup>75</sup> Nor was this all; the Cricktofts also had the necessary connections with Brinsop to explain how they came to be linked with the Daunseys of that place. In May 1422 William Cricktoft "of Brinsop" (who seems to have made rather a mess of his financial affairs) was summoned to answer for debts of 5 marks and £9 to a London tailor and merchant.<sup>76</sup> In January 1426 he is again designated as "of Brinsop," and mention is also made of his wife Margaret, the widow of William Banaster.<sup>77</sup> He was undoubtedly a man of considerable county standing, and as we have seen (see note 34), figures in the county list of 1434 as an "esquire." He must have been without sons, because the pedigrees state that his daughter and co-heiress married John Daunsey of Brinsop (the other co-heiress being John Harper's wife Katherine).

William Harper III married a daughter of Eustace Whitney of Whitney, but I was not able to discover her name. Although the Whitneys were an ancient and aristocratic family, they seem by the 15th century to have sunk into a state of obscurity, because there is little mention of them in the records. The heir of this marriage, *John Harper III*, is probably the "John Harper, gentleman" who in November 1509 was one of the recipients of lands (John and Simon Braynton are among the others) in Bodenhams and Marden.<sup>78</sup> In my earlier article I stated that John Harper III married Anne Beaupre. Her name appears as "Beaupie" rather than Beaupre, and she was a daughter of John Bewpey who had married a daughter of David Lloyd who died in 1489; but I was unable to identify the home of this family. John Harper III died in 1515 and his widow married John Delahay.<sup>79</sup> Her dowry is listed and is interesting as affording a glimpse into the extent of the Harper estate in the early years of Henry VIII's reign. It consisted of messuages and lands in Wellington, Adzore (Adzor), Burghill, Whittwardyn, Marden, Ewethynton (Eau Withington), Cowarun Parva (Little Cowarne) and Bodenhams, and a quarter of the manor of Sutton Freen (Sutton St. Nicholas). This shows that in addition to the original nucleus around Wellington, Adzor and Burghill, the estate had now expanded north-east of Hereford as far as Little Cowarne, four miles south-west of Bromyard. I was not able to find Whitwardine. There is a Blackwardine near Stoke Prior, three miles south-east of Leominster, and one would expect Whitwardine to be somewhere in the same area.

Finally, we can now dispose of the "William Harper" and the "Henry Harper" whom I inserted in the pedigree in my former article as Maud's nephews. The former I had believed to be escheator in May 1506, but this was a mistake; the reference was to the escheator for Staffordshire, who was clearly one of the Harpers of Rushall in that county. As for Henry Harper, there is no reason to believe that he was any other than Maud's brother of that name. His daughter *Maud II* married Richard

Welford, who was a son of John Welford of Welford Castle, co. Salop. The latter lived from c. 1415 to 1490,<sup>80</sup> and was therefore a contemporary of John Harper I; so Richard Welford is more likely to have married a niece of Maud than a great-niece.<sup>81</sup>

### THE GREENWAYS

The career of Maud's husband, Richard Greenway, was traced in my first article. I am now able to supply some additional details. He is first mentioned in November 1465, renouncing a claim to lands and rents at Windsor in Berkshire;<sup>82</sup> if I am right about his age he would not be more than seventeen at the time. He had considerable experience as a royal official, especially as an auditor, and seems always to have had a connection with North Wales. The greatest achievements of his career came during the reign of Henry VII. Chief among these was his appointment as auditor of the Principality of North Wales and the Earldom of Chester in 1485.<sup>83</sup> This was confirmed in 1488,<sup>84</sup> and in the earlier article we saw him at work in this capacity, addressing a memorandum to the chamberlain of North Wales in 1491, and on tour in that area in 1494.<sup>85</sup> He was still auditor of the lordships of Bromfield, Yale and Chirkland in Denbighshire in May 1495.<sup>86</sup> A minor honour to fall to him, in 1485, was the office of Master Forester of Hadnock Wood near Monmouth.<sup>87</sup> He became sheriff of Herefordshire in 1491-2 and again in 1498-9, and in 1496 he was one of four commissioners appointed to assist the county justices of the peace.<sup>88</sup> I had earlier guessed that he could have lived into the reign of Henry VIII, and this was confirmed when I found his name in the general Pardon Roll of that King (July 1509),<sup>89</sup> a most interesting document which is virtually a roll-call of all persons of note who were alive at that time. In it he is described as "late Henry VII's auditor of North Wales and receiver of the earldom of March in co. Hereford." By this time he must have been about sixty-one and had survived poor Maud by thirty-six years.

But if I was successful in tracing Richard's career, I made very little headway in the case of his divorce from Maud Swinfen. Her ancestry remains a complete mystery. A glimmer of hope seemed to be provided by the fact that a certain Henry de Suinesfen was acting sheriff of Worcestershire in 1187-8. But this was too remote in time, and unconnected with any other mention of a Worcestershire family of the name. We may recall that she petitioned for divorce against Richard Greenway in March 1466.<sup>90</sup> I later came across a very interesting document that may have a bearing on this affair. In June 1467 Richard was granted a papal indult "that the confessor of his choice may grant him, being penitent and having confessed, plenary remission of all his sins, once only, namely, in the hour of death."<sup>91</sup> It is as if, once the affair of the divorce was over, he felt the need for absolution. The dating is entirely consistent with the following story, which, however, is still largely conjectural. Richard married Maud Swinfen when very young, perhaps in 1465. In 1466 they were divorced, and in 1467 he obtained a papal indult. About 1470 he married Maud Harper, when he was (say) twenty-two and she nineteen. They had a daughter (see below), but Maud died in 1473, perhaps in childbirth.

This brings us to the question of the descent of their assumed family. This is best tackled by working backwards (see fig. 1). In 1560 John Harper IV married Sybil Walwyn, the daughter of Thomas Walwyn of Longworth near Lugwardine. Thomas Walwyn's wife was Eleanor Vaughan, a daughter of "John Vaughan of Kynton." The latter's wife had been the daughter and heiress of the Greenway family. We know neither her christian name nor the name of her father. But if we assume thirty years per generation, which we saw worked very well in the earlier article, it is possible to calculate that as John Harper IV married Sybil Walwyn in 1560, Thomas Walwyn must have married Eleanor Vaughan c. 1530, John Vaughan the Greenway heiress c. 1500, and the Greenway heiress's father must have married c. 1470, which is exactly the date we have guessed for Richard's marriage to Maud. It looks very much as if the Greenway heiress was Maud's daughter and perhaps only surviving child.

This line of reasoning was so ingenious that I must confess to mingled feelings of excitement and disappointment when I discovered the will of Eleanor Walwyn in the National Library of Wales. It immediately upset the dating, though not irretrievably so. It was made on 17 February 1525, and confirms that she was indeed the daughter of John Vaughan though unfortunately it does not mention her mother. But already in 1525 she had three sons (Nicholas the eldest, John and Thomas) and three daughters (Sybil, Eleanor and Joan). It is true that they appear to be children—Nicholas and John are clearly stated to be minors—but Sybil was left £40 "to her marriage," which sounds as if she were not far off marriageable age. So we must accept that Eleanor Vaughan married Thomas Walwyn round about 1510 rather than 1530. We can to some extent get out of our difficulties by compressing the length of a generation to twenty-five rather than thirty years. We could then say that John Vaughan may have married the Greenway heiress c. 1485, and the Greenway heiress's parents may have married c. 1460. So if the last-named were really Richard and Maud, we must accept that they were born about ten years earlier than we had imagined, and that Maud was more likely thirty-two than twenty-two at the time of her death. And yet if Richard was not divorced from Maud Swinfen till 1466, this cannot be. Such are the puzzles of history.

There is also an obscurity at the lower end of our pedigree link as well as at the upper. If the date of John Harper IV's marriage to Sybil Walwyn is correctly given in the pedigrees—1560—she must have been about fifty by that time. Even if it was really her younger sister Eleanor he married (which is what Robinson states in his pedigree of the Walwyn family, though on what evidence I do not know), she too must have been about forty. In either case it sounds like a second marriage. The remarriage of widows was very common in the 15th century. There was in those days no such thing as a welfare state, and it was imperative for a woman who lost her husband to find another protector. The alternative explanation is to suppose that a generation is missing from the pedigree.

How odd if the Greenway heiress's mother should turn out to be Maud Swinfen rather than Maud Harper! If only we could discover who "John Vaughan of Kynton" was, we might be on surer ground. But whereas tracing a Greenway or a Harper is a relatively easy matter, tracking down a particular Vaughan on the South Wales

border is like looking for a needle in a haystack. "Kynton" is an alternative form of the name Kington, so I thought at first I might be able to connect him with the Vaughans of Hergest. But this proved impossible; the pedigrees in the *Visitations*, in Dwnn, in Theophilus Jones, in G. T. Clark, alike preserved a stubborn silence. I then came across a reference to a John Vaughan who in October 1489 was granted a general pardon for unspecified offences.<sup>92</sup> He was described as a "gentilman," late of Dorstone, *alias* late of Peterchurch, *alias* of "Wylmeston," *alias* of Morehampton. The successive homes of this restless gentleman were easy to discover. They are all in the Golden Valley between Dorstone and Abbey Dore, and all within four miles of Peterchurch. "Wylmeston" is Wilmastone Farm (SO 341402). In looking them up, I received a sudden shock of recognition. Almost adjoining Peterchurch on the west is the hamlet of Hinton, which contains a number of old houses, among them Hinton Farm which is partly of c. 1500 (SO 431387).<sup>93</sup> An old spelling of Hinton is "Hynton," which is almost identical with "Kynton;" in fact the latter is probably nothing more than a transcript error for "Hynton." So we are fairly safe in assuming that the husband of the Greenway heiress was "John Vaughan of Hinton." There are vague references to the Vaughans of Hinton in G. T. Clark,<sup>94</sup> but nothing that I could link up with the father of Eleanor Vaughan. So the relationships shown in the pedigree in fig. 1 are not established beyond doubt. But a further surprise is in store for those who look up John Vaughan's country on the map. At the head of a dingle on the east side of the Golden Valley, a mile north of Peterchurch, is "Greenway Farm" (SO 350400). Is this pure coincidence, or does it in some way preserve the name of Maud's husband and daughter?<sup>95</sup>

#### MAUD'S HOMES

Maud was probably born at *Wellington*, five miles north of Hereford. But exactly where in Wellington, is another matter. One presumes it was the forerunner of Wellington Court, just north of the church at SO 497484. The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments describes a number of old houses dotted along the village street,<sup>96</sup> the most noteworthy being Bridge Farm at SO 499482 which is 15th century. One difficulty is that there were three or four important families connected with Wellington in the 15th century. The manor had long been held by the Chandos family, though this does not necessarily mean that they were actually resident there in Maud's day. Next in importance came the Harpers, resident there from at least the mid-14th century. A third family took its name from the village, though they do not appear to have reached as high a position in society as the Harpers. John Wellington fought alongside John Harper at Mortimer's Cross, and there are scattered references to the family throughout the 15th century. The family of Restard or Restot had also an ancient connection with the village.

Maud's possible second home, the beautiful house of *Amberley Court*, is precisely located (SO 545478). I described it briefly in my earlier article. It lies five miles north-east of Hereford and is of early 15th-century date.<sup>97</sup> The interesting question

to decide is when did it come into the possession of the Harpers. In 1560 "John Harper of Amberley" married Sybil Walwyn. He was almost certainly responsible for inserting an upper floor into what had formerly been a hall open to the roof. But had the family acquired the house before his day? We have seen that in 1452-4 John Harper I owned, or at least had an interest in, lands in Sutton, Wisteston, Bodenham Moor, Marden, Venn, Amberley and Withington. This is the earliest mention of the Harper connections with a region north-east of Hereford, that crops up again and again in the family history. It is a roughly oval area about five miles long and three miles wide, bounded on the west by the River Lugg and on the east by a line from Bodenham through Preston Wynne to Withington. It is, in fact, the historic manor of Marden. Rich rolling country of arable, forest and orchard, it is dominated by the great hillfort of Sutton Walls. We saw in the earlier article that in 1468 John Harper I granted land to Hereford cathedral "in the demesne of Marden," including the holdings called "Fosters and Shirrefes." We do not know the exact location of these holdings, but they confirm the belief that the Harpers already owned lands in the manor of Marden. Whether these included the house of Amberley is of course another matter; probably not since the township of Amberley (usually called Fromanton, *i.e.* the modern Fromington, SO 533474) lay outside the demesne lands of the manor. It might be argued that since John Harper IV is the only one in the pedigrees specifically designated as "of Amberley," the family did not acquire the property till his day. But when I started to write these pages, several items suggested an earlier acquisition. John Harper I's son and heir was William Harper III. In 1480 he is described as "late of Wellington." Yet we know that he was still alive in 1491. So by 1480 he must have taken up residence somewhere else. John Harper himself had been similarly described in 1476; while in 1468 and even c. 1453 he clearly owned land in the neighbourhood of Amberley. Also, Robinson states<sup>98</sup> that Henry Harper purchased Wisteston from Walter Edwin, bailiff of Marden; the date given is 1570, but this I took to be a misprint for 1470. There was clearly a gradual movement of the Harpers into the Marden area from the mid-15th century onwards, and my guess was that it included, somewhere in the period 1450-1480, the purchase of Amberley itself.<sup>99</sup> The most likely period would seem to be the early part of the reign of Edward IV (c. 1460-1470), which witnessed John Harper's rise to positions of influence and profit. We do not know the date of Maud's marriage, so we cannot be sure that she actually lived at Amberley; but there seemed a strong possibility that such was the case, at least for a brief period before her marriage. The acquisition of Amberley did not, however, mean that the Harpers abandoned their old home at Wellington. John Harper IV's younger brother Anthony still lived there in the mid-16th century.

These perfectly reasonable assumptions were somewhat weakened when I was eventually able to consult a book I had long searched for without success: Lord Coningsby's *Collections concerning the Manor of Marden*. This rare and curious book was issued privately between 1722 and 1727 by His Lordship in an endeavour to justify certain territorial claims of the Coningsby family; a second edition with a useful Introduction was published in 1813. It is an odd hotch-potch of documents from



Domesday onwards, printed in a strange mixture of Roman capitals, lower case and Gothic black-letter; and is confusedly arranged and not easy to use. But it does clarify the territorial layout of the manor of Marden. There are few references to the Harper family, but those few are of some importance and worth considering in detail:

(1) John Lingen (*ob.* 1554), the husband of Isabel Lingen and father of Jane Shelley (see below),<sup>100</sup> in July 1553 granted to John Harper and William Burghill "all his Lands in all the Suttons, and in the whole Manor of Marden." This must have been the "John Harper of Amberley" who in 1560 married Sybil Walwyn. His share was "one half of Sutton Freen, Amburley, and all Lingen's Lands in Fromanton." This is of outstanding interest in that it appears to confirm our suspicions that Amberley did not come into the possession of the Harpers till the mid-16th century. So it looks as if Maud never lived at Amberley, after all; and our earlier arguments are in the nature of an academic exercise. We now have a precise date for the Harpers' acquisition of Amberley, *viz.* 1553; and a virtual confirmation that it was John Harper IV who inserted the upper floor into the old medieval hall as part of the alterations he carried out on moving into the house.

(2) Lord Coningsby makes a great deal of the forfeiture of the Marden estates by Francis Throckmorton in 1584. Throckmorton, a member of a well known Warwickshire family, was a son of Sir John Throckmorton of Coughton and his wife Margery. On his father's death he entered into possession of two-thirds of the manor of Marden, and his mother into the remainder. He is best known for his implication in the plot engineered in 1583 by the Spanish ambassador Mendoza to enable the Duc de Guise to invade England and free Mary Queen of Scots. Arrested in 1583 he was imprisoned and tortured in the Tower of London, where he revealed the details of the plot and was executed in July 1584. His estates were forfeited to the Crown. Also attainted and tortured was William Shelley of Michelgrove, Sussex, who had married Jane the daughter and heiress of John Lingen (see above). Shelley however was not executed, and lived till 1597. But what is of particular interest to us is Lord Coningsby's reference to "the sinister Attempts made by Walter Edwyn, who was Francis Throgmorton's Bailiff of the Manor of Marden, before the Forfeiture." So my belief that Henry Harper purchased Wisteston from Walter Edwin in 1470 was patently false, and Robinson was right after all in giving 1570 as the date of the transaction. We must be dealing with a Henry Harper who has not hitherto appeared in the family tree, though his exact position in it is a bit of a mystery. He cannot have been a brother of John Harper IV, as one would have expected; nor can he be his son of that name, who was not born till 1573. Perhaps he was a younger brother of William Harper IV. In any case it is clear that the 15th-century movement of the Harpers into the Marden area was not so extensive as I had formerly believed.

(3) Not least in interest in Lord Coningsby's book is the fact that it contains surveys of the manor of Marden made in 1649 and 1658 (including a detailed account of the boundaries of the manor at the latter date). There is, alas, no mention of the holdings "Fosters and Shirrefes." But there were still traces of the Harper presence in this area in the Commonwealth period. In 1649 the survey of the manor refers to "Whitter-

day-Meadow, abutting upon . . . Harpers-Meadow on the North, (and) the River Lugg on the West." But this meadowland bordering the river no longer belonged to the Harpers, because there is a reference to "Whitterday-Meadow, abutting upon the lands of William Wotton on the North." Similarly in 1658 there is a reference to "all that parcel of meadow-ground in Whitterday, called the Berries, abutting on . . . lands late Mr. Harper's on the South, and the River Lugg on the West." Nevertheless, in 1658 a John Harper was still a tenant in the township of Fromanton. This remote descendant of Maud's father brings us to a date less than thirty years removed from the Harpers of Eardisley, whose names caught our eye when we first embarked on our quest.

After her marriage to Richard Greenway, Maud went to live at *Stretton Court*. It was a long time before I realised that Stretton and Sugwas are two different places. A glance at the 6-in. O.S. map (sheet SO 44 S.E.) proved highly instructive. The present parish church of Stretton Sugwas is at SO 4596 4202. But the site of the former church of St. Mary Magdalene is shown in the grounds of the Rectory, three-quarters of a mile to the north-east, at SO 4675 4288. It appears to be the same site as that described by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments<sup>101</sup> as a "homestead moat." Stretton Court lies 150 yards north-west of it. The present house is 18th century, but in the grounds is a 17th-century barn incorporating a moulded 15th-century beam. The Commission's account adds that a stone chimney-shaft, now set up in the rectory garden, was found on the site of the former manor-house. The location of this is not specified, but it must have been Maud's last home and the place where she ended her days.

The time has come to say good-bye to Maud, and Richard, and John Harper and all the others. But is a last faint echo still to be heard? In 1516 one of the Gentlemen Ushers of the Royal Household of Henry VIII was a "Richard Grenewey."<sup>102</sup> Was this the Richard whose fortunes we have followed for so long? If so, he must have been about sixty-eight years old—perhaps seventy-eight if our revised dating is correct. He had lived into the age of Cardinal Wolsey. The beautiful bride of his youth had died forty-three years before, and he now found it difficult to remember even her face. She had become almost as remote from him as she is from us, a withered leaf blown on the wind. Only when we push open the door of Stretton Sugwas church, and gaze at the black-traced figures of Richard and Maud on the memorial slab, can we detect the faint whisper of their youthful love across the uncomprehending ocean of time.

#### FOOTNOTES.

- <sup>1</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1452-61, p. 538.
- <sup>2</sup> A good summary of the affair is given in H. T. Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses* (1915), ch. V, esp. 102-9.
- <sup>3</sup> Ed. J. S. Davies, *Camden Soc.*, 1856, p. 80.
- <sup>4</sup> C. 1470; ed. J. Gairdner, *Camden Soc.*, 1876, p. 205.
- <sup>5</sup> 1548; ed. 1809, pp. 421-2.
- <sup>6</sup> Ed. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley, 1938, p. 191.
- <sup>7</sup> *Rolls of Parliament*, V, 348-9.
- <sup>8</sup> 12 October 1459.
- <sup>9</sup> Gregory, p. 207.
- <sup>10</sup> Cecily Duchess of York and Anne Duchess of Buckingham were daughters of Ralph Neville, 1st Earl of Westmorland.

<sup>11</sup> 16 July 1460.

<sup>12</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1452-61, p. 573.

<sup>13</sup> *Cal. Fine Rolls*, 1452-61, p. 273.

<sup>14</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1452-61, p. 559.

<sup>15</sup> It is necessary at this juncture to correct two serious errors that appear in the printed pedigrees. First, the *Shropshire Visitation* of 1623 (ed. G. Grazebrook and J. P. Rylands, 1889, I, p. 217) describes the family as "Harper of Amerley, co. Hereford, from Wellington, Salop." The intimate connections of the Harpers with the Herefordshire countryside and the Herefordshire gentry from the early 15th century prove beyond doubt that this identification of Wellington is incorrect. Secondly, G. T. Clark, in his *Genealogies of Morgan and Glamorgan* (1886), pp. 444-5, gives a pedigree of "Harpway of Wellington, co. Hereford," with arms differing only from those of John Harper in the substitution of a *chevron ermine* for a *chevron argent*. Fifteen generations of Harpways are listed, each of which married into one or other of the principal families of Herefordshire: Croft, Wigmore, Monnington, Bodenham, Baskerville, Whitney, Scudamore, Harley, etc. I can find no record of any of these marriages, and am forced to conclude that the pedigree is entirely fictitious.

<sup>16</sup> *Cal. Anc. Deeds*, I, C.320.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, C.652.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, C.443.

<sup>19</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1422-29, 427.

<sup>20</sup> *Cal. Anc. Deeds*, I, C.1637.

<sup>21</sup> *Cal. Inquis. Misc.*, VII (1399-1422), 137, no. 263.

<sup>22</sup> *Cal. Anc. Deeds*, I, C.219, C.226, C.258; *Hereford Cathedral Muniments*, III, 1137, 1150.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 1144-5, 1153.

<sup>24</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1429-36, p. 334.

<sup>25</sup> Sir Edgar Stephens, *The Clerks of the Counties, 1360-1960* (1961), 99.

<sup>26</sup> *Cal. Anc. Deeds*, I, C.226, C.258.

<sup>27</sup> *Cal. Inquis. Misc.*, VII, p. 149, no. 281.

<sup>28</sup> *Cal. Anc. Deeds*, I, C.219.

<sup>29</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1416-22, pp. 306-7.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 310.

<sup>31</sup> *Cal. Fine Rolls*, 1422-30, p. 238.

<sup>32</sup> A cleric named John Harper was given leave in January 1423 to make a pilgrimage to Rome (*Register of Thomas Spofford*, p. 371). This is unlikely to have been Maud's father though he could well be a member of the family.

<sup>33</sup> *Cathedral Muniments*, III, 1188.

<sup>34</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1429-36, pp. 376-8. This document is of great interest as it gives us a complete list of the Herefordshire gentry in 1434. They are divided into 6 knights, 48 esquires and 100 others (not specifically designated by a class name, but normally referred to as "gentlemen" elsewhere). The round figure of 100 gentlemen suggests that the list was closed when that number was reached. John Harper's father-in-law William Crikketot appears as an "esquire," but John himself was only a "gentleman," together with prominent Hereford burgesses such as George Braynton (who was mayor in that year), John Falk, John Foster and John Mey. No Greenways are mentioned.

<sup>35</sup> Hereford City Library, *Muniments of Title*, MT/IV/32.

<sup>36</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1436-41, 508.

<sup>37</sup> P.R.O. *Lists and Indexes*, XII (Chancery Proceedings), p. 218, suit 107. The application was repeated in 1456-7; *ibid.*, p. 259, suit 529.

<sup>38</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1454-61, 56.

<sup>39</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1452-61, 49.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 570.

<sup>41</sup> The documentation is as follows: auditor for Wales and the border January 1462, *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1461-7, p. 91; renewed July 1462, *ibid.*, pp. 191-2; renewed July 1463, *ibid.*, p. 287; escheator for Herefordshire November 1464, *Cal. Fine Rolls*, 1461-71, p. 129; auditorship renewed March 1465, *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1461-7, p. 429; holds inquisition (as escheator) at Pembridge June 1465, *ibid.*, 1467-77, pp. 59-60; gift of land in Marden to Hereford Cathedral May 1467 and August 1468, *Cathedral Muniments*, III, 1235-6; escheator November 1467, *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1467-77, pp. 59-60; Lanty's Close at Madley October 1476 and August 1941, *Cathedral Muniments*, III, 1244, 1257.

<sup>42</sup> *Rolls of Parliament*, V, 533.

<sup>43</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1476-85, pp. 474-5.

<sup>44</sup> *Register of John Stanbury*, p. x. I had intended reviewing the question of whether John Harper took part in the French wars, but in the interests of brevity decided to confine myself to a footnote. In William of Worcester's list of the principal combatants at the Battle of Mortimer's Cross, he is called *homo belli*. He is the only one so designated, but there are

many references to French war veterans under the titles of *homo de guerra* or *homo in guerra*. Both English and French chronicles of the loss of Normandy in 1449 record the fall of Gerberoi, some 15 miles west of Beauvais and 26 miles east of Rouen, in terms that indicate that the English garrison, numbering about thirty men, were all slain with the exception of their commander, one John Harper, who on that day happened to be in the neighbouring town of Gournay. See *Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry VI* (ed. Rev. J. Stevenson), II, pt. II (1864), p. 619; Jehan de Waurin, *Croniques et Anciennes Istories de la Grant Bretagne, a present nomme Engleterre* (ed. Sir William and E. L. C. P. Hardy, V (1447-1471) (1891)), p. 125; *Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy, 1449-1450* (ed. Rev. J. Stevenson, 1863), pp. 31-2, 251-2, 425. It might be objected that this can scarcely be "our" John Harper, since on 28 July 1449 the latter was appointed to serve on a royal commission in Herefordshire (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1446-52, p. 285). But a close reading of the chronicles will show that Gerberoi must have fallen some time between 16 May and 25 June, so it was not impossible for John Harper to return to England in time to serve on the commission.

<sup>45</sup> *Register of Thomas Spofford*, pp. 332, 336, 337.

<sup>46</sup> *Register of John Stanbury*, p. 173.

<sup>47</sup> *Cal. Fine Rolls*, 1461-71, p. 276.

<sup>48</sup> *Register of John Stanbury*, p. 187.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 188.

<sup>50</sup> *Rolls of Parliament*, V, 532.

<sup>51</sup> *Cathedral Muniments*, III, 1244.

<sup>52</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1476-85, p. 151.

<sup>53</sup> *Cathedral Muniments*, III, 1257.

<sup>54</sup> *Cal. Fine Rolls*, 1485-1509, p. 372.

<sup>55</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1467-77, p. 191.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 1485-94, p. 6; *Rolls of Parliament*, VI, 339, 344.

<sup>57</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1485-94, pp. 260-1.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 353.

<sup>59</sup> *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic*, Henry VIII, I, pp. 13, 15, 42.

<sup>60</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1461-7, pp. 546-7.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 1476-85, pp. 108-11.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 220.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 1486-94, pp. 9-10.

<sup>66</sup> *Rolls of Parliament*, VI, 375.

<sup>67</sup> *Cal. Anc. Deeds*, VI, C.4215, 6498, 7028; City Lib., *Muniments of Title*, MT/VII/6-7. "Two tenements between S. Thomas Street and Old School Street, and between a tenement of the chantry of the Holy Trinity in the church of S. Owen, two tenements in Bishop Street, in the suburbs of Hereford, and land in Widemarsh Portfield and "Tyddenorvs Hyrons."

<sup>68</sup> *Cal. Fine Rolls*, 1485-1509, p. 248; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1485-1500, p. 295.

<sup>69</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1494-1509, p. 332.

<sup>70</sup> *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic*, Henry VIII, I, p. 178.

<sup>71</sup> *Cal. Anc. Deeds*, I, C.174.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, C.6603.

<sup>73</sup> *Cal. Fine Rolls*, 1485-1509, p. 41.

<sup>74</sup> *Cathedral Muniments*, III, 1188, *ut supra*.

<sup>75</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1429-36, p. 98.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 1416-22, p. 429.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 1422-9, p. 308.

<sup>78</sup> *Cal. Anc. Deeds*, II, C.2822.

<sup>79</sup> *Cal. Inquis. P. M.*, IV, p. 479.

<sup>80</sup> Wedgwood and Holt, *op. cit.*, p. 928.

<sup>81</sup> An item of some interest is that Richard and Maud Welford's great-granddaughter Margaret became the wife of Sir George Chute and is commemorated by the well-known brass, dated 1614, in Marden church.

<sup>82</sup> At least I assume this is the correct Richard Greenway, judging from the names of his associates in the deed (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1461-8, p. 332). The documentation of the earlier references to his life is as follows: auditor of the estates of the Earl of Shrewsbury September 1473, *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1467-77, p. 397; on a commission of enquiry December 1476, *ibid.*, 1476-85, p. 22; auditor of lands in Denbighshire June 1478, *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1476-85, p. 117; living at Stretton December 1488, *Cal. Fine Rolls*, 1485-1509, p. 94; Sheriff of Herefordshire 1491, *ibid.*, p. 155; and again in 1498, *ibid.*, p. 275.

<sup>83</sup> *Rolls of Parliament*, VI, 358.

<sup>84</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1485-94, pp. 219-20.

<sup>98</sup> *Welsh Hist. Rev.*, III, no. 2 (December 1966), 163-4.

<sup>99</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1494-1509, p. 16.

<sup>100</sup> *Rolls of Parliament*, VI, 356.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 518.

<sup>102</sup> *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic*, Henry VIII, I, 269.

<sup>103</sup> *Register of John Stanbury*, p. 113.

<sup>104</sup> *Cal. Papal Registers* (Papal Letters, XII), 1458-71, p. 587.

<sup>105</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1485-94, p. 291.

<sup>106</sup> R.C.H.M., *Herefordshire*, I, 215.

<sup>107</sup> G. T. Clark, *op. cit.* (n. 15), pp. 235, 248.

<sup>108</sup> I have made no mention in this article of John Greenway, the canon of Hereford Cathedral who may have been Richard Greenway's brother (or perhaps uncle). His career was traced in the earlier article. There are scattered references to Greenways in Herefordshire throughout the 15th century, but it is not possible to construct a pedigree. A William Greenway was bailiff of Huntington Castle in 1413-16 (*Arch. Camb.*, 1869, p. 245; 1870, p. 49); and another was bailiff of the manor of Woolhope in 1463-4 and 1466-7 (*Hereford Cathedral Rolls*, pp. 22-3). The former was probably the father of the Agnes Greenway who married William Garnons (living 1410-11) of Garnons near Mansell Gamage. But their relationship to Richard Greenway is too obscure.

<sup>109</sup> R.C.H.M., *Herefordshire*, II, 202-4.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 137-8, Pl. 94. It is there said to be early 14th century, but this is over-enthusiastic. I do not know why I was so upset in my earlier article over the spelling "Amerley." It only appears in this form in the MS. pedigree in the Hereford Record Office; in the printed edition of the *Visitation* it is correctly spelt "Amberley."

<sup>111</sup> C. J. Robinson, *Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire* (1873), 205.

<sup>112</sup> Presumably from the Lingen, who were certainly established in this area by 1450. Both Amberley and Freen's Court (at Sutton St. Michael) were probably built by Sir Ralph Lingen of Sutton (ob. 1452) or his son Sir John Lingen (Sheriff 1465, etc., ob. 1506). See *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Field Club*, 1914, 211-8.

<sup>113</sup> John Lingen was elected M.P. for Herefordshire in March 1554 but died on 3 May following. His wife Isabel was the second daughter of John Breynon of Sugwas and hence a grand-daughter of Maud Harper's sister Joan (see fig. 1). Their only daughter Jane, the wife of William Shelley who was implicated in the plot to release Mary Queen of Scots in 1583, was born in 1543 and died without issue in 1610. Also of interest is the fact that John Lingen's sister Eleanor married Nicholas Walwyn (ob. 1558), a brother of the Sybil Walwyn who married John Harper IV.

<sup>114</sup> R.C.H.M., *Herefordshire*, II, 177.

<sup>115</sup> *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic*, Henry VIII, II, 872.

#### ADDENDA

- (1). Page 248, lines 26-27 In fact it was John Milewater's son who fought at Mortimer's Cross. This indicates a state of conflicting loyalties within a family that was doubtless not unique. Examples may be found in the families of Audley and of Parry of Poston.
- (2). Page 252, line 13 This line provides the hint that I was mistaken, in my earlier article, in assuming that the Herefordshire escheator for 1464-5 was John Harper I. It has since become abundantly clear that it was in fact his son, John Harper II; and I now have photoprint copies of his account for his year of office. This may explain why, in the pardon of 1459, his name appears before that of his father—in other words, he was the more active of the two in his support for the Yorkist cause. In fact I am inclined to believe that it was the son, and not the father, who took part in the Battle of Mortimer's Cross; it would, at any rate, be an enterprise more to the taste of a young man than a middle-aged one.
- (3). Page 257, lines 34-35. Lugwardine parish register, which records the marriage, on 27 November 1560, of John Harper and Eleanor Walwyn.

## The Forbury Chapel, Leominster

By J. W. TONKIN

THE Forbury Chapel at Leominster was founded in 1282 by Archbishop Peckham and was built inside the priory precincts. At various times since the Reformation it has been a court-house, a school, an assembly hall and offices. It is now being restored for use as a hall. A plain, rectangular building of local stone it is 64 ft. long and 32 ft. wide externally, with an inserted floor and ceiling, the latter hiding the greater part of the roof. The partitions which divided it into offices are being removed in the present restoration.

The original windows and doorway are typical of the late 13th century. In the present restoration the original west window, a single light 1 ft. 8 ins. wide, has been discovered. It is deeply splayed, the opening on the inside of the wall being 5 ft. 3 ins. wide, and must have been very similar to the three lights on the south wall and the two on the north still remaining.

The walls are 3 ft. thick throughout and in the east end of the south wall a niche, presumably the piscina of the original chapel, has been revealed. It consists of a two-centred arch, 1 ft. 8 ins. wide at the bottom. The arch is made up of two pieces of stone plainly chamfered (fig. 1).

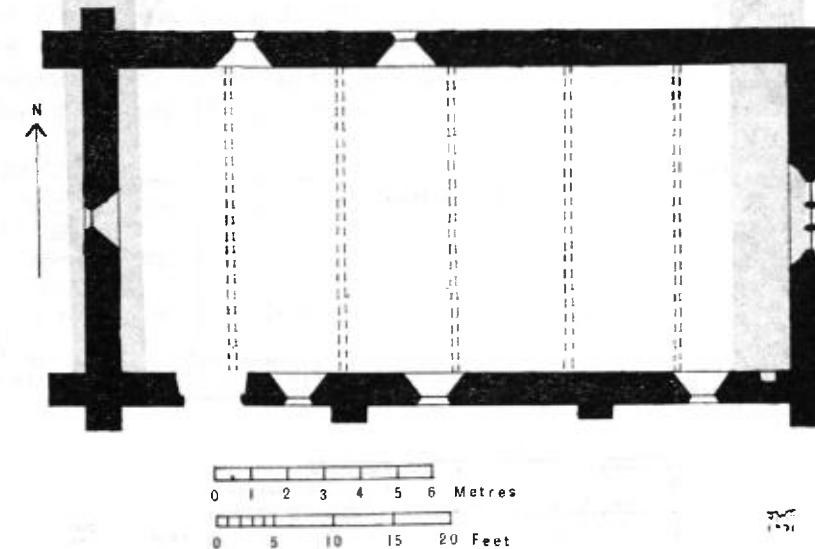


FIG. 1

The Forbury Chapel, Leominster.

Plan

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The most interesting part of the building is its roof. It consists of five heavy scissors-trusses on hammer-beams and is probably unique. The building is 57 ft. 4 ins. long and 26 ft. 1 in. wide internally, the trusses being so equally spaced that the nose of the figure on the central truss is exactly central in the hall. Each truss consists of two pairs of timbers each about 21 ft. long by 1 ft. 1 in. by 7 ins. The outer pair in each case is of normal principal rafters tenoned at the top and carrying a ridge and two side purlins.

The inner pair is of scissor-beams halved together where they cross and tenoned into the opposite principal rafter about 8 ins. below the apex. Trusses 1, 2 and 4 are halved on the west side and 3 and 5 on the east. Whilst roofs of this type are

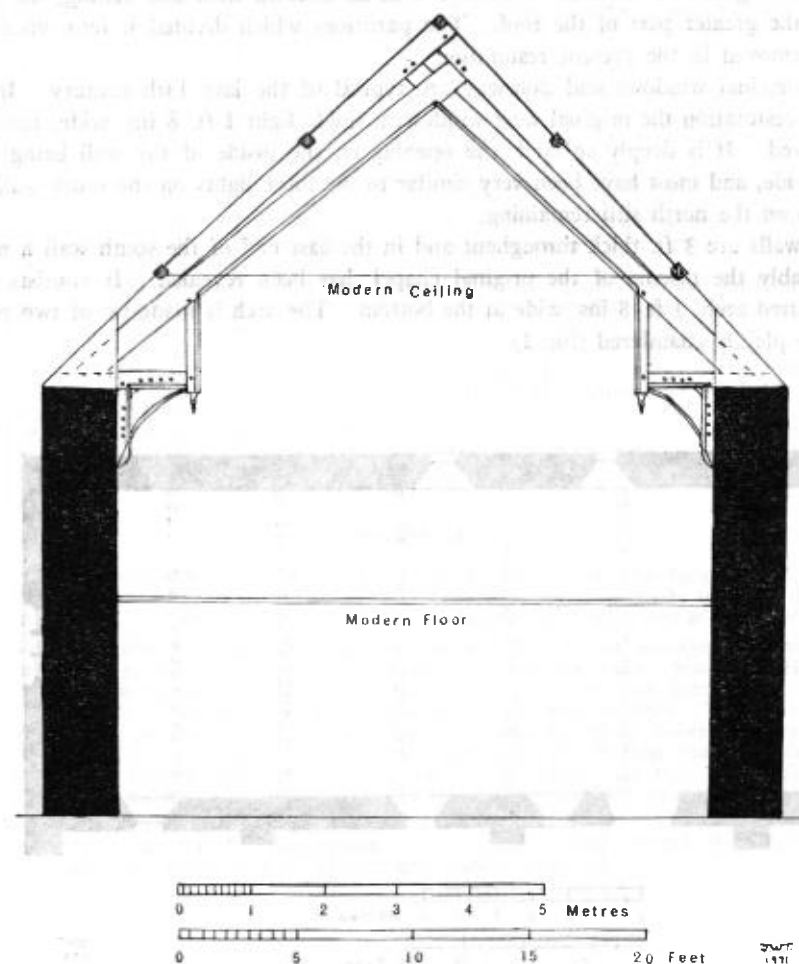


FIG. 2  
Scissors-truss

rare other examples do exist, but the surprising thing about the Forbury roof is that it also incorporates hammer-beams, another unusual form in this part of the country. Each hammer-post has a moulded pendant while the wall pieces finish in almost identical carved bearded heads on their outer surface. The arch-braces are of heavy timber (fig. 2).

There is no cusping and no other decoration except a plain chamfer on all the timbers other than the principal rafters. The purlins are also chamfered and stopped. Each truss is marked on its west face with long, scratched carpenters' assembly marks which are differenced on the north side with a stroke on the first digit.

Scissors-truss roofs exist in Herefordshire at Old Court, Bredwardine<sup>1</sup> and at Cusop church.<sup>2</sup> The R.C.H.M. describes roofs of a similar type in the churches at Walford-on-Wye<sup>3</sup> and Weston-under-Penyard.<sup>4</sup> At Great Porth-aml near Talgarth there is a very similar roof<sup>5</sup> and the Old Vicarage at Glasbury<sup>6</sup> is also related to this type, though in this case the scissors-braces spring from part way up the principals. The closest parallels to the Forbury roof are undoubtedly those at Great Porth-aml and Old Court, Bredwardine, but both have king pendants as has also the roof at Glasbury. All three also have cusped decoration. The roof at Cusop has tie-beams and the scissors are not halved, one timber in each pair being in two parts and tenoned into the other.

The Glasbury roof is probably of the late 14th century but that at Porth-aml is more likely late 15th. The Cusop roof is probably 16th.

The R.C.H.M. mentions only twelve hammer-beam roofs in Herefordshire of which this is one. Of these, two at least would be called stub-tie today and three others are late 16th century and 17th century. Thus there are not more than six, probably only five, in the same class as the Forbury roof. Taking the two types together as well as the evidence of the carpenters' marks and the carved faces a late 15th-century date seems probable for this roof though it could be early 16th century. It presumably replaced the original 13th-century roof.

#### REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> R.C.H.M., *Herefordshire I* (1931), 27.
- <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II (1932), 197.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 210.
- <sup>5</sup> S. R. Jones and J. T. Smith, 'The Houses of Breconshire II,' *Brycheiniog*, X (1964), 78-81.
- <sup>6</sup> H. Brooksby, 'The Houses of Radnorshire', *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society* XXXVIII (1968), 11-13 and XXXIX (1969), 2-5.

## Minor Ecclesiastical Architecture of north Monmouthshire

By R. E. KAY

THE area under consideration is that part of Gwent which extends east from the valley of the Usk to the Hereford border and north from a line drawn from Monmouth to the town of Usk, to the River Monnow and the Abergavenny road. I have excluded the Honddu Valley enclave in the Black Mountains.

This is a reasonably compact topographical entity with very hilly country in the north, culminating in the heights of the Skyrrid and the Graig, gentler but by no means level in the south. The area is drained by the Trothy and its tributaries and would have been well wooded in medieval times. The underlying geological structure consists of sandstones of the Old Red series, similar to that of the Black Mountains on the north and Archenfield in the east. There are intrusions of Silurian rocks and shales, which have inferior building capabilities, in the neighbourhood of Usk. The sandstones of the Old Red have provided the rubble walling of the majority of the churches in the area and all the dressed stonework, almost without exception. In the valley of the Usk and east as far as Bryngwyn, split river pebbles seem to have been a favourite source of rubble walling. Prior to the restorations and rebuildings of the 19th century the roof coverings would have been of stone tiles from the more laminated beds of the Old Red.

Except for the major churches of Grosmont, Skenfrith and Llantilio Crossenny, plus the minsters of vanished monastic establishments at Monmouth, Abergavenny and Usk, its parish churches are for the most part of very modest architecture and dimensions. It certainly has not been an area in which those interested in the study of church architecture and its development have ventured very much, its buildings have largely been ignored and are comparatively unknown. Humble though they may be, when compared with the glories of East Anglia, the Cotswolds, Somerset and south-west England and of course our own Herefordshire, they are, nevertheless, full of structural peculiarities and attractions and contain some surprising treasures. They normally form the nucleus of a village or hamlet and do not stand isolated as in many parts of Wales. Even Trostre which is apparently isolated is really the survivor of a deserted medieval village traces of whose castle, farm, weir and mill still survive.

When one comes to examine in detail the fabric of the churches of the area I have just outlined, it comes as a surprise to find that outside of the monastic churches of Usk and Monmouth, the castle chapel and the extra-mural church of St. Thomas at Overmonnow, there is little that can be structurally dated before the middle of the 13th century. Norman and Transitional-Norman work is non-existent except for some rather dubious fonts. This is in marked contrast to Ewyas and Archenfield on the east and also to southern Gwent where many edifices show Norman features. Examples of Early-English work are not profuse, some plate tracery and lancets can be found

at Llanvapley and Llanvair Kilgedin and other lesser detail at Tregare, St. Maughan and Llanvihangel-ystern-llewern.

During the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries this was a troubled frontier area, fought over by the King, the barons and the dispossessed Welsh in constant internecine warfare. A considerable acreage seems to have been granted for the upkeep of various Cistercian, Benedictine and Augustinian houses. A tract of land in the Usk Valley south of Abergavenny supported the Benedictine priory of that town. The possessions of Llanthony extended far to the south of Llanvihangel Crucorney. Our own Abbey Dore maintained large granges of some pretensions at Llanvair Kilgoed, Llanvetherine and Llanvapley to administer and work the rich land they owned around about. A daughter house of Dore at Parc-Grace-Dieu, a few miles north-west of Monmouth held, as its local patrimony, the most fertile portion of the Trothy Valley carved from several neighbouring parishes, and other lands in Skenfrith and the Forest of Dean. The Templars of Garway had lands at Kemeys and there was a small alien Benedictine house at Llangiwa.

Many explanations, none very tenable, I am afraid, have been put forward for the dearth of church building during the 11th-13th centuries. As already stated, this period was a very troublous time for this area and its monuments are military rather than ecclesiastical, as the great castles of Monmouth, Usk, Abergavenny and the Trilateral bear witness. Wade was of the opinion that the local lords and lordlets, not too secure, even behind their castellated walls, hardly thought it worth-while to build elaborate structures on an insecure tenure. Most of the rural parish churches of the area at this time must have been mere chapelries, some erected possibly at the instigation of the great monasteries. Those with non-Celtic dedications, especially those with dedications to St. Mary or St. Michael are possibilities. However, the majority of the churches have dedications to Celtic Saints. Nothing of their little cells of wood or drystone walling have survived above ground. The Celtic church was non-parochial. St. Teilo, a bishop of Llandaff, seems to have founded at Llantilio Crossenny and Llantilio Pertholey shrines which become of more than local esteem. This is reflected by the importance of later churches on their sites. Again, the insignificance of the churches of the 11th to 13th centuries was possibly the result of the grudging provision that great landlords made for the spiritual needs of a district they had depopulated.

With the turn of the 13th century and the commencement of the later Middle Ages more settled times fell upon the district and this is reflected in the modest spate of church building which followed. There is a reasonable amount of structural work showing Decorated detail, some of this is very attractive and I am thinking of the unusual cinque-foiled chancel arch at Tregare and the fine east window to the north aisle of Llantilio Pertholey.

By the end of the 14th century and particularly in the 15th century considerable embellishments and enlargements to buildings in the Perpendicular style were carried out. Both the 15th and 16th centuries seem to have been a time of prosperity for the area. This is visible externally, in the provision of stone built and timbered porches, the insertion of broad-mullioned windows of many lights and the addition of chantry

and family chapels. A few churches for example Kemeys, Bettws and Trostrey seem to have been practically rebuilt at this time. Internally there is a new richness of oak furnishings with bench ends, font covers and magnificent painted and gilded rood-screens and lofts.

The ecclesiastical buildings of the area, with the exception of those major churches already mentioned and which I am not going to detail here, are small, and with one exception their plans are not involved. A number, particularly, in the Usk Valley are simply rectangular buildings, structurally undivided with a west porch and an open belfry, usually for two bells, over the west gable. A majority of the churches show an aisless nave with a narrow chancel, a west tower and south porch.

The exception is Llantilio Pertholey and here the complexity is one of growth over ages, and not of considered design. Here we have a long narrow nave and chancel formerly divided by a screen and loft and probably of mid-13th-century date. Later in the same century an aisle of three bays was cut through the north side of the east end of the nave. The west bay of this aisle is occupied by the basement of a massive unbuttressed battlemented tower of contemporary date, opening into the two east bays of the aisle by a lofty arch of two orders. A second stilted arch on the south forms the westernmost arch of the arcade. The centre arch of the aisle, stilted like the others, seems to have been hacked through the existing north wall of the nave, the piers of the arcade being merely rectangular portions of rubble walling. The south aisle like that on the north does not extend the full length of the nave. It is of three bays and the two western bays seem to be of early 14th-century date, showing two arches divided by an octagonal pier with cap and base. Later in the same century a porch was erected outside the south door of the nave, west of, and separate from this aisle and still later a diminutive chantry chapel was built at the extreme north-east end of the chancel. This is connected by a hagioscope passage to the east end of the north aisle. Early in the 16th century a large transept-like chapel was built out from the south side of the chancel with a west arch into an extended south aisle. At the same time, an outer aisle of two bays was added to the north side of the existing north aisle.

I have stated that the majority of the churches of the area are provided with bold unbuttressed west towers. These seem largely to be of late 13th or early 14th-century date and they show infinite variety in design and detail. Across the area in question are a series of towers of unique construction and most attractive appearance. I refer to those at Skenfrith, St. Maughan, Rockfield, Wonastow and Llanthewy Rhydderch, where the belfry stage, capped by a projecting pyramidal roof is of open timber-work construction with louvred lights. The belfry frames are sometimes supported by massive corner-posts extending the full internal height of the tower. The tower at Llangattock-juxta-Usk seems to have once belonged to this category but the belfry stage has at some later date been rebuilt in stone. There are a few low towers, also pyramidically capped, entirely built of stone, as at Tregare and Llanvihangel-juxta-Usk, which although they appear older are probably of the same late 13th or early 14th-century date.

At Llanarth and Llangattock Lingoed is another type of tower, more usually found in the southern portion of the county. These are massive structures, often lofty and

sometimes completely dwarfing the comparatively low outline of the church to which they are attached. Normally showing detail of late Decorated type, they are battlemented with projecting stair turrets and are externally divided by bold string-courses into their various stages, the base often having a considerable batter. There is usually an absence of west doorways and large west window openings. Often the arch to the nave is of modest dimensions. A number of towers are devoid of projecting staircases and the battlemented parapets are boldly corbelled out. There are unusual variations to these at Penrhos and Llanvetherine, the latter being an almost unique structure with a most curious appearance, due to having its upper stage corbelled out from its first stage. There are also a series of small, one might almost call them towerlets, at Mitchel Troy, Bryngwyn and Llanthewy Skyrriid, where presumably funds did not rise to the provision of a tower of full proportions. Dingestow only received its west tower in the mid-19th century. Spires, with the exception of Grosmont, Monmouth, and Llantilio Crossenny are conspicuous by their absence. The church at Llantilio Crossenny, a fine cruciform composition, has a central tower and much interesting Early-English and Decorated detail. Its aisled nave possesses the only clerestory in the region under discussion. At Llangiwa we do have a Jacobean half-timbered belfry which faintly echoes that of Vowchurch in the Golden Valley.

The prosperity of the 15th and 16th centuries is reflected externally by the provision of stone built and timber porches, the building of projecting rood-loft stairways to serve the newly-fitted lofts and the throwing out of a transept, or additional aisle to form the private chapel of the great family of the district. The provision of more adequate lighting in the fashionable Perpendicular style presented some problems. Although the more usual form of a traceried window of many lights under a pointed head could and was fitted in the gable walls of chancel and transept, the low side walls of the churches were often quite unsuitable for this type of fenestration. A compromise was reached, window openings of two, three, four and five lights with cinque-foiled or trefoil-cusped heads were constructed in chamfered and moulded recessed square-headed frames, often under boldly projecting hood-moulds. Attractive and well-designed windows of this type can be seen at Skenfrith, Kemeys and elsewhere. Just outside our area, at Llangeview there are some earlier Decorated examples. Later windows tended to be plainer and the cusping and even the arched head of the lights disappear. The aisle windows at Llantilio Pertholey are plain rectangular lights set in chamfered rebated frames. Only at Llangattock Lingoed, in its south wall were the more usually proportioned windows of the period inserted, and the result is not too happy.

Although there seems to have been no mass production of traceried windows and door-frames as is evidenced by the refurbishing of Devon and Cornish churches at this time, where even whole arcades were mass produced at quarries (such as those at Polyphant) there is some evidence that the windows and door-frames of a small group of churches at Trostrey, Bettws, Kemeys, Bryngwyn, Llanelen and the ruined Capel Aeddau at Clytha were the work of one master mason. Similarly the existing woodwork of the screens and lofts at Trostrey, Bettws, Kemeys and Mamhilad show detail of

common workmanship. The wreck of the screen at Llangattock Lingoed shows affinities with Llangwm and at Llanvair Kilgedin the much restored screen is of English type.

Internally at this time the churches received a wealth of woodwork; screens and lofts of most beautiful intricate workmanship were erected as a division between nave and chancel, often in front of existing chancel arches. Small parclose screens divided off side chapels or baptismal areas, as at Gwernesney. Benches with richly-carved ends as at Llantilio Pertholey were not uncommon, although today few survive. The addition of the Neville and Wernddu transept and aisle at the latter church resulted in the construction of unique arcades, imposts and arches of richly-carved oak. There are also interesting wooden arcades of a plainer, less decorative character at Llanvihangel-juxta-Usk and St. Maughan. The latter has a masonry respond at its west end of Early-English character, perhaps the relic of an earlier arcade. There is a late 15th century or early 16th-century font cover at Llanvair Kilgedin and there are very interesting specimens of post-Reformation woodwork at Llangattock Lingoed and Llangiwa.

The roofs of the area, where ancient, are almost without exception of the coved barrel, ceiled type. Open roofs are a rarity. The absence of visible principals and the scarcity of tie-beams would lead one to suppose that the construction of the roof above its cradle ceiling is of the trussed-rafter type. The ceilings are divided into square lath and plaster panels by elaborately moulded stiles and rails which terminate at the sides above richly-carved wall plates, sometimes crenellated. The crossings of the framings do not as a rule seem to have had bosses. In the interesting little chantry chapel at Llantilio Pertholey, a coved timber and plaster roof of this type has been copied faithfully in stone vaulting. The lower stage of the tower of the same church has a very good beamed flat ceiling of 15th-century date.

Outside of St. Mary's, Abergavenny, the churches of the area are not remarkable for the quantity or richness of their monuments. There are a few 13th-century sepulchral slabs but there are more notable examples of these in the south part of the county. A damaged effigy at Llanvetherine should be noted. There are the usual mural tablets and monuments of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. Those at Trostrey, Dingestow and Llansaintfraed are worthy of attention.

Each church had in its surrounding burial ground a preaching cross. No one complete specimen survives and the only head existing is that at Grosmont, a battered and somewhat rudely executed example. However, nearly every churchyard shows the many-stepped bases, and massive octagonal to square socket stones, sometimes containing a portion of the original tapering octagonal cross shaft. The shaft of the cross at Mitchel Troy shows ball-flower enrichment and the risers of the steps at Tregare are panelled in a more elaborate manner than usual. Goytre, just outside our area, is curious in having two stepped cross bases in the same churchyard, one to the south and the other to the west of the nave.

The fonts are not remarkable. There is a late Norman circular bowl with cable-moulding and incised semi-circles at Bettws and some early cup and chalice shapes at Llangiwa and Llangattock Lingoed. There is a plain Early-English font at Llanvapley. An earlier circular bowl at Llanelen has been re-used as a sundial. Most

of the fonts are late and of octagonal or hexagonal form. Several in the Usk Valley have their under chamfers and bases carved with recessed panels of malt-shovel form. There is a good octagonal font at Llantilio Pertholey which has a base with fleur-de-lis stops. Two singular, attractively designed fonts at Llanvihangel-juxta-Usk and Tregare, with heart-shaped decoration, are probably 16th century in date and possibly post-Reformation.

Quite a number of bells are inscribed and of pre-Reformation date, one at Kemeys is of 13th-century date and many others were cast in the 17th and 18th centuries notably by Rudhall and the Chepstow foundry. Stone mensae are retained at Kemeys and Llantilio Pertholey.

It would seem that the area has accepted the architectural styles of England but without being unduly influenced by them. It has simplified and adapted them to suit its own particular needs. Only in the south of the county is the national style strong, seemingly influenced by Somerset, across the Channel. The area was conservative and there is often a lag of fifty or more years in the acceptance of the latest trends in ecclesiastical and domestic architecture.

Needless to say, in this materialistic age many of these churches are structurally now in a parlous state and support and interest in their preservation is greatly to be desired. Although all have suffered restoration, some in grievously poor taste and many have been practically rebuilt, even those without visible external trace of antiquity contain some items of interest. For example, Llanvair Kilgoed, a rather poor Victorian building contains tracery fragments and worked masonry from the site of the adjoining Cistercian grange. Similarly the church at Llanvihangel-ystern-flewern contains a fine double piscina from Parc-Grace-Dieu.



## Herefordshire Printers and Booksellers

By F. C. MORGAN

SINCE the articles upon Herefordshire printers and booksellers appeared in the *Transactions*<sup>1</sup> a little more information and several new names have come to my knowledge.

As members of the Woolhope Club will know, various attempts were made to curb the activities of printers. From 1556 until the Licensing Act expired in 1695, all manuscripts were censored before printing. Many 17th-century volumes have a printed copy of the licence granted by the archbishop or other dignitary printed opposite to the title. After 1695 control was by prosecution for libel against offending printers, who were no longer confined to London, Oxford and Cambridge, and the craft became widely practised. However, at the end of the 18th century measures were taken because of the troubles in France and Ireland, and the formation of seditious societies, and in March 1799 the Committee of Secrecy reported upon designs to overthrow the laws and constitution, the printing presses being one of their means to do so. In July the Royal assent was given to an Act for the more effectual Suppression of Societies established for seditious and treasonable Purposes, and for the better Preventing treasonable and seditious Practices (known as the Seditious Societies Act), and within forty days from the 12 July all printers were required to send a notice, signed, with one witness, to the local Clerk of the Peace, who was to receive one shilling and forward it to the principal Secretaries of State under a penalty of £20. The place of printing, and the printer's name was to be on all the productions of his press. In 1822 it was decided in a legal action that unless his name appeared he could not recover costs of his labour and materials. Informers of breaches of the rule received half of the fine imposed and this led to much hardship as common informers found it to be a gold mine. In 1839 the requirements were reduced and registration became unnecessary after 1869.

Mr. Paul Morgan in a note published by the Bibliographical Society in 1966<sup>2</sup> had been unable to obtain any record of Herefordshire or Shropshire printers having registered though several were at work before 1869. He records, in a list of the number who registered throughout the country, that there were 47 in Gloucestershire, 228 in Warwickshire, and about 40 in Worcestershire. (I am sorry to say that my father did not register his business in Stratford-upon-Avon, founded before 1808 and to which he succeeded in 1859, although two of his predecessors had done so).

Recently Miss Jancey of the County Record Office reported finding five applications for licences in Herefordshire<sup>3</sup> including two names to be added to the list of printers in this county: (i) Henry Pearson Cooke who applied for a licence for his press at Mortimer's Cross, Lucton, in September 1825 and (ii) Thomas Ward of Ledbury who applied in October of the same year. The printers previously recorded were John Prosser Ellidge (who with others tried unsuccessfully to revive the *Herefordshire Independent* after only two years of issue) who applied in 1827, Charles Humphreys

of Kington who proposed to have a press applied in August 1840, and Benjamin Powle of Ross in November 1825.

A more interesting application for a licence (not recorded in the county records) was made by Hubert Edy, a solicitor of Ledbury on 28 September 1847. A copy of the original, which recently came to light, is headed *Phonotypy or Printing by Sound*. This and the original acknowledgement from John Cleave are now in my possession and the latter reads as follows:

I, John Cleave, Esquire, Clerk of the Peace for the County of Hereford, do hereby certify that Hubert Edy of Ledbury in the County of Hereford, Solicitor, hath delivered to me a Notice in Writing, appearing to be signed by him, and attested by Richard Maddox, as a Witness to his signing the same, that he the said Hubert Edy hath a Printing press and Types for printing, which he proposes to use for printing within the Borough of Ledbury in the said County of Hereford, and which he has required to be entered pursuant to an Act passed in the thirtyninth Year of his late Majesty King George the third's reign, intituled "An Act for the more effectual suppression of Societies established for Seditious and Treasonable Purposes: and for better preventing Treasonable and Seditious Practices". Witness my hand this 29th day of September 1847.

(Signed) JOHN CLEAVE

Clerk of the Peace.

Phototype is described in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as "A character or letter of a phonetic alphabet adapted for printing . . . , hence phonotypy a method of phonetic printing". The earliest use of the term is recorded as 1844.

N.B. A fuller account of the working of the Seditious Societies Act is given in Paul Morgan's *Warwickshire Printers, 1799-1866*, published by the Dugdale Society in 1970.

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Field Club* (1941), 106-127; (1946), 57; (1948), 234.

<sup>2</sup> *The Library*, vol. 21 (1966), 62.

<sup>3</sup> Herefordshire County Record Office Ref. G.42/40.

## A secret tunnel in Llandetty parish, Breconshire

By C. H. I. HOMES

FOR many years I have heard tales of a secret tunnel up on the high ground, south of the Talybont reservoir.

Early in 1968 I called on Mr. Probert of Pyngad. During a discussion over a cup of tea he mentioned the tunnel. He told me that it started in a cellar, under the ruins of a cottage and went to the derelict public house on the old Roman road, a distance of about half a mile.

He gave me instructions how to find the cottage, and told me that when he was a boy he had crawled up it for a long way. I had to follow the Roman road from Talybont until the tarmac ends. The public house is the ruin on the left, SO 101176. The cottage is about half a mile further on, south of the Roman road and on the west side of track joining Roman road and old railway, SO 099174.

The following week-end I found the cottage. Only the garden wall and the foundations remained, covered with bracken. A hole led down to a stone vaulted cellar 9 ft. by 10 ft. In the far wall there was a fire-place and in the far left-hand corner a low arched entrance 1 ft. 10 ins. wide and 2 ft. high, blocked by a dead sheep.

A few weeks later I returned with helpers, lamps, picks and spades. After removing the sheep, we were able to crawl in for 30 ft. to a blockage, where soil had run in from the roof. After surveying and plotting the course on the surface, we discovered that the run in was just inside the garden wall. Digging down 3 ft. we discovered the mouth of the tunnel. Further excavation revealed that the tunnel was in fact a 31 ft. long drain, leading from the cellar to a deep, open ditch inside the garden wall.

The stonework was in good condition but did not appear to be old, probably late 18th century. Mr. Davies, on whose land it is situated told me that it had been in the same condition all his life and that some years ago there was a flight of stone stairs leading down to the cellar.

You may wonder why there is such a large drain from a small cellar. I think the reason is partly geological.

The local stone is a thin-bedded sandstone, unsuitable for building the usual stone drain consisting of blocks of stone with flat slabs on the top, but it is suitable for building arches. The cellar roof of 10 ft. span with 1 ft. 6 ins. rise in the centre is still sound.

In building this type of arched passage, a wooden mould or shuttering is made and the stone built round it. Afterwards it is necessary to go up the passage to remove the timber. This passage of 1 ft. 10 ins. by 2 ft. is about the smallest that can be built and leave room to get the timber out.

The thing that puzzles me about this cellar is: why has it got a fire-place?

## Ledger Book 1821-1823 of Mr. Delabere Walker, Surgeon and Physician of Bromyard

By P. H. CROSSKEY

MR. EDWARD WALKER of Hilltop, Martley, has been kind enough to let me look at an account book of one of his relatives, Mr. Delabere Walker, who was a physician and surgeon in Bromyard in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. He was born in 1763, one of a large family and had many relations in the Bromyard area. I have no details of his early life and training but there is a record that land on the one side of the lane leading to Little Froome was owned by Mr. Delabere Walker in 1797.

Bromyard Parish Register records that five children, born to Meliora and Delabere Walker, were baptized in Bromyard: Anne Maria on 13 November 1795, Meliora on 28 April 1797, Delabere, a boy, on 30 July 1798, Charlotte on 25 March 1800, and Harriott on 18 May 1804. Rather sadly one finds that Delabere Walker, an infant, was buried on 27 November 1798, and Meliora, an infant, on 10 November 1802, whilst Meliora, wife of Delabere Walker, was buried on 24 August 1804.

The ledger book runs from 1821-1823 and consists of entries of patients' names and addresses, dates attended and the treatments given. There is no record of the diseases or diagnoses made by the physician.

The district he visited was extensive and was equal in size to that covered by the present medical practice in Bromyard. Mr. Walker must have travelled entirely on horseback over the tracks and bridlepaths he knew so well. On one day, 11 February 1821, he rode to see Mrs. Pytts at Kyre House and then to Mr. Lewis of Bachelors Bridge in Suckley parish, a cross-country journey of about fourteen miles. On another day, 31 March 1823, he travelled to Mr. Storie at Froome, to the home of one of his family at Burton Court and to Mr. Lawrence at the Hedghouse. The largest number of country visits recorded for one day was on 18 August 1822, when he visited the Rev. Mr. Barnaby at Saltmarsh, Mr. Potter at Stoke Lacy, the Rev. Mr. Apperley at Stoke Lacy and a Mr. Griffiths, near to Stoke Lacy.

A list of some of his patients, out of a total of 137 accounts, gives some idea of the extent of his district: Mrs. Lipscomb, Seapy (Sapey); Mr. Davies of Woolverlow Park; Mrs. Pytts, Kyre House; Mr. Walker of Hatfield; Mr. Holder at Hegdon, Pencombe; Mr. Bayliss of Moorhouse, Cowarne; Mrs. Bullock of Ocle Court, Ocle Pychard; Mr. Vevers of Yarkhill; Mr. Starling near the Nupend, Cradley; Mr. Farmer of Lulsley; Mrs. Harris at Gaines, Whitbourne. It can be seen that he attended anyone within a radius of seven or eight miles of Bromyard in any direction. He also served as physician to some of the poor in the parishes of Avenbury, Hatfield, Leominster, Pencombe, Ullenswicke (Ullingswick) and was paid by the Guardians of the Poor—sometimes more promptly than by his richer patients.

The entries in his book give us some idea of the different sorts of people he cared for. For instance Mrs. Pytts of Kyre House, employed a large staff and at various times there are records of attendances to Mr. Baker, Mrs. Smith, Miss Irvine, a coach-



man, a footman, cook, coachman's child, Hayes, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Geoffreys, a gardener, a housemaid, a servant man, besides Mrs. Pytts herself; some of the names listed may have been guests staying in the house. The Rev. Mr. Apperley at Stoke Lacy also had a large household to fill the Rectory; Mr. Walker attended Mrs. Apperley, Miss L, Miss G, Miss A, Miss Al, a nurse, a servant, Evans, a butler, Evans' child, servant maid, footman and Bubb—whoever he or she may have been Bubb certainly needed a fair amount of laxatives.

Amongst the doctor's patients were many of the local clergymen, solicitors, farmers, innkeepers, Miss Mason at the Library, shopkeepers such as Mr. Bray the butcher and Mrs. Willcox the mercer, and such varied tradesmen as breeches-maker, hatter, hair-dresser, joiner, sexton.

It is impossible to deduce what illnesses were prevalent just from the types of medicines and pills which were dispensed. Many of the remedies he employed are still listed in Martindale<sup>1</sup>:

Pilulae Guaiac:	—a mild diuretic.
Pil: hydrarg:	—mercury for its purgative effect.
Pil: Colocynth:	—purgative.
Pil: Galbani:	—a gum resin formerly used as an expectorant and in the treatment of nervous disorders.
Pulv: rhei:	—powdered rhubarb used as an astringent bitter.
Magnesium Carbonat:	—antacid for treating dyspepsia.
Tincture of valerian:	—used as a depressant of the central nervous system in hysterical cases.
Mistura myrrh:	—a carminative, expectorant and mild diuretic.
Castor oil:	—only too well known for its purgative action.
Fol: digitalis:	—better known as powdered foxglove leaf was used first in a scientific manner by Dr. William Withering in Shropshire and described by him in 1785 in "An account of the Foxglove". It was used empirically by many physicians as a treatment for dropsy and as a heart stimulant.

Mr. Delabere Walker carried out many vaccinations on children at a charge of 5/- to 7/6; leeches were applied quite frequently at a charge of about 2/6 and he did many phlebotomies (drawing blood from a vein) at a charge of 2/6. He entered against Mr. Palmer of the Bridge the sum of 2/6 for introducing a catheter, presumably to draw off the urine when the flow had been obstructed. There are entries for gargles, febrifuges, draughts for coughs and for constipation, poultices, plasters, and dressings. Dental surgery was also in his province; there are several entries for extractions of teeth at 1/- a time and for scarifying the gums of children.

Frequent were the calls for accidents such as broken bones, cuts, burns and scalds. Mr. Walker was surgeon as well as physician and set many limbs, an exacting task without X-rays to confirm the position of the bones after a fracture. Some patients had daily dressings applied by the doctor to wounds and ulcers, as there were no trained nurses who could be relied on to carry on treatment. Mrs. Willcox, a mercer

of Bromyard, must have had an ulcer of the leg as Mr. Walker dressed it daily for many weeks in the autumn of 1821 and again in the spring of 1822; the good lady was charged nothing for this assiduous attention.

There is some mention of maternity cases as, for instance, on 27 March 1822, when he attended Mrs. Potter at Stoke Lacy and charged £2 2s. 0d. "... was detained some time extracting the placenta". Several daily visits followed with prescriptions for aperient powders, castor oil etc. These were standard treatments of the time but the severe purges must have severely sapped the strength of the newly delivered woman.

All these medicaments used by Mr. Walker must have been made up in his own dispensary. Some were probably carried by him on his rounds, but many must have been collected from the surgery for the patients. The doctor was assisted by a Mr. James Acton whose neat, legible handwriting records the attendances, the daily prescriptions and the charges; his is the signature for the receipt of many of the bills, but it is not possible to tell what professional standing he had. Very likely he did some of the visiting and dispensing. There were no chemists with ready made pills, so that everything had to be weighed and compounded from the basic ingredients. Pills were dispensed in variable quantities from 2 to 36; simple draughts were dispensed; other entries are for 8 fluid ounces of mixtures, 4 fluid ounces of linctus, 1½ fluid ounces of liniment; powders, plasters, lotions, bandages etc., are all entered in the ledger and charged at fairly standard rates for both rich and poor.

Charges for attendances varied from 7/6-10/6 depending a little on the distance involved; if the visit was during the night the charge was £1 1s. 0d. Attendance on the poor was charged to Winslow parish at 2/6 but for Knightwick parish at 7/6. There are few records of visits to patients living in Bromyard itself which makes one wonder how many people consulted Mr. Walker in his surgery.

It is difficult to estimate what his annual income was as many of the bills were never paid and some patients never charged. The bill to Mr. Colley at the Falcon was balanced by washing; Mr. Williams of Sheep Street had his bill of £7 10s. 0d. discharged by hauling coal in a barrow; Mr. Bitterley's bill of £6 5s. 6d. was "... settled by cheese"; Mr. Benbow of Three Mills had his bill of £5 11s. 6d. balanced by work done at the Mill; Mr. Walker Peel of Bromyard settled his bill of £5 0s. 0d. with articles for building. Some of the accounts were marked bad or no charge and crossed out. The better off patients subsidized the poorer.

From the visits and dispensing recorded in this one account book the rough annual total comes to: £340 0s. 0d. in 1821, £340 0s. 0d. in 1822, and £330 0s. 0d. for 1823. But it is impossible to reckon his total annual income from the information given.

These are some of the interesting aspects of social life of the period which can be gleaned from one account book. It tells us little of the man himself except that he had bold but not very legible handwriting.

Mr. Delabere Walker died in Birmingham in 1838 aged 75 years; there is a large tombstone in Bromyard churchyard but, unfortunately, the inscription is so badly weathered that only the name remains.

<sup>1</sup> Martindale, *Extra Pharmacopoeia*, 25th Edition 1967, The Pharmaceutical Press, London.

## Reports of Sectional Recorders

### Archaeology, 1971

By R. SHOESMITH

#### MEDIEVAL

*Hereford—St. Nicholas' Street* (SO 508398). Demolition of property close to the corner of Victoria Street and St. Nicholas' Street exposed the inner face of the city wall. Further clearance with a mechanical excavator at the northern edge of the site revealed a complete section through the pre-wall rampart.

The restricted nature of the site, coupled with the short period of time available and the small number of volunteers who could be profitably used, limited the work to clearing and drawing the section of the wall, rampart and tail, and the excavation of two small areas through the early and pre-rampart levels to the natural sub-soil.

The full rampart structure observed further to the north in Victoria Street could again be seen <sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup>, but there was no possibility of examining the defensive works for timber or stone revetting. However the ramparts of periods 4, 5 and 6<sup>2</sup> could again be seen and appeared identical to those further north.

There were no datable finds from any level excavated, although an undecorated sherd of Chester ware was found in the section in the mixed soils above the clay rampart of Rahtz period 5 and in a similar position to earlier finds of this type.

Occupation layers were found at the rear of the tail of the gravel rampart (Rahtz period 4) and under the later period 5 rampart, and included charcoal and isolated post-holes. The earlier levels under the gravel rampart showed little signs of occupation except for a large part of a quern which was almost on the natural soil of the site.

The cut into the rampart made to insert the city wall could be examined and the wall was found to have been built against the cut vertical face of the rampart and was of rough stone, very poorly mortared and bonded on the inside. Trenching near the top of the rampart may indicate a later repair to the wall.

The excavation has confirmed the continuing existence of Saxon occupation levels near the tail of the early rampart, but only slight signs of occupation previously.

R. Shoesmith for the Department of the Environment and the Hereford Excavations Committee.

*Hereford—Liberal Club Grounds* (SO 509402). The site, between Eign Gate and Widemarsh Gate, is on the tail of the rampart, the main part of the rampart being under Wall Street. A single trench, 6 m. by 2 m. was laid down at right-angles to the city defences. The northern end of the trench, nearest Wall Street, showed a gravel rampart (Rahtz period 6)<sup>2</sup>, with pottery including Chester ware underneath.

Above the rampart material were medieval and later occupation layers which yielded a number of clay pipe bowls, pot-sherds and a 17th-century  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. token of William Bateman, of Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire.

Sealed by the rampart was an occupation layer with a post-hole and a sleeper-beam trench cut into natural soil. The large amount of bone, cooking pot sherds and iron nails suggest that prior to the building of the rampart there was considerable occupation outside the earlier Saxon defences. This confirms the excavations at the Brewery site, near Eign Gate, in 1968.<sup>3</sup>

J. S. R. Hood and R. Shoesmith for Hereford Excavations Committee.

*Hentland* (SO 543263). The excavation of the first area has now been completed. This revealed the presence of three stone buildings:

1. A 17th-century rectangular house, probably the manor referred to by documentary records.
2. A 15th-16th-century building, the end wall of which remains.
3. A 13th-century building, one wall of which was found, the remainder being in the unexcavated area.

These buildings stood upon a make-up layer which covered two sets of features, the first being several post-holes of timber buildings. The second feature consisted of two parallel ditches, which were exposed over a distance of 30 ft. The general depth below the former land surface for both was about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ft. and they were about 8 ft. wide. The innermost had a V-shaped profile whilst the outer had a flat bottom.

Romano-British sherds were discovered during excavation, in addition to material from the stone building phases of occupation.

N. P. Bridgewater for the Archenfield Excavation Group.

*The Yeld, Pembridge* (SO 351563). Shortly after members of the Archaeological Research Group surveyed this moated site, the field was completely levelled and the circular ditch filled with material from the mound.

It was possible during the next few days to examine the levelled site and the remains of some structures and a few sherds of pottery were found.

One cess-pit, containing large amounts of charcoal fragments of ash and some elderberry seeds, was found along with a stone lined pit of uncertain use. Most pottery, which indicated a 13th to 14th-century date, came from around the stone foundations of a hut.

R. Shoesmith.

*Bredwardine* (SO 336440). The third season of excavations on this medieval complex was concentrated on joining previously excavated areas together as far as standing trees would permit.

The six periods of occupation postulated in 1970 continue to fit the facts and it would now appear that there are at least five different stone buildings within the excavated area, covering some three different periods.

The excavation will continue in 1972.

R. Shoesmith.

## ROMAN ROADS

**Stone Street (SO 406361).** To the south of the junction of the Roman 'Stone Street', which runs south-westwards from Kenchester, with the Vowchurch-Kingstone road, drainage works uncovered a cobbled surface. The present surface is a well-drained grass track, which covered boulders of the type used in the construction of the Roman road.

L. P. Moore.

**Michaelchurch-on-Arrow (SO 251511-247507).** Erosion on this track, between The Gaer Farm and Michaelchurch Church, has brought a heavily stone-paved surface to view and in one place cobbling about one foot thick. This could be part of the postulated Roman road from Mortimer's Cross to Clyro.

M. B. Hale and L. P. Moore.

**Stretford, Leominster (SO 527583).** A trench, some 25 ft. long was excavated close, and at right-angles, to the Roman road from Blackwardine to Stockton Cross. A metallised surface about one foot thick was found about 2 ft. under the turf with a carefully constructed gully towards its eastern edge. No positively Roman material was found, although there was some coarse pottery of uncertain date and a whetstone.

Miss E. V. G. Brown and N. C. Reeves.

## REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> Noble & Shoesmith, 'Hereford City Excavations 1967', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Field Club* (1967), 44-67.
- <sup>2</sup> Rahtz, 'Hereford', *Current Archaeology* No. 9, 242-246.
- <sup>3</sup> Margaret Grey, 'Interim Report on Brewery Site', *Arch. Res. Sect. News sheet No. 10* (Sept. 1968).

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH SECTION

## REPORT FOR 1971

**M**EMBERSHIP has continued at the same level as 1970, and four issues of the Newsletter have been circulated.

The Annual General Meeting was held in December 1970, in spite of difficulties caused by power cuts. The following officers were elected:

*Chairman:* W. R. Pye

*Secretary:* R. Shoesmith

*Treasurer:* P. Cooper

*Assistant Secretary:* A. R. Greenhill

*Joint Meetings Secretaries:* Miss M. Thomas and J. G. Calderbank

*Committee:* Mrs. J. O'Donnell; R. Kay; L. Skelton and Miss M. Haywood (Co-opted).

The meeting decided to continue the subscription at 25p for 1971 and increase it to 40p in 1972.

After the business meeting, Mr. Douglas Hague addressed the group on "The Architecture and Archaeology of Lighthouses".

Field Meetings continue to be well attended during the summer months, the season starting with a visit in March to the hill-fort on Twyn-y-Gaer. This was followed in April with a tour of the Ariconium area and in May with a full day in the Lyonshall area, which included visits to the castle and the mound at the Yeld, Pembridge.

In June, the group did a survey of the Pontrilas forges and in July visited monuments in the Kimbolton, Westhope and Ivington area. August included a visit over the border to the excavations at the Cistercian abbey at Parc-Grace-Dieu, and September saw the beginning of a survey of the line of a proposed oil pipeline across the county. The last field meeting of the season examined the area of Eaton Tregoes, just north of Ross for signs of a castle mentioned in contemporary documents.

The group had two lectures during the winter months in the Woolhope Club Room, the first on "The Archaeology of Early Buildings" by J. W. Tonkin. During February, Alan Probert of the Abergavenny Group, gave an address on "The Excavations at Twyn-y-Gaer", in preparation for the visit of the group to this hill-fort.

## Botany, 1971

By F. M. KENDRICK

**T**HIS year several records have been received of which the following are the more interesting.

*Ornithogalum pyrenaicum* (Bath Asparagus). This plant has been recorded from the Cockyard Kingstone and is the first record I can find for the county. Though abundant in West Gloucestershire and Somerset and some southern and eastern counties is a rare casual elsewhere.

*Frangula alnus* (Alder Buckthorn). The plant found in Linton Wood was recorded some years ago, but mention is made because it is now rare in the county.

*Epilobium pedunculare* (Creeping or New Zealand Willow-herb). Stoke Lacy Herb farm and Hatterell Hill, Black Mountains. These are the third and fourth records for the county and it would seem that this introduced species is spreading.

*Orobancha rapum genistae* (Greater Broom-rape). Buckholt Wood near Welsh Newton. Several plants on Broom. This is rather rare in the county.

*Sambucus ebulus* (Danewort). On the roadside near Burrington. A first record for this area.

*Zannichellia palustris* (Horned Pondweed). Found in a pond at the edge of the roadside at Winnell. Always a rather rare plant in the county it is becoming more so with the destruction of its habitats.

*Fritillaria meleagris* (Fritillary). This has been found in a new station on the banks of the Lugg.

*Cephalanthera damasonium* (White Helleborine). Beech wood near Buck End. First recorded from this area in 1884 by Dr. Wood and recorded under its old name *C. grandiflora* it was considered extinct at this station no record having been received for many years. It occurs here on the cornstone.

*Polypody australe*. This fern was found on rocks at the Doward and the identification confirmed by Dr. Perring.

## Buildings, 1971

By J. W. TONKIN

**T**HE past year has again been a busy one and the Recording Group has met regularly. Its principal work has been in the recording of the houses of the Ewyas Lacy 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. The group has been given a grant by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust to help with the cost of maps and some materials.

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

HOUSE BETWEEN COMMERCIAL STREET AND UNION STREET. SO 512400

This timber-framed house was demolished in August. From the mouldings of the beams it appears to have dated from the first half of the 16th century.

### AYMESTREY

COVENHOPE. SO 402640

A stone, two-room plan house probably of the early 19th century. It has heavy glazing-bars, quite well-cut window lintels and boarded ceilings.

COTTAGE AT YATTON. SO 431667

A two-room plan house probably of the 17th century, refronted in brick and given a stone western gable in the late 18th or 19th century. It seems to have been the house of an enclosure smallholding.

### BACTON

TREMORTHIC. SO 358315 (R.C.H.M. 6)

Unusual construction in north wall of vertical stone slabs pinned in place in the timber-framing by big nails. This is then weather-boarded. In one of the out-buildings was a completely wooden cider-press. In the 18th-century, rear part of the house are traces of a lath and plaster, hopper-type, hop kiln.

### BISHOPS FROME

PAUNTON MILL. SO 670500

18th-century stone building of three storeys and attics with upper-base-cruck roof and king-post above the collar.

## BOSBURY

OLD COURT. SO 694435 (R.C.H.M. 4)

An opportunity was given by the farmer to examine the roof closely. The double wall-plate is almost intact on both sides. The roof over both ends appears to have been open with a closed-bay between the two-bay rooms. These rooms were heated by lateral fire-places and the northern with its deep arch-braces may have been a first-floor hall, although this would seem unlikely in the 15th century. The south gable above the tie-beam was of close-set timber-framing most of which is still in situ though hidden from outside.

THE DOG. SO 695434 (R.C.H.M. 18)

In the hall a deeply-moulded beam seems to have been a canopy above the high seat. The north wing has an upper-base-cruck roof and in the first-floor just inside the present, main entrance is a hop-treading hole. The wing no doubt contained a kiln.

UPLEADON. SO 670427 (R.C.H.M. 39)

During renovations the mortices for the high seat were found in the hall. Beneath the mural of c. 1700 was found an earlier much simpler mural of probably a hundred years earlier.

## BRAMPTON BRYAN

COTTAGES ON WEST OF THE GREEN. SO 368725 (R.C.H.M. 5)

These and the adjoining work-shop are of four builds of timber-framing. The two northern cottages were probably built as a three-room plan house in the later 17th century. The southern cottage was probably added in the early 18th century. The work-shop was added in two stages in the later 18th century and the early 19th century.

BRAMPTON BRYAN HALL. SO 370726

At the rear of the present seven-bay house of 1748 are some additions of c. 1890 but at the north-west corner is a two-room block probably built in 1663. This has a bolection-moulded fire-place and a stairway with turned balusters.

Below this is a vaulted undercroft with heavy stone walls and a four-centred doorway, apparently of early 16th-century date.

Thus it would appear that there is some part of the earlier castle here with part of a 17th-century house above it.

## COLWALL

1 BARTON COTTAGES, COLWALL GREEN. SO 748412 (R.C.H.M. 28)

A two-room plan house only about 17 ft. 6 ins. by 14 ft. The stairs are of elm.

## CROFT

DOVECOTE, CROFT RECTORY. SO SO 447657

Brick with stone-tiled roof and lead upper roof. It has 123 nest-holes and is probably of 18th-century date.

## DOCKLOW

FORESTERS' HALL. SO 564574

Basically an early 17th-century house, re-roofed about one hundred years ago when it was raised and enlarged. There was an open-hall in the centre section.

## EARDISLEY

THE FORGE. SO 311495 (R.C.H.M. 14)

There is evidence of a screen in the cruck-truss at the south end of the hall. The wind-braces are interesting in running from just above the wall-plate to the upper purlin passing behind the lower purlin and being halved into it.

## FORD

FORD FARM. SO 512552

An 18th-century brick house with a stone wing at the back with a two-centred arched doorway. Adjoining on the north is a timber-framed building which may have been the earlier house.

## KINGSLAND

COTTAGE AT ARROW GREEN. SO 437587

An interesting timber-framed cottage of c. 1600 on a two-room plan. Only the unheated room seems to have had a room above originally. In the late 18th century a timber-framed byre was added at the west end. This had direct access from the unheated room converting the building into a type of long-house.

ARROW MILL. SO 436587 (R.C.H.M. 40)

The earliest part of the mill may well be 16th century; some of the stonework could be even earlier. The mill and adjoining barn have not only three sets of grindstones, but a clover-bossing apparatus, a cider-mill and press and remains of a hop-kiln.

COTTAGE NEAR BECKNELL. SO 450635

This started as a single-cell house built in brick probably c. 1800. A room was added on the south in the mid-19th century and there were later additions to the north. It is a typical cottage of the period and is now derelict.



## LEDBURY RURAL

OLD PLAISTOW. SO 692397 (R.C.H.M. 34)

During renovation murals have been found on the west and north walls of the hall. The mortices for a high seat and a blocked doorway were found in the west wall and above the former were shields and an inscription taking the place of a canopy. See also report for 1970.

## LEINTHALL STARKES

COTTAGE. SO 435696

A two-room plan house timber-framed later encased in brick. It was quite a superior house of its type with deeply chamfered beams and a late timber-framed lean-to at each end. Now demolished.

## LEINTWARDINE

OLD VICARAGE, WATLING STREET. SO 405739

A three-room plan house which may have started as a two-room c. 1600. The timber-framing has been encased in stone on the front, probably c. 1800. The original framing has long carpenters' assembly marks. There is a timber-framed addition at the back, probably of the 18th century.

## LEOMINSTER

FORBURY CHAPEL. SO 497593 (R.C.H.M. 3)

A fine and important roof was uncovered during restoration as well as some features of the medieval chapel. See pp. 265-267.

MUSEUM, ETNAM STREET. SO 497589

When the floor of the Mission Room, built in 1855, was taken up two circular brick structures about 2 ft. 9 ins. in diameter and the remains of a third were found. They had clearly been used for fires and it is thought that they were the bases of old kilns. This was the site of a malt house before the Mission Room was built.

## LEOMINSTER OUT

WHARTON COURT. SO 511558 (R.C.H.M. 4)

This is a major house. It is of four storeys, attics and cellars not three as stated in the R.C.H.M. An examination of the roof shows that originally it was a three-gabled roof with close-set timber-framing in the gables. From the evidence of the cellars it seems possible that there was originally a central stack. It seems quite likely that the roof was altered, the stairs inserted in their present position, the corner fireplaces built and the new porch added in 1659.

## LITTLE HEREFORD

WOODHAMPTON. SO 567691

A quite big T-shaped house. The front part of brick has quite thick walls and may well be an earlier timber-framed three-room plan house encased in the 18th century. The rear west wing is of ashlar and probably dates from the later 17th century. There is a fine original staircase with heavy turned balusters in this part.

## LYONSHALL

PENRHOS. SO 317561 (R.C.H.M. 18)

This building is a four-bay cruck building with contemporary cross-wing. To this was added c. 1600 a timber-framed entrance hall and additional cross-wing with a cellar beneath it. The cruck bays have long, curved wind-braces from just above the wall-plate passing behind all three side-purlins until they meet above the top one. They are halved into each purlin. The collars are halved and notched into the crucks and the construction looks early.

## WELLINGTON HEATH

HILLSIDE. SO 712402

A very small, two-room plan house about 16 ft. by 11 ft. The timber-framing is quite slight and the house is almost certainly an 18th-century enclosure building.

## WEOBLEY

CHAMBERWELL. SO 402515 (R.C.H.M. 51)

The central truss is medieval and apparently still in situ. The cambered collar has peg-holes for an arch-brace and the blades are slotted for wind-braces. Apart from this the house seems to have been gutted and virtually rebuilt in the later 17th century.

## YARPOLE

HOME FARM BIRCHER, DOVECOTE. SO 477655 (R.C.H.M. 27)

Brick, probably 18th century. There are 445 nest-holes in 18 rows. Entrance is at wooden lantern. The walls are peculiar in that the bonding of bricks is in rows of headers.

During the year members of the Listed Buildings Sub-Committee have looked at 35 buildings most of which were for minor changes. Of these 4 were possible demolitions. Protests were made about the proposed demolitions at 30, 31, 32 High Street, Kington, and about the state into which Drybridge House had been allowed to decay.

As far as is known the following Listed building was demolished during 1971. Cruck at Middleton House, Sollers Dilwyn. (House had long since collapsed).

In addition to the cruck buildings mentioned above other previously unrecorded cruck buildings were found at Blaenau, Cusop; The Wern, Llanveynoe; Horner's Mill, Tedstone Delamere and Upper Goytre, Walterstone. These four together with Penrhos can be added to the previously published lists of cruck buildings.

Thanks are due to Miss R. Hickling, Mesdames J. McCulloch and P. Williams, Messrs. P. Berrett and I. Homes, Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Perry, Mr. and Mrs. J. Sims and to my wife for reports on buildings and to Mr. G. W. Thomas for his record of the previously unrecorded dovecotes.

## Mammals, 1971

By W. H. D. WINCE

**T**HE Hedgehog (*Erinaceus europaeus*). Population probably declining due to large numbers killed on roads. Hedgehogs are also exterminated on some estates where pheasants are bred.

**Bats.** Information is required on colonies which may help in identification of species, leading to knowledge of their status and distribution.

**The Rabbit (*Oryctolagus cuniculus*).** Outbreak of Myxomatosis in earlier months of this year in North of the county substantially reduced numbers which were of pest proportions.

**Red Squirrel (*Sciurus vulgaris*).** Mr. J. Voysey reports some in the Mortimer Forest. All records required to ascertain present distribution in the county.

**Grey Squirrel (*Sciurus carolinensis*).** Numerous in many areas particularly where there is a good acorn harvest.

**Dormouse (*Muscardinus avellanarius*).** Dr. C. W. Walker reports this species not to be uncommonly found in nest boxes put up for tits in 10 woodland areas and the Doward. It should be searched for wherever there is honeysuckle.

**Bank Vole (*Clethrionomys glareolus*).** Trapping in Birley area show this to be an abundant species this year. Numbers are liable to fluctuation. Enters houses in Autumn and some have been trapped in my house.

**Water Vole (*Arvicola amphibius*).** Numbers reduced in reaches of rivers being colonised by the mink.

**Yell-necked Mouse (*Sylvaemus flavicollis*).** Dr. Walker reports he found one dead in Haugh Wood on 22 September. I have trapped 5 or 6 at Birley in early October.

**Badger (*Meles meles*).** Badger digging persists.

**European Mink (*Lutreola lutreola*).** Mr. and Mrs. P. Parker of Bodenham report having seen mink on two occasions; in November 1970 at Bodenham, SO 538503, and in early September 1971 at Wergins Bridge, Sutton, SO 529447. Mr. E. H. Agnew also of Bodenham found one killed on the A 417 road at Bodenham on 8 October 1971.

### Polecat (*Putorius putorius*).

Place	No.	Date	Circumstances
Eywood, Titley	1	24.3.71	Seen dead
Moccas	2	March	Trapped
Aconbury	5	March	Family destroyed
St. Owens Cross	1	18.4.71	One seen
Whitney	2	25.5.71	Two seen
Middle Hill	1	16.6.71	One seen at roadside

Winforton	1	10.10.71	One trapped
Winforton	1	12.10.71	One trapped
Eywood	4	Oct. 71	Killed on estate
Evancoed, Presteigne	1	7.10.71	Caught by retriever and freed

**Otter (*Lutra lutra*).** One or two records of otters been seen in the county, one record from an observer who watched an otter in a small stream which feeds the River Lugg.

**Fallow Deer (*Dama dama*).** Generally distributed in woodlands in the area. Mention should be made of the so called Long Haired Fallow Deer which occurs in the Mortimer Forest and nowhere else. There are no records of this mutant before 1956. The feral deer in Haye Park (which belonged to the Salwey family from Tudor times) are descendants of the original park deer. Of the 250 fallow deer in the area 64% are dappled and 36% dun and up to 20% of each are of the long haired or long coated type. Long coated does can throw fawns of each type. (See G. Springthorpe and J. Voysey (1969) *Deer*, Vol. 1, No. 10 pp. 407-409). After the rut the fallow bucks seem to go to the Downton and Croft Ambrey areas. Deer seen in the forest are usually does with fawns of the year.

There are many gaps in the Mammal records and I would urge members to send in records to me particularly where I have indicated.

## Ornithology, 1971

By W. H. D. WINCE

**B**EFORE giving the report I would like to pay tribute to the work done by Dr. C. W. Walker, the previous recorder for the Woolhope Club. His work in Natural History and nature conservation in the county is well-known and extremely important. It will be difficult for the present recorder to keep to the high standard previously set.

For full accounts of birds, their habits and records, I would refer members to the annual reports of the Herefordshire Ornithological Club.

The interesting breeding records are of Crossbills in the Aymestrey area, Hawfinches in Dinmore and Corn Buntings at Credenhill.

The Spring migration was later this year than usual, many species arriving about a week later.

It should be noted that birds tend to arrive in valleys and later on hillsides. An unusual record was of a Knot in the forecourt of a garage at Hope-under-Dinmore on 8 June 1971.

A pair of Hoopoes were observed at Welsh Newton by Miss B. Cameron of Wimbledon on 8 and 13 July 1971.

A Wryneck was flushed by the old railway track at Kings Acre, Hereford, on 16 September. This was seen by several members of the Herefordshire Ornithological Club.

# Hereford City Museum Report, 1971

By MARY H. HEYWOOD

THE following is a list of the most important acquisitions for the museum's collections, roughly divided into sections comprising archaeology, agriculture and occupations, costumes, fine and applied art, natural history and social and domestic life.

- 9473 Archaeological material from Hereford City Excavations 1970; mainly from the site of the new *Marks and Spencer* store, and from the supermarket site (previously Greenlands store) pottery, bone etc. 12th-19th centuries.
- 9501 Neolithic flint axe head, found at Fownhope. SO 348578.
- 9607 Flint axe head found on the site of Moccas Castle. SO 349425.
- 9617-2 2 Greco-Roman bronze mirrors, provenance unknown.
- 9628 16th-century pot found in the river Leadon at Ledbury; coarse red ware with thick brown glaze covering the upper part of the body, one handle. See pl. VII.
- 9609 Roman coin found in a house in Canon Frome.  
Constantine II, Aes, Folsi, Lyons 330-1 A.D.  
Obv: CONSTANTINUS IVN NOBC.  
Rev: GLOR-IA EXERC-ITUS.  
R.I.C. VII no. 238.
- 9623 Hereford Mint Coins  
/1 Silver 1d. Aethelred II. Crux type. Moneys: Byrhan. North 770.  
/2 Silver 1d. Aethelred II. Helmet type. Moneys: Leofgar. North 775.  
/3 Silver 1d. Aethelred II. Last small cross. Moneys: Aethwig. North 775.  
/4 Silver 1d. Cnut. Pointed helmet. Moneys: Leofgar. North 787.  
/5 Silver 1d. Harold I. Fleur-de-lis. Moneys: Ernwi. North 803.  
/6 Silver 1d. Edward the Confessor. Expanding cross, 1050-53. Moneys: Leofnoth. North 823.  
/7 Silver 1d. Edward the Confessor. Hammer cross, 1059-62. Moneys: Eadwig. North 828.  
/8 Silver 1d. Edward the Confessor. Facing bust/small cross, 1062-5. Moneys: Earnwi. North 830.
- 9636 Material from Richards Castle Excavation 1962—fragments of medieval pottery, bone, ironwork, lead etc.
- 9598 Bull-ringing implement. Early 20th century.
- 9489 Fine white cotton lady's dressing gown, trimmed on collar, cuffs and pocket with hand-made broderie anglaise.

- 9491 Costume items of the period 1933-38.  
/1 Evening dress, printed silk.  
/2 Evening dress, black velvet.  
/3 Evening dress, mauve silk and silver-thread pattern in diagonal stripes.  
/4 Black taffeta two-piece ensemble. 1935.  
/5 Oyster satin petticoat for wearing with the evening dresses.  
/6 Evening bolero made of feather dyed scarlet and sewn on to a scarlet silk.
- 9605 4 Victorian fans dating 1860-90.
- 9612 Silk embroidered waistcoat; made originally for a young boy 1770-90; altered to fit a lady c. 1851, when embroidered waistcoats were fashionable.
- 9622 Costume of 1929.  
/1 Pale blue/green silk petticoat; fine box pleating, trimmed with coffee-coloured lace.  
/2 Satin on pink silk handbag.
- 9486 *Herefordshire farm*. Water-colour by Olwyn Bowey, commissioned by the museum.
- 9499 3 water-colour drawings by P. Wilson Steer.  
/1 *Bridgnorth*, 1925.  
/2 *Iron bridge on Bridgnorth*.  
/3 *View of the river at Bridgnorth*.
- 9611 Folio of linocuts by Tadeusz Piotrowski.
- 9629 *Skirrid Fawr and the Sugar Loaf*. Water-colour by Cedric Kennedy.
- 9495 *Philip Clissett, chairmaker of Bosbury*. Lithograph by Maxwell Balfour.
- 9493 Selenite crystal from the Mufulira Copper Mine, Zambia.
- 9496 Cabinet of drawers containing a very fine collection of British birds' eggs.
- 9599 Fossil. Silurian cephalopod found on the Woolhope dome. *Gomphoceras ellipticum*.
- 9606 Fossil. Silurian cephalopod found on the Woolhope dome. *Dawsonoceras annulatum*.
- 9625 Polecat: family Mustelidae: *Putorius putorius*. Found at Llanvihangel-nant-Melan, Radnorshire, December 1970. Mounted by the Midlands Area Museum Service.
- 9490 Toy farm, comprising animals, farm-workers, buildings, trees, fences etc., made from lead. c. 1920.
- 9497 /1 Cast-iron mangle, with large wooden rollers. Made c. 1890.  
/5 Plate camera, with tripod and plate holders. The camera is made of mahogany and brass; the bellows are of red leather; it folds up in an intricate way. Made by Thornton-Pickard of Altrincham. Date 1900-1910.
- 9602 Typewriter, called *Smith Premier* 1910, a type manufactured between 1908 and 1921.





